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THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN

ANTHONY R. BIRLEY



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Anthony R. Birley

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E. B. in memoriam

PREFACE

A work on similar lines to the present one was published in 1981, *The Fasti Roman Britain* (*FRB*). This attempted to list all known Roman high officials who served in Britain, and to analyse their origins and careers. It has long been out of print, and meanwhile some new officials have turned up: one or two governors, several legionary legates and tribunes, a procurator and two junior procurators, a prefect of the fleet. Initially it was intended just to publish a discussion of these as *addenda* to *FRB*. A start was made in 2001 with the assistance of Andreas Krieckhaus for some months: to the Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung, which funded his work, and to Dr Krieckhaus grateful acknowledgement is made. In due course it became clear that many entries on previously recorded officials also needed revision, since more is now known about their dates, careers, or origin. Hence a completely new version has been produced.

Various changes in presentation have been made. Abbreviations in inscriptions have been expanded,[1] and translations added, as they have been for all literary sources quoted. Except for the inscriptions, Greek sources are given only in translation (the translations are my own). The original Part I, 'The senatorial career under the principate', has been condensed; a summary version, with some items from Part III in *FRB* (on 'Origins and careers'), here omitted, is offered in I. 1. Details are added on the governors' staff and on 'local government' (I. 1. 2, I. 1. 4). The new I. 13, 'The procuratorial career', also has a discussion of the procurators' subordinates (I. 13. 1); and IV. 3, 'Military command and civil administration in late Roman Britain', includes the evidence from the *Notitia Dignitatum* on the *officia* of the generals and governors.

To reduce the number of notes, references to literary sources are mostly put in brackets in the text, and the officials of the undivided province are all numbered, with cross-references to Gov(ernor) 1, LL (legionary legate) 1, and so on. Carausius and Allectus are given a separate part (III), with full citation of the numismatic evidence and the literary sources. The governors of Upper and Lower Britain and the legionary legates of Upper Britain (only three), here not numbered, are treated together, as far as possible in chronological order, from *c.*213 to 285 (II. 2). All officials, civil and military, from the final period, again not numbered, are also taken together, in chronological order (IV. 4). An appendix treats the 'client-rulers'.

A further change is that at the appropriate chronological point the evidence

[1] C. is expanded as C. (Gaius), Cn. as Cn. (Gnaeus): pedantry perhaps, but Quintilian 1. 7. 28 and other sources make clear that the forms often found in modern works, 'Caius' and 'Cnaeus' (or even 'Cnaius') did not exist. See e. g. R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*[4] (1914) 39f.

has been cited and discussed for imperial visits to Britain (by Claudius, Hadrian, Severus, Constantius, Constantine I, and Constans), for other relevant episodes (such as the Gallic Empire and Stilicho's measures), and on 'The End of Roman Rule' (IV. 5). This, combined with the data on officials, is intended to produce a kind of handbook or narrative history of Britain under Roman rule, more fully documented than anything now available[2] (although much has had to be omitted, e.g. *praefecti castrorum*, equestrian officers, and auxiliary regiments). Hence the new title: *The Roman Government of Britain*. The select bibliography is confined to works frequently cited, with some other items of particular relevance. A Glossary lists mainly Latin technical terms.

Most of the evidence concerns military activity, particularly in the northern frontier region. Much of importance in Roman Britain—such as urban and agricultural development, the economy, and religion—are not handled here except in passing. The more civilized southern parts have less narrative history, but here in particular the continually increasing mass of archaeological publications is overwhelming: a new synthesis would be a daunting challenge. The north always remained what Tacitus called Britain, 'a savage province' (*feroci provincia*, *Agr.* 8. 1), 'never peaceful enough' (*numquam satis quieta*, *Hist.* 2. 97. 1). The furthest north was never permanently conquered, and for its size Britain always had an exceptionally large army—which from the late second century onwards repeatedly created other problems: by the early fifth century Britain was labelled 'a province fertile in usurpers' (*fertilis provincia tyrannorum*, Jerome, *Ep.* 133. 9). It was the military history of Britain which attracted most attention from Roman writers, and there is a surprising amount of it, first and foremost in Tacitus, a unique source for the first forty years, but also in Cassius Dio, Ammianus Marcellinus, the *Historia Augusta*, and many others.

Aside from this, the men who served in Britain are in many cases well-known figures, mentioned in other writers, of poetry as well as prose, and in inscriptions outside Britain. More attention is devoted here to their origins, background, and careers than some may think necessary. Others will, it is hoped, agree that this makes the long period, over 350 years, when Britain was part of a large empire, more interesting. Fuller attention to the men who served here can contribute to a better understanding of how Rome ruled its empire.

Any undertaking of this kind has to build on the labours of many others, beginning with some giants of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (such as Kubitschek, Dessau, Ritterling, Groag, and A. Stein), and of more

[2] But it must be stressed that it is in no sense a substitute for the incomparable History of Roman Britain by Sheppard Frere (frequently cited below in the 3rd edn. of 1987 as Frere, *Britannia*[3]. To my regret I was not aware of the edn. of 1999, published by the Folio Society, with further revisions, until the present work was complete).

recent scholars now no longer here to read these words (especially Ronald Syme and Margaret Roxan). It is hoped that the annotation makes this clear. It has been especially welcome to be given off-prints or monographs by colleagues, too many to name individually. Most of the writing has been done in Vindolanda Museum: I am grateful to all the staff of the Vindolanda Trust for their support and for the congenial atmosphere here. Special thanks for their advice are due to Géza Alföldy, Werner Eck, Paul Holder, Olli Salomies, Peter Weiss, Stan Wolfson, and Tony Woodman. For any faults, of structure, method, or fact, I must take sole responsibility. My principal debt, to Eric Birley (1906–1995), will never be forgotten: *FRB* was dedicated to him; this version is dedicated to his memory.

Vindolanda A. R. B.
10 June 2004

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ABBREVIATIONS

Journals are abbreviated as in *L'Année philologique*, with a few minor exceptions. References to individual sections are as follows: to those in part I, Gov. = governors of the undivided province; LL = legionary legates; *iurid.* = *iuridici*; Trib. = *tribuni laticlavii*; Proc. = procurators; *Praef. cl.* = prefects of the fleet; *com. Aug.* = *comites* of the emperors. References to other parts are given as II. 1–2, III. 1–3, IV. 1–5.

AA	*Archaeologia Aeliana* (Newcastle upon Tyne)
AE	*L'Année épigraphique* (1888–)
ANRW	H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (1972–)
BHAC	*Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* (1963–91)
Birley, *RBRA*	E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (1953; repr. 1961)
BMC	H. Mattingly, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins in the Roman Empire*, iii. *Nerva to Hadrian* (1936); iv. *Antoninus Pius to Commodus* (1940); v. *Pertinax to Elagabalus* (1950)
BMC Ionia	B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia* (1892)
BMC Pont.	R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosphorus* (1889)
CAH XI	*Cambridge Ancient History*, xi (1936)
Camodeca, *TPS*	G. Camodeca, *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* (Rome, 1999)
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863ff.)
CSIR I. 6	J. C. Coulston and E. J. Phillips, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Great Britain*, i/6. *Hadrian's Wall West of the North Tyne, and Carlisle* (1988)
CW	*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*
Degrassi, *FC*	A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell'impero romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo* (1952)
Domaszewski, *RO*^{2}	A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (1967), 2nd edn. by B. Dobson.
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica* (1872–1913)
ES	*Epigraphische Studien*
EOS	S. Panciera (ed.), *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, i–ii (1982 [1984])
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1923–60)
FHG	C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (1841–70)
FO^2	L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (2nd edn., 1982)
FRB	A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (1981)
HA	*Historia Augusta* (elsewhere often still cited as *S(criptores) H(istoriae) A(ugustae)*)
HAC, NS	*Historiae Augustae Colloquia*, nova series (1991–)

IAM II	M. Euzennat *et al.*, *Inscriptions antiques de Maroc*, ii. *Inscriptions latines* (1982)
IDR	I. I. Russu *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* (1975–)
IEph.	R. Merkelbach *et al.*, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (1979–)
IGR	R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes* i, iii, iv (1901–21)
ILAfr.	R. Cagnat *et al.*, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique* (1923)
ILAlg.	S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, i (1958); H.-G. Pflaum, ii/1 (1958); ii/2 (1976)
ILIug.	A. and J. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (1963); . . . *inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX* (1978); . . . *inter annos MCMIII et MCMXL* (1986)
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (1892–1916)
ILTun.	A. Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de Tunisie* (1944)
Inscr. It.	*Inscriptiones Italiae* (1936–)
IMylasa	W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* (1987)
IRT	J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (1952)
ISmyrna	G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* (1982–90)
Lörincz, *OPEL*	B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon*, i–iv (1994–2002)
MGH, *AA*	T. Mommsen *et al.* (eds.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi*
MRR	T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, i (1951); ii (1952); *Supplement* (1960)
Ogilvie-Richmond	R. M. Ogilvie and I. A. Richmond, *Cornelii Taciti De vita Agricolae* (1967)
Pflaum, *CP*	H. G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1960–1); *Supplément* (1982)
PIR^{1,2}	E. Klebs, P. v. Rohden, and H. Dessau, *Prosopographia imperii Romani* (1897); 2nd edn. by E. Groag, A. Stein, L. Petersen, *et al.* (1933–)
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, i. *AD 260–395* (1971); J. R. Martindale, ii. *AD 395–527* (1980)
Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*	M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (Ier–IIe siècles)* (1987)
RE	G. Wissowa *et al.* (eds.), Paulys *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1893–1978)
RIB	R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* i. *Inscriptions on Stone* (1965; repr. with *addenda* by R. S. O. Tomlin 1995); S. S. Frere *et al.*, ii/1–8. *Instrumentum Domesticum* (1990–5)
RIC	H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, i.

	Augustus to Vitellius (1923; 2nd edn. by C. H. V. Sutherland, 1984); ii. *Vespasian to Hadrian* (1926); iii. *Antoninus Pius to Commodus* (1930); iv/1. *Pertinax to Geta* (1936); iv/2. *Macrinus to Pupienus* (1938); eid. and C. H. V. Sutherland, iv/3. *Gordian III to Uranius Antoninus* (1949); P. H. Webb, v/1 (1927); id., v/2 (1933); C. H. V. Sutherland, VI. *From Diocletian's Reform (AD 294) to the Death of Maximinus (AD 313)* (1967); P. M. Bruun, vii. *Constantine and Licinius, AD 313–337* (1968); J. P. C. Kent, viii. *The Family of Constantine I, AD 337–364* (1981); J. W. E. Pearce, ix. *Valentinian I–Theodosius I* (1951); J. P. C. Kent, x. *The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts* (1994)
RIT	G. Alföldy, *Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (1975)
RMD	M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*, i (1978); ii (1985); iii (1994); ead. and P. A. Holder, iv (2003)
Scheid, *CFA*	J. Scheid *et al.* (eds.), *Commentarii fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt* (1998)
Schulze, *LE*	W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (2nd edn. 1933)
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923–)
SIG^3	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (3rd edn., 1915–24)
Syme, *RP*	R. Syme, *Roman Papers*
TAM	E. Kalinka *et al.*, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (1901–)
Thomasson, *LP*	B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, i (1984), iii (1990)
TV ii, iii	A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets: Tabulae Vindolandenses*, ii (1994); iii (2003)

NOTE ON THE CITATION OF SOURCES

Literary sources are given as far as possible according to the chronological order of their composition. Editions are in most cases only mentioned where there are textual variations. Letters or words supplied by editors are given as *proel⟨iorum⟩*, those which cannot be restored as †*ut lenti*†.

In inscriptions abbreviations are expanded within round brackets: *pr(o) pr(aetore)*; letters or words which are restored within square brackets: *quin[que]nnio*; words omitted within pointed brackets: ⟨*imperator*⟩; words (mostly names) which have been deleted within double square brackets: *[[P(ublio) Septimio Getae]]*; letters which are uncertain are dotted: *Ḡ[allus]*. Gaps are indicated as . . . , where the length is uncertain.

I

High Officials of the Undivided Province, 43–*c.*213

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I. 1

INTRODUCTION: THE SENATORIAL CAREER IN THE PRINCIPATE

The *cursus honorum*, career-structure, for senators and equestrians was reformed by Augustus, on lines which remained in force for over 200 years.[1] From the conquest in 43 until the late third century the governors of Britain were senators with the rank of ex-consul, the legionary legates and *iuridici* were senators of more junior rank, and the *tribuni laticlavii* were future senators. Side by side with these officials there were two of equestrian rank, the procurator, responsible for finance, and the prefect of the fleet. A brief survey of their career-structure is thus appropriate. (The procuratorial career is discussed in I. 13. 1.)

For senators, Augustus modified the Republican *leges annales* governing the age at which the traditional magistracies could be held: quaestorship at 24; followed after an interval of one year by tribunate of the plebs or aedileship; praetorship at 29; consulship at 41. He and his successors also created many new posts, both at Rome, in Italy, and, notably, in the provinces. However, they retained for ten provinces the Republican system of government by annually changing proconsuls, each with a quaestor and one or more *legati*. Senators had the title *vir clarissimus*, 'most famous man'. An early documentary example of this usage is known from Britain, in a letter mentioning the governor Neratius Marcellus (Gov. 15).

Entry to the senatorial order was conferred by the emperor on young men with a suitable property-qualification and free birth by the grant of the *latus clavus*, 'broad stripe'. Augustus instituted pre-senatorial service: qualified young men at the age of about 18 were required to spend a year as one of 'the twenty men' at Rome, in one of the four boards collectively called the *vigintiviri* (Dio 54. 26. 5ff., cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 29. 1). The most prestigious was that of the *tresviri monetales*, or *tresviri a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) f(lando) f(eriundo)*, the three 'mint-masters': all patricians seem to have begun as mintmasters. The least favoured were the *tresviri capitales*, responsible for capital punishment among other duties; the other two boards were of the 'four men for looking after the streets', *quattuorviri viarum curandarum*, and of the 'ten men for judging law-suits',

[1] In this section references are limited: a detailed discussion of the senatorial career was provided in *FRB* 3ff.; see further R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984), *passim*; A. Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain à l'époque impériale* (1992), esp. 23–199; W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge* (2 vols. 1995, 1997). For technical terms in this section see also the glossary.

decemviri stlitibus iudicandis. Although it is clear that the *monetales* were the most prestigious and the *capitales* the least prestigious, it is debatable what bearing tenure of a particular post had on the later career.[2]

Service for a year, perhaps as many as three years, as a military tribune in a legion (known as *tribunus laticlavius* from the *latus clavus*) was also at least encouraged. A few served in two successive legions.[3] A fair number of career-inscriptions mention a tribunate but not a post in the vigintivirate, from which exemption may have been granted.[4]

This preliminary career was followed by entry to the 600-strong senate as quaestor at 24: there were twenty quaestors each year. Two (or perhaps more) were attached to the emperor: their tasks included reading his letters to the senate (*Dig.* 1. 13. 1. 2 and 4); ten were attached to proconsuls of provinces; the remainder served at Rome. The quaestorship was followed after a year's interval by either the tribunate of the plebs (ten posts) or the aedileship (six posts); then, again after an interval, by the praetorship (at first twelve posts, rising to seventeen or eighteen by Trajan's time), held at 29. These posts were all annual. Those recommended by the emperor, *candidati Caesaris*, were especially favoured.

The final Republican office, to which all senators aspired, was the consulship, for which the minimum age remained, as under the Republic, the forty-second year. In the imperial period the two consuls who took office on 1 January and gave their names to the year, the *consules ordinarii*, stepped down after a few months, and were replaced by 'suffect (substitute) consuls', *consules suffecti*. As time went on the number of suffects each year increased: there were often six or more each year, rising to seven or eight by the end of the first century and a dozen or more in the second.[5] Patricians were exempted from the tribunate of the plebs or aedileship, which partly explains why there were four less posts available than for the quaestors and two less than for praetors. Patricians were apparently allowed to become consul in their early thirties. Another way in which men could hold office earlier than the norm was

[2] E. Birley, *PBA* 39 (1953), 201 f., repr. in id., *The Roman Army* (1988), 79 f., argued that assignment to a particular board in the vigintivirate could be taken as an indication of the future career; approved by Syme, *RP* iv 280. For scepticism: B. Dobson, in D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson, *Roman Officers and Frontiers* (1993), 130 f.

[3] A list of over thirty cases of double tribunates is given in *FRB* 10. Two men actually served in three legions, the future emperor Hadrian (*HA Hadr.* 2. 2–5, *ILS* 308) and L. Minicius Natalis (LL 22). The length of service is often assumed to have been for a year at most, but 'normally something like three years' in the view of E. Birley, *PBA* 39 (1953), 199 f., repr. in id., *Roman Army*, 77 f.; see also A. R. Birley, in G. Alföldy *et al.* (eds.), *Gedenkschrift Eric Birley* (2000), 102 ff.

[4] See the list in A. R. Birley, in *Gedenkschrift Eric Birley*, 106 ff.

[5] See R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958), 653 ff.; J. Morris, *Listy fil.* 87 (1964), 325 ff.; id. *Listy fil.* 88 (1965), 22 ff.; G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977), 33 ff., 327 ff.

through the Augustan legislation to encourage the birth-rate: the *ius liberorum* allowed a year's remission from the prescribed minimum age for each child.

In addition to the Republican magistracies, there were two purely ceremonial posts for some young senators: each year one could be *praefectus feriarum Latinarum*, 'prefect (at the time) of the Latin festival', and six could be a *sevir equitum Romanorum*, one of the 'six men to lead the squadrons of Roman knights' at their annual ride-past. A junior senator was also in charge of recording the proceedings of the senate, as *ab actis senatus*. Finally, senators could serve as legate to a proconsul for a year at any stage in their career, and some did so before the praetorship.[6]

Another group of men entered the senate at a later stage, by *adlectio*, special enrolment, often after service as an equestrian procurator. Some entered the senate as quaestor, without preliminary service; others were given the rank of ex-tribune of the plebs or aedile, or, in most cases praetorian rank, as *adlectus inter praetorios*. Some who had already been in the senate were adlected to higher rank, allowing them to omit one or more magistracies.

Numerous posts could be held by ex-praetors:[7]

- *at Rome*: two as *praefectus frumenti dandi*, probably held for only a year; perhaps for two or three years, three as *praefectus aerarii militaris* and two as *praefectus aerarii Saturni*
- *in Italy*: nine *curatores viarum*; from the time of Trajan an uncertain number of *praefecti alimentorum* (a post also held by ex-consuls); from Marcus Aurelius onwards there were four or five *iuridici* of Italian districts
- *in the provinces*:
  (*a*) *imperial*: twenty-four as legionary legate, *legatus (Augusti) legionis*; at first five, ultimately fourteen as provincial governor, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*; two as *iuridicus*, in Hispania Tarraconensis and (from the Flavian period) in Britain; a third (not actually called *iuridicus*) served in Galatia-Cappadocia *c.*70–114. All these posts seem mostly to have lasted for two to three years.
  (*b*) *proconsular*: for one year, fourteen as *legatus pro praetore* (some of these served before the praetorship); eight as proconsul
- *in Italy or the provinces*: from the late first century, as curator of a town, *curator civitatis* or *reipublicae*. The numbers and no doubt the term of office were variable.

Some special posts were created on an *ad hoc* basis, especially in wartime. Patricians seldom held any praetorian post, since they could become consul within three years of their praetorship.

[6] On the quaestorship and career between quaestorship and praetorship see *FRB* 14f.
[7] See *FRB* 15ff.

In practice about half of each year's praetors went on to command a legion, either soon after the praetorship, or after one or more intervening posts. Few are known to have commanded the same legion—or even another legion in the same army—in which they had been military tribune. About thirty cases are known of men who were legate of more than one legion. Where evidence is available, the repeated command seems to have been the product of some emergency.[8] A few early cases are known where men became consul with no other office after the legionary legateship. Later this seems to have been virtually ruled out. Some cases are known of men who had only two posts between praetorship and consulship, as legionary legate and governor of an imperial province or treasury prefect. But most ex-praetors whose careers are known served in more than two posts before the consulship.

The number of imperial provinces governed by ex-praetors gradually increased with the annexation of new territory and the change in status, or subdivision, of existing provinces. An important development came in 39, when Caligula removed the control of the legion III Augusta from the proconsul of Africa, thereby creating the *de facto* province of Numidia, in which the legionary legate acted as governor. Further one-legion provinces governed by legionary legates were: Judaea, from 70 until *c.*117; Arabia from Trajan onwards; Pannonia Inferior from Trajan to Caracalla; Dacia Superior, from Hadrian to Marcus Aurelius; Raetia and Noricum under Marcus Aurelius; Syria Phoenice under Severus; Britannia Inferior under Caracalla (II. 1 below). There were thus never more than six one-legion provinces at any one time.[9] Before Marcus Aurelius only one case is known of a man governing two praetorian imperial provinces, Pompeius Falco under Trajan (Gov. 17). In the 160s and 170s, perhaps due to a shortage of qualified ex-praetors after war and plague, more are found; and the practice became more frequent in the third century.

The Italian road-curatorships varied in importance: the Aemilia, Appia, and Flaminia were assigned to senior ex-praetors, the others to more junior men. It is not known how long the post was held. It was sometimes combined with the prefecture of the *alimenta*, also a post of unknown duration, which could also be held by ex-consuls. *Iuridici*, both in the provinces and in Italy, seem mostly to have been fairly junior. The *praefectura frumenti dandi* seems not to have been held by men with prospects of imperial service. Equally, few who served as legate to a proconsul went on to consular commands. The two treasuries differed in status. Some prefects went on from the military treasury

[8] See *FRB* 17ff. with lists of men who were tribune and legionary legate in the same army; commanded more than one legion; and (a very few) who commanded a legion in a province governed by a kinsman.

[9] On one-legion provinces see B. E. Thomasson, *OpRom* 9 (1973), 61ff.

to that of Saturn. Hardly any are known who went straight from the military treasury to the consulship, but several former prefects of the treasury of Saturn did so. Over 100 curators of towns are known in Italy alone. Some leading figures who later governed consular imperial provinces held such a post. Sometimes it may have been something of a sinecure, but in any case it probably had little significance for its holder's career.

The consulship as *ordinarius* was mostly held by the emperor and his relatives, patricians, sons or descendants of ex-consuls. Only four future governors of Britain had this honour: Q. Veranius (Gov. 4) in 49, M. Atilius Bradua (16) in 108, P. Mummius Sisenna (22) in 133, and M. Statius Priscus (29) in 159. Bradua was almost certainly a patrician. Veranius and Statius Priscus clearly received it because of exceptional achievements; the reasons in the case of Sisenna are unknown. All other governors were evidently suffect consul.

The posts available for ex-consuls were as follows:[10]

- *at Rome*: two as *curator operum publicorum* and *aedium sacrarum*, mostly directly after the consulship and served for about two years; one as *curator alvei Tiberis*, etc., held soon after the consulship and served for about two years; one as *curator aquarum*, usually held by a fairly senior ex-consul, term of office indefinite; one as *praefectus urbi*, the most senior post for senators, term of office indefinite, often held until death
- *in Italy*: one as *praefectus alimentorum*, a post mostly held by ex-praetors, term of office uncertain
- *in the provinces*:
  (a) *imperial*: at first seven *legati Augusti pro praetore*; gradually increased to ten by *c.*118, rising to thirteen by *c.*180 and fourteen by *c.*214.
  (b) *proconsular*: two proconsuls, of Africa and Asia; held for one year; by the early second century held after an interval of about fifteen years from the consulship

Occasionally ex-consuls were appointed as curator of a road in Italy, or of a town in Italy or the provinces; one or two are known to have served as legate to a proconsul. They might also be given special appointments, such as recruiting troops or conducting a provincial census; from the late second or early third century senior men sometimes served as judge of appeal in place of the emperor, *vice sacra iudicans*. Senior senators also served from time to time in the emperor's advisory council, the *consilium principis*.

Most *legati Augusti pro praetore* of consular status governed provinces with more than one legion. Exceptions were the very large province of Hispania Tarraconensis, still governed by an ex-consul after its garrison was reduced to

[10] See *FRB* 26ff.

one legion in the 70s; Dalmatia, which under Trajan regained a consular governor after losing its legionary garrison; and Pontus-Bithynia, which was originally governed by praetorian proconsuls, and never had a legionary garrison, but from Marcus Aurelius onwards was assigned to consular legates.

All the consular imperial provinces could be governed by recent ex-consuls, but Tarraconensis, Britain, and Syria, later also the reunited Dacian provinces, were mostly assigned to men who had previously governed one of the other consular provinces, the two Germanies, the two Moesias, Upper Pannonia, Cappadocia, and Syria Palaestina. Although two of these 'junior' consular provinces, Upper Pannonia and Lower Moesia, for much of the principate had as many legions, three, as Britain, Syria, and Dacia, they were less exposed to external threat. As for Tarraconensis, its great prestige as one of Rome's oldest and largest provinces no doubt meant that senior men were anxious to govern it. The length of tenure depended on the emperor. Most probably served for about three years. Very few men governed more than two consular provinces. Exceptions are found at time of serious warfare.[11] After one or more consular commands most could look forward only to the proconsulship of Africa or Asia.

Other honours to which senators could aspire were patrician status, conferred on three future governors of Britain, Veranius (4), Julius Agricola (11), and Neratius Marcellus (15), and probably enjoyed from birth by another, Atilius Bradua (16); and membership of one of the main priestly colleges. The most prestigious were those of the *pontifices*, augurs, *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and *septemviri epulonum*. Other senatorial priesthoods included the *sodales* for the worship of deified emperors, the *sodales Titii*, the *fetiales*, and the *fratres Arvales*.

The career-structure outlined above to a large extent determined from which group men were chosen to govern a province such as Britain. Most governors whose career is known had previously been military tribune and legionary legate. Very few are known to have served in the province previously. No doubt in many cases men canvassed the emperor and his advisers for a particular appointment, but there is little direct evidence. Patronage and bribery probably played less of a role with the most senior posts than at lower levels. The emperors and their advisers generally kept to their own 'rules'.[12] Dio complained bitterly that Macrinus (78[79]. 13. 1ff.) and Elagabalus (79[80]. 4. 1–2, etc.) flouted them.

Rome had no military college, and the few years as military tribune, legionary legate, and governor of another province, have seemed to many inadequate to prepare the future governor of Britain for the command of an

[11] A list is given in A. R. Birley, in G. Alföldy *et al.* (eds.), *Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, 111ff.

[12] Discussed in A. R. Birley, *Locus virtutibus patefactus? Zum Beförderungssystem in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* (1992).

army of up to 50,000 men: the senatorial generals are described as 'amateurs'. This point of view may be anachronistic. For one thing, the governor's duties were not merely commanding troops in the field; adminstration played a large part, and the landowning class from which senators were drawn had ample experience of this on their estates. Besides, they had plenty of qualified subordinates, notably the centurions.[13]

Senatorial office-holders, including governors, received annual salaries (Dio 52. 25. 1, 3; 53. 15. 4), but the exact sums are nowhere attested, except for the consular proconsulships (Dio 78[79]. 22. 5, one million sesterces). Alföldy conjectures that consular legates received a salary of over 600,000 and under one million sesterces.[14]

1.1.1 The Governors of Britain

The number known in the period 43–*c.* 214, up to forty-one, including four slightly uncertain ones (19, 25, 28, 23) and one acting-governor (34), represents a high percentage of the estimated total of about fifty-four. The first eleven are all known, mainly through Tacitus, supplemented in some cases by other sources; and those under Hadrian (18, 19?, 20–2, 23?), covering most of his reign, *c.*118–*c.*135, may represent a complete series. There are a few definite gaps under Domitian, Trajan, and the Antonines, and under Severus at least one name is probably missing. Twelve are known only from literary sources (1–3, 5–10, 35, 36). Up to nine are attested only by inscriptions in Britain (19, 22, 23?, 25?, 28, 31, 38, 39, 41). Nine are attested only by inscriptions found elsewhere (13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 29, 32, 34, 40). One is known both from Tacitus and his own Rome inscription (4). Three are known both from British and other inscriptions (17, 26, 27); four both from literary sources and British inscriptions (11, 24, 30, 37); three from literary sources and both British and other documentary evidence (15, 21, 33).

The career of most, before or after Britain, or both, is known, more or less complete for twelve (3, 4, 11, 16–18, 21, 24, 27, 29, 31, 35), or in part. Only very few are otherwise quite unknown (19 and 28, both *ignoti*, and 41). Evidence for the origin of many is also available. Of the governors from Claudius to Trajan, most were from Italy. Julius Agricola (11), from Gallia Narbonensis, is the first certain provincial; two others possibly (7), or almost certainly (10) were from

[13] See A. R. Birley, *Gedenkschrift Eric Birley*, 97ff., for a discussion of 'Senators as generals'.

[14] G. Alföldy, *Chiron*, 11 (1981), 188f., repr. in id., *Die Römische Gesellschaft* (1986), 181f. See further ibid. 183ff. (176ff.) on the whole question of salaries for men in public service. He cites *inter alia* the inscription of the jurist Salvius Julianus, *CIL* viii. 24094 = *ILS* 8973, as evidence for quaestors receiving salaries (the amount is not stated).

the same province. But in the second and early third centuries, while Italy was certainly the home of one (35), and probably of a few others (20, 29, 37, also an uncertain governor, 23, and an acting-governor, 34), many more came from the provinces: Sicily (probably 17); Spain (22, 23, and probably 18); Dalmatia (21, 27); Africa (24, 31, 36, 39, 40, perhaps also 30); one probably from an eastern province (33). The origin of only a few (32, 38, 41) remains unknown (but 38 and 41 were probably provincials).

Governors of provinces such as Britain had ample opportunity for patronage. *Tribuni laticlavii* were often enough sons or sons-in-law of the governors, who clearly appointed them.[15] The governor also seems to have had a free hand in appointing equestrian officers and centurions. In 122, the earliest year for which the evidence for the garrison is more or less complete, there were three (if not still four) legions in the province, each with one senatorial and five equestrian tribunes and sixty centurions, and a little over fifty auxiliary regiments commanded by equestrian officers.[16] All these posts could in practice be filled by the governor, even if imperial approval was required. But the evidence suggests that governors normally could not nominate legionary legates, and presumably not *iuridici* either.[17] The prefect of the fleet was directly under the orders of the governor as commander-in-chief (Tac. *Agr.* 38. 3).

The governor had authority over four, later three, legionary legates, from time to time a *iuridicus*, and all other officers, was responsible for jurisdiction and the general administration of the province (*Dig.* 1. 18 lists a range of duties) but he was excluded from fiscal matters, reserved for the *procurator Augusti* (cf. *Dig.* 1. 16. 9, referring to proconsuls, but surely applying to all governors). All the same, legates of imperial provinces did no doubt have some oversight over the procurators' activities (as reported by *HA Hadr.* 3. 9, on Hadrian as legate of Pannonia Inferior).

The governors of Britain are referred to by Tacitus and other Latin writers variously as *consularis*, *legatus*, *legatus consularis*, *pro praetore*, sometimes as *dux*; later *praeses*; by Greek ones as στρατηγός, 'general', or ἄρχων, 'ruler'. On Latin inscriptions they are called *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, *consularis*, *praeses*, variously abbreviated; on Greek ones these terms are translated.[18]

[15] Literary evidence is given in *FRB* 9 n. 22; epigraphic cases are listed ibid. 11. More names could be added, e.g. C. Cilnius Ferox under C. Cilnius Proculus, *AE* 1946. 1, *CIL* xvi. 46; M. Messius Rusticianus, tribune of XV Apollinaris and III Gallica, under his father-in-law; cf. also the possible case of Tacitus (Trib. 9), who might have served under his father-in-law Agricola.

[16] On governors appointing equestrian officers see A. R. Birley, in J. J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army* (2003), 1ff. On the diploma of 122, *CIL* xvi. 69, and a few other regiments known see P. A. Holder, in Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army*, 118f.

[17] This is implied by Dio 62. 23. 6. One possible exception in Britain may be P. Mummius Sisenna (Gov. 22), under whom his son (LL 24) may have served. Cf. the list in *FRB* 19, table 4.

[18] A list is given in *FRB* 425ff.

1.1.2 The Governors' Staff

The governor had a headquarters staff, *officium*, drawn from the army in his province. A few members of it are attested in Britain, others can be postulated by inference from evidence in comparable provinces.[19] His staff was headed by three *cornicularii*, adjutants, drawn from the legions under his command. Further *officiales*, all drawn from military units in the province, included three *commentarienses*, secretaries; *speculatores*,[20] military policemen; *beneficiarii*,[21] special-duties men; *stratores*,[22] stables officers; *equisiones*,[23] grooms; and *singulares*,[24] guards, both mounted and infantry, drawn from the auxiliary regiments in the province—the exceptionally large auxiliary garrison no doubt meant that the guards of the governor of Britain were unusually numerous, perhaps 1,500 strong.[25] Tacitus stresses that Agricola 'declined to use freedmen or slaves for official business' and 'was not influenced by personal likings when choosing centurions or soldiers for staff appointments' (*Agr.* 19. 2). The legionary legates and *tribuni laticlavii* and other officers had staffs which were to some extent smaller scale versions of the above.[26]

1.1.3 The 'Capital' of the Province

It is commonly assumed that for some time after the conquest the governor's principal residence or headquarters was at Colchester (*Camulodunum*), where the first *colonia* was founded in 49 (see under Gov. 2), with a temple of Claudius, the seat of the emperor-cult. Further, it is assumed that, with the growth of London, the governor's headquarters was transferred there. But while there certainly seems sufficient evidence for the provincial procurator

[19] See Domaszewski, *RO*[2] xiff., 29ff.; R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum* (1997), 710ff. Only a selection is listed here. Examples from Britain are indicated in the next notes.

[20] *RIB* 19, London, probably after the division of the province, hence serving the legate of Britannia Superior.

[21] *b(ene)f(icarii) co(n)s(ularis)* are attested by *RIB* 88, 235, 602, 1030, 1031, 1085, 1089, 1225, 1599; cf. 745, 1696, *AE* 1971. 218, these three after the division of the province.

[22] *RIB* 233, Irchester: *strator co(n)s(ularis)*; *Britannia*, 8 (1977), 426f., Dover, *st(rator) co(n)s(ularis)*.

[23] *TV* ii. 310, Vindolanda: *equisio co(n)s(ularis)* (a post not in Domaszewski, *RO*[2]).

[24] *RIB* 1713, Vindolanda: *s(ingularis) c(onsularis)*; *TV* ii. 154, Vindolanda, *singulares leg(ati) officio Ferocis* (Ferox being probably acting-governor, see Gov. 12, LL 12); *AE* 1998. 552, Carlisle: *[eq(uiti) al]ae Sebosianae sing(ulari) Agricolae*. It has been suggested plausibly that the large fort (*c.*11 acres, 4. 4 hectares) at London, Cripplegate, housed the *singulares* of the governor: thus M. W. C. Hassall, in D. E. Strong (ed.), *Archaeological Theory and Practice* (1973), 231ff.; M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Armies* (1978), 2, 14, 128. Haensch, *Capita*, 124f., is sceptical.

[25] For a full list see Domaszewski, *RO*[2] xiff., 29ff.

[26] Domaszewski, *RO*[2] xiiiff., 38ff. For Britain note *RIB* 293+*add.*, 505, *beneficiarii* of legionary legates.

being based at London (see under Proc.), really clear evidence for the governor seems to be lacking.[27] Naturally, the governor as commander-in-chief was often on campaign in the north, and his headquarters staff must have moved with him (see under Gov. 12, 15, for some documentary evidence of governors' movements).

1.1.4 Local Government

As the governors had general oversight of civilian affairs, a brief outline of the local government institutions of the province is required.

The concilium provinciae

Emperor-worship, centred, at least at first, on the temple of Claudius at the *colonia* of Camulodunum, was no doubt conducted by the *concilium provinciae*, council of the province, with representatives from all the *civitates* in Britain. There is almost no evidence for its activity. It was presumably the *concilium* that chose a high-ranking patron to represent Britain's interests at Rome. Two are known, Vettius Valens, *iuridicus* under Hadrian (*iurid.* 3), and Julius Asper under Severus (see I. 6, Introduction). Otherwise, one may note two 'slaves of the province', probably employees of the *concilium*: one buried his wife at London; the name of the other is on a ring at Cramond.[28]

The four coloniae *and the* muncipium

Three *coloniae* for veterans were founded in Britain, at Colchester in 49, at Lincoln under Domitian, at Gloucester under Nerva. The fourth *colonia*, at York, was given this status early in the third century, probably by Caracalla. There is no evidence of councillors or magistrates at Colchester. A few are known from the other three. One decurion of Lincoln and one *sevir*, member of an organization, mainly of freedmen, which conducted emperor-worship, are known; and the *r(es)p(ublica) L(indensis)* erected a milestone at the town under Valerian. A town-ward, *vicus . . . Mercure(n)sium*, is also known.[29] Numerous tiles from Gloucester were stamped RPG, *r(es)p(ublica) G(levensium)*,

[27] See Haensch, *Capita*, 120ff.

[28] *RIB* 21, London: *Anencletus provinc(iae servus)*; ii. 2409. 35, Cramond: *Tertulli provinc(iae servus)* (interpreted in *RIB* as 'Provinc(ialis), (freedman) of Tertullus'. But the man was surely a slave rather than a freedman.)

[29] *RIB* 250, *Aur. Senecio, dec(urio)*; *AE* 1922. 116, M. Aurelius Lunaris, *sevir* of the *coloniae* of Eboracum and Lindum in Britannia Inferior; *RIB* 2240. Another possible *sevir* at Lincoln is known from *Britannia*, 10 (1979), 345. For the ward, *RIB* 270.

a good many with abbreviated names of *duoviri*, a few with those of *quinquennales*, the 'fifth-year' magistrates with special duties.[30] A tombstone at Bath commemorated a decurion of the *colonia* who died at 80.[31] For York two decurions, and perhaps one or two *duoviri*, are known;[32] further, two *seviri*.[33] The council or magistrates of the single known *municipium*, Verulamium—so described by Tacitus (*Ann.* 14. 33. 2)—may have been named on the fragmentary building inscription there set up under Julius Agricola's governorship.[34] No quaestors are recorded.

The civitates

There is a little evidence for the *civitates*. The *civitates* no doubt all acquired councils with magistrates of Roman type, similar to those in the *coloniae*, although very few are recorded. Milestones were erected by that of the Belgae (under Gordian III) and Dobunni (under Numerian).[35] The commonwealth, *[r]espub[lica]*, presumably of the Dobunni, is mentioned on a fragmentary stone from its chief town, Cirencester (*Corinium*).[36] Building inscriptions from Hadrian's Wall record work done, presumably in a rebuilding programme in the third or even fourth century, by the Brigantes, Catuvellauni, Dumnonii, and Durotrages (*sic*) Lendenienses (presumably a subdivision of the Durotriges of SW England).[37] A building was dedicated to Hadrian at Wroxeter (*Viroconium*) by the *civitas Cornov[iorum]*; and a statue was erected at Caerwent (*Venta*) by the 'commonwealth of the state of the Silures, by decree of the council', *ex decreto ordinis respubl(ica) civit(atis) Silurum*, to a former legate of II Augusta, who had been based at nearby Caerleon (*Isca*).[38] All that is known of London in this sphere is the mention of a town-ward, the *vicus Iovius*, on a sheet of lead—but this *vicus* need not have been in London.[39] One may note also a dedication there by a Gallic trader, *c(ivis) Bell(ovacus)*, calling himself 'first of the Londoners . . .', *Londiniensium primus*.[40] In the far north-west, a tombstone

[30] *RIB* ii. 2487. 1–42. There is also a lead sealing, 2411. 40, with RPG[.]A.

[31] *RIB* 161 (the name is missing).

[32] *RIB* 674, Flavius Bellator, *dec(urio) col(oniae) Eboracens(is)*; *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 308, Cla(udius) Florentinus, *dec(urio)*, son-in-law of an ex-prefect of the legion VI Victrix; *RIB* 648, *[IIvir(i)?] col(oniae) Ebur(acensis)*. Note also Ael(ia) Severa, *RIB* 683, whose rank *honesta femina*, 'honourable lady', must mean that her husband Caecil(ius) Rufus was a decurion.

[33] *RIB* 678, *sevir col(oniae) Ebor(acensis)*; for the other see n. 29 above.

[34] *JRS* 46 (1956), 146 f. = *AE* 1957. 169 (for this text see under Gov. 11). Cf. also ii. 2503. 114, a graffito perhaps recording a religious college of the *Ve(rulamenses?)*.

[35] *RIB* 2222, 2250.

[36] *RIB* 114.

[37] *RIB* 2022, 1962, 1843, 1672–3.

[38] *RIB* 288, 311 (for this text see II below).

[39] *RIB* ii. 2436. 9.

[40] *Britannia*, 34 (2003), 364, no. 5.

was set up at Old Penrith (*Voreda*) to a councillor with the rank of ex-quaestor in the state of the Carvetii, *sen(atori) in c(ivitate) Carvetior(um) qu(a)estorio*; the restoration *c(ivitate)* is guaranteed by two milestones, naming the *r(es)p(ublica) c(ivitatis) Car(vetiorum)* and the *c. Car.*[41] The *civitates* of the Cantiaci and Corieltauvi (formerly thought to have been called Coritani) are named respectively on a writing-tablet and a graffito.[42] A junior magistrate, *aedilis*, of the *vicus Petu[ar(iensis)]* is known at Brough-on-Humber (*Petuaria*).[43] Finally, an enigmatic altar was dedicated to the goddess Sattada (or Saitada) at Beltingham near *Vindolanda* by the *curia Textoverdorum*. Both the goddess and the people of the Textoverdi are otherwise unknown; and the exact meaning of *curia* is unclear, perhaps a latinization of a native British institution.[44]

Other forms of administration

During the first decades of Roman rule, some districts were left under British kings, clearly supervised and supported by the governors (see Appendix). Later, especially in the north, some areas are known to have been under military administration. Two or three men with the title 'centurion of the region', *7 (centurio) regionarius*, are known from Vindolanda writing-tablets of Trajanic date.[45] A centurion recorded at Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*) under Severus Alexander described himself as 'put in charge of the unit and of the region', *praep(ositus) n(umeri) et regi[onis]*.[46] A *7 reg.* dedicated an altar at Bath.[47] Similar officials, some perhaps with the title *praefectus civitatis*, may have been appointed elsewhere, for example, in Wales, but evidence is lacking. Some collective activity by the inhabitants of the civilian settlements, *vici*, outside forts, is attested. Dedications were made by the *vik(ani) Mag(lonenses)* at Old Carlisle (*Maglona*), the *vicani Vindolandesses* at *Vindolanda*, and the *vicani* living (*consistentes*) at the fort of *Velunias*, at Carriden on the Antonine Wall; and an inscription was set up at Housesteads (*Vercovicium*) 'by decree of the *vicani*', *d(ecreto) vicanorum*.[48]

[41] *RIB* 933 + *add.*; cf. *JRS* 55 (1965), 224, under Postumus; B. J. N. Edwards and D. C. A. Shotter, forthcoming in *CW*[3] 5 (2005): AD 223, giving the distance of 19 miles from *Lug(uvalium)*, Carlisle (information kindly supplied by David Shotter).

[42] *RIB* ii. 2443. 19 = 2504. 29; 2491. 150.

[43] *RIB* 707 + *add.*

[44] *RIB* 1695.

[45] *TV* ii. 250 + *add.*, *Annio Questori* [the latter name formerly read as *Equestri*] 7 *regionario*, evidently based at Carlisle (*Luguvalio*); III 653; perhaps also II 255 + *add.*

[46] RIB 587 + *add.*; see also 583 + *add.*, on which a similar title was formerly read.

[47] *RIB* 152; his *regio* may have been the Mendip mining-district. Cf. also *Britannia*, 32 (2001), 396: *reg. Lagitiense*, perhaps the *regio* around Castleford.

[48] *RIB* 899 + *add.* (cf. A. L. F. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (1979), 406 f.); 1700; *JRS* 47 (1957), 229; *RIB* 1616.

I.2

CLAUDIO-NERONIAN GOVERNORS

Britain had been within the orbit of Rome since Caesar's first invasion in 55 BC, nearly a century before the creation of the province of Britannia. One of his officers may even have reconnoitred the coast in 56, if the 'Publius Crassus' said by Strabo to have sailed across to the 'Cassiterides' islands (3. 5. 11, 176C), perhaps close to Britain, was Caesar's legate of that name.[1] Caesar says nothing about these islands in his account of his legate's campaign in Aquitania in 56 (*BG* 3. 11. 20–7). But in his long account of his campaigns in Britain, in 55 and 54 BC (*BG* 4. 20–36, 5. 8–23) he hardly names any of his officers: one in 55, three in 54.[2] When he left in 54, Caesar took hostages, imposed an annual tribute on Britain, and ordered his principal opponent, Cassivellaunus, to do no harm to the Trinovantes (*BG* 5. 22). Probably the intention was to establish a new province, but nothing came of it. His agent Commius of the Gallic Atrebates fell out with him in 52, fled to Britain, probably in 50 (Frontinus, *Strat.* 2. 13. 11), and established a kingdom in Hampshire and Sussex.[3]

Caesar's heir on three occasions apparently planned a new expedition: in 34 BC, 'having set out to campaign against Britain as well, in emulation of his father, and had already got as far as Gaul in the winter [34], when some of the newly conquered peoples, including the Dalmatians, rebelled' (Dio 49. 38. 2). Immediately after the 'constitutional settlement' of January 27 BC, Augustus 'also set out as if to make an expedition to Britain, but on coming to the Gallic provinces remained there, for the Britons seemed to him to be about to treat for peace, while affairs in Gaul were still unsettled' (53. 22. 5). Again in 26, 'Augustus was planning an expedition to Britain, since they were not willing to make a treaty'—but he was detained by the revolt of the Alpine Salassi and the war in NW Spain (53. 25. 2). The contemporary poets certainly appeared to expect a British expedition. In the 30s Virgil anticipated 'furthest Thule obeying Caesar [Octavian]' (*Georg.* 1. 30), and Horace wrote of 'Caesar about to go against the Britons, furthest away in the world' (*Odes* 1. 35. 29f.). A few years later Horace proclaimed that 'Augustus will be regarded as a very

[1] In *MRR* ii. 10 this passage in Strabo is cited under P. Licinius Crassus (*cos.* 97 BC), proconsul of Further Spain 96–93, not for Caesar's legate, ibid. 212.

[2] Only C. Volusenus (4. 21) who reconnoitred by ship before the invasion of 55; Q. Atrius, in charge of the fleet in 54 (5. 9. 1, 5. 10. 2); Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune who died in 54 (5. 15. 5); and the legate C. Trebonius in 54 (5. 17. 2). The presence of another legate in 54, Q. Tullius Cicero, is amply attested by his brother the orator's correspondence (*MRR* ii. 226).

[3] For the literary sources on Commius see F. Münzer, *RE* 4/1 (1900), 770f. See further on the archaeological and numismatic evidence S. S. Frere, *Britannia*[3] (1987), 28ff.

present divinity when the Britons have been added to the empire' (3. 5. 2–4: written before 23 BC).

However, Augustus clearly decided that conquest was not worth it: tax-revenues would be outweighed by the expense of a garrison, and less than realized by customs duties on trade with Britain (Strabo 2. 5. 8). He preferred diplomacy: 'now certain British dynasts gained Caesar Augustus' friendship by embassies and services, placed offerings on the Capitol, and made almost the whole island familiar to the Romans' (Strabo 4. 5. 3). Augustus also gave refuge to two British kings who were expelled, as proclaimed in his *Res Gestae* (32. 1), *Dumnovellaunus et Tin[ ]*; the latter, whose name was formerly restored as Tin[commius], from the house of Commius, turns out to have been called Tincomarus.[4] This benign neglect, 'long oblivion', was continued by Tiberius (Tac. *Agr.* 13. 2). Meanwhile one British king, Cunobelinus, from his base at Colchester (*Camulodunum*), gained control of much of southern England, except for the Commian kingdom.[5]

The flight to Caligula of Adminius, expelled by his father Cunobelinus (Suet. *Gaius* 44. 2), doubtless helped to revive the idea of conquest, which would have appealed anyway to an emperor called 'Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus', whose last name no doubt also inspired an attempt to repeat his father's German wars. In the event nothing came of either enterprise, launched in 40. There was a brief incursion across the Rhine; the invasion across the Channel, apparently planned, was abandoned after a lighthouse was built at Boulogne.[6]

Shortly after this Cunobelinus died; and another exiled British prince, Verica, called 'Bericus' by Dio (60. 19. 1, quoted below),[7] presented himself to the new emperor Claudius, who thus had his *casus belli*. Claudius desperately needed military prestige. His motives for carrying out the invasion and his celebration of the victory are treated below (at the end of Gov. 1). His initial object may have been only to annexe southern Britain, in effect the old kingdom of Cunobelinus at its maximum extent, and to control the rest of the island by treaty-relationships with British rulers (see Appendix). Still, Plautius was apparently told by Claudius 'to subjugate the remaining parts'; and expansion certainly continued until the great rebellion in 60. The previous

[4] C. E. A. Cheesman, *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 309ff.

[5] Frere, *Britannia*[3], 29ff.

[6] Frere, *Britannia*[3], 44ff. Dio (59. 21. 3) says that Caligula 'was very annoyed at his lieutenants having achieved something'. Discussing this passage in the light of archaeological evidence, J. Creighton, in S. James and M. Millett (eds.), *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda* (2001), 7, 11, suggests that 'some soldiers actually did campaign in Britain', cf. ibid. 11: '[p]erhaps his generals genuinely did achieve something in Britain, despite the hostile literary tradition to which he has been subjected'. But the lieutenants' achievement may refer to the brief campaign across the Rhine, mentioned just before the aborted invasion of Britain.

[7] Frere, *Britannia*[3], 28, 30ff., 36ff., 45.

career of Plautius' immediate successor, Ostorius Scapula, is unknown, but the next three governors, Didius Gallus, Veranius, and Suetonius Paullinus, all had previous experience of mountain warfare. This may have influenced their choice for Britain: all campaigned in Wales. The last two governors appointed by Nero were evidently instructed to refrain from further advances.

1. 43–47 Aulus Plautius, Auli filius, Aniensis (*cos.* 29)

Tac. *Agr.* 14. 1: *consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius; redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae.*

14. 1: The first of the consulars to be placed in command was Aulus Plautius, soon followed by Ostorius Scapula, both of them outstanding soldiers; and the nearest part of Britain was gradually reduced to the form of a province.

Tac. *Ann.* 11. 36. 4 (under AD 48): *Suillio Caesonino et Plautio Laterano mors remittitur, huic ob patrui egregium meritum*

11. 36. 4: Suillius Caesoninus and Plautius Lateranus were spared death, the latter because of his uncle's outstanding service.

13. 32. 2 (under AD 57): *et Pomponia Graecina, insignis femina, Plautio, quem ovasse de Britannis rettuli, nupta ac superstitionis externae rea, mariti iudicio permissa*

13. 32. 2: And Pomponia Graecina, a distinguished woman, married to Plautius—of whom I have reported that he celebrated an ovation over the Britons—and accused of adherence to a foreign superstition, was assigned to be judged by her husband.

Suet. *D. Claud.* 24. 3: *Aulo Plautio etiam ovationem decrevit ingressoque urbem obviam progressus et in Capitolium eunti et inde rursus revertenti latus texit*

24. 3: He [Claudius] even decreed an ovation for Aulus Plautius and went to meet him as he entered the city and stood at his side as he went to the Capitol and again as he returned from there.

Suet. *D. Vesp.* 4. 1: *inde in Britanniam translatus tricies cum hoste conflixit. duas validissimas gentes superque viginti oppida et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam in dicionem redegit partim Auli Plauti legati consularis partim Claudi ipsius ductu*

4. 1: Having been transferred from there to Britain, he [Vespasian] fought thirty times against the enemy. He reduced two very strong peoples to submission, as well as twenty *oppida* and the island Vectis [Wight], close to Britain, partly under the command of Aulus Plautius the consular legate, partly under that of Claudius himself.

Dio 60. 19–21: While these things were happening in the city, at the same time Aulus Plautius, a senator of great renown, campaigned against Britain. For a certain Bericus, having been driven out of the island in an internal strife, persuaded Claudius to send an army there. 2. And Plautius, having taken up the command, had difficulty in leading the army out of Gaul. For the soldiers took it ill that they were to campaign outside the inhabited world, and did not obey him until Narcissus [*the freedman ab epistulis*], sent by Claudius, mounted Plautius' platform and wished to address them. 3. At this they became much angrier and would not allow him to say anything, but suddenly shouted with one voice the well-known cry, 'Io Saturnalia!'—for at the

Saturnalia the slaves change into their masters' clothing and conduct the festival—and at once willingly followed Plautius. Now they had as a result made their embarkation late, 4. and they were divided into three divisions, so that they should not be hindered at their landing, as would happen if they crossed as a single one. During their voyage across they were disheartened when they were driven back, but recovered their courage when a bright light, rising in the east, shot across to the west, in the direction in which they were sailing; and they put in to the island with no one opposing them. 5. For, after what they had learned, the Britons were not expecting that they would come, and had not assembled beforehand. Even when they did so, they did not come to close quarters, but fled into the marshes and woods, hoping to wear out the Romans in fruitless effort so that, just as had happened with Julius Caesar, they would sail back again without accomplishing anything.

20. 1. Plautius, therefore, had great difficulty in searching them out, but when he did at last find them—they were not independent but were divided into groups under various kings—he defeated first Caratacus and then Togodumnus, sons of Cunobellinus; for the latter had died. 2. When these kings took to flight, he gained the submission of part of the Bodunni [=Dobunni], over whom the Catuvellauni were ruling, and then advanced further, leaving a garrison. When they came to a river, which the barbarians thought that the Romans would not be able to cross without a bridge—and they had as a result camped without much care on the opposite bank—he sent across Germans whose custom was to swim easily in full armour across rough waters. 3. The latter fell unexpectedly upon the enemy and did not aim at any of the men but wounded the horses that drew their chariots. Because of this the enemy were in confusion, and not even the charioteers could save themselves. He then sent across both Flavius Vespasianus (who afterwards became emperor) and his brother Sabinus, his legates. 4. So they too crossed the river somehow, and killed many of the barbarians, who were not expecting them. The rest did not take to flight, however, but on the next day joined battle with them again. This was indecisive until Gaius Hosidius Geta, who at first was in danger of being captured, defeated them so decisively that he received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, although he had not been consul. 5. From here the Britons retreated to the River Tamesas [Thames], close to where it empties into the ocean and at flood-tide forms a lake. This they crossed easily because they knew exactly where the firm ground and the easy fords were, 6. whereas the Romans, in attempting to follow them, were unsuccessful. But the Germans swam across again and some others crossed by a bridge a little further up, and attacked the barbarians from many sides at the same time and cut down many of them. But in their incautious pursuit of the remainder they fell into marshes from which it was difficult to get out, and lost many men.

21. 2. Because Togodumnus perished, the Britons not only did not surrender but united even more firmly to avenge his death. As a result of this, Plautius became anxious and did not advance further but garrisoned what he had in his power and sent for Claudius. 2. For his instructions were to do this if stubborn resistance were met, and a great deal of equipment, including elephants, had been assembled for the expedition. When the message arrived, Claudius entrusted affairs at home, including command over the troops, to Lucius Vitellius, his colleague [in the consulship]—whom he had made to stay in office, like himself, for a full six months—and himself set out for the war. 3. He sailed down to Ostia and from there along the coast to Massalia [Marseille], from which, partly by land and partly by the rivers, he came to the ocean and crossed to Britain. He joined the legions waiting for him by the Tamesas. 4. Taking command over them, he crossed that river and engaged the barbarians, who had gathered at his approach, defeated them in battle and captured Camulodunum [Colchester], the royal seat of Cunobellinus. Thereafter he won over numerous states, some of which surrendered, while some were subdued by force, and was hailed as *imperator* frequently—contrary to

precedent, for no one should receive this acclamation more than once for the same war. He disarmed them and handed them over to Plautius, instructing him to subjugate the remaining parts, and himself left for Rome, sending ahead the announcement of the victory through his sons-in-law Magnus and Silanus. 22. 1. The senate, learning of his achievement, granted him the title Britannicus and permission to hold a triumph. They also decreed that there should be an annual festival and two triumphal arches, one in the city and one in Gaul, from where he had set out when he crossed to Britain. 2. They granted his son the same title as himself and in a certain way the boy was regularly called Britannicus . . . 23. 1. Thus parts of Britain were conquered at this time. After this . . . [in AD 44] Claudius came to Rome after six months' absence, of which he had spent only sixteen days in Britain, and celebrated the triumph.

Dio. 60. 30. 2: Plautius was both praised by Claudius for the British war, as having conducted it skilfully and successfully, and held a triumph for it.

Eutropius 7. 13. 2–3: *Britanniae bellum intulit [sc. Claudius], quam nullus Romanorum post Iulium Caesarem attigerat, eaque devicta per Cn. Sentium et A. Plautium, illustres et nobiles viros, triumphum celebrem egit.* 3. *quasdam insulas etiam ultra Britannias in Oceano positas imperio Romano addidit, quae appellantur Orchades. filio autem suo Brittanici nomen imposuit. tam civilis autem circa quosdam amicos exstitit, ut etiam Plautium, nobilem virum, qui in expeditione Britannica multa egregie fecerat, triumphantem ipse prosequeretur, et conscendenti Capitolium laevus incederet.*

7. 13. 2: He [Claudius] made war on Britain, which none of the Romans had touched after Julius Caesar, and after it was conquered by Gnaeus Sentius and Aulus Plautius, illustrious and noble men, he held a notable triumph. 3. Furthermore, he added to the Roman empire the islands situated in the Ocean beyond the Britains, which are called the Orcades. He also gave his son the name Britannicus. Moreover, he behaved so much like a normal citizen in relation to certain friends, that he even personally escorted Plautius in his triumph, a noble man, who had done many things in outstanding fashion in the British expedition, and walked on his left side as he was ascending the Capitol.

The selection of A. Plautius—he had no *cognomen*, although sometimes called A. Plautius Silvanus by modern writers[8]—to command the invasion force can readily be explained, even though little is known of his previous experience.[9] 'A political alliance with the Plautii was good Claudian tradition', Syme observed.[10] It is not known whether these Plautii claimed descent from the great fourth-century BC plebeian nobles of this name—it would have been with doubtful justification, even if Claudius was prepared to believe it.[11] The family of Plautii to which the governor belonged came from the Sabine town of Trebula Suffenas, in *regio* IV of Italy, and were enrolled in the Aniensis

[8] e.g. by H. Furneaux in his edn of the *Annals*, ii[2] (1907), Introd., 132, and by Griffin, *Seneca*, 244. For details of his career see esp. *PIR*[2] P 457; cf. stemmata, opposite p. 196; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, stemma IV.

[9] On *uterque bello egregius* in *Agr.* 14. 1 see below.

[10] R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), 422 and n. 3, commenting on the career under Augustus of M. Plautius Silvanus (*cos. ord.* 2 BC), first cousin of A. Plautius' father (now *PIR*[2] P 478).

[11] Any link with the censor of 312 BC, C. Plautius Venox, colleague of the famous Ap. Claudius Caecus (*MRR* i. 160)—relations between the two were hardly friendly—must be discounted. Plautii were consuls in 358, 347, 341, 330, 329, 328 and 318. See generally on the Republican Plautii F. Münzer, *RE* 21/1 (1951), 1 ff.

tribe.[12] No Plautii are known to have held office in the third century BC, but they emerged again in the second, with L. Plautius Hypsaeus, praetor in Hispania Citerior in 189 BC, C. Plautius, praetor in Hispania Ulterior in 146, and M. Plautius Hypsaeus, consul in 125; and P. Plautius Hypsaeus was praetor in the 50s of the first century. The Hypsaei certainly claimed descent from the fourth-century Plautii.[13] But there are no signs of any connection between them and the other Plautii, the governor's ancestors. The latter first achieved distinction in the late Republic: an A. Plautius was legate in the Social War in 90 and 87 BC; his presumed son of the same name was possibly first active as tribune of the plebs in 69, legate of Pompey in the 60s, and praetor in 51 BC; M. Plautius Silvanus was tribune of the plebs in 89 BC and joint proposer of two or perhaps three laws.[14]

These Plautii rose rapidly under the principate. The first to reach the summit was M. Plautius Silvanus, grandson of the praetor of 51 BC, probably assisted by his mother Urgulania, a close friend of Augustus' wife Livia. Silvanus was Augustus' colleague in the consulship in 2 BC, held important commands in Galatia-Pamphylia and Illyricum, and was awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia*.[15] Silvanus' first cousin A. Plautius, father of the governor, was suffect consul the following year, 1 BC,[16] and shortly before Augustus' death Silvanus' daughter Urgulanilla was married to the young Claudius; she bore him a son, who died in childhood. That she was divorced by Claudius for adultery (and worse) did not hold up the family's advance; nor did the suicide of Urgulanilla's brother Silvanus in shocking circumstances during his praetorship in 24.[17] A. Plautius' own branch of the family had forged valuable, if less glittering, marriage connections. His mother was a Vitellia, from a family soon to achieve great influence, and his sister was married to P. Petronius (*cos.* 19), later called 'an old boon companion of Claudius'.[18] A daughter of that match was to marry the future emperor Vitellius, a son of L.

[12] L. R. Taylor, *MAAR* 24 (1956), 9ff.

[13] Münzer, *RE* 21/1 (1951), 11ff., esp. 17: P. Plautius Hypsaeus struck denarii on which C. Plautius Decianus, the consul of 329 BC, was given the *cognomen* Hypsaeus.

[14] Ibid. 6ff. (nos. 7–8), 20ff. (no. 29); cf. *MRR* I+supp.

[15] R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (1986), 73, 87f., 289, 333, 339, 430; *PIR*² P 478, cf. the stemma ibid., opposite p. 196.

[16] *PIR*² P 456.

[17] Urgulanilla was divorced by Claudius for adultery and suspected murder (Suet., *D. Claud.* 26. 2), perhaps in 27; her brother had committed suicide in 24, while praetor, after he was discovered to have murdered his wife Apronia by throwing her out of the window. His previous wife, Fabia Numantina, a patrician, allegedly drove him mad by magical practices, but was acquitted (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 22. 1ff.). The *cognomen* of Urgulanilla's other brother, P. Plautius Pulcher, suggests that the family had intermarried with the Claudii Pulchri. Cf. for these Plautii *PIR*² P 472, 479, 488.

[18] Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, nos. 606, 816; cf. her stemmata III and IV. Vitellia was an aunt of L. Vitellius. Seneca, *Apoc.* 14. 2 calls P. Petronius *vetus convictor eius, homo Claudiana lingua disertus*. On him cf. also under Gov. 6.

Vitellius (*cos.* 34, *II ord.* 43, *III ord.* 47), who was to be Claudius' most influential senatorial adviser.[19] A. Plautius' own wife was Pomponia Graecina, daughter of C. Pomponius Graecinus (*cos.* 16) and niece of L. Pomponius Flaccus (*cos. ord.* 17), both friends of Ovid; and Flaccus was a favourite drinking companion of Tiberius.[20] Pomponia was a friend of Tiberius' granddaughter Julia.[21]

Plautius is almost certainly 'Aulus the quaestor of Tiberius', who wrote down the text of the *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* in December AD 20. The last lines of the decree quote Tiberius as follows: 'I, Ti(berius) Caesar Augustus, (holding the) tribunician power for the twenty-second time, have written (this) with my own hand: I would like this decree of the senate, which was passed on my proposal on the fourth day before the Ides of December in the consulship of Cotta and Messalla [10 December 20] and was written in his own hand on fourteen tablets by my quaestor Aulus (*scriptum manu Auli q(uaestoris) mei*), to be placed in the public archives'. The fact that the quaestor is named only by *praenomen* may be a sign of Tiberius' special trust, as the editors comment. His quaestorship must have begun shortly before this, on 5 December 20, and lasted until 4 December 21.[22] If he entered office at the normal age, 24, his date of birth may be calculated as 5 BC (if he had children, each could have secured him a year's remission). He presumably served as *vigintivir c.*14 and thereafter might have been military tribune. He could have served under Germanicus in Germany, 15–16, or under L. Pomponius Flaccus (*cos. ord.* 17), his wife's uncle, in Moesia.[23] Plautius was urban praetor in 26 and consul suffect for the second half of 29, aged only 32 or 33.[24] He could have held a legionary command before or after his praetorship, but, again, this is speculation. Tacitus' remark that Plautius and Scapula were 'both outstanding in war' (*Agr.* 14. 1), could just mean that they performed well in Britain, rather than refer to previous experience. As Plautius is not known to have been patrician, he had presumably had to serve as tribune of the plebs or aedile between the quaestorship and praetorship.[25] The fall of Sejanus in 31 left the family unscathed. His presumed younger brother Q. Plautius was

[19] On L. Vitellius see most recently E. Dąbrowa, *The Governors of Roman Syria* (1998), 38ff., with full references.

[20] *PIR*² P 715, 717, stemma p. 318.

[21] Tac. *Ann.* 13. 32. 2f. *PIR*² P 775.

[22] W. Eck, A. Caballos, and F. Fernández, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (1996), 50f., ll. 174–6; see their discussion, 103ff.

[23] W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 439ff.

[24] He was previously thought to have suppressed the slave uprising in Apulia in 24 (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 27). But the A. Plautius named in the inscription of [M. Aedi]us Celer, *legatus missus [a Ti. Caes. Aug. c]um A. Plautio in Apulia [ad servos to]rquendos*, must be much earlier, *c.*9/10, and can be identified with his father: see G. Camodeca, *Il territorio Allifano: archeologia, arte, storia* (1990), 123ff., revising *CIL* ix. 2335 = *ILS* 961 = *AE* 1990. 222; Eck *et al.*, *Senatus consultum*, 105f.; *PIR*² P 456. The praetorship is now dated to 26 by a new fragment of the *Fasti fratrum Arvalium*, *AE* 1987. 163.

[25] Cf. Eck *et al.*, *Senatus consultum*, 106.

consul in 36, and his brother-in-law P. Petronius proconsul of Asia from 29 to 35 and governor of Syria, as successor to L. Vitellius, in 39.[26]

Plautius was certainly a consular governor early in Claudius' reign: in that capacity he had a road built in the *ager Tergestinus*.[27] Responsibility for this could have fallen to the governor of either Dalmatia or Pannonia. But as Plautius took one of the Pannonian legions, IX Hispana, to Britain, Pannonia seems likelier.[28] The latest governor known before this, C. Calvisius Sabinus (*cos. ord.* 26), had been recalled and forced to suicide in 39. Plautius was probably his immediate successor.[29] If so, he was in a key position at the time of Claudius' turbulent accession in January 41. Even more significant would be his role in 42, during the abortive coup by Camillus Scribonianus in Dalmatia.[30]

All these factors—family tradition (authentic or not), the influence of his cousin through Urgulania's friendship with Livia, his own connections, especially with the Petronii and Vitellii,[31] and his opportunities for gaining Claudius' gratitude in 41–2—combined to make Plautius an ideal choice to conduct so important an undertaking as the invasion of Britain. Three of the legionary legates who served under him are known: T. Flavius Vespasianus, the future emperor, his brother Sabinus (both protégés of L. Vitellius), and C. Hosidius Geta (LL 1–3). Plautius' kinsman Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (*Com. Aug.* 5) was one of Claudius' numerous *comites* on the expedition (*Com. Aug.* 1–12).

All the sources agree that Plautius acquitted himself well, although the *ovatio*, or 'minor triumph', that he was awarded in 47 was perhaps intended not least to enhance Claudius' glory. The honour, unique in this era, was never repeated. Eutropius' statement that 'Britain was conquered by Gnaeus Sentius' as well as by Plautius is baffling. Tacitus and Dio make clear that Plautius commanded the invasion force and remained as first governor.

[26] *PIR*² P 459; 269; Dąbrowa, *Syria*, 42 ff.

[27] *CIL* v. 698 = *ILS* 5889, near Materia, between Trieste and Rijeka. A *primipilaris* and a centurion restored the road, on the orders of Claudius, *post sententiam dictam ab A. Plautio, legato Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germ.*

[28] As first pointed out by E. Ritterling, *AEM* 20 (1897), 8 f.; see also id., *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1666.

[29] Details in Thomasson, *LP* i. 100, nos. 8 and 9 (firmly for Plautius governing Pannonia, not Dalmatia).

[30] T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 72 (1982), 60 ff., regards Plautius as one of four potential rivals to Claudius: two were urged to claim the throne, Galba (Suet. *Galba* 7. 1) and Camillus Scribonianus (Dio 60. 15. 2), 'and we may be sure that messages went from Rome to Appius Silanus and Aulus Plautius too, in the hope that one of them would challenge the shambling pedant whom the Praetorians had foisted on a resentful Senate. Galba (we are told) and Plautius (we may infer) did nothing, and thus earned Claudius' undying gratitude' (Wiseman, 62 f.). The next year Silanus was recalled to Rome and executed; and Camillus made his move (ibid. 63).

[31] It may be noted that Petronius' successor in Syria, appointed in 42, C. Vibius Marsus (*cos.* 17), also belonged to this nexus: he was father-in-law of P. Plautius Pulcher (above n. 17): Dąbrowa, *Syria*, 44 ff.

Saturninus, *cos. ord.* 41, at the time of Caligula's murder, was probably only a *comes* of Claudius (*Com. Aug.* 8), but may have had some special role.[32] Eutropius' further statement (copied by Jerome, *Chron.* p. 179g Helm, and other late writers) that Claudius added the Orkneys to the empire is also surprising. Tacitus (*Agr.* 10. 4) firmly states that they were 'unknown' before Agricola's fleet conquered them in 83 (see under Gov. 11). Perhaps token submission was given by an Orcadian ruler, as one of the 'eleven kings of the Britons' that Claudius claimed to have conquered.[33]

The dating of the governorship is firm. He arrived in Britain in summer 43 and was back at Rome for his *ovatio* in 47. One of his legionary legates (LL 1), Flavius Sabinus, was also back at Rome in 47, becoming consul that summer. The full account of Plautius' governorship that Tacitus must have supplied in the *Annals* is lost and Dio only describes the invasion itself (in somewhat garbled fashion).[34] He clearly left Britain firmly within the Roman orbit: only Wales and Scotland remained to be conquered; virtually the whole of England was either under direct Roman rule, or indirectly controlled by client-rulers—of the Atrebates and their neighbours, the Iceni, and the Brigantes (see under Gov. 2). But his successors were to find that control over the Iceni and Brigantes was fragile.

Plautius' prestige rescued his nephew Lateranus, one of Messallina's lovers, from the fate meted out to her and others after the Silius affair in 48 (Tac. *Ann.* 11. 36. 4, quoted above); and one of Nero's first recorded acts after his accession was to restore Lateranus to the senate (13. 11. 2). Plautius was still alive in 57, when his wife was accused of practising a foreign religion; he was permitted to try her himself, and found her innocent. Tacitus remarks that Graecina had put on mourning garb when her friend Julia, Tiberius' granddaughter, was killed by Messallina's contriving—in 43 (Dio 60. 18. 4)—and wore it until her death forty years later (*Ann.* 13. 32. 2–3, quoted in part above; Tacitus probably knew her).[35] A few years later another member of the

[32] E. W. Black, *Britannia*, 31 (2000), 1ff., argues that Sentius played a major role in the invasion; his views are criticized by S. S. Frere and M. Fulford, *Britannia*, 32 (2001), 51ff., who speculate that Sentius was responsible for reorganizing the Atrebatic client-kingdom.

[33] Most reject the statement as a mistake; but C. E. Stevens, *CR* 1 (1951), 7ff., suggested that token submission may have been secured; A. P. Fitzpatrick, *Scottish Archaeological Forum*, 6 (1989), 24ff., produces archaeological evidence for Roman contact with the Orkneys at this time. The 'eleven kings': from the Arch at Rome, quoted below, n. 55.

[34] A. A. Barrett, *Britannia*, 11 (1980), 31ff., points out mistakes in Dio's chronology. Cf. also J. G. F. Hind, *Britannia*, 20 (1989), 1ff., interpreting the invasion route differently, and E. W. Black, *Britannia*, 28 (1997), 306f., arguing that Dio has made two battles at river-crossings out of one: against these views, see Frere and Fulford, *Britannia*, 32 (2001), 45ff., esp. 51ff.

[35] Syme, *Tacitus*, 532 n. 5; for Julia, *PIR*^{2} J 636. There has been much discussion of Graecina's religion and it has often been supposed that she was a Christian—hence her role, with her husband, in the novel (and film) *Quo Vadis?* M. Hofmann, *RE* 21/1 (1951), 29, suggests (as a joke, perhaps?) that she was a devotee of Druidism.

family, namesake of the governor, was put to death, along with others 'connected to Nero by marriage links'. He was evidently suspected of aiming for the throne, urged by Agrippina, whose lover he was (Suet. *Nero* 35. 4). In spite of the shared *praenomen*, the young A. Plautius probably belonged to the other branch of the family.[36]

Plautius' date of death is unknown: his reputation as conqueror of Britain, if not necessarily his personal intervention, perhaps influenced the selection of his sister's son, P. Petronius Turpilianus (*cos. ord.* 61), to govern the province after the Boudican revolt (Gov. 6). But he was surely dead by 65, when his nephew Lateranus, then consul designate, was killed for his part in the conspiracy of Piso: Plautius is not mentioned in this connection.[37] No direct descendants are known, but the name was continued for several generations by the Plautii Silvani Aeliani, notably including the mother of L. Aelius Caesar.[38]

Suetonius makes Claudius' motive for the invasion of Britain clear:

D. Claud. 17. 1. *cum . . . vellet . . . iusti triumphi decus, unde adquireret Britanniam potissimum elegit, neque temptatam ulli post Divum Iulium et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas.*

When he wanted the glory of a real triumph, he chose Britain as the most favourable place from which to acquire one, it having not been attempted by anyone since the Deified Julius and being in a state of tumult because of the refugees who had not been sent back.

In spite of his limited personal participation—only sixteen days in Britain (Dio 60. 23. 1)—Claudius extracted maximum credit from the conquest. Apart from the triumph, the title Britannicus, transferred to his son, the triumphal arches,[39] and various monuments in the provinces,[40] a cycle of epigrams in praise of the success has survived.[41] The geographer Pomponius Mela referred to the conquest shortly before the triumph in 44:

3. 49: *Britannia qualis sit qualesque progeneret, mox certiora et magis explorata dicentur. Quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce principum maximus, nec indomitarum modo ante se verum ignotarum quoque gentium victor, propriarum rerum fidem ut bello affectavit, ita triumpho declaraturus portat.*

What Britain is like and what sort of people it produces will soon be told more definitely and after more exploration. For behold, the greatest of emperors has opened up the island that was

[36] *PIR*² P 458; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 797, and others prefer to suppose that he was a son of P. Plautius Pulcher (n. 17 above).

[37] Tac. *Ann.* 15. 49. 3, 53. 2; 60. 1; Epictetus 1. 1. 19. His Rome mansion, the Lateran, was confiscated (Juv. 10. 15–18).

[38] *PIR*² A 204–5, P 480, 483–4; Syme, *Athenaeum*, 35 (1957), 306ff. = id., *RP* i. 335ff.; A. R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*² (1987), 238, 246f.

[39] See the coins with the reverse legend DE BRITANN on the architrave of a triumphal arch, surmounted by an equestrian statue between two trophies: *RIC* i, Claudius 8ff., struck between 46/7 and 51/2.

[40] Notably that in the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias in Caria: K. Erim, *Britannia*, 13 (1982), 277ff.; R. R. R. Smith, *JRS* 77 (1987), 115ff.

[41] *Anth. Lat.* 419–26 Riese. See above all the improved text and discussion by I. Borzsák, *AAH* 35 (1994), 117ff.

so long closed, a conqueror not only over peoples that before him were unsubdued but over previously unknown ones as well. Just as he has asserted through war the certainty of ownership, he will confirm this through a triumph. [*In 3. 50–4 further information about Britain, Ireland, and the Orkneys is added.*]

Claudius, while pretending that he would not boast, still managed to mention 'the glory of extending the empire beyond the Ocean' in his famous speech in 48, on the admission of Gallic notables to the senate.[42] More publicity followed when the next governor captured Caratacus.

2. 47–52 Publius Ostorius, Publii(?) filius, Scapula (*cos.* before 47)

Tacitus is the only source for Scapula's governorship, but his account in the *Annals* is very full.

Tac. *Agr.* 14. 1: *consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius; redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae, addita insuper veteranorum colonia. quaedam civitates Togidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges.*

The first of the consulars to be placed in command was Aulus Plautius, soon followed by Ostorius Scapula, both of them outstanding soldiers; and the part of Britain nearest to us was gradually shaped into a province and was given a *colonia* of veterans as well. Certain states were granted to Togidumnus[43] as king: he remained loyal up to the time I myself can remember. It is an ancient and now long-established practice of the Roman people to use even kings as instruments of enslavement.

Tac. *Ann.* 12. 31. 1–40. 1 (selected passages): *at in Britannia P. Ostorium pro praetore turbidae res excepere, effusis in agrum sociorum hostibus eo violentius, quod novum ducem exercitu ignoto et coepta hieme obviam iturum non rebantur.* 2. *ille gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni, citas cohortes rapit et, caesis qui resisterant, disiectos consectatus, ne rursus conglobarentur infensaque et infida pax non duci, non militi requiem permitteret, detrahere arma suspectis cunctosque cis Trisantonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat.* 3. *quod primi Iceni abnuere, valida gens nec proeliis contusi, quia ad societatem nostram volentes accesserant. hisque auctoribus circumiectae nationes locum pugnae delegere saeptum agresti aggere et aditu angusto, ne pervius equiti foret.* 4. *ea munimenta dux Romanus, quamquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, perrumpere adgreditur et distributis cohortibus turmas quoque peditum ad munia accingit. tunc dato signo perfringunt aggerem suisque claustris impeditos turbant. atque illi conscientia rebellionis et obsaeptis effugiis multa et clara facinora fecere. qua pugna filius legati M. Ostorius servati civis decus meruit.* 32. 1. *ceterum clade Icenorum compositi qui bellum inter et pacem dubitabant, et ductus in Decangos exercitus. vastati agri, praedae passim actae, non ausis aciem hostibus, vel, si ex occulto carpere agmen temptarent, punito dolo. iamque ventum haud procul mari, quod Hiberniam insulam adspectat, cum ortae apud Brigantas discordiae retraxere ducem destinationis certum, ne nova moliretur nisi prioribus firmatis.* 2. *et Brigantes quidem, paucis qui arma coeptabant interfectis, in reliquos data venia, resedere: Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret castrisque legionum premenda foret. id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camulodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur in agros*

[42] *ILS* 212, col. I, ll. 39–40.

[43] For the spelling *T*ogidumnus in Tacitus or *[Ti.] Claudius [To]gidubnus* in his inscription see Appendix.

captivos, subsidium adversus rebelles et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum. 33. *itum inde in Siluras, super propriam ferociam Carataci viribus confisos, quem multa ambigua, multa prospera extulerant, ut ceteros Britannorum imperatores praemineret. sed tum astu locorumque fraude prior, vi militum inferior, transfert bellum in Ordovicas, additisque qui pacem nostram metuebant, novissimum casum experitur . . .*

31. 1. But in Britain a stormy situation greeted Publius Ostorius, the propraetor: the enemy had poured into the territory of the allies, the more violently because they did not think that a new general, with an army he did not know and after the beginning of winter, would set out against them. 2. But he, aware that fear or self-confidence are created by what is undertaken at the start, hastily brought up fast-moving cohorts. He killed those that resisted and pursued those that were scattered, so that they should not band together again, meaning a treacherous peace which would allow respite for neither general nor soldiers. Then he prepared to deprive the untrustworthy of their arms and to restrain all those on the near side of the Rivers Trisantona [Trent?] and Sabrina [Severn]. 3. The Iceni, a strong people and not crushed by battles, because they had voluntarily joined in alliance with us, were the first to reject this measure. On their initiative, the adjacent states selected a place for battle defended by a rustic rampart and with a narrow point of access, so that it would not be permeable by cavalry. 4. The Roman general, although commanding allied forces without the strength of the legions, began to force a way through those defences, and, deploying the cohorts, also equipped the squadrons from the infantry units for the task. Then, when the signal was given, they burst through the rampart and threw the enemy, impeded by their own barricades, into confusion. And the latter, because they were aware that they were rebels and that their possible places of refuge were blocked off, performed many outstanding deeds. In this battle the legate's son, Marcus Ostorius, earned the decoration for saving a fellow-citizen's life. 32. 1. For the rest, those who were hesitating between war and peace were quietened down by the disaster to the Iceni, and the army was led against the Decangi. Their lands were ravaged and booty was collected everywhere. The enemy did not dare an open battle, and if they tried to harry the column from a concealed position their trickery was punished. And already the sea which faces the island of Hibernia [Ireland] had nearly been reached when dissension arising among the Brigantes drew back the general, who was fixed in his resolution not to undertake new goals until previous gains had been secured. 2. And the Brigantes, for their part, after a few who had taken up arms had been killed and the remainder had been pardoned, settled down again. But the people of the Silures would not be influenced, either by harshness or by clemency, to stop waging war, and had to be put under pressure by a legionary fortress. In order that this could be carried out the more readily, the *colonia* of Camulodunum [Colchester] was founded on conquered territory with a strong band of veterans, as protection against rebels and to instil law-abiding conduct into the provincials. 33. 1. Then the campaign was launched against the Silures, who, apart from their natural defiance, relied on the prowess of Caratacus. Many indecisive encounters and many successes had boosted his reputation, so that he was pre-eminent among all the other commanders of the Britons. However, at that time, being superior in cunning and in stratagems for which local knowledge was needed, but inferior in numbers of soldiers, he transferred the war to the Ordovices. He was joined by those who feared our peace and risked his fate . . . [*The rest of 33 describes Caratacus' chosen place of battle, 34 gives him a speech exhorting his men to fight for freedom.*]

35. 1. *obstupefacit ea alacritas ducem Romanum . . .*

This eagerness stunned the Roman general. (*The rest of 35. 1 and 35. 2 describes the battle.)*

35. 3. *clara ea victoria fuit, captaque uxor et filia Carataci fratresque in deditionem accepti.* 36. 1. *ipse, ut ferme intuta sunt adversa, cum fidem Cartimanduae reginae Brigantum petivisset, vinctus ac victoribus traditus est, nono post anno, quam bellum in Britannia coeptum.*

35. 3. It was a famous victory: the wife and daughter of Caratacus were captured and his brothers surrendered. 36. 1. He himself—as usual, there is no security for the unsuccessful—after seeking sanctuary with Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, was put in chains and handed over to the victors. It was the ninth year since the beginning of the war in Britain. (AD 51)

[*The rest of 36. 1 and 36. 2–38. 1 describes Caratacus' journey under guard to Rome and the ensuing spectacle, at which his adherents, brothers, wife, and daughter, were forced to parade in chains with him before Claudius, Agrippina, and the crowd; his dignified speech and Claudius' pardon for himself and family; and the meeting of the senate at which Caratacus' capture was compared to that of Syphax by Scipio Africanus and of Perseus by Aemilius Paullus.*]

38. 2. *censentur Ostorio triumphi insignia, prosperis ad id rebus eius, mox ambiguis, sive amoto Carataco, quasi debellatum foret, minus intenta apud nos militia fuit, sive hostes miseratione tanti regis acrius ad ultionem exarsere.* 3. *praefectum castrorum et legionarias cohortes extruendis apud Siluras praesidiis relictas circumfundunt. ac ni cito nuntiis e castellis proximis subventum foret copiarum obsidioni, occubuissent: praefectus tamen et octo centuriones ac promptissimus quisque ⟨e⟩ manipulis cecidere. nec multo post pabulantis nostros missasque ad subsidium turmas profligant.* 39. 1. *tum Ostorius cohortes expeditas opposuit; nec ideo fugam sistebat, ni legiones proelium excepissent: earum robore aequata pugna, dein nobis pro meliore fuit. effugere hostes tenui damno, quia inclinabat dies.* 2. *crebra hinc proelia, et saepius in modum latrocinii per saltus per paludes, ut cuique sors aut virtus, temere proviso, ob iram ob praedam, iussu et aliquando ignaris ducibus. ac praecipua Silurum pervicacia, quos accendebat vulgata imperatoris Romani vox, ut quondam Sugambri excisi aut in Gallias traiecti forent, ita Silurum nomen penitus extinguendum.* 3. *igitur duas auxiliares cohortes avaritia praefectorum incautius populantes intercepere; spoliaque et captivos largiendo ceteras quoque nationes ad defectionem trahebant, cum taedio curarum fessus Ostorius concessit vita, laetis hostibus, tamquam ducem haud spernendum etsi non proelium, at certe bellum absumpsisset.* 40. 1. *at Caesar cognita morte legati, ne provincia sine rectore foret, A. Didium suffecit.*

38. 2. Triumphal decorations were decreed for Ostorius. Things had gone well for him up to that point but then turned awkward, whether because once Caratacus had been removed it was taken that the war was over and the military was less watchful on our side, or because the enemy, through their pity for so great a king, were more passionately set on revenge. 3. They surrounded a prefect of the camp and the legionary cohorts that had been left in Silurian territory to construct forts. And had not help summoned by messengers been sent swiftly from neighbouring forts to relieve the siege of these forces, they would have perished. As it was, the prefect and eight centurions fell, and all the keenest men from the ranks. Not long afterwards some foragers from our side and cavalry squadrons sent to help were put to flight. 39. 1. Then Ostorius set light-armed cohorts against them, but he did not thereby check the rout until the legions had taken up the battle. Their strength levelled out the conflict and then it went better for us. The enemy escaped with light casualties because the daylight was failing. 2. There followed frequent battles and quite often guerrilla engagements in woods and marshes: dependent on each man's circumstances or valour, some were at random, others carefully planned; they were the product of anger or for booty, some ordered by their leaders, some undertaken without their knowledge. The persistence of the Silures was exceptional: they were inflamed by a widely repeated statement by the Roman commander that the name of the Silures must be blotted out, just as the Sugambri had once been annihilated or transplanted to the Gallic provinces. 3. So it was that they trapped two auxiliary cohorts, which through the greed of their prefects had been out plundering without keeping watch. By lavish presents of spoils and prisoners they began to tempt the other states to rebel as well. At this point Ostorius, worn out by an aversion to his responsibilities, expired. The enemy rejoiced: as they saw it, no mean general had been carried off, if not in battle, at any rate by the war.

40. 1. But Caesar, having learnt of the legate's death, appointed Aulus Didius as replacement, so that the province should not lack a governor.

Nothing is known of Scapula's previous career, except that he had been consul. He was presumably son of P. Ostorius Scapula, prefect of Egypt, attested there between 3 and 10/11, and nephew of Q. Ostorius Scapula, one of the first joint prefects of the praetorian guard in 2 BC.[44] But this reveals nothing about the governor's date of birth. The fact that he died in Britain, 'worn out' (*Ann.* 12. 39. 3), need not prove that he was then an old man. The year of his consulship is not attested.[45] He presumably arrived in 47, when his predecessor held his *ovatio* at Rome, so must have been consul before that year. Syme suggested 45, guessing 'that Scapula . . . . had won merit . . . under Claudius in the campaign of 43', assuming that he was the Ostorius Scapula attested as consular colleague of P. Suillius Rufus at about this time—but he turned out to be Q. Ostorius Scapula, presumably the governor's brother or cousin.[46]

Previous service in Britain is surely excluded by the expression 'with an army he did not know' (*Ann.* 12. 31. 1). Still, it may be inferred from Tacitus' phrase beginning *gnarus* (*Ann.* 12. 31. 2) that he did have military experience—even if the remark about Plautius and Scapula, 'both outstanding in war' (*Agr.* 14. 1), simply meant that they performed well in Britain. A possibility for Scapula is command of the Lower German army; or service in it as legionary legate.[47] He might have been chosen for Britain on merit, but powerful connections perhaps helped. An inscription at Rome names C. Sallustius Utilis and his brother Phosporus, freedmen of Calvina and sons of P. Ostorius Pharnaces, freedman of Scapula. Syme conjectured that the freedmen's patroness, Sallustia Calvina, was married to a P. Ostorius Scapula, and that this couple were the governor's parents.[48] Scapula's son had estates on the

[44] The guard prefect and the prefect of Egypt were long assumed to be the same man, Quintus Ostorius Scapula, until a new papyrus, A. M. Hanson, *ZPE* 47 (1982), 243ff., showed that the prefect of Egypt was Publius Scapula, taken to be the guard prefect's brother.

[45] *PIR*² O 164.

[46] Syme, *JRS* 60 (1970), 28 = id., *RP* ii. 807, based on the then available evidence, Ostorius Scapula as colleague of P. Suillius Rufus. Suillius' colleague is now known to have been Q. Ostorius Scapula: see *PIR*² O 166. M. Christol and S. Demougin, *ZPE* 57 (1984), 173ff., argue that the governor was grandson, not son, of the prefect of Egypt, and consul at the end of Tiberius' reign or under Caligula; likewise that the consul Q. Scapula was grandson of the guard prefect. That date for the governor's consulship is plausible; but in *PIR*² O 164 and 166 the postulated extra generation is rejected.

[47] Cf. W. Eck, *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen* (1985), 112ff.: no consular legate of this army is attested between 28 and 40/41 or between 40/1 and 46. A slight hint that Scapula had served on the Lower Rhine might be squeezed out of his broadcasting the fate of the Sugambri (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 39. 2, quoted above) as a precedent for what he planned to do to the Silures.

[48] Syme, *Historia*, 17 (1968), 79 = id., *RP* ii. 666, inferred from the name Sallustia Calvina that 'either Sallustius Crispus [the powerful equestrian adviser of Augustus, grand-nephew and adopted son of the historian] or his son Passienus had . . . married a descendant of the *nobilis* Cn. Domitius Calvinus (*cos.* 53 BC)'. Hanson, *ZPE* 47 (1982), 246ff., takes Calvina to be wife of the elder P. Scapula,

borders of Liguria.[49] But the *nomen* Ostorius is commonest in *regio* IV, in the mountainous back country of central Italy; origin there is more plausible, perhaps even at Amiternum, home of the historian Sallust.[50]

Scapula arrived in Britain late in the year: 'after the winter had begun' (*Ann.* 12. 31. 1) should mean that it was past the equinox. His rapid response to the serious situation suggests the experienced soldier. Tacitus' account of the governorship is placed under the year 50, but the capture of Caratacus towards its end is assigned to 'the ninth year after the war in Britain began' (12. 36. 1), which should be 51. It is impossible to date all the items in 12. 31–6 to particular years. The revolt of the Iceni probably fell in 48; the campaign against the Deceangli (in North Wales)[51] and intervention against the Brigantes, followed by the founding of the *colonia* at Camulodunum (Colchester), in 49; the first campaign against the Silures in 50; that in Ordovician territory in 51. The *colonia* presumably replaced the fortress of *legio XX*, which was moved forward to Kingsholm near Gloucester.[52] As Tacitus in the *Agricola* (14. 1, quoted above) mentions the granting of several British states to Togidumnus as king between the colony-founding and Didius Gallus' arrival (14. 2), it was probably Scapula who created this large client kingdom. It has been suggested that this involved moving the Second Augusta legion from a base at Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*) to a new one in the south-west, with Silchester and its surrounding territory being handed over to the king.[53] One need not ascribe to Scapula any 'frontier policy' involving a Trent–Severn line. The phrase in 12. 31. 2, 'he prepared . . . to restrain all those on the near side of the Rivers Trisantona and Sabrina', refers to a temporary measure, pending a further advance.[54]

likewise Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (1986), 301. See also *PIR*² O 165; and P 146 on C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus (*cos.* 27, *II ord.* 44), taken to be Calvina's adoptive brother.

[49] Tac. *Ann.* 16. 15. 1, cf. *CIL* v. 6547, Novaria, an Ostorius Eugrafianus. The Ostorii may have produced wine on these estates: *CIL* v. 8112. 69, x. 6695. 79, amphorae stamped PQSCAPVLAE. The family also produced bricks: *CIL* xi. 8113. 18, stamped *de pr(aediis) III Ost(oriorum) Sc(apularum)*.

[50] Hanson, *ZPE* 47 (1982), 247, proposed Amiternum, the historian's home town, Jerome, *Chron.* p. 151 Helm. Cf. Schulze, *LE* 334, citing Opsturii, a variant form, in *CIL* ix, including one at Amiternum (4187). Apart from Ostorii at Rome, mostly libertine, others are attested by *CIL* iv. 2508. 27, P. Ostorius, a gladiator at Pompeii; ix. 3174, 3252 (Corfinium); x. 2814 (Puteoli), 4042 (Capua), 5947 (Anagnia); xi. 3989 (Capena); *AE* 1975. 317–18 (Marruvium, one of them a P. Ostorius).

[51] See Rivet and Smith, *Place-Names* 330f., for the name, *Dekantai* (as emended) in Ptolemy 2. 3. 8; *(plumbum) Deceangl(icum)* on lead pigs dated AD 74, found at Chester (*Deva*), *RIB* ii. 2404. 31–2, in Staffordshire, 2404. 34; also, Domitianic, at Runcorn in Cheshire, 2404. 36.

[52] M. Hassall, in R. J. Brewer (ed.), *Roman Fortresses and their Legions* (2000), 61; W. H. Manning, ibid. 71ff.

[53] M. Hassall, ibid. 61, with further references; cf. Appendix below.

[54] For the phrase in *Ann.* 12. 31. 2 Furneaux ii². 97 read *cunctaque castris Avonam ⟨inter⟩ et Sabrinam*, following the emendation of the Cod. Med. *antonam* to *Avonam*. He also read *cunctaque* as do all modern edns, but reported that most older editors 'read, with some inferior MSS', *cinctosque*; and noted Mommsen's suggestion, *Römische Geschichte*, 5, 162 n. 1, as modified by Haverfield, *cunctaque castris ⟨ad Tris⟩antonam et Sabrinam fluvios*. Mommsen referred this to the establishment of Wroxeter (*Viroconium*) as a legionary base: it lies between the Rivers *Tern* and Severn. Furneaux further reported

Several passages in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, composed shortly after Claudius' death, probably reflect developments in Britain under Scapula. The client-king Togidumnus, called [Ti.] Claud(ius) [To]gidubnus on his inscription at Chichester (see Appendix), was no doubt only one of numerous leading Britons who received citizenship from Claudius. In the satire Clotho remarks that she had wanted to let him live a little longer, *dum hos pauculos, qui supersunt, civitate donarent; constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos togatos videre*, 'until he should grant citizenship to the few that remain—for he had decided to see all the Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards, and Britons wearing the toga' (*Apoc.* 3). Verulamium (St Albans), evidently a *municipium* at the time of the revolt in 60 (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 33. 2, quoted under Gov. 5), probably owed this status, presumably with the *ius Latii*, to Claudius. This would have produced several new citizens each year. The temple in the new *colonia* at Camulodunum (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 31. 4) is referred to: *deus fieri vult: parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc barbari colunt . . . ?*, 'He wants to become a god: is it not enough that he has a temple in Britain, that the barbarians worship him . . . ? (*Apoc.* 8). In a mock-panegyric poem his conquest is celebrated, and the Brigantes are mentioned, presumably as topical: *ille Britannos ultra noti | litora ponti | et caeruleos scuta Brigantas | dare Romuleis colla catenis | iussit et ipsum nova Romanae | iura securis tremere Oceanum*, 'He ordered the Britons beyond the shores of the known sea and the Brigantes with their dark-blue shields to bend their necks to Romulus' chains and Ocean itself to tremble at the new laws of the Roman axe' (*Apoc.* 12).

Scapula received triumphal decorations for his success in 51; and Claudius extracted further credit by the ceremony at which Caratacus was displayed. Another triumphal arch was erected at Rome.[55] But hostilities were not ended

the 'extremely tempting emendation' by Heraeus, supported by H. Bradley, *cunctaque cis Trisantonam et Sabrinam*, altering only one letter (although Heraeus in fact read *Trisantonem*). As Tony Woodman kindly points out, the Codex Leidensis, not discovered when Heraeus or Bradley wrote, has *cunctisque* (not reported by Koestermann, Heubner, or Wellesley). This might justify the reading *cuncto̲sque cis Trisantonam et Sabrinam*, 'all those on the near side of the Rivers Trisantona and Sabrina', offered above. As for Wroxeter, M. Hassall, in Brewer, *Roman Fortresses*, 61ff., puts *legio XIV Gemina* at Leicester (*Ratae*) from 43 to 55 (with *legio IX Hispana*), at Wroxeter later, from 55 to 67 (and again in 69). G. Webster, in Webster (ed.), *Fortress into City. The Consolidation of Britain, First Century AD* (1988), 16f., 18, conjectured that this legion was at Towcester (*Lactodurum*) from 45 to 48, at Mancetter (*Manduessedum*) from 48 to 56, then at Wroxeter from 56 to 65 or 56 to 60. Cf. under I. g, below.

[55] *CIL* vi. 920 + *add.* = *ILS* 216 = *CIL* vi. 40416: *Ti(berio) Clau[dio], Drusi f(ilio) Cai]sari | Augu[sto Germani]co, | pontifici[i maxim(o), trib(unicia) potes]tate XI,*[4] *| co(n)s(uli) V, im[p(eratori) XXII(?), cens(ori), patri pa]triai, | senatus po[pulusque] Ro[manus, q]uod | reges Brit[annorum] XI d[iebus paucis sine] | ulla iactur[a devicerit et regna eorum]*[8] *| gentesque b[arbaras trans Oceanum sitas] | primus in dici[onem populi Romani redegerit]*. 'to (the emperor Claudius, with titles) the Roman senate and people (set this up) because he conquered eleven kings of the Britons without any loss and, as the first to do so, subjected their kingdoms and the barbarian peoples situated beyond the Ocean to the authority of the Roman people.' The arch was evidently erected in the Campus Martius between 25 Jan. 51 and 24 Jan. 52 (*trib. pot. XI*). Another arch is known at Cyzicus, probably of the same date: *ILS* 217.

and the revival of resistance by the Silures was spreading, with 'frequent battles', when Scapula expired. The year was presumably 52. Before his successor Didius Gallus arrived—and there may well have been an interval of many weeks in which the army lacked a commander—the legionary legate C. Manlius Valens (LL 5) was to incur a defeat.

The death of Scapula's son Marcus (Trib. 4) is also recounted by Tacitus: he was forced to suicide by Nero in 66. The last trace of the family comes under Trajan, when a M. Scapula was proconsul of Asia.[56]

3. 52–57 **Aulus Didius Gallus** (*cos.* 39)

Tac. *Agr.* 14. 2: *mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit.*

14. 2: Thereupon Didius Gallus held on to what his predecessors had acquired. Some forts, but very few, were pushed out into the outlying regions, so that he could get the credit of having expanded the task assigned to him. Veranius succeeded Didius.

Tac. *Ann.* 12. 40. 1–5: *at Caesar cognita morte legati, ne provincia sine rectore foret, A. Didium suffecit. is propere vectus non tamen integras res invenit, adversa interim legionis pugna, cui Manlius Valens praeerat; auctaque et apud hostes eius rei fama, quo venientem ducem exterrerent, atque illo augente audita, ut maior laus compositi vel, si duravissent, iustior venia tribueretur. Silures id quoque damnum intulerant, lateque persultabant, donec adcursu Didii pellerentur.* 2. *sed post captum Caratacum praecipuus scientia rei militaris Venutius, e Brigantum civitate, ut supra memoravi, fidusque diu et Romanis armis defensus, cum Cartimanduam reginam matrimonio teneret: mox, orto discidio et statim bello, etiam adversus nos hostilia induerat.* 3. *sed primo tantum inter ipsos certabatur, callidisque Cartimandua artibus fratrem ac propinquos Venutii intercepit. inde accensi hostes, stimulante ignominia, ne feminae imperio subderentur, valida et lecta armis iuventus regnum eius invadunt. quod nobis praevisum, et missae auxilio cohortes acre proelium fecere, cuius initio ambiguo finis laetior fuit.* 4. *neque dispari eventu pugnatum a legione, cui Caesius Nasica praeerat; nam Didius, senectute gravis et multa copia honorum, per ministros agere et arcere hostem satis habebat.* 5. *haec, quamquam a duobus pro praetoribus plures per annos gesta, coniunxi, ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent: ad temporum ordinem redeo.*

12. 40. 1: But the Emperor, having learned of the death of the legate, replaced him with Aulus Didius, so that the province would not be without a governor. He travelled there in haste but did not find things undamaged: in the mean time an unsuccessful battle had been fought by the legion commanded by Manlius Valens. And the report of that affair was exaggerated among the enemy as well, in order to frighten the general on his arrival—and he was exaggerating what he had heard so as to increase his credit if he were successful and to have a better excuse if they held out. It was the Silures that had inflicted this damage as well and they were ranging far and wide until they were driven back by Didius' attack. 2. But after the capture of Caratacus the outstanding practitioner of military science was Venutius: he was from the state of the Brigantes (as I have recorded above) and was long loyal and protected by Roman arms while he was

[56] Probably in 114–15: Syme, *Tacitus*, 665; Thomasson, *LP* i. 223 no. 103; *PIR*² O 163, suggesting that he was consul in 98, rather than in 97 as colleague of Tacitus (as once conjectured). Even so, Tacitus would surely have known this man, who could have supplied him with recollections about the service of his presumed grandfather and father in Britain.

married to Queen Cartimandua. Later, after a divorce had taken place and straight after this a war, he resorted to arms against us as well. 3. But at first they were only fighting one another; and by cunning tricks Cartimandua captured a brother and kinsmen of Venutius. The enemy were inflamed by this and provoked by the shame of being subjected to a woman; and a strong picked band of armed young men invaded her kingdom. Our side had foreseen this and the cohorts sent to help had a fierce battle, which began indecisively but ended more favourably. 4. The legion commanded by Caesius Nasica had a battle with not dissimilar outcome. For Didius, weighed down by old age and already very distinguished, thought it sufficient to act through subordinates and hold off the enemy. 5. These actions, although undertaken by two propraetors over several years, I have combined together, so that they should not become less memorable if related separately. I return to chronological order.

[*12. 41. 1 opens with the beginning of AD 51*]

14. 29. 1: . . . *in qua* [sc. *Britannia*] *neque A. Didius legatus, ut memoravi, nisi parta retinuerat* . . .

. . . in which the legate Aulus Didius, as I have recorded, had only held on to what had been acquired . . .

Didius Gallus' governorship is known only from Tacitus' brief and unflattering accounts, but there is further information about his earlier career, not all easy to interpret. There is little doubt about his origin: Histonium on the east coast of Italy.[57] A. Didius Postumus, proconsul of Cyprus in the Augustan period, might be a close relative.[58] The Didii could have been assisted in their rise by another family from Histonium, the Hosidii, also prominent at this time, one of them decorated for service as legionary legate under Plautius (LL 3; cf. *Com. Aug.* 12).

It seems that Gallus was quaestor in 19, when he is named in a decree of the senate.[59] If he held office at the standard age, 24, his date of birth would be 7 or 6 BC. He could have seen military service as *tribunus laticlavius* in Germany after the disaster of AD 9. There are several apparently clear pieces of evidence for his later career. Frontinus (*De aq.* 102. 7–8) reports that he became *curator aquarum*, normally a consular post, in the second half of 38. Since no vacancies in the consular *fasti* remain for 37 and 38, it used to be inferred that he was consul in 36, as the colleague of his disgraced predecessor as *curator*, M. Porcius Cato. But another man turns out to have been Cato's colleague, while writing-tablets from Pompeii show Gallus as consul on 13 September with Cn. Domitius Afer,[60] whose consulship is dated by Dio to 39 (60. 20. 3). Thus

[57] Syme, *Historia*, 17 (1968), 75 = *RP* ii. 662, adducing *CIL* ix. 2903, Didia Galla. See also Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 314; A. M. Andermahr, *Totus in Praediis* (1998), 245 f. Note also another Didia at the same town, grandmother of P. Paquius Scaeva, ix. 2845 = *ILS* 915.

[58] *AE* 1934. 86, dated to 22 BC by L. Petersen and L. Vidman, *Eirene Congress 1972* (1975), 654, and C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome* (1991), 158 n. 28, whereas *PIR*² D 72 puts him 'not before 22'; cf. Thomasson, *LP* i. 300 no. 37, 'early imperial period'.

[59] *AE* 1978. 145: *A. Did[ius . . .]* appears as the last of the senators who supervised the writing out of the decree.

[60] *FO*² 68; *AE* 1973. 138; Camodeca, *TPS*, no. 68.

Gallus became *curator* before being consul, for which there are no parallels: perhaps because of a shortage of ex-consuls (mentioned by Dio 58. 23. 5 under the year 33) at the time of Cato's fall. Gallus continued to serve as *curator* until succeeded by his former colleague Domitius Afer in 49, according to Frontinus.[61] He is attested in office, with two junior curators, by three *cippi* from the Tiber bank. He thus served at a crucial time. Caligula had begun two new aqueducts shortly before Gallus took over; they were completed in 52. Claudius surely took a keen interest: one was named the *aqua Claudia*.[62]

However, during the 40s Gallus was clearly away from Rome, as legate of the emperor; no doubt his junior colleagues supervised the water-supply in his absence. Under 49 Tacitus, describing disturbances in the Crimea (*Ann.* 12. 15. 1), refers back to the installation 'by the general Didius' of the Bosporan ruler Cotys. He must have recounted this in a lost book. Cotys began striking coins in the Bosporan year 342, equivalent to October 45/6. Dio assigns to 44 the breaking up of the Balkan command, created by Tiberius, into its constituent provinces of Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaia.[63] Gallus may have carried out this task in addition to his mission in the Crimea and, even more important, the annexation of the Thracian kingdom, which involved warfare.[64] He could have been away from Rome for as long as three years.

A fragmentary inscription from a monument erected by Gallus at Olympia records some highlights of his career:

A(ulus) Didius G̣[allus, leg]atus [Tib(eri)]
Claudi Caes[aris] Aug(usti) Ger[mani]
ci, tr[i]umphali[bus o]rnamen̤[tis,co(n)s(ul),
XVvir] s(acris) f(aciundis), proco(n)[s(ul) Asia]e et Sicilia[e , 4
. . .]s̤iae, pr̤[aefectu]s equitat(ui),
. . . impe]ratoris . [
. . . dedit]

Aulus Didius Gallus, legate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, (awarded) triumphal decorations, consul, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, proconsul of Asia and of Sicily, . . . of . . . sia, prefect of the cavalry force, . . . of the emperor . . . , ?dedicated (this monument).

Numerous attempts have been made to restore this text.[65] Gallus almost

[61] U. Vogel-Weidemann, *Die Statthalter von Africa und Asia* (1982), 348, 357, refuses to accept the passage in Frontinus dating Gallus' tenure to 38–49, assuming manuscript corruption (inferring presumably the loss of another *curator*'s name between Cato and Gallus).

[62] *cippi*: *ILS* 5745 (also naming two junior colleagues); Bruun, *Water*, 158ff.

[63] *BMC Pont.* 52ff., cf. pp. xxxviii, xliii for the era. On the return of Macedonia and Achaia to the senate: Dio 60. 24. 1; cf. Suet. *D. Claud.* 25. 3 (undated). Neither name Didius Gallus.

[64] This war is mentioned only in Tac. *Ann.* 12. 63. 3: Claudius remitted tribute for Byzantium in 53, reporting to the senate that their resources had 'recently been overstretched in the Thracian and Bosporan war'.

[65] *ILS* 970, improved by Petersen and Vidman, *Eirene Congress*, 656ff., with photograph opposite p. 658, whence *AE* 1975. 780; see further Vogel-Weidemann, *Statthalter*, 348ff.; Thomasson, *Opuscula*

certainly omitted his junior offices, including military tribunate, if he had one, vigintivirate, quaestorship, aedileship or tribunate of the plebs, and praetorship—although theoretically one could restore lines 6–7 as for example *[pr(aetor), tr(ibunus) pl(ebis), quaestor impe]ratoris T[ib(eri) | Caesaris Aug(usti) dedit]*.[66] At all events, he did not mention the *cura aquarum*.

The date and circumstances of the post as *pr[aefectu]s equitat(ui)* are problematic. Only the Domitii brothers, each 'prefect of all the *auxilia* against the Germans', in 70, offer a clear parallel, one a junior ex-praetor, the other probably an ex-tribune of the plebs.[67] Gallus has been thought to have held his cavalry command in Britain during the invasion of 43. But it seems improbable that a consular of four years' standing would have had such a post, especially since he was already *curator aquarum*. To be sure, he did receive a provincial posting while retaining this *cura*. But that makes it improbable that he had already been absent for the British campaign. It is more likely that he commanded a cavalry force as a young man in a campaign under Tiberius, for example in Thrace, Africa, or even Gaul.[68] The post as legate of Claudius and the honorary triumph in lines 1–3 must refer to his Balkan and Bosporan command.[69] The consulship can be restored in line 4, followed by *[XVvir] s.f.*, a sign of favour: the *quindecimviri* would have had special prominence at the Saecular Games in 47.[70] Then came two proconsulships, listed together for convenience, one consular and one praetorian. His term as proconsul of Sicily presumably fell in the early 30s, and, given Tiberius' practice, could have

Romana 15 (1985), 114ff.; id., *LP* iii. 51f. no. 8. Thomasson insists that the reading in l. 5 must be *[. . .]ciae* not *[. . .]siae*, but cannot suggest any expansion. All that survives is the top right-hand part of the letter in question. It is true that this is unlike the top of the S in *Sicilia[e]*, but it is not much different from that in *[. . . impe]ratoris*. (The interpretation of the monument as one set up by Gallus itself is owed to Werner Eck.) Five fragments from an inscription at Athens were associated with Gallus by J. H. Oliver, but their relevance to him is doubtful, cf. *Com. Aug.* 12.

[66] As in *FRB* 45, following Petersen and Vidman, *Eirene Congress*, 665f. Evidently accepted by Thomasson, *Op. Rom.* 15 (1985), 115f. Vogel-Weidemann, *Statthalter*, 358 n. 1108a, objects that the expression *quaestor imperatoris* was not yet in use, citing M. Cébeillac, *Les Quaestores principis et candidati aux Ier et IIème siècles* (1972), 25ff.

[67] *ILS* 990–1; for the date see G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior* (1968), 131ff. Compare also the command over cavalry forces by the senators Marius Celsus (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 24. 3) and Petillius Cerialis (ibid. 3. 79. 1ff.; see Gov. 9) in 69.

[68] Petersen and Vidman, *Eirene Congress*, 665, favour Gaul in 21. In *FRB* 47 and n. 20 this was noted, with reference to Tac. *Ann.* 3. 40ff., esp. 45; citing for Africa (the war against Tacfarinas), 2. 52, 3. 20f., 3. 73f., 4. 23ff.; for Thrace in 21, 3. 38f., and 26, 4. 44ff. Others, e.g. Vogel-Weidemann, *Statthalter*, 352ff., argue that Gallus commanded the cavalry force in Britain in 43—she also believed, of course, that he was not yet *curator aquarum* then, cf. n. 61 above.

[69] It is unclear, since he does not name the province(s) of which he was legate, whether Gallus was legate of Moesia or simply commander of a special task force. See Thomasson, *Op. Rom.* 15 (1985), 116, favouring the latter; but id., *LP* i. 123f., no. 16, lists him under the legates of Moesia. If Gallus was governing Achaia, along with Moesia and Macedonia, at least until 44, it would have been unnecessary for him to name his province at a city within it.

[70] J. B. Pighi, *De ludis saecularibus populi Romani Quiritium* (1941), 76ff.

lasted more than twelve months.[71] The consular proconsulship must be of Asia: the space in the inscription is insufficient for *proco[s. Africa]e*, and there is room in Asia in 49–50 or 50–1, at the appropriate interval after his consulship.[72] Perhaps it was on the journey to Asia from Rome or on his return that Gallus visited Olympia and commissioned the monument; but the occasion could have been slightly later. In line 5 *[. . .]ṣiae* has mostly been restored as *[leg(atus) A]ṣiae*, in other words the post of legate to a proconsul of Asia. This could have been held at any stage in the senatorial career, but in his case was no doubt before his consulship.[73] Finally, one must return to line 6 and the missing, clearly shorter, line that followed. They have been restored as *[comes et legatus impe]ratoris i̯[n | Britannia dedit]*, and taken to refer to Britain in 43. But it is worth considering another possible restoration of lines 5–7:

[leg(atus) A]ṣiae, pr[aefectu]s equitat(ui) [in
Thracia?, legatus impe]ratoris i[n
Brittannia? dedit].

On this hypothesis, the monument would have been erected after Gallus' appointment to Britain.

Tacitus' account of his activity there in the *Annals* is related under the year 50, tacked on to the Scapula's governorship and death: he explicitly adds that he has abandoned chronological order (12. 40. 5). He uses an old-fashioned verb, *suffecit*, in its original sense: to appoint a replacement for a magistrate, which in the Republic was generally when one died.[74] Gallus was, of course, trusted and experienced, and a suitable choice. But perhaps Claudius remembered that he had once sought the post. Quintilian (6. 3. 38) relates how Gallus complained, when appointed to a province (unnamed) for which he had very actively canvassed, that he had been 'forced' to take it. This won him an ironic comment from Domitius Afer. Some prefer to identify the province as one that Gallus governed earlier in his career.[75] But the sepulchral inscription of his successor in Britain, Veranius, appears to state that the latter was appointed to the province *[cum non p]etierit*, 'although he did not seek it'. This might have been intended as a contrast to his predecessor's behaviour. Canvassing and appointment did not necessarily follow in close succession. Afer had known Gallus for many years and it is likely enough that he would have remembered, in 52, canvassing by Gallus several years earlier. Perhaps Gallus had hoped to succeed Plautius in 47 or to be Scapula's successor well before the latter's death. By 52, when the offer did come, it would be under-

[71] Dio 58. 23. 5; cf. Syme, *JRS* 45 (1955), 29 f. = id., *Ten Studies in Tacitus* (1970), 42 ff.
[72] Petersen and Vidman, *Eirene Congress*, 662, 668; Vogel-Weidemann, *Statthalter*, 351 f.
[73] See B. E. Thomasson, *Legatus* (1991), 55 ff., for the varying rank of proconsular legates.
[74] Cf. Livy 2. 8. 4, etc.
[75] Petersen and Vidman, *Eirene Congress*, 655, 666.

standable if he had changed his mind: the capture of Caratacus had removed the incentive; and dead men's shoes are not always attractive.

Whether or not he complained 'that he had been forced', he 'hastened' to take up the command. He faced a situation not unlike that which had greeted Scapula in 47, and which was to be experienced by Agricola thirty years later: Britons on the fringe of the garrisoned area tried to intimidate the new governor. Before his arrival the legate of a legion, presumably the Twentieth, Manlius Valens (LL 5), had been defeated by the Silures. Gallus was evidently not displeased that the enemy were exaggerating their successes and encouraged the rumours, 'to increase his credit if he were successful and to have a better excuse if they held out'. When he arrived on the scene, the Silures dispersed. He then had to turn to the Brigantian kingdom, where Queen Cartimandua's ex-husband Venutius was trying to overthrow her. The circumstances were similar to those which Gallus had experienced in the Crimea. Since it was merely a question of repelling a rival claimant, rather than, as with the Bosporan kingdom, installing a new Roman nominee, he was content to act through subordinates. First he sent some auxiliary cohorts, and on a subsequent occasion, not necessarily in the same or even in the following year, a legion, probably the Ninth, under Caesius Nasica (LL 6). Tacitus ascribes Gallus' failure to take personal command to his age and incapacity, and the fact that he had already won enough personal distinction, clearly a reference to his triumphal decorations for the Balkan and Bosporus campaigns. In the *Agricola* Tacitus had already stressed Gallus' inactivity, but noted his eagerness for fame. The 'small number of forts pushed out into the outlying regions' surely involved the transfer of the Twentieth legion from Kingsholm, close to Gloucester, to Usk (*Burrium*) in south Wales, and the Fourteenth from Leicester (*Ratae*) to Wroxeter (*Viroconium*);[76] and perhaps some forts built for garrisons in Brigantian territory[77]—similarly, he had left auxiliary troops in the Crimea to support Cotys after withdrawing his main force (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 15. 1).

In the *Agricola* Tacitus states unambiguously that Gallus was succeeded by Veranius. But neither there nor in the *Annals* is there any hint that Gallus, like his predecessor and successor, died in office, as sometimes stated.[78] If three successive governors of Britain—a province in which Tacitus had a special interest—had all died there, he would surely have said so. Gallus presumably returned to Rome or to Histonium. His last year in Britain was probably 57, as will be seen from a consideration of the next two governors. Thereafter

[76] Hassall, in Brewer, *Roman Fortresses*, esp. 61 f.; Manning, ibid. 71 ff.

[77] Frere, *Britannia*[3], 67; D. C. A. Shotter, *CW*[2] 94 (1994), 21 ff.

[78] e.g. by Groag, *RE* 5/1 (1903), 411; Syme, *Historia*, 17 (1968), 75 = *RP* ii. 661; Petersen and Vidman, *Eirene Congress*, 666.

nothing more is heard of him, although his *tria nomina* were borne by the notorious Fabricius Veiento. Veiento's career, later so successful under the Flavians, almost foundered in 62 when he was expelled from Italy by Nero for libelling people in high places. Veiento may have acquired the names by inheritance or adoption before this.[79]

4. 57–58 Q(uintus) Veranius, Q(uinti) f(ilius), Clu(stumina) (*cos. ord.* 49)

A. E. Gordon, 'Quintus Veranius consul A. D. 49', *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, 2/5 (1952), 231–352 = *AE* 1953. 251 = *CIL* vi. 41075, Rome (some expansions slightly modified below):

[Q(uintus) Veranius, Q(uinti) f(ilius), Clu(stumina), . . . | . . . pro pr(aetore) provinciae Lyciae . . . ?,] quin[que]nnio pr[a]efuit; | [. . . eam in pot]est[a]tem Ti(beri) Claudii Caesaris Aug(usti) [4] *| [Germanici redegit et in Cilicia castellum Tr]acheotarum expugnatum delevit; | [?mandatis et litteris senatus populique Romani? et Ti(berii)] Claudii Caesaris Augusti Germanici, | [?provinciae Lyciae Cibyram addidit et? restit]utionem moenium remissam et interceptam | [huius civitatis complevit et regionis oppi]d[a]? pacavit.* vacat *propter quae, auctore* [8] *| [Ti(berio) Claudio Caesare Augusto Germanico,] consul designatus, in consulatu, nominatione | [eiusdem, in locum . . .]ni augur creatus, in numerum patriciorum adlectus est. | [curatori, iudicio Neronis Augusti Germ]anici, aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque | publicorum statuam posuit equester] ordo et populus Romanus, consentiente senatu. ludis* [12] *| [?in campo Martio praesidens, factus est, cum non? p]etierit, ab Augusto principe, cuius liberalitas erat minister, | [legatus Neronis Augusti German]ici provinciae Britanniae,* vacat *in qua decessit. | [Verania f(ilia) Q(uinti) Ve]rani, vixit annis VI et mensibus X.*

Quintus Veranius, son of Quintus, Clustumina, governed as the first (?) propraetorian legate, for a five-year term, the province of Lycia. He reduced it into the power of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus and stormed and destroyed a fort of the Tracheotae in Cilicia; in accordance with instructions and letters of the Senate and Roman People (?), he added Cibyra to the province of Lycia (?), and completed the restoration, which had been neglected and interrupted, of the walls of this city, and pacified the towns of the region (?). On account of which, on the motion of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, he was designated consul; in his consulship, by the same (Emperor's) nomination, he was created augur, in place of -n(i)us, (and) was adlected into the number of the patricians. To him as curator, by the appointment of Nero Augustus Germanicus, of temples and public works and places, the equestrian order and the Roman People, with the consent of the Senate, set up a statue. ?When presiding? at the Games ?on the Campus Martius, ?he was made, although he did not? request it, by the Emperor Augustus, of whose liberality he was the administrator, legate of Nero Augustus Germanicus of the province of Britain, in which he died. [Verania, daughter of Quintus Ve]ranius, lived six years and ten months.

[79] *PIR*² F 91; Syme, *Tacitus*, 633; O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (1987), 119; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14. 50 for his expulsion. C. Pomponius Gallus Didius Rufus, proconsul of Crete-Cyrene in 88–9, *AE* 1954. 188, was perhaps a connection; not mentioned in *PIR*² P 716, where his probable sister, Pomponia Galla (773), is cited, known from Pliny, *Ep.* 5. 1. 1.

Tac. *Agr.* 14. 2: *Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum extinctus est*

Veranius succeeded Didius, and expired within a year.

Tac. *Ann.* 14. 29. 1: *et successor Veranius, modicis excursibus Silu⟨r⟩as populatus, quin ultra bellum proferret, morte prohibitus est, magna, dum vixit, severitatis fama, supremis testamenti verbis ambitionis manifestus: quippe multa in Neronem adulatione addidit subiecturum ei provinciam fuisse, si biennio proximo vixisset*

And his successor Veranius, having ravaged the Silures in some modest sallies, was prevented by death from extending the war further. Having enjoyed a great reputation, while he lived, for self-discipline, by the final words of his testament he showed unmistakable vain display: for, together with much flattery of Nero, he added that he would have subjected the province for him, had he lived for the next two years.

Veranius' brief governorship is summarized in the *Agricola* in eight words and at somewhat greater length in the *Annals*. In spite of this minimal contribution to the history of Britain, his career—'better documented than that of any other pre-Hadrianic governor of Britain, apart from Agricola'[80]—and the circumstances of his appointment deserve detailed attention. The monumental funerary inscription concentrates mainly on Veranius' achievement as first governor of Lycia, but has other important details too.

The family's origin is not directly attested. Their *gentilicium* is uncommon and it is tempting to suggest Verona as their home because of the poet Catullus' friend of this name—his best friend.[81] That Veranius might be an ancestor. However, the tribe Clustumina, to which Veranius may be assigned in view of the provincial Veranii who belong to it, points elsewhere, in the first instance to Umbria. But no Veranii are recorded there, while several occur in the Sabine country, where Forum Novum, south-west of Reate, seems to be an isolated part of the Clustumina.[82] It is worth mentioning that, like the first governor of Britain Aulus Plautius and his contemporaries the Vitellii, Veranius had no *cognomen*. They were among the last Romans to do without one.[83]

The governor's father was undoubtedly the Q. Veranius mentioned several times by Tacitus: he was *comes* of Germanicus in the East in 18 and organized the newly annexed province of Cappadocia as *legatus*. In 20 he played a part in the trial of Germanicus' enemy, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, along with P. Vitellius

[80] E. Birley, *RBRA* 2, written before the publication of Veranius' funerary monument by Gordon, 'Quintus Veranius', cf. his Postcript, p. 9—hence he inferred, incorrectly as it turned out, that Veranius must have been legionary legate before going to Lycia and that he cannot have been its first governor. He also suggested, 2f., from *AE* 1938. 75, Bonn, datable *c.*52–4, reading *[ ]io leg(ato) [Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) . . .]*, that Veranius might have been legate of Germania inferior *c.*52–4. But see now Eck, *Statthalter*, 120, restoring *[A(ulo) Pompeio Pauli]no leg(ato)*).

[81] Catullus 9, 12, 28, 47. For origin at Verona, R. J. M. Lindsay, *CP* 43 (1948), 44; doubted by Syme, *CM* 17 (1956), 132 = *RP* i. 302; id., *CQ* 7 (1957), 123 ff. = *RP* I 333 ff. Note also the Veranius, writer on pontifical questions, cited by Macrobius and Festus (*PIR*[1] V 264), perhaps the same as Veranius Flaccus, whose style Augustus regarded as artificially archaic, Suet. *D. Aug.* 86. 3.

[82] As pointed out by Syme, *CQ* 7 (1957), 123 ff. = *RP* i. 334 f.

[83] The question is discussed in detail by O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987), 338 ff., esp. 347 ff.

and Q. Servaeus, also members of Germanicus' staff.[84] This association with Germanicus continued an existing link with the imperial family. The people of Lycia honoured their first governor's paternal grandfather with a statue at Xanthus. On the base the career of the grandfather, a Roman knight, also called Q. Veranius, son of Quintus, is listed: military tribune of a *legio IV* and later *pro legato* in Germany. Between these posts he had a position of special trust, as acting guardian of 'the orphan Drusus', Augustus' younger stepson. Presumably his duties involved deputizing for Augustus—who had become Drusus' guardian when the boy's father died—during the ruler's numerous absences from Rome in the late 30s and early 20s BC. The post in Germany was probably held under Drusus during the campaigns of 12–9 BC.[85]

The earlier part of the governor's career is recorded in a fragmentary inscription from Cyaneae in Lycia: 'Quintus Veranius, son of Quintus, mint-master, tribune of the legion IV Scythica, quaestor of Tiberius and Gaius Augustus, tribune of the plebs [. . .]'.[86] His first full magistracy was thus as quaestor of the emperor, a mark of favour; and as he served both Tiberius and Gaius this must have been in 37. This makes it probable that he was born *c.*12. His post as *monetalis* was the most prestigious in the vigintivirate; this favour, like the quaestorship of the emperor, was doubtless due to his grandfather's and father's close links with the elder Drusus and Germanicus. As tribune of IV Scythica, *c.*30, his service was surely in Moesia, even if the legion is not attested there until 33; he is unlikely to have seen much action then.[87] After his quaestorship he had three years without employment, which is a little surprising: he could have held his next magistracy in 39 or 40. But it might be wrong to assume that anyone's career proceeded 'normally' under Caligula: Veranius perhaps preferred to lie low.[88]

[84] Tac. *Ann.* 2. 56. 4, 74. 2; 3. 10. 2, 13. 3, 17. 2; he later accused Cn. Piso's brother, 4. 21. 2 (Syme, *JRS* 46 (1956), 20 = id., *Ten Studies in Tacitus* (1970), 55); he and the other *comites* were rewarded with priesthoods by Tiberius, 3. 19. 1; but they are not named in the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* published by W. Eck *et al.* (1996), cf. the editors' comments, 148, 151.

[85] A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, vii. *Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon* (1981), no. 38, with detailed discussion; reproduced as *AE* 1981. 824: he was 'procurator of the orphan Drusus Germanicus, the father of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus, and pro-legate of the deified Augustus in Germania, assigned to him (Drusus) by the same deified Augustus' (ll. 3–4 are restored as [τὸν ἐπίτροπον]/ ὀρφανοῦ Δρούσ[ου . . . etc.], l. 6 as ἀντιπρ[εσβευτοῦ δὲ θεοῦ Σε]/βαστοῦ ἐν Γερμ[ανίᾳ . . .). In the light of this evidence one might restore the missing beginning of the Rome inscription as *Q(uintus) Veranius, Q(uinti) f(ilius), Q(uinti) n(epos), Q(uinti) pron(epos) Clu(stumina).*

[86] *IGR* iii. 703.

[87] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1557; there is no earlier evidence than *CIL* iii. 1698 + *add.* = *ILS* 2281; *CIL* iii. 13813b, cf. *AE* 1910. 176, but M. A. Speidel, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, i (2000), 328, infers that IV Scythica was 'probably stationed on the lower Danube throughout its time in Europe' (until 58).

[88] His career may have been unfavourably affected for a year or two by the fall of Calvisius Sabinus in 39 (see under Gov. 1 above). L. R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (1960), 200f., suggested that Calvisius' family was from Forum Novum, perhaps the home of the Veranii.

His tribunate of the plebs is firmly dated, for as holder of this office he played a minor but significant role in the dramatic transactions of 24 and 25 January 41, Caligula's assassination and the acclamation of Claudius as his successor. Josephus (*AJ* 19. 234 ff.) records that the senate sent emissaries to the camp of the guard, 'men outstanding in virtue', to persuade Claudius to stop flouting its authority. After delivering the message two of the envoys, Veranius and Brocchus, tribunes of the plebs, fell at Claudius' feet and begged him to avoid civil war at all costs and accept power, if at all, as a gift from the senate. Claudius, his resolve stiffened by the Jewish prince Julius Agrippa, rejected these terms. But the messenger Veranius prospered under the new *princeps*. His praetorship is not directly attested, but he was probably designated at once to hold office in 42. Dio notes that Claudius varied the number of praetors from year to year (60. 10. 4) and the fact that Veranius would not have had the prescribed year's interval between offices is not a serious difficulty. Exceptions were possible, and they would have been natural enough in 41–2, when there was at least one sudden vacancy (Dio 60. 15. 4), as well as a necessity to reward individuals.

Veranius presumably went overseas the year after his praetorship. Dio records that Lycia was annexed in 43 and added to Pamphylia, after disturbances involving the deaths of Roman citizens (60. 17. 3). The surviving portion of the Rome inscription begins *quinq[ue]nnio pr[a]efui[t]*, 'governed for a five-year term', followed by fragmentary phrases which, however restored, must refer to campaigns in Lycia, where there is abundant record of his governorship. Apart from his military activities, he launched a major road-building programme and reformed the constitution of the Lycian *koinon*, taking control away from the assembly and putting it under the control of a new *boule*, selected from 'the best men'.[89] The 'five-year term' was no doubt 43–7. No information is available about his army, probably troops from Syria. One would expect that he would have been awarded an honorary triumph, given Claudius' unmatched generosity in this respect. If so, the *ornamenta triumphalia* must have been mentioned out of chronological order in the lost opening of the Rome inscription.[90] Even without this inscription it was known that Veranius had a military reputation. He must be the dedicatee of Onasander's *Strategicus*: 'A work on military science, Quintus Veranius, should be dedicated to Romans, and especially to Romans who have been promoted

[89] Gordon, 'Quintus Veranius', passim; Balland, *Fouilles*, nos. 37–40; Thomasson, *LP* i. 275 no. 1; B. Rémy, *Les Fastes sénatoriaux des provinces romaines d'Anatolie* (1988), 167 ff.; G. A(lföldy), commentary on *CIL* vi. 41075; road-programme and new *boule*: M. Wörrle, *Chiron*, 32 (2002), 555 ff., esp. 562 ff., improving C. P. Jones, *ZPE* 137 (2001), 161 ff., on a monument from Patara, and D. H. French, *Adalya*, 4 (1999/2000), 173 ff.

[90] Cf. Gordon, 'Quintus Veranius', and *RE* 8A/1 (1955), 949 ff.

by the wisdom of the Emperor to the rank of consul and commander both on account of their military training, in which they have had long experience, and because of the distinction of their ancestors'.[91]

After returning from Lycia Veranius was designated *consul ordinarius* for 49, aged only about 36. During his consulship he was enrolled into a prestigious priestly college, the augurs, and made a patrician.[92] He was no doubt consul for four months, and, probably soon afterwards, became curator of temples, public buildings, and works. He could have held this post for several years, perhaps even until 57. Presumably it was as curator that he carried out work on the water-supply, normally the task of the *curator aquarum*, as inferred from a lead pipe stamped *sub cura Q(uinti) Verani*. His only other public duty before the appointment to Britain was as president at games given by Nero in 57. These involved elaborate constructions, so perhaps he was still curator.[93]

The dating of the governorship can be deduced from that of his successor, whose first year must be 58. This makes it virtually certain that Veranius came to Britain in 57, and this is suggested by the Rome inscription: '[?When presiding?] at the Games, [?on the Campus Martius, although he did not?] request it, [?he was made?] by the Emperor Augustus, of whose liberality he was the administrator, legate of Nero Augustus Germanicus of the province of Britain'. 'At the Games . . . administrator of the Emperor's liberality' must surely refer to Veranius distributing the *congiarium* which Nero is known to have given in 57, almost certainly at the games held on the Campus Martius.[94] Further, '[although he did not] request it', followed by 'legate of . . . Britain', makes excellent sense: as mentioned in the discussion of Didius Gallus, Veranius' heirs surely wished to stress the contrast with his predecessor, who had sought provincial command *ambitiosissime*.[95]

[91] Onasander is omitted in *PIR*² O. Cf. L. Daly and W. A. Oldfather, *RE* 18/1 (1939), 403–5, and Oldfather's Loeb edn., *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus and Onasander* (1923), 346ff.; A. E. Gordon, *RE* 8A/1 (1955), 956ff., discussing Ser(vius) Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus, known from several inscriptions in Cyprus, two of which also name a man called Onesandros, possibly the writer.

[92] He was already known to have been augur from *ILS* 240, Rome, the funerary monument of his son-in-law and daughter, *Q(uinti) Verani co(n)s(ulis), aug(uris) f(ilia)*.

[93] Bruun, *Water*, 237f., 244, 261; A. Kolb, *Die kaiserliche Bauverwaltung in der Stadt Rom* (Stuttgart, 1993), 54, 148f., cf. 29 on the reorganization of the *cura* under Claudius. For the games in 57, below and n. 94.

[94] As pointed out by K. R. Bradley, *Commentary on Suetonius, Nero* (1978), 83, the games must be those of 57, and the *liberalitas* of which Veranius was the *minister* must surely be the *congiarium*, public largess, which Tacitus mentions just after referring to the games. They involved elaborate constructions on the Campus Martius, including an amphitheatre, which he declined to describe as unworthy of Roman annals, *Ann.* 13. 31. 1–2; cf. Dio (Xiphilinus), 61. 9. 5, not precisely dated, but referring to a mock naval battle (Athenians against Persians) in a theatre, followed by land battles. In *CIL* vi. 41075, following Gordon, *ludis [maximis]* is restored; but the Ludi Maximi were first held in 59, cf. Bradley, *Commentary*.

[95] Thus Gordon, 'Quintus Veranius', and id., *RE* 8A/1 (1955), 951f. G. A(lföldy), *CIL* vi. 41075, refers *[cum non p]etierit* to the presidency of the games, and restores these lines as *Ludis [maximis praefec-*

Tacitus' phrase 'within a year' means either 'before the end of the calendar year' or 'in less than twelve months'. The former is perhaps more probable.[96] Scapula had been threatening the annihilation of the Silures (*Ann.* 12. 39. 2) shortly before his death. Didius Gallus had had five years in Britain but, after an initial burst of activity, had made no attempt to continue the policy of aggression. In 58 Corbulo was to launch a new, forward policy in the East (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 34. 3ff.). It is reasonable to assume that Nero and his advisers had decided, in 57, that action was called for in Britain too.[97] Veranius had had experience of campaigning in mountainous country and was still relatively young, probably only 45. In the event he did no more than ravage Silurian territory on a modest scale before his death, though claiming in his will that 'he could have subjugated the province for Nero if he had had another two years'.[98] This may suggest that three years was regarded as a 'normal' term, although his three predecessors had all served longer. Tacitus treats the claim as a case of *ambitio*, 'vain display'. Perhaps this, and the remark about his great reputation for self-restraint, is an implicit comment on what Veranius had stressed: his difference from Didius, who had sought a command *ambitiosissime*. The ostensibly austere Veranius was no better than Didius after all.

In his *Nero* (18), Suetonius states that Nero contemplated giving up Britain, but 'only desisted out of a sense of shame, so as not to appear to depreciate his father's glory'. It has been argued that it was only when he read Veranius' will that he changed his mind; or, alternatively, that Veranius' appointment was a signal that he had had second thoughts.[99] But if Nero ever did think of giving up Britain, the likeliest moment is surely when the procurator Decianus Catus (Proc. 2) fled the island after the rebel sack of Camulodunum in 60. Paullinus' decisive victory some weeks later could have caused the change of mind.[100]

tus est, cum honorem non p]etierit, ab Augusto principe, cuius liberalitas erat minister, and begins a new sentence with *Legatus*. The version offered above is closer to Gordon's restoration: *ludis [in campo Martio praesidens, factus est, cum non p]etierit*, has the same number of letters as that in *CIL* vi. 41075. This associates the absence of canvassing for office with the appointment to Britain, as Gordon suggested (without referring to the story in Quintilian; this interpretation, put forward in *ES* 4 (1967), 202 n. 1 and *FRB* 44 and n. 4, derived from Sir Ronald Syme, at a seminar *c.*1960). M. T. Griffin, *Nero* (1984), 113, writes that Veranius 'is described on an inscription as "presiding, at his own request, over the Emperor's Ludi Maximi, at which he was the agent of his generosity" '. Not justified or plausible. (Ibid. 246f. n. 35 she argues for the Ludi Maximi being in 57; but cf. n. 94.)

[96] Gordon, 'Quintus Veranius', 266.

[97] Thus E. Birley, *RBRA* 5ff., against C. E. Stevens, *CR* NS 1 (1951), 4ff.

[98] What Veranius meant by this may not be the same as what Tacitus understood: E. Birley, *RBRA* 7f., suggested that Veranius' mandate from Nero was to conquer Wales, not the whole island.

[99] For the first view, C. E. Stevens, *CR* NS 1 (1951), 4ff.; for the second, E. Birley, *RBRA* 1ff.

[100] It is perfectly possible that Suetonius invented the story, as a sly comment on Hadrian's alleged intention to abandon Dacia in 117–18: thus Syme, *Tacitus*, 490 and n. 6, followed e.g. by M. T. Griffin, *SCI* 3 (1976/7), 148 n. 48; repeated by Syme, *Hermes*, 109 (1981), 111f. = *RP* iii. 1343f. B. Levick, *Claudius* (1990), 147f., suggests that '[t]he death of Claudius . . . remains the most likely occasion'. Cf. further under Gov. 5 and 9, and Proc. 2.

Veranius had at least two children, twin daughters, Octavilla and Gemina, both honoured at Xanthus; Octavilla is probably the child commemorated in the last line of his funerary monument, who died at the age of 6 years and 10 months. The name suggests that Veranius' wife might have been an Octavia.[101] Gemina was to marry a figure of some distinction, the ill-fated Piso Licinianus, chosen as son and heir by Galba on 10 January 69 and murdered with him five days later.[102] She survived Piso for many years, and was subjected at the end of her life to the attentions of the notorious fortune-hunter Regulus (Plin. *Ep.* 2. 20).

5. 58–61 Gaius Suetonius Paullinus (*cos. a. inc. c.*45)

Tac. *Agr.* 5. 1: *prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret.*

5. 1: His [Agricola's] first lessons in military life he learned to the satisfaction of Suetonius Paulinus, a conscientious and restrained commander. He had been selected to be tested on Paulinus' staff.

14. 3: *Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.*

14. 3: After this Suetonius Paulinus had two years of success: peoples were conquered and garrisons consolidated. Confident for these reasons, he attacked the island of Mona (Anglesey), which, he thought, was a source of support to rebels. He thus laid himself open to an assault from the rear.

15. 1: *namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis . . .*

15. 1: For, their fear having been removed by the absence of the legate, the Britons began to discuss the evils of their slavery . . .

15. 2: *singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, ex quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. alterius manus centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum.* 3. *in proelio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus.*

[101] *AE* 1981. 825a–b. In *FRB* 54 n. 32 a postulated second daughter of C. Octavius Laenas (*cos.* 33) was suggested as Veranius' wife: a known daughter of Laenas married M. Cocceius Nerva, father of the future emperor, a son married Tiberius' descendant Rubellia Bassa (*PIR*^{2} O 41–5; R 116; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, nos. 584, 667, 788–9). Balland, *Fouilles*, 98ff. suggests that the *cognomen* Octavilla could go back to an earlier generation, e.g. to a marriage between the governor's grandfather and a kinswoman of Augustus on the paternal side. A final comment is required on the child who died before the age of 7. It was suggested in *FRB* 54 n. 30, following W. Eck (pers. comm.), that the child 'was more probably a son, whose age was given to explain why he held no office, a practice not normally followed with girls when the father, with his career, is commemorated first'. However, as pointed out in the commentary to *CIL* vi. 41075, the space available (the lettering of this line is much larger than the rest) excludes the restoration *[Q. Veranius f(ilius) Q. Ve]rani.*

[102] *PIR*^{2} C 300.

15. 2: 'In former times we each had a single king, now two are imposed: the legate to wreak his fury on our lifeblood, the procurator on our property. Whether our masters quarrel or agree, it is equally fatal for us their subjects. One has centurions as his instruments, the other slaves, to inflict a mixture of violence and insults on us. Nothing is any longer exempt from their greed and lust. 3. In battle it is the braver who takes the spoils. As things are now, it is mostly cowards and weaklings that plunder our homes, kidnap our children, and impose conscription on us—as if it were only for our own country that we do not know how to die . . .'

15. 5: *iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent . . .*

15. 5: 'Now even the gods are taking pity on the Britons: they are keeping the Roman general away, keeping his army in exile on another island . . .'

16. 2: *quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera adroganter in deditos et ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor durius consuleret.*

16. 2: Had not Paulinus rapidly come to the rescue as soon as he heard of the uprising in the province, Britain would have been lost. A single successful battle restored it to its old submissiveness. But many retained their weapons. They were influenced by consciousness of their guilt as rebels and by their personal fear of the legate—in case this otherwise excellent man would take high-handed measures against those who surrendered and would punish every offence with undue severity, as if it were a personal affront.

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 37. 1: *invenio apud quosdam auctores . . . dubitasse exercitus, num posito certamine vel ipsi in medium consultarent, vel senatui permitterent legere imperatorem, atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac moras suasisse, praecipue Paulinum, quod vetustissimus consularium et militia clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset.*

2. 37. 1: I find in certain authors that . . . the armies were in doubt, whether, putting aside the conflict, they ought to come to an agreement between themselves, or actually to let the senate choose an emperor, and that for this reason the Othonian generals advised there should be a pause and delay, especially Paulinus, because he was the oldest among the ex-consuls and had a military reputation, having won glory and a name in his British expeditions.

Tac. *Ann.* 14. 29. 1–3: *Caesen⟨n⟩io Paeto et Petronio Turpiliano consulibus gravis clades in Britannia accepta . . .* [The remainder of this section, on Didius' and Veranius' lack of activity, is cited above und Gov. 3 and 4.] 2. *sed tum Paulinus Suetonius obtinebat Britannos, scientia militiae et rumore populi, qui neminem sine aemulo sinit, Corbulonis concertator, receptaeque Armeniae decus aequare domitis perduellibus cupiens.* 3 *igitur Monam insulam, incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum, adgredi parat, navesque fabricatur plano alveo adversus breve et incertum. sic pedes; equites vado secuti aut altiores inter undas adnantes equis tramisere.*

29. 1: In the consulship of Caesennius Paetus and Petronius Turpilianus a serious disaster occurred in Britain . . . 2. But Paulinus Suetonius was then governing the Britons, a man skilled in military affairs and—in gossip among the people, which lets no one lack a rival—eager to emulate Corbulo, wanting to match the latter's exploit in reconquering Armenia by subjugating the enemy. He therefore prepared to attack the island of Mona, which was thickly populated and a sanctuary for fugitives. He constructed flat-bottomed boats to contend with the shifting shallows. They were used by the infantry, while the cavalry followed by a ford or, swimming in deeper waters, crossed on their horses.

30. 1: *stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantibus feminis, quae in modum furiarum veste ferali, crinibus deiectis faces praeferebant; Druidaeque circum, preces diras sublatis ad caelum manibus fundentes, novitate adspectus perculere militem, ut quasi haerentibus membris immobile corpus vulneribus praeberent.* 2. *dein cohortationibus ducis et se ipsi stimulantes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa sternuntque obvios et igni suo involvunt.* 3. *praesidium posthac impositum victis excisique luci saevis superstitionibus sacri: nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habeabnt. haec agenti Suetonio repentina defectio provinciae nuntiatur.*

30. 1: A mixed line of battle, packed with armed men, was standing along the shore, with women running between them carrying torches, dressed in funereal clothing, like Furies, with dishevelled hair; and the Druids in attendance, with their hands raised to the sky, pouring out dreadful execrations, took the soldiers aback because of the novelty of the spectacle, so that, as if their limbs were paralysed, they were exposing their motionless bodies to be wounded. 2. Then, urged on by the general, and inciting one another themselves not to be afraid of a band of women and religious fanatics, they drove the standards forward, scattered their opponents, and enveloped them in their own flames. 3. After this a garrison was put in place to control the conquered, and the groves devoted to savage superstitious rites were cut down—for they used to regard it as the will of heaven to burn the blood of captives on their altars and to consult the gods in human entrails. While Suetonius was carrying out these tasks, the message was brought announcing the sudden rebellion of the province.

[*Omitted here are 31. 1–4, the death of the Icenian King Prasutagus, the ravaging and annexation of his kingdom and mishandling of his widow, Boudica, and daughters, leading to the revolt, in which the Trinovantes and others joined, the hatred against the colonia at Camulodunum and its veterans; 32. 1, the omens at Camulodunum and the veterans' fear.*]

32. 2: *sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium.*

But since Suetonius was far away, they sought help from the procurator Catus Decianus.

[Omitted here are the rest of 32. 2, Catus' dispatch of 200 men to Camulodunum, the siege of the temple of Claudius and the sack of the city, and 32. 3, the fall of the temple, the failed attempt to rescue the city by the legate of the Ninth, Petillius Cerialis, and Catus' flight to Gaul, quoted under LL 7, Proc. 2.]

33. 1: *at Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. ibi ambiguus, an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspecta infrequentia militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petillii coercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. neque fletu et lacrimis auxilium eius orantium flexus est, quin daret profectionis signum et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet: si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa aetas vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt.* 2. *eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit . . .*

33. 1: But Suetonius, with admirable firmness of purpose, made his way through the enemy to Londinium, which was not, to be sure, distinguished by the name of *colonia*; but it was extremely well-known because of its large numbers of merchants and great quantities of merchandise. There he hesitated whether to choose it as his base for the war. But after reflecting on his inadequate numbers of soldiers and with the punishment incurred by Petillius' foolhardiness as a serious enough warning, he decided to sacrifice a single city in order to save the province as a whole. Neither the wailing nor tears of those beseeching his protection swayed him from giving the signal for departure and he would do no more than let them join his column of march. Any who were held back, the unwarlike sex or the old and weary or those attached to the place's attractions, were overwhelmed by the enemy. 2. The same disaster struck the *municipium* of Verulamium. [*Omitted here is 32. 2, with details on the sack of Verulamium, the total of 70,000 Roman and allied dead in this and the other two cities destroyed by the Britons, and how they died.*]

34. 1: *iam Suetonio quarta decuma legio cum vexillariis vicesimanis et ⟨e⟩ proximis auxiliares, decem ferme milia armatorum, erant, cum omittere cunctationem et congredi acie parat. deligit locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva clausum, satis cognito nihil hostium nisi in fronte et apertam planitiem esse, sine metu insidiarum.*

34. 1: Suetonius already had the Fourteenth legion with detachments from the Twentieth and auxiliaries from the nearest forts, about 10,000 armed men, and at this point decided to delay no longer and to join battle. He chose a place in a narrow defile, shut off at his rear by a wood, being fairly certain that would be no enemy except at his front, where there was open country with no fear of ambushes. [*Omitted here are 34. 2, the drawing up of opposing battle-lines, 35. 1–2, Boudica's speech to her forces, and 36. 1–2, Suetonius' address to his, 36. 3–37. 1, the account of the battle, 37. 2, the summary of the famous victory with reports of 80,000 British and about 400 Roman dead, and Boudica's suicide, 37. 1, the suicide of Poenius Postumus, camp prefect of the Second legion, who had disobeyed the general's order to come to help.*]

38. 1–3: *contractus deinde omnis exercitus sub pellibus habitus est ad reliqua belli perpetranda. auxitque copias Caesar missis ex Germania duobus legionariorum milibus, octo auxiliarium cohortibus ac mille equitibus, quorum adventu nonani legionario milite suppleti sunt. 2. cohortes alaeque novis hibernaculis locatae, quodque nationum ambiguum aut adversum fuerat, igni atque ferro vastatum. sed nihil aeque quam fames adfligebat serendis frugibus incuriosos, et omni aetate ad bellum versa, dum nostros commeatus sibi destinant. 3. gentesque praeferoces tardius ad pacem inclina⟨ba⟩nt, quia Iulius Classicianus, successor Cato missus et Suetonio discors, bonum publicum privatis simultatibus impediebat disperseratque novum legatum opperiendum esse, sine hostili ira et superbia victoris clementer deditis consulturum. simul in urbem mandabat, nullum proelio⟨rum⟩ finem exspectarent, nisi succederetur Suetonio, cuius adversa pravitati ipsius, prospera ad fortunam referebat.*

38. 1: The whole army was now assembled and kept in tents to finish the rest of the war; and the emperor increased its strength by sending from Germany two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and one thousand cavalry. With their arrival the men of the Ninth were brought up to strength with legionary soldiers. 2. The cohorts and *alae* were stationed in new winter-quarters; and those states that were wavering or hostile were ravaged with fire and the sword. But nothing afflicted them so much as famine, as they had not troubled to sow crops and men of all ages had been occupied with war, while they were intending to use our supplies. 3. And the very warlike peoples were rather slow in leaning towards peace, the more so because Julius Classicianus, who had been sent as successor to Catus and, at odds with Suetonius, was working against the common good through personal animosity: he had spread it about that they ought to await a new legate, one who, without an enemy's anger and a victor's arrogance, would treat those who surrendered with clemency. At the same time he reported to the City that they could expect no end to warfare unless a successor was appointed for Suetonius—whose reverses he attributed to the latter's own perversity, his successes to luck.

39. 1–3: *igitur ad spectandum Britanniae statum missus est e libertis Polyclitus, magna Neronis spe posse auctoritate eius non modo inter legatum procuratoremque concordiam gigni, sed et rebelles barbarorum animos pace componi. 2. nec defuit Polyclitus, quo minus ingenti agmine Italiae Galliaeque gravis, postquam Oceanum transmiserat, militibus quoque nostris terribilis incederet. sed hostibus inrisui fuit, apud quos flagrante etiam tum libertate nondum cognita libertinorum potentia erat; mirabanturque, quod dux et exercitus tanti belli confector servitiis oboedirent. 3. cuncta tamen ad imperatorem in mollius relata; detentusque rebus gerundis Suetonius, quod paucas naves in litore remigiumque in iis amiserat, tamquam durante bello tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui iam consulatu abierat, iubetur.*

39. 1: So one of the freedmen, Polyclitus, was sent to inspect the state of Britain. Nero had great hopes that through the latter's authority not only legate and procurator could be reconciled but also that the barbarians' rebellious spirit might be pacified. 2. Polyclitus' passage, with his vast entourage, did not fail to be a burden for Italy and Gaul and, after he had crossed the Ocean,

to inspire fear among our soldiers too. But he was an object of mockery to the enemy: for them freedom was still a burning passion and they had not yet become acquainted with the power of freedmen. They were astonished that a general and an army that had ended such a great war should obey slaves. 3. All this was nevertheless reported to the emperor in milder terms. Suetonius was kept at his post for the conduct of affairs; and then, because he had lost a few ships on the shore with their crews, on the grounds that the war was still going on was ordered to hand over the army to Petronius Turpilianus, who had now left office as consul.

Dio (Xiphilinus) 62. 1. 1: While this play-acting was going on at Rome [*the Neronia festival described in 61. 21. 1–2, celebrated for the first time in 60 (Tac.* Ann. *14. 20. 1ff.)*], a dreadful disaster occurred in Britain: two cities were sacked, 80,000 of the Romans and their allies perished, and the island was lost to Rome. [*Omitted here are 62. 1. 2, omens, 62. 2. 1, Seneca's alleged responsibility for the revolt by calling in his loans to the Britons, 62. 2. 2–4, Boudica's leadership, her assembling of an army of 120,000 men and her appearance, 62. 3. 1–6. 5, her lengthy speech.*]

62. 7. 1: Having finished her speech on these lines to the people, Buduica led her army against the Romans. For they happened to be without a leader, as their governor Paulinus had made an expedition against an island, Monna, near Britain. [*Omitted here are the rest of 62. 7. 1 and 2–3, Boudica's sacking of two cities and the torture and sacrifice of prisoners.*]

8. 1–3: Now Paulinus happened to have brought Monna to terms already, and learning of the British disaster he at once sailed there from Monna. And he did not wish to risk confronting the barbarians straightaway, as he feared their numbers and desperation, but preferred to defer battle until a more favourable moment. But when he was growing short of food and the barbarians did not cease to press upon him, he was compelled to engage them even against his own judgement. 2. Buduica, having an army of about 230,000 men, herself rode in a chariot and assigned the others each to their positions. But Paulinus could not extend the phalanx for the whole length of her line, for even if drawn up only one deep they would not have reached far enough, so inferior were they in numbers; 3. nor did he dare join battle in a single compact force, for fear of being surrounded and cut to pieces. He therefore divided his army into three parts, so as to fight at several points at the same time, and made each part so strong that it could not easily be penetrated. While ordering and arranging his men he exhorted them, saying . . .

[*Omitted here are 62. 9. 1–11. 5, three speeches by Paulinus to each part of his army, and 12, the description of the battle, ending with Roman victory and Boudica's death.*]

The sudden death of Veranius led Nero and his advisers to select another general whose laurels had been won early in Claudius' principate and who, like Veranius, had experience in mountain warfare. Suetonius Paullinus[103] had conducted a spectacular expedition in Mauretania, 'overrunning the country as far as Mount Atlas', before handing over command to Gnaeus Hosidius Geta (Dio 60. 9. 1, cf. *Com. Aug.* 12). The Elder Pliny records (*NH* 5. 14) that Paullinus was the first Roman general to cross the summit of this range and that he went as far as the River Ger. His status at the time, Dio specifically states, was that of ex-praetor. This should mean that he was senior to Veranius, for the campaign is placed under the year 42. The operations of

[103] For the spelling Paullinus with double L see *Inscr. It.* xiii/1. 314f.

Paullinus and Geta probably occupied several years.[104] Pliny mentions that Paullinus himself wrote about the Mauretanian campaign, whether in official dispatches or in memoirs is not clear. If the latter, he might also have written about his years in Britain too and hence have been a source for Tacitus.[105] His father-in-law Agricola would surely have possessed memoirs by his old chief, if they existed; and in any case must have given Tacitus his own recollections.

As ex-praetor in 42, Paullinus was presumably born at the latest *c.*11, perhaps considerably earlier. Apart from the Mauretanian campaign, virtually nothing is known of him before his arrival in Britain. The *gentilicium*, though familiar because of the writer Suetonius Tranquillus, is exceptionally rare.[106] Paullinus' family possibly derived from Pisaurum in the *ager Gallicus*, where Sueto, a cognate form, is recorded.[107] If so, perhaps his choice for the Mauretanian mission was influenced by the guard prefect Arrecinus Clemens, in office in 41, a native of Pisaurum.[108]

Paullinus' reward for his Mauretanian exploit was probably the consulship, although this is not attested directly. A phrase in Tacitus—he is called 'the oldest of the ex-consuls' in 69 (*Hist.* 2. 37. 1)—is the only real evidence that he attained the *fasces* in the 40s, surely before 47, when his successor in Mauretania was consul (see under LL 1). Another expression in the same passage of the *Histories* could mean that he had been in Britain before his governorship, perhaps as *comes* of Claudius in 43; but 'British expeditions' is more likely just to refer to his three seasons as governor. His high military reputation in 60 (*Ann.* 14. 29. 2) may just have derived from his Mauretanian campaign and first two seasons in Britain. But he might have governed one of the Germanies, Pannonia, or Dalmatia, in the late 40s or early 50s.[109]

His first year in Britain must have been 58. In the *Agricola* Tacitus says that he was successful for two years, and that the great rebellion fell in the third. Although the rebellion and its aftermath are placed under the year 61 in the *Annals*, it is clear that the events of two years are described. Tacitus' account

[104] M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (*cos. ord.* 27) is generally supposed to have been involved in the conquest of Mauretania as well, see *Com. Aug.* 4.

[105] See Syme, *Tacitus*, 297, 765, suggesting as an alternative that Tacitus knew a funeral oration in praise of Paullinus. The question is discussed at length by M. T. Griffin, *SCI* 3 (1976/7), 149 ff., who also notes, 151 and n. 70, that Tacitus certainly consulted the *Acta senatus* for this period (*Ann.* 15. 74. 3).

[106] A. R. Birley, *JRS* 74 (1984), 249 f., listing, apart from Paullinus and his son the *cos.ord.* 66, only five Suetonii at Rome, two in Germany and one or two in Africa (or three counting Suetonius Tranquillus); add *CIL* v. 2705; ix. 4869 (Trebula Mutuesca), xi. 3614 = *ILS* 5918a (Caere); and five Suetones (brothers) at Pisaurum (xi. 6350 = *ILS* 9066, cf. xi. 6281), three in the Rome garrison (two of these, C. Sueto Paullinus and [C.] Suito (*sic*) C. f. Marcellinus, from Pisaurum) and a centurion in Dalmatia (*CIL* iii. 9832 = *ILS* 5949); the feminine form of both Sueto and Suetonius was Suetonia, twice attested, *CIL* ix. 4765 = xi. 4313 (Interamna) and xi. 1492 (Pisa). Cf. Schulze, *LE* 300 f.

[107] Thus Syme, *Tacitus*, 781, as a possibility.

[108] *PIR*^{2} A 1072.

[109] See Thomasson, *LP* i. 48, 54, 100 f., 90, for vacancies in this period.

shows that Paullinus' successor Petronius Turpilianus, *consul ordinarius* in 61, cannot have arrived until the year after the rebellion. In 58 and 59 Paullinus, no doubt taking up the challenge implied in Veranius' testament, will have subjugated Wales. There remained Mona, the stronghold of the Druids. He invaded it at the start of his third season, and it was only after this had been carried out and the island garrisoned, that he was informed of the uprising of the Iceni and their allies—which presumably did not include the Brigantes under the consistently pro-Roman Queen Cartimandua or the southern kingdom of Togidubnus (Tac. *Agr.* 14. 1). But certainly the Trinovantes and the peoples of Wales, perhaps others as well, joined the rebels. His return march, 'through the enemy', first to London and then north again, to regroup, must have taken several weeks at least. After his victory Paullinus' army was reinforced from Germany and the war was pursued. It was by then past harvest time, presumably September, and there followed conflicts between Paullinus and the new procurator Classicianus (Proc. 3). These in turn led to the visit of inspection by the freedman Polyclitus. Paullinus was briefly retained in office until his replacement, when a pretext offered, by Petronius Turpilianus, 'who had now left office as consul'. This must be assigned to late spring or early summer of 61: Turpilianus was still consul in March.[110] Support for this chronology is given by Dio-Xiphilinus, whose account begins with the remark that the rebellion in Britain broke out 'while this play-acting was going on at Rome' (62. 1. 1), a reference back to the Neronia, described at the end of the previous book (61. 21. 1–2): Tacitus dates the institution of this festival to 60 (*Ann.* 14. 20–1: the first item under this year).[111]

Paullinus' conquest of Mona was clearly abandoned and it was to be many years before it was reoccupied, by Agricola in 77. Between 61 and 71 rebuilding and consolidation were needed, including—this took a good many years—of London, Verulamium, and Camulodunum, the last perhaps given a new name, *colonia Victricensis*, and new veteran settlers, from the legions that had defeated the rebels, XIV Gemina and XX, honoured by the titles Martia Victrix and Valeria Victrix respectively.[112]

[110] The correction of the date was first put forward by J. Asbach, *Analecta historica et epigraphica Latina*, 2 (1878), 8ff.; followed by B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* (1903), 477f., and elaborated by Syme, *Tacitus*, 765f.; supported by M. T. Griffin, *SCI* 3 (1976/7), 139ff. Turpilianus was still consul in March 61, on the evidence of two wax tablets from Herculaneum: Camodeca, *TPS*, nos. 91–2.

[111] Syme's dating (previous note) was cast in doubt by K. K. Carroll, *Britannia*, 10 (1979), 197ff., who is willing to put Turpilanus' arrival in 62; he also states, 202 n. 12, that Asbach's use of Dio to support the date of 60 was 'refuted' by K. Panzer, in *Historische Untersuchungen Arnold Schaefer* (1882), 171ff. Asbach's argument still seems valid, if not completely cogent (given that we have to rely on Xiphilinus' epitome).

[112] Slow reconstruction: J. Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (1974), 88ff., 112ff., 202f. Camulodunum's name: *CIL* iii. 11233. Legionary titles: R. McPake, *Britannia*, 12 (1981), 293ff.

Although Paullinus was replaced, he was not disgraced. This is clear from the appearance of a homonym, presumably his son, as *consul ordinarius* in 66.[113] Further, a lead tessera found at Rome, with NERO CAESAR on the obverse and PAVLLINI on the reverse, with symbols of victory, should refer to a donative to celebrate Paullinus' successes, for which Nero evidently took his eighth acclamation as *imperator*. It may seem strange that Tacitus does not mention this. He may have suppressed it, since it would have conflicted with his portrayal of a great general badly treated by Nero.[114]

In 69 Paullinus was one of Otho's leading commanders against the Vitellians, and was even regarded, at least by himself, as a potential emperor (*Hist.* 2. 37. 1, quoted above). Tacitus comments on his *auctoritas* and on his 'reputation, according to which no one was more skilled in military affairs than him'. He characterizes him as 'a natural delayer', who preferred caution and careful calculation to haste and trust in providence, noting how he urged vainly before the battle of Bedriacum that the Othonians should wait for the Fourteenth legion, 'itself with a great reputation'—acquired with him in Britain (*Hist.* 2. 32). He is last heard of defending his service with Otho before Vitellius at Lugdunum: he and a colleague escaped retribution by the plea that they had counselled delay as a deliberate betrayal (*Hist.* 2. 60). Thereafter he disappears from the record. If he survived for a few years, he might have advised Vespasian on his British policy. Tacitus' portrayal of him is not uncritical, but Paullinus comes out, in all three works, considerably more favourably than, for example, Petillius Cerialis (Gov. 9). Agricola's recollections perhaps had some influence on the historian.

6. 61–63 Publius Petronius, Publii filius, Turpilianus (*cos. ord.* 61)

Tac. *Agr.* 16. 3: *missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit.*

Petronius Turpilianus was therefore sent out, as being more conciliatory and not acquainted with the misdeeds of the enemy, hence milder towards their repentance: he restored the status

[113] Degrassi, *FC* 12, 18, assumes that the *cos. ord.* 66 was Paullinus himself. But there is no sign of iteration in any of the records of that consulship; his colleague C. Luccius Telesinus was *consul prior* (see *PIR*² L 366; add *RMD* iii. 337 = M. A. Speidel, *Die römischen Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa* (1996), no. 1); and as Griffin, *SCI* 3 (1976/7), 147 n. 41, stresses, Nero did not confer second consulships—none are known from his reign, apart from his own.

[114] Griffin, *SCI* 3 (1976/7), 145ff., citing M. Rostovtzeff (Rostowzew), *RN*⁴ 2 (1898), 77ff., and id., *Tesserarum Urbis Romae et suburbi plumbearum Sylloge* (1903), no. 23; ead., *Nero* (1984), 266 n. 114, notes Rostovtzeff's later view, *Römische Bleitesserae* (1905), 52, that Paullinus was named on the tessera as organizer of games; but points out that 'the names of *procuratores* or *curatores ludorum* seem to occur in the nominative, not the genitive' as here, and that the only parallel for Paullinus' tessera is that for Tiridates, King of Armenia (*Syll.* 22). In *SCI* 3 (1976/7), 151f., she concludes that 'Tacitus probably omitted mention of the tribute to Suetonius and Nero's salutation [as *imp. VIII*] deliberately'.

quo without risking anything beyond this and handed over the province to Trebellius Maximus.

Tac. *Ann.* 14. 39. 3: . . . *Suetonius . . . tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui iam consulatu abierat, iubetur. is non irritato hoste neque lacessitus honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit.*

. . . Suetonius was ordered to hand over the army to Petronius Turpilianus, who had now resigned from the consulship. The latter, having neither provoked the enemy nor been challenged by them, bestowed the honourable name of peace on idle inactivity.

P. Petronius Turpilianus bore the same names as an early Augustan moneyer, in office *c.*19 BC, some of whose reverse types (of the goddess Feronia) indicate that the family was Sabine, while others (a lyre, Pan, Pegasus, a Satyr, and a Siren) suggest that the *cognomen* derived from the comic poet of the second century BC, Sextus Turpilius.[115] The moneyer was very probably son of P. Petronius, prefect of Egypt 25–22 BC and father of the influential P. Petronius P. f. (*cos.* 19), proconsul of Asia for six years under Tiberius, governor of Syria from 39–42, 'an old friend' of Claudius (Sen. *Apoc.* 14. 2), and married to a Plautia, evidently the sister of Aulus Plautius.[116] Although Turpilianus was consul forty-two years after P. Petronius, it seems more likely that he was his son rather than his grandson, since he is described by Plutarch (*Galba* 15. 2) as 'an old man' at the time of his death in 68.[117] Even if this is exaggerated—γέρων would generally mean at least a 60 year old[118]—he could hardly have been born later than *c.*15. Yet as the son of a consul he might have been expected to hold the office well before his forty-second year. Perhaps the family's close links with the Vitellii—a daughter of the *cos.* 19 married Aulus Vitellius, the future emperor, in the 30s[119]—had actually retarded his career when the influence of the Vitellii declined after L. Vitellius' death in the early 50s.[120]

At any rate, the shared *praenomen* makes a close relationship as good as certain. Hence Turpilianus was a nephew (or grand-nephew) of Aulus Plautius (Gov. 1), which may have been an important factor when Nero and his advisers looked for a successor to Paullinus. Doubtless a kinsman of Plautius would have seemed a suitable person to restore confidence among the Britons: the provincial elite probably regarded the Plautii as their patrons; and

[115] *PIR*² P 314, noting that he may be the *P. Petronius T[urpilianus], Publii filius* known from a bronze tablet found near the mouth of the R. Baetis, datable to *c.*6–5 BC, when he might have been proconsul of Baetica, *AE* 1988. 723. Cf. E. Groag, *RE* 19/1 (1937), 1227ff., hesitant about allusions to Turpilius, on whom see Bigott, *RE* 7A/2 (1948), 1428ff.

[116] *PIR*² P 269–70. Cf. under Gov. 1 for Plautia.

[117] Vogel-Weidemann, *Statthalter*, 278, and *PIR*² *P* 315 prefer to make him grandson of the *cos.* 19. They do not discuss Plutarch's evidence for his age in 68.

[118] Plutarch uses the same word to describe Galba at this time, then aged at least 70: *Galba* 15. 4, 16. 4; *Otho* 6. 1.

[119] Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 606; *PIR*² P 323 (correcting the date of divorce to no later than 52).

[120] Griffin, *Seneca*, 454 and nn. 5–6.

as Plautius seems to have left no male heir, his sister's son (or grandson) could have inherited the role. What is more, Turpilianus' father (or grandfather) P. Petronius had been characterized, when coping as governor of Syria with the confrontation between Caligula and the Jews, as 'kindly and gentle by nature' (Philo, *Leg.* 243), qualities which Turpilianus himself was said to have possessed (Tac. *Agr.* 16. 3) and which were much needed in Britain in 61.

Nothing is known of his career before his consulship, but he might have served as military tribune in one of the Syrian legions under his father. Evidently his tenure of office in Britain was brief as well as uneventful: according to Frontinus, he became *curator aquarum* in 63, holding the post for a year (*De aq.* 102. 10–11). He could have had three campaigning seasons in Britain, 61, 62, and 63; but Tacitus insists that his military activity was minimal, so 'campaigning season' is no doubt inappropriate.

Soon after his year in charge of the aqueducts he rendered Nero services of a different kind, for which he was awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia*. He evidently assisted in unmasking the conspiracy of Piso in 65, or in dealing with its aftermath.[121] In 68, as further proof of his loyalty, he was chosen by Nero, together with Rubrius Gallus, to command an army to suppress the rising of Vindex; but the force never saw action.[122] Well before the end of 68 Galba ordered his death, 'an old man, unprotected and unarmed'. His undiminished loyalty was apparently the reason;[123] but Galba or his associates may have had scores to settle, relating to the events of 65–6.[124] No descendants are recorded.

7. 63–69 Marcus Trebellius Maximus (*cos.* 55)

Tac. *Agr.* 16. 3–4: *compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret.* 4. *Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacta exercitus licentia ducis salute, seditio sine sanguine stetit.*

16. 3: He [Petronius Turpilianus] restored the status quo without risking anything beyond this and handed over the province to Trebellius Maximus. Trebellius, who was rather slothful and never put the army to the test, governed the province as an affable administrator. Now the barbarians, as well, learnt to condone seductive vices; and the intervention of the Civil Wars

[121] Tac. *Ann.* 15. 72. 1, on which see W. Eck, *Historia*, 25 (1976), 381ff.

[122] Dio 63. 27. 1a (Zonaras 11. 13) says that he went over to Galba, which is hard to reconcile with Plutarch's version (next note). Syme, *AJP* 58 (1937), 12 = id., *Danubian Papers* (1971), 77 n. 27, suggested that 'he may have deserted Nero without declaring for Galba'.

[123] Plut. *Galba* 15. 2, 17. 3; Tac. *Hist.* 1. 6. 1; 37. 3.

[124] Galba's links with Nero's victims are perhaps symbolized by the fact that Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of the most prominent one, Thrasea Paetus, saw to Galba's burial (Plut. *Galba* 28).

provided a legitimate excuse for his inactivity. But there was a serious mutiny, for the soldiers, who had been accustomed to campaigning, were growing unruly through doing nothing. 4. Trebellius escaped the anger of his army by taking flight and hiding. Disgraced and humiliated, he remained in command after that on sufferance. It was as if a bargain had been struck: the general's life was spared in return for allowing the army a free hand. Thus the mutiny ended without bloodshed.

Tac. *Hist.* 1. 60: *praeerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui invisusque. accendebat odium eius Roscius Coelius legatus vicensimae legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperant: Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Coelio, spoliatas et inopes legiones Coelius Trebellio obiectabat, cum interim foedis legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta eoque discordiae ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus et adgregantibus se Caelio cohortibus alisque desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit. quies provinciae quamquam remoto consulari mansit: rexere legati legionum, pares iure, Coelius audendo potentior.*

1. 60: Trebellius Maximus was governing [Britain], despised and loathed by the army because of his greed and meanness. The hatred against him was inflamed by Roscius Coelius, legate of the Twentieth legion, who had long since been at odds with him: the opportunity of the Civil Wars caused their disagreement to break out more violently. Trebellius blamed Coelius for the mutinous spirit and breakdown in discipline, Coelius blamed Trebellius for robbing the legions and reducing them to poverty. In the mean time the disgraceful quarrelling between the legates ruined the obedience of the army and it came to a mutiny. Trebellius was driven out by the insults of the auxiliary troops as well and, with the cohorts and *alae* taking the side of Coelius, he was abandoned, and fled to Vitellius. The province remained peaceful despite the removal of the consular: the legionary legates governed it with joint authority, Coelius being the more powerful because of his audacity.

2. 65. 2: *Cluvius comitatui principis adiectus, non adempta Hispania, quam rexit absens . . . non idem Trebellio Maximo honos: profugerat Britannia ob iracundiam militum; missus est in locum eius Vettius Bolanus e praesentibus.*

2. 65. 2: Cluvius was assigned to the Emperor's entourage, without being deprived of Spain, which he governed *in absentia* . . . Trebellius Maximus did not enjoy the same honour: he had fled from Britain because of the soldiers' anger; Vettius Bolanus, one of those in attendance, was sent out to replace him.

Trebellius Maximus presumably arrived in Britain in 63, when his predecessor Turpilianus received an appointment at Rome. His previous career is not known in full, and such facts as there are have received varying interpretation. In the *Annals* (6. 41), Tacitus records an exploit by a legionary legate of the Syrian army named Marcus Trebellius (no *cognomen*), who successfully besieged two native fortresses in the Taurus mountains. It is natural to suppose that this Trebellius was the friend of that name of the agricultural writer Columella, who himself was tribune in the Syrian legion VI Ferrata.[125] A phrase in the *Agricola* (16. 3), *nullis castrorum experimentis*, is generally thought to mean that Trebellius had 'no military experience' before coming to Britain.

[125] C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922), 417 ff.; *PIR*² J 779 (Columella); Syme, *HSCP* 73 (1969), 222 f. = id., *RP* ii. 760 f.

Hence he could hardly be identical with the former legionary legate—unless Tacitus was careless or inadequately informed when writing his first work.[126] But the phrase can mean something quite different (see below).

At any rate, he can be identified with the Trebellius Maximus who was in the senate after Caligula's assassination. Josephus records that he removed a ring bearing Caligula's portrait from the finger of the consul Sentius Saturninus (*Com. Aug.* 8), who had been denouncing the murdered emperor (*AJ* 19. 185). Some fourteen years later, early in Nero's reign, Trebellius held the consulship for two months, from 1 July, as the second of three successive colleagues of Seneca. The pair is attested on 24 August in 55.[127] Seneca himself was well over 50, and Trebellius, if the former legionary legate, must have been in his late forties. It is not unlikely that the two were friends, although there is no direct evidence. In 61, Tacitus records (*Ann.* 14. 46), a census was conducted in the Gallic provinces by three senators: Q. Volusius Saturninus (*cos. ord.* 56), T. Sextius Africanus (*cos. ord.* 59), and Trebellius. The latter's noble colleagues were rivals; both despised him, thereby boosting his position—he was, as is now known, technically senior to them.[128] The anecdote, while demonstrating that Trebellius' birth was undistinguished, does not help to reveal his origins. Cichorius used the story as an argument for identifying the legionary legate of 36 with the consular colleague of Seneca: if the latter were the son of a legionary legate, he inferred, he would not have been regarded as a *novus homo*.[129] But as the Sextii affected descent from the consul of 366 BC, and the Volusii were related to the Claudii Nerones,[130] they would have looked down on Trebellius even if his father had commanded a legion. In favour of identifying legionary legate and governor, one may note several elderly consular governors in the 60s,[131] including, probably, Trebellius' predecessor in Britain, and the possibility that Trebellius was a friend and coeval of Seneca.[132] It is conceivable that his home was in Gaul, which might have made his task as *censitor* easier. There were Trebellii from Tolosa in

[126] Thus Griffin, *Seneca*, 446 f.

[127] For the year, see G. Camodeca, *ZPE* 63 (1986), 201 ff., convincingly arguing for 55 on the basis of the wax tablets from Herculaneum; cf. id., *TPS*, nos. 25, 35. It was previously thought that Seneca was not consul until 56, although A. Stein in *PIR*² A 617 cautiously wrote 'anno 56 (sive 55)'. The day and month, 25 Aug., are supplied by *Digest* 36. 1. 1. 1 and Gaius, *Inst.* 2. 253 (= *Inst. Iust.* 2. 23. 4), registering a decree of the senate which bore his name, the *Senatus consultum Trebellianum*, regulating *fideicommissa*, frequently cited by the jurists.

[128] As stressed by Camodeca, *ZPE* 63 (1986), 207.

[129] Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, 420 n. 3.

[130] *RE* 2A/2 (1923), 2039; Syme, *Historia*, 13 (1964), 156 = id., *RP* ii. 605 f.

[131] C. Cestius Gallus (*cos.* 42) in Syria (*PIR*² C 691); Tampius Flavianus and Pompeius Silvanus in Pannonia and Dalmatia (*divites senes*, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 86. 3); Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (*cos.* 45) in Moesia (*PIR*² P 480); Galba (born in 3 BC) in Tarraconensis; Vespasian (born in 9) in Judaea.

[132] Griffin, *Seneca*, 89.

Narbonensis resident at Athens later in the first century: Q. Trebellius Rufus who was *archon* there under Domitian, having evidently opted out of a senatorial career; and this man's son, Trebellius Rufus Maximus.[133] This is not enough to prove that the governor was from Gaul, but the possibility must be registered.

Turpilianus had 'restored the status quo without risking anything beyond this'. Tacitus' point about Trebellius in the next sentence of the *Agricola* is that he did even less than Turpilianus: *segnior*—he was 'more sluggish'; and *nullis castrorum experimentis* surely means, not that 'he had no previous military experience', but that he neglected 'to put the army to the test'.[134] Hence the discipline and morale of the soldiers, 'who had been accustomed to regular campaigning, deteriorated from inactivity'. One measure that he does seem to have initiated was the transfer of the Twentieth legion from Usk (*Burrium*) in south Wales to Gloucester (*Glevum*)—but this may have appeared like a withdrawal, if it is correct to infer that it had been based close to Gloucester at Kingsholm before moving to Usk, from *c.*48 to 57.[135] The outbreak of civil war provided an excuse for the governor's idleness, but he was 'despised and hated by the troops for his avarice and meanness'. The legate of the Twentieth, Roscius Coelius, stirred them up, accusing Trebellius of 'despoiling the legions'. This may mean that the men had not been receiving their full pay.[136] Trebellius left the province early in 69 and fled to Vitellius, perhaps taking with him the 8,000 men 'from the British levy', that formed part of Vitellius' expeditionary force (*Hist.* 2. 57. 1).

In fairness to Trebellius it must be noted that Tacitus credits him with a certain *comitas*, 'gentleness', in his administration of the province, doubtless still necessary after the events of 60–1. Further, the ironic comment that under Trebellius 'the barbarians too now learned to condone alluring vices' recall the somewhat similar remarks about Agricola's measures in his second winter,

[133] See Syme, *HSCP* 73 (1969), 222 = id., *RP* ii. 760 f., noting also *CIL* xii. 1017, from Glanum, 'an elegant health resort', *M. Tre[bellio? M.?] f. Maxi[mo . . .] Hilar[. . .]*; id., *ZPE* 65 (1986), 9 = *RP* vi. 217 f.; Griffin, *Seneca*, 446. The other senatorial Trebellius known from this period, Q. Trebellius Q. f. Ter. Catulus (*CIL* vi. 31771), might be a kinsman. His tribe suggests Italian origin (*regio* I) but Arelate, also in Teretina, cannot be ruled out (Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum* (1889), 272): Pflaum, *Les Fastes de la province de Narbonnaise* (1978), 79. On Q. Trebellius Rufus see now D. Fishwick, *Epigraphica*, 60 (1998), 83 ff. (not discussing M. Trebellius Maximus).

[134] All translations and edns render the phrase 'with no military experience'—except that by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb (1877), 16, 'never ventured on a campaign'; *FRB* 60; and A. R. Birley, *Tacitus Agricola and Germany* (1999), 13, 'never inspected the camps', with n., p. 77.

[135] Hassall, in Brewer (ed.), *Roman Fortresses*, 51 ff., esp. 61 f.; Manning, ibid. 69 ff., prefers the view that the Twentieth moved from Usk to Wroxeter (Viroconium) to replace the Fourteenth *c.*67. Cf. LL, Introduction, below.

[136] Suet. *Nero* 32. 1 certainly says that towards the end of his reign he was so pressed for funds that he even had to defer disbursing the soldiers' pay and bounty. See on Nero's financial problems M. T. Griffin, *Nero* (1984), 197 ff.

which resulted in 'a gradual passing over to the blandishments of vice' (*Agr.* 21. 2). The process could be called 'Romanization'. If Trebellius had campaigned in his youth in the Taurus, it could be argued that—like Didius Gallus, Veranius, and Paullinus—he was selected for Britain in the hope that he could put this experience to good use in the conquest of Snowdonia. Equally, his appointment might be construed as a gesture towards his presumed friend Seneca, no longer influential by 63, but perhaps still worth placating.[137] But the times were not propitious for energetic military action. The eastern war was settled and from 64 onwards peace was the watchword throughout the empire.[138] Before long a number of leading men were to lose their lives, including some army commanders (Dio 62. 17. 2ff.). Perhaps Trebellius preferred to practise *quies* and *otium*, because, like others, he was aware that under Nero 'indolence was a kind of philosophy' (Tac. *Agr.* 6. 3, on Agricola's conduct as tribune of the plebs in 66). Finally, it should be remembered that *c.*66 Nero withdrew the crack British legion XIV to join his expedition to the Caucasus, together with the eight Batavian cohorts.[139]

Trebellius recovered his position under Vespasian. At any rate, the Acts of the Arval Brethren record him as *magister* in 72 and perhaps as attending ceremonies in 75.[140] Thereafter he disappears from the record, and no descendants are known.

[137] Griffin, *Seneca*, 94.

[138] Tac. *Ann.* 15. 46. 2, *haud alias tam immota pax*; 16. 28. 3, *pacem . . . per orbem terrarum*; Suet. *Nero* 13. 2, the closure of Janus, registered on the coinage with *pace p.R. ubique parta*, *pace p.R. terra marique parta*: *BMC* i, p. clxxiv, dating the start of these issues to 64.

[139] Tac. *Hist.* 2. 11; Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1731. The Batavians may be assumed to have accompanied the legion, see e.g. *Hist.* 2. 27. 2. Cf. also *Hist.* 1. 6. 2 for the *multi numeri* from Britain and other provinces which Nero had collected for his Caucasus campaign and then recalled to deal with Vindex.

[140] Scheid, *CFA* 42–3.

I.3
FLAVIAN GOVERNORS (GOV. 8–12)

The governor appointed by Vitellius during the civil war of 69, Bolanus (Gov. 8), had little choice but to 'hold the fort', since the garrison was weakened by troop withdrawals. But he did need to intervene in the north to rescue the queen of the Brigantes. With the arrival of his replacement Cerialis (Gov. 9) in 71, a rapid advance began. Cerialis brought a new legion, II Adiutrix, to replace XIV Gemina after its permanent withdrawal (I. 9), founded a new legionary fortress at York, and built a fort as far north as Carlisle. He and his successor Frontinus (Gov. 10) both probably campaigned beyond Carlisle, and Frontinus is credited by Tacitus with the final subjugation of the Silures in south Wales. Agricola (Gov. 11) completed the conquest of Wales by capturing Anglesey in his first half-season, and thereafter campaigned in Scotland, reaching the Tay in his third season. A halt was then called, presumably on Titus' orders, and in his fourth season Agricola turned to south-west Scotland. On Domitian's accession he was evidently ordered to complete the conquest of Scotland, which culminated in his victory at Mons Graupius in the far north in 83, while the fleet dealt with the Orkneys and even reached Shetland. A new legionary fortress was built on the Tay at Inchtuthil, either by Agricola or his successor. However, the military crisis on the Danube soon, probably in 87, caused the withdrawal of II Aditriux and several auxiliary regiments. The Inchtuthil fortress, not quite complete, was dismantled, and most of Agricola's conquests abandoned. Some forts in Lowland Scotland continued to be occupied. All that is recorded of Britain in the remainder of Domitian's reign is the killing of the governor Sallustius Lucullus (Gov. 12); a writing-tablet from Vindolanda may supply evidence for a legionary legate, Ferox (LL 12), as his temporary successor.

8. 69–71 **Marcus Vettius Bolanus** (*cos.* 66)

Statius, *Silv.* 5. 2. 53–6: *. . . aliis Decii reducesque Camilli*
monstrentur—tu disce patrem, quantusque negantem
fluctibus occiduis fesso usque Hyperione Thulen
intrarit mandata gerens . . .

Others may seek an example in Decius or the returning Camillus—you should learn from your father, how great he was, as, bearing his orders, he entered Thule that bars the western waves, where Hyperion is ever weary.

5. 2. 132, 140–9:

quasnam igitur terras, quem Caesaris ibis in orbem? . . .
quod si te magno tellus frenata parenti 140
accipiat, quantum ferus exsultabit Araxes,
quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos,
cum tibi longaevus referet trucis incola terrae:
'hic suetus dare iura parens, hoc cespite turmas 144
adfari; late speculas castellaque longe—
aspicis?—ille dedit cinxitque haec moenia fossa;
belligeris haec dona deis, haec tela dicavit
(cernis adhuc titulos); hunc ipse vocantibus armis 148
induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.

To what lands then, to which of Caesar's worlds will you go? . . . But if a land curbed by your great parent receives you, how the savage Araxes will exult! What glory will excite the Caledonian plains, when some aged inhabitant of the savage country relates, 'Here your parent used to give judgement, on this turf address the squadrons; he placed watchtowers across wide tracts, and forts a long way off—do you see them?—and surrounded these walls with a ditch; these gifts, these weapons he dedicated to the gods of war—you can still make out the inscriptions; this cuirass he himself put on at the call to arms, this one he seized from a British king.'

Tac. *Agr.* 8. 1: *praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne increscerет, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere.*

8. 1: Vettius Bolanus was then governing Britain, with a gentler hand than was appropriate for an untamed province. Agricola reined in his energy and restrained his eagerness in case it became too strong. He knew how to obey and had learned to combine expedience with propriety.

16. 4: *nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.*

16. 4: Nor did Vettius Bolanus trouble Britain by imposing discipline—the Civil Wars were still going on. There was the same lack of activity with regard to the enemy, similar disorderly conduct in the camps, the only difference being that Bolanus, an upright man and not hated for any misdeeds, had contrived to win popularity as a substitute for authority.

Tac. *Hist.* 2. 65. 2: *non idem Trebellio Maximo honos: profugerat Britannia ob iracundiam militum; missus est in locum eius Vettius Bolanus e praesentibus.*

2. 65. 2: Trebellius Maximus did not enjoy the same honour: he had fled from Britain because of the soldiers' anger; Vettius Bolanus, one of those in attendance, was sent to replace him.

2. 97. 1: *auxilia tamen e Germania Britanniaque et Hispaniis excivit, segniter et necessitatem dissimulans. perinde legati provinciaeque cunctabantur, Hordeonius Flaccus suspectis iam Batavis anxius proprio bello, Vettius Bolanus numquam satis quieta Britannia, et uterque ambigui.*

2. 97. 1: However, [Vitellius] did summon reinforcements from Germany and Britain, half-heartedly and disguising the necessity. In like manner the legates and provinces were delaying, Hordeonius Flaccus being anxious about his own war, as the Batavians were already suspect, Vettius Bolanus because Britain was never peaceful enough, and both were of doubtful allegiance.

Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3. 44–5: . . . *et Britanniam insitus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adiunxit ceterarum, in quibus plerique centuriones ac*

milites a Vitellio provecti expertum iam principem anxii mutabant. 45. 1. *ea discordia et crebris belli civilis rumoribus Britanni sustulerunt animos auctore Venutio, qui super insitam ferociam et Romani nominis odium propriis in Cartimanduam reginam stimulis accendebatur. Cartimandua Brigantibus imperitabat, pollens nobilitate; et auxerat potentiam, postquam capto per dolum rege Carataco instruxisse triumphum Claudii Caesaris videbatur. inde opes et rerum secundarum luxus: spreto Venutio (is fuit maritus) armigerum eius Vellocatum in matrimonium regnumque accepit.* 2. *concussa statim flagitio domus: pro marito studia civitatis, pro adultero libido reginae et saevitia, igitur Venutius accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defectione, in extremum discrimen Cartimanduam adduxit. tum petita a Romanis praesidia. et cohortes alaeque nostrae variis proeliis exemere tamen periculo reginam; regnum Venutio, bellum nobis relictum.*

3. 44: . . . And Britain joined [the victor], through favour towards Vespasian—of which the seeds were sown because he had been put in command of the Second legion there by Claudius and had performed with distinction in the war—not without disturbances among the other legions, in which many centurions and soldiers, who had been promoted by Vitellius, were worried about removing an emperor they had already experienced. 45. 1 Because of this disunity and the frequent rumours about the Civil War, the Britons' spirits were raised, at the instigation of Venutius. Apart from his inborn ferocity and his hatred for the name of Rome, he was inflamed against Queen Cartimandua by personal incentives. Cartimandua was the ruler of the Brigantes, powerful through her noble birth; and she had increased her power after, through her treacherous capture of King Caratacus, she was seen as having adorned the triumph of Claudius Caesar. This brought wealth and the extravagance that goes with success. Discarding Venutius—he was her husband—she took his armour-bearer Vellocatus as consort in her marriage and the kingdom. 2. Her house was at once shaken by the scandal: the husband had the support of the community, the adulterer the queen's lust and cruelty. Venutius therefore, reinforcements having been summoned, and with the simultaneous defection of the Brigantes themselves, brought Cartimandua into an extremely critical position. Then troops were requested from the Romans; and our cohorts and cavalry regiments, in battles with varying result, did nevertheless rescue the queen from danger. The kingdom was left to Venutius, we were left with war.

The governorship of Vettius Bolanus was commemorated by two very different writers. In a poem published *c.*95,[1] in praise of Bolanus' son Crispinus, then about to serve as *tribunus laticlavius*, Statius recalled his late father's glorious deeds, including those in Britain. Tacitus, some three years later, made two negative comments about Bolanus in the *Agricola* and a decade later wrote two further passages about him in the *Histories*. In a third passage in the latter work (3. 45, quoted above), referring in effect to the event Statius singled out—the conflict with the Brigantes under Venutius—he does not name Bolanus.

The chronology is clear. Trebellius Maximus, after fleeing Britain, presented himself to Vitellius, soon after the latter had left Lugdunum (Lyon) on receiving the news of his forces' victory against the Othonians at Bedriacum on 16 April. Trebellius was not permitted to retain his command *in absentia*.

[1] *Silvae* 4. 1 celebrates Domitian's seventeenth consulship, 95, and 4. 3 the completion of the Via Domitiana, which belongs to this year, Dio 67. 14. 1. Book 5 can hardly be earlier than 95; it may have been published posthumously.

Vettius Bolanus, 'one of those in attendance', was sent to replace him and no doubt arrived in Britain a few weeks later. His governorship ended some two years later when he was replaced by Petillius Cerialis, presumably in spring 71 (Gov. 9 below).

Bolanus may have gone to Gaul from northern Italy, perhaps his home. Although Vettius is one of the commoner *nomina*, there are several examples in Cisalpina, including MM. Vettii, and an inscription from Milan records a Bolana Secunda, wife of a Vettius—her daughter was a Vettia.[2] Bolanus may thus be a maternal *nomen* used as a *cognomen*, after the Etruscan fashion.[3]

Not much is known of his career before the governorship, but he is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* 15. 3. 1) under the year 62 as a legionary legate in the East, sent to Armenia by Corbulo. Statius elaborates on Bolanus' prowess there in the poem of which part is quoted above, describing him as Corbulo's second in command (*Silv.* 5. 2. 31ff., esp. 48). He was perhaps the senior legionary legate, in age at least. He was evidently a *novus homo*, hence probably about 41, the standard age, when consul in 66.[4] After his legionary command, he may have been proconsul of Macedonia for a year: this would explain why his memory was later honoured in a remote area of that province. One M. Vettius Philo, who presumably owed his citizenship to Bolanus, left money in his will, in 95, for the councillors of the Derriopi to celebrate Bolanus' birthday annually.[5]

Bolanus' first task in 69 was probably to take the refractory Fourteenth legion back to the province (*Hist.* 2. 66. 1). When he arrived he must have had trouble from the legions that were still there, particularly from the Twentieth (Tac. *Agr.* 7. 3; *Hist.* 1. 60). According to Tacitus he did not attempt to reimpose discipline. *Inertia* towards the enemy was still displayed, as it had been by Trebellius, and the troops continued to be restive. But Bolanus' room for manœuvre was very circumscribed, as the *Histories* reveal. Although Britain regained XIV Gemina, it had already contributed 8,000 men to Vitellius (2.

[2] *CIL* v. 5849, Milan: *Bolana M(arci) f(ilia) Secunda sibi et Vettiae Sex(ti) f(iliae) Civili et M(arco) Bolano M(arci) f(ilio) Aniens(i) Marcello fratri, IIIIvir(o) aedil(icia) potestate*; cf. ibid. 5900, 6118, 6123, for MM. Vettii, all at Milan, and 5272, near Comum. Note also Cicero's wealthy friend Marcus Bolanus, *Ad fam.* 13. 77. 2f., perhaps an ancestor. Alföldy, *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaft in der Gallia Cisalpina* (1999), 319, regards origin at Milan as certain; Andermahr, *Totus*, 477, is sceptical. His son Crispinus had property in Etruria, Stat. *Silv.* 5. 2. 1f. Another connection might be the early Neronian procurator of Thrace, M. Vettius Marcellus, who owned an estate at Teate Marrucinorum (Pliny, *NH* 2. 199, 17. 245; *CP*, *suppl.* 30A) and was married to a sister of the Stoic senator Helvidius Priscus (*ILS* 1377, Teate). This man was possibly grandfather of the Trajanic governor Neratius Marcellus (Gov. 15).

[3] H. Rix, *Das etruskische Cognomen* (1963), 325ff.

[4] Degrassi, *FC* 18; T. Franke, *Legionslegaten der römischen Armee in der Zeit von Augustus bis Traian* (1991), 290ff.

[5] Suggested by R. Syme, *ap.* A. E. and J. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions*, iii (1965), no. 278, p. 50, citing *PIR*[1] V 323; cf. Thomasson, *LP* i. 181f., 'fortasse', with further references.

57. 1), and these troops had not yet returned. Before long Vitellius demanded more. Bolanus temporized, for 'Britain was never peaceful enough' (2. 97. 1), but he no doubt went through the motions. Substantial numbers from the British army certainly fought for Vitellius against the Flavians in the autumn (2. 100. 1; 3. 1. 2, 22. 2; 4. 46. 2). Meanwhile the Fourteenth had been canvassed by the Flavian leaders (2. 86. 4), and the rest of the army, at any rate Vespasian's old legion II Augusta, was soon leaning in that direction (3. 44, quoted above). Further, Bolanus failed to control the Twentieth, described as 'too strong and formidable even for the consular legates'—meaning Bolanus as well as Trebellius (Tac. *Agr.* 7. 2, cf. 16. 4, 'the same sort of disorderly conduct [as under Trebellius] in the camps').

At this juncture trouble arose in the north. Venutius, the rejected consort of the Brigantian ruler Cartimandua, who had tried unsuccessfully to depose her twelve years earlier, attacked her again. This time her situation became desperate.[6] Bolanus was able to rescue her, and fought several battles with mixed success, but Venutius had to be left in control of the Brigantes. All this must evidently be placed in 69. Tacitus records these transactions in the *Histories* without naming Bolanus (3. 45, quoted above). His account—he does not refer to them at all in the *Agricola*—suggests that Bolanus' 'lack of action against the enemy' of which he complains in his first work refers only to the period after Agricola arrived as legate of the Twentieth, in 70. Hence there is not necessarily serious conflict with the portrayal of Bolanus' command by Statius. There may be some poetic licence, with the mention of Thule and the 'Caledonian plains', names no doubt much mentioned in the 80s when Agricola was in the far north. None the less, Statius does state clearly that Bolanus built towers and forts over a wide area, that he surrounded walls with a ditch, and that he dedicated a breastplate 'seized from a British king'. It seems probable that Bolanus garrisoned parts of Brigantia and he may have gone well beyond it, pursuing Venutius—who is likely to be the 'British king' in the poem, although the king of a people allied to Venutius (cf. *Hist.* 3. 45. 2, *accitis auxiliis*) might be meant—into Scotland.[7] His successor Cerialis is now known to have established a Roman base as far north as Carlisle by 72.

Early in 70 Agricola took over the Twentieth, but about this time XIV Gemina was withdrawn to the Rhineland (*Hist.* 4. 68. 4). This reduction in the garrison makes it even less surprising that Bolanus was reduced to *inertia*—

[6] D. Braund, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 1–6, argues convincingly that the conflict between Cartimandua and Venutius during the governorship of Didius Gallus, described in *Ann.* 12. 40, is an earlier episode in their marital strife and that the accounts in *Hist.* and *Ann.* should not be conflated; cf. under Gov. 3, above.

[7] D. C. A. Shotter, *CW*[3] 2 (2002), 79–86, at 82ff., argues that Bolanus may have pursued Venutius into Scotland.

meaning that Agricola had no opportunity for action. Indeed, if, as Josephus states (*BJ* 7. 82 f., quoted under no. 9 below), Cerialis was designated governor of Britain before taking command of operations against Civilis and his allies, that is, during the year 70, Bolanus would have been unwise to open a new campaign that year. As it turned out, Cerialis was still fighting Civilis in late September 70, so it can be assumed that he did not take over Britain until spring 71.

Soon after his return to Italy Bolanus was honoured by Vespasian with patrician rank (Stat. *Silv.* 5. 2. 28), no doubt during the censorship in 73–4; and a little later became proconsul of Asia.[8] Both items suggest that his performance in Britain had not been negligible in the eyes of an emperor who knew that province well. Bolanus had probably married late in life, perhaps not until the 70s, for his sons were still youths at the time of Statius' poem: Crispinus, the younger of the two, was only 16 *c.*95, if *Silv.* 5. 2. 12 f., 'your life has already accomplished twice eight courses', is taken literally—perhaps he was seventeen. The elder son, named after his father, as a patrician consul *ordinarius*, in 111, could have been born as late as 78. If the date suggested for Statius' poem is correct, Crispinus was born *c.*79. After Bolanus' death (*Silv.* 5. 2. 64 ff.) his widow had tried to poison Crispinus (77 ff.)—presumably in the hope of securing his share of the inheritance. Statius implies that this took place after the elder son had assumed the *toga virilis*, for Crispinus' guardians accelerated the ceremony in Crispinus' case as a result of his mother's action.[9] The mother was also dead at the time of the poem, evidently sentenced to death by Domitian (91 ff.). Bolanus had probably died at about the same time as Agricola, in 93.

9. 71–73/74 Quintus Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus

(*cos.* 70?, *II* 74, ?*III ord.* 83)

Jos. *BJ* 7. 82 f.: . . . *ὥσπερ ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας Οὐεσπασιανὸς πέμπει γράμματα Βεντιδίῳ* [corrected to *Πετιλίῳ* by Niese] *Κερεαλίῳ τὸ πρότερον ἡγεμόνι Γερμανίας γενομένῳ, τὴν ὑπατὸν διδοὺς τιμὴν καὶ κελεύων ἄρξοντα Βρεττανίας ἀπιέναι* . . .

7. 82: Vespasian, as if through divine foresight, sent a letter to Ventidius [to be emended to Petilius] Cerealius, formerly governor of Germany, conferred the rank of consul on him, and ordered him to set off to govern Britain . . .

[8] Statius. *Silv.* 5. 2. 56–8; confirmed by coins, see Thomasson, *LP* i. 216 (under Vespasian).

[9] *Silv.* 5. 2. 66 ff.; see P. White, *CP* 68 (1973), 282 ff., who also points out that the brothers need not have been twins, as suggested by *geminam prolem*, 5. 2. 65 and *aequaevo*, 75: the brother was clearly older, 126. The younger might be the same as C. Clodius Crispinus (*cos. ord.* 113), in that case perhaps adopted into another family after the murder attempt. Groag in *PIR*² C 1164 is hesitant, but the idea is approved by Syme, *RP* v. 470, 644, and by Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 154.

Tac. *Agr.* 8. 2–3: *brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit.* 3. *nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exultavit: ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.*

8. 2: Shortly afterwards Britain acquired as consular Petilius Cerialis. There was now scope to display talents. But to start with it was only hard work and danger that Cerialis shared [with Agricola]; in due course a share of the glory as well. Often, as a test, Cerialis assigned him part of the army. Sometimes, on the strength of the result, he put him in command of larger forces. However, Agricola never boasted of his achievements to enhance his own reputation. He attributed his success, as a subordinate should, to his general, who had made the plans. Thus his quality of obedience and his modesty in reporting his achievements ruled out any jealousy but did not rule out some glory.

17. 1–2: *sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minutae hostium spes. et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus aut bello.* 2. *et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: subiit sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.*

17. 1: But when, together with the rest of the world, Vespasian recovered Britain too, there came great generals and outstanding armies, and the enemies' hopes dwindled. Petilius Cerialis at once struck them with terror by attacking the state of the Brigantes, which is said to be the most populous in the whole province. There were many battles, some not without bloodshed; and he embraced a great part of the Brigantes either with victory or with war. 2. Cerialis, indeed, would have eclipsed the efforts and reputation of any other successor: Julius Frontinus, a great man, in so far as it was then possible to be great, took up and sustained the burden; and he subjugated the strong and warlike people of the Silures, overcoming not merely the courage of the enemy but the difficulties of the terrain.

Petillius Cerialis, who had been legate of the Ninth legion during the Boudican revolt, is the first governor known to have served in Britain earlier. His full nomenclature is supplied only by the diploma of 21 May 74 recording his second consulship.[10] It seems likely that he owed two of these names to the Petillius Rufus recorded by Tacitus in an episode at the start of 28: as an ex-praetor who in the previous year, with three others, had 'stooped to a shameful deed' (prosecuting an innocent man) in the hope of gaining the consulship from Sejanus (*Ann.* 4. 68. 2).

As to the origin of the family, a clue is provided by two passages in the *Histories*. In late autumn 69, Cerialis presented himself to the Flavian advance guard near Mevania in Umbria, disguised as a peasant, having evaded the Vitellian outposts on account of his local knowledge (3. 59. 2); and he took

[10] *CIL* xvi. 20 = *ILS* 1992. For the spelling Petillius, with double L, see F. Münzer, *RE* 19/1 (1937), 1137; and Cerialis is properly so spelt, not Cer*e*alis, *PIR*² P 260. Tacitus calls him Petil(l)ius Cerialis; Dio 65. 18. 1 gives his *praenomen* as well.

the cavalry force he was to lead against Rome cross-country through the *ager Sabinus* (3. 78. 3, *transversis itineribus*). He was closely related to Vespasian, according to Tacitus (3. 59. 2); through marriage, Dio adds (65. 18. 1), almost certainly his son-in-law, husband of Vespasian's only daughter Flavia Domitilla (cf. below). She was perhaps his second wife. It has been argued that C. Petillius Firm[us], tribune of IV Flavia Felix in Dalmatia under Vespasian, was Cerialis' son by a previous marriage. The tribune is identified with a senator called Firmus, who had also been tribune of a *legio IV*, honoured at Arretium in Etruria under Vespasian; his tribe, Pomptina, was that of this town. In that case Arretium would be Cerialis' home as well.[11]

The link with the Caesii must also be recalled. Upper-class Caesii are well attested in Umbria at this period, including at Mevania,[12] and one should also note the legate of IX Hispana who was probably Cerialis' predecessor, Caesius Nasica (LL 6). In view of the common practice of allowing brothers to serve together, or in succession in the same post, Cerialis could have been Nasica's younger brother. But it is more likely, as Salomies argues, that the names Caesius Cerialis were maternal, in other words that Cerialis was son of Petillius Rufus and of a Caesia, daughter of a Caesius Cerialis; if so, still perhaps a close kinsman, for example nephew or cousin, of Nasica.[13]

The ex-praetor Petillius Rufus met a well-deserved fate, presumably in the 30s or early 40s (Tacitus' account of it is lost). At any rate, if Rufus hoped for the consulship in 27, he was probably not far short of 40 then.[14] His assumed son Cerialis would probably have been born well before this. But this remains uncertain. Perhaps Cerialis was adopted; and Rufus' downfall might have retarded the start of Cerialis' career, so it is impossible to be confident about his year of birth. Further, in the early principate some men commanded legions before the praetorship, while others were much older—Manlius Valens (LL 5 below) was in his forties under Scapula and Didius Gallus. Cerialis might well have been at least 40 as legate of the Ninth in 60. There is

[11] *AE* 1967. 355, Iader. See *PIR*² P 261, with further references, for the identification with the young senator, *[. . .]. f(ilius), Pom(ptina), Firmus*, *ILS* 1000 + *add.* = *AE* 1980. 468 = 1983. 392.

[12] Note e.g. Sex. Caesius Propertianus, patron of Mevania, equestrian officer under Nero and Vitellius (who made him a procurator), also *flamen Cerialis* (*ILS* 1147; *PIR*² C 204; *PME* C 44); C. Caesius Sabinus from Sassina, *decus Umbriae* (Martial 7. 97; *PIR*² C 205); C. Caesius Aper from Sestinum, equestrian officer under Nero, adlected to the senate by Vespasian (C 191; *PME* C 42). E. Swoboda, *RE* 19/1 (1937), 1149, suggested origin for Cerialis at Aquileia, citing Petillia Q. f. Modesta, wife of a decurion (*NSA* 1925. 24, no. 5) and Petilius Tironis lib. Cerialis (*CIL* v. 1330): not strong enough evidence for Syme, *Athenaeum*, 35 (1957), 313ff. = *RP* i. 330ff., who favoured Sabine origin, citing the relationship with Vespasian and the local knowledge of Umbria and the Sabine country.

[13] Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 131f.

[14] Tac. *Ann.* 4. 71. 1, announces his intention to report the retribution under the appropriate year; clearly in a lost book, Syme, *Tacitus*, 256ff.

one further consideration. Josephus, in the passage quoted above, says that he had been 'previously governor (*hegemon*) of Germany'. This cannot be right; but Josephus perhaps meant that Cerialis had previously been a legionary legate (the word *hegemon* is used elsewhere for legionary legate) in Germany, in which case IX Hispana would have been his second legionary command. In other careers with two legionary legateships it can be seen, when enough is known, that the second appointment was to a province where extra experience was needed.

However, Cerialis can hardly be said to have done well in this capacity in Britain, as Tacitus shows, when describing the aftermath of the capture of Camulodunum in 60 (cf. under Gov. 5 above):

Ann. 14. 32. 3: *et cetera quidem impetu direpta aut incensa sunt: templum, in quo se miles conglobaverat, biduo obsessum expugnatumque; et victor Britannus, Petilio Ceriali, legato legionis nonae, in subsidium adventanti obvius, fudit legionem, et quod peditum interfecit. Cerialis cum equitibus evasit in castra et munimentis defensus est. qua clade et odiis provinciae, quam avaritia in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.*

And everything else, indeed, was destroyed or burned in the onslaught: the temple, in which the soldiers had banded together, was besieged for two days and then stormed; and the victorious Britons, opposing Petilius Cerialis, legate of the Ninth legion, who was approaching to provide support, put the legion to flight and killed what there was of infantry: Cerialis, with the cavalry, escaped to his fortress, and was defended by its ramparts. The terrified procurator Catus crossed to Gaul as a result of this disaster and because of the hatred on the part of the province which he had driven to war by his greed.

The defeat is called a *clades*, 'disaster', and the notice is highly unflattering: Cerialis arrived too late, was put to flight with heavy losses, but escaped and sheltered in his fortress (probably at Lincoln (*Lindum*), below); and 'Petillius' rashness' is referred to again shortly afterwards (14. 33. 1). But perhaps he had some successes behind him in Britain before or after the revolt, or indeed elsewhere in another command, which would explain Tacitus' remark in the *Histories*—'and [Cerialis] himself had a not inglorious military reputation' (3. 59. 2).

It was perhaps as an indirect result of his débâcle in 60 that Cerialis made the marriage to which he owed his prominence in the 70s. Eight auxiliary cohorts, 1,000 cavalry, and 2,000 legionaries, were sent from Germany to restore the depleted ranks of the British army, not least of IX Hispana (*Ann.* 14. 38. 1), and it may have been the future Titus Caesar who brought them: he served successively as tribune in Germany and Britain at about this time (Trib. 7). Perhaps this led to a marriage between Cerialis and Titus' sister. As mentioned above, Cerialis was probably the husband of Vespasian's daughter Domitilla. She herself was dead by 69 and there is no means of telling when the marriage took place. But she had at least one child, a daughter named

after herself, and she was later deified; Cerialis, if he was indeed her husband, would have enjoyed favour from the dynasty.[15]

Nothing is known of Cerialis' activities after his legionary command; but he might have held one or more posts, for example as legate or proconsul of a praetorian province.[16] On his appearance before the Flavian advance force in December 69, he was entrusted with the command of 1,000 cavalry, but bungled the task: displaying both the failure to hurry and the rashness which were his hallmarks (cf. *Hist.* 4. 76. 3, 77. 2, 78. 2; 5. 20. 1; and *Ann.* 14. 33. 1, quoted above), he was heavily defeated by the Vitellians in the outskirts of Rome (*Hist.* 3. 79. 1), and was too late to save the Flavians besieged on the Capitol (3. 69. 3–75. 3). He also failed to ensure discipline: when a deputation from the senate arrived, he could not restrain his men's violent behaviour towards its members (3. 80. 1–2).

Despite this unpromising performance, a few weeks later, early in 70, he was appointed, together with Annius Gallus, to suppress the revolt in the Rhineland, as commander of the Lower German army (4. 68. 1ff.). Josephus states that 'Vespasian wrote to Cerialis, formerly governor of Germany, conferred the rank of consul on him, and ordered him to govern Britain', and that he dealt with the uprising on the Rhine on his way (*BJ* 7. 82f., partly quoted above). This must be a confusion. Cerialis can hardly have been 'formerly governor of Germany'—at best, it might have meant a previous legionary command in Germany (cf. above). Or perhaps he was assured that, when he had dealt with the rebels, he would proceed to Britain, a province in which both he and the new emperor had a special interest. Josephus' statement that he was given consular rank immediately before he set off in 70 has caused his name to be restored as the colleague of Licinius Mucianus, consul suffect for the second time, in the *Fasti Ostienses* for 70.[17] If this is right, he probably left Rome soon after taking office or may have held it *in absentia*. But he might have been consul suffect under Nero in the later 60s; or, conceivably, was *adlectus inter consulares* in 70, for which the only precedent seems to be as long before as 29 BC (two men, Dio 52. 42. 4).

His operations in the Rhineland are described in detail by Tacitus, who makes it clear that, in his view, Cerialis succeeded more by good luck than by

[15] G. Townend, *JRS* 51 (1961), 58ff.; cf. *PIR*² F 417, 418; P 260; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, 321, no. 368.

[16] A Petilius Rufus appears on an inscription at Nicaea, one of a handful of Roman names in a long list of Greek ones: A. M. Schneider, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, 16 (1943), 23f., no. 4 (col. a, l. 14). Petillius might have been proconsul of Pontus-Bithynia in the 60s. Of course, it could have been his assumed father whose name was perpetuated at Nicaea.

[17] J. Morris, *JRS* 43 (1953), 79f. Vidman, *FO*² 43, 73f., assigns the fragment to 72, the third consulship of Mucianus, with T. Flavius Sabinus II as his colleague.

good management.[18] The account in the *Histories* breaks off in autumn 70. It may be assumed that Cerialis did not proceed to Britain until spring 71, taking with him the newly formed legion II Adiutrix, which brought the legionary garrison up to four again.[19]

His governorship is described in two places in the *Agricola*, to illustrate Agricola's own career, and in its own right. Tacitus gives Cerialis credit for the resumption of an aggressive policy and the partial conquest of the Brigantes, Britain's largest people. There is general agreement that Cerialis moved the Ninth, his old legion, forward from Lincoln (*Lindum*) to a new fortress at York (*Eburacum*) and that the vacant base was assigned to II Adiutrix.[20] Archaeological evidence shows that he penetrated well into the northern Pennines; and the first Roman fort at Carlisle (*Luguvalium*) turns out, on the evidence of dendrochronology, to have been built with timbers felled in winter 72–3.[21] Tacitus' account of Agricola's second and third seasons, implies that the latter's immediate predecessors had already been involved with some of the peoples of southern Scotland: 'many states which up to that moment had operated on equal terms abandoned violence and gave hostages' (*Agr.* 20. 3); 'the enemy were baffled and in despair, because they had been used to making good the summer's losses by successes in winter and now they were under pressure in summer and winter alike' (22. 3).[22] There is now support for the view that Cerialis campaigned in Scotland—and indeed Bolanus may have preceded him there (cf. under no. 8 above).

Cerialis was presumably back at Rome for his second consulship in May 74, and probably left Britain late in 73, after three seasons. There is no certain trace of him thereafter, unless, as is just possible, he is the Q. Petillius Rufus who was consul *ordinarius* with Domitian in 83. However, the latter is described as consul for the second time both on the single inscription which names this pair and by Phlegon of Tralles some fifty years later.[23] By the time that Tacitus

[18] A. R. Birley, *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 183ff.

[19] *Hist.* 5. 26. 3, Cerialis' negotiations with Civilis; cf. 5. 22. 1, winter quarters being built for the legions, 23. 3, the beginning of autumn and the equinoctial gales.

[20] M. Hassall, in R. J. Brewer (ed.), *Roman Fortresses and their Legions* (2000), esp. 61ff.; E. Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1441; B. Lörincz, in Y. le Bohec (ed.), *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, i (2000), 160f.

[21] See I. Caruana, in R. J. A. Wilson (ed.), *Roman Maryport* (1997), 40–51; D. C. A. Shotter, *Northern History*, 36 (2000), 189–98; id, *CW*[3] 1 (2001), 21ff.

[22] See Birley, *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 190, on 'many states', against the view that this meant 'members of the "Brigantian confederation" ' (as R. Syme, *CAH* xi (1936), 153); also criticizing the interpretation of 'had operated on equal terms' by Ogilvie-Richmond 219.

[23] This was suggested in *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 187, in spite of *ISmyrna* 2/1. 731 and Phlegon, *Mirabilia* (*FGrH* 257, F 36), xxiv; cf. *PIR*[2] P 260, 263 where critics of the suggestion are cited; it is not rejected by Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, 321, no. 368, although mentioned with two question-marks. One may add that the *Fasti consulares* of Barbarus Scaligeri (*MGH AA* ix, *Chron. min.* i. 284), confused though they are, offer some support for the suggestion that it was Cerialis who was consul with Domitian in 83.

wrote about him, Petillius was probably dead. A mansion at Rome called the *domus Petiliana* by Martial (12. 57. 19) belonged to someone else, the poet's friend Sparsus.[24]

10. 73/4–77 Sextus Julius Frontinus (*cos. a. inc.*, *II* 98, *III ord.* 100)

Tac. *Agr.* 17. 2: see under Gov. 9.

Julius Frontinus is one of the most important figures of the Flavio-Trajanic era. Besides his political prominence, he was a distinguished writer on technical subjects, and is mentioned in the works of Aelian, Martial, and the younger Pliny. But his governorship of Britain is attested only by a single sentence in the *Agricola*, and his origin and early career are unknown. Aelian, author of a work called *Tactica*, called on him to discuss military studies at Formiae (*Tactic.*, *praef.* 3), and Martial wrote of his retreat at 'Anxur', that is, Tarracina (10. 58. 1f., 5). But there is no reason to suppose that Latium was his original home.[25] The *nomen* suggests provincial origin. Sexti Julii are relatively rare, but are found much more frequently in Gaul, particularly in Narbonensis, than elsewhere; and a senator called Q. Valerius Lupercus Julius Frontinus is recorded at Vienna on the Rhône.[26] In the absence of further evidence, it seems most likely that his origin was in southern Gaul. Nothing is known of his career before the praetorship. As urban praetor, in the absence of the consuls, he convened the senate for its first meeting of the year 70, on 1 January; but shortly afterwards resigned to make way for Domitian (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 39. 1f.). Since he was clearly consul little more than three years later, he must have been promoted rapidly because of his age (unless he was patrician, which seems highly unlikely). He might have been made a senator shortly before 70,

They give the consuls for a year which should be 82, labelled 'CXVI', as *Dometiano Augusto secundo et Sabiniano* (correctly *Domitiano Augusto VIII et (T. Flavio) Sabino*), and for 86, labelled 'CXVIII', as *Domitiano quarto et Dolamallo* (i.e. *Domitiano XII et Dolabella*). The pair that comes between, labelled 'CXVII', is given as *Domitiano III et Cerilao*, the latter name surely an attempt at *Ceriale*.

[24] Identifiable as Sex. Julius Sparsus (*cos.* 88): *PIR*² J 586; presumably the father of Pliny's friend Julius Sparsus (*Ep.* 4. 5, 8. 3), A. R. Birley, *Onomasticon to the Younger Pliny* (2000), 66.

[25] As supposed by L. Schumacher, *Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur Besetzung der vier hohen römischen Priesterkollegien* (1973), 254f.

[26] *CIL* xii. 1859f., cited by Syme, *Tacitus*, 790; id., *Gnomon*, 29 (1957), 518f. = id., *Danubian Papers* (1971), 181. Note also the filiation of T. Julius Sex. f. Volt. Maximus Manlianus Brocchus Servilianus A. Quadronius [?Verus] of Nemausus (*PIR*² J 426) and *CIL* xii. 3656, Nemausus: *Sex. Iulio Servato Frontina uxor posuit.* The arguments of J. Remesal Rodríguez, *Gerión*, 13 (1995), 119ff., for Frontinus being a Lingonian, the testator of the lost *CIL* xiii. 5708 = *ILS* 8379, presumably from Langres in Lingonian territory, seem tenuous. The *ignotus* was father of Sex. Julius Aquilinus and grandfather of Sex. Julius Aquila. It must be noted that in Gaul Julii with *praenomina* other than the standard C. and Ti. are unusually frequent in comparison to the rest of the empire. See Salomies, *Vornamen* 202ff., with reference to Narbonensis; the same applies to the rest of Gaul: see the index to *CIL* xiii.

after an equestrian career, possibly with Corbulo;[27] and he could have been holding some procuratorial post in Spain in 68, rewarded by Galba for rapid adherence to his cause.[28]

Later in 70 Frontinus participated in the suppression of the Rhineland revolt. As he records in the *Strategemata* (4. 3. 14), he received the surrender of 70,000 Lingones. The suggestion that he was then legate of II Adiutrix, and later took the legion to Britain, must be discarded. The dedication made on his behalf at Vetera (Xanten) on the Lower Rhine surely belongs later (see below).[29] In any case, the odds are that he commanded a special force in 70, as *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, not just one legion.[30]

Before he succeeded Cerialis in Britain he must have been consul. His first tenure of the *fasces* is not explicitly recorded, for it is hard to accept that he can be identified with the suffect consul of 74, apparently in office in June of that year, of whose names only the letters ON are preserved. Several other names are possible, and it is preferable to suppose that Frontinus was consul earlier, in 73 or perhaps even in 72.[31] For one thing, his predecessor Cerialis was surely back at Rome in May 74, when he was *cos. II* (Gov. 9).

Frontinus is credited by Tacitus with the subjugation of the Silures, the warlike people of south Wales who had kept Roman armies busy for over thirty years. But, as Syme pointed out long ago, although 'a single sentence is the only record of his activities . . . that would not be enough to justify the unworthy suspicion that he had neglected both northern Wales and northern England and had failed to consolidate or extend the gains of his predecessors'.[32] Indeed, the phrase 'took up and sustained the burden' (Tac. *Agr.* 17. 2) ought to mean that Frontinus prosecuted the war in the north as well; and that he was active in north as well as south Wales can be inferred from the presence

[27] Syme, *Tacitus*, 790, notes that 'that consular author, who was singularly reticent about contemporary warfare (Britain is absent) has notices of Corbulo (*Strat.* IV. 1. 21; 28; 2. 3) and, in particular, an anecdote about Corbulo at Tigranocerta (II. 9. 5)'.

[28] Syme, *Tacitus*, 790. The fragments of Frontinus in the *Corpus agrimensorum* show intimate knowledge of Spain: 1 f., 9, 44 Thulin; and of Africa, ibid. 45, 48. Frontinus might have served in both as procurator in the 60s.

[29] For II Adiutrix: J. B. Ward-Perkins, *CQ* 31 (1937), 102 ff.; L. Petersen, *PIR*² J 322, preferred XXII Primigenia. But both took *CIL* xiii. 8624, Vetera, to be evidence of his legionary command; see below n. 34.

[30] For men not yet consul as commanders of larger forces cf. A. Marius Celsus, one of Otho's *duces* (*PIR*² M 296), or Q. Lollius Urbicus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in the Jewish War under Hadrian (Gov. 24).

[31] Of others consul at about this time [M. Hirrius Fr]on[to Neratius Pansa] (father of L. Neratius Marcellus, Gov. 15) was long a favourite candidate for the *cos.* 74; still favoured in *PIR*² N 56. An alternative, [C. Pomp]on[ius . . .], was offered by S. Dušanić, *Epigraphica*, 30 (1968), 68 (whence *AE* 1968. 7), followed e.g. by W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 438; Syme, *Gerión* 1 (1983), 254 = id., *RP* iv. 145 (and elsewhere); *PIR*² P 692. Syme favoured 73 for Frontinus' first consulship in *RP* iv. 128, 401; v. 613; vii. 534 n. 88.

[32] Syme in *CAH* xi (1936), 152.

of an *ala* in Ordovician territory when Agricola arrived in 77 (Tac. *Agr.* 17. 1). Frontinus may also have begun the construction of a new fortress for II Adiutrix at Chester (*Deva*), to which it was to move from Lincoln (*Lindum*).[33] Only one man can be identified who probably served under Frontinus in Britain: Gaius Caristanius Fronto, from the colony Antioch towards Pisidia, legate of IX Hispana, probably began his command *c.*76 and continued for a year or two under Agricola (LL 11).

Frontinus was succeeded by Agricola in midsummer 77 (Gov. 11). It has long been inferred from the *Strategemata* (1. 1. 8; 1. 3. 10; 2. 3. 23; 2. 11. 7) that Frontinus served with Domitian during the German campaign in 83. This seems to be confirmed by new evidence: he is almost certainly the legate of the Lower German army, of whose name *Sex(to) Iu[lio . . .]* is preserved on a diploma datable to *c.*80–3. This allows the fragmentary altar from Vetera, *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) I]unoni [Miner]vae, pro [sal(ute) S]exti Iul(i) [Fro]ntini [. . .]*, to be assigned to this period.[34] Shortly afterwards Frontinus became proconsul of Asia, where he is recorded on coins of Smyrna and on an inscription at Hierapolis in Phrygia datable to 84–5.[35]

After his proconsulship he doubtless occupied himself with writing: books on surveying, of which excerpts are preserved in the *Corpus Agrimensorum*; a theoretical work on military science, *De re militari* (*Strat. pr.* 1), now lost, but cited by Vegetius (1. 8); and the *Strategemata.* On Nerva's accession he emerged as a leading senior statesman. In 97 he was made *curator aquarum*, a task which he undertook with great conscientiousness, to judge from his manual on the subject (*Commentarius de aquis*). In the same year he was one of the senate's two first choices for Nerva's economy commission (Plin. *Pan.* 62. 2, cf. 61. 6). Early in 98 he held a second consulship as suffect in February, as colleague of Trajan, *cos. II ord.*, who remained in office after Nerva's death on 27 January and acceded to the position of emperor the next day. Two years later Frontinus was consul a third time, as *ordinarius* with Trajan, also holding his third consulship, as his colleague again.[36] This exceptional honour underlines the high regard in which he was held—and suggests that Trajan had a debt to repay.[37]

[33] M. Hassall, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, ii (2000), 446; B. Lörincz, ibid. i. 161.

[34] Diploma: Eck, *ZPE* 143 (2003), 205ff. Vetera inscription: *CIL* xiii. 8624. The new evidence confirms Eck's cautious suggestion, *Statthalter*, 142, that Frontinus was legate of the Lower German army at the time of the Chattan war.

[35] *BMC Ionia* p. 250, nos. 133–7; *AE* 1969/70. 593, as discussed by Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 208; Thomasson, *LP* i. 217, no. 73 remains cautious, '84–87' (84/85?)'; cf. also *IGR* iv. 847, Laodicea.

[36] Evidence in *PIR*² J 322.

[37] This is stressed by W. Eck, in G. Clark and T. Rajak (eds.), *Philosophy and Power in the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Miriam Griffin* (2002), 217ff.

The favour in which Frontinus was held is reflected in the success of his son-in-law, the cultivated Q. Sosius Senecio, *consul ordinarius* in 99 and again in 107.[38] By 107 Frontinus himself had died, probably in 103 or 104. Pliny records with satisfaction, about that time, that he filled the vacancy in the college of augurs created by Frontinus' death (*Ep.* 4. 8. 3). Elsewhere he stresses that Frontinus had refused to be commemorated by a monument: this was in a letter to Ruso, who, he says, rated Frontinus higher than Verginius Rufus (9. 19). Ruso may be identified with P. Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus (*cos. c.*84?), probably Frontinus' nephew (and a great-grandfather of Marcus Aurelius).[39] Frontinus' granddaughter Sosia Polla married Q. Pompeius Falco (*cos.* 108), governor of Britain *c.*118–22 (Gov. 17).

11. 77–84 Gnaeus Julius, Luci filius, Aniensis, Agricola (*cos.* 76?)

Because of the biography by Tacitus, Agricola is the best known of all governors of Britain. He deserves special attention for several other reasons as well. He is the only senator known to have served in all three military ranks, tribune, legionary legate, and governor, in the same province—even cases of men serving twice with the same army are relatively rare. Agricola is thus the 'British specialist' *par excellence*. Also unusual is the length of his governorship, seven years, longer than that recorded for any other governor of Britain, with the possible exception of Ulpius Marcellus a hundred years later (Gov. 33), and not usual in any province. Further, Agricola was considerably younger than most other governors. Finally, he is so far the earliest governor attested epigraphically in the province.

The exceptional nature of the evidence makes it necessary to set out first the passages of Tacitus' biography dealing with Agricola's life and career before he governed Britain. The documentary evidence from Britain and some excerpts from Tacitus and Dio dealing with the governorship follow at appropriate points.

Tac. *Agr.* 4. 1: *Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et illustri Foroiuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. pater illi Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis . . . .* 2. *mater Iulia Procilla fuit . . .*

4. 1: Gnaeus Julius Agricola came from the ancient and famous *colonia* of Forum Julii [Fréjus]. Both his grandfathers were procurators of the Caesars, the equivalent of nobility for equestrians. His father Julius Graecinus belonged to the senatorial order . . . . 2. His mother was Julia Procilla.

[38] Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, nos. 440, 723; Caballos, *Senadores*, no. 164 (claiming Spanish origin; but this is very uncertain).

[39] Birley, *Onomasticon*, 47, referring to Syme's discussion; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, nos. 328, 439.

44. 1: *natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare ter⟨tium⟩ consule idibus Iuniis.*

44. 1: Agricola was born on the Ides of June when Gaius Caesar was consul for the third time (13 June 40).

Agricola's father Lucius Julius Graecinus achieved senatorial rank, rising to the praetorship, but was put to death by Caligula. Agricola's place of birth was probably Rome or nearby, rather than the family's home town Forum Julii, the Caesarian colony in Gallia Narbonensis. As Caligula was murdered on 24 January 41, seven months after Agricola's birth on 13 June 40, he cannot have known his father.[40] Graecinus had a younger brother, who set up his funerary monument at Rome *AE* 1946. 94 = *CIL* vi. 41069:

[L(ucio)] Iulio, L(uci) f(ilio), Ani(ensi), | Graecino, | tr(ibuno) pl(ebis), pr(aetori), [4] *| M(arcus) Iulius L(uci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) | Graecinus, | quaestor, f(aciendum) ç(uravit).*

To Lucius Julius, son of Lucius, Aniensis, Graecinus, tribune of the plebs, praetor, Marcus Julius, son of Lucius, Aniensis, Graecinus, quaestor, had this set up.[41]

Tacitus records that Agricola's father was 'noted for his devotion to eloquence and philosophy' and that he had offended Caligula by his refusal to prosecute M. Silanus (4. 1).[42] Seneca, more impressively, states that Caligula killed him 'for the sole reason that he was a better man than a tyrant found it expedient for anyone to be'. He also recalls that Graecinus had already displayed his independent spirit by declining financial assistance for his games from two powerful but disreputable figures (*De benef.* 2. 21. 5–6). Seneca elsewhere quotes a sarcastic comment by Graecinus about the philosopher Aristo (*Ep.* 29. 6), while Columella refers several times to his two-volume manual on viticulture, written with 'elegance and learning' (l. 1. 14, cf. 3. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11; 4. 3. 1–6, 28. 2).[43] In one passage (4. 3. 6) Columella names a neighbour of Graecinus, Papirius Veternesis; it has been suggested that this man's estate was the Massa Veternensis in Etruria, mentioned by Ammianus (14. 11. 27).

[40] *ortus* in *Agr.* 4. 1 means 'came from' not 'born at'. His parents, as members of the senatorial order, would have been required to live mainly at Rome; see *Dig.* 1. 9. 11 and Talbert, *Senate*, 40, 134ff. Agricola was probably born there or at a suburban villa.

[41] The improved reading in *CIL* vi., with *f.ç.* instead of just *f.* at the end of l. 6, renders redundant the case made by Salomies, *Vornamen*, 355 n. 42, for understanding *f.* as *f(ilius)*., i.e. making M. Graecinus a much older brother of Agricola.

[42] This statement is dismissed as inaccurate e.g. by A. Winterling, *Caligula* (2003), 128, on the grounds that M. Junius Silanus (*cos.* 15) died by suicide as early as 38 (*PIR*^{2} J 832), over two years before Graecinus' death. But as pointed out in Ogilvie-Richmond 142, Tacitus may have referred to M. Junius Silanus Torquatus (*cos. ord.* 19; J 839). This Silanus was certainly the object of Caligula's suspicions, Tac. *Hist.* 4. 48. 1: that emperor removed the legion III Augusta from the control of the proconsul of Africa M. Silanus, whom he feared. See Thomasson, *Fasti*, 33f., for a convincing explanation and dating. Cf. also Raepsaet-Charlier, *ANRW* 2/33/3 (1991), 1829ff., defending Tacitus' accuracy on other grounds.

[43] Graecinus' work is also cited by Pliny, *NH* 14. 33 and 16. 241. O. Hirschfeld, *WS* 5 (1881), 121, suggested that Graecinus' interests in farming may have prompted the choice of the *cognomen* Agricola for his son.

The family also had estates in Liguria, near Albintimilium, where Agricola's mother was living at the time of her death in 69 (*Agr.* 7. 1).[44]

Agricola was brought up at Forum Julii by his mother, 'a woman of exceptionally pure character', was taught 'liberal studies' at home, and went, for his higher education, to the Greek city of Marseille (*Massilia*), where his enthusiasm for philosophy, 'excessive for a Roman and a senator', was reined in by his mother (*Agr.* 4. 2–3). He may have held office in the vigintivirate at the age of 18 or so, but this is not mentioned by Tacitus, who begins the account of Agricola's career with his military tribunate:

5. 1: *prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, approbavit. electus quem contubernio aestimaret.*

5. 1: His first lessons in military life he learned to the satisfaction of Suetonius Paulinus, a conscientious and circumspect commander. Agricola had been selected to be tested on Paulinus' staff.

The remainder of chapter 5 describes Agricola's admirable conduct as tribune and his experience of the Boudican uprising (described again in more detail, without mention of Agricola, *Agr.* 14. 3–16. 2 and *Ann.* 14. 29–39, quoted under Gov. 5 above). At this time Nero's two chief advisers were Seneca and the guard prefect Afranius Burrus, the latter of Gallic origin,[45] like Agricola. This, combined with Seneca's admiration for Agricola's father, would have ensured a good start for the young man. Agricola was in Britain at the time of Boudica's uprising in 60 (see under Gov. 5), although he might well have arrived a year or two earlier. The phrase in *Agr.* 5. 1, *electus quem contubernio aestimaret*, translated above as 'selected to be tested on Paulinus' staff', may mean only 'having been given a commission as tribune'; it need not necessarily indicate that Agricola served at the governor's headquarters rather than with his legion. The legion is not named. II Augusta has been suggested, because Tacitus elsewhere (*Ann.* 14. 37. 3) reports the name and fate of that legion's camp prefect, Poenius Postumus, who disobeyed Paullinus' orders to join him and committed suicide when he learnt of the Roman victory. By inference, both the legate and his official second in command, the *tribunus laticlavius*, must have been absent;[46] and Agricola was certainly involved in the battle against the rebels (*Agr.* 5. 3). But this is not enough to rule out any of the three other legions. While in Britain Agricola might have made the acquaintance of the future Titus Caesar, whose military service included a term as tribune in Britain, possibly just after the rebellion (Trib. 7).

Tacitus gives no hint that Agricola served in the vigintivirate, which he may have been allowed to omit, especially if he served for more than a year as

[44] Andermahr, *Totus*, 297 f.
[45] Syme, *Tacitus*, 590 ff.; id, *The Provincial at Rome* (1999), 118.
[46] Pointed out by Syme, *Tacitus*, 764 f.

military tribune.[47] On his return from Britain to Rome 'to enter the career of office', Agricola married Domitia Decidiana (*Agr.* 6. 1)[48] and was elected to the quaestorship. This was evidently in 62, for he was appointed to the province of Asia under a proconsul whose year of office seems to have been 63–4, Otho Titianus (*Agr.* 6. 2), elder brother of the future emperor Otho.[49] Agricola's first child, a son, was evidently born in 62, but died in infancy; the second, the daughter who was to marry Tacitus, was born in Asia (6. 2). The year between quaestorship and tribunate of the plebs, to which Tacitus refers, should be 65 and he will have been tribune in 66, prudently spending these two years 'in quiet inactivity. He understood the age of Nero; indolence was then a kind of philosophy' (6. 3).[50] He presumably had another year's interval, in 67, followed by the praetorship, which also 'ran a silent course', in 68—that is certainly the latest possible year, since he was then appointed by Galba to take an inventory of temple treasures, some of which Nero had misappropriated. He fulfilled the task with great conscientiousness (6. 4–5).

Up to this moment his career had not been particularly distinguished. He had reached the praetorship in his twenty-eighth year, two years earlier than the standard age, presumably thanks to the birth of two children, which secured him a year's remission in each case (alluded to in 6. 1: 'his marriage brought both distinction and material support when he was seeking advancement'). He was apparently not *candidatus Caesaris* either as tribune of the plebs or praetor (of course, Tacitus could have suppressed mention of such favour from Nero).

The Civil War of 69 led to a change of fortune. In March or early April the Othonian fleet ravaged the Ligurian coast and killed Agricola's mother on her estate at Albintimilium.[51] He set out, presumably from Rome, to fulfil 'the

[47] Cf. A. R. Birley, *Gedenkschrift Eric Birley* (2000), 104ff., with a list of over sixty senatorial careers which omit the vigintivirate but include a military tribunate. Many of these men were no doubt equestrian tribunes before obtaining senatorial rank, but at least a dozen were *tribuni laticlavii.*

[48] Assumed to be the daughter of Domitius Decidius, *quaestor aerarii* in 44 (*ILS* 966), probably also from Gaul (*PIR*² D 143), and surely related to the Augustan procurator Decidius Domitianus (D 22); Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 322.

[49] Vogel-Weidemann, *Statthalter*, 441ff.; Thomasson, *LP* i. 214. There is no basis for the notion that Agricola also served under Titianus' predecessor, the upright Antistius Vetus (as Ogilvie-Richmond 149, 317). Provincial quaestors did not take up their posts until the summer and served with a single proconsul: Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* ii/1³. 258—but were elected the previous year, in this case 62. This adds interest to Tacitus' comments on the elections for 62 (*Ann.* 15. 19): the *ius liberorum*, from which Agricola presumably benefited since he had just a son (*Agr.* 6. 2), was in that year abused by others through fake adoptions.

[50] As Tacitus later recalled, *Ann.* 16. 26. 4f., one of the other tribunes of the plebs of 66, Q. Junius Arulenus Rusticus, 'a passionate young man and desirous of praise', was eager to use the tribunician veto to save Thrasea Paetus from condemnation. Thrasea restrained him: it would achieve nothing except to endanger himself. Tacitus' remark about 'indolence being a kind of philosophy' is perhaps an implicit contrast to these Stoics, cf. *Agr.* 42. 4, quoted below.

[51] In *Hist.* 2. 13. 1 a similar case is described. The Othonian troops involved went on to engage a

ceremonies required of filial duty', *sollemnia pietatis*, and 'was overtaken by news of Vespasian's bid for empire' (7. 1–2). His departure may have been delayed by the disturbed conditions, and the news of his mother's fate may not have reached him for some weeks. Even so, he must have been one of the very first to join the Flavian party:[52] Vespasian was not proclaimed at Alexandria until 1 July (*Hist.* 2. 79). Agricola may have been approached by messengers from the men canvassing for support in advance, such as Antonius Primus or Cornelius Fuscus, although to judge from the *Histories* they did not begin this work in an active way until late July.[53] Another likely Flavian activist in summer 69 was the procurator of Narbonensis, Valerius Paulinus, a native of Forum Julii and hence certainly known to Agricola. This man seized the *colonia* by October at the latest, after inducing several other communities to swear allegiance to Vespasian. Paulinus had been a friend of Vespasian before this; soon after, he managed to capture the Vitellian general Fabius Valens, which brought about a general swing to the Flavians (*Hist.* 3. 43–4).[54]

Tac. *Agr.* 7. 2–3: . . . *initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante.* 3. *is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicesimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. ita successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.*

7. 2: The early stages of the reign and the government of the city were in the hands of Mucianus, Domitian then being a very young man who was using his father's success only as an opportunity for dissolute conduct. 3. He [Mucianus] appointed Agricola, who had been sent to conduct a levy and had carried this out with integrity and energy, to the command of the Twentieth legion. It had been late in coming over to swear allegiance and the outgoing commander was reported to have behaved treasonably. Indeed, the legion had been too strong and formidable even for the consular legates, and the praetorian legate was impotent to control it. So he was chosen as successor and at the same time as the man to exact retribution; but he preferred to let it appear that he had found the men disciplined rather than that he had made them so.

Thus it was after successful service levying troops that Agricola was made legate of the Twentieth by Licinius Mucianus, who arrived to take control of

Vitellian force sent by Fabius Valens (2. 14–15); news of this reached Valens at Ticinum, well before the battle of Bedriacum (14 April). See Syme, *Tacitus*, 676f. K. Wellesley, *The Histories Book III* (1972), 9, assigns this episode to March.

[52] G. E. F. Chilver, *JRS* 47 (1957), 34f., emphasized that Vespasian and Mucianus had been preparing the coup for months, citing *Hist.* 2. 5. 2 and 5. 10. 2. As he noted, 'the penetration of Vespasian's agents into high circles is almost more extraordinary than that of Galba's'. But he was mistaken to add that Vespasian 'also succeeded in suborning . . . Vettius Bolanus and his young legionary legate Agricola in Britain'. Agricola probably needed no suborning and was certainly not yet a legionary legate nor in Britain when he joined the Flavians.

[53] *Hist.* 2. 86. 4, before Vitellius' arrival at Rome (2. 89. 1, presumably on 17 July, cf. 2. 91. 1); 2. 98. 1. Primus: *PIR*² A 866; Fuscus: C 1365, cf. Syme, *Tacitus*, 683f.

[54] Vespasian made him prefect of Egypt: in office in 73, Thomasson, *LP* i. 346, no. 33; iii. 42.

the government at Rome in late December 69 (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 11. 1). This levy must be assigned to autumn 69, perhaps continuing into the winter.[55] The predecessor, here unnamed, from whom he took over the Twentieth legion, probably not until March 70, was Roscius Coelius, whose role in stirring up the army of Britain to expel Trebellius Maximus is spelt out in the *Histories* (1. 60, cf. Gov. 7, LL 8).

Agricola's first year with the Twentieth, under Bolanus (Gov. 8), saw no action. It is not certain where this legion was stationed in 70. It has generally been supposed that it had moved from Usk (*Burrium*) to Wroxeter (*Viroconium*) when the latter fortress was evacuated by the Fourteenth. But it may have been based first at Gloucester (*Glevum*), from *c.*67–75.[56] With the arrival of Cerialis, Agricola was involved in vigorous campaigning, sometimes with an independent command: he conducted himself modestly, 'attributing his success to his general, who had made the plans', thereby averting jealousy and winning some glory (*Agr.* 8. 1–3, quoted above under Gov. 9). These operations were evidently in Brigantian territory (17. 1, quoted under Gov. 9).

His service evidently did not extend into the governorship of Frontinus, who is not mentioned in *Agr.* 8. Hence he was back at Rome in 73 when Vespasian and Titus were censors: 'as he was returning from the legionary command, the deified Vespasian enrolled him among the patricians[57] and then appointed him to govern the province of Aquitania, a particularly splendid post, which carried the prospects of the consulship, for which the Emperor had marked him out' (*Agr.* 9. 1). Tacitus gives a fairly detailed account of this governorship (*Agr.* 9. 2–4), stressing at the start that 'many believe that the military temperament lacks discrimination', but that Agricola, 'although now in a civilian milieu, performed his duties both readily and equitably', 'he was strict but often merciful . . . his familiar manner not lessening his authority nor his strictness reducing his popularity'. He emphasizes that Agricola 'avoided rivalry with colleagues and disputes with procurators', a lesson he could have learned from his experience in Britain in 60–1 (Gov. 5). 'After being kept in this governorship for less than a three year period, he was recalled with the immediate prospect of the consulship. He was accompanied by the rumour that the province of Britain was to be given him. There had been nothing in his own conversation on this subject, rather it was because he seemed the right man. Rumour is not always wrong: sometimes it even determines the choice'

[55] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1540, referring to the 'recently conscripted' but unnamed legions mentioned by Tac. *Hist.* 4. 68. 4, suggested that these included IV Flavia felix, and were recruited by Agricola.

[56] M. Hassall, in Brewer, *Roman Fortresses*, 51ff., esp. 61f.; cf. W. H. Manning, ibid. 75f.; Hassall summarizes his views in Le Bohec, *Les Légions* ii, 441ff. Cf. I. 9 below.

[57] No doubt during the censorship of Vespasian and Titus, which began in Apr. 73: B. Levick, *Vespasian* (1999), 171.

(9. 5). He was clearly replaced in 76 and the consulship was almost certainly in the second half of the same year.[58] He was now just 36 years old. During his term of office 'he betrothed his daughter, then a girl of outstanding promise', to Tacitus—she was aged only 13 or 14, while Tacitus was perhaps only 18 (Trib. 9). The marriage took place after he had left office, presumably in 77; 'the appointment to Britain came immediately after this, coupled with the priestly office of *pontifex*' (9. 6). It is not impossible that Tacitus accompanied him, as *tribunus militum laticlavius* (Trib. 9), with his bride. Agricola's wife certainly went to Britain (cf. 29. 1).

The chronology of Agricola's governorship has been much discussed. The later dating, 78–85, was long favoured, although the natural implication of the phrase in *Agr.* 9. 6, 'his appointment to govern Britain followed immediately after [the consulship]', ought to be that he went there very soon after being consul. Syme urged that the key lies in *Agr.* 39. 2, '[Domitian] was well aware that his recent sham triumph over Germany had aroused ridicule'; hence 'Agricola's first (calendar) year must be 78, for the seventh witnessed his great victory, subsequent to Domitian's triumph over the Chatti . . . , which occurred late in 83, the *congiarium* being paid out in 84.'[59] This passage requires close examination. After the battle, which marked the virtual end of the campaigning season, 'as the summer was already over and the war could not be extended further', Agricola led his 'entire army down into the northern extremities' (38. 2). This should mean that it was already after 22 September, the end of the summer. Agricola took hostages and ordered the fleet to circumnavigate Britain, while he led the army, 'marching unhurriedly', to winter quarters. By then the fleet had returned, after reaching Thule (*Agr.* 38. 3–4), having first subjugated the Orkneys (10. 4).[60] It was on all this (*hunc rerum cursum*) and not merely the victory at Mons Graupius, that Agricola reported to Domitian (39. 1). If the battle took place in late September, it must have been the end of October at the earliest before Agricola composed the letter. A journey from Rome to Britain is estimated to have taken 'twenty-five days at normal rate' in summer.[61] In late autumn, when travelling conditions are less favourable, that would hardly have sufficed. Besides, one must add a further delay before the courier reached a Channel port from the governor's northern

[58] Mentioned as a possibility in *FRB* 77 n. 34; argued convincingly by D. B. Campbell, *ZPE* 63 (1986), 197ff.; accepted by M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *ANRW* 2/33/3 (1991), 1843f. The years 77 or 78 were previously favoured.

[59] Syme, *Tacitus*, 22 n. 6, referring to his earlier discussion, *CAH* xi (1936), 164 and *Inscr. It.* xiii/1. 192, for the *Fasti Ostienses*.

[60] The translation of passages from c. 38 is based on the improved text of S. Wolfson, 'Tacitus, Thule and Caledonia', cf. below.

[61] Ogilvie-Richmond, 318.

headquarters, possibly Carlisle (*Luguvalium*) (cf. below). The letter can hardly have reached Domitian before December.

The exact moment when the emperor's own victory in Germany was claimed is not recorded, but it was clearly some time in summer 83. It has been argued that there is no evidence for Domitian having had the title Germanicus until 84. In fact, it is on an *aureus* of late 83.[62] But this may not be relevant to the triumph in any case. It is unlikely that Domitian would have accepted the title immediately. No previous emperor had ever assumed a 'Sieger-beiname'—the example of Vitellius, *Germanicus imperator*, would have been something of an embarrassment, rather than a useful precedent. Domitian probably celebrated his triumph as soon as possible after his return from Germany; but would have waited for some time before taking the new title.[63] As for the *congiarium*, the fact that it was not paid out until 84 need not mean that the triumph had only just taken place. Claudius celebrated his triumph in 44, but the *congiarium* was not distributed until 45 (Dio 60. 23. 1, 25. 7–8).

Thus the evidence for Domitian's victory celebrations is not an obstacle to the earlier dating of Mons Graupius. In fact, 83 accords better with Tacitus' use of the word *nuper*, 'recently' (39. 2). Further, to take 77 as the first year makes the third season 79, the year when Titus took his fifteenth imperatorial acclamation, specifically attributed by Dio (66. 20. 3, cited below) to Agricola's achievements. By contrast, in 80 only consolidation was undertaken.[64]

The short first season, 77, was spent in the reconquest of north Wales and Anglesey.

Tac. *Agr.* 18. 1–6: *hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia.* 2. *et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem.* 3. *caesaque prope universa*

[62] As first pointed out by P. A. Holder, *LCM* 2 (1977), 151, citing A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, i. *Augustus to Nerva* (1962), 284, no. 13, Obv. IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG GERMANICVS, Rev. PM TR P III COS IX DES X PP. See further Raepsaet-Charlier, *ANRW* 2/33/3 (1991), 1844ff.

[63] See Dio 67. 4. 1–2; Martial 2. 2.

[64] In *FRB* 79 it was added that '[t]he delay which put off Agricola's arrival until midsummer can be explained as having been caused by his daughter's wedding. May and the first half of June were unlucky times for marriages, and Agricola, as a patrician and a *pontifex*, may well have delayed the ceremony until the second half of June, which was especially lucky', citing Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 487, 6. 223 and Plut. *QR* 86, 284F. B. Shaw, *JRA* 10 (1997), 57ff., casts doubt on the validity of this evidence but does not really disprove it. However this may be, Agricola may simply have waited until bride and groom were old enough; and he would have needed time to prepare for a prolonged absence in a far-off country.

gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cuius possessione Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. 4. *sed, ut in subitis consiliis, naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus.* 5. *ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset.* 6. *nec Agricola ⟨a⟩speritate*[65] *rerum in vanitatem usus expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.*

18. 1: Such was the situation of Britain and these the vicissitudes of war that Agricola found when he crossed over, it being already midsummer. The soldiers, on the assumption that there would be no campaigning, were turning their thoughts to relaxation; the enemy, by the same token, were turning theirs to seizing the opportunity. The state of the Ordovices, not long before his arival, had virtually wiped out a cavalry regiment operating in its territory and this initial stroke had excited the province. 2. Those who wanted war welcomed the lead and were waiting to test the temper of the new legate. The summer was over, the army units dispersed throughout the province, and the troops had taken it for granted that there would be no fighting that year; in fact the season was late and unfavourable for one intending to launch a war, and many thought it preferable simply to garrison the suspected districts. But Agricola decided to go out and meet the threat. He concentrated the legionary detachments and a modest force of *auxilia* and, as the Ordovices did not venture to come down into the plain, led his men up into the hills, himself at the head of the column so as to impart his own courage to the rest by sharing the danger. 3. Almost the entire people was cut to pieces. Well aware that he had to build on this prestige and that the outcome of his first operations would determine how much fear his later actions would inspire, he took the decision to reduce the island of Mona. I have previously recorded how Paulinus had been recalled from occupying it by the rebellion of the whole of Britain. 4. But, as happens in enterprises undertaken at short notice, there were no ships available. However, the general's resource and resolution got the troops across. Auxiliaries, specially selected from those who knew the fords and whose national practice was to swim while carrying their weapons and controlling their horses, were told to discard all their equipment. Then he launched them into the attack so suddenly that the enemy were dumbfounded. They had been expecting ships and an attack by sea, now they believed that for men who came to war in this way nothing was difficult or insuperable. 5. So after they had petitioned for peace and surrendered the island, Agricola was regarded as a famous and a great man: on his entry into the province, a period which others spend in pageantry and soliciting attention, he had decided on a policy of toil and danger. 6. But Agricola did not exploit the difficult situation to glorify himself: he described the expedition and victory as 'keeping the conquered under control'. He did not even use laurel-wreathed dispatches to report on his actions. But the very fact that he disguised his fame actually made him more famous. People gauged his hopes for the future by his reticence about such great deeds.

Agricola had presumably participated in Suetonius Paullinus' original conquest of Anglesey, which had to be abandoned almost at once, fifteen years

[65] The reading ⟨*a*⟩*speritate* for *speritate* in E, generally corrected to ⟨*pro*⟩*speritate*, following E^2, is owed to S. Wolfson (pers. comm.), who compares Cic. *De Orat.* 1. 3, *in his asperitatibus rerum* and Sall. *Jug.* 29. 1, 92. 4 for *asperitas* meaning 'difficulty'.

earlier, so it is understandable that he turned his attention first to 'unfinished business'.

He spent his first winter 'clamping down on abuses'.

Tac. *Agr.* 19. 1–20. 1: *ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere.* 2. *a se suisque orsus primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve adscire. sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare.* 3. *omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent.* 4. *frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac luere pretio cogebantur; divortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.* 20. 1. *haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur.*

19. 1: None the less, he was aware of the feelings of the province, and having at the same time learnt from the experience of others that force achieves little if followed by undue harshness, he determined to root out the causes of the war. 2. Beginning with himself and his staff, he first enforced discipline within his own household, a task which many find no less difficult than governing a province. He made no use of freedmen or slaves for official business. He was not influenced by personal likings or by recommendations or petitions when choosing centurions or soldiers for staff appointments. He reckoned that the best men would prove the most trustworthy. 3. He knew everything that went on, but did not always inflict punishment. He condoned minor offences, major ones he dealt with strictly. He did not always impose a penalty, but was often content to acept an expression of remorse. He preferred to appoint to staff and administrative posts men who would not transgress rather than to have to punish those who had transgressed. 4. He alleviated the levying of corn and taxes by distributing the burden fairly, cutting out the devices for profit which were more bitterly resented than the tax itself. It turned out that people were being forced to go through the charade of waiting outside locked grain-depots and, what is more, had to buy the corn and pay a high price for it. Roundabout routes and far distant regions were being prescribed, in such a way that communities had to deliver their consignments not to the nearest winter quarters but to remote and inaccessible places. The result was that a service which should have been easy for all was becoming a source of profit for a few men. 20. 1. By clamping down on these abuses at once in his first year, he gave peace a good name: it had been feared no less than war through either the negligence or the arrogance of predecessors.

His second season, 78, was occupied by marching and harrying of the enemy 'by launching sudden plundering raids'. But there is no mention of serious fighting. Rather 'no new part of Britain ever came over with so little damage', and he covered a large area with forts. It used to be supposed that Agricola campaigned in northern England this year. But now that Carlisle is known to have been occupied at least five years earlier (see under Gov. 9), he must have been active in southern Scotland, against peoples that his two predecessors had engaged but not subdued.

20. 2–3: *sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coercere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus inritamenta pacis ostentare.* 3. *quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars ⟨pariter⟩ inlacessita transierit.*

20. 2: But when the summer came, he concentrated the army and was present everywhere on the march, praising discipline and keeping stragglers up to the mark. He chose the sites for pitching camp himself and reconnoitred estuaries and forests personally. And all the while he gave the enemy no rest, by launching sudden plundering raids. When he had done enough to inspire fear, by acting with clemency he showed them, as a contrast, the incentives of peace. 3. As a result, many states which up to that moment had operated on equal terms abandoned violence and gave hostages. They were also surrounded by garrisons and forts, with such skill and thoroughness that no new part of Britain ever came over with so little damage.

In his second winter he began to encourage civilian development.

Agr. 21. 1–2: *sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis adsumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos, castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat.* 2. *iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga; paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.*

21. 1: The following winter was taken up by measures of a most beneficial kind. His intention was, in fact, that people who lived in widely dispersed and primitive settlements and hence were naturally inclined to war should become accustomed to peace and quiet by the provision of amenities. Hence he gave encouragement to individuals and assistance to communities to build temples, market-places, and town houses. He praised those that responded promptly and censured the dilatory: as a result there was competition for esteem instead of compulsion. 2. Further, he educated the sons of the leading men in the liberal arts and he rated the natural talents of the Britons above the trained skills of the Gauls. The result was that those who just lately had been rejecting the Roman tongue now conceived a desire for eloquence. Hence our style of dress, too, came into favour and the toga was everywhere to be seen. And gradually they went astray into the allurements of evil ways, colonnades and warm baths and elegant banquets. Those who had no experience of this called it 'civilization', although it was part of their enslavement.

The reference to togas ought to mean that members of the British élite now acquired Roman citizenship: it was an offence for non-citizens to wear them (Suet. *D. Claud.* 15. 2). As for the apparently cynical comment on the Britons not realizing that they were being enslaved, Tacitus surely meant it as favourable to Agricola: one may compare the remark about the advantage which the conquest of Ireland would have brought: 'freedom as it were removed from sight' (*Agr.* 23. 3). At all events, this description of civilian development is the classic passage in the surviving literature for 'state-sponsored Romanization'.[66]

[66] This is not the place to include a detailed bibliography on 'Romanization'. It is a little surprising that M. Millett, *The Romanisation of Britain* (1990), has only a brief mention of this passage (p. 69). One

It is possible that an inscription from Verulamium may document Agricola's endeavours to encourage the Britons 'to build temples, market-places and town-houses'.

JRS 46 (1956), 146f.=*AE* 1957. 169, St Albans (*Verulamium*): *[imp(erator) Titus Caesar, divi] Vespa[siani] f(ilius), Ves[pasianus Aug(ustus), | p(ontifex) m(aximus), tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) VIIII, imp(erator) XV, co(n)s(ul) VII], desi[gn(atus) VIII, censor, pater patriae, | et Caesar, divi Vespas]ian[i f(ilius), Do]mi[tianus, co(n)s(ul) VI, design(atus) VII,* [4]*| princeps iuventu]ti[s, collegiorum omnium sacerdos,] | Cn. (Gnaeo) Iulio A]gric[ola leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) | . . . | . . .] VEI[. . .]NATA[. . .]*(AD 79).

In lines 2–3 the restorations *[. . . tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) XI, imp(erator) XVII, co(n)s(ul) VIII], desi[gn(atus) VIIII . . .]* and *[. . . co(n)s(ul) VII, design(atus) VIII . . .]* may also be possible, which would date the stone to 81.[67]

At about this time a new official of praetorian rank is first attested for Britain, the *iuridicus*, whose responsibilities were clearly restricted to the civilian sphere. Since the number of known holders of the office is very limited, it may be inferred that *iuridici* were only appointed when the governor was heavily engaged in military activity at considerable distance from the pacified part of the province. Two Flavian *iuridici* are known, Gaius Salvius Liberalis, who probably served *c.*78–81, and Lucius Javolenus Priscus, *c.*84–86 (*Iurid.* 1–2). Both had previously commanded a legion, and Priscus had, in addition, gone on to command III Augusta as *de facto* governor of Numidia, before becoming *iuridicus*.

In his third season, 79, Agricola continued his northward advance.

22. 1–4: *tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit.* 2. *adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur.* 3 *ita intrepida ibi hiems, crebrae eruptiones et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur.* 4 *nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, ut erat comis*

may note among recent discussions P. W. M. Freeman, in D. J. Mattingly (ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism* (1997), 27ff.; W. S. Hanson, ibid. 67ff.; G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (1998), esp. 68ff.; R. MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (2000), esp. 134ff., who aptly compares the Elder Pliny's praise of Rome's heaven-sent mission 'to soften people's ways, to bring the clashing wild speech of infinite different peoples to a common conversation through a common tongue, and to supply civilization (*humanitas*) to men, so that all races might, in a word, belong to one single fatherland' (*NH* 3. 39). All commentators note that the last part of *Agr.* 21, on the Britons succumbing to 'the allurements of evil ways', recalls what was said about the effects of Trebellius' inactive style of government: 'now the barbarians, as well, learned to condone seductive vices' (16. 3).

[67] As pointed out by W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970), 127 n. 68; but S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations*, ii (1983), 69 n. 1, rejects Eck's reading on the grounds that it would upset the balance of the lettering.

bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

22. 1: The third year of campaigns opened up new peoples with the ravaging of the territories up to the Taus [Tay] (that is the name of the estuary). This action so intimidated the enemy that they did not dare to challenge the army, although it was harassed by wild storms. There was even time to spare for establishing forts. 2. Experts commented that no other general selected suitable sites more wisely; no fort established by Agricola was ever taken by the enemy by storm or abandoned either by capitulation or by flight. In fact, they could make frequent sallies, for they were assured against long sieges by supplies to last for a year. 3. Hence winter there had no terrors; the garrisons were self-sufficient. The enemy were baffled and in despair, because they had been used to making good the summer's losses by successes in winter and now they were under pressure in summer and winter alike. 4. Agricola was never greedy to steal the credit for others' achievements. Whether centurion or prefect, each had in him an honest witness to his deeds. According to some accounts he was rather harsh in delivering reprimands. He was courteous to good men, but equally he could be unpleasant to those who behaved badly. But his anger left no hidden traces, so that you did not need to fear his silence: he thought it more honourable to give offence than to harbour hatred.

The abridgement of Dio's account in the epitome of Xiphilinus clearly concentrates on Agricola's successes in his third season, because of the reference to Titus' fifteenth imperatorial acclamation, datable to the year 79, after 8 September:[68]

Dio (Xiphilinus) 66. 20. 2–3: Meanwhile war having broken out again in Britain, Gnaeus Julius Agricola overran the whole of the enemy's territory there; and he was the first of the Romans whom we know to have discovered that Britain is surrounded by water. For certain soldiers, having mutinied and murdered centurions and a tribune, fled into ships and putting out to sea sailed round the western part of Britain, just as the wind and the waves happened to carry them; and without realizing it, as they approached from the opposite direction, they put in at the camps on the first side again. Thereupon Agricola sent others to try the voyage around Britain and learnt from them that it is an island. 3. These things, then, happened in Britain, on account of which Titus was acclaimed as *imperator* for the fifteenth time. But Agricola lived in disgrace for the rest of his life, and in hardship, because he had done deeds too great for a general; and finally he was murdered by Domitian for no other reason than this, even though he had received triumphal honours from Titus [*or*: from him, *i.e. Domitian*].

Clearly the episode of the mutinous soldiers has been misplaced. As Tacitus' account (c. 28) reveals, these men, recently conscripted Usipi, mutinied three years later. Either Dio or Xiphilinus has condensed events misleadingly. Equally, it is either a misunderstanding to write that Agricola was awarded triumphal honours by Titus, or the text is corrupt, *παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου* instead of, for example, *παρὰ τούτου*.

The evidence of lead pipes from the legionary fortress at Chester indicates that consolidation work was also going on well to the south in this year.

[68] In *CIL* xvi. 24, of 8 Sept. 79, Titus is still *imp. XIIII*; he is *imp. XV* in *ILS* 98 and 262, both datable to 79.

RIB ii/1. 2434. 1–3, Chester (*Deva*): *imp(eratore) Vesp(asiano) VIIII T(ito) imp(eratore) VII co(n)s(ulibus), Cn. (Gnaeo) Iulio Agricola leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*

(Made) in the year that the Emperor Vespasian, for the ninth time, and Titus *imperator*, for the seventh time, were the consuls, Gnaeus Julius Agricola being propraetorian legate of the Emperor (AD 79).[69]

It was in this year that the Romans finally appreciated the true shape of Britain. Tacitus underlines this aspect in his introduction to British geography, contrasting the shape of the island reported by Livy and Fabius Rusticus, 'this side of Caledonia', with what 'those who have gone past this point' have found (*Agr.* 10. 3–4). It may be noted in passing that a Caledonian boar which was among the wild beasts killed in the opening festivities of the Colosseum in summer 80 (Mart. *Spect.* 7. 3), had probably been supplied by Agricola. Agricola's report of his achievements evidently led not only to Titus' acclamation but also to a decision to bring the advance to a halt.

In his fourth season, AD 80, Agricola's attention was devoted to securing the Forth–Clyde line as a frontier:

Agr. 23: *quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; ac si virtus exercitus et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur; quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.*

23: The fourth summer was spent in securing what he had overrun. And, if the spirit of the army and the glory of the Roman name had permitted it, a frontier had been found within Britain itself. For the Clota [Clyde] and Bodotria [Forth], carried far inland by the tides of opposite seas, are separated by a narow neck of land. This was now being secured by garrisons and the whole sweep of country on the nearer side held: the enemy had been pushed back, as if into a different island.

As well as building forts approximately on the line of the later Antonine Wall, Agricola may have placed garrisons to the north; and conceivably the series of towers along the Gask Ridge may have been established at this time.[70]

In his fifth season, 81, Agricola turned his attention to the west: clearly his 'crossing in the first ship' must have been across the Clyde,[71] mentioned in the previous chapter along with the Forth, as it took him to face Ireland, presumably from the Mull of Kintyre:

Agr. 24. 1–3: *quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae, quae Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit.* 2. *spatium eius, si Britanniae com-*

[69] The text is identical in all three examples, except that the first three letters are missing in 3.

[70] W. S. Hanson, *Agricola* (1987), 108ff., 121, favouring a later date; but cf. G. D. B. Jones and D. J. Woolliscroft, *Hadrian's Wall from the Air* (2001), 27f., emphatically supporting a date at the very beginning of Agricola's term of office, if not even earlier.

[71] Thus convincingly N. Reed, *Britannia*, 2 (1972), 143ff.

paretur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt; aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. 3. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

24. 1: In the fifth year of the campaigns he crossed in the leading ship and defeated peoples up to that time unknown in a series of successful actions. He lined up his forces in that part of Britain that faces Ireland. an expression of hope rather than of fear. For, in fact, Ireland, which lies midway between Britain and Spain, and is also within easy reach of the Gallic Sea, would have united the strongest parts of the empire with great mutual advantage. 2. Its size, if compared to that of Britain, is small, but it is larger than the islands in our sea. Its soil and climate do not differ greatly from Britain. The routes of approach and the harbours are known through trade and merchants. 3. Agricola had given refuge to one of the minor kings from this people, who had been expelled in a family quarrel. He treated him like a friend, keeping him in case an opportunity arose. I have often heard him say that Ireland could be conquered and held with a single legion and modest numbers of *auxilia*. That would, he thought, be advantageous against Britain as well, if Roman arms were everywhere and freedom were, so to speak, removed from sight.

Titus died at the end of the fifth season, on 13 September 81, and was succeeded by his younger brother Domitian.[72] There was clearly a change of policy. Domitian was anxious for military glory and planned a campaign of his own in Germany; it was in effect, not the 'glory of the Roman name' (*Agr.* 23), but Domitian, that did not permit the limit of Roman expansion to remain at the Forth–Clyde line. Agricola was given the green light to resume the complete conquest of Britain:

25. 1–27. 2: *ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari iactantia compararentur. 2. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. 3. ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, magno paratu, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castellum adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et cedendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus inrupturos. 4 ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.*

26. 1: *quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus inrupere. iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adici clmaorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. 2. ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et nonanis redt animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.*

[72] *PIR*² F 399.

27. 1: *cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur.* 2. *at Britanni non virtute se victos, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus et sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.*

25. 1: To resume: in the summer in which he began his sixth year in office, he enveloped the states situated beyond the Bodotria. Because there were fears that all the peoples on the further side might rise and the land routes be threatened by an enemy army, he reconnoitred the harbours with the fleet. It had been brought in by Agricola for the first time to form part of his forces and was making an excellent impression as it followed along: the war was being pushed forward simultaneously by land and sea. Men from the infantry, cavalry, and navy were often in the same camp, sharing supplies and high spirits. Each stressed their own exploits and their own dangers: as they boasted, in the way soldiers do, the ravines in the forests and mountains were compared with the dangers of storm and tide, victories on land against the enemy with the conquest of the Ocean. 2. Besides this, the Britons, as was learnt from prisoners, were dumbfounded at the sight of the fleet, as though, now that the secret places of their own sea had been opened up, the last refuge to the vanquished was closed. 3. The peoples who inhabit Caledonia turned to armed struggle. Their preparations were on a large scale, exaggerated, as the unknown usually is, by rumour. Further, by attacking some forts, they had added to the alarm, as if they were throwing out a challenge. There were cowards, posing as men of prudence, who began to urge withdrawal to this side of the Bodotria and that it was better to retire than to be driven back. Meanwhile he learnt that the enemy were about to attack in several columns. 4. To avoid encirclement by superior forces familiar with the country, he himself divided his army into three divisions and advanced.

26. 1: When the enemy discovered this, with a rapid change of plan they massed for a night attack on the Ninth Legion, as being by far the weakest in numbers. They cut down the sentries and burst into the sleeping camp, creating panic. Fighting was already going on inside the camp itself when Agricola, who had learnt of the enemy's route through his scouts and was following close on their tracks, ordered the most mobile of his cavalry and infantry to charge the combatants from the rear and then the whole army was to raise the battle-cry. At first light the standards gleamed. 2. Thus the Britons were terrified at being caught between two fires, while the men of the Ninth regained their spirits and now that their lives were safe began to fight for glory. They even ventured on a break out and a fierce battle followed in the narrow passage of the gates. Finally the enemy were driven back before the rival efforts of two armies. The one wanted to show that it had come to the rescue, the other that it had not needed help. Had not marshes or forests covered the retreating enemy, that victory would have ended the war.

27. 1: Consciousness of this success, or the report of it, emboldened the army. 'Nothing can stand in the way of courage', they roared, 'we must go deep into Caledonia and, fighting battle after battle, we must find the end of Britain at last.' Even those who had just before been cautious and prudent were now, after the event, keen and boastful. This is the unfairest aspect of warfare: all claim for themselves the credit for success, failure is blamed on a single man. 2. The Britons, however, reckoned that they had not been defeated by superior courage but by the opportune actions and skill of the general. They lost none of their haughty spirit, in fact they armed their young men, moved their wives and children to places of safety, and ratified the alliance between their states by meetings and sacrifices. Thus spirits on both sides were stirred up as they parted.

The sixth season, AD 82, clearly took Agricola up the east side of Scotland beyond the Forth. Agricolan marching camps have been identified as far north as Bellie (Fochabers) on the flood-plain of the River Spey, not far from its mouth.[73] Since he had already reached the Tay in 79, there is much to be said for the view that he penetrated at least to the Moray Firth this year. This is suggested not least by the use of the fleet and the reaction of the enemy: 'the Britons, as was learnt from prisoners, were dumbfounded at the sight of the fleet' (25. 2). Further, the eagerness of the army, after the repulse of the attack on the Ninth legion, to 'go deep into Caledonia and . . . find the end of Britain at last' (27. 1), surely indicates that the real *Britanniae terminus* was within reach. As argued convincingly by Henderson, 'no Roman commander on reaching the mouth of the Spey (where the [known] camps end) . . . could long remain under the impression that this was the veritable end of Britain. He would soon learn of, if he could not already perceive, another wedge of land waiting for him on the other side.'[74] The statement that the Ninth legion was numerically the weakest when its camp was attacked has been explained by the absence of a detachment taken to Germany in preparation for Domitian's Chattan war in the following year.[75]

A passing allusion in Juvenal might conceivably be based on something mentioned in Tacitus' *Histories*: in the satire on Domitian's *consilium*, of which the dramatic date is AD 82 or 83, Fabricius Veiento is made to tell the emperor that 'you have an omen of a great and famous triumph. You will capture some king, or Arviragus will fall off his British chariot-pole' (*aut de temone Britanno excidet Arviragus*, *Sat.* 4. 125–7).[76] As an intermezzo between the sixth and seventh seasons Tacitus gives an account of the mutiny of the Usipi and their voyage round Britain (c. 28). He then proceeds to the final season, with the long account of the final battle at Mons Graupius:

29. 1–4: *initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus anno ante natum filium amisit. quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.* 2. *igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannia fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit, quem iam hostis insederat.* 3. *nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu et ultionem aut servitium expectantes tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatium vires exciverant.* 4. *iamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebant omnis iuventus et quibus*

[73] J. K. St Joseph, *JRS* 59 (1969), 113 f.; B. Jones and D. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (1990), 76 ff.; L. Keppie, *Scotland's Roman Remains* (²1998), 172 f., who stresses that Bellie 'has never been confirmed as Roman by excavation'.

[74] A. A. R. Henderson, *Classical Views*, 29 (1985), 320 ff. (the quotation is from p. 327).

[75] Taken by the *tribunus laticlavius* L. Roscius Aelianus (Trib. 10). An alternative explanation for the weakness of the Ninth in 82, as Syme pointed out, *Germania*, 16 (1932), 111 n. 17 = *RP* vi. 21 n. 17, is that as that legion's base, York, was more exposed than those of the other three legions, it may have needed to leave more men there as a holding garrison.

[76] For Juvenal's use of the *Histories* see Syme, *RP* iii. 1143 ff.

cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur.

29. 1: At the start of the summer Agricola suffered a family blow by losing a son that had been born the previous year. He bore this misfortunate without the show of endurance that many brave men put on, but, again, without the loud expressions of grief that belong to women. Besides, the war provided relief from his sorrow. 2. Accordingly, he sent the fleet ahead to plunder at various points in order to spread general panic and uncertainty. The army was marching light, reinforced by the bravest of the Britons and those whose loyalty had been tested in a long period of peace. So he came to the Graupian Mountain. It had already been occupied by the enemy. 3. The Britons were in fact in no way broken by the outcome of the previous battle. They had at last learnt the lesson that a common danger could only be warded off by a united front. By means of embassies and alliances they had rallied the forces of all their states. Already more than thirty thousand armed men could be observed and still all the young men and famous warriors, whose 'old age was still flowering and green', each man wearing the decorations he had won, were flowing in. Now one outstanding among their many leaders for his valour and nobility, Calgacus by name, faced the assembled multitude as they clamoured for battle. He is reported to have spoken in words like these.

Nothing is said in detail in chapter 29 about the course of the campaign, but it can be inferred from passing references in Agricola's speech that it involved crossing 'marshes or mountains and rivers' (33. 4), 'a long march', 'through forests', and 'across estuaries' (33. 5). As to the much debated location of Mons Graupius, remarks put into the mouth of Calgacus, if taken at face value, surely indicate that it was within sight of the north coast of Scotland: *nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum imminente nobis classe Romana . . . ,* 'There is no land beyond us and even the sea is no safe refuge when we are threatened by the Roman fleet' (30. 1), and *nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet, atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est, sed nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus ac saxa*, 'We are the last people on earth and the last to be free: our very remoteness in a land known only to rumour has protected us up till this day. Today the furthest bounds of Britain lie open—and everything unknown is given an inflated worth. But now there is no people beyond us, nothing but tides and rocks' (30. 3). This point is also stressed in the speech given to Agricola, at 33. 3, 'the end of Britain' and 33. 6, 'the very place where the world and nature end':

33. 1: *excepere orationem alacres . . . simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo vestra virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britanniam vicistis . . .* 3. *ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus: inventa Britannia et subacta.* 4. *equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: quando dabitur hostis, quando cominus? . . .* 5. *nam ut superasse tantum itineris, evasisse silvas, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissma quae hodie prosperrima sunt . . .* 6 . . . . *nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.*

33. 1: They reacted to the speech with enthusiasm . . . the battle-line was already being drawn up when Agricola, thinking that the soldiers, although in good spirits and scarcely kept back

within their defences, needed to be encouraged still further, addressed them as follows. 'Fellow-soldiers, it is now the seventh year that, thanks to your bravery, under the auspices of the Roman empire, together with my own loyal service, you have been conquering Britain . . . 3. Thus I have gone beyond the limits reached by former legates and you have exceeded those reached by previous armies. The end of Britain is no longer a matter of report or rumour: we hold it, with forts and with arms. Britain has been discovered and subjugated. 4. Many a time on the march, when marshes or mountains and rivers were wearing you out, I have heard the bravest among you exclaim: 'When will we get at the enemy? When shall we have a battle?' . . . 5. To have accomplished such a long march, to have passed through forests, to have crossed estuaries, on our forward advance, all this redounds to our credit and our renown. But in retreat today's success could become most dangerous . . . 6. . . . And it would not be inglorious to die at the very place where the world and nature end.

Numerous attempts have been made to locate Mons Graupius, the currently favoured candidate being the Mither Tap of Bennachie in Aberdeenshire, close to the exceptionally large Roman camp of Durno.[77] But this is hard to reconcile with the passages from Calgacus' and Agricola's speeches that stress that the battle took place at the very end of the island, with nothing beyond it except sea and rocks. As Henderson stresses, '[t]he very lateness of the season when the battle was fought constitutes a strong argument for its very high latitude'. It is true that as yet no Roman camps have been located beyond the Great Glen. But perhaps future exploration may reveal them. An ideal site might be between Ben Loyal, 'most picturesque of the mountains in the Highlands', 'Queen of Highland peaks', 764m. high, and the sea.[78]

It is not necessary here to quote the entire account of the battle, but some excerpts illustrate Agricola's personal involvement:

35. 1: *et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat . . . 2. instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adunderentur. legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur . . . 4. tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessandas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.*

35. 1: Even while Agricola was still speaking, the eagerness of the soldiers was apparent . . . 2. While they were inspired and eager to charge he deployed them in battle-line. Of the auxiliaries, he put the infantry, which numbered eight thousand, in the centre, with the three thousand cavalry spread out on the flanks. The legions were stationed in front of the rampart:

[77] G. Maxwell, *A Battle Lost: Romans and Caledonians at Mons Graupius* (1990), discusses a range of possible sites, as do Jones and Mattingly, *Atlas*, 76f. (with map 4:14), and Keppie, *Roman Remains*, 11, 171f., noting (172) that 'it is too soon to regard the identification [of Bennachie with Mons Graupius] as proved'.

[78] Henderson, *Classical Views*, 327ff. (the quotation is from p. 330). Rivet and Smith, *Place-Names*, 370f., summarize modern theories about the name *Graupius*, noting that many believe that the true form was *Craupius*: they compare e.g. *crup*, Old Welsh, and the modern Welsh *crwb*, 'hump'. A postulated Pictish form is **crub*, pronounced *crüb*. One might diffidently note the hill (310m.) on the north side of Ben Loyal, now called by the Gaelic name *Meall Leathad na Craoibhe*, 'sloping hump of the trees'. *Craoibhe* has at any rate a close resemblance to **crub*.

victory in a battle where no Roman blood was shed would be a tremendous honour; if the *auxilia* were driven back, the legions were a reserve . . . 4. At this point Agricola was anxious, in view of the enemy's superior numbers, that they might attack his front and flanks simultaneously, so he opened out his ranks. Although the line was going to be rather extended and many were urging him to bring up the legions, he was always ready to hope for the best and was resolute in the face of difficulties. So he sent away his horse and took up his position on foot in front of the colours.

36. 1: *ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola quattuor Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent* . . . 37. 1. *et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset* . . . 37. 4. *quod ni frequens Agricola validas et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo et, sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret* . . . 37. 6. *finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. caesa hostium ad decem milia; nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.*

36. 1: The battle opened with fighting at long range: the Britons not only stood firm but displayed skill in parrying the javelins of our men with their massive swords or catching them on their short shields, while hurling a great rain of spears themselves. Then Agricola exhorted the four Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts to fight hand to hand at sword's point . . . . 37. 1. The Britons stationed on the hilltops had as yet taken no part in the battle, and, not being involved, were regarding our small numbers with contempt. Now they began gradually to descend and to work their way round the rear of the winning side. But Agricola, who had feared this very move, sent four regiments of cavalry, which had been reserved for the emergencies of battle, to block them as they came on. The more ferociously they charged, the more vigorously he drove them back and scattered them in flight . . . . 37. 4. But Agricola was everywhere at once. He ordered strong light-armed cohorts to form a kind of huntsmen's cordon, part of the cavalry to dismount and scour the forest where the trees were dense, the remainder to range through the clearings—otherwise, over-confidence might have led to serious casualties . . . . 37. 6. Nightfall brought an end to the pursuit—and our men had had their fill. Some ten thousand of the enemy had been killed; on our side three hundred and sixty fell, among them Aulus Atticus, prefect of a cohort, whose youthful eagerness and spirited horse had carried him into the enemy's ranks.

The account of what followed the battle, in particular the passages describing how Agricola led his army *in finis Borestorum* and how the fleet *Trucculensem portum tenuit*, have caused considerable perplexity. The problems have been resolved by two convincing textual emendations, owed to S. Wolfson.[79] The *Boresti*, not attested by Ptolemy or any other source, can be dispensed with, *Borestorum* being dissolved into *bore⟨o⟩s totum* (*exercitum*), and *Trucculensem*, also unattested and frequently emended, *trutulensem* in the version of E^{2m}, can be seen to refer to the demeanour of the fleet, *trux*, and the habour of *T(h)ule*, Shetland (Mainland), *Tulensem portum*:

[79] S. Wolfson, 'Tacitus, Thule and Caledonia: A Critical Re-interpretation of the Textual Problems', *myweb.tiscali.co.uk/fartherlands*.

38. 2–4: *proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in finis bore⟨o⟩s totum exercitum deducit. 3. ibi acceptis obsidibus praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecepit. datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. 4. et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama tru⟨x⟩ Tulensem portum tenuit; [un]de proximo Britanniae latere praevecta omnis re⟨s a⟩dierat.*

38. 2: At dawn next day the scale of the victory was more apparent: the silence of desolation on all sides, homesteads smouldering in the distance, not a man to encounter the scouts. They were sent out in every direction and reported that the fugitives' tracks were random and that the enemy were not massing at any point. And as the summer was already over and the war could not be extended further, he led the entire army down into the northern extremities. 3. There he took hostages and instructed the prefect of the fleet to sail round Britain: forces were allocated for the purpose and panic had gone before. He himself, marching slowly, to intimidate new peoples by the very delay with which he traversed their territory, settled the infantry and cavalry in winter quarters. 4. And at the same time the fleet, its ruthlessness enhanced by rumour and by favourable weather, held the Thule harbour; having sailed on from the nearest side of Britain, it had tackled all eventualities.

As Wolfson also shows, in c. 10, where Tacitus refers in advance to the circumnavigation of Britain, *dispecta* should mean 'thoroughly inspected':

10. 4: *hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum et hiems appetebat.*

10. 4: It was then that a Roman fleet for the first time circumnavigated this coast of the remotest sea and established that Britain is in fact an island. Then too it discovered the islands, hitherto unknown, which are called the Orcades, and subjugated them. Thule was also thoroughly inspected because the order had been to go this far; and winter was approaching.

The passage from Dio quoted above makes clear that the naval success of Agricola was regarded as hardly inferior to his victory at Mons Graupius. This is underlined by the fact that in an earlier book he referred in advance to Agricola's demonstration that Britain was indeed an island:

39. 50. 4: But in the course of time, to be sure, it [Britain] has been clearly proved to be an island, first under the propraetor Agricola and now under the Emperor Severus.

The importance attached to Thule in contemporary literature must also be stressed. Statius, in his poem in honour of Domitian's *ab epistulis* Abascantus, portrays the official receiving dispatches from all four quarters: 'to learn what laurelled message comes from the North, what news from wandering Euphrates, or from the banks of Ister with two names, or from the standards of the Rhine, how much the end of the world has yielded, and Thyle round which the ebbing floodtide roars—for every spear raises joyful leaves and no lance is marked with the ill-famed feather' (*Silv.* 5. 1. 88–93). Silius Italicus in his *Punica*, praising the 'warrior family reared on the berry that grows in the

Sabine land', *bellatrix gens bacifero nutrita Sabino*, affirms that 'the father [Vespasian] shall present to this [family] unknown Thule for conquest', *huic pater ignotam donabit vincere Thylen* (*Pun.* 3. 596–7).[80] In a much later passage (*Pun.* 17. 417 f.) Silius describes how the 'blue-painted inhabitant of Thule, when he fights, drives round the close-packed ranks in his scythe-bearing chariot', recalling Tacitus' account of the British charioteers at Mons Graupius (*covinarii se peditum proelio miscuere . . . densis agminibus*, *Agr.* 36. 3). Juvenal, without naming Thule, clearly alludes to it: 'our arms we have indeed pushed beyond the shores of Ireland and the recently captured Orkneys and the Britons satisfied with the shortest night' (*Sat.* 2. 159–61). In a later satire he jokes that 'Thule is talking about hiring a rhetoric-teacher' (15. 112).[81] Wolfson plausibly notes that 'Agricola's expedition to Shetland may have taken its origin from his earlier years, when . . . as a young student at . . . Massilia [*Agr.* 4. 2], the home town of Pytheas, he would have imbibed not only traditional philosophy, but also the seafaring aura of the town, the four hundred years of Pytheas' legacy and the works of Pytheas, the "Massaliot philosopher" [Cleomedes, *De motu circ.* 1. 7, p. 68, 21 Ziegler].' It is worth registering here the strong possibility that Agricola had attached to his staff the Greek grammarian, Demetrius of Tarsus, whom Plutarch portrays as a participant in his dialogue on the decline of oracles, of which the dramatic date is just before the Pythian festival of AD 83–4. Demetrius had just returned from Britain, where he had sailed around the islands (*Mor.* 410A, 419E). Two silvered bronze plates found at York (*Eburacum*) record dedications that were surely made by this man: 'To Ocean and Tethys Demetrius' and 'To the gods of the governor's headquarters (*τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πραιτωρίου*) Scrib(onius) Demetrius'.[82]

The Britons against whom Agricola had campaigned in the years 82–3 may be identified as Caledonians (although Tacitus avoids the word, preferring 'inhabitants of Caledonia', *Agr.* 11. 2, 25. 3), as the people who built the brochs, and as the ancestors of the Picts.[83] Orkney and Shetland were 'later to become the broch heartlands' and broch villages were particularly widespread in Orkney and Caithness.[84]

It may have been at the conclusion of the last campaign that the construction of a new legionary fortress was inaugurated, at Inchtuthil on the River

[80] Wolfson convincingly reads *huic*, found in three MSS, rather than *hinc* as in modern edns.

[81] The discussion of the Silver Latin poets is based on Wolfson, ibid.

[82] *RIB* 662. The identification is accepted e.g. by Wright in *RIB*, *ad loc.*, Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB* i. 770 f., and R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum* (1997), 458.

[83] See the clear statement of S. M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots* (1996), 13: 'we can be confident that [the Picts] were simply the descendants of the native Iron Age tribes of Scotland'; 15: 'brochs ('Pictish towers'; but in fact built by the inhabitants of north and west Scotland from whom the historical Picts were descended)'.

[84] I. Armit, *Celtic Scotland* (1997), 39 ff.

Tay, near Dunkeld. It is generally supposed that the legion which occupied it was XX Valeria Victrix, but this is of course conjectural.[85] For one thing, men of the XXth were at Carlisle on 7 November 83, as shown by a writing-tablet.[86] Carlisle may well have been Agricola's own winter quarters, for another writing-tablet from there reveals the presence of a member of his horse guards at that base:

Britannia 29 (1998) 74f., no. 44=*AE* 1998. 852, Carlisle (*Luguvalium*): *[eq(uiti) al]ae Sebosianae sing(ulari) Agricolae.*

To . . . , trooper of the Ala Sebosiana, guardsman of Agricola.

As to the intended function of the Inchtuthil fortress, it has been convincingly argued that it was to have been 'the key site from which the penetration and pacification of the Highlands would have taken place . . . if Agricola's victory at Mons Graupius had been followed up, Roman engineers would have pushed a road . . . up Glen Tay to the Great Glen.'[87] The fact that the northern isles shared a common culture with mainland Scotland may help to explain why Agricola found the use of the fleet so important.

It is conceivable that the vast Richborough monument, later converted into a signal-station, was erected under Agricola's supervision, to commemorate the complete conquest of Britain. One recalls Tacitus' angry summary at the beginning of the *Histories*: during the Flavian period 'Britain was completely conquered', *perdomita Britannia*—'and straightaway let go', *et statim missa* (*Hist.* 1. 2. 1). Unfortunately only fragments remain of a marble dedication-slab, of which the lettering is thought to be too small for it to have come from the main dedication. At any rate the archaeological evidence fits a date early in the reign of Domitian.[88]

It remains to consider those who served under Agricola, only one of whom, the young prefect of a cohort who lost his life at Mons Graupius, Aulus Atticus, is named by Tacitus (*Agr.* 37. 6). It is plausible to suppose that he was an Aulus Julius and from Narbonensis, perhaps from the family of Julius Atticus, the writer on viticulture, of whom Agricola's father was 'as it were a pupil' (Columella 1. 1. 14).[89] Another equestrian officer, who is explicitly

[85] L. F. Pitts and J. K. St. Joseph, *Inchtuthil: The Roman Legionary Fortress* (1985). Cf. p. 267 for 'establishment of the fortress' in 'autumn 83', p. 279 for XX Valeria Victrix. M. Hassall, in Brewer, *Roman Fortresses*, 62f., and in Y. Le Bohec, *Les Légions* ii, 446f., prefers to suppose that II Adiutrix was stationed here.

[86] R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia*, 23 (1992), 150=*AE* 1992. 1139.

[87] Hassall, in Le Bohec, *Les Légions*, 446.

[88] Thus Frere, *Britannia*[3], 104 n. 21; cf. J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough* (1949), 38ff.; *RIB* 46.

[89] As suggested by Syme, *RP* i. 375, noting also the procurator M. Julius Atticus, *CIL* xii. 1854, Vienna. Cf. the remarks of Salomies, *Vornamen*, 202ff., on the propensity of the Narbonensian Gauls to vary *praenomina* within a family: thus Julii are found there in considerable numbers who have different *praenomina*, instead of the standard C. and Ti.

recorded as 'from the province Narbonensis', and who probably also served at this battle—and was exceptionally highly decorated, with three crowns and a *hasta pura*—was Gaius Julius Karus, prefect of the *cohors II Asturum equitata*.[90] The *iuridicus* Salvius Liberalis has already been mentioned above. Gaius Caristanius Fronto, from the colony Antioch towards Pisidia, legate of IX Hispana, probably began his command under Frontinus and continued for a year or two under Agricola (LL 11). Lucius Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer, senatorial tribune of IX Hispana, is generally supposed to have served under Agricola some years later, *c.*81–2 (Trib. 10) and to have taken a detachment from the legion to take part in Domitian's Chattan war of 83 (cf. above). Finally, now that Tacitus may be inferred to have held a commission as *tribunus laticlavius*, there is much to be said for the conjecture that he served in one of the four legions of Britain under his father-in-law (Trib. 9).

The account of Agricola's recall in chapter 40 of the biography reads a little curiously, but it may be assumed that it was in the spring of 84 that he 'handed over the province, peaceful and secure, to his successor'. This unnamed successor cannot be securely identified, but might conceivably be Sallustius Lucullus (see below). Agricola had been granted the *triumphalia ornamenta*, but came back to Rome modestly. There had been talk of his being sent to Syria, but nothing came of it, and he retired into private life. As the military situation on the northern frontiers worsened, 'public opinion began to call for Agricola to be put in command', without effect. When his turn arrived to ballot for the consular proconsulships—probably in the year 90—he was dissuaded by threats from letting his name go forward (*Agr.* 40–2). Three years later he died, on 23 August 93, in his fifty-fourth year (44. 1). In one of the closing chapters of the *Agricola* Tacitus is at pains to stress that '[t]hose whose habit is to admire what is forbidden ought to know that there can be great men even under bad emperors, and that duty and discretion, if coupled with energy and a career of action, will bring a man to no less glorious summits than are attained by perilous paths and ostentatious deaths that do not benefit the Commonwealth' (42. 4). The contrast is with the 'Stoic opposition', whose fate was sealed shortly after Agricola's death (45).

Apart from the daughter who married Tacitus, and the two sons who died in infancy (6. 2, 29. 1), Agricola may have had other children. At any rate, a

[90] *AE* 1951. 88, Cyrene. Karus was assumed by E. Birley, *RBRA* 20ff., who first published the inscription, and by others, e.g. Devijver, *PME* J 75, to have commanded this cohort later, because it was thought that the unit was based in Germany at the time of Agricola's governorship of Britain. It is now clear that there were two *cohortes II Asturum* at this time, one in Germany (*CIL* xvi. 158, AD 80; *RMD* iv. 216, AD 98; *RMD* iv. 239, AD 127) and one in Britain (*CIL* xvi. 51, AD 105; 69, AD 122; *ZPE* 117 (1997), 269ff., AD 127), as already conjectured by M. M. Roxan, in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew (eds.), *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (1976), 63f. M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia*, 25 (1994), 53, convincingly concluded that Karus won his *dona* at Mons Graupius.

young man of senatorial rank recorded on an inscription at Ephesus had Julius Agricola among his many names, which also included [Ped]anius Fuscus Sa[linat]or. This suggests that Agricola's family acquired a link with the Pedanii, kinsmen of Hadrian.[91]

12. between 84 and 96 Lucius(?) Sallustius Lucullus (*cos. a. inc.*)

Suet. *Domit.* 10. 2–3: *complures senatores, in iis aliquot consulares, interemit; ex quibus . . . 3. Sallustium Lucullum Britanniae legatum, quod lanceas novae formae appellari Luculleas passus esset.*

10. 2: He [Domitian] put a number of senators to death, including several former consuls, among them . . . Sallustius Lucullus, legate of Britain, on the grounds that he had allowed spears of a new shape to be called 'Lucullean'.

Sallustius Lucullus is otherwise unknown, but ingenious attempts have been made to identify him. He can hardly be a descendant of the noble Licinii Luculli, none of whom seem to have survived the Civil Wars at the end of the Republic (the sons of the famous Lucullus died at Philippi: Vell. Pat. 2. 71). Likewise doubtful is any link with the family of the historian Sallust, whose line evidently expired with his grand-nephew's adopted son, C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus (*cos. II ord.* 44). Still, there may have been Sallustiae as well, to perpetuate the name.[92] Besides this, there were other Sallustii about in the late Republic, possibly ancestors of the governor.[93] Syme long ago conjectured that Lucullus 'may be identical with P. Sallustius Blaesus', consul suffect from May to August 89 . . . . 'The latter person might be polyonymous, with (e. g.) "Velleius" for his second *gentilicium*', because of 'the rich consular', Velleius Blaesus, preyed on shortly before his death by Aquillius Regulus (Pliny, *Ep.* 2.

[91] *IEph.* 734, a [P.?] Velleius P. f. Tro(mentina) [Lucullus?] L. Sertorius [Brocchus Ped]anius Fuscus Salinator Sallustius Blaesus [Cn.] Julius Agricola [. . .] Caesonius; cf. *PIR*² P 198, where Cn. Serto[rius] Brocc[hus] Aquilius [Regulus? Julius?] Agricola Ped[an]ius F[uscus] Salinat[or] Julius Servian[us], *CIL* iii. 13826, Doclea (Dalmatia), is also noted. The young man recorded at Ephesus is generally identified with Hadrian's grand-nephew, put to death at the end of Hadrian's reign. The man at Doclea was surely the latter's kinsman, perhaps sister's son: Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 603. On the names Sallustius Blaesus, cf. below.

[92] *PIR*² P 146: generally known as 'Passienus Crispus'. Cf. also the latter's putative sister Sallustia Calvina, perhaps mother of P. Ostorius Scapula (Gov. 2 and n. 48, above). A youth who made a dedication to Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus was called C. Ummi[dius] Sall[ustius], *AE* 1934. 153; discussed by Syme, *Historia*, 17 (1968), 78ff. = *RP* ii. 665ff., perhaps son of C. Ummidius Quadratus (*cos. c.*40) and a Sallustia; cf. Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 678. There are two attested senatorial women, Sallustia Frontina, of the Hadrianic period, from Carian Aphrodisias (ibid., no. 679) and Sallustia Lucana, undated (680). The latter's *cognomen* might suggest a link with Sallustius Lucullus, but surely derived from Lucanus.

[93] Namely, Cicero's close friend Cn. Sallustius, who crops up in numerous letters, and the latter's kinsman P. Sallustius, mentioned once (*Att.* 11. 11. 2); also a patron of Pompeii, Q. Sallustius P.f., *CIL* x. 792, 958. Registered by Syme, *Acta Classica*, 28 (1985), 42 = *RP* ii. 636f., who also noted the numerous freedmen of a Q. Sallustius at Rome, clearly rich if not of high rank (*PIR*¹ S 59).

20. 7f.).[94] Adapting and enlarging on Syme's suggestion, Champlin adduced the Domitianic poets Statius (*Silv.* 2. 1. 189ff., cf. 3. 77, 191) and Martial (8. 38), writing *c.*AD 93 about a friend, recently deceased, of their patron Atedius Melior, called Blaesus, 'who could well be Pliny's Velleius Blaesus'. 'Identity [of Blaesus with Sallustius Lucullus] is not excluded by the sources, for Suetonius' hostile notice need not imply execution, while Pliny's remarks do not exclude suicide or premature decease.' Champlin further adduced an inscription from Ephesus recording a polyonymous young man of senatorial rank, whom he identified as Hadrian's grand-nephew. This person's numerous names included Velleius and Sallustius Bla[esus]. Champlin concluded that 'a new figure can emerge, a composite of three shadowy consulars who died in the latter years of the reign of Domitian, viz. P. Velleius P. f. Tro(mentina) Lucullus Sallustius Blaesus, *cos. suff.* 89'.[95]

The consul of 89 was an Arval Brother, who attended meetings of the priestly college in 78, 79?, 80, 81, 86, 87, 89, 90 and early January 91.[96] Syme, in a later contribution, noted that, in spite of 'Blaesus' addiction to the ceremonies of the *Arvales*', he could have governed Britain from 91 or 92 to 94 or 95. But he also offered a variant, linking Sallustius Lucullus with P. Aburius Lucullus, procurator (rather than legate) of Belgica, probably in the period 70–89, and cited for a Sallustius with the *praenomen* P. the tombstone of P. Sallustius P. f. Lucullius at Lanuvium: '[t]he chance therefore arises that (P.) Sallustius Lucullus, the governor of Britain, was an Aburius by birth or adoption, or by maternal descent . . . perhaps "P. Sallustius Aburius Lucullus", possibly even "P. Sallustius Blaesus Aburius Lucullus"'. Commenting on Champlin's hypothesis, he was only prepared to accept 'a link of some kind' between Velleius Blaesus and Sallustius Blaesus. 'It might be close, it need not be.'[97]

Meanwhile Conole and Jones commented that 'since [the Arval acts]

[94] Syme, *Tacitus*, 648, no. 34. He had first put forward the suggestion, even more briefly, in *JRS* 43 (1953), 158; in the addenda to the reprint of this piece, *RP* i. 258, he added that '[t]his possibility would evaporate if P. Sallustius Blaesus were identical with "Velleius Blaesus, *ille locuples consularis*", whose decease is recorded by Pliny (*Ep.* ii 20. 7)"'. In *Historia*, 17 (1968), 79 = *RP* ii. 66, he still regarded identity as possible. See further below.

[95] For the Ephesus inscription cf. above, n. 91 and E. Champlin, *ZPE* 21 (1976), 79ff., who identifies the honorand as Hadrian's grand-nephew and also made inferences, 85f., about Sallustius Lucullus; commented on by Syme, *HSCP* 82 (1979), 297ff. = *RP* iii. 1166f.; but he waived further discussion.

[96] Scheid, *CFA* 44, 45, 48–9, 54–5, 57, 59.

[97] R. Syme, *Some Arval Brethren* (1980), 45ff. For P. Sallustius Lucullius, whose mother was called Cusinia: *CIL* xiv. 2147, perhaps descended from freedmen of the governor in the view of E. Groag, *RE* 1A/2 (1920), 1957; for P. Aburius (rather than Abullius) Lucullus see H. Nesselhauf, *R-G Ber.* 27 (1937), 53 no. 4, improving *AE* 1931. 293 = 1932. 41, Trier. Cf. Thomasson, *LP* i. 43, no. 4: 'procurator potius quam legatus putandus est'. Syme also noted the senator D. Aburius Bassus (*cos.* 85) (*CIL* xvi. 31).

record [Blaesus'] presence in Rome during every year of the first half of Domitian's reign for which complete minutes have survived, it is difficult to see how he could have managed to gain sufficient provincial experience in praetorian posts to merit appointment to Britain'. They offered an alternative to Blaesus. The Elder Pliny (*NH* 9. 89–93), writes that '[t]he information learnt about octopuses when L. Lucullus was proconsul of Baetica must not be passed over either, which was made known by Trebius Niger, one of his *comites*'. He adds some tall stories about how a giant octopus attacked the fishponds at Carteia, was killed with difficulty, and its head shown to Lucullus. Trebius is elsewhere cited for an implausible tale about the murex (9. 80), on swordfish that cause ships to sink on the Atlantic coast of Mauretania, and on flying fish that press ships below the surface (32. 15). The proconsul has generally been supposed to be Republican and Trebius to have been a writer of the second century BC. But the name 'Baetica' was not used until the Augustan period. The proconsulship must have been held in the period between Augustus and AD 77, when Pliny published his work. This Lucullus could then be the future governor of Britain, as was already conjectured long ago by Cichorius. A dating of the proconsul Lucullus to the mid-70s is supported by Cichorius' observations about Pliny's use of Trebius.[98] Further, the *cognomen* was extremely rare among the senatorial order and the higher échelons of the equestrians in the principate.[99] It seems preferable, then, to reject identification with the Blaesi, Sallustius, and Velleius, and any connection with the procurator of Belgica. The proconsul of Baetica can plausibly be identified as Lucius Sallustius Lucullus; and he was probably consul suffect soon after his proconsulship, perhaps in 77, 78, or 79, years in which scarcely any suffects are as yet attested. This makes it perfectly possible that he was the unnamed successor to whom Agricola 'handed over the province, peaceful and secure' (Tac. *Agr.* 40. 3) in spring 84.

[98] P. Conole and B. W. Jones, *Latomus*, 42 (1983), 629. They properly note that *proconsule Baeticae* cannot—except anachronistically—refer to a Republican proconsul of Hispania Ulterior. This has been argued by some, who suggest L. Licinius Lucullus (*cos.* 151 BC). Conole and Jones were evidently unaware of C. Cichorius, 'Die Zeit des Schriftstellers Trebius Niger', *Römische Studien* (1922), 96ff., who also pointed out that a proconsul of Baetica should belong to the imperial period, 98f., and proposed that L. Lucullus was the same as Sallustius Lucullus, 99f. Cichorius eliminated a fourth ostensible citation of Trebius, on woodpeckers (10. 40), convincingly emending Trebius to Trogus, 97f.; but plausibly identified, 100ff., as deriving from Trebius several other passages on amazing sea-creatures off the southwest coast of Spain, 9. 10–11, including one about a merman seen in the Gulf of Cadiz, for which Pliny names no source but states that 'I have distinguished members of the equestrian order as authorities', *auctores habeo in equestri ordine splendentes*. He concluded that Trebius was a contemporary of Pliny, who inserted recent items from Trebius just before publishing the *Natural History*.

[99] Cichorius made the same point, 99, although his information was slightly defective. See *PIR*² L, p. 108: apart from our governor, the procurator of Belgica, and the proconsul of Baetica, of the senatorial order there are only two women, of 2nd- and 3rd-cent. date, and only one equestrian, an *epistrategus* from the year 173 (*PIR*² J 387).

The moment and circumstances of the governor's death can likewise only be the subject of conjecture. Suetonius' use of the subjunctive to give the reason for the governor's execution indicates that he was reporting a supposed reason, which seems rather trivial. Presumably Lucullus had indeed given his own name to a new shape of spear but was suspected, rightly or wrongly, of having seriously treasonable intentions as well. As for Champlin's attractive notion that Blaesus the patron of the Flavian poets, Velleius Blaesus the rich consular, and Sallustius Lucullus might be one and the same man, it is surely inconceivable that Statius and Martial would celebrate during the reign of Domitian the virtues of a man whose death, however it took place, had been ordered by the emperor.

There is a choice of crises with which Lucullus' fall might be connected: Domitian had to suppress several conspiracies before the one that led to his murder in September 96. Sacrifices were made by the Arvals at Rome on 22 September 87 'because of the detection of the crimes of nefarious men'.[100] This was the same year as the abandonment of the Inchtuthil fortress and other bases beyond the Forth, the inevitable consequence of removing from Britain II Adiutrix and several auxiliary regiments.[101] Had Lucullus objected? Another possibility is in or soon after January 89, when the commander of the Upper German army, Antonius Saturninus, attempted a *coup d'état*. He was soon suppressed, but his colleague in Britain might have been accused of involvement. A third conceivable moment for Lucullus' death is the period after late summer 93: according to Tacitus, the 'terror', involving 'the slaughter of so many men of consular rank', began after Agricola's death on 23 August that year (*Agr.* 44. 1, 5, 45).[102]

The latest date can perhaps be eliminated in the light of a writing-tablet from Vindolanda, a strength report of the First Cohort of Tungrians, from the innermost western ditch of the first known fort, datable by the pottery to the years *c.*85–92. It lists the disposition of the unit on 18 May in an unnamed year, under the prefect Julius Verecundus: 456 men were absent, including five centurions, only 296, one of them a centurion, present. Among the absentees, 337 men and two centurions were at *Coria* (Corbridge), 20 km east of Vindolanda along the Stanegate, and forty-six were serving as 'guards (*singulares*) of the legate, on the staff (*officio*) of Ferox'.[103] Since other tablets refer to the

[100] Scheid, *CFA* 55.

[101] For the date, A. S. Hobley, *Britannia*, 20 (1989), 69ff. II Adiutrix: L. J. F. Keppie, in Y. Le Bohec, *Les Légions* i, 28; M. Hassall, in Brewer, *Roman Fortresses*, 62f. , suggesting that II Adiutrix, not XX, had actually been the legion at Inchtuthil. For the withdrawal of II Adiutrix from Britain see also I. 9.

[102] B. W. Jones, *Domitian* (1993), 133ff., 141f., 144ff., 182.

[103] *TV* ii. 154.

governor as *consularis* not *legatus*,[104] Ferox is most likely to have been the legate of a legion. But he ought to have been acting-governor: normal legionary legates did have guards, but drawn from their own legion, not from auxiliary units.[105] In view of the dating of Vindolanda's period I, the end of 93 and the first part of 94 is surely too late for Ferox to have been acting governor.[106] (For a possible identification of Ferox see LL 12)

September 87 thus seems a plausible date. Lucullus could then have had four seasons in Britain. In 84–5 he might be supposed to have been concerned with taking further the construction of the new legionary fortress at Inchtuthil in Perthshire and perhaps modifying the defensive line along the Gask Ridge.

A possible consequence of the governor's downfall is revealed by other evidence. An auxiliary unit with a surprising name, *pedites singulares Britanniciani*, 'infantry guardsmen from Britain', that is, ex-guards of the governor of Britain, is found in the army of the Danubian province Upper Moesia in 103. The removal of the British governor's personal guards to another province is best explained in connection with the Lucullus affair.[107] It is conceivable that the procurator of Britain Gnaeus Pompeius Homullus served here at this time and gained accelerated promotion as a reward for loyalty (Proc. 4).

If the above arguments for Lucullus having served from 84 to 87 are sound, at least one and probably two unknown governors must be postulated in the years *c.*87–*c.*94, between him and Nepos, attested as outgoing governor in 98 (Gov. 13). Apart from the presumed legionary legate Ferox (LL 12), another who probably served under Lucullus was the *iuridicus* Javolenus Priscus (*iurid.* 2), *c.*84–6.

[104] Ibid. 223, 225, 248, 295, 404(?); iii. 581.

[105] Convincingly argued by M. A. Speidel, *Festschrift Lieb* (1995), 43ff. However, he follows the dating of *TV* ii. 154 offered by the editors, *c.*92–7, which must be corrected, see next note.

[106] See for the date of period I A. R. Birley, *Garrison Life at Vindolanda* (2002), 60f., 168f. n. 9, pointing out that the editors of *TV* ii. 154 are mistaken when they write that '[i]t now appears much more likely that the material in this [Period 1] ditch was produced by the occupants of Period 2 [sc. *c.*92–7]'. The discovery of a further, fragmentary strength report of *coh. I Tungrorum* in an outer ditch of the period I fort confirms the dating of *TV* ii. 154 to period 1, *c.*85–92: Anthony and Robin Birley, in Andrew Birley, *The Excavations of 2001–2002* (2003), 90ff., on T 01–15; on the newly found outer ditches of the period, I fort ibid. 3ff.

[107] *CIL* xvi. 54: see E. Birley, *RBRA* 22; M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Armies* (1978), 127; B. W. Jones, *Domitian* (1993), 134. R. W. Davies, *Acta Classica*, 19 (1976), 115ff., argued that the exceptionally generous *dona* given to C. Julius Karus, prefect of *coh. II Asturum equitata*, in a *bello Britttannico* (*AE* 1951. 88), were for the suppression of Lucullus. But this was on the assumption that the cohort was in Germany until at least 89. New evidence shows that there were two series of *cohh. Asturum* and that separate *cohh. II* were based simultaneously in Germany and Britain: cf. above, n. 90, with further references. Equally, *coh. I Fida Vardullorum*, attested with that title and with the status *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* on its first appearance, in the British diploma of 98 (*CIL* xvi. 43, partly quoted under Gov. 13), could have been honoured on another occasion, very probably for loyalty during a revolt, perhaps in the years 69–70, not necessarily for 'loyalty to the emperor Domitian at the time of the treachery of . . . Sallustius Lucullus', as also argued by Davies, *Acta Classica*, 120f.

I.4
GOVERNORS FROM NERVA TO HADRIAN

One development in Britain in Nerva's short reign, 96–8, was the founding of a third veteran *colonia*, at Gloucester (*Glevum*).[1] At the start of this period numerous forts in S. Scotland were still occupied ; but they seem all to have been evacuated under Trajan, *c.*105, probably following the withdrawal of auxiliary regiments from Britain to reinforce the Danubian army for the Second Dacian War (see under Gov. 15). All or part of the legion IX Hispana was also removed, perhaps at the same time (I. 9). A serious rebellion apparently broke out on Hadrian's accession in August 117, with heavy Roman casualties. Hadrian visited Britain himself in 122 and the construction of his wall began at about this time (Gov. 17–18). It is not known whether IX Hispana returned to Britain then or earlier, but it certainly left for good in this period. Meanwhile VI Victrix arrived in 122, transferred from Lower Germany, and was stationed from then onwards at IX Hispana's old base, York (I. 9).

13. 98 Nepos = (?Publius Metilius Sabinus) Nepos (*cos.* 91)

CIL xvi. 43, Flémalle (Belgium): *[Imp(erator) Caesar, divi Ne]rvae f(ilius), Nerva Traianus [Augustus Germa]nicus, pontifex maximus [tribunic(ia)] potestat(e), co(n)s(ul) II, [equitibus et peditib]us, qui militant in alis [tribus et cohortib]us sex, quae appellantur . . . [et sunt] in Britannia sub T. Avidio [Quieto, item] dimissis honesta missione a [Metilio ?] Nepote . . . civitatem dedit . . .*

The Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Nerva, Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power, consul twice, has given citizenship . . . to the cavalrymen and infantrymen, who are serving in the three *alae* and six cohorts, which are called . . . and are in Britain under T. Avidius [Quietus], also to those discharged with honourable discharge by [Metilius ?] Nepos . . .

Although only the *cognomen* Nepos of the earlier governor on this diploma is preserved, it is generally agreed that he is the consul suffect of 91, P. Metilius Nepos.[2] The exact date in 98 at which the diploma was issued is not preserved

[1] See the tombstone of a soldier of VI Victrix, who had served as a *frumentarius* at Rome, *CIL* vi. 3346 = *ILS* 2365: *M(arco) Ulpio Ner(via) Quinto Glevi.* The pseudo-tribe *Ner(via)* shows that the town received its charter from Nerva.

[2] Although the name Nepos is quite common—Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965), 304, counted 167 and 17 senators (slightly more are listed in *PIR*² N, pp. 339f.), no other Nepos of the period seems to be known. The *Acta Arvalium* show a P. Met . . . consul on 5 November 91, the *Fasti Potentini* (*AE* 1949. 23) L. Metilius Nep[os] on 1 September of that year. L. and P are easily confused in cursive script and there is no doubt that the two are identical. See *PIR*² M 547.

either, but it was before 28 October, when Trajan's tribunician power was renewed. It is likely that Nepos had already been replaced by Quietus in 97. In any case, it is to be presumed that Nepos was appointed by Domitian, perhaps as early as 94. There is no evidence for his previous career, but he could well have governed one of the Germanies before Britain.[3] If this is indeed Metilius Nepos, the *nomen* is relatively well attested in northern Italy.[4] Since the Hadrianic consul P. Metilius P. f. Secundus was enrolled in the tribe Claudia, to which Novaria belongs, a city where slaves of a Metilius are recorded, it seems probable that this was his home.[5]

There is a further problem over identity.[6] Another Metilius Nepos is known, a slightly younger contemporary, who was probably consul in 103, if his name is correctly restored in the *Fasti Ostienses* as [M]etiliu[s]. This man is thought to be the P. Metilius Nepos recorded as *cos. II ord.*, with M. Annius Libo as his colleague, for 128, on a papyrus from Arabia. But he clearly died before taking office, since the consular *Fasti* show a different man as Libo's fellow-consul.[7] The former governor of Britain is taken to be the P. Metilius Sabinus Nepos—with a extra *cognomen*—who is listed among the Arval Brethren in the years 105, 110, and 111; and the Arval Brother died not long before 26 February 118, when a successor was co-opted in his place.[8] The two men may have been brothers or perhaps cousins.

Further, the younger Pliny wrote four letters to a man called Nepos (not necessarily all the same Nepos, of course): 2. 3, urging him to attend a lecture by the sophist Isaeus; 3. 16, an account of the heroism of Arria, wife of Caecina Paetus; 4. 26, replying to a request for revised versions of Pliny's writings; and 6. 19, on the rise in prices of Italian land after Trajan's new regulation. In three letters only the *cognomen* is transmitted, but the index of one manuscript names the addressee of 4. 26 'Maecilius Nepos'. As the *nomen* Maecilius was not borne by any known senator at this precise period, it has been corrected here to Metilius. But this is far from certain: a governor of Thrace under Hadrian was called Maec(ius) or Maec(ilius) Nep(os or -otianus), who could perfectly well be a son of Pliny's correspondent; and senators called Maecilii are attested

[3] See Eck, *Statthalter*, 42 ff. (Superior), 149 ff. (Inferior) for vacancies in the early 90s.

[4] Conveniently listed in Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 80.

[5] For the origin at Novaria see Syme, *Tacitus*, 647, no. 25, citing *CIL* v. 6503, slaves of a Metilius, and *ILS* 1053, P. Metilius P. f. Cla. Secundus (*PIR*² M 549); for the tribe, Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum* (1889), 121.

[6] Set out clearly by Syme, *JRS* 58 (1968), 138 = *RP* ii. 699 f.

[7] *AE* 1967. 529; see *PIR*² M 545; Birley, *Onomasticon*, 71 f., unfortunately attributes the name Sabinus to Pliny's correspondent, taken to be the *cos.* 103. Previous attempts to identify another correspondent of Pliny, the Sabinus of 9. 2 and 9. 18, with Metilius Sabinus Nepos can lapse: he was almost certainly Julius Sabinus, ibid. 65.

[8] *PIR*² M 547; Scheid, *CFA*, nos. 64, 65, 66, 68.

under Augustus, Nero, and Antoninus Pius. To be sure, it is difficult to find room for a consulship of a Maecilius Nepos under Domitian.[9]

At any rate, in this letter to 'Maecilius' or Metilius Nepos, written *c.*105, Pliny refers to him being 'about to govern a very large province'. It seems unlikely that a man who had governed Britain in the second half of the 90s would have returned to military service under Trajan; the only conceivable 'very large province' that he could have been about to govern at the time, *c.*105, is Africa.[10] On the other hand, the presumed *cos.* 103 could well have been about to govern an imperial province at this time.

The Hadrianic consular mentioned above, P. Metilius P. f. Cla. Secundus (*cos.* 123 or 124), could be the son of either of the two Metilii Nepotes; and his own son seems to be M. Metilius P. f. Cl. Aquillius Regulus Nepos Volusius Torquatus Fronto (*cos. ord.* 157). Two other polyonymous Antonine senators, M. Sedatius Severianus (*cos.* 153) certainly, and Cassius Dexter (*cos. c.*151) possibly, also bore the names Metilius Nepos.[11] The late Trajanic governor of Britain Marcus Atilius Metilius Bradua (no. 16) might be a nephew of of one or other Metilius Nepos.

14. 98 Titus Avidius Quietus (*cos.* 93)

CIL xvi. 43: quoted under Gov. 13 above.

There can be no doubt that Avidius Quietus is the governor whose *praenomen* and *nomen* are preserved on the British diploma of 98. He had been consul in 93, two years after his predecessor in Britain. But Quietus must then have been somewhat older than the standard age of 41.[12] The younger Pliny, a close friend, mentions that Quietus had been an intimate of the Stoic leader Thrasea Paetus (*Ep.* 6. 29. 1). Since Paetus died in 66 (Tac. *Ann.* 16. 35, etc.), it is reasonable to assume that Quietus was over 20 by that year, hence born in the 40s. The Avidii derived from the N. Italian town of Faventia on the Via Aemilia, as is clear from literary references to other members of the family; and a freedman T. Avidius is recorded on an inscription there.[13] Quietus had

[9] See *PIR*² M 42–3 (Maecilus Nepos); 40 (Pius), 44–5; for the governor of Thrace, Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 204; Thomasson, *LP* i. 163 f.

[10] See Thomasson, *Fasti*, 49 f., where there is ample room to accommodate other proconsuls: only one name is suggested for the period *c.*101/2 to 110, between Javolenus Priscus (*cos.* 86) and Q. Pomponius Rufus (*cos.* 95). Asia, on the other hand, seems full in those years: Thomasson, *LP* i. 220 f.

[11] *PIR*² M 540; *ILS* 9487 (Sedatius), 1050 + *add.* (Dexter), see Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 109 f.; 143 ff. Dexter had also acquired names from the former procurator of Britain Bellicus Sollers (Proc. 5).

[12] Degrassi, *FC* 28. On the age at which the consulship was held see J. Morris, *Listy fil.* 87 (1964), 325 ff.; 88 (1965), 22 ff.; Talbert, *Senate*, 20 ff.

[13] *HA Hadr.* 7. 2 f., cf. 23. 10; *Ael.* 2. 8; *Verus* 1. 9; *CIL* xi. 660 + *add.*; see Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 130; Andermahr, *Totus*, 176 f.

a house at Rome on the Esquiline and he or his son of the same names (*cos.* 111) also had a house on the Quirinal, clay-pits used for tile-production somewhere near Rome, and possibly a suburban villa between the Via Latina and Via Appia.[14]

Of his earlier career only two posts are recorded. In 82 the veterans of the Upper German legion VIII Augusta requested that Quietus, described as *leg(ato) Aug(usti) ornatissimo viro*, should become a patron of the colony of Deultum in Thrace, where they had been settled. It is not apparent from the inscription, set up in Quietus' house on the Esquiline at Rome, whether he was still holding the post. But at least three other men are known to have been legates of VIII Augusta under Vespasian, the last of whom was still in command under Domitian, so it seems more likely that Quietus was chosen as a patron of Deultum because he was the legion's legate when the men were settled, that is, in 82. Hence he probably commanded it in Domitian's Chattan war of 83. He may have held other posts thereafter.[15] All that is known is that he was proconsul of Achaia *c.*90–1 or 91–2. It was perhaps while he was serving in Greece that he won the friendship of Plutarch, who mentions him affectionately in several works.[16]

At first sight it is surprising that Quietus held the consulship at all under Domitian, let alone in 93, when Domitian carried out a purge of the Stoics (Tac. *Agr.* 45). But the emperor may have hoped to conciliate the group until the last moment. Early in 97, after Domitian's murder, Quietus spoke in the senate in support of Pliny, when the latter tried to gain revenge for the Stoic leader Helvidius. Quietus urged that Arria and Fannia, the widow and daughter of Thrasea, 'should not be denied their right of protest' (*Ep.* 9. 13. 15, cf. 13. 2 for the date). Shortly after this he was appointed governor of Britain, for his predecessor Nepos is also named on the diploma of 98. Although he had had some military experience, it was not very recent, and he was no longer young. The choice fits the pattern of Nerva's brief principate, when a series of elderly figures returned to prominence.[17] Tacitus, who was writing his father-in-law's biography at the time, is unlikely to have viewed the appointment enthusiasti-

[14] Houses: Esquiline, *CIL* vi. 3828 = 31692 = *ILS* 6105; Quirinal, *CIL* xv. 7400. Tiles: *CIL* x. 8046. 11, xiv. 4089. 10 = xv. 2397—found at Ostia and in Sardinia (taken to indicate property there, but probably just shipped as ballast, E. M. Steinby, *RE Suppl.* 15 (1978), 1493; Andermahr, *Totus*, 176). Villa: *CIL* xv. 7400b, 2 (find-spot doubtful, Andermahr, *Totus*, 177 and n. 2).

[15] *CIL* vi. 3828 = 31692 = *ILS* 6105. Other legates of VIII Augusta: G. Alföldy and H. Halfmann, *Chiron*, 3 (1973), 350 ff., repr. in Alföldy, *Heeresgeschichte*, 172 f., with *add.*, 198; Eck, *Statthalter*, 249 and n. 9; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, 166 ff., esp. 179 ff., conjecturing some other post before, or even after, the proconsulship, 181.

[16] *SIG*[3] 822, Delphi; see Eck, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 319; Thomasson, *LP* i. 192, no. 18. Cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 632A; *De fraterno amore* 478B.

[17] Syme, *Tacitus*, 3: 'there was some danger of gerontocracy'.

cally, considering his harsh allusion to the Stoics (42. 4).[18] Quietus' later career, if any, is unknown. He was evidently dead by the time that Pliny wrote the second letter referring to him, *c.*107 (6. 29. 1). His tenure of the governorship perhaps lasted until 101, and he was probably succeeded by Neratius Marcellus.

Quietus' son of the same names was consul in 111 and proconsul of Asia under Hadrian.[19] His nephew, Gaius Avidius Nigrinus, consul in 110, was governor of Dacia at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, but was dismissed and put to death in 118, at Faventia, on a charge of conspiracy.[20] Many years later Hadrian was to adopt as his son and heir Lucius Ceionius Commodus, Nigrinus' stepson, who had also married one of Nigrinus' daughters.[21]

15. 103 (Marcus Hirrius) Lucius Neratius, Marci (?) filius, Voltinia, Marcellus (*cos.* 95, *II ord.* 129)

CIL xvi. 48 = *RIB* ii/1. 2401. 1, Malpas (Cheshire): *[Imp(erator) Caesar, d]ivi Nervae f(ilius), N[erva Tr]aian[us Augu]stus Germanicus [D]acicus, pontifex maximus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) VII, imp. IIII, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriae), [e]quitibus et peditibus qui militant in alis quattuor et cohortibus decem et una, quae appellantur . . . , et sunt in Britannia sub L(ucio) Neratio Marcello . . . civitatem dedit . . . a(nte) d(iem) XIIII k(alendis) Febr(uariis) M'. (Manio) Laberio Maximo II, Q(uinto) Glitio Atilio Agricola co(n)s(ulibus), alae Pannoniorum Tampainae, cui prae(e)st C. (Gaius) Valerius Celsus, Reburro Severi f(ilio), Hispan(o) . . .*

The Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Nerva, Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, pontifex maximus, in his seventh term of tribunician power, four times acclaimed *imperator*, five times consul, father of the fatherland, has given citizenship . . . to the cavalrymen and infantrymen, who are serving in the four *alae* and eleven cohorts, which are called . . . and are in Britain under Lucius Neratius Marcellus . . . on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of February, Manius Laberius Maximus, for the second time, and Quintus Glitius Atilius Agricola being the consuls [19 January 103], from the Tampian Ala of Pannonians, of which Gaius Valerius Celsus is the commander, to Reburrus, son of Severus, from Spain . . .

TV ii. 225 (incorporating restorations and conjectures in commentary, with some slight modifications), Vindolanda:

[ ] vacat *Crispino suo [* vacat?*]*
[G]ṛattị̣o Cṛịspino redeunte ạ [Vin
dolanda?] [[non fui mihi]] et ạḍ [te
veniente ?li]benter amplexụ̣s ṣ[um do] 4
ṃine ṣạlutandi te oc̣cạṣṣị̣o̱ṇẹṃ
[d]o̱minum meum et quem salvom

[18] It may be noted that it was probably Quietus who gave a post in Britain, perhaps a commission as equestrian officer, to an elderly Stoic, Quintus Ovidius, also a friend of Martial (10. 44, the impending journey to Britain; cf. 1. 105, 7. 44, 93, 9. 52–3, 98, 13. 119): *PIR*² O 178.

[19] *PIR*² A 1409; Degrassi, *FC* 33.

[20] *PIR*² A 1408. For the interpretation of these events Birley, *Hadrian*, 86f.

[21] Ibid. 289ff.

[[hạbere]] esse et omnis spei
[[suae]] compotem inter praecipuạ 8
voti habeo hoc enim de
me semper meruisti usque
ad hanc d[ignit?]ạtem cuius fid
ụ̣c̣ịạ họ[c quoqu.?]e te primuṃ [?do 12
mine?] ?ŗọ[go ut? s]ạḷ-ꟻut-ꟻẹṣ ṇ[unc.?

Back:

Neratiu]m Marc̣ellum clarissi[mum vi
rum] consularem meum quarę [dat
oc]c̣assionem nunc ut f[avoris sit gra.? 16
ti]ạ.? tibi amicorum dọ[tes augendo.?]
sụạ [p]ŗạẹsentia quos tụ [gratia.?]
illius scio plurimos haberę [nunc.?]
quomodo voḷes imple quidq [uid] 20
de te exspecto et me p̣lụŗ[i]ṃịṣ
aṃicis ita instrue ut beneficio
tuo militiam [po]s̱s̱im iucundam
experiri ha[ec ti]bi a Vindolan 24
da scribo q[uo loc.?]ọ hiberna [?po]
[n]ụṇṭụr.? ḥạb[et.? e.g. *Fla.?]vịus.? A. [. . .]*
[continued on 2nd sheet?]

Translation (slightly adapted from *TV* ii; line divisions follow the original only approximately: words in round brackets have been added to make the sense clearer)

'[ ] *vacat* to his Crispinus [*vacat.?*]
As [G]rattius Crispinus is returning from [Vin-
dolanda?] [[I have not been for myself]] and
[is coming?] to [you?], I have gladly embraced,
Lord, the opportunity of greeting you
—(who are) my Lord and (the man) for
whom it is among my especial prayers
[[to have]] that you may be in good health
and fulfilling every one of [[his]] (your) hopes.
For you have always deserved this from me,
right up to this position of honour (?).
Relying on which, [?this I ask] you first,
[Lord?], [that] you [now?] greet
[Neratiu]s Marcellus, the Right Honourable man,
my Consular. By this means [you
will gain?]the opportunity for
yourself now to [enhance?] in his presence
the fortunes (?) of (your) friends, of whom I
know that, [thanks to?] him, you have very many.
[?Therefore,] in whatever way you wish, fulfil

> whatever I expect of you and set me up with
> very many (?) friends in such a way that by your
> favour I can enjoy a pleasant military service.
> I write this to you from Vindolan-
> da, [?at which place (my)] winter-quarters
> [are situated?]. [?Fla]vius A. [ ] has(?) . . . .'

AE 1990. 217, Saepinum: *[L(ucio) Neratio M(arci?) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Marcello, co(n)s(uli), | XVvi]r(o) s[acris faciundis, ?proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) . . . . (?), leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) | div]i Traian[i Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Britanniae, curat(ori) aquar(um)] [4]| urbis, pr(aetori), trib(uno) m[il(itum) leg(ionis) XII Fulminat(ae), salio Palat(ino), quaest(ori) | Aug(usti), curatori a[ctorum senatus, adlecto inter patric(ios) ab divo] | Vespasiano, III[vir(o) a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) f(lando) f(eriundo)], | Domitia L(uci) f(ilia) [Vettilla uxor]*.

To Lucius Neratius, son of Marcus(?), Voltinia, Marcellus, consul, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, (?)proconsul of the province of . . . (?), propraetorian legate of the deified Traianus Augustus of the province of Britain, curator of the aqueducts of the city, praetor, military tribune of the Twelfth Legion Fulminata, *salius Palatinus*, quaestor of the emperor, curator of the acts of the senate, adlected among the patricians by the deified Vespasian, triumvir in charge of the mint, Domitia, daughter of Lucius, Vettilla, his wife.

CIL ix. 2456 = *ILS* 1032, Saepinum: *[L(ucio) Neratio M(arci?) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Marcello, co(n)s(uli), | XVvir(o) sacris faciundis, (?) proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) . . . (?), leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore)] | divi Traiani prov(inciae) | Britanniae, curat(ori) aquar(um) [4]| urbis, pr(aetori), tr(ibuno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XII Ful|minat(ae), salio Palat(ino), quaest(ori) Aug(usti), curat(ori) actorum sena|tus, adlecto inter patric(ios) | ab divo Vespasiano, IIIvir(o) |a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) f(lando) f(eriundo), | ex testamento Vettillae eius.*

Translation as above, except for the last line: in accordance with the will of Vettilla his (wife).

The diploma of 19 January 103 shows Lucius Neratius Marcellus as governor of Britain almost exactly eight years after he had become consul, replacing Domitian as suffect, on the Ides of January 95.[22] He was probably the direct successor of Avidius Quietus. He must also be 'Marcellus, my consular', referred to in the draft letter found at Vindolanda, evidently written by Flavius Cerialis, prefect of *cohors VIIII Batavorum equitata*. The archaeological evidence dates the term of office of Cerialis to the years 101–5.[23] It must have been, further, as governor of Britain that Marcellus, on Pliny's request, offered a military tribunate to Suetonius Tranquillus, the future biographer of the Caesars. In a letter probably written shortly before 103, Pliny told Suetonius that he would arrange for the post, which Suetonius had on reflection declined, to be transferred to Suetonius' kinsman Caesennius Silvanus (3. 8).[24] Pliny's wife Calpurnia was related to Marcellus' first wife Corellia Hispulla (see below). A senatorial career, including the governorship of Britain as legate of Trajan, which must be that of Marcellus, is recorded on two acephalous

[22] Degrassi, *FC* 28; *FO*[2] 45; *PIR*[2] N 55.

[23] A. R. Birley, *Garrison Life at Vindolanda* (2002), 125ff.

[24] For the date of the letter, Syme, *Tacitus*, 91 n. and 647, favoured '101, at the beginning of his tenure'; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (1966), 229f., preferred 103.

inscriptions at Saepinum in Samnium, the home of his family.[25] One was set up by Marcellus' wife Domitia Vettilla, the other in accordance with her will. Vettilla was clearly his second wife (see below). It is not clear whether Marcellus himself was still alive at the time, but it is hard to believe that he could have checked the text.[26] The order of appointments seems to be disturbed, which makes it difficult to reconstruct his pre-consular career with any certainty.

Marcellus' brother was the jurist Lucius Neratius Priscus (*cos.* 97): a passage in the *Digest* (33. 7. 12. 43) mentions that *Neratius libro quarto epistularum Marcello fratri sui respondit*, 'Neratius replied to his brother Marcellus in his fourth book of letters'. The precise relationship of the brothers to the elder L. Neratius Priscus, the consul of 87, remains a matter for speculation. The younger Priscus was plebeian, whereas Marcellus and the other Neratius of the Flavian period, Marcus Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa, were patrician.[27] It therefore seems probable that Marcellus and Priscus were sons of the elder Priscus[28] and that Marcellus was adopted by Neratius Pansa. Pansa was governor of Lycia *c.*70–2; Marcellus evidently accompanied Pansa to that province and is surely the son of Pansa who was honoured by the people of Xanthus under the name 'Marcus Neratius Marcellus'.[29] He was soon after this of an age to commence his senatorial career. His year as *triumvir monetalis* was probably in the early 70s, perhaps at the time of his adlection to patrician rank in the censorship of 73–4. His status is exemplified by his priesthood, *salius Palatinus*, confined to patricians, and by the omission of aedileship or plebeian tribunate. The tribunate in XII Fulminata was once thought to have been held in the period 77–80,

[25] The Neratii are discussed in *RE* 16/2 (1935), 2539–53; more up to date information in *PIR*² N 55 (Marcellus), 51–4, 56–68. N 50, 'Neratiolus', should, however, be deleted. As pointed out by Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 152f., the inscription from Xanthus, *AE* 1981. 826f., read as *Νερατιολον*, should rather be understood as *Νεράτιο[ν Μάρκελ]λον*. Several Neratii are recorded as being in the Voltinia tribe, to which Saepinum and several other Samnite communities belonged (Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 272), so Marcellus may be assigned to it.

[26] If he were already dead when the two *cursus* inscriptions were set up, the second consulship (cf. below) would have been registered in the lost opening of each.

[27] *PIR*² N 56 (Pansa), 59–60 (the two Prisci). The supposed third 'Neratius Priscus', taken to be governor of both Pannonias under Hadrian, was shown to be non-existent by G. Camodeca, *Atti Acc. Napoli*, 87 (1976), 19ff., whence *AE* 1976. 195.

[28] Syme, *RP* vii (1991), 597f. and stemma, 599, conjectured that the wife of Priscus the consul of 87 and mother of Marcellus and the younger Priscus was a Vettia, daughter of the Neronian procurator M. Vettius Marcellus, from Teate Marrucinorum, 'one of the leading members of the equestrian order' (Pliny, *NH* 17. 245), on whom see Pflaum, *CP, suppl.* 30A. Vettius Marcellus' wife was Helvidia Priscilla, sister of the famous Stoic senator: *ILS* 1377, cf. *PIR*² H 62.

[29] Pansa's governorship: Eck, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 287. Marcellus as 'M. Neratius Marcellus': *AE* 1981. 841. As pointed out by Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 151f., Marcellus is called L(ucius) as consul and hence was probably polyonymous: 'Marcus Hirrius Lucius Neratius Marcellus'. Two other inscriptions from Lycia, honouring a son of Pansa whose name is missing, *IGR* iii. 1511, Tlos, and B. Kreiler, *Die Statthalter Kleinasiens unter den Flaviern* (1975), 106, Xanthus, probably also referred to Marcellus.

under Pansa as governor of Cappadocia-Galatia. But Pansa commanded a special force in that region *c.*75, before his governorship, and could have given Marcellus his tribunate in that capacity.[30]

Marcellus' quaestorship of the emperor is not precisely datable: 79 and 81 may be excluded, for he would then have been *quaestor Augustorum*. He probably served in the late 70s, going on to supervise the *Acta senatus* and then to hold the praetorship. Thereafter he appears to have had no further post of any kind before his consulship in 95. Even the consulship, although held as suffect to the emperor, came rather late for a patrician, when he must have been over 40. Perhaps he and Pansa lost favour with Domitian; but this seems unlikely in view of the careers of the Neratii Prisci. All the same, unless his *cursus* inscription omitted some posts, Marcellus' sole overseas experience before his governorship was with an eastern legion a quarter of a century earlier. The reason for so unexpected a choice for Britain was no doubt a shortage of suitable men in 101, when the First Dacian War began and the tried men were needed at the front.[31] Britain then had low priority.

Marcellus may already have been governor when a census took place in the province, conducted by the equestrian officer T. Haterius Nepos, involving the *Brittones Anavion[enses]*, the people of the Annan valley in south-west Scotland. These Britons, and no doubt others, were almost certainly transported to serve on the Upper German frontier (see Jun. Proc. 1). As well as the Vindolanda writing-tablet quoted above, in which the writer, evidently the prefect Flavius Cerialis, names Marcellus as 'my consular', other texts from this fort's third period refer to an unnamed governor, *consularis*. A letter to Cerialis from his colleagues Niger and Brocchus includes the sentence *consulari n(ostro) utique maturius occurres*, 'you will certainly meet the governor quite soon'. A letter found in Cerialis' *praetorium* was written by a man called Chrauttius to Veldedeius, described in the address on the back as *equisioni co(n)sularis*, 'governor's groom'. In a list of *expensa* from the *praetorium*, reference is made in one entry, probably from the year 105, to food eaten 'at lunch on the arrival of the governor', *adventu consu[laris] in prandio*. This entry is followed by the words *item Coris*, 'likewise at Coria (Corbridge)', which hints that the prefect then accompanied the governor for the 15 miles journey east. It might be conjectured that the governor was reorganizing the garrisons in the north of the province at this time. The evacuation of the remaining Roman forts in

[30] E. Groag, *RE* 16/2 (1935), 2543, 2546, and M. Torelli, *JRS* 58 (1968), 171 n. 7. But 77–80 would make Marcellus military tribune after his quaestorship, which is very unlikely. The *cursus* inscription of Pansa published by Torelli (=*AE* 1968. 145, cf. 1972. 151), showing that he held a special command after his consulship but before his governorship of Cappadocia-Galatia (*legatus pro [praetore . . . exercit]us qui in A[rmeniam? missus est]*), supplies a more plausible occasion.

[31] Thus Syme, *Tacitus*, 648; Eck, *ANRW* 2/1 (1974), 217.

Scotland, the building of new ones along the Stanegate line, and some relocation of garrisons can be dated to *c.*105. Several units were withdrawn from Britain, including the Ninth Batavians, and sent to the Dacian front. The fort at Vindolanda was reconstructed and given a new garrison, the First Cohort of Tungrians.[32] Priscinus, its prefect, received a letter from Oppius Niger, telling him that *Crispum et . ẹ[ ] ex coh(orte) i Tungrorum, quos cum epistulis ad consularem n(ostrum) miseras, a Bremetennaco . . . ạ[d] L̤[i]n̤dum . . .* , '[I have sent] Crispus and [. . .] from the First Cohort of Tungrians, whom you had sent with a letter to our governor, from Bremetennacum (Ribchester) to Lindum(?) (Lincoln)'.[33]

A legionary legate probably in post under Marcellus is Aulus Larcius Priscus (LL 15). Several equestrian officers who served under Marcellus are known: Gaius Valerius Celsus, prefect of the *ala Tampiana* in the diploma of 103; and some of those in the Vindolanda tablets, particularly Flavius Cerialis, Aelius Brocchus, and Caecilius September. September possibly owed his commission, and indeed, a previous one, as prefect of the *cohors Musulamiorum* in Syria long before, in 88, to Pliny's recommendation. The *cognomen* September is exceedingly rare, being attested only once in all the European Latin-speaking provinces and northern Italy, precisely at Pliny's home town Comum—and Pliny had been born a Caecilius. Caecilius September could have been his protégé, a kinsman of some sort or, perhaps more likely, the son of a freedman of Pliny's family. September served in Syria under the governor Valerius Patruinus, who came from Ticinum, in the 'Pliny country'. A friend of Pliny, Domitius Apollinaris, also from the Pliny country—Vercellae—had been legionary legate under Patruinus, and later married his daughter. Further, Marcellus was married to Corellia Hispulla, niece of Patruinus. She was clearly related to Pliny's wife Calpurnia (whose aunt was Calpurnia Hispulla), and Marcellus later married Apollinaris' daughter as his second wife. One may conjecture that September—with a *cognomen* like that he must have been of humble background—owed his commissions to patronage from this group.[34] Aelius Brocchus later turns up as prefect of an *ala* at Brigetio in Pannonia; it may be conjectured that he owed his appointment there to

[32] *TV* ii. 248 (Niger and Brocchus), 310 (the *equisio*), iii. 581 (*expensa*)— but the editors now read *item foris* instead of *item Ḍoris*; the date of this entry in iii. 581 is given as 1 May, *k. Maiarum*, perhaps a slip for 1 June; the year is probably 105, see Birley, *Garrison Life at Vindolanda* (2002), 128ff., with arguments for a different arrangement of the text from that proposed by the editors, and hence a slightly modified dating. For the evacuation of forts in Scotland and the departure of the Batavians from Vindolanda and arrival of the Tungrians there, ibid. 51, 69f.

[33] *TV* ii. 295: in the *add.*, iii, p. 159, the reading *L̤[i]n̤dum* is regarded as 'very unlikely'. Two other possible mentions of the *consularis* are in the very fragmentary 223 and 404.

[34] For this suggestion about September A. R. Birley, *ZPE* 88 (1991), 99f. For the relationships between the senators Syme *RP* vii (1991), 509f., 588ff., with stemma, 599.

Marcellus, whose brother Priscus was governor of Pannonia at about this time.[35] Indeed, it is possible that Priscus, now known to have been governor of Germania Inferior in February 101, recommended Flavius Cerialis, presumed to have been a Batavian, to Marcellus.[36] Finally, it may be mentioned, the family of a bearer of the rare *gentilicium* attested at the *colonia* of Lincoln, Q. Neratius Proxsimus, may have owed the franchise to Marcellus.[37]

There is no means of telling whether Marcellus was still in office in 105, when two more British diplomas were issued: neither preserves the governor's name.[38] It is a priori likely that he was replaced at latest in that year; but he might have stayed on into 106, until the Second Dacian War ended. It was probably after his return to Rome that he was appointed *curator aquarum*. It seems unlikely that Frontinus, appointed curator in 97 (Gov. 10), had resigned in time for Marcellus to have held the post before going to Britain—and, in any case, Marcellus was probably preceded as curator by L. Silius Decianus, consul a year before him, evidently in post not earlier than 102.[39] After the charge of the aqueducts Marcellus probably retired from public life. He might have had a year as proconsul of Africa, *c.*109–10, but firm evidence is lacking.[40] Nothing more is known of him for many years, although his brother Priscus was highly regarded by Trajan and Hadrian. According to the *Historia Augusta* (*Hadr.* 4. 8), Trajan regarded Priscus as a possible successor. The context was probably the Second Dacian War, after Trajan had escaped an assassination attempt: Priscus was at that time governor of Pannonia.[41] The same source (18. 1) lists Priscus as one of the legal experts on whose advice Hadrian relied. Marcellus too may have been close to Hadrian: in 129 he received a second consulship, as *ordinarius*—which may explain his dedication in Hadrian's

[35] *CIL* iii. 4360 = *RIU* i. 241. Priscus as governor of Pannonia: *ILS* 1034, *AE* 1978. 287, both from Saepinum.

[36] His governorship of Germania Inferior, previously inferred from the Saepinum inscriptions cited in the previous note (*PIR*² N 60), is now confirmed by an unpublished diploma of Feb. 101 (information kindly supplied by W. Eck).

[37] *JRS* 52 (1962), 192, no. 8. Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 98, lists only three other Neratii in the European provinces.

[38] *CIL* xvi. 51 = *RIB* ii/1. 2; *JRS* 50 (1960), 238 = *RMD* i. 8 = *RIB* ii/1. 3.

[39] *CIL* xv. 7302 (Trajan is already Dacicus). Silius Decianus' consulship: Degrassi, *FC* 28. See further Bruun, *Water*, 172 f. (Marcellus), 241 f. (Decianus).

[40] A Marcellus is recorded as proconsul of Africa by *ILAfr.* 591, Aunobaris, and *IRT* 304, Lepcis Magna. But the former inscription quotes a judgement of Marcellus referring to a decision of a senator named Cornutus, most easily taken as one of his predecessors and identical with C. Julius Cornutus Tertullus (*cos.* 100); thus Thomasson, *Fasti*, 52 f. If he had been proconsul of Africa, Neratius would have served several years before Cornutus Tertullus. However, as E. Groag noted, *RE* 16/2 (1935), 2544, the name L. Neratius Bassus in a list, apparently of the members of the proconsul Marcellus' *consilium*, *ILAfr.* 592, might support the view that Neratius was this proconsul: in that case his assumed predecessor Cornutus could not be Cornutus Tertullus.

[41] The *HA* tells the story in the context of the year 117. For an explanation and an alternative date Birley, *Hadrian*, 50 f.; id., in E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Traian in Germanien, Traian im Reich* (1999), 37 ff.

honour at Saepinum the following year.[42] But he perhaps came to a sad end soon afterwards: among Hadrian's close friends whom he 'afterwards treated as enemies', the *Historia Augusta* lists a Marcellus, forced to suicide by the emperor (*Hadr.* 15. 4).[43]

Marcellus was the owner of estates near Beneventum, as is revealed by the *tabula alimentaria* of Baebiani Ligures. The *cos. ord.* 122, long known as Corellius Pansa, is now known to have been called [L. Ner]atius Corellius Pansa.[44] This must be Marcellus' son, for the rare *cognomen* recalls that of Marcellus' father and the association of the two families is demonstrated by the existence of the landowner Neratius Corellius on the *tabula alimentaria* of 101; Marcellus acted on his behalf and is also named as neighbour of three other owners.[45] Marcellus' son clearly derived the name Corellius from his mother, who can be identified as Corellia Hispulla, daughter of Q. Corellius Rufus (*cos.* 81). Corellius Pansa is clearly the son for whom Pliny was asked by Corellia Hispulla, who was related to his own wife Calpurnia, to find a teacher. He described the boy's paternal grandfather as 'famous and respected' (*clarus spectatusque*) and his father and uncle as 'well-known for their distinguished reputation' (*inlustri laude conspicui*), labels which would apply well to the Neratii, Pansa, Marcellus, and Priscus (3. 3. 1). Marcellus is also named at Rome on a water-pipe found near Sta Maria Maggiore: *II Neratiorum C. et Marcelli*, '(property) of the two Neratii, C. and Marcellus'. No doubt the family had a mansion in that part of Rome.[46] The Neratii survived into the late empire, including several holders of high office.[47]

Marcellus' successor is not known. One possibility is L. Publilius Celsus, consul in 102 and *cos. II ord.* in 113. Celsus was highly honoured by Trajan, along with other men who are known to have held military commands (Dio 68. 16. 2); but he is not recorded as governor of any province, military or otherwise.[48] The name crops up twice in the Vindolanda writing-tablets, as a person

[42] Evidence for his second consulship in *PIR*² N 55; dedication in 130, *EE* viii. 108.

[43] The alternative identification, proposed e.g. by Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 224, C. Poblicius Marcellus (*cos.* 120), can surely be ruled out, for he survived Hadrian, called *divus* in his inscription, *AE* 1934. 231, Aquileia. It can hardly be posthumous, honouring Poblicius after his rehabilitation under Pius, as Schumacher argues, since it was set up by Poblicius himself. This is also overlooked in *PIR*² N 55, P 1042. (This observation is owed to Werner Eck.)

[44] W. Eck and P. Weiss, *Chiron*, 32 (2002), 468ff.

[45] *CIL* ix. 1455, col. II, 16, 51, 73; col. III, 60. See Andermahr, *Totus*, 350f.

[46] *AE* 1906. 133. *C.* is generally restored as meaning Gaius, and the father of L. Neratius Proculus, a senator under Pius, is suggested, *PIR*² N 51, 63. Perhaps *C.*, exceptionally, in this case stood for *C(orelli)*.

[47] Apart from the Neratii in *PIR*² N, see *PLRE* i, Neratia Ae[miliana] 2, Naeratius Cerealis 2 (*cos. ord.* 358), Neratius Gallus 1, and Naeratius Scopius.

[48] Syme conjectured that Celsus (*PIR*² P 1049) might have governed either Pannonia Superior or Britain, *RP* v. 491n.

visited by Aelius Brocchus and as the addressee of a draft letter by Priscinus, prefect of the First Tungrians.[49] But Celsus is not uncommon (cf. above for the prefect of the *ala Tampiana*, Valerius Celsus). At least two governors must be postulated between Marcellus and Bradua.

16. Marcus Atilius Metilius Bradua (*cos. ord.* 108)

W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia* (1896) 620 = *ILS* 8824a, Olympia: *Μ(αρκὸν) Ἄππιον* [sic] *Βραδούαν, ταμίαν, στρατηγόν,* | [. . .] | *θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ, ὑπατικὸν Γερμανίας καὶ Βρετανν[ίας, ποντίφικα,* [4] *σοδᾶλιν Ἁδριανᾶλιν, τὸν Ρη[γίλλης πρ]ὸς μητρὸς πάππον, τῆς Ἡρώδου γυναικός, ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἠλείεων.*

The city of the Eleans (honours) Marcus Appius (*read*: Atilius) Bradua, quaestor, praetor, [?proconsul of . . . and of Africa?, *comes*?] of the god Hadrian, consular (governor) of Germany and Britain, *pontifex*, *sodalis Hadrianalis*, maternal grandfather of Regilla, wife of Herodes.

Bradua's governorship is known only from this inscription, one of a series of monuments to the family of the wealthy Athenian Herodes Atticus (*cos. ord.* 143): his wife Annia Regilla was Bradua's granddaughter, as lines 4–5 indicate.[50] It must be assumed that the stonemason, influenced by the names of Regilla's paternal grandfather Appius Annius Gallus (*cos. ord.* 108), honoured on an adjacent stone, carved *ΑΠΠΙΟΝ* by mistake for *ΑΤΙΛΙΟΝ*. Bradua can thus be identified with M. Atilius Metilius Bradua, consular colleague of Appius Annius Gallus in 108.[51]

Bradua was certainly Italian. Origin in the Cisalpina, where the *gentilicium* is especially common, seems plausible.[52] His father was doubtless M. Atilius Postumus Bradua, proconsul of Asia under Domitian,[53] and his own second *nomen* suggests that his mother may have been a Metilia. If so, Bradua could have been a nephew of the governor P. Metilius Nepos (Gov. 13).[54] He apparently went straight from quaestorship to praetorship, if so because he was patrician. This would accord with his being *consul ordinarius* and *pontifex*. But the inscription also omits any post in the vigintivirate, in which he should have served, as well as a military tribunate, which he might have held. Hence patrician rank is not completely certain.

[49] *TV* iii. 615, 770.

[50] In l. 5 most of the first letter of the second last word appears quite clearly in the drawing and hence does not need to be shown between square brackets. For the other monuments see *Inschr. Olympia*, 617ff. For Herodes see *PIR*² C 802, for Regilla A 720, also Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 66, for Ap. Annius Gallus A 692.

[51] Thus B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas* (1960) ii. 103f.; E. Groag, *PIR*² A 1298, assumed that he was called Appius as well as Atilius.

[52] Lörincz, *OPEL* i. 199ff., lists over 150 Atilii in Cisalpina. C. Atilius C. f. Bradua at Libarna is probably related to the governor (*CIL* v. 7427 = *ILS* 5354).

[53] *PIR*² A 1303; Thomasson, *LP* i. 219.

[54] Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 543.

Unlike Neratius Marcellus, Bradua perhaps held at least one post between praetorship and consulship. Dittenberger restored the missing line 2 as [ὕπατον, πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον], 'consul, pro-praetorian legate'—of Hadrian. But this is unconvincing. First, it is hardly conceivable that Bradua governed not only one of the Germanies but also Britain under Hadrian. Second, there seems to be no room for him in Britain for virtually the entire reign of Hadrian. Third, this would be rather late for a consul of 108. Finally, lines 3 and 4 contain considerably more letters than line 1, where the lettering is much larger.[55] Line 2 probably had at least fifty letters: hence more must be supplied than the consulship and the phrase or word governing θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ at the beginning of line 3. It is likely that a proconsulship of Africa was mentioned, for the *Digest* (48. 20. 6) includes a rescript of Hadrian to 'Aquillius' Bradua, whom it is plausible to identify with our governor.[56] But even the restoration [ὕπατον, ἀνθύπατον Ἀφρικῆς] is too short: further posts were surely mentioned. There is hardly room for a legionary command, and the *cursus*'s phrasing seems to require another, praetorian, proconsulship as well as that of Africa, followed by (for example) the Greek word for *comes*: [ὕπατον, ἀνθύπατον . . . καὶ Ἀφρικῆς, συναπόδημον].[57]

Bradua's governorship of Britain can thus be assigned to the last decade of Trajan's reign. It probably began *c.*111 at the earliest, to allow time for the governorship of one of the German provinces beforehand. Lower Germany is perhaps likelier than Upper: at least seven other governors of Britain are known to have governed the former province,[58] only two Germania Superior.[59] At least two governors must be postulated between Marcellus and Bradua. As with Marcellus, the choice of governor is a little surprising, even if Bradua in fact had more experience than is recorded on the inscription. But from 113 to 117 there was again a major war elsewhere, against the Parthians; Trajan may have been unable to spare a tried military man for Britain.

Bradua's presumed proconsulship of Africa should have come *c.*122–3. Either before or after this, he may have accompanied Hadrian on one of the emperor's numerous journeys around the empire, as *comes*. He outlived Hadrian, since he became a *sodalis Hadrianalis*. His son has been identified as the polyonymous proconsul of Africa, whose nomenclature begins M. Atilius

[55] See R. Syme, *REA* 67 (1965), 344. The excellent drawing in *Inschr. v. Olympia* makes this clear.

[56] Conjectured by E. Groag, *PIR*² A 1298, followed by E. Birley, *JRS* 52 (1962), 221, Syme, *REA* 67 (1965), 344 = id., *RP* ii. 631, Syme, *ZPE* 37 (1980), 6 = id., *RP* iii. 1307.

[57] Compare for such a combination the inscription of A. Didius Gallus, also at Olympia: *proco[s ?Asia]e et Sicilia[e]*, cited under Gov. 3.

[58] Q. Petillius Cerialis (Gov. 9), A. Platorius Nepos (17), Q. Lollius Urbicus (24), Cn. Julius Verus (27), Q. Antistius Adventus (31), Virius Lupus (37), C. Valerius Pudens (38).

[59] Sex. Calpurnius Agricola (Gov. 30) and Caerellius? (32).

Metilius Bradua, in office under Antoninus Pius.[60] His names were also perpetuated by the *cos. ord.* 160, Ap. Annius Atilius Bradua, his daughter's son, and by descendants of his granddaughter, the wife of Herodes Atticus.[61]

Probably at least one other governor may be postulated between Bradua and Pompeius Falco.

17. 118?–122 Quintus Roscius Murena Coelius Pompeius, Sexti filius, Quirina, Falco (*cos.* 108)

AE 1957. 336, Tomi: *[Q(uinto) Roscio Murenae Coe|lio Pompeio Falconi, | co(n)s(uli), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* [4]*| Lyc]iae et Pamphyliae, | [leg(ato) A]ug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) Iudae[ae, cura]tori viae Traiana[e, leg(ato)] Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) Moes[iae* [8]*| inf]erioris, leg(ato) Aug(usti) [pr(o) | p]r(aetore) provinciae | [B]ritanniae, [A]nnaeus Vibianus* [12]*| [t]estamento fratris | Annaei Vibi[ani] posui[t]*

To Quintus Roscius Murena Coelius Pompeius Falco, consul, pro-praetorian legate of the Emperor of Lycia and Pamphylia, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of Judaea, curator of the Via Traiana, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of Lower Moesia, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Britain, Annaeus Vibianus (set this up) in accordance with the testament of his brother Annaeus Vibianus.

CIL xvi. 69, Brigetio: *Imp(erator) Caesar . . . Hadrianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) VI, co(n)s(ul) III, proco(n)s(ul), equitib(us) et peditib(us) qui militaverunt in alis decem et trib(us) et coh⟨or⟩tib(us) triginta et septem . . . quae sunt in Britannia sub A(ulo) Platorio Nepote, quinque et viginti stipendis emeritis, dimissis honesta missione per Pompeium Falconem . . . civitatem dedit . . . A(nte) d(iem) XVI K(alendas) Aug(ustas), Ti(berio) Iulio Capitone L(ucio) Vitrasio Flaminino co(n)sulibus, alae I Pannonior(um) Tampianae, qui prae(e)st Fabius Sabinus, ex sesquiplicario Gemello, Breuci f(ilio), Pannon(io) . . .*

The Emperor Caesar . . . Hadrianus Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, in his sixth term of tribunician power, consul three times, proconsul, gave citizenship to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in the thirteen *alae* and thirty-seven cohorts, . . . which are in Britain under Aulus Platorius Nepos, having been discharged with an honourable discharge by Pompeius Falco, . . . on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of August, Tiberius Julius Capito (and) Lucius Vitrasius Flamininus (being the) consuls [17 July 122], from the First Tampian *ala* of Pannonians, of which Fabius Sabinus is the commander, to the ex-*sesquiplicarius* Gemellus, son of Breucus, a Pannonian.

CIL x. 6231=*ILS* 1035, Tarracina: *Q(uinto) Roscio Sex(ti) f(ilio) | Quir(ina) Coelio Murenae | Silio Deciano Vibull⟨i⟩o* [4]*| Pio Iulio Eurycli Herc⟨u⟩lano | Pompeio Falconi, | co(n)s(uli), | XVvir(o) s(acris) f(aciundis), proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) Asiae, leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) | imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) provinc(iae)* [8]*| Brittanniae, leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Nervae |*

[60] *IRT* 517, Lepcis Magna: *M. Atilio Metilio Bra[d]uae Cauci[dio Tertullo . . .]tico [. . .]llio Pollion[i] Gavidio [L]atiari Atrio Basso*. He was previously identified with Ti. Claudius Ap. Atilius Bradua Regillus Atticus (*cos. ord.* 185), *PIR*² C 785, son of Herodes Atticus. G. di Vita-Evrard, *MEFRA* 93 (1981), 183ff., convincingly identified him with a previously unattested son of Bradua. Her arguments for Bradua's German and British governorships being Hadrianic, ibid. 214ff., are less persuasive.

[61] Details in Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 66.

Traiani Aug(usti) Germanici Dacici | [pr]ovinc(iae) Moesiae inferior(is), curatori | [via]e Traianae, et leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) [12]*| [Iudaeae e]t leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis), leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Lyciae | [et Pamphyl]iae, leg(ato) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae), | [bello Dacico donis militari]bus donato | [. . .]a* [16]*| [. . .].*

To Quintus Roscius, son of Sextus, Quirina, Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Julius Eurycles Herculanus, consul, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, proconsul of the province of Asia, propraetorian legate of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus of the province of Britain, propraetorian legate of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus of the province of Lower Moesia, curator of the Via Traiana, and propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Judaea and of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, propraetorian legate of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia, legate of the Fifth Legion Macedonica, decorated with military decorations in the Dacian war, . . .

AE 1972. 577 = *IEph.* 713, Ephesus: *Κόιντον Ρώσκιον Μου|ρήνα Κούελλον* (sic) *Πομ|πήιον Φάλκωνα, πρεσ*[4]*|βευτὴν Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον Λυκίας | καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Μυσίας καὶ Βρεταννίας,* [8]*| καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας ἡγεμονίας διατελέσαντα, Ἀσίας ἀνθύ|πατον, ἐτείμησεν Φλαουι|έων Νεαπολειτῶν Σαμαρέ*[12]*|ων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν| σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην. Διὰ πρεσβευτῶν καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν | Φλαουίου Ἰούνκου καὶ* [16]*| Οὐλπίου Πρόκλου.*

The council and people of the Flavian Neapolitans of Samaria honoured Quintus Roscius Murena Cuellus (*sic*) Pompeius Falco, legate of the Emperor and propraetor of Lycia and Pamphylia and of Judaea and of Moesia and of Britain and holder of many other commands, proconsul of Asia, their saviour and benefactor. Through the ambassadors and curators Flavius Juncus and Ulpius Proc(u)lus.

Cf. *Digest* 28. 3. 6. 7 (Ulpianus *libro decimo ad Sabinum*): . . . *quam distinctionem in militis quoque testamento divus Hadrianus dedit epistula ad Pomponium* [sic] *Falconem, ut, si quidem ob conscientiam delicti militaris mori maluit, irritum sit testamentum; quod si taedio vitae vel dolore, valere testamentum aut, si intestato decessit, cognatis aut, si non sint, legioni ista sint vindicanda.*

28. 3. 6. 7: Ulpian in the Tenth Book (of his Commentary) on Sabinus: In a letter to Pomponius Falco, the deified Hadrian laid down that this distinction applied to a soldier's will also, so that if he chose to die because of his consciousness of a military crime, his will should be invalid; but if it was because he was tired of life or in pain, the will should be valid, or, if he died intestate, his [property] should be claimed for his cognates, or if there are none, for his legion.

The above four inscriptions, and probably the rescript in the *Digest* as well, provide ample evidence for Pompeius Falco's governorship. Several other inscriptions from various parts of the empire, together with passages in Pliny's letters and one in the correspondence of Fronto, make his career unusually well recorded.[62] The earlier stages, missing from the Tarracina inscription, are supplied by one at Hierapolis-Castabala in Cilicia:

ILS 1036 = *CIL* iii. 12117: *Q(uinto) Roscio, Sex(ti) f(ilio), Qui(rina), Coelio Po[m|p]eio Falconi, decemviro stli[tibu]s iudicandis, trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) X [Gem(inae), | q]uaestori, trib(uno) pl(ebis), pr(aetori) inter fis[cum* [4]*| et] peregrinos* [sic]*, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae), | [le]g(ato) Aug(usti) pr. pr. provin. Lyciae et Pam|[ph]yliae, leg. Aug. leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) et leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) | [pr]ovinciae Iudaeae consularis* [sic] [8]*| XVviro sacris faciundis, curator(i) viae Traianae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Moes(iae) inf(erioris).*

[62] *PIR*[2] P 602.

To Quintus Roscius, son of Sextus, Quirina, Coelius Pompeius Falco, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, military tribune of the Tenth Legion Gemina, quaestor, tribune of the plebs, praetor (to adjudicate) between the fiscus and aliens (*sic*), legate of the Emperor of the Fifth Legion Macedonica, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Lycia and Pamphylia, legate of the Emperor of the Tenth Legion Fretensis and propraetorian legate of the province of Judaea, consular, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, curator of the Via Traiana, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Lower Moesia. [A Greek dedication, by A. Laberius Camerinus and his son, centurion in *legio V Mac.*, follows.]

Yet another *cursus*-inscription, in Greek, from Caunus in the province of Asia, supplies useful clarification on the earlier part of the career—it breaks off at the command of X Fretensis—even though defective in some items (see below).[63]

Falco's origin was long uncertain, but new evidence suggests that his family home was at Centuripae in Sicily.[64] He was undoubtedly well connected by marriage: his wife was Sosia Polla, daughter of Q. Sosius Senecio (*cos. ord.* 99, *II ord.* 107) and granddaughter of Sex. Julius Frontinus (*III ord.* 100), both prominent under Trajan.[65] Customarily known as Q. Pompeius Falco, he had a whole string of additional names, as on the Tarracina inscription. The final five were no doubt acquired, with a legacy, from C. Julius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius, last representative of the dynasts of Sparta, who died not long after 130.[66] The previous pair presumably came from L. Silius Decianus (*cos.* 94) or from a son of his.[67] Murena was no doubt omitted in error from the Hierapolis inscription, since Falco's grandson, the *cos. ord.* 169, included Roscius Murena Coelius among his thirty-eight names; these must derive from M. Roscius Coelius (*cos.* 81), Julius Agricola's predecessor as legate of the Twentieth legion (LL 8).

Pliny's letter (1. 23), answering Falco's enquiry whether he should continue to practise law during his tribunate of the plebs, is assignable to the year 97, which makes it probable that he was born *c.*71; he is clearly the tribune 'Murena' mentioned by Pliny (9. 13. 19) as speaking in a senatorial debate that year. As military tribune of X Gemina,[68] then at Nijmegen (*Noviomagus*) in Lower Germany, *c.*89, he possibly experienced the attempted coup of Antonius Saturninus at close quarters.[69] Thereafter he was quaestor at Rome,

[63] C. Marek, *MH* 57 (2000), 88–93.
[64] W. Eck, *ZPE* 113 (1996), 121 ff.
[65] Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 723.
[66] *PIR*² J 302.
[67] E. Groag, *RE* 3A/1 (1927), 77–9, suggesting that he was son of the poet Silius Italicus.
[68] In *ILS* 1036 = *CIL* iii. 12117 the legion was read as *X F[retensis]*, corrected by Keil, relying on the inscription now published as *IEph.* 713A. The Caunus inscription omits the number of the legion but supplies its title, *piae fidelis*, appropriate for X Gemina but not for X Fretensis—with a further error, *νίας πιστῆς* instead of *πίας πιστῆς*.
[69] Generally dated to 1 Jan. 89. The legate of the Lower German army, Falco's chief, A. Bucius Lappius Maximus (*PIR*² L 84), defeated Saturninus: he earned the title *confector belli Germanici* (*ILS* 1066) and his army that of *pia fidelis*, on which see P. A. Holder, *ZPE* 128 (1999), 237 ff.

tribune of the plebs, and praetor. The latter post was clearly the new praetorship *inter fiscum et privatos*, introduced by Nerva (*Digest* 1. 2. 2. 32), although in the Hierapolis and Caunus inscriptions the title is given in muddled form.[70] Next he took command of V Macedonica, gaining military decorations for what must have been the First Dacian War, of 101–2. The Caunus inscription specifies the *dona* appropriate for his rank, three *coronae*, *hastae*, and *vexilla*, though the Greek version is inexact.[71] He went on to govern Lycia-Pamphylia, and then, unusually, a second praetorian province, Judaea, combined with command over its legion, X Fretensis. No precedent is known for such an appointment, and the next recorded case comes many decades later.[72] It may be that the annexation of Arabia in 106 made it desirable to appoint a particularly experienced man to the adjacent province. While in Judaea he was asked by Pliny (7. 22) to confer a tribunate on the latter's protégé Cornelius Minicianus.[73] His consulship came in July 108, as shown by a diploma, confirming the identification with Falco of the fragmentary name *[. . .]ius F[. . .]* in the *Fasti Ostienses*.[74] He perhaps held office *in absentia*.

After his return to Italy he became *curator* of the Via Traiana, evidently as the only holder of the post, and, unusually for a road curator in Italy, of consular rather than praetorian status: the new road, from Beneventum to Brundisium, was commenced in 109 and commemorated on the coinage of 112.[75] At this stage it seems, he was made a *XVvir sacris faciundis*.[76] His next appointment was as governor of Moesia Inferior: he is so far first attested in 116 and 117, but could well have arrived several years earlier. His transfer to Britain must have been one of Hadrian's first acts, and, indeed, since the new emperor was in Falco's province in 118, one may postulate that he communi-

[70] In *CIL* iii. 12117 the praetorship was read as *pr. inter civ[es et] peregrinos*, but an improved reading, noted by A. Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien* (1940), 64 n. 3, was *pr. inter fis[c. et] peregrinos*: the last word, by confusion with the *praetor inter cives et peregrinos*, should have been *privatos*. The Caunus inscription has an idiosyncratic Greek version of *pr. inter fiscum et privatos*, as noted by Marek, *MH* 57 (2000), 91.

[71] Again, there seems to have been a misunderstanding in the Greek version: the *coronae* are described as στεφάνῳ ποικίλῳ χρυσῷ, στεφάνῳ τιχικῷ. Marek, *MH* 57 (2000), 92, takes this to mean only two *coronae*, the first gold and 'coloured' ('bunt')—an unattested term—and the second the *corona muralis*. But surely ποικίλῳ should refer to the *corona vallaris*, the translator of the Latin *vallari* having presumably misread the word as *vari(a)*, the Latin equivalent of ποικίλῳ.

[72] See the list in Alföldy, *Fasti*, 99 f., to which add L. Saevinius Proculus (*AE* 1969/70. 601, Ancyra). The earliest such cases seem to date from the 160s.

[73] See A. R. Birley, in J. J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army: Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan* (2003), 6 and n. 17. Two other letters from Pliny to Falco are preserved, 4. 27 (describing a poetry reading) and 9. 15 (on Pliny's Tuscan estate).

[74] W. Eck kindly sent information about the new diploma, from 31 July 108, giving the consuls' names as *[Q. Ros]cio Murena Coelio Pompeio Falcon(e), [ ].io Lustrico Bruttiano*. Cf. *FO*^{2} 47, 103.

[75] W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (1979), 34, nn. 60, 62; 51 f.

[76] Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 313 n. 82, notes that the priesthood is given in chronological order on the Hierapolis inscription.

cated the promotion personally.[77] The *HA* (*Hadr.* 5. 1–2) shows that Britain was one of several places where there was a serious military threat at the outset of Hadrian's reign: 'the Britons could not be kept under Roman control'; and the coinage suggests that a war was fought there.[78] Over forty years later Fronto, consoling Marcus Aurelius for losses in the East, listed a series of earlier precedents, concluding with Hadrian's day: 'Indeed, when your grandfather Hadrian held the imperial power, what great numbers of soldiers were killed by the Jews, what great numbers by the Britons' (*De bello Parthico* 2, 220 f. van den Hout). It may have been *c.*119 or shortly afterwards that the *primipilaris* T. Pontius Sabinus brought 3,000 legionaries, 1,000 each from the legions of Spain and Upper Germany, to Britain, *expeditione Britannica*, 'on the British expedition', presumably to make up losses incurred during the rebellion. But this may not have been until 122, at the time of Hadrian's arrival.[79] At all events, these numbers should indicate the scale of Roman casualties. A tombstone from Vindolanda of a centurion of *cohors I Tungrorum* 'killed in the war' is probably from the same time. The revolt may have been provoked by Roman maltreatment of peoples in southern Scotland.[80]

The British diploma indicates that it was not long before July 122 that Falco had been succeeded by Platorius Nepos. One may infer that Falco's governorship had commenced not later than 118, and that he had been selected by Hadrian to deal with the troubles in the province. He was by then in his late forties, and fairly senior in terms of the interval since his consulship. No epigraphic record of his British governorship survives, but the odds are rather better than four to one for the rescript of Hadrian to Falco referring to his time in Britain and not to the Lower Moesian command. It has been proposed, on archaeological grounds, that the building of the continuous frontier barrier between Tyne and Solway commenced in 120, and hence under Falco rather than Nepos. The question cannot be decided without further evidence, but deserves serious consideration.[81] New evidence from the German frontier indicates that trees for the palisade can be shown by dendrochronogical techniques to have been felled in the winter of 119/120 and the summer of

[77] Birley, *Hadrian*, 84 ff.

[78] See the coins referring to Britain, assignable to 119: *RIC* ii. nos. 577a, b, 561–2, 572, with Mattingly's discussion; ibid. 315, 322. The fighting did not involve the destruction of IX Hispana, as once claimed; but it is not certain where the legion was at this time, below LL, Introduction.

[79] *CIL* x. 5829 = *ILS* 2726, Ferentinum. On this man see esp. B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares* (1978), no. 117; cf. also *PIR*² P 823. There is no need to suppose that there was a second British expedition under Hadrian, cf. under Proc. 6.

[80] A. R. Birley, *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 299 ff.; for suggestions about the cause of the revolt ibid. 303 f.

[81] This was argued by C. E. Stevens, *The Building of Hadrian's Wall* (1966), 39, 62; dismissed by D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall*⁴ (2000), 65 f.

120.[82] Falco may have undertaken similar preparations in Britain, stockpiling the rather different materials required for the British frontier barrier.

Almost immediately after his return from Britain, Falco obtained the proconsulship of Asia, where he is attested in 124, having evidently taken up the post in the previous summer.[83] His wife, Sosia Polla, probably died in that province.[84] One may assume that the rest of his life was spent in comfortable retirement. He is last heard of in a letter of the young M. Aurelius to his tutor Fronto, written in 142 and recalling a visit which he and the emperor had made 'three years previously', that is, in 140, to Falco's estate. He had shown his admiring imperial visitors a product of his experiments in arboriculture.[85] It might be that Antoninus Pius had availed himself of the opportunity to discuss the situation in Britain—where the frontier was being moved north once more—with the aged former governor: but that is pure speculation. His son, Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus, born in 117 or 118, was consul *ordinarius* in 149; his grandson (the man of thirty-eight names), Q. Pompeius Senecio . . . Sosius Priscus, held this office in 169; his great-grandson Q. Pompeius Sosius Falco in 193. The latest descendant recorded is a great-great-grandson, Q. Pompeius Falco Sosius Priscus, quaestor of Caracalla, pontifex, and praetor designate.[86]

18. 17 July 122, 15 Sept 124 Aulus Platorius, Auli filius, Sergia, Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus Gaius Licinius Pollio (*cos.* 119)

CIL xvi. 69, Brigetio (17 July 122): quoted under 17.

CIL xvi. 70 = *JRS* 54 (1964), 150 = *RIB* ii. 2401. 6, Stannington: *Imp(erator) Caesar . . . Hadrianus Aug(ustus), . . . , tribunic(ia) [potest(ate)] VIII, co(n)s(ul) III, proco(n)s(ul), [e]quitib(us) e[t peditib(us), qui mil]it[a]ver(unt) in alis VI et coh(ortibus) XXI, quae a[p]p(ellantur) . . . , quae sunt in Britannia sub Platorio Nepote . . . a. d. XVI [k. ?] O[c]t(obres), C. (Gaio) Iulio Gallo, C. (Gaio) Valerio Severo co(n)s(ulibus), coh(ortis) I Sun[uc]or(um), cui prae(e)s[t M(arcus) I]un[i]us Claudianus, ex pedite [. . .], Albani [f(ilio), Su]nu[c]o . . .*

[82] See E. Schallmayer, *Denkmalpflege und Kulturgeschichte* 2/2003 (Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Hessens), 12 ff.

[83] Thomasson, *LP* i. 224, no. 112.

[84] Inferred from *ILS* 1037, Samos, probably funerary: *Sossiae Pollae Pompeius Falco procos. Asiae sanctissimae uxori*; see Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 723.

[85] Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* 2. 9, 29 van den Hout. The letter was written to Fronto as consul and records a visit to Falco's estate *anno abhinc tertio*, 'three years ago'. As Fronto was consul in 142 (not 143 as previously thought), *RMD* iv. 264, the visit presumably took place in 140. Syme, *RP* ii. 495, commented that Falco 'went in for grafting, an operation that should not have proved arduous or uncongenial to a Roman senator of consular standing'.

[86] *PIR*² P 656, 651, 655, 603; stemma, p. 265. His granddaughter Pompeia Sosia Falconilla, P 681, married the son, P 805, of M. Pontius Laelianus, P 806, tribune of VI Victrix in 122 (Trib. 14).

The Emperor Caesar . . . Hadrianus Augustus, . . . , (in his) eighth (term of) tribunician power, consul three times, proconsul, to the cavalrymen and infantrymen, who served in the six *alae* and twenty-one cohorts, which are called . . . , which are in Britain under Platorius Nepos, Gaius Julius Gallus (and) Gaius Valerius Severus (being the) consuls, on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of October [15 September 124], from the First Cohort of Sunuci, of which Marcus Junius Claudianus is the commander, to the ex-infantryman . . . , son of Albanus, a Sunucus.

RIB 1340, Benwell (*Condercum*): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Traiano* | *Hadr[ian]o* | *Aug(usto), A(ulo) Platorio N[epote l]eg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) p[r(aetore)],* [4] | *vexillatio c[lassis] Britan(nicae).*

For the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Aulus Platorius Nepos (being) propraetorian legate of the Emperor, a detachment of the British Fleet (built this).

RIB 1427, Haltonchesters (*Hunnum*): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) T[ra(iano) Hadriano]* | *Aug(usto), leg(io) VI V[ictrix p(ia) f(idelis)* | *A(ulo) Platorio N[epote* [4] | *l]eg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) [pr(aetore)].*

For the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, the Sixth Legion Victrix Pia Fidelis (built this), Aulus Platorius Nepos (being) propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 1634, Hadrian's Wall, Milecastle 37: *[Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Traian(i) Hadriani* | *Aug(usti),]* | *leg(io) II [Aug(usta)],* [4] | *A(ulo) Platorio N[epote leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore].*

The Second Legion Augusta (built this work of the) Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Aulus Platorius Nepos (being) propraetorian legate.

RIB 1637, Hadrian's Wall, Milecastle 38: *Imp(eratoris) Ga[e]s(aris)* (sic) *Traian(i)* | *Hadrian(i) Aug(usti),* | *leg(io) I[I] Aug(usta),* [4] | *A(ulo) Platorio [N]epote leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

The Second Legion Augusta (built this work of the) Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Aulus Platorius Nepos (being) propraetorian legate.

RIB 1638, Hadrian's Wall, Milecastle 38: *Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Traian(i)* | *Hadriani Aug(usti),* | *leg(io) II Aug(usta),* [4] | *A(ulo) Platorio Nepote leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

The Second Legion Augusta (built this work of the) Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Aulus Platorius Nepos (being) propraetorian legate.

RIB 1666, Hadrian's Wall, Milecastle 42: *Im[p(eratoris) Caes(aris) Traian(i)]* | *H[adriani Aug(usti),]* | *le[g(io) II Aug(usta),]* [4] | *A(ulo) Pla[torio Nepote leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore)].*

The Second Legion Augusta (built this work of the) Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Aulus Platorius Nepos (being) propraetorian legate.

RIB 1935, Hadrian's Wall, Turf Wall Milecastle 50: *[. . .* | *Had]ṛịạ[no Augusto* | *leg(io) . . . A(ulo)] Pl[atorio Nepote* [4] | *leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore)].*

For the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, the . . . Legion (built this), Aulus Platorius Nepos (being) propraetorian legate.

CIL v. 877 = *ILS* 1052, Aquileia: *A(ulo) Platorio, A(uli) f(ilio),* | *Serg(ia), Nepoti* | *Aponio Italico* [4] | *Maniliano* | *C. (Gaio) Licinio Pollioni,* | *co(n)s(uli), auguri,* | *legat(o) Aug(usti)* [8] | *pro praet(ore) provinc(iae) Bri*|*tanniae, leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) pro* |*vinc(iae) German(iae) infer(ioris),* | *leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Thrac(iae),* [12] | *leg(ato) legion(is) I Adiutricis, quaest(ori) provinc(iae) Maced(oniae),* | *curat(ori) viarum Cassiae, Clodiae, Ciminiae, Novae Traianae, candidato divi* [16] | *Traiani, trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXII* | *Primigen(iae) p(iae) f(idelis), praet(ori), trib(uno)* | *pleb(is), IIIvir(o) capitali,* | *patrono* [20] | *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Aulus Platorius, son of Aulus, Platorius, Sergia, Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus Gaius Licinius Pollio, consul, augur, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Britain,

propraetorian legate of the province of Lower Germany, propraetorian legate of the province of Thrace, legate of the First Legion Adiutrix, quaestor of the province of Macedonia, curator of the Viae Cassia, Clodia, Ciminia (and) Nova Traiana, candidate of the deified Traianus, military tribune of the Twenty-second Legion Primigenia, praetor, tribune of the plebs, *triumvir capitalis*, (their) patron, (set up by) decree of the decurions.

The governorship of Platorius Nepos is copiously attested by inscriptions.[87] His tenure of office, firmly dated by the two diplomas, must have commenced shortly before 17 July 122, as the reference to his predecessor shows. Hadrian himself visited Britain at this time[88] and this was also when the Sixth legion was brought from Lower Germany, Nepos' previous province, to Britain, where it was to be garrisoned for the remainder of its existence. It is safe to assume that Nepos brought the legion with him (cf. Trib. 14). Two altars found in the River Tyne at Newcastle, dedicated by the legion to Neptune and Ocean, probably commemorated its safe arrival.[89] Alexander had sacrificed to the same deities in the Far East (Arrian, *Ind.* 18. 11; Diod. 17. 104). Perhaps the dedication was inspired by Hadrian: he was the first ruler to reach the Far West. Now, if not earlier, 3,000 legionaries from elsewhere were brought to Britain (see under Gov. 17), 'on the British expedition', *expeditione Britannica*, a term also used on the inscription of an equestrian officer, M. Maenius Agrippa, appointed to a new command by Hadrian (Proc. 6).

Hadrian's visit is described briefly by the *HA*: *ergo conversis regio more militibus Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret*, 'Then, having reformed the soldiers in royal fashion [in Germany], he set out for Britain, where he corrected many things and, as the first to do so, built a wall for eighty miles, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans' (*HA Hadr.* 11. 2). There follow two anecdotes: that Hadrian dismissed the guard prefect Septicius Clarus, Suetonius Tranquillus the chief secretary, and 'many others', apparently for disrespect to his wife, Sabina (11. 3), and about Hadrian spying on people, including his friends, through *frumentarii* (11. 4–7). As this section is followed by the statement that 'after settling matters in Britain he crossed to Gaul' (12. 1), it is clear that the dismissal of Septicius and Suetonius took place in Britain and that they and the empress had accompanied Hadrian (cf. *Com. Aug.* 13–14). Hadrian's visit to Britain was also commemorated by the poet Florus: *ego nolo Caesar esse, | ambulare per Britannos . . .*, 'I do not want to be Caesar, to walk about among the Britons . . .' (*HA Had.* 16. 3). A possible trace of his expected arrival in the area where his wall was being built is a draft letter of protest found at Vindolanda. It was by a man who had been severely beaten,

[87] Full documentation is supplied in *PIR*² P 449.
[88] Birley, *Hadrian*, 113ff.
[89] *RIB* 1319–20; see Birley, *Hadrian*, 130f.

although, as he claims, 'innocent and a man from overseas', imploring redress from 'Your Majesty'. Hadrian may have stayed at Vindolanda.[90] Later coins commemorate Hadrian's *adventus* in Britain and show him addressing the *exercitus Britannicus*.[91] A fragmentary inscription from the Tyne near Newcastle may have originally contained such an address.[92] During his inspection of the frontier line, Hadrian probably tightened up army discipline, as he had just done in Germany (*HA Had.* 10. 1–11. 1). An altar found in the River North Tyne at Chesters, on the line of the wall, was dedicated to 'the Discipline of the Emperor Hadrian'.[93] A young man who had arrived with VI Victrix as senatorial tribune, M. Pontius Laelianus, may be conjectured to have been particularly impressed by this (Trib. 14).

It seems plausible that Hadrian arrived in Britain with Nepos, who had previously governed Lower Germany, where Hadrian had just been staying. Nepos' origin must remain a matter of conjecture, but as he is explicitly described as a friend of Hadrian before his accession (*HA Hadr.* 4. 2), and shared the same tribe, Sergia, it seems probable that his home, like Hadrian's, was in southern Spain.[94] His *nomen* Platorius (sometimes spelt Plaetorius), of Illyrian origin, is attested in Baetica, at Gades;[95] and a *duumvir* called Platorius Nepos has been reported at Corduba in that province.[96] The inscription from Aquileia contains a full record of his career, although the order of posts in the earlier stages is disturbed. In two important respects the career is unusual for a governor of Britain. It is only the second case known before Severus Alexander of a man who had begun in the least favoured post in the vigintivirate, the *IIIviri capitales*, later receiving an emperor's backing for a higher post.[97] But it is not clear, due to the disturbance in the text, for which post Nepos was *candidatus divi Traiani*. Further, Nepos is one of only three known senators—the others being L. Flavius Silva (*cos. ord.* 81) and C. Bruttius Praesens (*cos. II ord.* 139)—of such men becoming consul after a single senior praetorian appointment.[98] As he can hardly have become consul much before his fortieth year, he will have been born *c.*79 at latest, and would have served as tribune of XXII Primigenia at Mainz in Upper Germany in the late 90s. Thus it was probably Domitian who allocated him to the *IIIviri capitales*, while

[90] *TV* ii. 344, as interpreted by Birley, *Hadrian*, 135.
[91] *BMC* iii, Hadrian 490, 498, 1672.
[92] *RIB* 1051; see Birley, *Hadrian*, 132 f.
[93] *AE* 1979. 388.
[94] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 272. Frere, *Britannia*[3], 126, calls Nepos 'a close friend of Hadrian . . . and probably a kinsman'. There is no evidence to support any kinship.
[95] *CIL* ii. 1861: *C. Platorius C.f. Gal. Trebianus*.
[96] Reported by A. Balil, in *Les Empereurs romains d'Espagne* (1965), 85. But the inscription has never been published.
[97] The previous example is L. Coiedius Candidus, quaestor of Claudius *c.*43 (*Com. Aug.* 1).
[98] Silva: *AE* 1969/70. 183; Praesens: *AE* 1952. 74.

Trajan, on the recommendation of his kinsman Servianus, if not from his own estimate, presumably reversed this judgement and supported Nepos in his candidature for senatorial office.[99] Nepos' rapid advance to the consulship may be attributed to friendship with Hadrian.

Nepos' full nomenclature suggests that he was not necessarily entirely of Spanish colonial stock. C. Licinius Pollio, his last three names, were perhaps inherited from a family attested at Naples early in Vespasian's reign.[100] But Nepos was hardly the Pollio who was a tribune of the plebs in 109.[101] The source of the three previous names, Aponius Italicus Manilianus, is unknown.[102] Nepos' friendship with Hadrian is first mentioned by the *HA* in the context of Trajan's Parthian War (*Hadr.* 4. 1–2). Nepos presumably participated in this war as legate of I Adiutrix. One might postulate that he was praetor in 111 and curator of roads in Etruria in 112–13,[103] before the legionary command. I Adiutrix, possibly part of the original garrison of Dacia, was probably in the east at some point, before moving to its final base at Brigetio in Upper Pannonia.[104]

Nepos' governorship of Thrace probably did not begin until after Hadrian's accession in August 117,[105] but he was already suffect consul in the spring of 119, as colleague of Hadrian, who was *cos. III ord.* that year and retained the office until 30 April.[106] His next appointment, as governor of Lower Germany, doubtless followed soon afterwards, in 119 or 120. While there he will have had to receive the emperor, on his tour of inspection in 121–2 (*HA Hadr.* 10. 1–11. 1). Evidently Nepos passed muster and he moved on to Britain in early summer of 122, probably in Hadrian's company, bringing VI Victrix with him. For the legionary legates who perhaps served under him see LL 18–20. How long Nepos remained in Britain after September 124 is not certain, but he had been replaced at latest in summer 127 by Trebius Germanus.

Appropriately enough for a man responsible for a famous construction

[99] Trajan was legate of Upper Germany at the time of his adoption by Nerva (Dio 68. 3. 4). Servianus, who was married to Hadrian's sister Paulina, succeeded Trajan there, *PIR*² J 631. Nepos can hardly have served in XXII Primigenia at the same time as Hadrian did (*HA Hadr.* 2. 5; *ILS* 308), as A. Betz, *RE* 20/2 (1950), 2546, implies, for each legion surely only had one laticlave tribune at a time.

[100] *IGR* i. 450, Naples.

[101] *CIL* vi. 452 = *ILS* 3620, Rome, with A. E. Gordon, *JRS* 48 (1958), 47f. See Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 140f.; and cf. now *PIR*² P 543, suggesting an alternative identification.

[102] Aponius points to Baetica: Syme, *Tacitus*, 785; *PIR*² A 932ff. Note also Licinii Nepotes with Spanish connections, *PIR*² L 220ff. The Manilii Vopisci, resident at Tibur and in the tribe Galeria, look Spanish: Syme, *Tacitus*, 602; *RP* iv. 98f.; Caballos, *Senadores*, 202ff.; Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 270.

[103] Eck, *Organisation*, 81.

[104] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1389ff.; Syme, *Danubian Papers* 94, 98, 107.

[105] Eck, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 359f. and n. 385; Thomasson, *LP* i. 22.

[106] *CIL* vi. 2078 = 32374; cf. *HA Hadr.* 8. 5.

project, Nepos himself produced bricks, on his property in or near the capital: stamps dated 123 and 134 bear the legend *ex fig(linis) Plaetor(i) Nepo(tis)* and *ex pr(aedis) Pl(atorii) Nep(otis)*. At some point he was made an augur, but he did not go on to further office. The *HA* twice records how Hadrian came to detest his old friend. In the first instance his name is mentioned with those of P. Acilius Attianus and C. Septicius Clarus, the praetorian prefects: '[Hadrian] listened readily to whatever was whispered about his friends, and thus almost all, even the closest and those whom he had raised to the highest honours, he subsequently regarded as being in the category of enemy, for example Attianus and Nepos and Septicius Clarus' (*HA Hadr.* 15. 2). Attianus and Clarus lost office relatively early in the reign, and at first sight one might conclude that Nepos was already out of favour in the 120s—perhaps because the new frontier in Britain was proving not wholly successful. But the biographer then lists nine others who incurred Hadrian's hatred and disfavour, including some who were so treated at the very end of the reign; and this is in the context of Hadrian's closing years, when he had contracted a serious illness, and put to death his brother-in-law Servianus and grand-nephew Pedanius Fuscus. This seems to belong to the year 137. Then, the biographer continues, 'Led on by suspicions, he thoroughly detested Platorius Nepos, whom he had formerly so greatly cherished that when he came to him when he was ill and was refused admission no punishment was inflicted' (23. 4).

Nepos probably had a house at Rome on the Esquiline, where an inscription honouring his son or grandson was found, mentioning that he had held two legionary tribunates. The latter's names can be restored as [A. Platorius Ne]pos Calpur[nianus M]arcellus, and he was either identical with A. Platorius Nepos Calpurnianus, suffect consul in 160 and curator of the Tiber in 161, or was his father. It is legitimate to speculate, from these names, that Nepos' wife or daughter-in-law was a Calpurnia Marcella.[107] It is not known how long Nepos lived.

19. 14 September 126(?) *Ignotus*

CIL xvi. 88 = M. M. Roxan, *RIB* ii/1. 2401. 7, Walcot: *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) . . . equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis . . . et cohortibus . . . , . . . quae appellantur . . .] . . . [et sunt in Bri]tann(ia) sub I[ ] . . . [. . . civitatem dedit . . .] . . . [a(nte) d(iem)] XVII K(alendas) Octobr(es) [. . . et] Ti(berio) Lartidio Cele[re co(n)s(ulibus), alae Aug(ustae) Gallo]r(um) Proculeian(ae), cui p[rae(e)st . . . Pro]pinquos [ex grega]le [. . .].*

The Emperor Caesar . . . gave citizenship to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in the . . . *alae* and . . . cohorts, which are called . . . and are in Britain under I . . . on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of October (14 September), [. . .] and Tiberius Lartidius Celer being

[107] *PIR*² P 450–1, summarizing G. Alföldy's commentary on *CIL* vi. 41128a.

the consuls, to . . . ex-trooper of the Ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana of which . . . Propinquos is commander.

This diploma was assigned to the period 120–33 by E. Birley, whose arguments were accepted by Nesselhauf. As the governor's name was then thought to begin with I, it seemed likely that he was Sex. Julius Severus.[108] Roxan argued initially for 114–22 but later favoured *c.*126.[109] A new study of Hadrianic suffect consuls now supports 125 for Ti. Lartidius Celer.[110] The first letter of the governor's name had originally been read as C, O, or Q; when the diploma was cleaned, P was proposed.[111] Clearly T is also possible. Nesselhauf estimated that there was room for only about ten letters for the remainder of the name. Roxan allowed for between ten and twelve letters, slightly less than needed for *P[ompeio Falcone]* and *P[latorio Nepote]*, but exactly right for *T[rebio Germano]*, who could well have been in office in September 126 (see below).

20. 15 September 126?; 20 August 127 Lucius Trebius Germanus (*cos. a. inc.*)[112]

J. Nollé, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 269–76 = *AE* 1997. 1780: *[imp(erator) Caesar . . . Hadrianus Aug(ustus), . . . trib(unicia) pot(estate) XI, co(n)s(ul) III, eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus) qui mil(itaverunt) in al(is) VIII et coh(ortibus) XXVII qu(i) app(ellantur) . . . et sunt in Britt(annia)] sub Trebio Germano, . . . [. . .] civitat(em) dedit . . . , a. d. XIII K. Sept(embres) Q(uinto) Tineio Rufo M(arco) Licinio Celere Nepote co(n)s(ulibus), coh(ortis) II Lingon(um), cui prae(e)st C. (Gaius) Hedius Verus, Pitino Merg(ente), ex pedite Itaxae, Stamillae f(ilio), Daco . . .*

The Emperor Caesar . . . Hadrianus Augustus, (in his) eleventh (term of) tribunician power, consul three times, gave citizenship to the cavalrymen and infantrymen, who served in the eight *alae* and twenty-seven cohorts, which are called . . . and are in Britain under Trebius Germanus, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of September, Quintus Tineius Rufus (and) Marcus Licinius Celer Nepos (being the) consuls (20 August 127), from the Second Cohort of Lingones, of which Gaius Hedius Verus, from Pitinum Mergens, is the commander, to the ex-infantryman Itaxas, son of Stamillas, a Dacian . . .

?*CIL* xvi. 88 = M. M. Roxan, *RIB* II. 1. 2401. 7, Walcot**:** cf. Gov. 19.

?*RIB* 419, Tomen-y-Mur: *[. . . ?L(ucio) Tre]bi[o Germano | leg(ato) Aug(usti)] pro [pr(aetore)].*

? Lucius Trebius Germanus? being propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

[108] E. Birley, *JRS* 28 (1938), 228, accepted by H. Nesselhauf, *CIL* xvi. suppl., p. 215, followed by *PIR*² J 576 and A. R. Birley, *ES* 4 (1967), 71.

[109] M. Roxan, *RMD* i. 24; ead., *RIB* ii/1. 2401. 7, reaffirmed *ap.* P. A. Holder, *BJRULM* 79 (1997), 11 n. 5; *RMD* iii. 237; in *Chiron*, 27 (1997), 339, she opts for 'early Hadrianic'. In *FRB* 94 f. her first dating, 114–22, was followed.

[110] W. Eck and P. Weiss, *Chiron*, 32 (2002), 449–89, at 476 ff.

[111] F. Haverfield, *VCH Somerset*, i (1905), 280 f. Roxan, *RIB* ii/1, n. 5, commented that '[a] careful check, including radiography, . . . revealed that the appearance of this letter [P] was given by two indentations on its right-hand edge', perhaps caused by the break or by corrosion, and regarded I as likelier.

[112] This entry is adapted from A. R. Birley, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 243 ff.

?*RIB* 995, Bewcastle (*Fanum Cocidi*?): [ ]CAESTRA . . . | . . . |[ ]GIIANGET XXV . . . [4]| [. . . .]IICNC IR . . . |[. . .]V . . . PR PR, which might be restored as:
[Imp(eratori)] Caes(ari) Tra[iano | Hadriano Aug(usto) | le]g(iones) II Aug(usta) et XX V(aleria) [V(ictrix) [4]*| . . .]IICNC (?=fecerunt?) [?L(ucio)] Tr[ebio?* | *[?Germ]an[o? leg(ato) Aug(usti)] pr(o) pr(aetore).*
For the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, the legions II Augusta and XX Valeria Victrix built (this) (?) . . . , ?Lucius Trebius Germanus? being propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

The diploma of 127 has provided a welcome addition to the list of governors. He can be identified as the suffect consul L. Trebius Germanus, who held office with C. Calpurnius Flaccus in December of a year previously calculated as *c.*124 from what is known of Flaccus' career.[113] Trebius Germanus is also known from the *Digest* (29. 5. 14), which quotes his decision, as legate of an unnamed province, to sentence a slave-boy to death for failing to report the murder of his master, which he had witnessed, although slaves below the age of puberty were normally exempted from the death-penalty by the *Senatus consultum Silanianum*.[114] The same chapter of the *Digest*, which deals with this *SC*, quotes part of a rescript by Hadrian (29. 5. 1. 28), possibly occasioned by Germanus' decision.[115] Germanus was not the only Trebius to be consul under Hadrian: C. Trebius Maximus was *cos. suff.* in 122, C. Trebius Sergianus *cos. ord.* in 132. Yet, as Syme put it, 'the obscure Trebii . . . are the first and last consuls of that name'.[116] All three governed at least one imperial province: Maximus was legate of Lycia-Pamphylia, attested *c.*115–17, Sergianus of Galatia, attested in December 128.[117] Maximus might have expected to become consul in 118, but the change of emperor no doubt gave priority to favourites of Hadrian. The career of Germanus' consular colleague Flaccus, proconsul of Cyprus in 123, means that this pair cannot have held office until 123 at earliest.[118]

Theoretically Germanus might already have been in Britain since 125. Platorius Nepos was still governor in mid-September 124, so probably remained at least until the next year; but he could easily have continued until

[113] *ILS* 7912 = *CIL* vi. 10241. See LL 16 below for Flaccus, a possible legate of II Augusta.

[114] *Digest* 29. 5. 14: *Maecianus libro undecimo de publicis iudiciis.*

[115] Hadrian ruled that a slave-girl who claimed that she had not cried for help when her mistress was being murdered in the same room, because the murderer had threatened to kill her if she did, should nonetheless be executed, since slaves should not put their own safety before that of their owners. Germanus' decision was on similar lines.

[116] Syme, *RP* iv (1988), 309; cf. id., *RP* v (1988), 557: 'a unique and isolated group'. For Maximus' consulship see now Eck and Weiss, *Chiron*, 32 (2002), 481, 483 n. 115, against the suggestion in *ZPE* 124 (1999), 244, that he could have been consul in 121; for Sergianus Degrassi, *FC* 38.

[117] Eck, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 359ff.; 13 (1983), 164ff.; Thomasson, *LP* i. 257, 279f.

[118] Eck and Weiss, *Chiron*, 32 (2002), 483, against the suggestion in *ZPE* 124 (1999), 244, that the year could have been 122. They offer for Flaccus and Germanus '123/126'. But the year must surely be 123, for Flaccus' proconsulship of Cyprus is datable to that year, *SEG* 23, 609, Salamis, and he had already been legate of Lusitania, *IGR* iii. 991, Salamis, where the offices of consul and proconsul can be restored (see LL 16).

126 or even 127, if the Walcot diploma does not belong to 126 (see Gov. 19). One can only state the possibilities about Germanus' earlier career. He had probably governed a praetorian province and there are vacancies at the appropriate time in Lusitania, Aquitania, Belgica, Lugdunensis, Thrace between 118 and 123, and Arabia between 118/119 and 124.[119] Further, given the seniority of Britain and comparing the careers of most of its governors in this period, it is possible that he had had another consular province before Britain, perhaps from 124 to 127. The only vacancies seem to be Germania Superior, Moesia Superior, and Judaea.[120] On the other hand, at this very time the usual sequence seems not to have been preserved elsewhere. On the same day that the British diploma was issued, there was also one for Germania Inferior: the governor was L. Coelius Rufus (*cos.* 119), who had already governed a consular province, Moesia Superior. Germania Inferior was normally a first consular province. For whatever reason, Hadrian seems to have disregarded precedent in this case.[121] A few years later, Mummius Sisenna came to Britain shortly after being consul (Gov. 22).

Germanus cannot be securely identified in Britain, but attention must be drawn to three documents: the Walcot diploma (see Gov. 19) of September 126, on which his name could be restored, and two building-inscriptions. The fragmentary stone from Tomen-y-Mur, where Wright read *[ ]ḅi[ ]* as part of a governor's name, is very uncertain. But archaeological evidence at least indicates that that fort was still occupied at this time.[122] The other one, from Bewcastle, an outpost north of the western part of Hadrian's Wall, is known only from an earlier reading. It was certainly a Hadrianic building-dedication. Wright in *RIB* commented that 'the recorded letters require some emendation, and Nepos is not necessarily to be excluded'. But the traces do not really fit, although this has now been argued by Tomlin, who regards attribution to Germanus as impossible.[123] Still, the version offered above gives an indication of how his names might, after all, be detected.[124] Of known higher officials who served in Britain in this period, the legate of XX Valeria Victrix, Marcus

[119] Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 148ff.; Thomasson, *LP* i. 28, 35f., 39, 44, 163, 327.

[120] *ZPE* 124 (1999), 247 with n. 32; cf. Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 158ff. and Thomasson, *LP* i. 50, 126, 325. Pannonia Superior is now excluded: *RMD* iv. 235.

[121] W. Eck and E. Paunov, *Chiron*, 27 (1997), 335ff.

[122] V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, ed. M. G. Jarrett (1969), 113: occupation ending *c.*140.

[123] *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 443 n. 73, rejecting the emendation of [. . .]IICNC.IR in l. 4 to *Trebio [G]er[mano]*: 'Instead, the spacing suits an emendation of [.]IR[. . .] to [N]EP[OTE], E being damaged, and P having an apparent "tail"; while [3–4]IICNC is quite acceptable as [A PLA]TORIO, if Horsley read the end of A and a damaged T as II, helped by II immediately above in l. 3, and mistook two incomplete Os for Cs, and RI with their two verticals and a diagonal for N.'

[124] If IICNC did not belong to the governor's name these letters could represent *fecerunt*. L. 4 might end with *[L.] Tr*, with *ebio Germano* squeezed into l. 5, the surviving V representing ligatured AN, with a small O after it, followed by *[leg.] pr. pr.*

Aemilius Papus, evidently in post in 128, surely served under Germanus (LL 21); the *iuridicus* Vettius Valens (*iurid.* 3) could well have held office then as well.

The origin of the consular Trebii is unknown. The Oscan *gentilicium*, also found as a *praenomen*, is fairly widespread, if not particularly common.[125] Juvenal portrays a humiliated client of this name: if he wants to rise in the world and become a *dominus* himself, the poet advises him not to have children (5. 19ff., 135ff.). Trebii are attested precisely at Aquinum, Juvenal's supposed home, which has encouraged speculation.[126] Since the other known governors under Hadrian are of provincial origin, it is appropriate to look for kinsmen outside Italy. Spain shows ten Trebii and a Gaius Platorius Trebianus at Gades; but none are persons of rank.[127] Münzer conjectured that the earliest recorded Trebius of the better sort, an equestrian officer under Caesar in Gaul, Marcus Trebius Gallus (*BG* 3. 7. 2, 3. 10. 2), might have been from an Italian trading family long resident at Tolosa.[128] Other suitable Trebii can be found in Dalmatia, but their rise seems too late.[129] The most promising possibility is, after all, in Italy, at Bononia (Bologna). An inscription from near there registers C. Trebius C. f. Lem(onia) Maxim[us], who served as *praef(ectus) fabr(um)* and held municipal office, and C. Trebius Maximus Se[ ].[130] The last name might be restored as Se[rgianus]. Trebii are few in number in the area, but there are another two at Bononia: C. Trebius L. f. Longus, a veteran praetorian guardsman, and T. Visulanius Aufidius Trebius Clemens, whose son T. Visulanius Crescens went through the *tres militiae*, his first post being datable to 99.[131] They could be kinsmen of Germanus. As for the *cognomen* of the *cos. ord.* 132, there are twenty Sergii in *CIL* xi. Perhaps, to speculate further, the Trebii could have enjoyed the patronage of the Ceionii Commodi, consuls in 78, 106, and 136, the last of whom was adopted by Hadrian as L. Aelius Caesar, who seem to derive from Bononia.[132]

The Trebii appear to fade out, in spite of three consulars. There is at any rate no trace of them after 132. But it is worth registering the existence, two generations later, of two equestrian Trebii, Maximus, tribune of the *cohors II*

[125] Schulze, *LE* 246, 375, 468f., 480; Salomies, *Vornamen*, 94, 158, 160.

[126] P. Green, *Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires* (1967), 124: 'A Trebius Sergianus was consul in AD 132 . . . it is pleasant to think that this might conceivably the same man.' Trebii at Aquinum: *CIL* x. 5528–9. Juvenal's origin is far from certainly at Aquinum, see Syme, *RP* iii (1984), 1120ff.

[127] *CIL* ii. 1861.

[128] F. Münzer, *RE* 6A/2 (1937), 2271, Trebius no. 2, citing *CIL* i/2. 779 = xii. 5388, 47 BC, a slave-owner called L. Trebius; cf. xii. 5690. 121, a bronze seal from Tolosa of M. Trebius Creticus.

[129] A. R. Birley, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 245.

[130] *AE* 1976. 207. Lemonia is appropriate for Bononia and for only five other places, all in Italy: Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271.

[131] *CIL* xi. 708–9; Devijver, *PME* v. 120.

[132] The evidence for the Ceionii at Bononia consists of tile-stamps: *CIL* xi. 6689. 67–71; *NSA* (1934), 19; and the *HA, Ael.* 2. 8 and *Verus* 1. 9, states that the Ceionii derived *ex Etruria*; cited by Syme, *RP* i (1979), 332; vii (1991), 633. Andermahr, *Totus*, 214, is a little sceptical.

Ulpia equitata in 194, and Germanus, tribune of the *equites singulares Augusti* in 197.[133] They might even illustrate the hypothesis (for which evidence is hard to find) that 'although some senators' sons became senators, many more did not . . . many sons of consuls and of other senators simply opted out of politics'.[134]

There may just be room for one unknown governor between Germanus and Julius Severus.

21. *c.*131–133 Gnaeus Minicius Faustinus Sextus Julius, . . . filius, Sergia, Severus (*cos.* 127)

RIB 739, Bowes (*Lavatrae*): *Im[p(eratori) Caesari, divi Traiani [Parthici f(ilio), | divi Nervae nepoti, Traia[no Hadria]|no Aug(usto), pontifici maxi[mo, tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) . . . ,* [4]*| co(n)s(uli) I[II], p(atri) p(atriae), coh(ors) IIII B[reucorum?, | sub Iul]io Sev[ero leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)].*

For the Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, in his . . . term of tribunician power, consul three times, father of the fatherland, the Fourth Cohort of Breuci (?) (set this up) under Julius Severus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

?*RIB* 1550, Carrawburgh (*Brocolitia*): *[. . . Iulio ?Se]v[er]o leg(ato) | [Aug(usti) pr(o) p]r(aetore), coh(ors) I Aquit|[anorum] fecit,* [4]*| [cur(ante) . . .]io Nepote praef(ecto).*

. . . under Julius ?Severus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the First Cohort of Aquitanians built (this), . . . ius Nepos the prefect being in charge.[135]

CIL iii. 2830 + 9891 = *ILS* 1056 + *add.*, *Burnum*: *[Cn. (=Gnaeo)] Minicio Faustino | I[uli]o [. . . f]il(io) Serg(ia) Severo, [v(iro) c[larissimo)|, se]v[iro] t[u]rma[e] V eq(uitum) [R(omanorum), I]IIIviro* [4]*| [v]iarum c[ura]nd[ar]um, XVviro | [s(acris)] f(aciundis), [tr]ib(uno) m[il(itum) leg(ionis) XI]III Geminae, | [q]uaestor(i) pro[vin]cia[e] Macedoniae | [c]andida[t]o div[i Tr]ai(ani) [P]art⟨h⟩ici, trib(uno) pleb(is)* [8]*| candidat[o ei]usdem, praetor(i), leg(ato) | leg(ionis) XIIII Geminae, leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) Traiani | Hadria[n]i Aug(usti) p[r]ovinciae | Dacia[e], co(n)s(uli), leg(ato) pr(o) p[r(aetore)] provinciae* [12]*| Moesia[e] inferioris, leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) pro|vinciae Britanniae, leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [pr]ovinciae Iudaeae, [l]eg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [provi]nciae Suriae. Huic* [16]*| [senatus, a]uctore [imp(eratore)] Caes(are) | [Tra]iano Hadrian[o Au]g(usto), | ornamenta triu[mp]halia decrevit ob res in [Iu]daea* [20]*| prospere ge[st]as. d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Gnaeus Minicius Faustinus Julius, son of . . . , Sergia, Severus, member of the senate, *sevir* of the fifth squadron of Roman knights, *quattuorvir* in charge of the streets, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, military tribune of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina, quaestor of the province of Macedonia as candidate of the deified Traianus Parthicus, tribune of the plebs as candidate of the same emperor, praetor, legate of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina, propraetorian legate of

[133] *AE* 1934. 280; Devijver, *PME* T 37; *ILS* 2185.

[134] G. P. Burton and K. Hopkins, in K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (1983), 194—although these authors' model is of renunciation of senatorial status in favour of 'the luxurious life of a grandee'. One could hardly describe the life of equestrian officers in such terms.

[135] Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 126 n. 108, argues that his *praenomen* was probably omitted from *RIB* 739; if this is right, the same no doubt applied to 1550.

the Emperor Traianus Hadrianus Augustus of the province of Dacia, consul, propraetorian legate of the province of Lower Moesia, propraetorian legate of the province of Britain, propraetorian legate of the province of Judaea, propraetorian legate of the province of Syria. The senate, on the proposal of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, decreed for him triumphal decorations because of his successful actions in Judaea. (Set up) by decree of the decurions.[136]

Dio 69. 13. 2: Then indeed Hadrian sent his best generals against them, foremost among whom was Julius Severus, who was despatched from Britain, of which he was governor, against the Jews.

Julius Severus, whose home was the *colonia* of Aequum in Dalmatia, is a good example of an outstanding general of colonial stock, in certain respects not dissimilar to Julius Agricola, although the evidence suggests that he, unlike Agricola, was the first senator in his family; and, again in contrast to Agricola, he came from a province, Dalmatia, which produced a relatively small number of senators in comparison with Narbonensis. He was probably the descendant of a veteran of the legion VII Claudia settled at Aequum, Sextus Julius Silvanus, *summus curator* of Roman citizens at the town, then first to serve as aedile when it became a *colonia*, probably in 45. Silvanus very likely came from Agricola's home town, Forum Iulii.[137]

Despite this modest background, Severus must have had powerful patronage, for he was clearly marked out for distinction early. Service as a *sevir equitum Romanorum* was an honour of a purely formal kind. He served in the vigintivirate as *IIIvir viarum curandarum*.[138] In the Burnum inscription his membership of the *XVviri sacris faciundis* is mentioned next, before the military tribunate with XIV Gemina. If he entered one of the four great priestly colleges at such an early age, this would have been a startling distinction for a *novus homo*. It is likelier that the placing of the priesthood at this point in the text was for concision, to put the three posts ending *-viro* together, and that it is not in chronological order.[139] A provincial quaestorship normally indicated no special favour, yet he was a 'candidate of the deified Traianus Parthicus' in that post, as in the following one, the tribunate of the plebs. The description of

[136] Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 127, argues that Severus' original *praenomen Sex(to)*, generally restored at the beginning of l. 2, would have been omitted.

[137] G. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 116ff. Silvanus: *CIL* iii. 2733, Aequum. For a comparison of the *coloniae* in Dalmatia and Narbonensis see Syme, *Danubian Papers*, 112ff. See also *PIR*² J 576; Piso, *Fasti*, 43ff.

[138] It is perhaps not quite certain that he was *sevir* before starting his senatorial career; cf. next note on the XVvirate. On the *quattuorviri*, E. Birley, *PBA* 39 (1953), 201ff. = id., *Roman Army*, 80ff.

[139] *AE* 1950. 45 has *trib. leg. XIIII [Gem.]*, permitting its restoration in the Burnum cursus. Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 240f., suggests that Severus became *XVvir* under Hadrian; approved by Syme, *ZPE* 77 (1989), 251f. = *RP* vi (1991), 428, stressing that the priesthood does not occur on *AE* 1950. 45 = *IlJug.* 145, Aequum, which gives his career in chronological order up to the legionary command. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 116, and Piso, *Fasti*, 44, assume that he gained this distinction at the outset of his career.

Trajan as 'Parthicus' surely does not mean that he first gained this backing when Trajan already had the title, in 116. After the praetorship he became legate of XIV Gemina in Pannonia Superior,[140] the same legion in which he had served as military tribune. This did not often happen, perhaps because a senator's *dignitas* might suffer if too many centurions and other ranks remembered him in the junior grade a dozen years or so earlier.[141] It is not clear whether he owed his legionary command to Trajan or to Hadrian. But as shown by two diplomas, by June 120 he was already in Dacia Superior, as the original Trajanic province of Dacia had become. The province, reorganized shortly before, had at first been temporarily governed by the equestrian Marcius Turbo. Severus was probably the first regular governor, if so in office since 119. He had an unusually long term: another diploma shows him still there early in 126 and he may have gone on into the next year.[142]

He was suffect consul for the last three months of 127.[143] His nomenclature in later inscriptions suggests that, at latest by the end of the 130s, he had been adopted by Cn. Minicius Faustinus (*cos.* 117) or otherwise acquired his names.[144] After the consulship, he became governor of Lower Moesia, probably soon after this, in 128. It is likely enough that he held this post for about three years, until 130 or 131,[145] before going on to Britain. His departure from there to take command against the Jewish insurgents led by Bar-Kokhba is recorded by Dio, who calls him 'the foremost' of Hadrian's 'best generals'. The outbreak of the Jewish rebellion may be dated to 132, but it could well have been one or two years before Hadrian decided that only his foremost general could defeat the rebels. His stay in Britain was certainly curtailed, but could have lasted for two years or so, from 131 or 132 to 133 or 134.[146]

[140] He presumably served under L. Minicius Natalis (*cos.* 106), governor from 112 to 117, Thomasson, *LP* i. 103; id., *Op. Rom.* 24 (1999), 165. Natalis' son was probably military tribune in XIV Gemina when Severus was its legate; he later commanded VI Victrix in Britain, perhaps when Severus was governor (LL 22).

[141] See *FRB* 18, table 3, 'Tribunate and legionary command in the same army'. Of the fourteen cases, only two others definitely served in the same legion in both grades (the legion of M. Fabius Fabullus, *ILS* 996, should be corrected to XIII Gemina).

[142] *CIL* xvi. 68 and *RMD* i. 17, both from 29 June 120; *RMD* i. 27–8, 31 Jan. or 12 Feb. 126. See Piso, *Fasti*, 30ff., on the reorganization of Dacia by Hadrian and the temporary command of Turbo, 118–19; and 42ff. on Severus, whose governorship he is inclined to date from 119 to 127.

[143] Details in *PIR*^{2} J 576; Piso, *Fasti*, 42.

[144] Called as consul *Sex. Iulio Severo*, *CIL* xvi. 72, *[Se]x. Iulius Severus*, *FO*^{2} 49; but *Cn. Iulio S[evero]* in *AE* 1904. 9, Aequum. His full name is given as *Cn. Minicius Faustinus Julius [Sex.? f]il. Serg. Severus*, *ILS* 1056, quoted above. In other inscriptions he is called *Cn. Minicius Faustinus Iulius Severus*, *AE* 1950. 45 = *IIJug.* 145, Aequum, and *Cn. Iul. S[everus]*, *IIJug.* 1957. See Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 126ff. For Minicius Faustinus: *PIR*^{2} M 610.

[145] Apart from the *cursus*-inscription quoted above, he is attested in the province, *AE* 1927. 59.

[146] E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, rev. edn. by F. Millar and G. Vermes (1973), 519ff. S. Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt* (1976), esp. 25ff., put his arrival in Judaea *c.*134.

Nothing much can be inferred about his activity in the province, since the suggestion that there was a second 'British expedition' under Hadrian no longer seems tenable (see under Gov. 18, Proc. 6). Two fragmentary building inscriptions are assignable to him, one almost certainly, the other with some probability. The first, from the fort of Bowes on the Stainmore road, is datable only within the general period 128–38 from Hadrian's title *p(atri) p(atriae)*, but can hardly be referred to any other governor. The second is from Carrawburgh, a late addition to the series of Wall forts, so it would be no surprise on archaeological grounds if Julius Severus was its builder.[147] But the inscription could also be restored to show the name of Cn. Julius Verus (Gov. 27), a generation later.[148] (The Walcot diploma was formerly assigned to the period 120–33 and the governor provisionally identified with Julius Severus. But recent research has shown that it should be dated *c.*126, too early for him, Gov. 19.)

It is possible that he took with him to Judaea, among other reinforcements, the legion IX Hispana, although it is uncertain whether it was still in Britain when he arrived (LL, Introduction). As the Burnum inscription shows, he conducted the campaign with success, receiving the highest military honours then open to a senator, the *ornamenta triumphalia*. Dio's account (69. 13. 3–14. 1) gives some details of his operations. He suppressed the rebels with relentless efficiency, picking them off in small groups. He destroyed 'fifty of the Jews' most important outposts and 985 of their most famous villages'; and 580,000 men are said to have been killed on the Jewish side. Dio (or his epitomator) does not record Roman casualties, which were substantial. He presumably served until the war was ended, in 136.[149] Among those who served under him one may note two future governors of Britain, Lollius Urbicus (Gov. 24) and Statius Priscus (29). That Severus was then given yet another governorship, Syria, is further evidence for the satisfaction with which Hadrian regarded him.[150] Likewise, the distinguished career in the emperors' service of his son, Julius Verus (Gov. 27), indicates that imperial favour continued into the next two reigns. As Alföldy comments, Severus' length of service was almost unequalled before the Marcomannic Wars.[151]

[147] E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (1961), 176f.; D.J. Breeze, *AA*[4] 50 (1972), 81ff.

[148] Thus R. W. Davies, *ES* 4 (1967), 108ff.

[149] See W. Eck, *JRS* 89 (1999), 76ff., underlining the seriousness of the war for Rome and showing that it lasted until 136, rather than 135 as previously thought; cf. also id. and G. Foerster, *JRA* 12 (1999), 294ff.

[150] Attested only by *ILS* 1056; omitted in *PIR*[2] J 576.

[151] G. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 116ff. See also A. R. Birley, in G. Alföldy *et al.* (eds.), *Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley* (2000), 111ff., for senators who held more than two consular military commands.

22. 14 April 135 Publius Mummius Sisenna (*cos. ord.* 133)

CIL xvi. 82 = M. M. Roxan, *RIB* ii/1. 2401. 8, Wroxeter (*Viroconium): (Imp(erator) Caes(ar) . . .] Tra[ian]us [Hadrianus Aug(ustus), . . . trib(unicia) pot(estate)] XVIII, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriae), [eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus), qui mil(itaverunt) in al(is) . . . et coh(ortibus) XXXI, quae appellantur . . . et [sunt in Britann(ia) sub Mummio] Sisenna . . . civitatem dedit . . . a(nte) d(iem) XVIII Mai(as), L(ucio) Tutilio Pontiano, P. Calpurnio Atiliano co(n)s(ulibus), coh(ortis) II Dalmatarum, cui prae(e)st [.] Iulius Maximus, Roma, ex pedite [Ma]nsueto, Luci f(ilio), Trever(o) . . .*

The Emperor Caesar . . . Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, . . . (in his) eighteenth (tenure of the) tribunician power, consul three times, father of the fatherland, gave citizenship . . . to the cavalrymen and infantrymen in the . . . *alae* and thirty-one cohorts, which are called . . . , and are in Britain under Mummius Sisenna, on the eighteenth day before the Kalends of May, Lucius Tutilius Pontianus (and) Publius Calpurnius Atilianus (being the) consuls (14 April 135), from the Second Cohort of Dalmatians, of which Julius Maximus, from Rome, is the commander, to the ex-infantryman Mansuetus, son of Lucius, a Treveran . . . .

There is little doubt, given the rarity of the name, that the governor Sisenna is the same as the *consul ordinarius* of 133 P. Mummius Sisenna. He was presumably the father of P. Mummius P. f. Gal. Sisenna Rutilianus (*cos.* 146), whose career is known in detail from two inscriptions at Tibur and from Lucian's mocking description of his conduct as an old man. Rutilianus' career included service as legate of VI Victrix (LL 24), conceivably while Sisenna was governor.[152]

The interval of two years at most, exceptionally short for this period, between consulship and governorship suggests that special circumstances may have affected the choice. It is possible that the sudden departure of Julius Severus left no other suitable replacement; and Sisenna may, indeed, have been given the ordinary consulship not least as a means of rendering him eligible more rapidly, with the added prestige of a *consul ordinarius* perhaps compensating for his lack of seniority. He might even, like Petronius Turpilianus in 61 (Gov. 6), have gone straight from his consulship to Britain.[153] The fact that Rutilianus, surely Sisenna's son, became consul only thirteen years later, at about the normal age, creates a problem in any case. The answer could be that Sisenna had held the office unusually late in life, possibly having commenced his career as an equestrian.

Nothing else is known of his career, unless he be identified with a governor of Thrace called Publius [. . .], who was in post some time between 129 and 137.[154] The family's home was evidently the small town of Osset near Hispalis

[152] *PIR*² M 710–11.

[153] This is assumed in *PIR*² M 710: 'sine dubio iam anno 133'.

[154] *IGR* i. 785, see Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 204. He was long supposed to have been proconsul of Asia, probably 150–1, but *IG* xii. 3. 325 + *add.* should be assigned to his son, see K. Dietz, *Chiron*, 23 (1993), 295ff.; and cf. LL 24.

(Seville) in Baetica. Spanish origin was already probable in view of Rutilianus' tribe Galeria and residence at Tibur.[155] He also seems to have had property in south-east Italy, near Brundisium. A senatorial lady named Mummia Laenilla, whose slaves were buried near there, was probably a kinswoman from a later generation.[156]

If Sisenna's governorship began in 133, he is likely to have been replaced by about 136, and there may be a further governor under Hadrian, perhaps Claudius Quartinus. Lollius Urbicus is assumed to have been appointed by Pius, probably in 138 (Gov. 24).

23. under Hadrian ?—dius —? (?Tiberius Claudius, Palatina, Quartinus (*cos.* 130)?)

RIB 1997 + 1998 + *add.*, Castlesteads (*Camboglanna*): *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Trai]ano | [Hadriano Aug(usto) p(atri) p(atriae) c]o(n)s(uli) III, sub [. . .]dio* [4] *| [. . . leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), leg(io)] II [Aug(usta)].*

For the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, father of the fatherland, consul three times, under [. . .]dius [. . . , propraetorian legate of the Emperor], the Second Legion Augusta (built this).[157]

Several consulars with a *nomen* ending -dius are known from the period: Ti. Lartidius Celer, perhaps the same as the Celer *cos.* 126 (see under Gov. 19 above), Ti. Claudius Atticus (*cos.* 132),[158] and, the likeliest candidate, Ti. Claudius Quartinus, governor of Germania Superior on 16 October 134, presumably the Quartinus who was consul on 19 March 130.[159] Two other men are known to have proceeded from Upper Germany to Britain (Gov. 30, 32). If Quartinus were the postulated governor on the Castlesteads inscription, he

[155] *AE* 1983. 518; J. González, *ZPE* 52 (1982), 172ff.; Caballos, *Senadores*, no. 131.

[156] *CIL* vi. 272, Rome, registering her senatorial rank; ix. 220 and *AE* 1980. 279, both from near Brundisium, at the same place where a slave of P. Mummius Sisenna is recorded, *AE* 1978. 201 = 1980. 278. See Andermahr, *Totus*, 346f.; *PIR*² M 713; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 557, who also identifies her with the Laenilla, mother and wife of senators, probably in the time of Commodus, mentioned by Aelian, *De nat. anim.* 7. 15.

[157] Both the above fragmentary stones, combined above following E. Birley, *CW*² 52 (1952), 184f., are now lost. In *RIB* they are treated as separate inscriptions. No restorations are offered for the second, but the first is restored with the names of Antoninus Pius, *cos. III* in 140 and *IV* in 145, hence datable between 140 and 144. But it would be odd to find building going on at a Hadrian's Wall fort just when the Antonine Wall was being built. A late Hadrianic date seems appropriate for the first stone fort at Castlesteads: E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (1961), 204, 159f. E. Birley's restoration is approved by Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB*.

[158] *RMD* iv. 247. Piso, *Fasti*, 46ff., restores *CIL* iii. 953 = *IDR* iii. 4, 230, Hoghiz, to show a governor of Dacia superior called Tib(erius) Cl(audius) [. . .] under Hadrian, dated some time in the period from 127 to 132. The restoration seems a little doubtful.

[159] *CIL* xvi. 80; Eck, *Statthalter*, 56.

would have been consul three years before his predecessor, but this is not a serious obstacle to the identification. He was certainly back at Rome by 15 October 138, when he was a witness to the *Senatus consultum Beguense*.[160]

His career, known from two fragmentary *cursus* inscriptions, was reconstructed by Groag, and significant improvements are supplied by Alföldy.[161] He began as an equestrian tribune of III Cyrenaica before acquiring senatorial rank from Trajan and proceeding through the republican magistracies as urban quaestor, plebeian aedile, and praetor, followed by a year as legate to a proconsul of Asia. He was then appointed by Trajan *iuridicus* in Tarraconensis, and was still there on 9 October 119. As Alföldy proposes, he may have continued in post until Hadrian's visit to Spain in 122, when he evidently had the additional task of conducting a levy of recruits. He then took up a special command over the two eastern legions II Traiana and III Cyrenaica, presumably accompanying Hadrian with this force on his eastern mission in 123. At some point thereafter he was legate of Lugdunensis, perhaps *c.*127–30.[162]

Quartinus' tribe Palatina and his *nomen* and *praenomen* suggest that he may have been a descendant of a freedman of Claudius or Nero.[163] He or an ancestor may be identified with the *duovir* of Puteoli of the same names,[164] since, as at Ostia, the Palatina is found there frequently. He held the priestly office of *curio*, and may have been pontifex or augur as well.[165] His name occurs on coins of Aezani and Smyrna in the reign of Antoninus Pius, from which it is inferred that he became proconsul of Asia, presumably *c.*145.[166]

The governor on the Castlesteads inscription, whether Quartinus or another man, was presumably succeeded by Lollius Urbicus.

[160] *CIL* viii. 11451 + 23246.

[161] *CIL* vi. 1567 = xiv. 4473, cf. *add.* in vi, *pars octava*, Ostia; xiii. 1802, Lugdunum; *PIR*² C 990; Alföldy, *Fasti*, 79ff.

[162] *CIL* xiii. 1802; *AE* 1976. 427; see Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 198.

[163] C. Koch, *RE* 18/2 (1942), 2529f.

[164] *CIL* x. 1783 = *ILS* 5919. Doubted by Andermahr, *Totus*, 223.

[165] Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 134f.; Alföldy, commentary in *add.* to *CIL* vi. 1567.

[166] Pointed out by Eck, *ANRW* 2/1 (1974), 188 n. 134; accepted by Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 212; Syme, *RP* iv (1988), 330; Thomasson, *LP* i. 226f., is slightly hesitant.

1.5
GOVERNORS FROM ANTONINUS PIUS TO COMMODUS (GOV. 24–36)

This period was marked by fluctuations in policy on the northern frontier. Shortly after his accession, Antoninus Pius authorized a reoccupation of southern Scotland and the erection of a new frontier barrier between the Forth and the Clyde, with some forts extending Roman control beyond that at the eastern end. This involved the evacuation of Hadrian's Wall not long after it had been completed. The reasons for the change of policy are a matter of speculation (see under Gov. 24). Victory was marked by Antoninus' assumption of a second imperatorial acclamation in summer 142. However, the new Antonine Wall seems only to have been occupied for about twenty years and Hadrian's Wall, with a few outposts forts to its north, became the frontier again from *c.*158 (see under Gov. 27). Further fighting in the north is attested under Marcus Aurelius (see Gov. 29–30). Soon after Commodus' accession the province was invaded by the northern peoples 'crossing the Wall', who killed a Roman general. The war was ended by Ulpius Marcellus (Gov. 33) in 184, when Commodus took the title Britannicus. Marcellus was apparently in office for at least seven years. During the remainder of Commodus' reign there were problems within the army: a legionary legate named Priscus (LL 35, cf. 36) was invited to become emperor by the troops; the legionary legates were replaced for a time by equestrian prefects; a *iuridicus* evidently served as acting-governor; and the British legionaries continued to be mutinous for some time. The last governor in this period, Clodius Albinus (Gov. 36), made Caesar by Severus in 193, later proclaimed himself Augustus, and took an army from Britain to Gaul, where he was defeated by Severus in 197.

24. 139, 140, 142 Quintus Lollius, Marci filius, Quirina, Urbicus (*cos. c.*136)

RIB 1147, Corbridge (*Coria*): *[Imp(eratore)] T(ito) Aelio Anionino* (sic) | *[Au]gusto Pio, II co(n)s(ule),* | *[sub] cura Q(uinti) Lolii* (sic) *Urbici,* [4]| *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), leg(io) II Aug(usta) f(ecit).*

In the second consulship of the Emperor Titus Aelius Antoninus Augustus Pius (139), the Second Legion Augusta built (this) under the care of Quintus Lollius Urbicus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 1148, Corbridge (*Coria*): *Imp(eratore) Caes(are) T(ito) Ael[io]* | *Antonino* (sic) *A[ug(usto) Pi[o]* | *III*

co(n)[s(ule), p(atre) p(atriae), [4]*| sub cura Q(uinti) [Lolli Urbici], | leg(ato) Au[g(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)], | leg(io) II A[ug(usta) fecit].*

The Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Antoninus Augustus Pius being consul for the third time (140), father of the fatherland, the Second Legion Augusta built (this) under the care of Quintus Lollius Urbicus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 1276, High Rochester (*Bremenium*): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) T(ito) Aelio | H[a]d(riano) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio, p(atri) p(atriae), | sub Q(uinto) Lol(lio) Urbico,* [4]*| leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro prae(tore), | coh(ors I Ling(onum) | eq(uitata) f(ecit).*

For the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the fatherland, the First Cohort of Lingonians, (part-)mounted, built (this), under Quintus Lollius Urbicus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 2191, Balmuildy: *[Imp(eratori) C(aesari) T(ito) Ael(io) Hadr(iano) | Antonino Aug(usto) Pio, | p(atri) p(atriae)], leg(io) II Au[g(usta), sub]* [4]*| Q. Lollio Ur[bico], | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), [fec(it)].*

For the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the fatherland, the Second Legion Augusta built (this) under Quintus Lollius Urbicus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 2192, Balmuildy: *[Im]p(eratori) C(aesari) [T(ito) Ael(io) Hadr(iano) Anto|nin]o [Aug(usto) Pio, p(atri) p(atriae)], leg(io)] | II [Aug(usta) fec(it), sub Q. Lo]llio* [4]*| [Urbico, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o)] pr(aetore).*

For the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the fatherland, the Second Legion Augusta built (this) under Quintus Lollius Urbicus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

HA Ant. Pius 5. 4: *per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum, alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto.*

5. 4: Through his legates he waged several wars. For example, he defeated the Britons through the legate Lollius Urbicus, another wall, of turf, being drawn across, the barbarians having been removed.

The epigraphic record in Britain bears out the brief statement in the *HA* that Pius defeated the Britons through Lollius Urbicus and built the (Antonine) Wall. Since Pius is already *imp. II* on two inscriptions of 142,[1] the victory may be assigned to the summer of that year. Urbicus' origin and career are well attested, principally by three inscriptions from the *ager Cirtensis* in Numidia, his home. He himself erected one near Tiddis, naming his parents M. Lollius Senecio and Grania Honorata, his brothers M. Lollius Honoratus and L. Lollius Senex, and his maternal uncle P. Granius Paulus.[2] No other member of his family appears to have had senatorial rank, and Urbicus may confidently be called a *novus homo*. Further, the nomenclature of M. Lollius Honoratus suggests that he, rather than Urbicus, was the eldest son, which makes Urbicus' rise the more remarkable.[3] His career before the British

[1] *ILS* 340, originally from Puteoli; *AE* 1995. 1824 = *RMD* iv. 264, a diploma of 1 Aug. 142.

[2] *CIL* viii. 6705 = *ILAlg.* ii/1. 3563.

[3] The name of one brother was formerly read as L. Lollius Senecio, leading to the view that Urbicus was the youngest of three brothers (e.g. *RE* 13/2 (1927), 1392, reproduced in *PIR*[2] L 327, although the name is correctly supplied under L 324).

governorship is given on two almost identical inscriptions from the same area, the better preserved of which reads:

Q(uinto) Lollio, M(arci) f(ilio), | *Quir(ina), Urbico, co(n)s(uli),* | *leg(ato) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Germ(aniae)* [4]| *inferioris, fetiali, legato* | *imp(eratoris) Hadriani in expedition(e)* | *Iudaica, qua donatus est* | *hasta pura, corona aurea, leg(ato)* [8]| *leg(ionis) X Geminae, praet(ori) candidat(o)* | *Caes(aris), trib(uno) pleb(is) candidat(o) Caes(aris), leg(ato) proco(n)s(ulis) Asiae, quaest(ori) urbis, trib(uno)* | *laticlavio leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae,* [12]| *IIIIviro viarum curand(arum),* | *patrono,* | *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum), p(ecunia) p(ublica).*

CIL viii. 6706 = *ILS* 1065 = *ILAlg.* ii/1. 3605, *Castellum Tidditanorum.*

To Quintus Lollius, son of Marcus, Quirina, consul, legate of the Emperor of the province of Lower Germany, fetial priest, legate of the Emperor Hadrian in the Jewish expedition, in which he was decorated with a pure spear and a gold crown, legate of the Tenth Legion Gemina, praetor as candidate of the Emperor, tribune of the plebs as candidate of the Emperor, legate of the proconsul of Asia, urban quaestor, *tribunus laticlavius* of the Twenty-second Legion Primigenia, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, (set up by) decree of the decurions, with public funds.[4]

The chronology of his career is based on his service in the Jewish war of 132–6 (see under Gov. 21), in which he served as a senior staff officer. It can thus be inferred that his quaestorship came in the early 120s and that his vigintivirate and military tribunate with the Mainz legion XXII Primigenia were also held under Hadrian. Since it was after his year as legate to a proconsul of Asia that his career shows signs of imperial favour, with Hadrian's backing for both tribunate and praetorship, it might be postulated that Urbicus had acquired a powerful patron in the proconsul under whom he served, for example Pompeius Falco (Gov. 17), proconsul 123–4. Urbicus' first position in the emperor's service was in command of X Gemina at Vindobona (Vienna) in Upper Pannonia, where he must have acquitted himself well to be selected for the special appointment as *legatus Augusti* in Judaea, perhaps in effect second in command to Sex. Julius Severus (Gov. 21). It is a little surprising that his decorations for this campaign were so scanty, but Hadrian was sparing in awards of *dona* to senators and equestrians.[5] Here too he presumably won approval, for his consulship, mentioned out of order on the *cursus* inscription, soon followed, *c.*135 or 136, and he was no doubt made a *fetialis* at the same time. Then came the governorship of Lower Germany, under Hadrian (who is not called *divus*).

He clearly came to Britain soon after Hadrian's death since he was already active there in 139, as the first Corbridge inscription shows. Although the promotion from Lower Germany to Britain had precedents and was to become common, Urbicus' mission in Britain was far from routine. He was the agent of a radical change in policy. It is fair to assume that his former chief in

[4] The other stone, *ILAlg.* ii/1. 3446, Caldis, is slightly fragmentary and the abbreviations are different.

[5] Domaszewski, *RO*[2] 138; V. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (1981), 147f., 176f.

Palestine, Sex. Julius Severus, who had tried shortly before this to make the Hadrianic frontier in Britain work, may have recommended Urbicus for the task of dismantling it. Urbicus must have had ample occasion, during the early 130s, to discuss Britain with Julius Severus.

Legionary legates who might have served under Urbicus' command are P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus, VI Victrix, A. Claudius Charax, II Augusta, and Curtius Justus, XX Valeria Victrix (?) (LL 24, 26, 27; perhaps also 25). There is no means of telling how long his governorship lasted, but it is probable that he was replaced soon after his victory in 142, having made a start with the construction of the new frontier wall in Scotland, as the Balmuildy inscriptions from the line of the wall show.

Antoninus' British success was praised by the orator M. Cornelius Fronto of Cirta, tutor to Marcus Aurelius, perhaps in his speech of thanks for his consulship in 142.[6] Only a fragment is preserved, quoted by a late third-century panegyrist, praising Constantius I for his recovery of Britain:

Pan. Lat. vet. 8(5). 14. 2: *itaque Fronto . . . , cum belli in Britannia confecti laudem Antonino principi daret, quamvis ille in ipso urbis Palatio residens gerendi eius mandasset auspicium, veluti longae navis gubernaculis praesidentem totius velificationis et cursus gloriam meruisse testatus est,*

8(5). 14. 2: Thus Fronto . . . , when he was praising the emperor Antoninus for completing the British war—although he, staying in the city palace itself, had delegated the command of it—averred that he deserved the glory of its whole launching and course, as if presiding at the helm of a warship.

There is even an allusion to the wall in the *Roman Oration* of Aelius Aristides, probably delivered in 144.[7] After elaborating on the pre-eminence of Rome in all aspects, he turns to the army, Rome's unexampled work of perfection, not least that 'the troops are sent to the frontiers of the empire'. Next he turns to fortifications:

Or. 26K. 72, 78, 80–3: To place walls around the city itself as if you were hiding her or fleeing from your subjects you considered ignoble. Nevertheless you did not forget walls, but these you placed around the empire, not the city . . . Beyond the outermost ring of the civilized world, you drew a second line . . . Here you built walls to defend you . . . An encamped army like a rampart encloses the world in a ring . . . as far as from Ethiopia to the Phasis and from the Euphrates to the great outermost island towards the west. All this one can call a ring and circuit of walls. They have not been built with asphalt and baked brick, nor do they stand there gleaming with stucco. Yet these ordinary works too exist, yes, in very great number, and, as Homer says of the palace wall, 'fitted close and accurately with stones, and boundless in size, and gleaming more brilliantly than bronze'.

[6] See on him especially E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (1980). The diploma of 1 Aug. 142, *AE* 1995. 1824 = *RMD* iv. 264, shows that his consulship was in that year, not 143 as previously supposed. It also gives the title *imp. II* for Antoninus.

[7] C. P. Jones, *JRS* 62 (1972), 150 n. 159, supports this date.

Ironically enough, the eloquent description, 'gleaming with stucco . . . fitted close and accurately with stones . . . gleaming more brilliantly than bronze', applied not to Antoninus' new wall of turf, but to the recently abandoned stone-built Hadrian's Wall, which may well have been rendered with stucco.[8] Pausanias (8. 43) may also have referred briefly to the war that was won in 142, but, if so, his text has been corrupted in transmission (cf. under Gov. 27).

The reasons for the change of policy are a matter of speculation. Gillam suggested that '[i]n a sense Hadrian's Wall had been a strategical failure, because the potential enemies to north and north-west were out of its reach . . . Tactically the Wall had been so complete a success that it was decided to move the system, with modifications, bodily northwards.'[9] It has also been argued that Antoninus authorized the advance mainly to placate those dissatisfied with Hadrian's policy of retrenchment.[10]

After his British command Urbicus reached the pinnacle of the senatorial career, as *praefectus urbi*, prefect of Rome. By the 140s men from Urbicus' home region were coming to the fore in greater numbers than ever before, thanks not least to the influence of Fronto. The *Fasti Ostienses* record the death in February or March of 146 Sex. Erucius Clarus, *cos. II ord.* in that year and prefect of the city,[11] and it is possible that Urbicus succeeded him. He is recorded in office on two undated inscriptions from Rome, as well as on the family monument in Numidia,[12] and he is referred to in that capacity—trying a Christian—in Justin's *Apology* (2. 1. 2, cf. Eusebius, *HE* 4. 17) *c.*150. Two later references to him, evidently as city prefect, in the (very different) *Apology* of Apuleius (2. 381, 3. 382 f.), *c.*158, and in one of Fronto's letters (*Ad amicos* 2. 7. 12, 191 van den Hout) from the 160s, do not mean that he was still prefect at the time. It is not impossible that he is the prefect whose death appears to be recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses* for 160.[13] But if he was still in office as late as that year he ought to have received a second consulship, which seems not to have been the case. A gap of well over twenty years between first and second consulships was certainly not infrequent, but the urban prefects generally seem to have received the honour relatively soon after assuming office.[14]

No descendants are recorded. The 'Lollius Urbicus' who is alleged to have written a history of the events of Macrinus' reign (*HA Diadumenianus* 9. 2) is an invention of the *HA*.[15]

[8] For stucco on Hadrian's Wall as rebuilt under Severus see J. Crow, *Britannia*, 22 (1991), 58 f.

[9] J. P. Gillam, in I. A. Richmond (ed.), *Roman and Native in North Britain* (1961), 66 f.

[10] A. R. Birley, *Trans. of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* NS 4 (1973), 17 f. See generally on the new wall W. S. Hanson and G. S. Maxwell, *Rome's North-West Frontier. The Antonine Wall* (1983); Breeze and Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall*[4], 88 f.

[11] *FO*[2] 50.

[12] *CIL* vi. 28 = *ILS* 3220, 10707; viii. 6705 = *ILAlg.* ii/1. 3563.

[13] *FO*[2] 52, where his name is restored: *[. . . Q. Lollius Urbicus praef(ectus) u]rb(is) excessi[t]*.

[14] Cf. the list of *consules II* in Alföldy, *Fasti*, 31 and id., *Konsulat*, 107 ff.

[15] R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (1971), 4, 35 f.

25. between 142 and 144 *Ignotus RIB* 2313+*add.*

RIB 2313+*add.*, Ingliston:[16] *I[mp(eratori) Caes(ari) T(ito)* | *Ael(io) Hadr(iano) Anto]*|*nino Aug(usto) pio,* [4]| *p(atri) p(atriae), co(n)s(uli) [I]II,* | *[[sub . . .* | *. . . , leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)?]], [co]h(ors) I Cugernoru(um).* | *[Tri]monti(o) m(ilia) p(assuum)* [8]| *[. . .].*

For the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the fatherland, consul three times, under . . . , propraetorian legate of the Emperor?, the First Cohort of Cugerni (set this up). From Trimontium, . . . miles.

In *RIB* this inscription was recognized as belonging to a milestone, but the fragmentary imperial name and titulature were restored as referring to Caracalla, the names and titles of Severus were supplied in the missing top part of the stone, and the erasure in lines 5–6 was assumed to be of those of Geta. However, the rediscovery of the missing part revealed that it had not been inscribed, and hence that the inscription could not be Severan.[17] There is no alternative but to restore the name of Antoninus Pius. Either *cos. II* or *cos. [I]II* could be read in line 3, but the former must be ruled out: the erasure must be of the name of a governor, and it is inconceivable that the name of Lollius Urbicus was so treated.[18] The inscription must be not earlier than 140, when Antoninus was *cos. III*, and before 145, when he was *cos. IV*. But since Urbicus may be assumed to have remained in Britain at least until 142, it should belong to 143 or 144.

The reign of Antoninus Pius might seem an unlikely time for a governor to suffer *damnatio memoriae*.[19] But the *HA* names two men who conspired against Pius, Atilius Titianus and Priscianus (*HA Ant. Pius* 7. 3–4, cf. *Epit. de Caes.* 15. 6). The former is clearly T. Atilius Rufus Titianus, *cos. ord.* in 127, whose names are erased in the *Fasti Ostienses* for that year.[20] It seems improbable that he would become governor of Britain so long after his consulship. The other man must be Cornelius Priscianus, who, as the *Fasti Ostienses* reveal, was condemned at a meeting of the senate on 15 September 145: *XVII k. Oct. de Cornelio Prisciano in sen(atu) [iud(icium) cor]am factum, quod provinciam Hispaniam hostiliter [inq]uietaverit*, '15 September: judgment was made on Cornelius Priscianus in

[16] Not from near Cramond, as in *RIB*, see R. Tomlin in the *add.*

[17] E. Birley, reviewing *RIB*, *JRS* 56 (1966), 230, had already questioned the Severan dating before the discovery of the missing top part, reported in *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 336f.

[18] R. W. Davies, *Chiron*, 7 (1977), 390ff., argued that Urbicus' name was deleted because it had been inscribed contrary to regulations. This seems implausible, even though, it is true, governors are not often named on milestones. But cf. for Britain *RIB* 2298, 2299.

[19] Alternatively, a man condemned in a later reign—e.g. one of the numerous senators executed under Commodus or Severus—might have had a homonymous ancestor who was governor of Britain under Pius, whose names were deleted through misdirected zeal. See the long list of victims in P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander* (1989), 399ff.

[20] *PIR*² A 1305; *FO*² 49.

open session in the Senate, because he disturbed the province of Spain in hostile fashion'.[21] The circumstances of his downfall are baffling. However, it seems plausible that he was accused of attempting a coup while governor of Hispania Tarraconensis.[22] 'After being accused of attempted usurpation, he committed suicide and the Emperor did not allow an investigation into his conspiracy' (*HA Ant. Pius* 7. 4).

It is conceivable Priscianus succeeded Lollius Urbicus in Britain in 142 or early 143, and was transferred to govern Tarraconensis in 145. However, to judge from line 6, the space available to restore his names and title in lines 4–5 is limited, at most twelve letters in each line. One could perhaps suggest *[[sub Corn. Prisci|ano leg. Aug. pr. pr.]]*, with the end of the name carried over to line 5; but even this is a little too long and involves omitting his *praenomen* and abbreviating his *gentilicium*. Not much can be said about his origin, since Cornelius and Priscianus are both very common names. He might be connected to various senators called Cornelius Priscus from northern Italy or to the polyonymous Messii Rustici from Baetica, who used both names.[23]

It would be easier to supply the name of the other condemned senator: *[[sub T. Atilio Ru|fo leg. Aug. pr. pr.]]* would give exactly twelve letters in each line. But this means postulating a governor taking office over fifteen years after his consulship. It is true that Rufus Titianus, surely the grandson of a consul,[24] was probably only in his early thirties as *consul ordinarius* and in his mid-forties fifteen years later. On the other hand, not many former *coss. ord.*, least of all grandsons of consuls, are known to have governed military provinces. This case must remain uncertain.

[21] *FO*² 50.

[22] Thus Groag, *PIR*² C 1418, followed by Alföldy, *Fasti*, 28. Cf. also Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*², 91f., suggesting that Priscianus could have attempted to use troops moving through Spain from the northern provinces to Mauretania, where a revolt was in progress. Note the prefect of the *classis Britannica*, Sex. Flavius Quietus, who had previously been 'sent by the emperor Antoninus Augustus with an army to the Mauretanian expedition', presumably from Britain, where he had been *primus pilus* of the Twentieth legion (*Praef cl.* 5, below).

[23] Alföldy, *Fasti*, 28, attributing to Groag, *PIR*² C 1418, the suggestion that he was probably from Spain and perhaps from the family of Cornelius Priscus *cos. c.*104. In fact Groag only suggested links with the Messii Rustici (on whom cf. LL 21 below). See also Caballos, *Senadores*, Incerti no. 14 for a cautious discussion (not mentioning the Ingliston milestone).

[24] He was presumably grandson of T. Atilius Rufus, governor of Syria early in Domitian's reign: *PIR*² A 1304–5; Syme, *RP* v. 498; 'perhaps from Transpadane Italy, where Atilii are very common', Syme, *Tacitus*, 75. Titianus had property near Antium, *CIL* x. 6688 = xv. 7794, a water-pipe with his name, *T. Atili Rufi Titiani*. In the *Fasti Ostienses* his name appears as *T. Atilius Titianus*.

26. 146 Gnaeus Papirius, . . . filius, Galeria, Aelianus Aemil[ius] Tuscillus (*cos.* 135)

CIL xvi. 93 = *RIB* ii. 2401. 10, Chesters (*Cilurnum*): *[Imp(erator) C]aesar . . . T. A[e]lius Hadrianus Antoninus [Aug(ustus)] Pius, [p]ont(ifex) max(imus), tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VIIII, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(atriae), eq(uitibus) et pedit(ibus), qui militaver(unt) in alis III [et cohort(ibus) XI, qu]ae . . . sunt in Brittannia sub Papirio Aeliano . . . c(ivitatem) R(omanam) . . . [. . . dedit . . .] . . .*

The Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, pontifex maximus, in his ninth tribunician power, twice acclaimed Imperator, four times consul, father of the fatherland, has given Roman citizenship to the cavalrymen and infantrymen, who served in the three *alae* and eleven cohorts,[25] which . . . are in Britain under Papirius Aelianus . . .

CIL ii. 2075 = G. Alföldy, *Estudios de derecho Romano . . . A. d'Ors* (1987) 141ff. = *AE* 1987. 503, Granada (*Illiberris*): *Gn(aeo) Papirio, P(ublii)(?) [f(ilio)], | Gal(eria), Aeliano Aemil(io) | Tuscillo, q(uaestori) prov(inciae)* [4] *| Achaiae, tribuno plebi[s], | pr(aetori), leg(ato) Aug(usti) legion(is) XII[II Gem(inae) . . .].*

To Gnaeus Papirius, son of Publius (?), Galeria, Aelianus Aemilius Tuscillus, quaestor of the province of Achaia, tribune of the plebs, praetor, legate of the Emperor of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina . . .

CIL ii. 2078, Granada (*Illiberris*): *[. . . l]eg(ato) Au[g(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) | B]rittan[niae . . .]*

. . . propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Britain . . .

The governor Papirius Aelianus of the British diploma of 146 is clearly the same man as the governor of Dacia Superior named on a building inscription of 132 at Sarmizegetusa.[26] He is surely also identical with Cn. Papirius Aelianus Aemilius Tuscillus, the first part of whose *cursus* is recorded on an inscription at Illiberris.[27] Aelianus was doubtless from that town, which was enrolled in the tribe Galeria.[28] Another fragment from Illiberris, simply giving the post of legate of Britain, is generally supposed to belong to the same or another honorific inscription of this man.[29] Neither vigintivirate nor military tribunate are mentioned on the longer inscription. It is possible that one or both posts was omitted, but perhaps likelier that he was exempted from them, having entered on a senatorial career belatedly.[30] The legionary command

[25] The number of cohorts can be restored as *XI* thanks to the preservation of the list.

[26] *CIL* iii. 1446. See Piso, *Fasti*, 51ff.; *PIR*² P 108. For his consulship, now dated to late 135, see n. 34 below.

[27] Given above in the improved reading by G. Alföldy.

[28] R. Wiegels, *Die Tribusinschriften des römischen Hispanien* (1985), 38; Caballos, *Senadores*, 248, no. 137.

[29] Piso, *Fasti*, 51, treats 2708 as part of the same stone as 2705; not claimed by Alföldy, *Estudios . . . d'Ors*, 146 n. 15.

[30] The latter interpretation is favoured by Groag, *Achaia*, 117, Alföldy, *Fasti*, 146, and Piso, *Fasti*, 52. For a list of some seventy careers which as recorded began with the quaestorship see A. R. Birley, *Gedenkschrift Eric Birley* (2000), 109f. n. 41. It is hard to believe that all of these had not held either vigintivirate or military tribunate.

was almost certainly of XIV Gemina (XI[II Gem(ina)]) in Upper Pannonia.[31] He had been succeeded in Dacia at latest by 13 December 135, when C. Julius Bassus is recorded as governor.[32] As Bassus was not consul until the end of 139, it was assumed that he succeeded Aelianus *c.*135 and that Aelianus was consul in that year or 136.[33] Aelianus' consulship is now known to have been in the last months of 135,[34] so he probably left Dacia at latest in that year.

During the ten years or so between his consulship and his appointment to Britain, it is reasonable to assume that he held one or more additional posts, for example as curator of public works or of the Tiber, and a consular governorship. He could have been governor of one of the German or Moesian provinces *c.*139–42.[35] Had it not been for the apparent existence of another successor of Lollius Urbicus in 143 or 144, it would be natural to assume that Aelianus had gone to Britain *c.*143 and that he was near the end of his term when the Chesters diploma was issued. But if the interpretation of *RIB* 2313 is correct (see Gov. 25), Aelianus may have arrived as late as 145 and could have served until at least *c.*148. A fragmentary second diploma of 146 is known, found at Vindolanda, issued to an unknown number of *alae* and eight cohorts, evidently of the army of Britain. Aelianus' names are not preserved but can presumably be restored.[36] Not much can be inferred about his activity from the diplomas, except that two of the forts from the Hadrian's Wall line were evidently still occupied—at least by veterans—four years after work on the new Antonine Wall had begun.

Nothing further is known of this governor after 146, but it may be presumed that the homonymous *cos. suff. c.*155–9[37] and *cos. ord.* 184[38] were his son and grandson.

At least two unknown governors must be postulated between Aelianus and Julius Verus.

[31] Alföldy, *Fasti*, 144 f. Piso, *Fasti*, 51 prints *XII[II]/ Gem(inae)*, but it is clear that the legion's name is not preserved on the stone.

[32] *CIL* iii. 1078 = *ILS* 2301 = *IDR* v. 198, Apulum.

[33] Thus e.g. *FRB* 117, Alföldy, *Fasti*, 148, Piso, *Fasti*, 52.

[34] W. Eck et al., *Acta Mus. Napocensis* 39–40/1 (2002–3), 38 ff.

[35] For Upper or Lower Moesia: J. Fitz, *AAHung* 9 (1961), 198; Piso, *Fasti*, 53. In *FRB* 117 Lower Germany *c.*139–42 was suggested. Upper Germany is also possible: see Eck, *Statthalter*, 56 ff., 168 f. for vacancies.

[36] M. Roxan, in P. Bidwell, *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda* (1985), 93–102; also ead. (with briefer commentaries) in *RMD* ii. 97 and *RIB* ii. 2401. 9. The recipient was a veteran of *[co]h. I Tun[grorum]*, which does not appear among the eleven cohorts on the Chesters diploma.

[37] *AE* 1998. 1617, 1627.

[38] *PIR*² P 107.

27. 158 Gnaeus Julius, Gnaei filius, Verus (*cos. a. inc.*, *des. II ord.* 180)

P. A. Holder, *BJRUL* 79/1 (1997). 3ff. = *AE* 1997. 1001, Ravenglass: *[Imp(erator) Caesar . . . A]ntoninus Aug(ustus) Pius, pon[t(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) X]XI, imp(erator) II, co(n)sul IV, p(ater) p(atriae), [equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) q]u[i] mil[i]t(averunt) in alis IV . . . et coh(ortibus) XVII, quae . . . sunt in Britann(ia) sub Iulio Vero leg(ato) . . . civitat(em) Roman(am) . . . ded(it) . . . a(nte) d(iem) III K(alendas) Mart(ias), Sex(to) Sulpicio Tertullo Q(uinto) Tineio Sacerdote co(n)s(ulibus), [c]ohort(is) I Ael(iae) class(icae), cui praeest [.] Caedicius Severus, ex equite [. . .] Cassi f(ilio) Heli[op(oli)?].*

The Emperor Caesar . . . Antoninus Augustus Pius, pontifex maximus, in his twenty-first tribunician power, twice acclaimed Imperator, four times consul, father of the fatherland, has given Roman citizenship . . . to the cavalrymen and infantrymen, who served in the four *alae* and 17 cohorts, which are in Britain under the legate Julius Verus, on the third day before the Kalends of March, Sextus Sulpicius Tertullus (and) Quintus Tineius Sacerdos being the consuls [27 February 158]: to the ex-cavalryman . . . , son of Cassius, from Heli[opolis?], of the First Cohort Aelia classica, of which . . . Caedicius Severus is the commander . . .

RIB 2110, Birrens (*Blatobulgium*): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) T(ito) A[el(io) Had(riano)] | An[to]nino Aug(usto) [Pio po]nt(ifici) | max(imo) [tr]ib(unicia) pot(estate) XXI, co(n)s(uli) IIII,* [4]*| coh(ors) II [Tung]r(orum) m[i]l(liaria) eq(uitata) c(ivium) L(atinorum), | sub Iu[lio Vero] leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

For the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, pontifex maximus, in his twenty-first tribunician power (158), consul four times, the Second Cohort of Tungrians, a thousand strong, (part-)mounted, Latin citizens,[39] (set this up), under Julius Verus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 283, Brough-on-Noe (*Navio*): *Imp(eratori) Caesari T(ito) [A[el(io) Hadr(iano) | An]tonino Au[g(usto) Pio p(atri) p(atriae) | coh(ors I Aquitan[orum],* [4]*| sub Iulio V[ero leg(ato) Aug(usti)] | pr(o) pr(aetore), inst[ante | C]apitoni[o Pri]sco prae(fecto).*

For the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the fatherland, the First Cohort of Aquitanians (built this), under Julius Verus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, under the charge of [C]apitonius [Pri]scus, prefect.

RIB 1132, Corbridge (*Coria*): *ve[x(illatio) leg(ionis) | VI [Vic(tricis) p(iae) f(idelis), sub] | Cn. (=Gnaeo) Iul(io) [Vero leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)], per L(ucium) C[. . .]* (or *O[. . .]* or *Q[. . .])* [4]*| trib(unum) [mil(itum) . . .].*

A detachment of the Sixth Legion Victrix Pia Fidelis (set this up), under Gnaeus Julius Verus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, through (the agency of) Lucius . . . , military tribune . . . [40]

ILS 9116 = *RIB* 1322 + *add.*, Newcastle upon Tyne (*Pons Aelius*): *Imp(eratori) Antoni|no Aug(usto) Pio p(atri) | pat(riae), vexil(l)atio* [4]*| leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) et leg(ionis) | VI Vic(tricis) et leg(ionis) | XX*

[39] *c.L.* is sometimes taken to mean *c(oram) l(audatorum)*, by analogy with *AE* 1956. 123, following H. Wolff, *Chiron*, 6 (1976), 267ff. The title *c.L.* is attested only for *cohors II Tungrorum*, but it seems more plausible to understand *c(ivium) L(atinorum)*, by analogy with the frequently attested *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* in the titulature of auxiliary units. In *AE* 1956. 123, the career-inscription of M. Valerius Maximianus, *coram laudato* is not abbreviated and this can hardly be called a true parallel. See G. Alföldy, *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*, 51 (1986), esp. 209f., defending *c(ivum) L(atinorum)*.

[40] In *RIB* this is restored as *[Deo Marti]/ Ul[tori vex. leg./ VI Vic. p.f. sub]/ Cn. Iul. [Vero leg. Aug.]/ per L. [O . . .]/ trib. [mil. . . .]*. It seems unlikely that *pr. pr.* would have been omitted. The *nomen* of the tribune could have begun C, O, or Q.

V(aleriae) V(ictricis), con(t)ributi ex(ercitibus) Ger(manicis) du[8]*|obus sub Iulio Ve|ro leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) p(raetore).*

For the Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the fatherland, a detachment of the Second Legion Augusta and of the Sixth Legion Victrix and of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, contributed to the two German armies, (set this up), under Julius Verus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.[41]

CIL iii. 8714 + 2732 = *ILS* 8974 + 1057 + *add.*, *Aequum* (Dalmatia): *Cn. (Gnaeo) Iulio, Cn. (Gnaei) | fil(io), Vero, co(n)s(uli) | desig(nato) II, augur(i),* [4]*| [. . .] | leg(ato) A[ugg.] (Augustorum duorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) | provinc(iae) Syriae, | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* [8]*| provinc(iae) Brittaniae, | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae German(iae) inferioris, praef(ecto)* [12]*| aerari Saturni, | leg(ato) leg(ionis) XXX Ulpiae, | praetor(i), tribuno | plebis, quaestori* [16]*| Aug(usti), tribuno lati|clav[i]o leg(ionis) X Freten|sis, triumviro a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo),* [20]*| Aequenses | municipes.*

The citizens of Aequum (set this up) to Gnaeus Julius, son of Gnaeus, Verus, designated to a second consulship, augur, . . . , propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors of the province of Syria, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Britain, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Lower Germany, prefect of the treasury of Saturn, legate of the Thirtieth Legion Ulpia, praetor, tribune of the plebs, quaestor of the Emperor, *tribunus laticlavius* of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, mintmaster.

Common origin at Aequum in Dalmatia, identity of *nomen*, and part of Julius Verus' career, combine to demonstrate that he was a close kinsman of Sex. Julius Severus (Gov. 21). Julius Severus, after his consulship in 127, following (testamentary) adoption became Cn. Minicius Faustinus Julius Severus, or in the short form Cn. Julius Severus. Hence it is almost certain that Verus was Severus' son. He probably started life as Sextus Julius Verus and changed his *praenomen* after his father did so.[42]

Verus began in the most prestigious of the four colleges in the vigintivirate, the *monetales*, clearly benefiting from his father's standing. It seems plausible that his service as military tribune in the Jerusalem legion, X Fretensis, was during the Jewish war, when Julius Severus was commander-in-chief. The only doubt might arise from the absence of military *dona*.[43] As tribune for one or more years in the period *c.*133/4–6, he should have been born at earliest

[41] Wright in *RIB* expands *leg.* in l. 4 each time as *leg(ioni)*, takes *ex* as a preposition, and expands *Ger.* as *Ger(maniis)*, explaining *duobus* as a grammatical error for *duabus*. In *FRB* 188ff., following a suggestion by J. J. Wilkes (pers. comm.), *ex.* was expanded as *ex(ercitibus)*, but the soldiers were still understood to have come from Germany to reinforce the British legions. Wilkes subsequently argued, *ZPE* 69 (1985), 291ff., that the men were contributed *to* the German armies. J. E. Bogaers, in B. R. Hartley and J. Wacher (eds.), *Rome and her Northern Provinces* (1983), 13ff., and S. S. Frere, *Britannia*, 17 (1986), 329, propose that the stone-cutter should have written *ex ex(ercitibus)*, arguing again for the original interpretation. M. P. Speidel, *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg*, 11 (1986), 309ff., and *Britannia*, 18 (1987), 235f., believes that the *vexillatio* was of soldiers from the three British legions who had been contributed to the German armies and who set up the dedication on their return. See further below.

[42] Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 126ff.

[43] Hadrian was ungenerous with *dona* for equestrian and senatorial officers (n. 5 above); C. Popillius Carus Pedo, tribune of III Cyrenaica in this war, did receive unspecified decorations (*ILS* 1071).

*c.*113, at latest *c.*117. The brevity of his career between praetorship and consulship, with only two posts, together with the auspicious start as *monetalis* and *quaestor Augusti*, and his membership of the college of augurs, suggest that Julius Severus exerted influence on his behalf. The fact that he was not *candidatus* of the emperor as tribune of the plebs or praetor need not imply loss of favour. His legionary command in Lower Germany should belong to the mid-140s,[44] followed by the prefecture of the treasury of Saturn, a post equivalent in standing to the governorship of a praetorian province. Six other prefects of this treasury are attested in the second half of the 140s: two became consul in 146, one in late 147, two in 148, and one in 152. It is possible that Julius Verus and his unknown colleague, together with these six, formed four successive pairs. Verus may well have been consul in 151, aged at most 38, possibly younger.[45] If so, he probably had a year or two without employment before his first consular governorship, of Lower Germany. His presumed predecessor there, the jurist Salvius Julianus (*cos. ord.* 148), who had also served as prefect of the treasury of Saturn, was still curator of public works at Rome in September 150, and is unlikely to have gone to Lower Germany before the spring of 151. If he had a *triennium* as governor, he will have been succeeded by Verus in 154.[46] Verus' governorship of a province where he had commanded a legion a decade or so earlier is relatively unusual.[47]

His governorship of Britain is datable to 158 by the Ravenglass diploma and the inscription from Birrens, north of the western end of Hadrian's Wall. As the diploma was issued in February, he must have arrived in Britain at latest in the previous year. But it could well have been even earlier. The inscription from Newcastle reveals the arrival, under Julius Verus, of soldiers from each of the three British legions, who had been 'contributed to the two German armies'. Coins of 155 show 'Britannia subdued', suggesting that there had been military problems there.[48] What they were is not clear, but it is surely preferable to discount supposed evidence in Pausanias (8. 43) for hostile action by the Brigantes involving an attack on the (otherwise unknown) 'Genunian district'.[49] At any rate, it seems likely that Verus, as governor of Lower

[44] Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 31f., suggests *c.*148; E. Birley, *ap.* L. Petersen, *PIR*² J 618, preferred *c.*144–6. Cf. also Eck, *Statthalter*, 247 ('um 144').

[45] See Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 292. The consular Fasti for 152 are now complete, P. Cluvius Maximus being attested as the colleague of M. Servilius Silanus (*AE* 1971. 183); 153 was already complete, while for 154, where Degrassi, *FC* 43, supplied [Cn. Julius Ve]rus as the first name in the second pair of suffects, Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 164f. , proposes [M. Valerius Etrus]cus, and places Verus in 151, ibid. 158.

[46] Eck, *Statthalter*, 173f.

[47] Cf. *FRB* 30, with table 5.

[48] *BMC* iv, Antoninus Pius 1971ff., 1993ff.

[49] E. Birley, *RBRA* 32, pointed out that in a passage in which Pausanias was listing the only deviations from peace in Pius' reign he should not have omitted the war won by Lollius Urbicus. Rivet and Smith, *Place-Names*, 47, convincingly argue that 'the text has been tampered with', that originally

Germany, was well placed to bring back to Britain men who who had been serving in Germany, perhaps to use their skills at frontier construction at a time when the *limes* in Upper Germany was being extended to the outer line.[50] He may have been appointed to deal with the trouble after only a short stay in the Rhineland.

The epigraphic record of his activity extends from the southern Pennines, at Brough-on-Noe, to the outpost fort at Birrens, north of the western end of Hadrian's Wall. He was also active at Corbridge. Another inscription, not mentioning his name, is dated by the consuls of 158 to his governorship, and records rebuilding work on Hadrian's Wall itself.[51] The archaeological evidence from the Antonine Wall indicates that it was evacuated at about this time—for good: the second Roman occupation of Scotland had thus lasted at the most for some eighteen years. Verus' successor may have completed the withdrawal and one or two outposts may have been retained.[52] One of his legionary legates, of VI Victrix, was probably Q. Camurius Numisius Junior, who took up the post after commanding another legion, which can be interpreted as an appointment to deal with a crisis (LL 28). Measures taken by Verus or his immediate succcessors may have included the following, all datable to the 'mid-Antonine period': the abandonment of all or most of the Cumbrian system of towers and milefortlets; further replacement of the western, turf part of Hadrian's Wall in stone; the construction of the 'Military Way' as a lateral road just south of the Wall, with a new bridge across the North Tyne at Chesters (*Cilurnum*); and perhaps also over the Irthing at Willowford; a new fort on the wall at Newcastle (*Pons Aelius*); the rebuilding of that at South Shields at the mouth of the Tyne; a bridge over the Tyne at Corbridge (*Coria*); and perhaps new forts at Chester-le-Street (*Concangis*) and Lanchester (*Longovicium*). There was no doubt further rebuilding at other forts as well.[53]

three wars, against the Moors, in Britain, and in Raetia, were listed, that the reference to Raetia dropped out, and a scribe reconstructed a defective manuscript incorrectly. It was no doubt not the British Brigantes who were in question, but the Raetian Brigantii, whose neighbours were the Genauni. See also on these lines J. G. F. Hind, *Britannia*, 8 (1977), 229ff.; A. R. Birley, in N. J. Higham (ed.), *Archaeology of the Roman Empire: A Tribute to . . . Barri Jones* (Oxford, 2001), 19f. n. 3.

[50] M. P. Speidel, *Britannia*, 18 (1987), 233ff.; Alföldy, *Heeresgeschichte*, 406ff.

[51] *RIB* 1389, between Benwell and Rudchester: *leg(io) VI V(ictrix) p(ia) f(idelis) ref(ecit) Ter(tullo) et Sac(erdote) co(n)s(ulibus)*, 'the Sixth Legion Victrix Pia Fidelis rebuilt (this) in the consulship of Tertullus and Sacerdos'.

[52] N. Hodgson, *Britannia*, 26 (1995), 29ff., shows convincingly that there is no good evidence for the Antonine Wall ever having been reoccupied after this withdrawal.

[53] P. Bidwell (ed.), *Hadrian's Wall 1989–1999* (1999), 23f., 73f., 99, 112, 119f., 141ff., 181ff. , 191. But the 'mid-Antonine' date for the new Newcastle fort, ibid. 99, is modified by P. Bidwell and M. Snape, *AA*5 31 (2002), 253, who propose that it was built later, probably under Severus.

Quite when Verus was replaced is difficult to establish; his successor is slightly tenuous (28). He disappears from sight for a few years, but reappears in the early 160s, after dramatic developments at the other end of the empire. Soon after Pius' death and the accession of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, in 161, the Parthians invaded the eastern provinces. In 162 Lucius went to the East with an expeditionary force, accompanied by M. Aurelius' cousin M. Annius Libo (*cos.* 161) as governor of Syria. But Libo died soon after his arrival (*HA Verus* 9. 2),[54] and in 163 or soon after Julius Verus, who had perhaps accompanied Verus to Syria as his *comes*, is recorded as legate of that province.[55] The literary sources do not mention his name among the generals who fought against the Parthians; his main task may have been to reorganize the Roman base in Syria. By 165 he had been recalled for a further post in Italy. The inscription of an equestrian officer reveals that he was assigned 'to a levy with Julius Verus in Italy of recruits for both the Italica legions', that is, the newly formed II and III Italicae. In this task, datable to *c.*166, Verus also had the assistance of one or more senatorial colleagues.[56] His career was to continue almost until the end of Marcus Aurelius' reign: the second consulship to which he was designated was for 180. A papyrus (*PDura* 25) actually records him in office, but he must have died at the end of 179, for the ordinary consuls in 180 were Bruttius Praesens and Quintilius Condianus.[57]

The Aequum inscription must have originally had a further section (shown above as line 5, *[. . .]*, but more than one line may be missing), referring to his recruiting mission and, very probably, to his position as *comes* of the emperors. He might even have been proconsul of Africa, twenty years or so after his consulship, since the plague which arrived at Rome in 166 caused heavy casualties, and this, combined with the demands of the Danubian wars of the late 160s and 170s, meant that several men held consular proconsulships after an unusually long interval. But it is more likely that he served in the 170s as *comes* of Marcus Aurelius on the Danube.[58] There is no trace of any descendants of this remarkable figure.

[54] Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*², 121ff., 130f.; Dąbrowa, *Syria*, 109f.

[55] *ILS* 5864, not earlier than 164; see Dąbrowa, *Syria*, 110ff.

[56] *AE* 1956. 124: *ad dilectum cum Iulio Vero per Italiam tironum II(=utriusque) leg. Italicae*; see *CP*, no. 164bis. See also *ILS* 1098 and *CIL* v. 7775 with Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 35 n. 191.

[57] Details in *PIR*² J 618.

[58] Plague: *HA M. Ant. Phil.* 13. 5. Proconsuls: Thomasson, *Fasti*, 70ff. G. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 121 n. 123, notes that the Aequum inscription probably included the position of *comes* of Lucius Verus in the Parthian War and the recruiting assignment. Why not also *comes Augustorum bello Germanico et Sarmatico*?

28. 24 June 160? [. . .]anus Lep[. . .] =?[M(arcus) Pisib]an(i)us Lep[idus] (*cos.* 159)?

CIL xvi. 130 = *RIB* ii. 2401. 12, Colchester (*Camulodunum*): *[Imp(erator) . . . equitibus et peditibus . . . quae] sun[t in Britannia sub . . .]ano Lep[. . .] . . . ci[vit(atem) Rom]an(am) . . . [ded(it) . . .] . . . [a(nte) d(iem)] VIII K(alendas) Iul(ias) [. . . S]evero [et . . .] Flavo co(n)s(ulibus), [coh(ortis) I fid(ae) Va]rdul(orum) (milliaria), cui prae(e)est [. . .] Verus, [. . . Satu]rnino, Glevi [descript(um) et recog]nit(um) ex tabul(a) aer(ea) [quae fixa est Romae] in mur(o) post [templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad] Minervam.*

The Emperor(s) . . . has/have given Roman citizenship . . . to the cavalrymen and infantrymen . . . which are in Britain under . . . anus Lep . . . (?) . . . , on the eighth day before the Kalends of July (24 June), . . . Severus (and) . . . Flavus (being the) consuls, from the First Loyal Cohort of Vardullians, one thousand strong, of which . . . Verus is the commander, to . . . Saturninus, from Glevum. Copied and checked from the bronze tablet which is fixed at Rome on the wall behind the temple of the deified Augustus at (the temple of) Minerva.

The restoration *[quae] sun[t in Britannia]* cannot be doubted, in view of the find-spot, the cohort there named,[59] and the recipient, a native of Glevum, Gloucester. The year is not so certain: in *CIL* xvi it is assigned to 'between 139 and 190', since it omits privileges for children and is dated by suffect consuls. E. Birley pointed out that this time-span can be narrowed down. The cohort-commander's *origo* is not given, as it was regularly between 133 and 149, while it was omitted in a diploma of 154 and frequently thereafter.[60] The abbreviations in the closing formula are exactly paralleled in *CIL* xvi. 110, evidently of 154, are very close to those in xvi. 112, of 157 or 158, and are similar to those in diplomas of 161 and 164. The latter year is not possible, since the governor was then Calpurnius Agricola (Gov. 30); and from soon after 165 the drastic abbreviations seem to disappear. At first sight, 160 also seems excluded: the *Fasti Ostienses* do name one of the suffects in the middle of that year as *[C. Septimius S]everus*, but he, unlike the Severus in the diploma, was not the consul *prior* (his colleague's name, listed first is not preserved). However, it is perfectly possible that on the diploma the order of consuls was reversed, for which there are parallels. Further, on the diploma the consuls are listed on separate lines: from March 161 onwards, with the names of the joint emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus to be accommodated, there would hardly have been space to allow this.[61] Thus the case for 160 looks strong.

[59] The *coh. I fida Vardullorum* was in Britain from 98 at latest: M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia*, 25 (1994), 50 f.

[60] E. Birley, *JRS* 28 (1938), 228. *CIL* xvi. 104 (AD 154). See further G. Alföldy, in W. Eck and H. Wolff (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (1986), 385 f., repr. in id., *Heeresgeschichte*, 90 ff.

[61] See for previous arguments on the date M. Roxan, *Britannia*, 11 (1980), 335–7. The case for dating this diploma to 160, outlined above, is owed to Paul Holder (pers.comm.). J. Morris, 'The Roman Senate AD 69–193' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955), S 79, had already identified [S]everus, *cos. suff.* 160 in the *Fasti Ostienses* (see now Vidman, *FO*^{2} 52), as the consul in the diploma and as a kinsman of the future emperor; he also, C 46, suggested that the consul Flavus, whose cognomen is otherwise known only for one senator in the principate, might be father of the

Various readings of the governor's name have been offered, *[. . .]ano Lon[. . .]*, *[. . .]ano leg(ato)*,[62] and *[. . .]ano Len[. . .]*. Another possibility might be *[. . .]ano Lep[. . .]*, which would allow the restoration *[Pisib]ano Lep[ido]*.[63] M. Pisibanius (*sic*) Lepidus is now known to have been consul from April to June 159.[64] He could be the governor here, reading *[Pisib]ano Lep[ido]*. Other members of the senatorial order are known with this name, spelt Pisibanus rather than Pisibanius, including the polyonymous C. Matius Sabinius . . . Pisibanus Lepidus.[65] It would be surprising, of course, if a governor of Britain were appointed so soon after his consulship—but one can compare Mummius Sisenna (Gov. 24) a generation earlier, and Petronius Turpilianus (6) and Julius Agricola (11) in the first century. There is a further corollary: if the governor can be identified with the consul of 159, he must have been replaced after a very short tenure (perhaps curtailed by his death), a year after the diploma was issued, since his successor Statius Priscus clearly arrived in 161.

The commander of *coh. I fida Vardullorum* on the diploma, [. . .] Verus, can surely be identified (although the *cognomen* is common) with Trebius Verus, under whose command the Vardulli dedicated an altar to Neptune at Castlecary on the Antonine Wall.[66] It appears that Julius Verus evacuated the Antonine Wall and most of Scotland *c.*158 (see under Gov. 27). The Vardulli could well have made a vow to the sea-god on the eve of their withdrawal by ship, perhaps some two years before the diploma was issued; Trebius Verus will have continued to command them, at a new base, under Julius Verus' successor.

29. 161 Marcus Statius, Marci filius, Claudia, Priscus Licinius Italicus (*cos. ord.* 159)

JÖAI 12 (1909), Bbl. 149=*AE* 1910. 86, Viminacium: *[Pro sal]ute imperato[rum Caesarum M(arci) Aureli | Ant]onini Aug(usti) et L(uci) [Aureli Veri Aug(usti), | M. Stati]us Priscu[s Licinius Italicus,* [4]*| leg(atus) Augusto]r(um) provin[c(iae) Moesia[e sup[erioris, | item leg(atus) August]or(um) [provin]c(iae) Britan[niae, | . . .] f(ecit).*

other Flavus, M. Caelius Flavus Proculus (Trib. 26). On the emperor's kinsman, C. Septimius Severus, see Birley, *Severus*[2], 219, no. 25, with further references.

[62] H. Nesselhauf in *CIL* xvi. 130; E. Birley, *JRS* 28 (1938), 228 (if this reading were accepted, it would provide another clue to dating, since the governor's status is not mentioned in diplomas before 150); M. Roxan, *RIB* ii. 1. 2401.12.

[63] Suggested by A. R. Birley, *JRS* 83 (1993), 238.

[64] P. Weiss, *Chiron*, 29 (1999), 147ff.

[65] *PIR*[2] M 370 (a patrician, consul under Commodus); note further C. Cassius Interamnus Pisibanus Priscus (praetor in 100, C 495); C. Julius Pisibanus (*cos. c.*143/145, J 463); C. Julius Pisibanus Maximus Aemilius Papus (J 464); Pisibanus Celsus and Pisibania Lepida, landowners near Viterbo (*ILS* 5771+ *add.*). Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 110 n. 62, stresses that Pisibanus is a *nomen*, not a *cognomen*.

[66] *RIB* 2149

For the welfare of the Emperors Caesars Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, Marcus Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus, legate of the Emperors of the province of Upper Moesia, likewise legate of the Emperors of the province of Britain, . . . made (this dedication).[67]

CIL vi. 1523 = *ILS* 1092, Rome: *[M(arco) Stati]o, M(arci) f(ilio), Cl(audia), Prisco | [L]icinio Italico, leg(ato) Augustorum | pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Cappadociae, leg(ato) Aug[g.] (Augustorum duorum)* [4]*| pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Brittanniae, leg(ato) Aug[g.] (Augustorum duorum) | pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(incae) Moesiae super(ioris), curato[ri] | alvei Tiberis et cl[o]acarum urbis, c[o(n)s(uli)], | leg(ato) Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Daciae, leg(ato) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis), leg(ato) leg(ionis)* [8]*| [X]IIII Gem(inae) Martiae Victricis, sacerdoti Titiali | [Fl]aviali, pr(aetori) inter cives et peregrinos, tr(ibuno) pl(ebis), quaes[t](ori), | proc(uratori) Aug(usti) XX (vicesimae) hereditatium prov(inciarum) Narbone(n)s(is) et Aquita[n(iae), | p]r(aefecto) eq(uitum) alae I pr(aetoriae) c(ivium) R(omanorum), tr(ibuno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Adiutr(icis) p(iae) f(idelis) et leg(ionis) X [G(eminae)] p(iae) [f(idelis)* [12]*| e]t leg(ionis) IIII (sic) Gallicae, praef(ecto) coh(ortis) IIII Lingonum, vexillo mi[l(itari) | d]onato a divo Hadriano in expeditione Iudaic[a], Q(uintus) Cassius Domitius Palumbus.*

For Marcus Statius, son of Marcus, Claudia, Priscus Licinius Italicus, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors of the province of Cappadocia, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors of the province of Britain, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors of the province of Upper Moesia, curator of the bed of the Tiber and of the sewers of the city, consul, legate of the Emperor of the province of Dacia, legate of the Thirteenth Legion Gemina Pia Fidelis, legate of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina Martia Victrix, priest of (the deified) Titus (and) Flavius (Vespasian), praetor (for cases between) citizens and aliens, tribune of the plebs, quaestor, prefect of cavalry of the First Praetorian Ala of Roman citizens, military tribune of the First Legion Adiutrix Pia Fidelis and of the Tenth Legion Gemina Pia Fidelis and of the Fourth [*a mistake for Third*] Legion Gallica, prefect of the Fourth Cohort of Lingones, decorated with a military flag by the deified Hadrian in the Jewish expedition, Quintus Cassius Domitius Palumbus (set this up).

Statius Priscus' governorship was very brief, not more than a year at most, starting in summer 161. But his career throws a good deal of light on the workings of the military system.

The name Statius is fairly common, and the other items in his nomenclature are also too indistinctive to indicate his origin, except for the tribe Claudia, found more frequently than elsewhere in *regio X* of Italy and in certain communities of the northern provinces.[68] Northern Italy, where a good many Statii are attested, or one of the cities of the Dalmatian coast look likely areas for his home.[69] Colchester (*Camulodunum*) is also just possible: a first-century legionary named Statius, with the tribe Claudia, derived from there,[70] and Priscus' first appointment, as prefect of the Fourth Cohort of

[67] On the basis of the drawing, a different expansion of the missing parts of ll. 1–2 is given here to that in the original publication; and *[leg. Augusto]r.* is read in l. 3 in preference to *[leg. Augustor. pr.p]r.*

[68] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 270.

[69] There are over 70 examples of the *nomen* in *CIL* v., including two Statii Prisci (1385, 4098), more than twice as many as in *CIL* ix. and x., more than three times as many as in *CIL* xi. The tribe *Claudia* and *nomen* Statius are well represented in Dalmatia and N. Italy: Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 314 f., proposes Dalmatia as Priscus' home; Piso, *Fasti*, 73, favours N. Italy.

[70] *CIL* iii. 11233.

Lingones, stationed in Britain, would suit such an origin.[71] Equally, the governor who probably gave him his commission, Julius Severus (Gov. 21), was himself from Dalmatia and perhaps offered him the post because he was a fellow-countryman. He was no doubt taken from Britain to the Jewish war, for service in which he received a decoration, by Severus. There is no need to suppose that Priscus took his cohort to Judaea. More likely Severus promoted him to be tribune in the Syrian legion III Gallica, which participated in the war; he probably went on to serve as tribune in a detachment of the Upper Pannonian legion X Gemina, also participating in the Jewish war. Since a third tribunate followed, in another legion of Upper Pannonia, it may be conjectured that he returned to that province with X Gemina and was retained there, as tribune of I Adiutrix.[72] After this he finally entered the third *militia*, as prefect of an *ala* in Cappadocia; and then moved to the procuratorial career with a rather lowly post as *sexagenarius*, in charge of the *vicesima hereditatium*, the 5 per cent inheritance tax, in two Gallic provinces.[73]

Thereafter he changed course markedly by entering the senate. It must be inferred that Antoninus Pius granted him the *latus clavus*. Priscus may have owed his advance to the patronage of Lollius Urbicus (Gov. 24), whose influence in the 140s was no doubt considerable. But he did not receive any remission (except that he was excused the vigintivirate), unlike many who transferred from the equestrian career to the senate at other periods, such as the reign of Vespasian or during the Marcomannic Wars. This reflects the conservatism of the reign. Priscus must have been well over 30 when he entered the senate as quaestor, and well over 50 when he became consul. Still, once he had held the compulsory Republican magistracies, he had the type of career enjoyed by men like Julius Agricola (Gov. 11), Julius Severus (21), and Lollius Urbicus (24): only two posts, the first a legionary command, between praetorship and consulship.

His governorship of Upper Dacia, immediately preceding his consulship, is dated closely by diplomas, to 13 December 156 and 8 July 158, and a dedication he made at Apulum as consul designate can be assigned to autumn 158.[74]

[71] Suggested diffidently by A. R. Birley, *EOS* ii. 536, 538.

[72] The order of legionary tribunates was interpreted otherwise in *CP*, no. 136, and by P. Batholomew, *CR* 36 (1986), 279. For the order proposed above, see Devijver, *PME* S 78. A tribune of X Gemina, Sex. Attius Senecio, was 'sent on the Jewish expedition by the deified Hadrian', with a detachment (*CIL* vi. 3505; *PME* A 188; Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1685, was a little hesitant as to whether Senecio took men from X Gemina, but was confident that it was involved in the war). On this interpretation, his decoration, a *vexillum*, was gained for service as tribune, hardly sufficient for this rank, but matching Hadrian's practice (cf. n. 5 above). Piso, *Fasti*, 69 and n. 4, takes a different view on Priscus' equestrian *militiae*.

[73] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 136.

[74] *CIL* xvi. 107 (assigned to 156 or 157: but other consuls are now known for 157, P. Weiss, *Chiron*, 29 (1999), 165ff.); 108; *CIL* iii. 1061 = *ILS* 4006 = *IDR* iii. 5, 185, Apulum, discussed by Piso, *Fasti*, 70.

Before that he had commanded the Carnuntum legion XIV Gemina, perhaps when Claudius Maximus, the friend of M. Aurelius, was governing Upper Pannonia (he is attested there in 150 and 154). Priscus' consulship as *ordinarius* for 159 was a remarkable honour for a *novus homo*—only one other man of comparable background, the jurist Salvius Julianus, received similar distinction during this reign. One reason in Priscus' case was no doubt his military success in Dacia, revealed by inscriptions from that province.[75] After his consulship he had a brief spell as curator of the Tiber, but before the end of 160 must have become governor of Upper Moesia, where he is attested in office on 8 February 161.[76] He was still there, not surprisingly, after the death of Pius the following month, as shown by his dedication in honour of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, set up after he had been appointed to Britain.

It may have been the sudden death of a recently appointed governor of Britain (Gov. 28), or perhaps just the difficult military situation in the north of the province, that led the emperors to transfer Priscus there soon after their accession. As stated by the *HA*: 'a British war was also threatening' in 161 (*M. Ant. Phil.* 8. 7) and had to be dealt with by Priscus' successor (Gov. 30).[77] Priscus can only have spent some months in Britain when a more serious crisis occurred in the East: the defeat and death of the governor of Cappadocia and the invasion of Syria by the Parthians.[78] Priscus was chosen to deal with this crisis, and won a major victory, capturing the Armenian capital Artaxata (*HA M. Ant. Phil.* 9. 1, cf. *Verus* 7. 1) and founding a new one, which he garrisoned (Dio 71. 3. 1[1]). These successes allowed L. Verus to assume the title Armeniacus in 163.[79] The satirist Lucian alleges that a contemporary historian described 'how Priscus the general merely shouted out and twenty-seven of the enemy dropped dead' (*How to Write History* 20). Hardly serious evidence, but perhaps Priscus had an aggressive style of leadership. The choice of Priscus to be recalled from Britain to deal with a crisis in the East exactly parallels the sending of Julius Severus (Gov. 21) to Judaea thirty years earlier. Severus was described as 'the foremost of Hadrian's leading generals' in that

[75] *CIL* iii. 1416 = *IDR* iii. 3, 276, Sub Cununi, is a dedication by Priscus to Victoria Augusta, and the inscription from Apulum cited in the previous note was made 'for the safety of the Roman Empire and the courage of the legion XIII Gemina under Marcus Statius Priscus, consul designate'. See Piso, *Fasti*, 70f., properly dismissing arguments from this inscription that the governorship and command of the legion were separate; he also stresses the reinforcements sent from Africa and Mauretania listed in the diploma of 158, *CIL* xvi. 108, as evidence for serious fighting.

[76] *RMD* i. 55.

[77] Licinius Clemens, prefect of *cohors I Hamiorum*, who dedicated two altars at Carvoran under Priscus' successor Calpurnius Agricola, might have owed his appointment to Priscus, who bore the additional names Licinius Italicus. An officer called Licinius Nigrinus had served under him in Dacia (*CIL* xvi. 108). Perhaps both were kinsmen.

[78] Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*[2], 121ff.

[79] Ibid. 129.

connection (Dio 69. 13. 3, see Gov. 21). Priscus, after his success in Dacia in the late 150s, was no doubt equally highly rated. These two cases underline the high military status of Britain and its governors.

He is not heard of again, and may have died soon afterwards. No children are recorded, but M. Statius Longinus, governor of Moesia Inferior under Macrinus, might be a descendant.[80]

30. 161/2–163– Sextus Calpurnius Agricola (*cos.* 154)

RIB 589, Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*)=M. P. Speidel, *Britannia*, 18 (1987) 233ff.: *Imp(eratori) Ca[es(ari) M(arco) Aur]rel(io) A[ntonio . . . et] | imp(eratori) Ca[es(ari) L(ucio) Aur]el(io Ve[ro . . . Augg. (duobus Augustis)] | vex(illatio) eq(uitum) [provinc]iae [Germaniae] | sup(erioris), Se[x(to) Calpu]rn(io) [Agricola co(n)s(ulare)]*.

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus . . . and the Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus . . . , a detachment of cavalrymen from the province of Upper Germany (set this up), Sextus Calpurnius Agricola (being the) consular.

RIB 793 (?), Hardknott (*Mediobogdum*): *[. . . Sex(to) Calpurnio (?) A]gric[o]la co(n)ṣ(ulare) (?) . . .*

Sextus Calpurnius (?) Agricola (being the) consular (?).

RIB 1137, Corbridge (*Coria*): *[[Soli Invicto]] | vexillatio | leg(ionis) VI Victricis p(iae) f(idelis) f(ecit)* [4]*| sub cura Sex(ti) Calpurni Agrico | lae leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)*.

To the Unconquered Sun-god, a detachment of the Sixth Legion Victrix Pia Fidelis made (this), under the charge of Sextus Calpurnius Agricola, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 1149, Corbridge (*Coria*): *Imperato[ribus Caesaribus] | M(arco) Aurelio An[tonino Aug(usto), tribuniciae] | potestati[s XVII], co(n)s(uli) [III, et L(ucio) Aur*[4]*|elio Vero Aug(usto)] A[rmeniaco, trib|uniciae potestati]s I[II], co(n)[s(uli)] II | [vexillatio leg(ionis) XX] V(aleriae) V(ictricis) fec̣it, su[b c]ura | [Sexti Calpurni] Ag̣ṛico[l]ae* [8]*| [legati Augustoru]m pṛ(o) pr(aetore)*.

For the Emperors Caesars Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, in his seventeenth tribunician power, thrice consul, and Lucius Aurelius Verus Armeniacus, in his third tribunician power, twice consul, a detachment of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix made (this), under the charge of Sextus Calpurnius Agricola, propraetorian legate of the Emperors.[81]

RIB 1703, *Vindolanda*: *[. . .] su[b Sex(to) Calpurnio] Ag[ricola . . .]*.

RIB 1792, Carvoran (*Magna*): *Deae Suri|ae, sub Calp|urnio Ag[r]*[4]*|icola leg(ato) Au[g(usti)] | pr(o) pr(aetore), Licinius [C]lemens, praef(ectus) [c]oh(ortis) I Ha[m]ior[um]*.

To the Syrian Goddess, under Calpurnius Agricola, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, Licinius Clemens, prefect of the First Cohort of Hamians, (set this up).[82]

RIB 1809, Carvoran (*Magna*) *[. . . sub Calpur|ni]o Agri|cola, co(n)s(ulari),* [4]*| Licinius Cl[e]|mens p[raef(ectus)*.

. . . under Calpurnius Agricola, the consular, Licinius Clemens, prefect, (set this up).

[80] Barbieri, *L'Albo*, no. 486, also nos. 1163–4, Longinus' presumed sons.

[81] The text in *RIB* is here followed, but letters of which less than half is preserved are here dotted.

[82] The text here given differs slightly from that in *RIB* in that readings by Camden are followed. Cf. n. 77 above on Licinius Clemens.

HA M. Ant. Phil. 8. 8: *et adversus Brittannos quidem Calpurnius Agricola missus est, contra Catthos Aufidius Victorinus.*

. . . and against the Britons, also, Calpurnius Agricola was dispatched, against the Chatti Aufidius Victorinus.

Nothing is known of Calpurnius Agricola's career before his consulship. His origin is not attested, but, although the *gentilicium* is common all over the empire, the combination Sex. Calpurnius is rare.[83] Hence he might be a kinsman of Fronto's equestrian friend Sex. Calpurnius Julianus (*Ad Ant. Pium* 10, 168 van den Hout), and, if so, perhaps a native of Fronto's home town Cirta or one of its neighbours in Numidia.

Agricola's consulship, once assigned to 159, can now be dated to September 154.[84] He is next recorded as governor of Upper Germany in 158, probably soon after the beginning of his term of office.[85] The context of the sentence in the *HA* which refers to his dispatch 'against the Britons' suggests that he was replaced in Germany by Aufidius Victorinus and transferred to Britain in autumn 161 or early 162 at the very latest.[86] It indicates that there were hostilities in progress in Britain (already referred to in *HA M. Ant. Phil.* 8. 7, quoted under Gov. 29).[87] A mention in Polyaenus' *Strategica* (6, *pr.*) of 'the Britons being defeated' may refer to this war, since the work was dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in 162. From the inscription at Ribchester it can be inferred that he took some extra cavalry from Germany with him—unless they had been sent under one of his predecessors.

The dedication at Corbridge firmly dates his governorship to the year 163 and has already disposed of the possibility that he was the predecessor of Priscus, rather than his successor.[88] The distribution of his inscriptions, at Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall, and Vindolanda, just south of the wall, as well as at Corbridge, also at Ribchester, and perhaps at Hardknott, in north-west England, indicates that Hadrian's Wall and the Pennines were occupied at the time. It now seems clear that the Antonine Wall had been given up under Julius Verus several years earlier (see under Gov. 27).

The length of his governorship is uncertain, but at the very latest by *c.*168 he had moved to the Lower Danube region, as is shown by the inscription of a

[83] There are none in *CIL* ii, v, viii, x, xii, xiii, xiv, one each in iii, vi, ix, one or perhaps two in xi.

[84] *RMD* i. 47; *FO*^{2} 52: *[Ti. Claudius Julia]nus Sex. [Calpurnius Agricola]*; the year is confirmed by P. Weiss, *ZPE* 146 (2004), 247 f.

[85] *AE* 1986. 523, Neckarburken; Eck, *Statthalter*, 65 ff.

[86] E. Champlin, *JRS* 64 (1974), 155 f.; Eck, *Statthalter*, 66, 69.

[87] For other possible evidence for warfare in Britain at this time, involving VI Victrix: A. R. Birley, in L. A. S. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (1971), 86.

[88] See the comments by R. Syme, *Danubian Papers* (1971), 171. The dating of *RIB* 1149 to 163 depends on the reading *A[rmeniaco]* in l. 4, as a title for L. Verus but clearly not yet for M. Aurelius. Verus took the title in 163, M. Aurelius not until 164: Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*^{2}, 129, 131 f.

soldier of V Macedonica, who served 'in the German expedition' under Agricola and Claudius Fronto, and received his discharge under Cornelius Clemens in 170.[89] It is possible that Agricola, like the other two men, was governor of the newly reunified province of the Three Dacias, to which V Macedonica was transferred after its return from the East *c.*166. Alternatively, he could have commanded an expeditionary corps, including men from V Macedonica, in the *expeditio Germanica*, which began in 168 (see under Gov. 31 below).[90] Nothing further is heard of him, and he may well have lost his life, like so many, of all ranks, at this time, either from the plague or in battle (*HA M. Ant. Phil.* 13. 5, 22. 7). No descendants are known.

At least one unknown governor must be postulated between Calpurnius Agricola and Antistius Adventus.

31. *c.*172–174/5? Quintus Antistius Adventus, Quinti filius, Quirina, Postumius Aquilinus (*cos.* 167?)

RIB 1083, Lanchester (*Longovicium*): *Num(ini) Aug(usti) et | gen(io) coh(ortis) I f(idae) | Vardullorum* [4] *| c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitatae) ∞ (milliariae), sub An|tistio Adven|to leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) p[r(aetore)], | F(lavius) Titianus trib(unus) | d(e) s(uo) d(edicavit).*

To the divinity of the Emperor and the guardian spirit of the First Loyal Cohort of Vardulli, Roman citizens, (part-)mounted, one thousand strong, under Antistius Adventus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, Flavius Titianus, tribune, dedicated (this altar) at his own expense.

Adventus' governorship is attested only by the dedication at Lanchester, in the hinterland of Hadrian's Wall, but his origin and previous career are amply documented by other evidence. The most important item is a *cursus* inscription from Thibilis in Numidia, his home town:[91]

ILS 8977 = *ILAlg.* ii/2. 4681: *[Q(uinto) Antistio Advento,] | Q(uinti) f(ilio), Quir(ina), Postumio Aqu[i]|lino, co(n)s(uli), sacerdoti fetia*[4]*|li, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Ger|maniae inferioris, leg(ato) Aug(usti) | at praetenturam Italiae et | Alpium expeditione Germa*[8]*|nica, cura(tori) operum locorumq(ue) | publicorum, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) | provinc(iae) Arabiae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionum) | VI Ferratae et secundae Ad*[12]*|iutricis, translato in eam ex|peditione Parthica, qua do|natus est donis militaribus, | coronis murali vallari au*[16]*|rea, hastis puris tribus, ve|xillis duobus, praetori, leg(ato) | pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Africa(e), [t]r(ibuno) pl(ebis), se|viro eq(uitum) R(omanorum), q(uaestori) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae)* [20]*| Macedoniae, tribuno mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Minerviae p(iae) f(idelis), IIIIvir(o)*

[89] *ILS* 2311, Troesmis.

[90] Piso, *Fasti*, 88f., 100, argues that Agricola had a special command over an expeditionary force including troops from V Macedonica in the opening phase of the Marcommanic War, i.e. in 168. For Claudius Fronto and Cornelius Clemens, cf. ibid. 94ff., 103ff.

[91] See on him *PIR*² A 754, to be supplemented especially by *CIL* vi. 41119; and on his family F. Bertrandy, *Karthago*, 17 (1973/4), 195ff.

viarum curandarum, Sex(tus) Marcius Maximus, ob in[24]*|signem eius in se benivolentiam s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit), d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Quintus Antistius Adventus, son of Quintus, Quirina, Postumius Aquilinus,[92] consul, fetial priest, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Lower Germany, legate of the Emperor at the defence-line of Italy and the Alps in the German expedition, curator of public buildings and works, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Arabia, legate of the Emperor of the Legions Sixth Ferrata and Second Adiutrix, transferred to the latter in the Parthian expedition, in which he was decorated with military decorations, mural, rampart, and gold crowns, three pure spears, (and) two flags, praetor, propraetorian legate of the province of Africa, tribune of the plebs, one of the six men (in charge of) the Roman knights, propraetorian quaestor of the province of Macedonia, military tribune of the First Legion Minervia Pia Fidelis, *quattuor viarum curandarum*, Sextus Marcius Maximus, set up (this statue) with his own money, on account of his [Adventus'] outstanding generosity towards himself, (in accordance with a) decree of the decurions.

From this and from further inscriptions the chronology of his career can be calculated with some precision. He was holding his second legionary command on 1 March 164 and was probably consul *c.*166. Hence his birth probably fell in the 120s. It might even be conjectured that he owed his *cognomen* to the *adventus* of Hadrian to his home town in 128.[93] He seems to have been a *novus homo*,[94] although a member of a wealthy landowning family, and it may be suspected that his path to a senatorial career was opened by his marriage to the governor's daughter. His wife was Novia Crispina, presumably daughter of L. Novius Crispinus (*cos.* 150), *de facto* governor of Numidia as legate of III Augusta in the years 147–9.[95] After the vigintivirate Adventus was tribune of the Bonn legion I Minervia in Lower Germany, receiving his commission, on the chronology here suggested, from either Salvius Julianus or Julius Verus.[96] Thereafter he went through the three Republican magistracies as quaestor, tribune of the plebs, and praetor, the intervals being punctuated by two additional posts, as *sevir equitum Romanorum* at Rome and as legate to a proconsul of Africa. The latter posting could have given him another powerful patron, although the identity of the proconsul under whom he served is not

[92] Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 54, does not regard the positioning of the filiation and tribe, after Adventus instead of after Antistius, which would be the usual position, as evidence for adoption. But nothing can be suggested about the additional names Postumius Aquilinus: as Salomies points out, ibid. 82, one can rule out adoption of a Postumius by a Q. Antistius; but the names were not derived from his maternal grandfather, for his mother was called Antonia Prisca (*ILS* 1091 = *CIL* viii. 18893 = *ILAlg.* ii/2. 4634).

[93] Thus Birley, *Hadrian*, 208, 342f. n. 9. (The further suggestion there, that he was born in July, because of the *praenomen* Quintus, must be withdrawn: Adventus' father was also Quintus.)

[94] L. Antistius Asiaticus, *praefectus montis Berenicidis* in 90 (*CIL* iii. 13580, *IGR* i. 1183) (not discussed by Bertrandy, *Karthage*, 17 (1973/4), 195ff.) might be an ancestor (cf. *CIL* viii. 18931, Thibilis: *Civilis, Q. Antisti Asiatici f(ilius), v(ixit) a(nnos) VIIII*).

[95] *ILS* 1091 = *CIL* viii. 18893 = *ILAlg.* ii/2. 4634 (*Noviae Crispinae eius*); *PIR*[2] N 195; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 577. For Crispinus, see Trib. 17.

[96] Eck, *Statthalter*, 171ff.

known.[97] After the praetorship came the command over the Palestine legion VI Ferrata. The outbreak of the Parthian war led to the dispatch of additional units to the East, and Adventus was transferred to command one of these, the Lower Pannonian legion II Adiutrix, probably in 162. During his legateship of this legion, on 1 March 164, his freedman Q. Antistius Agathopus made a private dedication to the 'presiding spirit of the house (of the Antistii)', *genius domus*, at Thibilis, for his welfare.[98] He saw active service in the war, as shown by his *dona militaria*; and from a fragmentary honorific inscription at Rome it seems that he served in Armenia and Iberia (*[per Armen]iam et Hiber[riam]*).[99] He was then appointed *c.*164 to govern Arabia. An inscription from Bostra describes him as consul designate, and another, from Gerasa, calls him consul. Thus he held the *fasces* in his province, in 166 or 167.[100] There followed the curatorship of public buildings and works at Rome.[101] The priesthood, as *fetialis*, was very likely obtained at the time of his consulship.

His next assignment was a special command: *leg. Aug. at prae[t]enturam Italiae et Alpium expeditione Germanica*, datable to 168. The 'German expedition' was launched by M. Aurelius and L. Verus in that year, and their initial inspection of the military situation north of Italy was followed by precautionary measures: 'then, after the Alps had been crossed, they proceeded further and settled everything pertaining to the protection of Italy and Illyricum' (*HA M. Ant. Phil.* 14. 6).[102] The phrase 'protection of Italy and Illyricum', *munimen Italiae atque Illyrici*, recalls Adventus' post in the *praetentura*. The forces under his command will have included the two new legions II and III Italicae, and his task was to protect the passes through the Julian Alps from Pannonia into Italy. In due course, probably in 170, the German peoples did indeed break through, and besieged, but failed to capture Aquileia. Adventus may have been involved in the city's defence, but it is not improbable that he had been transferred before the invasion to govern Lower Germany.[103] The fragmentary honorific inscription at Rome suggests that he received special honours for his conduct of this post, including a statue set up by decree of the senate, probably in his house at Rome, on the Oppian Hill.[104]

[97] Thomasson, *Fasti*, 110f.: 'kurz vor oder nach dem Tode des Pius'. But if Adventus' date of birth was 128, as conjectured above, he ought to have been praetor at latest in 157, hence in Africa at latest 155–6. The proconsul at that time is not known: ibid. 62ff.

[98] *ILS* 1091 = *CIL* viii. 18893 = *ILAlg.* ii/2. 4634.

[99] *CIL* vi. 41119, as restored by G. Alföldy.

[100] *CIL* iii. 92; *IGR* iii. 1368. Perhaps attested by *RMD* i. 67 + *add.*, a diploma issued on 23 Aug. *c.*167.

[101] A. Kolb, *Die Kaiserliche Bauverwaltung in der Stadt Rom* (Stuttgart, 1993), 227f.

[102] Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*², 155f., 249f. (to be corrected on one point by I. Piso, *Tyche*, 6 (1991), 131ff., who demonstrates that *AE* 1982. 777 was wrongly restored to prove the presence of the emperors at Carnuntum in 168).

[103] See for this interpretation Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*², 251, with further references; cf. also under Gov. 27, who raised these legions.

[104] *CIL* vi. 41119.

His governorship of Lower Germany is the latest post recorded on the *cursus* inscription from Thibilis. His presence is recorded in the province by his dedication at Vectio to a series of deities appropriate to the troubled times.[105] If he did go to Lower Germany *c.*169 or 170, he probably moved to Britain—by this period a sequence of offices for which there was ample precedent—about three years later. At least one unknown governor must be postulated in the interval between Calpurnius Agricola and Adventus, whose governorship may be tentatively assigned to *c.*172–5 or 173–6. The *HA* refers to 'the threat of a British war' (*M. Ant. Phil.* 22. 1), apparently a second one under Marcus Aurelius, in a context that seems to refer to the early 170s.[106] Further, Adventus may have had the task of absorbing into the army of the province the 5,500 Sarmatians sent to Britain following M. Aurelius' armistice with that people in 175 (Dio 71. 16. 2). The need for the governor to give attention to the military districts of the province may explain the appointment of a *iuridicus*, datable to the period *c.*172–5, Sabucius Major (*iurid.* 5).

The high esteem in which Adventus was held by Marcus is demonstrated by the patrician rank of Lucius Antistius Burrus Adventus, surely his son, revealed by an inscription of 178; at about this time the young man married Marcus' youngest child, Vibia Aurelia Sabina.[107] Burrus Adventus was made *consul ordinarius* for 181, but fell foul of his brother-in-law Commodus, and was put to death some years later.[108] The family appears to have died out thereafter, although Sabina survived for many years.[109]

This governor may have been the Adventus to whom C. Julius Solinus dedicated his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, including the often quoted reference (22. 11) to the use of mineral coal in a temple of Minerva in Britain—one of the few original items in that work, such as Antistius Adventus might have

[105] *CIL* xiii. 8812 = *ILS* 3094, *Iovi O.M. summo exsuperantissimo, Soli invicto, Apollini, Lunae, Dianae, Fortunae, Marti, Victoriae, Paci, [Q.] Antistius Adventus leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) dat*; Eck, *Statthalter*, 180f., dates this post 'um 171/172? n. Chr.'

[106] Cf. 21. 10, the trapping of the Marcomanni at the Danube crossing, laden with booty on their return from invading Italy (AD 171), and 21. 12, Commodus summoned to the frontier and given the *toga virilis* (early 175): see Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*[2], 165, 187.

[107] Sabina's date of birth is assigned by Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*[2], 248, to *c.*170; but the previous view, that she was born *c.*166, as e.g. H.-G. Pflaum, *JS* (1961), 37ff., is convincingly supported by K. Fittschen, *Die Bildnistypen der Faustina minor und die Fecunditas Augustae* (1982), 31f. For her husband see next note.

[108] *PIR*[2] A 758, L. Antistius Burrus Adventus, *salius* and hence patrician in 178, *CIL* vi. 1979, 757, L. Antistius Burrus, *cos. ord.* 181: the two ought to be identical. Bertrandy, *Karthage*, 17 (1973/4), 197f., identifies the *cos. ord.* 181 with L. Antistius Mundicius Burrus, Adventus' brother (A 762), which is not convincing. A patrician *consul ordinarius* in 181 should have been born *c.*148, perfectly compatible with his being the son of Adventus and Novia Crispina.

[109] She was still alive in 211 (*CIL* viii. 5327 = *ILAlg.* i. 242; ii. 4661) and had married an equestrian of freedman origin, L. Aurelius Agaclytus, as her second husband (*CIL* xv. 7401–2): Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 800 (accepting a date of birth *c.*170, on which cf. n. 107 above), cf. 874.

passed on to the author as a result of his service in Britain. It is not known whether he held any further appointments.

32. *c.*174/5–177? (**Caerellius**) (*cos. a. inc.*)

CIL xiii. 6806, Mainz (*Moguntiacum*): *[. . . , leg(atus)* | *Aug(usti)* or *Augg. (Augustorum duorum)] pr(o) pr(aetore) pro[vi]n[c(iarum)]* | *Thrac(iae), Moes(iae) sup(erioris), Rae[t(iae)],* [4]| *Germ(aniae) sup(erioris), et Britt(anniae),* | *et Modestiana eius* | *et Caerellii Mar*|*cianus et Germa*|*nilla filii.*

To (deity or deities), Caerellius (?) . . . , propraetorian legate of the Emperor (or: of the two Emperors) of the provinces of Thrace, Upper Moesia, Raetia, Upper Germany, and Britain, and his (wife) Modestiana, and children the Caerellii, Marcianus and Germanilla, (set this up).

This altar at Mainz, capital of Upper Germany, was presumably set up by the governor, together with his wife and children, on the occasion of his promotion to Britain.[110] Although there is no emperor's name or obvious form of dating, and the governor's own name is missing, consideration of his other offices allows the period to be narrowed down. In the first place, Raetia was governed by equestrian procurators at least until 167 or 168, when the latest is recorded. Some time after that, at latest in the 170s, it was assigned to *legati Augusti pro praetore*. Secondly, the governorship of Britain must come before the Severan division of the province, since both *Germ(ania)* and *Moes(ia)* are labelled *sup(erior)*, but *Britt(annia)* is not. The order of appointments is at first sight puzzling. If it is chronological, the status of one or more of the provinces concerned must have been temporarily altered. Thrace was regularly governed by ex-praetors, and this presents no difficulties, as the first province that the man governed. Moesia Superior, on the other hand, as a two-legion province, was normally governed by ex-consuls; from the early 180s, at any rate, Raetia was a one-legion province, regularly governed by ex-praetors, hence seems out of place between two consular provinces. The solution was found by Dietz: that this man governed Raetia and Upper Germany jointly, at a time of crisis, *c.*172–5.[111] His governorship of Britain would then run from *c.*175 to 177—for in the latter year, at latest in the autumn, it may now be argued that Ulpius Marcellus (Gov. 33) had taken over in Britain.

As the governor's children were Caerellii, this was presumably his own *gentilicium*, so he could be identical with Caerellius Priscus, *praetor tutelaris* under M. Aurelius and L. Verus, that is, during one of the years 161–9.[112] The

[110] One of numerous 'inscriptions indicative of recent or impending movements' discussed by E. Birley, *Chiron*, 9 (1979), 495ff. = id., *Roman Army*, 130ff. , his no. 2 of twenty-five examples.

[111] K. Dietz, *Chiron*, 19 (1989), 407ff. , with full bibliography of previous interpetations.

[112] *Frag. Vat.* 244; *PIR*[2] C 160.

nomenclature of his wife and daughter evoke the province of Africa.[113] The son named on the Mainz inscription, Caerellius Marcianus, might be the same as 'Cerellius Macrinus', included by the *HA* in the long list of senators put to death by Severus in 197 (*HA Sev.* 13. 6).[114] Another Caerellius from this period, C. Caerellius Sabinus, legate of XIII Gemina in Dacia shortly after 185 and then legate of Raetia,[115] who could theoretically be a kinsman, was surely Italian. In Dacia he made a dedication, with his wife Fufidia Pollitta, to Juno Regina Populonia, *dea patria*, 'goddess of the home town', an Italian deity known at four Italian towns, one being Aquinum; their son was in the Oufentina tribe, found only in Italy, including at Aquinum. This was probably their home.[116] But these Caerellii perhaps had links with Africa as well.[117]

The chronology established by Dietz seems firm enough to infer that this governor's direct successor was Ulpius Marcellus.

33. 28 March 178, 184 Lucius(?) Ulpius Marcellus (*cos. c.*173?)

RMD iii. 184 (outer face only): *Imp(erator) Caesa(r) . . . M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus, pontifex maximus, tr[i]bunic(ia) potest(ate) XXXII, imp(erator) VIII, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) ⟨p(atriae) et⟩ Imp(erator) Caesar L(ucius) Aelius Aurelius Commodus Aug(ustus), Anton[i]ni Aug(usti) fil(ius), . . . , trib(unicia) potest(ate) III, imp(erator) III, co(n)s(ul), p(ater) p(atriae), equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis V, quae appellantur . . . et cohortibus XVI . . . et sunt in Br[ita]nnia sub Ulpio Marcello leg(ato), . . . civit[atem R]omanam . . . d[ede]run(t) . . . a(nte) d(iem) X Kal(endas) April{l}(es), Ser(vio) Scipione Orfito, D(ecimo) Velio Rufo co(n)s(ulibus), coh(ortis) VII Thrac(um), cui prae(e)st Ulpius Marcianus, ex equite Thiodo, Rolae fil(io), Daco . . .*

The Emperor Caesar . . . Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus, pontifex maximus, in his thirty-second tribunician power, acclaimed as Imperator eight times, consul three times, father of the fatherland, and the Emperor Caesar Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Augustus, son of Antoninus Augustus, in his third tribunician power, acclaimed as Imperator twice, consul (once), father of the fatherland, have given citizenship . . . to the cavalrymen and infantrymen, who served in the five *alae*, which are called . . . and (in) the sixteen cohorts, . . . , and are in Britain under the legate Ulpius Marcellus, on the tenth day before the Kalends of April, Servius Scipio Orfitus and Decimus Velius Rufus being the

[113] Germanilla is very rare: Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 201 noted that eight out of eleven epigraphical cases are in *CIL* viii. Modestiana is even rarer: Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 263, only six, two in *CIL* viii.

[114] Thus e.g. *PIR*² C 158. The same passage lists two more C(a)erellii, Faustinianus and Julianus; if brothers of Marcianus, perhaps older and not with their parents at Mainz, or younger and born later. But a good dozen names in the list are fictitious: see A. R. Birley, *HAC*, ns 2 (1994), 27ff., with further bibliography.

[115] Piso, *Fasti*, 235ff.

[116] *CIL* iii. 1075 = *ILS* 3086 = *IDR* iii. 5, 107, Apulum; *ILS* 1160, Rome, cf. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271, for Oufentina. E. Rawson, *Athenaeum*, 57 (1979), 462ff., in a full discussion, concluded that these Caerelli derived from Aquinum; approved by Piso, *Fasti*, 237.

[117] As shown by G. Alföldy, *BJ* 168 (1968), 136f.; but Fufidia Pollitta was Italian, in view of her family's links with Saepinum, *PIR*² F 501–6; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 388.

consuls, from the Seventh Cohort of Thracians, of which Ulpius Marcianus is the commander, to the ex-cavalryman Thiodus, son of Roles, a Dacian . . . (23 March 178).

RMD iv. 293, another diploma from the same *constitutio*, with a virtually identical text to that in *RMD* iii. 184 (except that the governor's name is abbreviated on the inner face as *Ulpi(o) Marc(e)ll(o)* and the province's name, complete on the outer face, is spelt *Brittania*), up till the details of the recipient:

. . . *cohort(is) II Gallorum veter(anae), cui praeest Domitius Hiero, ex equite Thiae, Timarchi f(ilio), Daco* . . .

. . . from the Second, Veteran Cohort of Gauls, of which Domitius Hiero is the commander, the ex-cavalryman Thia, son of Timarchus, a Dacian . . .

RMD iv. 294, another diploma from the same *constitutio*, with virtually identical text to that in *RMD* iii. 184 and iv. 293 (except that the governor's name is spelt *Ulpi(o) Marce(llo)* on the inner face, *Ulpio Marcel(l)o* on the outer and the province's name, complete here, is spelled *Britana* on the inner face, *Britannia* on the outer), other than the details of the recipient:

. . . *cohort(is) I Aug(ustae) Nerv(ianae), cui praeest Annius Victor, ex equite Sisceo Aptase fil(io), Daco* . . .

. . . from the First Augustan Nervian Cohort, of which Annius Victor is the commander, the ex-cavalryman Sisceus, son of Aptasa, a Dacian . . .

RIB 1329, Benwell (*Condercum*): *Deo Anocitico | iudiciis optimo | rum maximorum*[4] *| que impp. (imperatorum duorum) n(ostrorum), sub Ulp(io) | Marcello co(n)sulare, Tine | ius Longus, in p[r(a)e]fectura equitu[m]* [8] *| lato clavo exorna | tus et q(uaestor) d(esignatus).*

To the god Anociticus, Tineius Longus (set this up), having been adorned with the broad stripe (of senatorial rank) by the decrees of our (two) best and greatest Emperors and designated as quaestor during his prefecture of cavalry, under Ulpius Marcellus, consular (governor).

RIB 1463, Chesters (*Cilurnum*): *aqua adducta | alae II Astur(um) | sub Ulp(io) Marcello,* [4] *| leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

Water led in for the Second Ala of Asturians under Ulpius Marcellus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 1464, Chesters (*Cilurnum*): *[. . . ala* or *alae] II Ast[urum | sub] Ulpio [Marcello, | le]g(ato) | pr(o) [pr(aetore)].*

. . . the Second Ala of Asturians, under Ulpius Marcellus, propraetorian legate.

Dio-Xiphilinus 72. 8. 1–6: He [Commodus] also had some wars with the barbarians beyond Dacia, in which both Albinus and Niger, who later fought against the Emperor Severus, distinguished themselves; but the greatest war was the British one. 2. For when the peoples in that island, having crossed the Wall, which divides them from the Roman legions, and done a great deal of damage, and cut down a certain general together with the soldiers which he had, Commodus, being alarmed, sent Marcellus Ulpius against them. 3. Now this man was moderate and frugal; always living like a soldier when at war, both as regards his food and in all other respects, he was becoming haughty and arrogant; he was manifestly incorruptible, but not of a pleasant or benevolent character. 4. As one who had come to take less sleep than all the other generals, and wanting the others, on his staff, to stay awake, he used almost every evening to write on twelve writing-tablets, such as are made of lime-wood, and ordered someone to deliver them at different hours to certain people, in order that they, thinking that the general was always awake, might not sleep their fill themselves. For he was by nature able to resist sleep and had developed this more by the practice of fasting. 5. He never ate his fill in any case, and so as not to eat even loaves of bread to the full he used to have them sent from Rome. This was

not because he could not eat the local ones, but in order that they should be so stale that he was unable to eat even a small amount more than was absolutely necessary. For he had tender gums and used to bleed easily from eating dry bread. He made it his business, then, to exaggerate this by simulation, so as to have the greatest reputation for wakefulness. Such a man was Marcellus and he inflicted terrible damage on the barbarians in Britain; and after this he was almost at the point of being put to death by Commodus, on account of his special excellence, but was nevertheless pardoned.

At least three diplomas, all dated 28 March 178, two complete British inscriptions, one datable to the period 177–80, the other to a sole reign, clearly of Commodus, and another fragmentary one, record Ulpius Marcellus as governor. His successful campaign against the north Britons under Commodus was described by Dio, although most of the detail preserved by his epitomator is concerned with Marcellus' eccentric personal characteristics. External evidence allows the conclusion of the campaign to be dated precisely to the year 184, when Commodus took his seventh acclamation as *imperator* and the title *Britannicus maximus*. The date at which it started is less certain, but it was presumably either 182 or 183.[118]

Marcellus' nomenclature is indistinctive, but the imperial *gentilicium* suggests provincial or freedman extraction. At Rome one may note Ulpius Marcellus, grandson of a centurion in the *vigiles* who was first commissioned in Syria,[119] and M. Ulpius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Marcellus;[120] and, more promising in view of his senatorial rank, C. Ulpius Marcellus Polybianus, *c(larissimus) i(uvenis)*, whose second *cognomen* suggests Greek or freedman origin.[121] Attention may also be drawn to Ulpius Tatianus Marcellus of Pisidian Antioch[122] and to Ulpia Marcella, wife of P. Aelius Paullus, high priest of Asia, a native of Thyatira.[123] Finally, an Ulpius Marcellus, 'most distinguished consular', who honoured the imperial house on behalf of the people of Side in Pamphylia in 266, might be a descendant.[124] This all points to the Greek East. Four equestrian officers who certainly served under Marcellus are known. Annius Victor has names too common to guess at his origin. The names of Ulpius Marcianus, are suggestive—perhaps he was a kinsman of the governor. Domitius Hiero was already known as prefect of *coh. II Gallorum*, from an altar at Old Penrith (*Voreda*); and

[118] For *imp. VII* and *Britannicus maximus ILS* 393–5; *BMC* iv., pp. clviii, clxxiv, clxxx.

[119] *ILS* 2173.

[120] *AE* 1908. 230.

[121] *CIL* vi. 1542 = 31676, also mentioning his brother, C. Ulpius Aelianus Severus.

[122] *IGR* iii. 299; *JRS* 3 (1913), 287ff.

[123] *IGR* iv. 1225, cf. 1254. Note also two other women called Ulpia Marcella, one honoured at Lystra, W. M. Ramsay, *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* (1941), 185, no. 171, the other near Theveste in Africa, *CIL* viii. 27994; and Q. Ulpius Marcellus in Mauretania Sitifensis, viii. 20524.

[124] *AE* 1966. 48, Side: he does not seem to have been governor of the province, as pointed out by Thomasson, *LP* i. 284; perhaps Side was his home.

on this he gave his *origo*, Nicomedia.[125] Tineius Longus, prefect of cavalry at Benwell has a *gentilicium* that looks at first sight Italian, but he might have owed it to a Tineius who had governed an eastern province: an equestrian officer called Tineius is known from Nicomedia.[126] To summarize: it is suggested that Ulpius Marcellus was probably of eastern origin; this is certainly the case with one of the equestrian officers who served under him and it might apply to Marcianus and Tineius Longus as well. The name stamped on a tile at Aeclanum, near Beneventum in southern central Italy, may indicate property of the family there.[127]

On balance it seems improbable that he could be the jurist Marcellus, whose writings were frequently cited by later jurists, especially Ulpian, and 120 excerpts from which were used by the Justinianic codifiers. He is described by the *HA* (*Ant. Pius* 12. 1), the only source which calls him 'Ulpius Marcellus', as one of Antoninus Pius' legal advisers. His writings included annotated editions of works by his older contemporary Salvius Julianus (*cos. ord.* 148), a book of *Responsa*, 'consultative opinions', and thirty-one books of *Digesta*, from book 29 of which the Justinianic *Digest* (28. 4. 3 *pr.*) quotes his account of a 'recent hearing' held by M. Aurelius in 166, at which he was present and gave an opinion.[128] Dio depicts the governor of Britain as a stern and eccentric character, an insomniac with sensitive gums, as well as an effective general; but this need not mean that he was an old man,[129] which the jurist would have been if still alive in the 180s.[130] The governor of Britain is, on the other hand, readily identifiable with the L. Ulpius Marcellus who as legate of Lower Pannonia dedicated an altar at Sopianae, undated, but assignable to the 170s.[131] It has

[125] *RIB* 917, now lost: in the drawing by Horsley he had the *praenomen T(itus)* and the *cognomen* was read as *Heron*.

[126] *PME* T20 on *CIL* vi. 3499: Q. Tineius Q. f. Sab(atina) Her[mes?]. His tribe, Sabatina, is not found for any community outside Italy, and not for many there. It may be the tribe of the senatorial Tineii: see O. Salomies, *ZPE* 60 (1985), 199ff., who suggests that one of the senatorial QQ. Tineii arranged the grant of citizenship for this man's family; and he notes two further Tineii in Bithynia, at Prusias ad Hypium.

[127] *CIL* xi. 6803[170],.

[128] See T. Mayer-Maly, *RE Suppl.* 9 (1961), 570f., pointing out that while he evidently also wrote five books on the duties of a consul, *De officio consulis* (*Dig.* 14. 15. 1. 4), the attribution to him in *Dig.* 4. 4. 43 of a passage from a work on the duties of a governor, *De officio praesidis*, is probably mistaken; the work in question was by (Aemilius) Macer. Cf. on the jurist T. Honoré, *Gaius* (1962), 164ff., taking him to be from Asia Minor and of equestrian rank.

[129] The description of Marcellus in the Dio passage was interpreted by E. Ritterling, *Arch. Ert.* 41 (1927), 390, and E. Birley, *ANRW* 2/13 (1980), 618, as referring to an old man.

[130] W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen* (1952), 213ff., doubted the identity of the jurist and the governor.

[131] *CIL* iii. 3307 = 10285 = *ILS* 3795, a dedication to Virtus and Honos, with reliefs, on one side a winged victory, on the other a warrior, perhaps Mars, at his feet a German with the characteristic Suebian hair-knot; already interpreted as referring to the future governor of Britain by Dessau in *PIR*[1] V 557; likewise J. Fitz, *AAHung* 11 (1963), 273f., commenting that the reliefs fit the victory over the Marcomanni, won in 172 (Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*[2], 174), also arguing that he was a consular

been inferred that he was consul *c.*173, and since an Ulpius Marcellus, surely the ex-governor of Britain, was proconsul of Asia in 189 (see below), this dating seems plausible.[132] If the British governor is the same as the legate of Lower Pannonia, he would have had experience in dealing with barbarian invaders during the Marcomannic Wars. At all events, the governor of Britain could have been son of the jurist.

It was argued previously that there were *two* governors of Britain called Ulpius Marcellus. The first was taken to have been appointed by Commodus, because of the phraseology of Dio-Xiphilinus (72(73). 8. 2): 'Marcellus was sent against the Britons' by that emperor, interpreted as 'sent to Britain', after the death in battle of the 'general', assumed to be his predecessor. The Commodan governor Marcellus is clearly attested by the inscriptions from Chesters, one of which calls him legate of a single emperor, *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* The consular governor under whom Tineius Longus was made a senator and designated quaestor 'by the decrees of our (two) best and greatest Emperors', *iudiciis optimorum maximorumque impp.*, was interpreted as a later homonym, perhaps son of the Commodan governor; and the two emperors were identified as Caracalla and Geta.[133] The argument seemed to be reinforced by the passage in Dio-Xiphilinus: 'the barbarians . . . killed a general, *στρατηγόν τέ τινα*, with his soldiers'. Dio's most frequent word for governor is *ἄρχων*, but he also uses *ἡγεμών* and various phrases; and in a military context in his work *στρατηγός* generally means governor, as with Julius Agricola (Gov. 11, 66. 20. 3), Julius Severus (Gov. 21, 69. 13. 2), and indeed with Ulpius Marcellus himself a little later in this very passage (72. 8. 4).[134] Hence it was concluded that the unnamed *στρατηγός* was the governor, in office *c.*182 or 183, who was killed and replaced urgently by Ulpius Marcellus.[135] Others were content to understand *στρατηγός* as legionary legate[136]—even though elsewhere Dio uses the term *ὑποστράτηγος* for this officer (60. 20. 3, 62. 26. 6, and 72(73). 9. 2a, cf. below; cf. 78. 21. 2, 79. 7. 2).

governor; Fitz later changed his mind, *Alba Regia*, 19 (1978), 369ff., favouring the reign of Gallienus; but see Thomasson, *LP* i. 119f., who comments that the dedication to *Virtus* and *Honos* fits the Antonine period better.

[132] Thus Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 198, without knowledge of the proconsulship in 189, which adds support. He is there hesitant about the view of Fitz (previous note) that Lower Pannonia was temporarily of consular status at this time, as it may have been in 167, when the governor was Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (*CIL* xvi. 123), on whom see now *CIL* vi. 41120, with further bibliography.

[133] *FRB* 140ff., 164ff.

[134] Cf. also 71. 3. 1[1], 75. 6. 2.

[135] F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo* (1964), 450 n. 2: 'l'allusione al governatore della provincia sembra evidente', citing G. Vrind, *De Cassii Dionis vocabulis quae ad ius publicum pertinent* (1923), 52 n. 119, 143 n. 360.

[136] Thus Wright, *RIB* 1320; Frere, *Britannia*[3], 163; neither give reasons. M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 290f., argued that the unnamed governor fell in 180 and that Marcellus was sent to Britain to replace him in that year. This case now lapses.

The diplomas now show that Ulpius Marcellus was already governor under Marcus and Commodus, in March 178—and had probably been appointed the previous year. Hence there is no obstacle to his being the governor under two emperors of the Benwell altar. It cannot be excluded that he was appointed in 177 but had been replaced, perhaps soon after Commodus' accession as sole ruler in 180—and then sent back again after the disaster incurred by the unnamed 'general', who would then be his successor as well as his predecessor.[137] This would be almost unparalleled, but there is the case of Corbulo, legate of Cappadocia from 54/55 to 60, then moved to Syria, but in 63 sent back to Cappadocia, after the debâcle incurred by his successor there.[138] It is no doubt safer to concede that it was only a legionary legate that lost his life, presumably of VI Victrix, the legion nearest to the wall—which wall is not specified in the Dio passage, but it was no doubt that of Hadrian, since the Antonine Wall had evidently been out of commission for over twenty years (see under Gov. 27).

It would not be surprising if there were traces in the archaeology and epigraphy of the frontier zone of the fierce fighting implied by Dio's account and other evidence for a serious conflict, leading to Commodus' acclamation as *imperator VII* and assumption of the title Britannicus Maximus. Two Hadrian's Wall forts suffered some destruction in the later second century, perhaps during this invasion: Haltonchesters (*Hunnum*), close to the point where the Roman road, Dere Street, from York to Scotland, crosses the wall; and its neighbour to the east, Rudchester (*Vindobala*). There was also damage at about this time at the important military base at Corbridge (*Coria*), at the junction of Dere Street and the Stanegate, two miles south of the wall.[139] Three dedications commemorating successful Roman actions in the Hadrian's Wall area are worth mentioning, although not precisely dated. An altar was set up four miles north-west of Carlisle (*Luguvalium*), by L. Junius Victorinus Fl[avius] Caelianus, legate of a single emperor of the Sixth legion, 'on account of successful achievements beyond the Wall', *ob res trans vallum prospere gestas*. But this might be earlier (see LL 38). At or near Corbridge a prefect of cavalry, Quintus Calpurnius Concessinius, fulfilled his vow to a 'god

[137] See M. Roxan's lucid discussion of the question, *RMD* iii. 184, n. 15, not ruling out two separate terms as governor for Marcellus. M. Brassington, *Britannia*, 11 (1980), 314f., briefly urges two separate terms, as already suggested by D. Atkinson, *JRS* 12 (1922), 68.

[138] Clear from Tac. *Ann.* 13. 8. 1, 14. 26. 2, 15. 6ff., 15. 25ff. Cf. *PIR*² D 142, with other sources; add Syme, *RP* ii. 817ff., restoring the fragmentary *CIL* ix. 3426, Peltuinum, to show Corbulo governor of 'Cappadocia (and) Armenia twice, (and) of Syria', *[Cappado]ç̣iae Armeniae bis, Syriae*. Under Augustus, M. Vinicius (*cos.* 19 BC) was governor of Illyricum twice, so it was argued by Syme, *Danubian Papers* (1971), 34ff., in 10 BC and again *c.*1 BC; he maintained this view in *The Augustan Aristocracy* (1986), 290.

[139] D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson, *Britannia*, 3 (1972), 200ff.; Breeze and Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall*⁴, 134.

of most efficacious power', perhaps Jupiter Dolichenus, 'after the slaughter of a band of Corionototae'.[140] The latter name is otherwise unknown. It was read in Horsley's drawing of this lost stone, in the genitive, as *Corionototarum*. It has been plausibly suggested that the reading, slightly emended to *Cori[t]onototarum*, could represent *Cruithentúatha*. That is to say, *Coritonototae* was a Latin attempt, *Coritono*, at rendering the Gaelic name for the Picts, with the addition of *-tatae*, for *túath(a)* meaning people(s). The Picts are not, to be sure, attested as early as this.[141] The third stone, from an arch, of which only the left-hand portion survives, was intended to support a statue. It was set up at Carlisle to commemorate the slaughter or defeat of a band 'of barbarians', by P. Sextanius [. . .], clearly prefect of the regiment that won this victory, 'for the welfare' of the dedicator(?) and 'his fellow-soldiers'. The text begins with *dei Herc[ulis . . . in]/victi* in the genitive, followed by *con[. . .]/tibus*, which, however restored, might well recall Commodus' obsessive Hercules-cult.[142]

By the time of Marcellus' victory, perhaps in reaction to his harsh methods, there was a mutiny, recorded in a fragment of Dio (72(73). 9. 2a)[143]: 'The sol-

[140] *RIB* 1142, found reused in the crypt of Hexham Abbey in 1725, lost before 1860: *[ ] | LEG.A[. . .] | Q(uintus) Calpurnius* [4] *| Concessini|us, praef(ectus) eq(uitum), | caesa Cori|onototar|um manu, pr|aesentissimi | numinis dei v(otum) s(olvit)*. Wright conjectured, ad loc., that the missing top l. and l. 2 could be restored as *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Do]lich[eno]*, comparing *CIL* vi. 406 + 30758 = *ILS* 4316, Rome, for the similar description, *numini praestantiss(im)o*, applied to this god. For Dolichenus at Corbridge cf. *RIB* 1138. M. P. Speidel, *The Religion of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (1978), 72 ff., showed that the cult did not last beyond the mid-3rd-cent. Wright also cites Mommsen for the view that *dei* in l. 10 was a mason's mistake for *deo*.

[141] P. Rance, *Britannia*, 32 (2001), 249, citing H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (1949), 71 f., 139. A version of the name derived from a Gaelic or Q-Celtic original would, it must be admitted, be a little odd. For a different interpretation, from a P-Celtic original (**corio-no-tota* or **Koriono-tota*), Rivet and Smith, *Place-Names*, 322, cf. 317 ff.

[142] *RIB* 946 + *add*. Wright ad loc. reported the interpretation and restoration by M. I. Rostovtseff, *JRS* 13 (1923), 97, suggesting that Hercules here was identified with Commodus, but did not attempt any restoration of ll. 1–2; in ll. 4–6 he printed Richmond's restoration, *[caesa manu]/ barbaroru[m ab ala Augusta]/ ob virtu[tem appellata]*, approved by E. Birley, *ANRW* 2/18/1 (1986), 27 f. The *ala* had this title at nearby Old Carlisle (*Maglona*) (893 [AD 185], 894, 897), and had had it at least since Hadrian's reign, *AE* 1979. 388, Chesters; *caesa manu* recalls *RIB* 1142, both restorations approved by E. Birley, *ANRW* 2/18/1 (1986), 27 f., who declined to offer any others and did not accept a Commodan dating. See further J. C. N. Coulston and E. J. Phillips, *CSIR* i/6 (1988) no. 474, suggesting *dei Herc[ulis sancti] con[servatoris virtu]tibus*, comparing coins of Gordian III with *virtuti Herculis*; they remain cautious about a Commodan date. In *Britannia*, 30 (1999), 384 ff. ll. 1–3 are restored by R. Tomlin as *dei Herc[ulis Romani in]/victi con[ditoris virtu]/tibus* (etc.), suggesting the date 192. The prefect's origin, *[civi]/tat(e) Traia[nesium]*, is taken by Wright and others to refer to Xanten on the Lower Rhine. But that town was the *colonia Ulpia Traiana*; H.-G. Pflaum, *ap.* Devijver, *PME* S 47, proposed instead the Thracian city, *civitas Augusta Traiana*. The cult of Hercules was popular there, *RE* 6A/1 (1936), 519. If Sextanius made this dedication as prefect of the *ala Augusta* between 182 and 184, he had been replaced by 185, when the prefect was Septimenus (?) Rusticus (*RIB* 903, cf. 893 for the unit, AD 188). Commodus' Hercules obsession reached its peak later (see now O. Hekster, *Commodus. An Emperor at the Crossroads* (2002), *passim*). But the god already appears on a coin in the first half of 184, *BMC* iv, Commodus nos. 505, 525.

[143] From its position in the *excerpta*, the passage can be assigned to the period between 177 and 189–90.

diers in Britain chose Priscus, a legionary legate (ὑποστράτηγον) as emperor; but he declined, saying: "I am no more emperor than you are soldiers".' The dating is supplied by the *HA*: 'Commodus was called Britannicus by flatterers when the Britons even wanted to choose another emperor in opposition to him' (*Comm.* 8. 4). Priscus was clearly removed from his post (see LL 35), as were, apparently, the other legionary legates. Again, the *HA* supplies some information: 'but this same Perennis [the guard prefect], although so powerful, because he had dismissed senators and put men of equestrian status in command of the soldiers in the British war, when this was made known by representatives of the army (*per legatos exercitus*), was suddenly declared a public enemy and given to the soldiers to be lynched' (*Comm.* 6. 2). Perennis fell in 185, for 'when [Commodus] had killed Perennis he was called Felix' (*Comm.* 8. 1): Felix first appears in his titulature in that year.[144] As well as the legionary legate Priscus, a *iuridicus* can be identified who served under Marcellus, Antius Crescens, later acting-governor (Gov. 34). His appointment at a time when the governor was heavily occupied in the north fits the theory that the British *iuridicus* was not a regular official.

Yet another sign of the mutinous spirit of the army of Britain is Dio's account (72(73). 2^2–4, in Xiphilinus' epitome) of Perennis' fate: 'Those [sc. the soldiers][145] in Britain then, when they had been rebuked for their mutinous conduct (for they did not in fact quieten down until Pertinax quelled them) now chose out of their number one thousand five hundred javelin-men and sent them to Italy'; Commodus met them outside Rome, where they denounced Perennis, alleging that he was plotting to make his son emperor. Commodus, influenced by Cleander, handed Perennis over to them to be killed. Other sources have different versions of Perennis' fall; and it remains a mystery what 1,500 soldiers from the British army were doing outside Rome. One possibility is that they were part of a task force rounding up deserters, whose activities had reached alarming proportions in Gaul and Spain, and perhaps even had got as far as Rome. Their inclusion in such a force may have seemed a good way of dealing with them after the mutiny.[146]

[144] A. Stein, *RE* 6A/1 (1936), 955; Grosso, *Commodo*, 185ff., citing (193 n. 1) *IRT* 28, Sabratha, with the title Felix and *[cos. I]V. desig(nato) V.*; C. De Ranieri, *Athenaeum*, 86 (1998), 397ff.

[145] P. A. Brunt, *CQ* 23 (1973), 172ff., points out that ὑπάρχοντες in this passage, simply a synonym for ὄντες, has been mistranslated as 'lieutenants', i.e. legionary legates, e.g. in the Loeb edn. (vol. ix p. 89), influenced by the statement in *HA Comm.* 6. 2, quoted above, in which, however, *legatos exercitus* must mean the 1,500 'javelin-men' as 'representatives of the army'. See further LL 36–7.

[146] On the *bellum desertorum*, as it is called in the *HA* (*Comm.* 16. 2; cf. *Pesc. Nig.* 3. 3, probably fictitious), see e.g. G. Alföldy, *BJ* 171 (1971), 367ff., repr. in id., *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches* (1989), 69ff., with *add.*, 79ff.; M. Zimmermann, *Kaiser und Ereignis* (1998), 63ff., 85ff., who, 108, follows F. Kolb, *Historia*, 26 (1977), 267f. n. 101, in inferring that a son of Perennis was one of the equestrian legionary commanders; see LL 36, on *CIL* vi. 41127. On L. Artorius Castus, whose command of vexillations of the British army has been associated with this war, mistakenly as it turns out, see II below.

Dio does not make clear whether or not there was any appreciable interval between Marcellus' victory and his recall, but it is plausible to suppose that it was the fall of Perennis, not to mention the mutinies, which led to Marcellus' prosecution on his return. Of course, if he had really served uninterruptedly from 177 to 185, his governorship would have exceeded even that of Julius Agricola (Gov. 11), exactly a century earlier. The replacement of the legionary legates by equestrian commanders would have meant that for a time the only senatorial official in the province was the *iuridicus*, who was made acting-governor.

Marcellus' pardon was sufficiently complete for him to become proconsul of Asia, evidently in 189: he is actually described as 'my friend' by Commodus in a letter to the city of Aphrodisias.[147] Possible members of his family in later generations have been referred to above.[148]

34. 185? **Marcus Antius Crescens Calpurnianus** (*cos. a. inc.*), acting-governor

CIL vi. 1336 = *ILS* 1151, Rome: *M(arco) An[tio . . .] | Crescent[i] Calpurniano, [cos. ?,]* [4] *| proc[o](n)s(uli) prov(inciae) M[aced(oniae)], | XVvi[ro s(acris)] f(aciundis), iurid(ico) Brit(anniae) | vice leg(ati), leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) | prov(inciae) [. . . , cur(atori)] r(ei) p(ublicae)* [8] *| Marsorum Marruvior(um), pr[aet(ori) . . .].*

To Marcus Antius Crescens Calpurnianus, consul(?), proconsul of the province of Macedonia, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, *iuridicus* of Britain (and) acting-legate, propraetorian legate of the province of . . . , curator of the commonwealth of the Marsi and Marruvini.

The acting-governorship of this man is known only from this fragmentary inscription. An approximate chronology may be obtained, for he is also named on three other, dated, inscriptions. Two at Ostia show his presence there as *pontifex Volcani* in 194 and 203; the third, the *Acta* of the Saecular Games of 204, attests his participation as a *quindecimvir*.[149] His tenure of that priesthood is registered on his *cursus* inscription in what seems to be chronological order. This led to the conclusion that his service in Britain, mentioned next, must have come not long before 204. Early 203 was excluded, since he was at Ostia on 24 March in that year, and it was assumed that he was acting-governor *c.*200 on the death or sudden departure of Virius Lupus (Gov. 37).[150]

[147] J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982) no. 20; see also Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 221 f.

[148] See also Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 229 f. , cf. 233 f. (rejecting a second Ulpius Marcellus).

[149] *CIL* xiv. 325 (= *ILS* 4176), 324; *CIL* vi. 32326, l. 50; 32327, l. 10; 32332, l. 3.

[150] Cf. D. Atkinson, *JRS* 12 (1922), 60; Barbieri, *L'Albo*, no. 34. For doubts: A.J. Graham, *JRS* 56 (1966), 103; J. Morris, *ap.* Jarrett and Mann, *BJ* 170 (1970), 197 n. 2. Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 158 f., 163, prefers a Severan dating for the acting-governorship on the grounds that the *XVviri* are listed in the Saecular *Acta* in order of seniority. But the argument depends largely on the career of Crescens himself.

But nothing whatever is known about the end of Lupus' governorship, so this dating lacks any basis. Crescens was elected to the college after service in Britain and before the proconsulship of Macedonia. But it does not follow that he held these posts just before the games of 204. If he was praetor at the normal age, 29, his service in Britain probably came when he was in his mid-thirties (the *cura* of an Italian community and the legateship in a proconsular province would not occupy more than three years or so). Hence he probably became a *quindecimvir* at about 38. He could have remained an active member for at least another twenty years.

Acting-governorships were the product of special circumstances, in most cases (before the third century) the sudden death of the governor. Sometimes an imperial procurator assumed the role, but there are several cases where a legionary legate took over. One precedent in Britain is from the year 69, when the legionary legates governed the province jointly after the flight of the governor Trebellius Maximus (Gov. 7, cf. LL 8). Under Domitian a legionary legate called Ferox (LL 12) may have been acting-governor after the death of Sallustius Lucullus (Gov. 12). In 184 or soon after, when Ulpius Marcellus was recalled, there were no legionary legates, as they had been replaced by equestrians (see under Gov. 33). Hence it is plausible that Crescens was acting-governor for several months—as the only senator left in the province. He presumably remained in post, the army still being mutinous, until the arrival of Pertinax in 185.[151]

A *quindecimvir* died *c.*185, C. Aufidius Victorinus (*cos. II ord.* 183) (Dio 72. 11. 1).[152] Calpurnianus could have replaced him—as a reward for meritorious service in Britain. That might also explain his relatively rapid progress to the consulship, after only one further post, as proconsul of Macedonia. By contrast, Sabucius Major (*iurid.* 5), after being *iuridicus* of Britain not long before Crescens, went on to be prefect of the military treasury, governor of Belgica, and proconsul of Achaia, before becoming consul in 186.

It is unknown whether Crescens held further posts after his consulship. It would not be surprising if he preferred to devote himself to private or local concerns, for example at Ostia, presumably his home. The times were precarious, although there is no reason to believe that he was related to M. Antonius Antius Lupus, one of Commodus' many victims.[153] No certain relatives or descendants are on record, but M. Antius Grat[il]lianus, quaestor of Sicily in 213, could be his son.[154]

[151] Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 233, summarizes the arguments for dating this career but remains non-committal.

[152] Cf. Grosso, *Commodo*, 214; Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 83, 322.

[153] *HA Comm.* 7. 5; *CIL* vi. 1343 (cf. *add.* in vi. 8. 3, with full bibliography) = *ILS* 1127; *PIR*² A 812.

[154] *AE* 1908. 230, Rome.

35. 185–187 Publius Helvius Pertinax (*cos.* 175, *II ord.* 192)

Dio (Xiphilinus) 72(73). 9. 2[2]: Those [sc. the soldiers][155] in Britain then, when they had been rebuked for their mutinous conduct (for they did not in fact quieten down until Pertinax quelled them) now chose out of their number one thousand five hundred javelin-men and sent them to Italy.

73 (74). 4. 1: While he [sc. Pertinax] was still in Britain, after that great mutiny which he quelled, and was being thought worthy of praise from all, a horse called Pertinax won a race at Rome.

HA Pert. 3. 5–4. 1: *occiso sane Perenni Commodus Pertinaci satisfecit eumque petit per litteras, ut ad Brittanniam profisceretur.* 6. *profectusque milites ab omni seditione deterruit, cum illi quemcumque imperatorem vellent habere et ipsum specialiter Pertinacem . . . .* 8. *et seditiones quidem contra Commodum ipse conpescuit in Brittannia, verum ingens periculum adit seditione legionis paene occisus, certe inter occisos relictus.* 9. *quam quidem rem Pertinax acerrime vindicavit.* 10. *denique postea veniam legationis petit, dicens sibi ob defensam disciplinam infestas esse legiones.* 4. 1. *accepto successore alimentorum ei cura mandata est.*

3. 5: To be sure, when Perennis had been killed, Commodus made amends to Pertinax and asked him by letter to set out for Britain. 6. On his arrival, he deterred the soldiers from all their mutiny, although they wanted to make any man whatever [sc. *other than Commodus*] emperor and especially Pertinax himself . . . . 8. And he did indeed suppress the mutinies against Commodus in Britain, but came into huge danger, being almost killed in a mutiny of a legion—at any rate he was left among the dead. 9. This affair, of course, Pertinax punished very severely. 10. Finally, after this he sought to be excused from his legateship, saying that the legions were hostile to him because of his having upheld discipline. 4. 1. When he had been given a successor, the supervision of the *alimenta* was entrusted to him.

The career of Pertinax is one of the most remarkable in the principate. He is also exceptional, if not unique, among governors of Britain in being the subject of an ancient biography, a distinction owed to his brief reign as emperor. The *vita* in the *HA*, although not free from contamination, is one of the more factual in that work; the details of his career which it supplies have been authenticated by a number of inscriptions. These include one from Brühl, near Cologne in Lower Germany, recording most of his career before he entered the senate.[156] Further confirmation of some items, not least of his British governorship, is supplied by Dio.

He was born on 1 August 126 at his mother's villa at Alba Pompeia in Liguria, his father being a freedman named Helvius Successus (*HA Pert.* 1. 1–2; cf. Dio 73(74). 3. 1). Initially he became a schoolmaster, in the footsteps of his own teacher Sulpicius Apollinaris (*HA Pert.* 1. 4). Finding this insufficiently lucrative, he applied for a centurion's commission, using the good offices of his

[155] Cf. n. 145 above for the meaning of ὑπάρχοντες.

[156] *AE* 1963. 52. See on Pertinax's career esp. G. Alföldy, *Situla*, 14/15 (1974), 199ff., repr. in id., *Heeresgeschichte*, 326ff., with *add.*, 342ff.; Piso, *Fasti*, 117ff.; Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 213, 230; also H. Devijver, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 207ff., repr. in id., *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Army*, ii (1992), 11ff., on the equestrian *militiae*. For full reference to the literary sources *PIR*[2] H 73 is still valuable.

father's patron Lollianus Avitus (*cos. ord.* 144). This application was evidently unsuccessful (*HA Pert.* 1. 5) and he had to be content with the less permanent, if more honorific, status of equestrian officer, gained through another patron, Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (*cos. II ord.* 173) (Dio 73. 3. 1, *HA Pert.* 1. 6). He took command of the *cohors VII Gallorum equitata* in Syria, before the death of Antoninus Pius. After distinguishing himself in the Parthian war, which broke out soon afterwards, he was promoted to a tribunate in the British legion VI Victrix. This was followed by another post in the *militia secunda* in Britain and then the command of an *ala* 'in Moesia' (*Pert.* 2. 1–2). His posting to Britain may have been on the recommendation of Julius Verus (Gov. 27), governor of Syria *c.*163, while the transfer from Britain to the Danube may reflect the career of Calpurnius Agricola (30), who probably made this move himself *c.*166, and may have taken Pertinax with him.

Pertinax now began a procuratorial career, in charge of the *alimenta* along the *via Aemilia*, an important region *c.*168, when there were major concentrations of troops there for the German war. He then became prefect of the *classis Germanica* (*Pert.* 2. 2), and was soon promoted to a procuratorship in Dacia, before 170 (2. 4). He was dismissed as the result of an intrigue; but shortly afterwards was recalled, to assist Pompeianus—now son-in-law of M. Aurelius—in the task of clearing the German invaders out of Italy (2. 4, Dio 71(72). 3. 2). His conduct won him adlection to senatorial rank, followed by promotion to the rank of ex-praetor and the command of the First Legion (Adiutrix) (2. 5–6). In this post he achieved a remarkable victory in barbarian territory, *c.*172.[157] He probably then held a special command over an army corps, obtaining the consulship, held *in absentia*, in 175. He accompanied M. Aurelius to the East as *comes Augusti* in 175–6 and went on to govern Lower Moesia, Upper Moesia, and the III Daciae (attested there on 1 April 179).[158]

He was probably appointed to govern Syria after M. Aurelius' death, in 180,[159] returning to Rome *c.*182 to enter the senate-house for the first time after governing four consular provinces, as the *HA* records (3. 2). The guard prefect Perennis, then dominant, compelled Pertinax to retire to his father's estate in Liguria (3. 3). For three years he engaged in business there (3. 4), and it was only after Perennis' death in 185 that Commodus asked him to assume the

[157] Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicle*, under 173, p. 207 Helm, ascribes the command over Roman forces at the battle of the Rain Miracle to Pertinax, not M. Aurelius.

[158] Piso, *Fasti*, 124ff., with full citation of sources: *HA Pert.* 2. 10 briefly registers his service as *comes Augusti* (by implication) and governorship of both Moesias and Dacia; as well as the Dacian diploma of April 179, *RMD* ii. 123 = *AE* 1987. 843, Drobeta, he is recorded as legate of Lower Moesia by *AE* 1957. 333, Tropaeum Traiani, and of Dacia by *AE* 1973. 466 = *IDR* ii. 391, Romula and *ILS* 7139 = *IDR* iii. 5, 94, Apulum.

[159] See esp. Piso, *Fasti*, 128f., against Thomasson, *LP* i. 313, who assumed, as many others have done, and as is still maintained by Dąbrowa, *Syria*, 120, that his Syrian governorship began in 179.

governorship of Britain (3. 5, quoted above), where the army was still mutinous. Dio (Xiphilinus) twice records that Pertinax finally suppressed the mutiny. The *HA* adds details: apparently the troops still wanted another emperor, preferably Pertinax himself, but he managed to repress them with difficulty, and nearly lost his life in a riot at the hands of one legion. He then requested the emperor to send a replacement, since the legions resented his restoration of discipline.

On his return to Rome, probably in 187, perhaps sooner, he was was made prefect of the *alimenta* (*Pert.* 4. 1), followed by a year as proconsul of Africa, at latest 188–9 (4. 2).[160] Soon after this he reached the pinnacle of the senatorial career with the prefecture of Rome, in addition to which—as was customary for city prefects—he was given a second consulship, as *ordinarius* for the year 192, with Commodus as his colleague (*HA Pert.* 4. 2–3).[161] At latest during 192, a conspiracy was hatched by the guard prefect Q. Aemilius Laetus, in which Pertinax was probably involved. It led to the murder of Commodus and the proclamation of Pertinax as his successor on the last day of the year.[162] But his reign lasted only until 28 March 193, when he himself was murdered.[163]

His career had been truly astonishing. In this context it must be noted that his governorship of Britain was the product of very exceptional circumstances.

His wife was Flavia Titiana, daughter of T. Flavius Sulpicianus, appointed city prefect to succeed Pertinax himself, unsuccessful candidate for the throne against Didius Julianus, and probably the same man as the 'Claudius Sulpicianus' put to death by Severus.[164] Their son, also called P. Helvius Pertinax, and daughter both survived him; the son was murdered by Caracalla in 212.[165]

It is probable that an unknown governor was Pertinax's immediate successor.

36. 192–197 Decimus Clodius (Septimius) Albinus

(*cos. a. inc.*, *II ord.* 194)

Dio (Xiphilinus) 73(74). 14. 3: For three men at this time, each commanding three citizen legions and many auxiliary units as well, tried to seize power, Severus and Niger and Albinus. The latter was governor of Britain, Severus of Pannonia, and Niger of Syria.

[160] Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 213; Thomasson, *Fasti*, 73; Piso, *Fasti*, 130.

[161] Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 307.

[162] In spite of the impression given by Dio-Xiphilinus 72(73). 1. 1 and Herodian 2. 1. 3ff., that Pertinax knew nothing in advance, his involvement in the conspiracy is explicitly stated by *HA Pert.* 4. 3–4, and Julian, *Caes.* 312C, defended as accurate by A. R. Birley, *BJ* 169 (1969), 250ff.

[163] For details see Birley, *Severus*², 89ff.

[164] *PIR*² F 444, 373; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, 383.

[165] *PIR*² H 74, 81.

73(74). 15. 1–2: Now of the three generals that I have mentioned, Severus was the cleverest. He foresaw that after Julianus had been disposed of the three would clash and fight one another for the imperial power. He decided therefore to win over the one nearer to him. So he sent a letter to Albinus by one of those he trusted, making him Caesar. 2. For he had given up Niger, who was showing conceit because of being summoned by the people [of the city of Rome, cf. 13. 5]. Albinus, then, supposing he was to be a partner in Severus' rule, remained where he was; and Severus, having gained control of everything in Europe except Byzantium, began to march on Rome.

Herodian 2. 15. 1–5: While he [Severus] was making these excellent preparations for war, since he was a cautious and sober man, he was anxious about the army in Britain, which was large in numbers and very powerful with very warlike men. The commander of this whole force was Albinus, by family from the patricians in the senate and brought up in wealth and luxury (inherited) from his ancestors. 2. Severus therefore wanted to win him over in advance by a trick, in case he might perhaps have incentives of such a kind—being confident because of his wealth and family background and the strength of his army and his reputation among the Romans—to make a bid for power and gain control of Rome, which was not far distant, while he himself was occupied in the East. 3. With a pretended honour therefore he enticed the man, who was in any case foolish and rather naive, and on this occasion trusted Severus, who made many promises on oath by letter. That is to say, he declared Albinus Caesar, anticipating what the latter was hoping for and desiring with a share in the power. 4. He sent him a very friendly letter, entreating him to devote himself to the welfare of the empire, since he [Severus], being an old man and afflicted by gout and with sons who were very young, needed a man of noble rank and one still in the prime of life. Albinus, trusting these things, accepted the rank gladly, being happy to receive what he was aiming for without having to fight or incur danger. 5. Severus also reported the same things to the senate, so as to induce him to trust this even more. He allowed coins to be struck for him and by the erection of statues and by other honours gave a guarantee of the favour which had been given. And when he had by cunning safely concluded matters with Albinus and there was no cause for alarm from Britain, and he had the whole Illyrian army with him, thinking that he had managed everything to the advantage of his own rule, he set off against Niger.

3. 5. 2–8 *describes how Severus, after defeating Niger, wanted to rid himself of Albinus, who was alleged to be behaving too much like an emperor, and to have been urged by senators, who preferred him to Severus because of his noble ancestry and good nature, to come to Rome while Severus was still in the East. Severus tried to have him murdered but Albinus arrested the assassins, discovered the plan by torture, and began making preparations for war.* (*HA Clod. Alb.* 8. 1–4 is clearly based on this passage.)

3. 6. 1–7: *Severus' speech to his army denouncing Albinus, includes the comment*

3. 6. 6: His army is small and island-bred and unable to withstand your strength.

3. 6. 8–10: *Albinus is declared a public enemy; an account is given of Severus' march (and mention of the siege of Byzantium).*

3. 7. 1: When it was reported to Albinus, while he was being inactive and living in luxury, that Severus was not waiting but was already approaching, it threw him into confusion. Crossing over from Britain he drew up his forces on the opposite shore of Gaul.

The remainder of 3. 7 describes the campaign and 3. 8. 1 reprisals against Albinus' supporters; in 3. 8. 2 Herodian claims that Severus then divided Britain into two provinces, on which see II below.

Aur. Vict. *De Caes.* 20. 8–9: *Pescennium Nigrum apud Cyzicenos, Clodium Albinum Lugduni victos coegit mori;* 9 . . . , *alter Pertinacis auctor occidendi, cum eo metu in Britannos, quam provinciam a Commodo meruerat, transmittere niteretur, in Gallia invaserat imperium.*

20. 8: He [Severus] compelled Pescennius Niger, defeated near Cyzicus, Clodius Albinus, defeated at Lugdunum, to die; 9 . . . . the latter, responsible for killing Pertinax, when he was attempting, through fear (of the consequences) of that, to cross over to the Britons, the province which he had gained from Commodus, had usurped the imperial position in Gaul.

HA Clod. Alb. 13. 4: *cum Brittannicos exercitus regeret iussu Commodi atque illum interemptum adhuc falso comperisset, . . . processit ad milites et hac contione usus est . . .*

13. 4: When by order of Commodus he was commanding the British armies and had heard (at that stage mistakenly) that the latter had been killed, . . . he went to meet the soldiers and held the following address . . .

Like Pertinax, Albinus is the subject of a *vita* in the *HA*; in this case mostly fiction.[166] There is better evidence elsewhere, notably in Dio and Herodian, although some details in the latter's account are highly rhetorical. Albinus is described by Dio as being governor of Britain immediately after the murder of Pertinax, in late March 193, as one of the three rivals of Didius Julianus, along with Pescennius Niger in Syria and Septimius Severus in Pannonia. He makes clear that Severus won Albinus' support before setting off against Julianus. Herodian postpones the offer of the title Caesar until after Severus' capture of Rome. A passage in the *HA* clearly refers to this as well:

Sev. 6. 9–10: *eodem tempore etiam de Clodio Albino sibi substituendo cogitavit, cui Caesarianum decretum videbatur imperium.* 10. *sed eos ipsos pertimescens, de quibus recte iudicabat, Heraclitum ad optinendas Brittannias, Plautianum ad occupandos Nigri liberos misit.*

6. 9: At the same time he also considered making Clodius Albinus his deputy, to whom the *imperium* of a Caesar was seemingly decreed.[167] 10. But being very nervous about these men [Niger and Albinus], about whom his opinion was correct, he sent Heraclitus to secure the Britains and Plautianus to seize Niger's children (cf. *Pesc. Nig.* 5. 2: garbled).

The *HA*, like Herodian, puts this move too late: Severus' proclamation at Carnuntum and his march through Italy as far as Interamna are described in detail at *Sev.* 5. 1–6. 8. The plural *Britannias* in this passage is clearly anachronistic; Plautianus is Severus' trusted ally, later guard prefect, C. Fulvius Plautianus; Heraclitus could well be the emissary who took Severus' letter from Carnuntum to Britain (cf. Proc. 10).

[166] As shown by J. Hasebroek, *Die Fälschung der Vita Nigri und Vita Albini in den S.H.A.* (1916). See also *PIR*² C 1186 and further items below.

[167] The text in the P MSS has *cui caesarianum decr&tum aut commodianum videbatur imperium. sed eos pertimescens*, etc.; in *Σ cesareanum decretum* is followed by a lacuna until *de quibus recte*. The translation above omits *aut commodianum* as a gloss, following Lenze (see apparatus in Hohl's ed., with other emendations). Of course, in *Clod. Alb.* 2. 1–3. 3, 6. 4–5, 13. 4–10 the fantasy that Albinus had been offered the rank of Caesar by Commodus is elaborated.

The *HA* specifically states in the biography of Pertinax (*Pert.* 12. 8) that he did not replace any of those 'whom Commodus had placed in charge of affairs', so it may be taken that Albinus was already in Britain in 192. This confirms the garbled remarks in Victor, as well as in the *vita Albini*, that he was appointed by Commodus. He was probably not the direct successor of Pertinax, whose tenure terminated abruptly, at his own request, hardly later than 187. Otherwise, Albinus would have been in Britain for over five years by the time of Commodus' death: not impossible, but it is *a priori* likelier that he was appointed in one of the years 190–2.

His origin is clearly stated in the *vita*: 'from a noble family, although from Hadrumetum in Africa' (1. 3, repeated with variant wording 4. 1, cf. 11. 3). Doubt has been cast on this,[168] understandably enough, since the biography contains so much fiction. But it seems to be confirmed by coins struck for Albinus, portraying the deity Ba'al-Hammon, under the Roman name *Saeculum Frugiferum*.[169] Although Ba'al-Hammon was also worshipped elsewhere in Africa, Hadrumetum, as its title *colonia Ulpia Traiana Frugifera* shows, had special links with the deity; and a fifth-century BC relief there closely resembled the figure on Albinus' coins.[170] Thus in this instance the *vita* probably supplies an authentic fact, perhaps derived from Marius Maximus. As to his 'noble family', Dio comments that 'Albinus was superior in family and education, but his adversary [Severus] was better at warfare and a skilful general' (75[76]. 6. 2), and Herodian stresses Albinus' noble birth (and wealth) repeatedly—although the 'patrician' status attributed to him (2. 15. 1) need not be taken literally. In an elaborate prosopographical investigation, Chausson conjectures links for Albinus with several consular families of the period, even, remotely, with the Antonine dynasty.[171] (For speculation about his date of birth see below.)

Neither the chronology nor the details of the career which the *HA* ascribes to Albinus can be accepted as authentic, although it is probable that he was praetor (if not quite certain, given the large numbers who bypassed the praetorship under Commodus by adlection, *HA Pert.* 6. 10–11), but not at the date or stage in his career given by the *HA* (6. 7). The *HA* claims that he was 'then [sc. *after remaining loyal as commander of the "Bithynian armies" at the time of Avidius Cassius' rebellion, in 175, a completely fictitious statement*] transferred by Commodus to Gaul, in which, having put to flight the peoples from beyond the Rhine he made a famous name for himself among both Romans and barbarians' (*Clod. Alb.* 6. 3), an achievement already mentioned earlier, 'and indeed it is agreed

[168] T. D. Barnes, *HAC 1968/9* (1970), 51ff.
[169] *BMC* v. pp. lxxxix–xl and 134; Severus no. 539, etc.
[170] Title: *CIL* vi. 1687 = *ILS* 6111. Relief: P. Cintas, *Revue africaine*, 91 (1947), 1ff.
[171] F. Chausson, *MEFRA* 112 (2000), 843ff., esp. 860ff. and stemma 3 (p. 861).

that he pacified many peoples in Gaul' (5. 5). This suggests at first sight that he was governor of one of the Germanies before going to Britain. At least five predecessors as governors of Britain had previously governed Lower Germany (as did two of his successors), so it would be no surprise if he had done so as well. But this post is not independently attested,[172] and must be regarded as very unlikely. The biographer may have found in Marius Maximus a brief statement that Albinus had campaigned against the Germans beyond the Rhine. It is just possible that he had 'pacified many peoples in Gaul' as governor of Gallia Belgica, before the consulship,[173] as the *HA*, more plausibly, relates about Didius Julianus in that capacity (*Did. Iul.* 1. 7).

The biographer is quite ignorant of Dio's information (72(73). 8. 1, quoted under Gov. 33), that Albinus and Niger both won distinction under Commodus in 'wars against the barbarians beyond Dacia'. These wars should belong before that in Britain, to judge from the order in Dio, that is, *c.*182–3. It is generally supposed that Niger was consular governor of the Three Dacias and Albinus was a legionary legate.[174] However, Eck argues that both could have been governors, perhaps in succession—after all, Dio said 'wars' not 'war'—and, since Albinus is named first, his command may have preceded that of Niger. But there is hardly space for both in Dacia in the early 180s. Alternatively, they may have operated jointly, Albinus as governor of Upper or Lower Moesia, Niger as governor of Dacia.[175] There is, however, an obstacle to dating Niger's presumed governorship to *c.*183: a man called Pescennius Niger attended three meetings of the Arval Brethren at Rome in May 183 and may have been praetor that year. His *praenomen* is transmitted as P(ublius), not C. (Gaius), and he has generally been taken to be a brother of the famous Niger. But the letters C and P, almost identical in cursive, were easily confused; and, as Salomies points out, the development of Roman nomenclature in this period makes it impossible to believe that two brothers, *homines novi*,

[172] G. Alföldy, *BHAC 1966/7* (1968), 27, restores the governor's name on a fragmentary Commodan building inscription from Cologne, assigned to the period 184–92, *CIL* xiii. 8598, as *[D. Clo]dio [Albin]o*. But W. Eck, *BJ* 184 (1984), 97 ff.; shows that the correct reading is *[Di]dio [Iuli]ano*; cf. also id., *Statthalter*, 184 f., 244.

[173] Suggested by Grosso, *Commodo*, 432 ff.

[174] Thus Grosso, *Commodo*, 433; G. Alföldy, *BHAC 1966–67* (1968), 26; *FRB* 147; Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 141, 340 n. 192; Piso, *Fasti*, 267 ff., all conjecturing that Albinus was legate of V Macedonica. On Niger see Leunissen 350; and Piso 137 ff., who tentatively detects Niger's name, deleted, on an undated dedication to 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the other gods' at Apulum, *CIL* iii. 1066 = *IDR* iii. 5, 181. Niger as well as Albinus has been regarded as only a legionary legate by some, e.g. Grosso, *Commodo*, 514.

[175] W. Eck, *ZPE* 101 (1994), 230 ff. There is plenty of space in both Upper Moesia (Thomasson, *LP* i. 128: no governors at all known under Commodus) and Lower Moesia (ibid. 138, with slight revisions by K. Wachtel, *Acta centri historici. Terra antiqua Balcanica*, 2 (1987), 284 ff. (*non vidi*), cf. *AE* 1987. 858, Thomasson, *Op. Rom.* 20 (1995), 165: two or three known). In Dacia, on the other hand, apart from Niger, four other governors under Commodus are recorded epigraphically: Piso, *Fasti*, 131 ff., 141 ff.

were distinguished only by their *praenomen*.[176] In that case Niger's service in Dacia or Moesia must have been several years later—but Albinus may still be supposed to have served there *c*.183. However this may be, Albinus was in Britain at latest in 192.

The events after the assassination of Commodus need not be rehearsed in detail here.[177] A dubious story in the *HA* (1. 1, 14. 2,6), that Albinus instigated the murder of Pertinax, also found in Victor (above) and Eutropius (8. 18. 4), may derive from Severan propaganda, designed to discredit Albinus after he was declared a public enemy. It may have been given some plausibility by indirect family links between Albinus and Pertinax's successor Didius Julianus.[178] As shown above, Albinus was offered and accepted the title Caesar in April 193. The senate presumably gave formal approval in June. Coins were struck for him and he was a colleague of Severus as *cos. II ord.* for 194. Herodian (2. 15. 5) mentions the coinage, the *HA* the consulship (*Clod. Alb*. 6. 8), which may be among the vague 'other honours' in Herodian, as may also his second *nomen*, Septimius, which he surely assumed after becoming Severus' Caesar: compare Trajan, after adoption by Nerva 'M. Ulpius *Nerva* Traianus Caesar' or Antoninus, 'T. *Aelius* Aurelius Antoninus Caesar' after adoption by Hadrian. But Albinus was evidently not adopted by Severus. While Antoninus was only ten years younger than his adoptive father, Albinus was probably even closer in age to Severus, born on 11 April 145; his forty-eighth birthday fell two days after his proclamation—Herodian's version that Severus 'was an old man' who needed a partner 'in the prime of life' (2. 15. 4) is rhetorical exaggeration. Further confusion is imported by the *HA*, which cites Severus' autobiography for the claim that Albinus 'was at an advanced age when he attained the imperial power, being older than Pescennius Niger' (*Clod. Alb*. 7. 1). Certainly, if Albinus' successes against 'the barbarians beyond Dacia' were indeed won e.g. as governor of Upper or Lower Moesia rather than as a legionary legate, even if of 'noble' birth, and consul before he was forty, he could hardly have been born later than *c*.143, making him slightly older than Severus. If he was only a legionary legate *c*.183, his date of birth would probably be *c*.150.

At all events, if not adopted, as Caesar he probably did receive proconsular *imperium*.[179] Quite what this involved is not clear (perhaps oversight of the

[176] *CIL* vi. 2099 = Scheid, *CFA* 94 (17, 19 and 20 May 183), with the reading *pr(aetores)* in col. 3, l. 6; also 2101 = *CFA* 96 (3 May, year uncertain); see Salomies, *Vornamen*, 355 n. 42, citing several mistaken *praenomina*, including *P.* for *C.*, in the Arval records. Cf. also *PIR*² P 253–4.

[177] A. R. Birley, *BJ* 169 (1969), 266ff.; id., *Severus*², 89ff.

[178] A. R. Birley, *BJ* 169 (1969), 266. For an elaborate genealogical reconstruction, F. Chausson, *MEFRA* 112 (2000), 843ff.

[179] As argued convincingly, against previous views, by L. Schumacher, *Jahrb. RGZM Mainz* 50 (2003) 355ff. (ignoring *HA Sev*. 6. 9, on which see n. 167 above). On the non-adoption and the name Septimius see id. 361f.

western provinces): there is no good evidence for his activities between spring 193 and autumn 195, when the breach with Severus came, provoked by the honours given to Severus' son Caracalla. Albinus crossed into Gaul, with, no doubt, a large part of the British garrison, and was proclaimed emperor there. It may be that before Albinus left Britain he exacted from the northern peoples beyond Hadrian's Wall promises that they would keep the peace, 'the promises' that they did not keep, which Dio refers to in connection with Virius Lupus' first actions as new governor in 197 (74(75). 5. 4, see Gov. 37).

Albinus issued coins as Augustus, but did not claim the tribunician power or other items which could only be granted at Rome. He won some successes in 196, seizing Lugdunum, and defeating at least one of Severus' generals, Virius Lupus, probably governor of Lower Germany (Dio 74(75). 6. 2, see under Gov. 37). But he himself was defeated by Severus at the battle of Lugdunum on 19 February 197 and and killed straight after it. It should be stressed that the traditional translation of Dio's statement (75(76). 6. 1) about the numbers engaged in the battle, '150, 000 soldiers on *each* side', is mistaken, as shown by Graham: *συναμφοτέροις* means 'on the two sides', that is, 150,000 altogether.[180]

The name of Albinus' wife is unknown. She might have been an Asellia, since Dio (74(75). 6. 2) says that Asellius Aemilianus, proconsul of Asia in 192–3 and Niger's principal lieutenant, was related to Albinus. He is said to have had either one son or two sons, put to death at the same time as himself (*HA Sev.* 10. 1, cf. 11. 9, *Clod. Alb.* 7. 5, 9. 5). The *HA* (*Sev.* 11. 3), in a probably fictional passage, names another kinsman, 'Clodius Celsinus of Hadrumetum'.[181] A possible younger brother might be Q. Clodius Rufinus, who was put to death by Severus in the purge of Albinus' supporters (*HA Sev.* 13. 5, cf. 12. 1–7, 13. 1–9).[182] No descendants are known, although the fourth-century Ceionii Albini may have claimed him as an ancestor.[183]

[180] Birley, *Severus*², 98, 105 f., 117 f., 120 ff. On the numbers at Lugdunum see A. J. Graham, *Historia*, 27 (1978), 625 ff.

[181] R. Syme, *Ammianus and the HA* (1968), 155 f., and T. D. Barnes, *BHAC 1968/69* (1970), 51 f., regard the passage as fictional, influenced by the late 3rd- and 4th-cent. Clodii Celsini, on whom see *PLRE* i. 5–8. For a defence of authenticity, F. Chausson, *Cahiers Glotz*, 9 (1998), 177 ff.

[182] This man was legate of III Augusta, *de facto* governor of Numidia, in 191 or 192, *CIL* viii. 4211, Verecunda, and *magister* of the Arval Brethren on 7 Jan. 193, *CIL* vi. 2102 = Scheid, *CFA*, no. 97: *PIR*² C 1182. His names were deleted in the Verecunda inscription. Rufinus' nomenclature neatly matches that of Albinus: both had 'numerical' *praenomina* and *cognomina* relating to colour. He was clearly younger than Albinus. The suggestion was put forward by A. R. Birley, *Gnomon*, 62 (1990), 615. F. Chausson, *Cahiers Glotz*, 7 (1996), 324, is sceptical; but *Cahiers Glotz*, 9 (1998), 211 n. 111, doubts his alternative suggestion.

[183] *PLRE* i, Albinus 7–10, 14, 15. This would explain the *HA*'s repeated references to Albinus' supposed membership of the Ceionii family in *Clod. Alb.* 4. 1 ff, 6. 1, 10. 7, 12. 8, 13. 5; his father was alleged to be 'Ceionius Postum(i)us', 4. 3–7. Perhaps it is likelier that the author of the *HA* was 'amusing himself with mild parody of the pretensions advertised by the Roman aristocracy' in an age when 'gross genealogical fantasies' abounded: Syme, *Ammianus*, 163. But cf. now F. Chausson, *MEFRA* 112 (2000), 843 ff., with conjectural stemma, 861.

I.6

GOVERNORS UNDER SEVERUS AND CARACALLA, 197 TO C.213 (GOV. 37–41)

According to Herodian, immediately after the battle of Lugdunum, at which he defeated Clodius Albinus (see under Gov. 36), and before returning to Rome, Severus, 'set affairs in Britain in order and divided the governorship of the province into two commands' (3. 8. 2). The combined evidence of Dio and epigraphy makes clear that a little later in the third century Britannia Superior, with the legions II Augusta and XX Valeria Victrix, had a consular governor, and Inferior, with the remaining legion, VI Victrix, one of praetorian rank, who was simultaneously legate of the legion. Yet at least three consular governors, Virius Lupus, Valerius Pudens, and Alfenus Senecio (Gov. 37–9), are known to have operated in what was later the praetorian province of Britannia Inferior. Hence Herodian may have been mistaken about the date of the division. If not, it must be supposed that, in an initial division in 197, Britannia Inferior had a consular governor, presumably with XX Valeria Victrix as well as VI Victrix under his command, and that Superior was governed by a praetorian senator, who also commanded II Augusta. Then, under Caracalla, new arrangements must have been implemented, transferring XX Valeria Victrix to Superior and altering the status of the two provinces. The question is discussed in more detail below (II. 1), with the conclusion that Herodian was probably mistaken.

It has sometimes been assumed that immediately after Lugdunum Severus appointed as procurator of Britain Sextus Varius Marcellus, husband of his wife's niece. But it now seems clear that Marcellus was procurator a decade later, during the imperial expedition (see Proc. 12). There is every reason to believe that a purge of Albinus' followers took place in Britain, as in other provinces that had supported him (*HA Sev.* 12. 1–4).[1] A patron of the province, Gaius Julius Asper (*cos. a. inc.*, *II ord.* 212), may have been active in defending persons from Britain, as he evidently was for people from all three Spanish and both Mauretanian provinces. He is described on an inscription in his honour as 'an outstanding orator and most faithful defender of clients', which surely referred to trials in this connection.

[1] See also *CIL* iii. 7127 = *ILS* 1421, Ephesus, a procurator *ad bona co[ge]nda in Africa*; *CIL* vi. 1634 + *add.* = *ILS* 1423 and *CIL* xiv. 5344, procurators *ad bona damnatorum* or *bonor(um) [damnat(orum)*; discussed by Pflaum, *CP*, nos. 222, 239, 240.

CIL xiv. 2506 + 2516 = K. Dietz, *Chiron*, 27 (1997), 501f., near Tusculum: *C. (Gaio) Iulio Aspro, co(n)s(uli)* | *[p]raetori, curatori* | *viae Appiae, sodali* [4]| *Augustali, trib(uno) plebi(s),* | *quaestori provinc(iae)* | *Africae,* | *Corneliu[s . . .* | *amico, patrono]* [8]| *provinciarum V (quinque)* |, *Hispaniar(um) trium et* | *M[a]ure[t]aniar(um) duar(um),* [12]| *oratori praestantissimo,* | *defensori clientium* | *fidelissimo.*

To Gaius Julius Asper, consul, praetor, curator of the Via Appia, *sodalis Augustalis*, tribune of the plebs, quaestor of the province of Africa, Cornelius . . . to his friend, patron of five provinces, the three Spains and the two Mauretanias, outstanding orator and most faithful defender of clients.

Defence of clients is not mentioned on the base of the statue set up by the province of Britain,

CIL xiv. 2508: *[C. (Gaio)] Iulio Aspro,* | *co(n)s(uli)* | *praetori, curatori* [4]| *viae Appiae, soda[l(i) August[al(i), trib(uno) [pleb(is),* | *quaestor(i) provinc(iae) Africae, curat(ori)* | *aedium sacrarum,* | *provincia Britannia* | *patrono.*

Another inscription was set up to Asper as patron when he was consul designate by Mauretania Tingitana, *CIL* xiv. 2509 = *ILS* 1156; this also mentions his post as *curator aedium sacrarum*, probably a local office at Tusculum.[2]

Asper had already been consul for the first time when the province of Britain honoured him. Dietz argues that he held this office under Severus. If this is right, it is surely further evidence for Britain still being undivided under Severus: the dedicator was the singular *provincia Britannia*.[3] As a fragmentary inscription from Rome shows, after the division the plural would have been used: *[. . .]* | *devotissimae votorum [compotes]* | *provinciae Brittann[iae . . .]*.[4] The only difficulty with the Severan dating is that Asper was proconsul of Africa under Severus, evidently before 210, which might suggest that he must have been consul under Commodus, hence possibly patron of Britain before 197. However, as Dietz points out, as Asper was unusually favoured, his consulship could have been held as late as *c.*197, and his proconsulship from 209 to 210.[5]

[2] As noted by H.-G. Pflaum in *PIR*² J 334.

[3] In *FRB* 171f., 433f., it was argued that the inscription of C. Julius Asper, *CIL* xiv. 2508, Grottaferrata, near Tusculum, at a villa of the family, was evidence for Britain not yet being divided in 212. He was honoured by the province of Britain as its patron, and is described as having been consul. It was assumed that this was the younger Asper and that his consulship was that of 212, when he held office as *ordinarius* with his father, *cos. II.* But K. Dietz, *Chiron*, 27 (1997), 483ff., shows convincingly that the patron of Britain was the elder Asper, who was *cos. II ord.* in 212, having been *cos. suff.* probably under Severus (ibid. 515ff., 521f.). As patron of five other provinces (the three Spains and two Mauretanias), as well as of Britain, he surely, as Dietz argues, esp. 521f., defended those compromised by supporting Albinus, earning the title *orator praestantissimus, defensor clientium fidelissimus*, 'outstanding orator, most faithful defender of clients', *CIL* xiv. 2506 + 2516, during the purges after the battle of Lugdunum. Asper may also have been patron of Syria, or of a city or individual there, Dietz 490f., on an inscription from Heliopolis (Baalbek). Dietz discusses all the numerous inscriptions of the Julii Aspri and rectifies several items in their nomenclature.

[4] H. Solin, *Epigraphiche Untersuchungen . . .* (1975), 6ff., who restores the name of Gordian III as the emperor honoured by the British provinces; but as M. Beard, *Britannia*, 11 (1980), 313f., points out, this restoration is very doubtful.

[5] His proconsulship is attested by Tert. *Scap.* 4. 3, also by *ILA fr.* 355 + *ILTun.* 1047, Carthage, set

His high favour is further illustrated by the fact that his son had acquired patrician rank by 201[6] and that the two were colleagues in the ordinary consulship for 212, when the elder Asper also became city prefect. It is true that the younger Asper soon incurred Caracalla's disfavour and was banished to his home town (Dio 77. 5. 3); but he was later pardoned and even nominated proconsul of Asia for 217–18. He tried to refuse the post: Macrinus at first declined to accept this, but later dismissed him as he approached the province (Dio 78. 22. 2). He was allowed to return to Rome by Elagabalus (Dio 80. 4. 4).[7] Asper almost certainly came from Attaleia in Pamphylia.[8]

The immediate priority under Severus was clearly to deal with the aftermath of the civil war. No doubt many of Albinus' officers, at least the legionary legates, were purged, and a good many of lower rank were probably replaced. Losses incurred at the battle of Lugdunum in the British legions and *auxilia* must have been made good when the units were sent back to Britain. There had certainly been an attack by the Maeatae (Dio 75. 5. 4, quoted under Gov. 37). Whether much destruction had taken place is not clear; but rebuilding is attested at many forts in northern England under Severus. There was certainly warfare later in the reign, as passages in Dio (76. 10. 6) and Herodian (3. 14. 1, perhaps exaggerated) show. In due course Severus evidently decided that complete conquest of the island was required, and launched the expedition of 208–11. But since the Latin sources unanimously attribute to Severus the building of the wall that had in fact been erected by Hadrian, it looks as if the reconstruction had been thoroughgoing and that this was presented as having been his real policy and real achievement when Caracalla abandoned the conquests in Scotland (on the expedition see further below, between Gov. 40 and 41).

37. 197– **Virius Lupus** (*cos.* before 197)

RIB 637, Ilkley: *[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Sept]|im(ius) Severus [?P(ius) P(ertinax)?] | Aug(ustus) et Antoninus* [4]*| Caes(ar) ⟨imperator⟩ destinatus res|tituerunt, curante Vir|io Lupo leg(ato) eorum pro pr(aetore).*

[The Emperor Caesar Lucius Sept]imius Severus [?P(ius) P(ertinax)] Augustus and Antoninus

up under Severus and Caracalla, datable before 210, as they are not Britannicus and Geta is only Caesar. See Thomasson, *Fasti*, 80f., no. 107, who notes that another proconsul is already attested for 209, ibid. 82, no. 110. Dietz, *Chiron*, 27 (1997), 522 n. 179, answers this point by arguing that Asper was proconsul in 209–10, serving at a shorter than usual interval after his consulship because of his age and unusual career. Dietz's discussion was unfortunately not available to J. C. Mann, *ZPE* 119 (1997), 251ff. who assumed without argument that the elder Asper's first consulship probably fell under Commodus.

[6] Dietz, *Chiron*, 27 (1997), 502ff. on *CIL* vi. 1982–3.

[7] Discussed by Dietz, *Chiron*, 27 (1997), 483ff.

[8] Halfmann, *Senatoren*, 200, no. 154.

Caesar, (Emperor) designate, restored (this), Virius Lupus, their propraetorian legate, having charge (of the work).

RIB 730, Bowes: *D(e)ae Fortunae | Virius Lupus, | leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore),* [4]*| balineum, vi | ignis exust|um, coh(orti) I Thr|acum resti*[8]*|tuit, curan|te Val(erio) Fron|tone, praef(ecto) eq(uitum) alae Vetto(num).*

To the Goddess Fortuna, Virius Lupus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, restored the bath-house, burnt by the violence of fire, for the First Cohort of Thracians, Valerius Fronto, prefect of cavalry of the Ala Vettonum, having charge (of the work).

RIB 1163, Corbridge: *vexi[llatio] | leg(ionis) V[I Vic(tricis) p(iae) f(idelis)], | sub c[ura Viri]* [4]*| Lup[i, v(iri) c(larissimi) co(n)s(ularis)?].*

A detachment of the Sixth Legion, Victorious, Dutiful and Faithful, (built this), under the charge of Virius Lupus, senator of consular rank?.

Dio 75(76). 5. 4 (*Excerpta Ursiniana* 18): Because the Caledonians did not keep to their promises and had prepared to aid the Maeatae, and because Severus was then devoting himself to the Parthian[9] war, Lupus was compelled to buy peace from the Maeatae for a large sum, receiving some few captives.

Digest 28. 6. 2. 4: *Ulpianus libro sexto ad Sabinum. prius autem sibi quis debet heredem scribere, deinde filio substituere et non convertere ordinem scripturae: et hoc Iulianum putat prius sibi debere, deinde filio heredem scribere: ceterum si ante filio, deinde sibi testamentum faciat, non valere. quae sententia imperatoris nostri ad Virium Lupum Brittanniae praesidem comprobata est, et merito.*

28. 6. 2. 4: Ulpian, in the Sixth Book *On Sabinus*. However, a person must first appoint an heir for himself and then a substitute for his son and not upset the order of the document; and Julianus thinks that he ought first to appoint an heir for himself and then for his son; but if he makes a will for his son before he makes one for himself, it is not valid. This opinion was approved in a rescript of our emperor to Virius Lupus, governor of Britain, and deservedly.

While the Ilkley inscription, which should be from the year 197 as Caracalla is ⟨*imp.*⟩ *destinatus*, calls Lupus *leg(atus) eorum*, he is just *leg. Aug(usti)* on that at Bowes. This implies that the latter was set up even earlier that year, before Caracalla was 'emperor designate'. On the other hand, Lupus himself was responsible for the work at Ilkley, while that at Bowes was carried out by an equestrian officer, perhaps less *au fait* with Caracalla's exact status. If one can press the titulature, the Bowes inscription should be no later than spring 198, by which time news of Caracalla's elevation to joint emperor should have reached Britain.[10] But there is no doubt that Lupus was sent to Britain immediately after Albinus' defeat. His first appearance in the historical record comes shortly before that: he must be Lupus, the Severan general defeated by Albinus before the battle of Lugdunum (Dio 75. 6. 2). He was presumably then governor of Lower Germany, although this is not made explicit.[11] In that case,

[9] Accepting Hübner's emendation of *παροίκῳ* ('neighbouring') to *Παρθίκῳ*.

[10] For inscriptions of Caracalla as *imperator destinatus* or *designatus*, mostly of 197, see A. Mastino, *Le titulature di Caracalla e Geta* (1981), 84. *imp.* is restored in *CIL* vi. 1984 = *ILS* 5025 (197).

[11] Eck, *Statthalter*, 188f., is properly cautious.

he was consular in status when in Britain, and was operating in the area that later belonged to the praetorian province of Lower Britain. His titulature on the Corbridge inscription is not known for certain, but the editor noted that only *[v.c. cos.]* would fit the space available.[12]

The fragment of Dio recording Lupus' dealings with the two principal hostile peoples suggests that the Roman position in the north of the province was weak when he arrived. From the mention of prisoners it can be inferred that the Maeatae had already invaded the province, and as 'large sums of money' were needed to buy them off, there was a threat of renewed attack. The inscriptions at both Ilkley and Bowes record rebuilding, that at Corbridge building. There is no real indication of what had necessitated the work, for the reference to 'destruction by fire' at Bowes is unspecific, but it is perfectly possible that either Brigantians from the Pennines or invaders from Scotland had caused the damage.[13] The rescript in the *Digest* shows that Lupus also had to attend to the governor's non-military functions. This may suggest that no *iuridicus* had been appointed. It is also worth noting that he is called 'governor of Britain' by Ulpian, not of 'Lower Britain'.

Lupus is not heard of again, but there is no particular reason to suppose either that he died in office or soon after his governorship ended. In the absence of other information it is safest to assume that he was replaced after about three years, in 200.

Lupus' origin cannot be established with certainty, but the *gentilicium* Virius is particularly common in northern Italy.[14] His *praenomen* is nowhere attested, but was very probably the same as that of the *consules ordinarii* of 230 and 232, L. Virius Agricola and L. Virius Lupus Julianus, assumed to be his sons;[15] and more LL. Virii are known in northern Italy than elsewhere.[16] However, he evidently had family links with the Greek East, to judge from an inscription from Ephesus.[17] As well as his presumed sons, later Virii Lupi are attested, including the *cos. II ord.* of 278 and a *consularis Campaniae* of the 360s.[18] Lupus was one of several Severan generals to found noble houses which lasted well

[12] M. G. Jarrett and J. C. Mann, *BJ* 170 (1970), 196, claimed that only LV[ ] can be read in l. 4 of *RIB* 1163, hence that attribution to Lupus is uncertain. It is true that the stone is damaged just before the break, but W. P. Hedley, cited *ap. RIB*, read part of the P.

[13] For discussion of the events of 196–7 in Britain and elsewhere see A. R. Birley, *AA*[4] 50 (1972), 179ff.

[14] Over seventy examples in *CIL* v., compared with nine in ii, 16 in iii, 18 in viii, two in ix, 16 in x and xi, 13 in xii and one or two in xiv.

[15] Barbieri, *L'Albo*, nos. 1186–7. The latter is known to have been patrician: ibid., p. 487 no. 72.

[16] Eight in *CIL* v., four in x, no more than two elsewhere.

[17] *IEph.* 710B. Eck, *Statthalter*, 188, therefore regards origin in Asia Minor as possible. The complicated family network in the Ephesus inscription was discussed by F. Jacques, in A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico* (1986), 221ff. Cf. *PIR*[2] P, p. 269, for a stemma, with a third (unattested) son of Lupus as possible son-in-law of Cassius Dio.

[18] *PLRE* i, Lupus 5–7.

into the fourth century. The *cognomina* Agricola and Lupus Julianus hint that Lupus might have married a descendant of Julius Agricola; but other explanations are possible.[19]

For Pollienus Auspex, almost certainly governor of Britannia Superior under Severus Alexander see II below.

Probably at least one unknown governor must be postulated between Lupus and Valerius Pudens.

38. 205 Gaius Valerius Pudens (*cos.* probably in 193 or 194)

JRS 51 (1961), 192 = *AE* 1963. 281 = G. Alföldy, *Hommages M. Renard*, ii. (1969), 3ff. = *AE* 1969/70. 327, Bainbridge in Wensleydale (*Virosidum*): *Imp(eratori) Caesari Lucio Septimio | Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug(usto) et | imp(eratori) Caesari M(arco) Aurelio* [4] *| Antonino pio felici Aug(usto) et | [[P(ublio) Septimio Ge]]tae no|[[bilissimo Caes(ari), Augg. nn. (Augustis duobus nostris), Antonino II et* [8] *|[[Geta Caes(are)]] co(n)s(ulibus), centuriam, | sub cura C. (Gai) Valeri Pudentis | amplissimi co(n)sularis, coh(ors) | VI Nervior(um) fecit, cui prae(e)est* [12] *| L(ucius) Vinicius Pius, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) eiusd(em).*

For the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus and the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, our (two) Augusti, the Emperor Antoninus, for the second time, and Geta Caesar being the consuls (205), the Sixth Cohort of Nervians, of which Lucius Vinicius Pius, prefect of the same cohort, is commander, built the barrack, under the care of Gaius Valerius Pudens, the most honourable consular (governor).

?*RIB* 591+ *add.*, Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*): *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Septimio Severo] | Aug(usto) [et imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio Antonino] | Aug(usto)[et [[P(ublio) Septimio Getae nob(ilissimo)]* [4] *| Ca[es(ari)]], [. . . ?sub C. Vale]|rio [Pudente? leg(ato)] | Au[gg. (Augustorum duorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) . . . ?].*

For the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Augustus and the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and for Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, . . . (set this up) under ?Gaius Valerius Pudens, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors.

? = *RIB* 430 + *add.*, Caernarvon (*Segontium*): *[impp. (imperatores) Caess. (Caesares) L(ucius)] Sept(imius) Severus Pius Per|[tinax et M(arcus) A]urel(ius) Antoninus | [Pius, Augg. (Augusti)] et [[[P(ublius) Sep]t(imius) [Geta, no]b(ilissimus) C[aes(ar)]]* [4] *| rivos] aquaeductium vetus|[tate conla]bs(os) coh(ors) I Sunic(orum) restit(uit) | [?per C. (Gaium) Valerium Pudentem co(n)sul]are[m, | cur(ante) . . . | . . .] NL[. . .].*

The Emperors Caesars Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augusti, and Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, restored the channels of the aqueducts, collapsed through age, through the agency of ?Gaius Valerius Pudens?, consular?, under the charge of . . . , ?prefect of the cohort?

[19] For a 2nd-cent. bearer of the names Julius Agricola see Gov. 11 and n. 91 above. But note that Sex. Calpurnius Agricola (Gov. 30) may have had a kinsman called Sex. Calpurnius Julianus.

Pudens' career is known almost entirely from inscriptions in the four provinces which he governed. Four undated stones from Lower Pannonia describe him as *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* It is possible that he was already holding this post when Severus, governor of Upper Pannonia, was proclaimed emperor on 9 April 193.[20] He clearly gained the consulship early in the period 193–7 and went on to govern Lower Germany, where an inscription records his presence under Severus and Caracalla, before the latter's promotion to Augustus. He must have been the immediate successor there of Virius Lupus (Gov. 37), in 197.[21]

It may be supposed that he served in Lower Germany from 197 to *c.* 200, but, as the Bainbridge inscription shows that he was in Britain in 205, it is far from certain whether he proceeded there direct from the Rhine. He may have had a year or two out of office. But he was probably the predecessor rather than the successor of Alfenus Senecio. The closest available dating for the latter is the Risingham inscription (*RIB* 1234) which could belong to either 205, 206, or 207; but one of those from Bainbridge (*RIB* 722) could be restored with a consular date of 206 (see Gov. 39). It may be noted that the equestrian officer at Bainbridge, L. Vinicius Pius, served under both Pudens and Senecio, making it virtually certain that the two governors followed one another. 205 was not necessarily Pudens' last year in the province, but it is tempting to assign him to the years *c.*202–5, with Senecio succeeding him in 205–8. Pudens' name may also be restored conjecturally in an inscription at Ribchester (*RIB* 591),[22] and he might also be the governor in that at Caernarvon (430). There is no difficulty in dating this to the period 198–209, but the last two lines are so fragmentary that there is little prospect of recovering the governor's name.[23] Wright's reading of the traces in line 6 as ARE would permit the restoration *[co(n)sul]are[m]*, towards the end of the line. *Co(n)sularis* written out in full otherwise occurs only on Pudens' Bainbridge inscription; the abbreviated *cos.*

[20] *CIL* iii. 10396, 10399, 10438; *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, v. *Intercisa* (1991), 1180—but the inference that this text must be Commodan in date seems less than certain. Two diplomas of this province show another governor, Pomponius Bassus, still in office on 11 Aug. 192: B. Pferdehirt, *Arch. Korresp.-Bl.* 32 (2002), 247ff., and D. MacDonald and A. Pangerl, *Arch. Korresp.-Bl.* 33 (2003), 259ff., show another governor of Lower Pannonia, Pomponius Bassus, still in office on 11 Aug. 192 (for the year, 192 not 193, see MacDonald and Pangerl 264). Pudens probably succeeded him shortly after this. Of course, it is also possible that he was installed by Severus at the time of the proclamation. If so, he had probably been legate of one of the Upper Pannonian legions.

[21] *CIL* xiii. 8824 = *ILS* 9178; see Eck, *Statthalter*, 190.

[22] The restoration of his name in *RIB* 591, proposed in *FRB* 204, is preferred by Tomlin, *RIB add.*, to the alternative suggested by G. R. Stephens, *Britannia*, 18 (1987), 239, *[. . . vex(illatio) eq(uitum) Germaniae supe]rio[ris . . .]*, 'since "Germania Superior" is abbreviated in all six instances from Britain'.

[23] The complete text was first published by J. Foster, *Arch. Camb.* 4 (1853), 71 and fig., showing in l. 6 VIPF. See *RIB* for other conjectures. Foster read the first two letters of *aquaeductium* on a fragment subsequently lost, a point overlooked in *RIB*. The fragment with l. 7 was also lost after 1853 and is not drawn in *RIB*.

is found on several other third-century stones. This makes Pudens a little more likely as the governor here than Virius Lupus or Alfenus Senecio. The number of letters in each line ranges between twenty-two and twenty-eight in line 1. The restoration *[sub Valerio Pudente co(n)sul]are [per]* is thus feasible, perhaps with the *nomen* abbreviated *Valer.* The last line would have mentioned the unit-commander, with NL (or IVL?) being part of his name.

Pudens is last heard of as proconsul of Africa, in which capacity he refused to hear a case against a Christian, as Tertullian told one of his successors, Scapula, proconsul 212–13.[24] Since Scapula was *consul ordinarius* in 195, it is fair to assume that Pudens had been consul before him, in 193 or 194.[25] This would strengthen the inference that he had been governing Lower Pannonia in April 193, at the moment when his neighbour in Upper Pannonia, Severus, was proclaimed emperor. Support for Severus' coup no doubt explains Pudens' later career.

This governor's nomenclature is too indistinctive to provide clues to his origin. Valerius is one of the commonest *gentilicia*, and Pudens is also very widespread. The combination Valerius Pudens, and even C. Valerius Pudens, is found in several places, the bearers of the names being of differing social status.[26]

39. between 205 and 207; 206? Lucius Alfenus, Luci? filius, Quirina, Senecio (*cos.* before 200)

RIB 722 = G. Alföldy, *Hommages M. Renard*, ii (1969), 3ff. = *AE* 1969/70. 328, Bainbridge in Wensleydale (*Virosidum*): *Imp(eratori) Caesari L(ucio) Septimio [Severo] | Pio Pert[i]naci Augu[usto et] | imp(eratori) Caesari M(arco) Aurelio A[ntonino]* [4]*| Pio Feli[ci] Augusto et P(ublio) S[eptimio] | [[Getae nobiliss(imo) Caes(ari)]] vallum cum] | bracchio caementicium [fecit coh(ors)] | VI Nervio[ru]m, sub cura L(uci) A[lfeni]* [8]*| Senecion[is] amplissimi [co(n)s(ularis), institit] operi L(ucius) Vin[ici]us Pius, praef(ectus) [coh(ortis) eiusdem, ?Sen] | ecio[ne et Aemiliano co(n)s(ulibus)?].*[27]

[24] Tert. *Scap.* 4. 3. Scapula's proconsulship is datable by *Scap.* 3. 3, mentioning the almost total eclipse of the sun, which took place on 14 Aug. 212 (references in Thomasson, *Fasti*, 83).

[25] His proconsulship is also attested by *CIL* viii. 11999 = *ILS* 5441. Thomasson, *Fasti*, 82f., suggests 'one of the years 209–211 (or 212?)'. T. Flavius Decimus was proconsul in 209, ibid. Pudens was perhaps his predecessor.

[26] Valerii Pudentes are found in *CIL* ii, iii, v, vi, viii, ix, x, xiii, xvi as well as in *RIB* 258, 542; with the *praenomen* C.: *CIL* iii. 6166 = *ILS* 2474 (a Hadrianic veteran legionary at Troesmis; cf. *AE* 1912. 188, Oescus), xiii. 6850 (a soldier of II Adiutrix at Mainz, origin Savaria); *ILIug* 36 (a veteran of the Guard at Scupi).

[27] Suggested by A. R. Birley, *Northern History*, 20 (1984), 240. The consuls of 206 were M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus and Fulvius Gavius (Numisius) Petronius Aemilianus. The form used for this pair was generally *Albino et Aemiliano*, but in two cases the first consul's other *cognomina* are found, once *Primo* and once *Senec[ione]*, see *PIR*^{2} N 238. *Senecione* could have been chosen here by attraction from the *cognomen* of the governor and, conversely, to avoid using 'Albinus', nine years after Clodius Albinus' downfall. For other building records with consular date cf. e.g. the Bainbridge inscription of 205 (cited under Gov. 38), 1049 (216), 1465 (221), 1738 (225), cited in II below.

For the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix, the (two) Augusti, and for Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, the Sixth Cohort of Nervians built the rampart of uncoursed masonry, with annexe-wall, under the charge of Lucius Alfenus Senecio, the most honourable consular; Lucius Vinicius Pius, prefect of the same cohort, supervised the work, ?[Sen]ecio [and Aemilianus being the consuls]? (206?).

RIB 723 = G. Alföldy, *Hommages M. Renard*, ii (1969), 3ff. = *AE* 1969/70. 329. Bainbridge in Wensleydale: *[. . . , sub cura L(uci) Alfeni] Senecionis, | amplissimi [co(n)sularis, coh(ors) | VI Nervior(um) | fecit, cui prae(e)est | L(ucius)] Vinicius Pius [praef(ectus) coh(ortis) eiusd(em)].*

. . . under the charge of Lucius Alfenus Senecio, the most honourable consular, the Sixth Cohort of Nervians, commanded by Lucius Vinicius Pius, prefect of the same cohort, built this.

RIB 740, Bowes (*Lavatrae*): *Impp. Caess. (imperatoribus Caesaribus duobus), L(ucio) Septim(io) | Severo Pio Pertinaci | Arab(ico) Adiab(enico) Part(hico) Maxi(mo) [4] | et M(arco) Aur(elio) Anton(ino) Pio, Augg. (Augustis duobus), | [[et P(ublio) Sept(imio) Getae nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari)]], ius | su L(uci) Alfeni Senecionis leg(ati) Augg. (Augustorum duorum) pr(o) pr(aetore), coh(ors) I Thrac(um) eq(uitata).*

The First Cohort of Thracians, (part-)mounted, (built this) for the (two) Emperors Caesars, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, the (two) Augusti, and for Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, by command of Lucius Alfenus Senecio, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors.

RIB 746, Greta Bridge: *Impp. Caess. (imperatoribus Caesaribus duobus) L(ucio) Sep(timio) Severo | Pio Pert(inaci) et M(arco) Aur(elio) Antoni | no Pio Augg. (Augustis duobus) [[et P(ublio) Sept(imio) Getae[4] | nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari),]] sub cura L(uci) | Alfeni Senecionis | leg(ati) eorum pr(o) pr(aetore)*

For the (two) Emperors Caesars, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, the (two) Augusti, and for Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, under the charge of Lucius Alfenus Senecio, their propraetorian legate.

ILS 2618 = *RIB* 1234 + *add.*, Risingham (*Habitancum*): *[Impp. Caess. (imperatoribus Caesaribus duobus) L(ucio) | Sept(imio) Severo Pio Pertin | aci Arab(ico) Adi]ab(enico) Part(h)[i]co Maxi(mo), [4] | co(n)s(uli) III, et M(arco) Aurel(io) Antonino Pio, | co(n)s(uli) II, Augg. (Augustis duobus), [[et P(ublio) Sept(imio) Getae, nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari)]], | portam cum muris vetustate di | lapsis, iussu Alfeni Senecionis, v(iri) c(larissimi), [8] | co(n)s(ularis), curante Oclatinio Advento, proc(uratore) | Augg. nn. (Augustorum duorum nostrorum), coh(ors) I Vang⟨i⟩on(um) ∞ (milliaria) eq(uitata), | cum Aem[i]l(io) Salviano trib(uno) | suo, a solo restit(uit).*

For the (two) Emperors Caesars, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus, three times consul, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, twice consul, the (two) Augusti, and for Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, the First Cohort of Vangiones, one thousand strong, (part-)mounted, with its own tribune Aemilius Salvianus, restored from ground-level the gate, with its walls which had fallen in through age, at the command of Alfenus Senecio, senator, the consular, Oclatinius Adventus, procurator of our (two) Emperors, having charge (of the work).

RIB 1337 + *add.*, Benwell (*Condercum*): *Victoriae | [Au]gg. (Augustorum duorum), Alfe | no Senecio[4] | n[e] co(n)s(ulari), felix ala I Asto | [ru]m prą(etoria?).*

To the Victory of the (two) Emperors, Alfenus Senecio being the consular, the Fortunate First Ala of Asturians, (called) Praetorian(?), (set this up).

RIB 1462, Chesters (*Cilurnum*): *[Impp. Caess. (imperatoribus Caesaribus duobus), L(ucio)] Sept(imio) |*

[Severo Pio Pertin]ace [sic] | *[et M(arco) Aur(elio) Antonin]o Pio,* [4]| *[Augg. (Augustis duobus), [[et P(ublio) Sep(timio) Get]]]ae,* | *[nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari), ala II Asturum, cu]rante* [sic] | *Alf[eno Senecione co(n)]*|*s(ulari) et* | *Oc[latinio Adento p]roc(uratore),* [8]| *ins[tante . . .].*

For the (two) Emperors Caesars, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, the (two) Augusti, and for Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, the Second Ala of Asturians (built this), under the charge of Alfenus Senecio the consular and Oclatinius Adventus the procurator, . . . supervising.

RIB 1909, Birdoswald (*Banna*): *Impp. Caess. (imperatoribus Caesaribus duobus) L(ucio)* | *Sept(imio) Severo Pio* | *Pert(inaci) et M(arco) Aur(elio) A[nt]o*[4]|*nino Pio, Augg. (Augustis duobus) [[et P(ublio) Sept(imio)* | *Getae* | *nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari)]], hor*|*reum fecer(unt) coh(ortes) I Ael(ia)* | *Dac(orum) et I T(h)racum c(ivium) R(omanorum), sub* [8]| *Alfeno Senecione co(n)s(ulari), per Aurel(ium) Iulianum tr(ibunum).*

For the (two) Emperors Caesars, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, the (two) Augusti, and for Publius Septimius Geta, the most noble Caesar, the First Aelian Cohort of Dacians and the First Cohort of Thracians, Roman citizens, built the granary under Alfenus Senecio the consular, through Aurelius Julianus, tribune.

?*Britannia* 8 (1977) 432, no. 25, *Vindolanda*: *[. . . ?sub Alfeno S]eneci[one . . .]*

More British inscriptions name Senecio than any other governor, and three others, on which the governor's name is not preserved, might belong to him.[28] But his governorship is not attested outside the province and not much is known of his previous career. His origin in Numidia is certain. A homonymous equestrian procurator was honoured by the council at Cuicul in Numidia, presumably with a statue, 'because by his very prompt benevolence he recently assisted the utilities of his own most splendid *colonia* when he was governing Mauretania'—showing that he was a native of Cuicul, where he no doubt held the priesthood of Neptune (*sacerdos Neptunalis*) also recorded on the stone. The inscription further describes him as having become *proc(urator) Aug(usti) provinciae Belgicae* and gives his filiation and tribe, *M(arci) filio Quir(ina)*. Another dedication honouring him as procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis comes from the *municipium* of Auzia in that province. The career can be dated within the period between Nerva, under whom Cuicul became a *colonia*, and Severus, who promoted Auzia to that status.[29] Two inscriptions in Italy name him in more junior positions, as sub-prefect of the Misenum fleet and as sub-prefect of the *vigiles*.[30] It is generally supposed that the procurator was the father of the governor of Britain, and that he held these appointments in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. It is, however, possible that the procurator himself was given senatorial rank. If, for example, he was in Belgica in the year

[28] *RIB* 1151 + *add.*, Corbridge; *JRS* 57 (1967), 205 f. = *AE* 1967. 260, Housesteads; *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 305 f. = *AE* 1971. 213, Caerleon. In all three cases another governor's name is equally possible.

[29] *CIL* viii. 9046. See Pflaum, *CP*, no. 176, for details.

[30] *ILS* 8391, Misenum; *CIL* xiv. 4509, Ostia. Pflaum takes the first to be sexagenary, the second centenary.

193, his role as paymaster of the German armies would have been particularly vital, and could have been rewarded by adlection to the senate.

However this may be, a senatorial Alfenus Senecio, who must be identical with the governor of Britain, is named as propraetorian legate of two emperors on two Severan inscriptions from Syria Coele. The titulature of Severus and Caracalla is given inaccurately, but it has been shown convincingly that the date must be 200. Senecio is the only governor of that province known between 194 and 207, hence it is uncertain how long he was there. The next recorded legate, L. Marius Maximus (*cos. II ord.* 223), was a man of considerable seniority by the time he is attested there, in 208. At a period of reconstruction, when the emperor was himself in the area, it is fair to assume that Syria Coele was governed by an experienced ex-consul.[31] Senecio had probably already had considerable service, including military command in the civil wars, perhaps in the Parthian wars, and at least one previous governorship, before going to Syria Coele. His African origin no doubt furthered his career under the African emperor.

He almost certainly came to Britain as successor of Valerius Pudens, who was still there in 205. The Risingham stone gives Caracalla the title *cos. II*, hence belongs to 205, 206, or 207. None of Senecio's other inscriptions are dated more closely than to the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, unless, as suggested above, *RIB* 723 may be restored to give the consuls of 206. It is reasonable to suppose that he was in Britain from 205, or soon after, until 208. The Benwell inscription, dedicated to the 'Victory of the Emperors', might suggest either that Senecio was one of those mentioned by Dio (76(77). 10. 6), who were 'winning victories in Britain' shortly before Severus came to the island himself, or even that he remained as governor after the Emperor arrived. But the victory need not necessarily refer to Britain. The occasion could have been the tenth year since the victory over Parthia in 198.[32] One must be equally cautious with Herodian's story (3. 14. 1) that 'the governor of Britain' appealed for assistance to Severus following a barbarian invasion, thus prompting Severus' expedition of 208–11. Examination of Herodian's methods shows that this was a rhetorical *topos*, and there is no reason to believe either that there was an invasion *c.*207, or that the governor, whether Senecio or another man, appealed to Severus for help.[33] On the contrary, Dio's story suggests that the governor was dealing with the situation quite comfortably.

[31] Thomasson, *LP* i. 315, with references. Severus and family were in the East from 197 to 202, spending some time in Syria, and he and Caracalla entered their joint consulship of 202 at Antioch in January of that year: Birley, *Severus*[2], 129–40. Senecio would thus have had the opportunity to ingratiate himself with Severus.

[32] Cf. J. Fitz, *AArchH.* 11 (1959), 255, who interprets *CIL* iii. 4354 = 11082, Arrabona, *Victoriae Augg. nn. et leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis) p.f. Antoninia(nae)*, as a commemoration, in 207, of Severus' fifteenth year.

[33] See A. R. Birley, *AA*[4] 50 (1972), 186ff., for parallels in Herodian.

The impressive array of inscriptions reveals Senecio building an annexe to the fort at Bainbridge, carrying out unspecified work at Greta Bridge and Bowes a little further north, more work at Chesters on Hadrian's Wall, rebuilding a granary at another wall fort, Birdoswald, and reconstructing a gate and walls at one of the outpost forts beyond the wall, Risingham on Dere Street. It may be inferred that while Senecio was governor there was still no thought of moving north into Scotland again. An unusual feature of the inscriptions from Chesters and Risingham is that they also record the involvement of the procurator, Marcus Oclatinius Adventus. At Risingham Adventus took charge of the work, together with the tribune, Aemilius Salvianus, on the orders of Senecio; at Chesters Senecio and Adventus were both (ungrammatically) described as *[cu]rante*, while another man, presumably the garrison commander, was *ins[tante]*. It is difficult to explain Adventus' involvement, although other procurators are known to have been in the frontier area from time to time, and in other provinces procurators' names are found on building inscriptions. It may be that Adventus, whose background was rather unusual for a financial procurator—he had been an officer in the *frumentarii* after rising from the ranks—had been specially ordered by Severus to inspect the state of the northern frontier because the emperor was contemplating a personal intervention in Britain (cf. Proc. 11). Senecio might have been the unknown governor named on several other inscriptions (see *Inc.* f, g, j–m). The legate of II Augusta who made a dedication to *Victoria Aug.* at Corbridge, L. Julius Julianus (LL 41), probably served under Senecio.

Nothing more is heard of Senecio and no descendants are known; the other senatorial Alfeni of the third century belong to a different family, probably of Spanish origin.[34]

40. under Severus or Caracalla? C. Junius Faustinus Postumianus (*cos. a. inc.*)

CIL viii. 11763, Gelat es-Senam: *memoria | C. (Gaii) Iuni Faus[ti]ni Postumiani, co(n)s(ulis), praesidis provinciaru[m | His]pani[ae] et Britanniae, Iuni P[l]ac[id]us et Paulina filii* 4 *| indu[lg]entissimo pa[t]ri.*

In memory of Gaius Junius Faustinus Postumianus, consul, governor of the provinces of Spain and Britain, the Junii, Placidus and Paulina, his children, (set this up) to their most gracious father.

This man's governorship is known only from the above funerary inscription erected by his son and daughter, near Thugga in the northern part of proconsular Africa, where the family clearly had their home. The expresssions *memo-*

[34] *PIR*² A 519, cf. 518; 524; Barbieri, *L'Albo*, nos. 1799, 1800; Caballos, *Senadores*, nos. 10, 11.

ria and *praeses* both suggest a third-century date.[35] Another inscription found nearby gives the *cursus* of a virtual homonym, the only discrepant item in whose nomenclature seems to match the *cognomen* of our governor's son:[36]

CIL viii. 597, cf. 11754 and p. 2729, revised by Alföldy, *Fasti*, 50: *[C. (Gaio) I]unio Faustino [Pl]a|[ci]do Postumian[o], c(larissimo) v(iro), | [c]o(n)s(uli), adlecto inter co[m]it[4]|[t]es Augg. nn. (Augustorum duorum nostrorum), sacerdoti | [F]laviali Titiali, leg(ato) Augg. (Augustorum duorum) | pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Mysi|ae inferior[is, leg(ato) Augg. [8]| pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc[iae Be]l|gica[e, leg(ato) Augg. pr(o) pr(aetore) | provinciae Lusetani[ae, leg. Augg. leg]ion[i]s [12]| [pri]ma[e Ad]iụ[t|r]icis? [pi]ạ[e] fidẹḷịs, iu|[r]idico [p]er Aemili|am et Etruriam et Tus[16]|ciam, praetori [c]andi|[dato, leg(ato) pr]ovinciae | [Africae dio]ceseos | [K]ar[tha]g(iniensis)?, [tri]ḅuno pl[e]b(is), [20]| candida[to, qu]ae[s]tori | provinc[iae . . .]ae, d[ec]em|viro stḷitibus iụd[ic(andis), | pat]rono perpetuo, [24]| [. . .].*

To Gaius Junius Faustinus Placidus Postumianus, senator, consul, adlected among the *comites* of our (two) Emperors, priest of the deified Vespasian and Titus, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors of the province of Lower Moesia, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors of the province of Belgica, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors of the province of Lusitania, legate of the (two) Emperors of the First Legion Adiutrix Pia Fidelis, *iuridicus* for Aemilia and Etruria and Tuscia, praetor as candidate (of the Emperor/s), legate of the province of Africa for the dioecese of Carthage, tribune of the plebs as candidate (of the Emperor/s), quaestor of the province of . . . a, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, their perpetual patron, . . .

Most identify this man with the governor. It is assumed that he went to Spain and Britain after the last post registered on this *cursus* inscription, and that his children only recorded his consulship and two final appointments on his funerary monument. It has been objected that his first consular governorship could hardly have been omitted.[37] But since only a brief selection of offices are supplied, the case for identifying the two looks the stronger.

All but one of those who have discussed the *cursus* inscription assign it to the third century, most to the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, 198–209, the only period long enough to accommodate three governorships and a post as *comes*, all under two emperors. It is true that *Augg.* was sometimes applied abusively on inscriptions set up under a joint reign to posts held earlier under a single emperor; but such cases are exceptional.[38] Fitz objects that from the mid-190s until the early 220s, and again from 238 to 246, all governors of Moesia Inferior were named on the coins of Nicopolis and Marcianopolis. Further, he argues that if the early career were largely Severan, the consular governorship of Britain would have fallen after the division of the province, yet the province is not denoted Superior (but for the date of the division,

[35] R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (⁴1914), 282 n. 3; Barbieri, *L'Albo*, pp. 562ff.

[36] In *PIR*² J 752 this name in *CIL* viii. 597 is restored as [Fl]ac[c]us *vel* [Pl]ac[id]us, but see Alföldy, *Fasti*, 50 n. 225.

[37] *PIR*² J 752.

[38] Cf. L. Fabius Cilo (*PIR*² F 27), in *ILS* 1142 called *leg. Augg. pr. pr.* of both Pannonia Superior, which he governed under Severus and Caracalla, and of Galatia, which he governed under the single emperor Commodus.

surely later, see Introduction to II). Hence he urges a date under Marcus Aurelius. But this creates grave difficulties and must be rejected.[39]

If the two Augusti are Severus and Caracalla, Postumianus was probably born in the 160s and entered the senate as quaestor under Commodus after preliminary service as *decemvir*—but apparently not as *tribunus laticlavius*. Both as tribune of the plebs and as praetor he was *candidatus* of the emperor, with a year as legate to a proconsul of Africa in between. His praetorship should have fallen *c.*192, followed by the Italian juridicate and command over I Adiutrix in Upper Pannonia. Then came two praetorian governorships, leading to the consulship *c.*204. His governorship of Moesia Inferior can be accommodated in the period 205–8, perhaps for a short term only: this would explain the absence of his name from the local coinage there.[40] It was followed by service as *comes*, presumably in the British expedition of 208–11. The *cursus* inscription should have been erected immediately after this appointment began, strictly not after late 209, when *Augg.* would have been required.[41] The two final governorships have been generally supposed to have come in the order given on the inscription, but he may have gone to Spain after Britain, as Alföldy argues.[42] He might have governed Britain during the imperial expedition, as successor of Alfenus Senecio, going on to govern Hispania Tarraconensis *c.*211–14. Otherwise one must assign his British governorship to the reign of Caracalla. Assuming that Britain was first divided *c.*213 (or that the division reached its final form then, see Introduction to II), he might have been sent back as first consular governor of Upper Britain. But it is not excluded that he could have been the last consular governor of undivided Britain, as successor of C. Julius Marcus (Gov. 41), *c.*214–15.

It must be conceded that this reconstruction rests on slightly fragile foundations. The two Augusti in the formula *adlecto inter comites Augg. nn.* might even be Valerian and Gallienus, and the various posts as *leg. Augg. pr. pr.* could have been held under those emperors and their predecessors in the 240s and 250s. In that case, Postumianus could have been consular governor of Upper Britain and of Tarraconensis in the mid- to late 250s.

Apart from his children, various possible kinsfolk and descendants can be

[39] J. Fitz, *Die Laufbahn der Statthalter in der römischen Provinz Moesia Inferior* (1966), 25ff.; id., *Alba Regia*, 10 (1969), 180. Against Fitz's dating: Alföldy, *Fasti*, 50ff. See also next note.

[40] Stein, *Moesien*, 94f., notes that at least one other governor of Moesia Inferior in the first relevant period, L. Annius Italicus Honoratus, is also absent from the coinage, and suggests that this was because his tenure was brief. For more up-to-date lists cf. Thomasson, *LP* i. 138ff.

[41] *RMD* iii. 191 shows that Geta was already Augustus and holding his second term of tribunician power on 7 Jan. 210. Hence *IG* ii/2. 1077, Athens, mentioning a festival to celebrate his elevation, must after all be dated to Dec. 209, not 210 as in Birley, *Severus*[2], 186f., 218 (relying on a paper by G. di Vita-Evrard).

[42] See Alföldy, *Fasti*, 50ff., with full reference to earlier discussions.

identified, the latest of whom is Junius Postumianus, holder of two priesthoods in the late third or fourth centuries.[43]

The Severan Expedition, 208–211

There are two detailed accounts in what survives of Dio and in Herodian, and some brief remarks in the later chroniclers.

Dio 76(77). 10. 6: When therefore Severus learned about each of these things [the activities of the brigand-chief Bulla Felix], he was angry that, while winning wars in Britain through others, he himself was being worsted by a brigand in Italy.

76(77). 11. 1–2: But Severus, seeing that his sons were changing their habits and that the legions were being weakened by idleness, made a campaign against Britain, albeit knowing that he would not return., He knew this in particular from the stars under which he had been born . . . and from what he heard from seers. 2. For a thunderbolt, having struck a statue of his at the gates through which he was intending to march out, and which looked out towards the road leading there, erased three letters from his name. For this reason, as the seers explained, he did not return, but died in the third year. And he took with him very great sums of money.

76(77). 12. 1–5: There are two very large peoples of the Britons, Caledonii and Maeatae, and the names of the others have so to speak been merged into them. The Maeatae live next to the cross-wall which divides the island in two, and the Caledonians beyond them.[44] Both inhabit wild and waterless mountains and desolate and marshy plains; they have neither walls nor cities nor tilled fields, but live on their flocks and by hunting and on certain fruits. 2. For they do not eat the fish, of which there are vast and inexhaustible quantities. They live in tents, naked and without shoes, possess their women in common, and rear all offspring in common. They have a democratic system for the most part and are very fond of plundering. For this reason they choose their boldest men as rulers. 3. They go into battle on chariots and have small and swift horses; they also have infantry, very fast runners and very firm at standing their ground. Their arms are only a shield—instead of helmet, breastplate, and greaves—and a short spear, which has a bronze apple on the top of the shaft, so that when it is shaken it clashes and terrifies the enemy; they have daggers as well. 4. They can endure hunger and cold and every hardship. For they plunge into the marshes and exist there for many days, only keeping their heads above the water, and in the forests they support themselves on bark and roots; and for all contingencies they prepare a kind of food, and when they eat a bean-sized piece of this it prevents them feeling either hunger or thirst. 5. Such is the island of Britain and such are the inhabitants it has, at least the hostile part of it. For it is an island and this was clearly proved at this time, as I have stated [39. 50. 4, 66. 20, quoted under Gov. 11 above]. Its length is 7,132 stades, its greatest breadth 2,310, its least 300. And of this we possess not much less than half.

76(77). 13. 1–4: Severus, then, wishing to subjugate the whole of it [the island], invaded Caledonia. But in the course of his advance he experienced inexpressible difficulties, cutting

[43] Possible kin: J[un]i[us F]austinus, *puer senatorius* at the Saecular games of 204 (*PIR*² J 750); [Ju]nia Faustinilla, *c(larissima) f(emina)*, Barbieri, *L'Albo*, no. 2176); Q. Junius Caturicus Faustinus (*PIR*² J 743). Descendant: Junius Postumianus, senator, *XVvir s.f.* and *pontifex* of Sol Invictus (hence not earlier than Aurelian), *PLRE* i, Postumianus 4.

[44] This must refer to the Antonine Wall, although it seems clear that it had ceased to be occupied from *c.*158 (see under Gov. 27 above).

down the forests, levelling the heights, filling up the marshes, and bridging the rivers. 2. But he neither fought any battle nor saw any enemy in battle array. For they deliberately put out sheep and cattle for the soldiers to seize, so as to lure them further forward and wear them out. Indeed they also suffered dreadfully from the water and stragglers were being ambushed. Then those who could not walk were killed by their own men so that they would not be taken prisoner, hence a full 50,000 died. 3. But Severus did not desist until he had approached the end of the island. Here he observed especially, with great accuracy, the sun's varying motion and the length of the days and the nights, both in summer and in winter. 4. And having been thus conveyed through almost the whole of enemy territory—for he actually was conveyed, in a covered litter, for most of the way, because of his weakness—he returned to the friendly part, having compelled the Britons to come to terms, namely to cede no small part of their land.

76(77). 14. 1–7: But Antoninus was frightening him and causing him endless anxiety, because he was living a riotous life, because he was clearly going to murder his brother if he could, and finally because he was plotting against himself as well. For once he suddenly dashed out of his tent, shouting and screaming that he was being wronged by Castor. 2. This man was the best of Severus' *Caesariani*, and under him held the offices both of *a memoria* and chamberlain. Thereupon some soldiers, who had been primed in advance, joined in and also shouted out. But they were quickly checked when Severus himself appeared before them, and punished the more unruly ones. 3. On another occasion, when both were riding forward towards the Caledonians to receive their weapons and to discuss the terms of surrender, Antoninus tried to kill his father with his own hand. They were moving on horseback, and Severus himself was riding too, although he was weakened by infirmity in his feet, and the rest of the army was following, and the enemy army was watching as well. 4. At this point, silence and good order prevailing, Antoninus reined in his horse and drew his sword, as if he were going to stab his father in the back. But the others who were riding with them saw this and shouted out, and so Antoninus, in alarm, did not yet do anything. And Severus turned around at their shouting and saw the sword, yet did not say anything, but mounted the tribunal, finished what had to be done and returned to headquarters. 5. And having summoned his son and Papinian and Castor, he ordered a sword to be placed in the midst of them, and denounced him both for having dared such a thing and especially for intending to do such a wicked deed when all the allies and the enemy were watching. Finally, he said: 'But if you really want to kill me, make away me with here. 6. For you are strong but I am an old man and lie sick. For if you do not shrink from this but hesitate to do it with your own hand, Papinian the prefect is standing beside you, and you can order him to destroy me—for he will, I suppose, do everything that you order, for you too are emperor.' 7. He spoke in these terms, but nevertheless did him no harm, although he had often blamed Marcus for not removing Commodus and had himself often threatened to do this to his son. But he always used to say those things when he was angry, and on this occasion he became one who loved his offspring rather than one who loved his country. Yet he thereby betrayed his other son, well knowing what would happen.

76(77). 15. 1–4: But when those in the island revolted again, he summoned the soldiers and ordered them to invade their country again and to kill everyone they met, quoting this:

> Let no one escape sheer destruction
> And our hands, not even the child that the mother
> Bears in her womb, if a male, let him not escape sheer destruction.
> [Homer, *Il.* 6. 57–9, slightly adapted at the end of l. 59]

2. When this happened, and the Caledonians were revolting as well as the Maeatae, he began preparing to wage war against them himself, but while he was engaged in this, on the fourth of

February his disease carried him off—with some assistance from Antoninus as well, it is said. 3. At any rate, before he died he is said to have spoken these words to his sons (I will tell his very words, not embellishing them at all): 'Be of one mind, enrich the soldiers, and despise all the rest.' After this his body, in military dress, was placed on a pyre and was shown honour by the soldiers and his sons, running around it, and as for the soldiers' gifts, those who had something at hand to offer threw them onto it and his sons applied the fire. 4. And after this his bones were put in an urn of purple stone and carried to Rome and placed in the tomb of the Antonines. Severus is said to have sent for the urn shortly before his death and after touching it to have remarked: 'You will hold a man that the world did not hold.'

76(77). 16. 5–17. 1: In this connection [*a reference to numerous prosecutions for adultery at Rome*], the wife of one Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, is said to have remarked, very wittily, to Julia Augusta, who was jesting with her, after the treaty, about their unrestrained sexual intercourse with men: 'We fulfil nature's demands much better than you Romans—for we have intercourse openly with the best men, whereas you are debauched in secret by the worst ones.' 17. 1. That is what the British woman said . . .

Herodian 3. 14. 1–10: While he was upset by his sons' way of life and their inappropriate enthusiasm for the shows, the governor of Britain wrote to him, saying that the barbarians there were in revolt, laying waste the land and carrying off booty and destroying almost everything. Therefore either more troops were needed to protect the place or the emperor's presence. 2. Severus was pleased to hear this, being naturally a lover of glory, and, after his victories and titles won in the eastern parts and in the north, wanting to set up trophies of war against the Britons as well. But he also wished to bring his sons away from Rome, so that they would become sober again under the restraint of the military life, taken away from their luxurious living in Rome. So he announced his departure for Britain, being already an old man and also suffering from arthritis, but in spirit stronger than any youth. 3. At any rate, he was carried for most of the journey in a litter and never halted at all for long. Having completed the journey with his sons more rapidly than had been expected or hoped, he crossed the Ocean and stood among the Britons, summoning the soldiers from all sides and, mustering a great force, prepared for war. 4. But the Britons, astonished by the emperor's sudden arrival, and having heard of the very large force assembled against them, sent embassies and began to discuss peace and wanted to defend themselves for their wrongdoing. But Severus wanted to delay, so as not to have to return to Rome again. Still wanting to win a victory and a title against the Britons, he sent their envoys away with nothing achieved, and began to prepare for battle. In particular, he tried to bridge the marshes with pontoons, so that the soldiers could easily cross and fight steadily on a firm footing. 6. For most of the land of the Britons becomes marshy, being flooded by the continuous ocean tides. The barbarians are accustomed to swim in them or run submerged up to the waist, for they despise the mud, being mostly naked. 7. For they are not accustomed to wear clothes, but adorn their loins and necks with iron, regarding this as an ornament and a sign of wealth just as the other barbarians regard gold. And they tattoo their bodies with various figures and pictures of all kinds of animals. This is why they wear no clothes, so as not to cover up the designs on their bodies. 8. They are very warlike and murderous, armed only with a narrow shield and a spear, with a sword slung from their naked bodies. They are unaccustomed to the use of a breastplate or helmet, regarding them as as an impediment to crossing the marshes. Because of the thick mist rising from the marshes, the air in that region is always gloomy. Against these conditions, then, Severus prepared measures likely to suit the Roman army and to damage or frustrate an attack by the barbarians. 9. Once preparations for the war seemed to him to be sufficiently complete, he left his younger son, called Geta, to exer-

cise justice in the Roman province and to administer the civilian affairs of the empire, assigning him senior friends as counsellors, and, taking Antoninus with him, set out against the barbarians. 10. When the army had crossed the defences, both rivers and ramparts, of the Roman empire, frequent encounters and skirmishes took place and the barbarians were put to flight. But flight was easy for them and they used to hide in the thickets and marshes because of their knowledge of the terrain—conditions which were all unfavourable to the Romans and caused the war to be more drawn out.

3. 15. 1–3: But Severus was an old man, and now afflicted by a more prolonged illness, hence was forced to remain in the residence. He tried to send out Antoninus to take charge of the campaign. But Antoninus had a limited interest in fighting the barbarians and tried to win over the army. He began to persuade them to look to him alone, and was canvassing for the position of sole ruler by every means, slandering his brother. 2. But his father, ill for a long time and being slow to die, seemed to him a burden and a nuisance. He tried to persuade both his doctors and his attendants who were caring for him to mistreat the old man, so as to be rid of him sooner. But finally, though slowly, Severus, for the most part destroyed by sorrow, did expire, having had a life of greater distinction, as far as warfare is concerned, than all other emperors . . .

The Latin chroniclers, probably all deriving directly or indirectly from the *Kaisergeschichte*, give the building of the wall as Severus' principal activity in Britain. It may be supposed that Caracalla magnified the importance of the reconstruction of Hadrian's Wall, having abandoned the conquests in Scotland after Severus' death. The measurements, 133 miles in Eutropius, 132 in Jerome and Orosius, 32 in the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, are probably scribal errors, CXXXII(I) and XXXII for LXXXII: 82 miles is more or less correct. Orosius has slightly more detail than the others, mentioning ditch and towers (turrets) as well as wall. Jerome's very abbreviated version gives the impression that the expedition took place straight after the defeat of Albinus.[45]

Aurelius Victor, *Caes*. 20. 18, 25–7: *his maiora aggressus Britanniam, quoad ea utilis erat, pulsis hostibus muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem Oceani . . .* 20. 25–7: *nam cum pedibus aeger bellum moraretur, idque milites anxie ferrent, eiusque filium Bassianum, qui Caesar una aderat, Augustum fecissent, in tribunal se ferri, adesse omnes, imperatoremque ac tribunos, centuriones et cohortes, quibus auctoribus acciderat, sisti reorum modo iussit.* 26. *quo metu, cum stratus humi victor tantorum exercitus veniam precaretur: 'sentitisne', inquit, pulsans manu, 'caput potius quam pedes imperare?'* 27. *neque multo post, in Britanniae municipio, cui Eboraci nomen, annis regni duodeviginti, morbo exstinctus est.*

18. Undertaking greater things than these, after driving out the enemy, he fortified Britain, as far as it was useful, with a wall led across the island to each end of the Ocean . . . 25. For when he was prolonging the war, being affected by a painful condition of the feet, and the soldiers, reacting to that nervously, had made his son Bassianus [Caracalla], who was there with him as Caesar, an Augustus, he ordered that he be carried to a tribunal and that all should attend, and ordered the emperor [Caracalla], and the tribunes, the centurions, and the cohorts, on whose authority it had happened, to be arrested as if they were to be prosecuted. 26. When the army that had conquered so many, prostrated on the ground with fear, begged for pardon, he said,

[45] See A. R. Birley, *HAC*, NS 2(1994), 36ff.

'Do you not notice that the head', touching it with his hand, 'rules rather than the feet?'. 27. Not long afterwards, in a *municipium* of Britain, named Eboracum, he expired from disease.

Eutropius 8. 19. 1–2: *novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit, utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per CXXXIII milia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit.* 2. *decessit Eboraci admodum senex, imperii anno sexto decimo, mense tertio.*

He had his last war in Britain, and, so that he might protect the recovered provinces, he led a wall for 133 miles from sea to sea. 2. He died at Eboracum, being a fairly old man, in the sixteenth year and third month of his reign.

Jerome, *Chron.* 212i, 213a Helm: *Clodio Albino, qui se in Gallia Caesarem fecerat, apud Lugdunum interfecto, Severus in Britannos bellum transfert ubi, ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per CXXXII passuum millia a mari ad mare duxit . . .* 213a. *Severus moritur Eburaci in Britannia.*

212i. Clodius Albinus, who had made himself Caesar in Gaul, having been killed, Severus transferred the war to Britain, where, to make the recovered provinces more secure from barbarian invasion, he led a wall for 132 miles from sea to sea . . . . 213a. Severus died at Eburacum in Britain.

Epitome de Caesaribus 20. 4: *hic in Britannia per triginta duo passuum milia a mari ad mare duxit.*

He led a wall in Britain for thirty-two miles from sea to sea.

HA Sev. 18. 2: *Britanniam, quod maximum eius imperii decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem Oceani munivit; unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit . . .*

18. 9–11 paraphrases Aur. Vict. Caes. *20. 25–6, above.*

19. 1. *periit Eboraci in Britannia, subactis gentibus quae Britanniae videbantur infestae, anno imperii XVIII, morbo gravissimo exstinctus iam senex . . .* 22. 1. *signa mortis eius haec fuerunt.*

22. 1–3 reports the first two of three alleged omens of his death; neither is necessarily to be dated to the time in Britain

22. 4: *post Maurum apud vallum missum in Britannia, cum ad proximam mansionem rediret, non solum victor, sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata, volvens animo quid ominis sibi occurreret, Aethiops quidam e numero militari, clarae inter scurras famae et celebratorum semper iocorum, cum corona e cupressu facta ⟨e⟩idem occurrit.* 5. *quem cum ille iratus removeri ab oculis praecepisset et coloris eius tactus omine et coron⟨a⟩e, dixisse ille dicitur ioci causa: 'totum fu⟨d⟩isti, totum vicisti, iam deus esto victor.'* 6. *et civitatem veniens cum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad Bellon⟨a⟩e templum ductus est errore haruspicis rustici, deinde hostiae furvae sunt adplicitae.* 7. *quod cum aspernatus atque ad Palatium se reciperet, neglegentia ministrorum nigrae hostiae, et usque ad limen domus Palatinae, imperatorem secutae sunt.*

18. 2: He fortified Britain—and this was the greatest glory of his reign—with a wall led across the island to the Ocean at each end; in recognition of this he also received the title Britannicus . . . 19. 1. He died at Eboracum in Britain, having subdued the peoples which appeared to be hostile to Britain, in the eighteenth year of his reign, stricken by a very severe illness, now an old man . . . . 22. 1. The signs of his death were these . . . 22. 4. After giving a Moor his discharge at the Wall in Britain, when he was returning to the next halting-place, not merely as victor but having established eternal peace, turning over in his mind what sort of omen should meet him, a certain 'Ethiopian' [black man] from a military unit—the man had a famous reputation among jesters and his jokes were always much quoted—met him, with a wreath made of cypress. 5. When Severus, enraged, had ordered him to be removed from his sight, being nettled by the ominous colour and by the wreath, the man is recorded to have said, as a joke,

'You have overthrown all, you have conquered all, now be a conquering god!'. 6. And coming to a town, when he wanted to make a sacrifice, he was led first to a temple of Bellona by a mistake on the part of a rustic soothsayer, and then the sacrificial victims provided were black. He rejected them and was on his way back to the Palace, when, through the attendants' carelessness, the black sacrificial victims followed the Emperor right up to the threshold of the imperial residence.

23. 3–24. 2 gives a probably invented version of Severus' last words and the transport of his remains in an urn 'of gold' to Rome.

Orosius 7. 17: *Severus victor in Britannias defectu paene omnium sociorum trahitur, ubi magnis gravibusque proeliis saepe gestis receptam partem insulae a ceteris indomitis gentibus vallo distinguendum putavit. itaque magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, per centum triginta et duo milia passuum a mari ad mare duxit. ibique apud Eboracum oppidum morbo obiit.*

7. 17: The victorious Severus was brought to the Britains by the rebellion of almost all the allies. There, having frequently fought great and serious battles, he thought that the recovered part of the island should be marked off by a wall from the other, unconquered peoples. He therefore led a great ditch and a very strong wall, fortified as well with frequent towers, for 132 miles from sea to sea. And there at the town of Eboracum he died from disease.

The expedition lasted from 208 to 211. Severus was accompanied, as the literary sources show, by his wife Julia Domna, his sons Caracalla and Geta, and the guard prefect Aemilius Papinianus (*Com. Aug.* 16)—with, no doubt, some of the Rome cohorts. One may assume that the horse guard, the *equites singulares Augusti*, and perhaps part of the legion II Parthica, based south of Rome at Alba, also went to Britain. Sextus Varius Marcellus, husband of Julia Domna's niece Soaemias, evidently served as procurator of Britain at this time (Proc. 12), and one of the emperors' *comites* was Marcellus' father-in-law, Gaius Julius Avitus Alexianus (*Com. Aug.* 17). Further, two imperial freedmen, Castor and Euodus, are specifically named. Coins of 208 show Severus riding off for war and a bridge, which presumably has some connection with the expedition; and an as or small bronze medallion of Caracalla issued in 209 shows a bridge of boats with the legend TRAIECTVS.[46] The *classis Britannica* was probably strengthened by detachments from the Rhine and Danube fleets for the expedition (*Praef. cl.* 7).

There is no need to interpret Herodian's statement (3. 14. 9) that while Severus was in Britain 'he left Geta to exercise jurisdiction within the part of Britain subject to Rome and to administer the affairs of the empire, giving him advisers from his senior friends' to mean that Geta was actually governing the province at the time. No doubt a senior consular, the unknown successor of Senecio, functioned as consular legate while the emperors were in Britain.

[46] *BMC* v, Severus 269§; 351 no. 857 (AD 208); 353† (AD 209); see A. S. Robertson, in W. S. Hanson and L. J. F. Keppie (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1979* (1981), 131ff. J.-L. Desnier, *NC* 157 (1997), 191ff., conjectures that the bridge on the coins of 208 is the Milvian bridge at Rome, over which Severus would have hoped to return in triumph.

However, if a late hagiographical source may be credited, Geta may have exercised authority in the south of the province, as the one who sentenced Britain's proto-martyr, Alban, to death at Verulamium.

K. Meyer, *Abh. der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl. 8/1 (1904). 35ff.: 3. *eo tempore Severus imperator ad Brittaniam dirigit regionem . . . et ubi praeclaruit, quod multitudo Christianorum ibidem esset, secundum sue rabiei morem gladio universos ferire praecepit . . . .* 5. . . . *statimque Severo impiisimo Cesari [Albanus] oblatus est . . .* 20. *tunc inpiisimus Caesar, exanimis tanta novitate perculsus, iniussu etiam principum iubet de persecutione cessare, referens gaudere potius religionem caede sanctorum, per quam eandem opinabantur aboleri.*

At that time the Emperor Severus set out for the region of Britain . . . And when it became clear that there was a multitude of Christians there, with his customary fury he ordered them all to be put to the sword . . . 5. And [Alban] was at once delivered to the most impious Caesar Severus . . . [*the account of the martyrdom follows, with precise topographical details.*] 20. Then the most impious Caesar, aghast at such wonders, ordered the persecution to cease, without the orders of the Emperors, reporting that the religion was actually flourishing from the slaughter of the saints, through which they thought it was being abolished.

The persecution is said to have been launched by Severus; Alban was tried by the 'most impious Caesar', who then, appalled by the subsequent miracles, 'without the Emperors' order', ordered the persecution to cease. As argued by Morris, this exactly fits the circumstances of 208–9, before Geta's elevation to the rank of Augustus in autumn 209.[47] It might be conjectured, further, that *Albanus* was not in fact a name, but a description, in other words that the martyr was a soldier in II Parthica, the 'Alban legion'. The men of II Parthica are referred to by Dio as 'the Albani' (78. 34. 2; 79. 2. 3 and 4. 3). They were said to have been particularly upset by Geta's murder (*HA Carac.* 2. 7ff., cf. under Gov. 41). Part of this legion might have been assigned to Geta as a substitute praetorian guard during the stay in Britain.

In preparation for the advance into Scotland the fort at South Shields, close to the mouth of the Tyne, was converted into a massive supply base. The fort at Cramond on the Forth was reoccupied. At Corbridge an altar was dedicated by a man called -norus, *[pr]aep(ositus) cur[am] agens horreorum tempo[r]e expeditionis felicissi(mae) Brittanic(ae)*, 'in charge of the granaries at the time of the most successful British expedition', surely at this time.[48] The progress of the

[47] J. Morris, *Hertfordshire Archaeology*, 1 (1968), 1ff.; accepted by Frere, *Britannia*[3], 321. For Geta's promotion to Augustus see n. 41 above.

[48] South Shields: P. Bidwell and S. Speak, *Excavations at South Shields Roman Fort*, i (1994), 20ff. Cramond: A. and V. Rae, *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 163ff. Corbridge: G. Simpson, *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 327ff., rejects the dating of Site 11, the great unfinished storehouse, forum, or legionary headquarters building to the Severan period, which was argued e.g. by E. Birley, *AA*[4] 27 (1959), 12ff., accepted by Frere, *Britannia*[3], 159; Simpson is evidently followed by M. J. Bishop and J. N. Dore, *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman Fort and Town, 1947–1980* (1988), 139; evidence for Severan activity would thus be limited to the inscription of the man in charge of the granaries, assumed to be Severan, *RIB* 1143, and the inscription recording their building (*Inc.* g).

expedition well into north-east Scotland is indicated by numerous marching-camps[49] and, further, by the large fort or fortress at Carpow on the south bank of the River Tay, clearly intended to be permanent, as the main buildings were of stone.[50] Over 200 stamped tiles found at Carpow show the involvement in its construction of the York legion VI Victrix, which bears an additional title, *vic(trix) B(ritannica) p(ia) f(idelis)*.[51] This echoes the emperors' title Britannicus maximus, which was probably assumed on 31 March 210.[52] It presumably followed the conclusion of a treaty with the Caledonians, mentioned by Dio (76. 14. 3, 16. 5), which was then broken (15. 1–2). Also at Carpow, the emblems of the Caerleon legion II Augusta are carved on a very fragmentary monumental inscription from the *porta praetoria*; the few surviving letters evidently formed part of the titulature of Caracalla, but need not have been set up only after he had become sole emperor.[53] The Carpow base surely shows the correctness of Dio's statement that Severus invaded Caledonia with the intention of subjugating the whole of the island (76(77). 13. 1).[54] The fifteen Severan rescripts in the *Code* of Justinian dated after February 208 were no doubt all issued in Britain, although only one, of 5 May 210, is specifically said to have been written 'at Eboracum'. An inscription from Ephesus records that an ambassador from that city came as far as Britain to petition Severus and Caracalla.[55]

The urn in which Severus' ashes were taken back to Rome is described by Dio as being 'of a kind of purple stone' (76. 15. 4), by Herodian as of 'alabaster' (3. 15. 7), and by the *HA* as of 'gold' (*Sev.* 24. 2). It was perhaps 'Blue John', a variety of fluorspar found in Derbyshire, not far from York, most commonly purple in colour.[56] The aftermath of Severus' death, on 4 February 211 (Dio 76(77). 15. 2], is described in a little detail in what survives of Dio and at some length in Herodian.

[49] J. K. S. St Joseph, *JRS* 59 (1969), 114ff.; 63 (1973), 230ff.

[50] R. E. Birley, *Scottish Historical Review*, 42 (1963), 126–34; id., *PSAScot* 96 (1962–3 [1965]), 184–207; J. N. Dore and J. J. Wilkes, *PSAScot* 129 (1999), 481–575.

[51] *RIB* ii. 2460. 71–4; one example has been found at the legion's base, York, ibid. 75. The title might also be recorded on *CIL* viii. 5180 + 17266 = *ILAlg* i. 539. 1, Zattara (Numidia), the tombstone of a veteran *ex leg. VI Vi. BBB fidelis provinci(a)e Britanni(a)e inferioris*. This could perhaps be restored as *Vi(ctricis) Br(itannic(a)e) pi(a)e* (with ligatures) *fidelis*.

[52] M. Heil, *Britannia*, 34 (2003), 268ff.

[53] R. P. Wright, *JRS* 55 (1965), 223; *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 289ff., restored *imp. e[t d.n. M. Aur. Antoninus piu]s f[elix . . .]*, and assigned the inscription to 212. But even if the restoration is correct (one would have expected the title Britannicus to be included), there could have been two further stones naming Severus and Geta.

[54] Frere, *Britannia*[3], 161f., claims that Severus' 'neglect to garrison the Lowlands [shows] that he was not intending a permanent occupation of Scotland'. Given the short time-span, this conclusion seems misplaced. Forts in the Lowlands could perfectly well have been garrisoned later, had not Caracalla abandoned the northern conquests.

[55] *CJ* 3. 1. 2 (5 May 210); the others are listed in Birley, *Severus*[2], 256 n. 26. Ephesus: *IEph* 802.

[56] A. R. Birley, *HAC*, NS 2 (1994), 41f.

Dio 77(78). 1. 1: After this Antoninus took over the entire leadership: nominally he shared it with his brother, but in practice he ruled alone at once. He made peace with the enemy and withdrew from their land and abandoned the forts. As for his own people, he dismissed some, including Papinian, who was prefect, and others he killed, including Euodus, his tutor, and Castor . . .

Herodian 3. 15. 4–8: But when his father was dead, Antoninus took over power and at once began to murder all the household staff, making away with the doctors, who did not obey his orders to mistreat the old man and hasten his death, and the fosterers who had cared for himself and his brother, because they continued to beg him to be reconciled with him. He allowed no one who had been honoured by the old man or had been his attendant to survive. 5. He cultivated the army commanders in private with gifts and great promises, so that they would persuade the army to acclaim him as sole emperor, and tried every trick against his brother. But the army did not comply. The men remembered Severus and that they had reared both as equals from boyhood and offered them equal obedience and good will. 6. But Antoninus, when he did not succeed with the army, made terms with the barbarians, granting them peace in return for guarantees, left barbarian territory, and returned to his brother and mother. When they had come together, their mother and the distinguished friends and counsellors of their father tried to reconcile them. 7. But Antoninus, as all were opposed to what he wanted, was compelled rather than persuaded to accept concord and friendship, contrived rather than genuine. Thus both of them, administering the affairs of the empire with equal power, decided to leave Britain and set out for Rome, bringing their father's remains. For they had cremated the body of Severus and put the ashes with perfumes in an alabaster urn, which they escorted to Rome, to put in the sacred imperial tomb. 8. Taking with them the army, as conquerors of the Britons they crossed the Ocean and reached Gaul on the other side.

It may be assumed that the governor Julius Marcus, attested in 213, was appointed either by Caracalla and Geta, before their departure from Britain in spring 211, or at latest by Caracalla in 212, perhaps in 211.

41. 213 Gaius Julius Marcus (*cos. a. inc. ?*)

RIB 2298, milestone, near Hadrian's Wall milecastle 17: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur|[elio] Antonino | Pio Felici Arab(ico)* [4]*| Adiab(enico) P[a]rt(hico) Maxim|o Brit(annico) Maximo, | trib(uniciae) p[ot(estatis)] XVI, co(n)s(uli) IIII, | im[p(eratori) II, C. (Gaio)Iul(io) Marco* [8]*|leg(ato) A[u]g(usto) p(ro) p(raetore).*

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus, in his sixteenth tribunician power (213), consul four times, twice acclaimed Imperator twice, Gaius Julius Marcus being the propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 905, Old Carlisle (*Maglona*?): *[. . .]. [pro salute imp(eratoris) | do]mini nos[tri M(arci) Aur(eli) Antoni]ni Pii Felicis [Aug(usti),* [4]*| sub C. (Gaio) Iul(io) Ma]rco leg(ato) eius, cur(ante) | [. . .] pra(e)f(ecto), ala Aug(usta) | [. . . posui]t, imp(eratore) Antoni|[no Augusto IIII et] Balbino II co(n)s(ulibus).*

. . . for the welfare of our Lord the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, under his legate Gaius Julius Marcus, under the charge of . . . , the prefect, the Ala Augusta (set this up), the Emperor Antoninus Augustus, for the fourth time, and Balbinus, for the second time, being the consuls (213).

RIB 977, Netherby (*Castra exploratorum*).: *[. . . coh(ors) I | Ael(ia) Hisp(anorum) ∞ (milliaria) eq(uitata)]Anto|[ninian]ạ ex solo* [4]*|[exstruxit], sub cur(a) G(ai) Iul(i) | [Marci le]g(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), instante | [. . .]r(io?) Maximo trib(uno).*

. . . the First Aelian Cohort of Spaniards, one thousand strong, (part-)mounted, Antoninus' Own, built (this) from the ground up, under the charge of Gaius Julius Marcus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, under the direction of . . . rius (?) Maximus, tribune.

?RIB 1205, Whitley Castle (*Epiacum*?): *[. . .] restitui[t | sub ?C. (Gaio) Iul(io) Mar]co leg(ato) | pr(o) pr(aetore) ei]ụs pr(ovinciae) Br(itanniae)?.*

. . . restored (this), under the charge of ?Gaius Julius Marcus, his propraetorian legate of the province of Britain?.[57]

RIB 1265, High Rochester (*Bremenium*): *Deo Matuno | pro salute | M(arci) [A]ur[eli An|tonini* . . . [uncertain number of lines lost, with further titulature of Caracalla] . . . , *| bono generis | humani impe|rante* [sic], *C. (Gaius) [[Iulius | Marcus]] leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) posuit | ac dedicavit, | c(uram) a(gente) Caecil(io) Optato trib(uno).*

To the god Matunus for the welfare of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus . . . , reigning for the good of the human race, Gaius Julius Marcus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, set up and dedicated (this), under the charge of Caecilius Optatus, tribune.

RIB 976 + *add.*, Netherby (*Castra exploratorum*): *Iuliae Au[gustae nostr]|ạẹ, matri Au[g(usti) d(omini) n(ostri) M(arci) Aur]|eli⟨i⟩ Anton[ini Pii Fel(icis)?]* [4]*| et castr[orum et] | senatus et | patriae, pro [pietate ac] | devotione [communi]* [8]*| num[ini] eius, [sub C. (Gaio) Iul(io)] | Marcọ, lẹg(ato) [Aug(usti)] | pr(o) pr(aetore), coh(ors) [I] Ael(ia) [Hisp(anorum) ∞ (milliaria) eq(uitata)] | posuit.*

For Julia, our Augusta, mother of the Augustus, our Lord Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix, and of the camps and of the senate and of the fatherland, out of their common duty and devotion to her divine spirit, under Gaius Julius Marcus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the First Aelian Cohort of Spaniards, one thousand strong, (part-)mounted, set this up.[58]

RIB 1202 + *add.*, Whitley Castle (*Epiacum*?): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari), [divi Severi Pii Ara]|bici Adia[benici Parth(ici) Max(imi) Brit(annici)] | Max(imi) fị̀l(io), divi Anton(ini) Pi[i] Ḍ[erm(anici)]* [4]*| Sarm(atici) nep(oti), divi Anton(ini) Pi[i p]ro[nep(oti),] | divi Hadr(iani) ạḅnep(oti), divi Traiani | Parth(ici) et divi Nervae aḍnep(oti), | M(arco) Aur(elio) Sẹvẹr(o) Antonino Pio* [8]*| Feli(ci) Aug(usto) [P]ar[th(ico)] M[ax(imo) Bri]ṭ(annico) M[ax(imo),] pont(ifici) ma[x(imo),] | tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) X[VI,] imp(eratori) I[I],*

[57] It must be conceded that too little is preserved here to be sure that this inscription was set up under C. Julius Marcus, whose name is not restored in *RIB*. The version offered above of ll. 2–3 differs further from that in *RIB*, *[sub . . .]co leg(ato)/ Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) . . . v(ir.) c(larissim.) c]o(n)s(ular.) pr(ovinciae) Br(itanniae)*. Previous editors had read only *[ ]s* at the start of l. 3, and the stone is too damaged to be sure of an O before the S. The spacing seems to require something more than *pr. pr.* in l. 3, but *v.c. cos.* is not found elsewhere with *leg. (Aug.) pr. pr.* A further problem is that no other legate adds to his titulature *pr(ovinciae) Br(itanniae)*—unless one accepts the restoration of *RIB* 8, below.

[58] This inscription is known only from a drawing in the Cotton Julius MS. The restoration of the missing right-hand part is difficult. In l. 4, six letters, *[orum et]*, in l. 6 nine, *[pietate ac]*, in l. 7 seven, *[communi]*, can be restored with some confidence; but in l. 5 apparently none. Although the drawing shows all the lines beginning symmetrically underneath one another, except for the last one, where *posuit* is inset, it may be that other lines were inset too. In l. 8 the MS reads *Marcello*, for which *RIB*, following E. Birley, *AA*[4] 11 (1934), 129, conjectures *Marc[o] l[eg. Augg.]*—but *Augg.* is surely out of the question. Other restorations offered here also differ somewhat from those in *RIB*, without any claim of certainty.

co(n)s(uli) IIII, [p(atri) p(atriae), p]r[oco(n)s(uli),] | pro pietate aç devot[i]one | communi, curante [[C. (Gaio) [12]*| Iulio Marco,]] leg(ato) Aug(usti) | pr(o) pṛ(aetore), coh(ors) II Nervio | rum c(ivium) R(omanorum) pos(uit).*

For the Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Severus Pius Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus, grandson of the deified Antoninus Pius Germanicus Sarmaticus, great-grandson of the deified Antoninus Pius, great-great-grandson of the deified Traianus Parthicus, and of the deified Nerva, Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus, pontifex maximus, in his sixteenth tribunician power, acclaimed Imperator twice, consul four times, father of the fatherland, proconsul, out of their common duty and devotion, under the charge of Gaius Julius Marcus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the Second Cohort of Nervians, Roman citizens, set this up (213).[59]

RIB 1705, *Vindolanda*: *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur]el[i]o An[t]on[i]no P[i]o [F]el[i]c[i] | Aug(usto) Parthi(co) Ma]x[i](mo) Britani(co) Maxi(mo), ponti(fici) | [maxi(mo), trib(unicia)] potest(ate) XVI, imp(eratori) II,* [4]*| [co(n)s(uli) IIII, pa]tr[i] patriae, proco(n)s(uli), pṛ[o | pietate a]c devotione communi, [?sub cura [[C. (Gai) Iuli Marci]] leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), | coh(ors)] IIII Gallo[rum], cui pr[ae(est)* [8]*| . . .].*

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Parthicus Maximus, Britannicus Maximus, pontifex maximus, in his sixteenth tribunician power, twice acclaimed Imperator, four times consul, father of the fatherland, proconsul, out of their common duty and devotion, (?)under the care of Gaius Julius Marcus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor(?), the Fourth Cohort of Gauls, which is commanded by . . . , set this up.

RIB 1235, Risingham (*Habitancum*): *[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari), di]vi Sept(imi) [Severi Pii Arabici Adi]abenic[i Parthici Maxi]mi Bri[tannici Maxi]mi filio, di[vi Antonini Pii | Germanic]i Sarmati[ci nepoti, divi Anton]ini Pii pro[nepoti, divi H]adriani a[bnep(oti), divi Traian]i Partichi* [sic] *et [divi Nervae adn(epoti), | M(arco) Aurelio] Anton[ino Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto) Parth]ico Maxim[o Britannico Maximo, Germanico Maxim]o, trib(unicia) potesta[te XVI, co(n)s(uli) IIII, imp(eratori) II, | patri pat]ri(ae), proconsuli, pro [pietate ac dev]otione com[muni, et Iu]liae Domnae Piae Fel(ici) Aug(ustae), m]atri August[i nostri, item* [4]*| castroru]m, senatus {h}ac patri(a)e, pro [pi]etate {h}ac d[evoti]one [communi, curante [[C. (Gaio) I]ulio Marco]], leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), | coh(ors) I Van]gionum, item Raeti Gae[s]ati et Expl[oratores Habitancenses] posuerun[t, ?d(evoti) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eorum?].*

For the Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Septimius Severus Pius Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus, grandson of the deified Antoninus Pius Germanicus Sarmaticus, great-grandson of the deified Antoninus Pius, great-great-grandson of the deified Traianus Parthicus, and of the deified Nerva, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus, pontifex maximus, in his sixteenth tribunician power, consul four times, twice acclaimed Imperator, father of the fatherland, proconsul, and for Julia Domna, Pia Felix Augusta, mother of our Emperor, likewise of the camps, of the senate and of the fatherland, out of their common duty and devotion, under

[59] This inscription is known only from the drawing in the Camden Bodleian MS and readings by the antiquary Reginald Bainbrigg. In ll. 1 and 2 the stone is shown as cut off after *Caes* and *Adia*; Wright, citing Bainbrigg for IVL and Camden for L after *Caes*, restores [DI]V[I] L. L is omitted and *divi* shown within square brackets in the version offered above, which differs in several other places from that in *RIB*. Minor differences aside, a shorter titulature for Severus is restored in l. 1; *Parth(ici)* instead of *Parthici* is restored and *Brit(annici)* is added in l. 2; *Anton(ini)* is restored instead of *Anton[ini]* and *Antoni[ni]* in ll. 3 and 4; *Aur(elio) Sẹveṛ(o)* instead of *Aurelio* in l. 7, where the drawing shows AVRSILVR; *[p(atriae) p(atriae) p]r[oco(n)s(uli)]* instead of *p(atri) p(atriae)* in l. 9, where the drawing shows --R--. Letters which are read differently here from those shown in the drawing are dotted.

the charge of Gaius Julius Marcus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the First Cohort of Vangiones, likewise the Raetian Spearmen and the Scouts of Habitancum, set this up, ?devoted to their divine spirit and majesty (213).[60]

C. M. Daniels and B. Harbottle, *AA*[5] 8 (1980), 65–73 = *Britannia*, 11 (1980), 405, no. 6 = *AE* 1980. 603, Newcastle (*Pons Aelius*): *Iulia[e Aug(ustae)]* | *no[strae, matri* | *Aug(usti) nostri M(arci) Au*[4]*reli Anto[nini ac]* | *cas[tr(orum) ac senat(us)]* | *ac pat[riae, pro pietate]* | *ac dev[otione,]* | *[curante] [[C. (Gaio) Iul(io) Marco]]* [8] | *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) p[r(aetore), coh(ors) I Ulpia]* | *Traiana C[ugernorum]* | *c(ivium) R(omanorum) [posuit]*.

To Julia, our (?) Augusta, mother of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and of the senate and of the camps and of the senate and of the fatherland, out of their dutifulness and devotion, under the care of Gaius Julius Marcus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the First Ulpian Trajanic Cohort of Cugerni set (this) up.[61]

Britannia, 16 (1985), 325–6, South Shields: *[Iuliae Augustae,* | *matri Aug(usti) nostri* | *ac c]astr(orum) [ac senat[us ac* [4] | *p]atria[e, pro pietate* | *a]c dev[otione* | *com]muni, c[ur(ante) [[C. (Gaio) Iul(io)* | *Marco,]]] l[eg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore),* | *coh(ors)] V Ga[ll(orum) pos(uit)*.

To Julia Augusta, mother of our Emperor and of the camps and of the senate and of the fatherland, out of their common dutifulness and devotion, under the care of Gaius Julius Marcus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the Fifth Cohort of Gauls set (this) up.

Cf. *RIB* 1278, High Rochester (*Bremenium*): the surviving part of this fragmentary text gives the names of Caracalla with ancestry back to Nerva (as in 1202) and his titulature for the year 213, followed by *[pro] pieț[ate ac devotione communi]*, after which the stone breaks off. It was no doubt set up on the orders of C. Julius Marcus; the same applies to 928, Old Penrith (*Voreda*), which has parts of Caracalla's titulature, *[tribuni]c. potes[tate . . . co]s. IIII, p. p., pro[cos.]*, followed by *[pro p]ietate ac devot[ione communi]*.

?*RIB* 8 + *add.*, London (*Londinium*): *[?imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur*|*elio Antonino Pio Felici Aug(usto)* . . . etc . . . . *?Britannico Maxi]mọ [?Germ*|*anico Maximo, ?C. (Gaius) Iulius Mar?]cus, [legatus)* | *Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Bri]tann[i]ae,* | *ded(icavit) ob vi]ctoriam* | *[?Germani]cam.*

(?)For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus . . . Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus(?), Gaius Julius Marcus(?), propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Britain, dedicated (this) on account of the victory over the Germans(?) (213?).[62]

[60] In *RIB* 'CONSVLI IIII has been omitted', on the grounds that it would then be necessary to abbreviate this and *imp.II*, 'which is not the practice elsewhere on this stone'—but note *trib.* in l. 3. *RIB* reads *Augg.* in l. 5, which is hardly possible. The tribune Caecilius Optatus in *RIB* 1265 is also attested at High Rochester by *RIB* 1268 and 1272 (on the latter with the *praenomen* L.).

[61] The suggestion that the names of M. Antonius Gordianus (see under II below) might be restored instead of those of Marcus, *FRB* 165 n. 8, is here withdrawn.

[62] This is restored in *RIB* as follows: *[. . . le]g(atus) [Aug(usti) iuridi]cus [provinciae Bri]tann[i]ae/ [ob victoriam Daci]cam.* G. Alföldy, *BJ* 166 (1966), 639, pointed out that a possible alternative restoration is: *[. . .]cus [leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Bri]tann[i]ae [fecit ob vi]ctoriam [. . .i]cam.* The version offered above differs at the beginning from that suggested in *FRB* 206, mentioned in *RIB add.* Caracalla's German victory was celebrated at Rome in early Oct. 213 (*CIL* vi. 2086 = Scheid, *CFA*, no. 99a). In the *addenda* to *RIB*, R. Tomlin comments that 'the ligatures suggest a later date [than suggested by Wright ad loc., AD 102]' and notes the suggestion in *FRB* that a governor may be named.

The names of C. Julius Marcus as governor are preserved on a milestone (*RIB* 2298) from near milecastle 17 on Hadrian's Wall, datable to the year 213 by Caracalla's titulature; as the emperor is not called Germanicus, it is before or not much later than October of that year, when he took this title. An altar for Caracalla's health, dated by the consuls of 213, was set up at Old Carlisle *[sub C. Iul. Ma]rco*; an inscription from Netherby (977), date not preserved, records building *sub cur. G. Iul. [Marci le]g. Aug. pr. pr.*; and a very fragmentary one from Whitley Castle (1205), recording rebuilding, can be restored as *[sub C. Iulio Mar]co*. Marcus' complete names may be deciphered, although they were later deleted except for the *praenomen*, on a dedication (1265) which the governor made to the god Matunus for the health of Caracalla at High Rochester. On another inscription from Netherby (976), now lost, from a statue-base for Julia Domna, the governor's name was read as *Marcello*, but it can be restored as *[C. Iul.] Marco leg.* Other dedications, with no legible trace of the governor's name surviving, were set up in honour of Caracalla or Julia Domna or both, with the same formula as in the Netherby inscription (*RIB* 976) in honour of Julia Domna, *pro pietate ac devotione communi*: three from 213, at Whitley Castle (1202), Risingham, and Vindolanda, and, for Julia Domna alone, at Newcastle (omitting *communi*) and South Shields. Two fragmentary inscriptions, from High Rochester (1278) and Old Penrith (928), on which part of the same formula is preserved, must belong to the same series. Except for the Risingham inscription (1235), on which *Germanico maximo* may be restored, the dedications to Caracalla were evidently made before the emperor's German victory. One can guess at the circumstances which prompted the protestations of loyalty. Dio reports that Caracalla 'had wished to kill his brother Geta even while their father was alive, but had been unable to do so because of Severus, or later, on the march [from Britain back to Rome], because of the legions; for the soldiers felt great good will towards the younger brother, especially as he resembled his father very closely in appearance' (77(78). 1. 3). Herodian states that Caracalla tried unsuccessfuly while still in Britain to get the army to recognize him as sole emperor (3. 15. 5–6), and later that Geta was more popular than Caracalla (4. 3. 2f.). This might suggest that the army of Britain would have reacted unfavourably to the news of Geta's death, which took place in late December 211.[63] This is attested for the legion II Parthica at Alba (*HA Carac.* 2. 7). Julius Marcus clearly needed to affirm the army's and his own loyalty. The altar dedicated for the welfare of Caracalla by the procurator Cocceius Nigrinus, near the western part of Hadrian's Wall (Proc. 13), fits this context. Marcus' names were very effectively deleted on several stones: clearly his action failed to convince and he incurred *damnatio*.[64]

[63] T. D. Barnes, *JThS* 19 (1968), 523ff., shows that Geta's death must be dated to late Dec. 211.

[64] See E. Birley, *AA*[4] 11 (1934), 129ff. Cf. also *RIB* 1018, Cumberland, 1203, Whitley Castle (on

It remains uncertain how much of Britain Julius Marcus governed. His title *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* could have referred equally to a consular, in charge of the undivided province, or a praetorian governor of Britannia Inferior. Wright, who did not restore the governor's name, read *[sub . . .]co leg(ato) [Aug(usti) | pr(o) pr(aetore) . . . v(iro) c(larissimo) c]o(n)s(ulari) pr(ovinciae) Br(itanniae)* on one inscription from Whitley Castle (*RIB* 1205), but in fact the traces at the beginning of the surviving portion of the last line are too indistinct to allow an O or any other letter to be read with confidence. The reading *[leg. pr. pr. eiu]s* is equally possible. If Marcus' name may be restored as the governor responsible for erecting *RIB* 8, London, as suggested above, that would show that he was governor of a still undivided province.[65] Until more information is forthcoming, 216 must be regarded as the earliest date at which the province was divided (see II. 1).

Marcus, one of the standard *praenomina*, was also frequently used as a *cognomen*,[66] and, as the names C. Julius were exceptionally common, it is not surprising that homonyms are known, none of whom need be linked to the governor.[67] However, Marcus as a *cognomen* was rare among the upper orders: only one other senator is known to have used it.[68] One may note the friend of the sophist Hermogenes of Tarsus, Julius Marcus, ὁ κράτιστος, a title indicating equestrian rank, who could be the governor's father.[69] (The suggestion that the governor himself was the Marcus who received a rescript from Caracalla in 205, must be withdrawn.[70])

which Caracalla has the title Germanicus), and 1551, Carrawburgh, which may originally have had the same formula. See further id., *ES* 4 (1967), 106f., and G. R. Stephens, *CW*² 87 (1987), 53ff. Stephens, 57, discussing the 'Jarrow War-Memorial' (*RIB* 1051), suggests that fragment B of this inscription may have carried the name of C. Julius Marcus, rather than of A. Platorius Nepos (as restored in *RIB*), and that it was an *addendum* to fragment A. For the date of Geta's murder see n. 63 above.

[65] Stephens, *CW*² 87 (1987), 59 n. 9, and Haensch, *Capita*, 458f., are sceptical; but Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 232, regards the restoration of Marcus' name as 'die am ehesten annehmbare'.

[66] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 173 knew over 200 epigraphic examples. Lörincz, *Onomasticon*, iii. 57 lists 134 from the European Latin provinces and Cisalpina.

[67] *CIL* iii. 389, Sarmizegethusa; 7658, Napoca; vi. 389, Rome (an *evocatus Augusti*); 32624 d 8, Rome, a 3rd-cent. praetorian guardsman.

[68] P. Aelius Aelianus Archelaus Marcus, patron of an Italian town but perhaps of eastern extraction to judge from his other names: Barbieri, *L'Albo*, 2212.

[69] Hermog. *De inventione* 3. 1 (p. 126 Raabe); *PIR*² J 404. For the sophist, at his peak under M. Aurelius, H 149.

[70] *CJ* 4. 15. 2: *Imp. Antoninus A(ugustus) Marco, Si in causa iudicati Valentis, quem tibi condemnatum esse proponis, nihil est, quod sine quaestione pignoris loco capi et distrahi possit, debitores eius conventi ad solutionem auctoritate praesidis provinciae compelluntur*, 'The Emperor Antoninus Augustus to Marcus, If in the case of the judgment against Valens, whose conviction you claim to have obtained, there is nothing that, without an investigation, can be seized or put up for sale as a security, his debtors are sued and compelled to make payment by the authority of the provincial governor.' It was suggested, *FRB* 168, that this Marcus was 'a provincial official, perhaps a governor' (noted in *PIR*² M, p. 195), but, as the above translation of the rescript makes clear, this is mistaken.

I.7

INCERTI: INSCRIPTIONS RECORDING GOVERNORS WHOSE NAMES ARE MISSING OR FRAGMENTARY AND/OR WHOSE DATES ARE UNCERTAIN

a. Hadrianic

R. P. Wright, *JRS* 55 (1965), 222, Hardknott (*Mediobogdum*): *[imp(eratori) Ca]es(ari) d[ivi Traiani] Part[hici | fil(io), div]i Ner[vae nep(oti), Tr]aian[o | Hadrian]o [Augusto, pont(ifici)] m[ax(imo),* [4]*| . . . | . . . le]g(ato) Aug(usti) p[r(o)] pr(aetore), | coh(ors) II[II De]lmatar(um) | [fecit].*

For the Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, pontifex maximus, . . . being propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the Fourth Cohort of Dalmatians built (this).

This inscription was fully discussed by Wright, who pointed out that the space available could have been filled by the names of any of the Hadrianic governors then known. The same applies to L. Trebius Germanus (Gov. 20).

b. Hadrianic?

RIB 1932, Hadrian's Wall milecastle 50: *leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) | [coh(ors)] VII, su[b | cu]ra [. . .].*
The Seventh Cohort of the Second legion Augusta, under the charge of . . .

Stevens regarded this stone as Hadrianic, commenting that 'it is unique in mentioning the name (though we have lost it) of the officer under whose care (*sub cura*) the job was done'.[1] By implication, he excluded the possibility that a governor was named; and this is not discussed in *RIB*. The first example of the formula *sub cura* with the governor's name occurs with Lollius Urbicus (Gov. 24), whereas Platorius Nepos (18) simply appears in the ablative on building inscriptions from Hadrian's Wall. The question must remain open, but it is not impossible that this was one of a pair of stones, one of which named Hadrian, the other the legion and the governor, who might be Nepos or one of his successors.

c. Hadrianic?

RIB 1051, Jarrow: see Gov. 18, with n. 91, and Gov. 41, with n. 64.

[1] C. E. Stevens, *The Building of Hadrian's Wall* (1966), 59.

d. Hadrianic?

RIB 419, Tomen-y. Mur: discussed under Gov. 20.

e. Antonine?

RIB 2212, Ardoch: *[. . .]E* (or *L*) | *[. . . leg(ato)?] Aug(usti)* | *[pr(o) pr(aetore)?].*

Aug. in line 2 might well have referred to *leg. II*, or to a procurator, as well as to an imperial legate, as restored without discussion in *RIB*. In view of its provenance, the stone was presumably inscribed when substantial portions of Scotland were in Roman hands, most probably under Antoninus Pius.

f. Antonine or Severan?

G. C. Boon, *Arch. Camb.* 119 (1970), 37 ff. = R. P. Wright, *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 305 f. = *AE* 1971. 213, Caerleon (*Isca*): *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et] g(enio)* | *[imperator]um* |*[Antonini] et [Commodi A]ugg. (Augustorum)* [4]| *[aedem a so]lo* | *[restituit] T(itus) Ḍ[. . .* | *. . .* | *. . .]N. [. . .* [8], | *l]eg(atus) A[ugg. (Augustorum),* | *p]r(imus) p(ilus) d(e)[d(icavit)].*

To Jupiter Best and Greatest and the spirit of the Emperors Antoninus and Commodus, Augusti, T(itus) Es-, legate of the Emperors, restored the temple from the ground up, the chief centurion dedicated it.

The traces of the tops of three letters in line 5 are too meagre to support this reading; *D* in line 9, where only part of the upright survives, is also doubtful. In line 7 *N* may be right, although only the top left-hand tip remains. The editors expanded *[p]r. p.* in line 9 as *[p]r(imus) p(ilus)*.[2] But it is implausible that this expression followed *[l]eg. A[ugg.]*: the letters would be understood as *pr(o) p(raetore)*, that is, a governor—the abbreviation is found with the Antonine governor Julius Verus (27, *RIB* 1322). The editors regarded the *[l]eg. A[ugg.]* as the legionary legate, of whose name they detected TES in line 5, restoring T. Es[uvius]. But it is better to disregard these traces, however they be read; the first letter could be the *T* of, for example *[restitui]t.* The other two, and *N* in line 7, could have belonged to a governor's name. The choice is wide, even among known governors under two emperors: Calpur*n*ius Agricola (Gov. 30), A*n*tistius Adve*n*tus (31), Valerius Pude*n*s (38), Alfe*n*us Se*n*ecio (39); note also Ju*n*ius Fausti*n*us Postumia*n*us (40), and three governors of Upper Britain (II below), Pollie*n*us Auspex, Rufi*n*us and M. Martia*nn*ius Pulcher. Boon

[2] B. Dobson, who supplied the editors with their parallel, *CIL* viii. 12579, later regarded *pr(imus) p(ilus)* as mistaken, *Primipilares*, 156.

cautiously noted that the letter after N looks like an upright; but this would exclude only Auspex and Rufinus. The question must remain undecided.

g. Severan

RIB 1151, Hexham, from Corbridge (*Coria*): *imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Sep(timius) [S]everus Pi(us) | Pertinax et imp(erator) C[a]esar M(arcus) Aur(elius) Antoninu[s] Pius, Aug*^{i} *|usti, [[et P(ublius) Septimius Geta | Caesar]] horre[u]m per vexillatione[m leg(ionis) . . .] | fecerunt, su[b . . . , leg(ato) Augg. (Augustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)]*.

The Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augusti, and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar, built the granary through the agency of a detachment of the . . . legion, under . . . , propraetorian legate of the Emperors.

This Severan building inscription is assigned in *RIB* to the governorship of Alfenus Senecio (Gov. 39), whose names are restored in line 6. However, the other two Severan governors epigraphically attested in Britain cannot be ruled out, Virius Lupus (37) and Valerius Pudens (38). Lupus perhaps deserves the preference, since he is known to have had building work carried out at Corbridge.

h. Severan

RIB 591+ *add.*, Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*): discussed under 38.

i. Severan

RIB 430, Caernarvon (*Segontium*): discussed under 38.

j. Severan?

R. P. Wright, *JRS* 57 (1967), 205 f. = *AE* 1967. 260, Housesteads (*Vercovicium*): *[[[P(ublio) Sep(timo) Get]ae]] [nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari)? | coh(ors) I Tungr(orum) m(illiaria) restit]uit pra[etor(ium)?, | sub cura? . . . , l]eg(ati) A[ugg. (Augustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)]*.

. . . for Publius Septimius Geta, most noble Caesar, the First Cohort of Tungrians, one thousand strong, restored the commanding officer's residence, under the charge of . . . , propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors.

Even if Geta's name is correctly restored, it is uncertain which governor to supply in line 3. The restoration *pra[etor(ium)]* is supported by the find-spot, the

commanding officer's house. But *ae* could also belong to *Iuliae Mammaeae*, whose name was deleted on *RIB* 949 and 1281, the latter a building inscription.

k. Severan?

Britannia 14 (1983), 337, no. 9, Ilkley (*Olicana*): *[deo? . . . | . . .] ịṇṿicto s[ac(rum)?,* | . . . [4]| . . . *?forti]ssimo A[ug(usto)?, . . .* | . . . *]m suorum[. . .* | . . . *]ṛiṇus Ṿ[. . .* | . . . *f]eḷicis[. . .* [8]| *sub? . . .]ę, v(iro) c(larissimo), leg(ato) A[ugg. ? (Augustorum duorum ?) pr(o) pr(aetore),* | . . . | . . . , *?devot]issimus ṇụ[mini maiestatique ?* | *?eor]um, coṃ[. . .].*

Sacred to the unconquered god? . . . and to . . . , under . . . , senator, propraetorian legate of the Emperors, . . . most devoted to their divine spirit and majesty, . . .

This inscription is too fragmentary for any convincing restoration. In line 8 it named a senatorial governor, whose *cognomen* in the nominative presumably ended -ens, -o or -x, if *[. . .]e* is correct. Of known governors Valerius Pudens (Gov. 38) or Alfenus Senecio (39) are possibilities.

l. Severan?

RIB 1999, Castlesteads (*Camboglanna*): *IV[. . .]* | *M[. . . , sub]* | *cura L[. . .],* [4]| *leg(ati) Aug(usti) p(ro) pr(aetore), coh(ors) II* | *Tung(rorum) posuit.*

. . . under the charge of L . . . , propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the Second Cohort of Tungrians set this up.

This inscription, now lost, is probably third-century, to judge from the mention of *coh. II Tungrorum*.[3] The only known governor from the period whose names began with L is L. Alfenus Senecio (Gov. 39), but this is insufficient to restore *[Alfeni Senecionis]*.[4] A Severan governor should have been called *leg. Augg.*

m. Severan?

RIB 1596+*add.*, Housesteads (*Vercovicium*): *Deo* | *[M]arti et* | *Victoriae* [4]| *et numinib(us) Augg. (Augustorum duorum), sub cura LIC. VI.* | *. I. VIC . . . II.* | *. . . V. ISVALLVTI* [8]| *ALPIBAIIRISI* | *. I. I . . . SIC . . .* | *VS . . . VIVI OB* | *. . . NDICII* [12]| *. . . cus(tos) arm(orum)* | *. . SD. . T.*

To the god Mars and Victory and the divine spirits of the (two) Emperors, under the charge of L(ucius?) . . . , . . . keeper of the armament store, . . .

[3] See *RIB* 1983 for this unit at Castlesteads in 241; also 1981–2, undated. In the 2nd cent. it was at Birrens, 2107–10, 2115.

[4] Virius Lupus (37) may also have had the *praenomen* L.

The lettering on this altar is too weathered to recover an intelligible reading of the last eight lines. In line 5 *sub cura* seems certain; the name that follows clearly began with L, but is otherwise very doubtful.[5] The formula *sub cura* is frequently found with governors. In view of *Augg.* in line 4 the stone is probably third-century, perhaps Severan, in which case L. Alfenus Senecio (39) might be considered.

n. Caracallan?

RIB 8, London: discussed under Gov. 41.

o. second or third century

RIB 1468, Chesters (*Cilurnum*): *[. . . , l]e[g(at-)] Aug(usti) pr(o)* | *[pr(aetore),* | *. . .]*RVVRAE.

Too little is recorded of this now lost inscription to give any clue to its date. Nothing is shown on the drawing between E and A in line 1, but G may perhaps be restored. The last three letters in line 3 might represent *prae[f.]* with ligatured *pr*.

[5] *sub cura* is approved by Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB*, and 'perhaps *Lic[i]ni*', which was proposed in *FRB* 208. This suggestion is now withdrawn.

1.8

COMITES OF THE EMPERORS IN BRITAIN
(*Com. Aug.* 1–17)

Claudius' Retinue in 43

1. Lucius Coiedius, Luci filius, Aniensis, Candidus,
quaestor of the emperor

CIL xi. 6163 = *ILS* 967, Suasa: *L(ucio) Coiedio L(uci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi)* | *Candido*, | *tr(ibuno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), IIIv(iro) capital(i), quaest(ori)* [4]| *Ti(beri) Claud(i) Caes(aris) Aug(usti) Ger(manici)*, | *quaest(ori) aer(ari) Satur(ni), cur(atori) tab(ularii) p(ublici).* | *Hunc Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus),* [8]| *revers(um) ex castr(is), don(is) m[il(itaribus)] don(avit),* | *cor(onis) aur(ea) mur(ali) val(lari), hast(a) [p]ura ;* | *eund(em) [q(uaestorem)] cum ha[be]r(et) inter suos q(uaestores)* | *eod(em) ann(o) [e]t a[e]r(ari) Sat(urni) q(uaestorem) esse ius(sit).* [12]| *pub[lice].*

To Lucius Coiedius, son of Lucius, Aniensis, Candidus, military tribune of the Eighth Legion Augusta, *triumvir capitalis*, quaestor of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, quaestor of the Treasury of Saturn, curator of the public record-office. Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus awarded this man after his return from camp military decorations, crowns, gold, mural, and rampart, and a pure spear; when he had the same man as quaestor among his own quaestors, he ordered him in the same year to be quaestor of the Treasury of Saturn as well. (Set up) at public expense.

To take a quaestor on expedition was Republican practice, which no doubt appealed to the antiquarian emperor. There is no reason to doubt that Candidus was in the imperial entourage in 43. In line 11 *eod(em) ann(o)* refers to 44, when Claudius transferred the *aerarium Saturni* back to quaestors (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 29. 2; Dio 60. 24. 1). It has been suggested that Candidus was decorated as tribune of VIII Augusta, but this legion did not go to Britain;[1] nor is the alternative suggestion, that it took part in the suppression of Scribonianus' revolt in Dalmatia in 42, particularly plausible.[2] Groag noted that the *nomen* Coiedius appears to be confined to Umbria, but Suasa was enrolled in the Camilia tribe;[3] it is possible that Candidus' home was Ariminum, the only Umbrian town known to have been in Aniensis.[4]

[1] See e.g. L. J. F. Keppie, *Britannia*, 2 (1971), 149ff.

[2] Thus e.g. ibid. 154; M. Cébeillac, *Les Quaestores principis et candidati aux Ier et IIème siècles de l'Empire* (1972), 46.

[3] E. Groag, *RE* 4/1 (1900), 360; Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 77. He clearly had property at Suasa: see now *AE* 1992. 466.

[4] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 94.

2. **Julius Planta**, *comes* of the emperor

CIL v. 5050 = *ILS* 206, Cles: *M(arco) Iunio Silano, Q(uinto) Sulpicio Camerino co(n)s(ulibus), | idibus Martis, Bais in praetorio, edictum | Ti(beri) Claudi Caesaris Augusti Germanici propositum fuit id* [4] *| quod infra scriptum est . . . . in rem praesentem misi* [16] *| Plantam Iulium, amicum et comitem meum, qui | . . . summa cura inqui|sierit et cognoverit, cetera quidem, ut mihi demons|trata commentario facto ab ipso sunt, statuat pronun*[20] *|tietque ipsi permitto . . .*

Marcus Junius Silanus (and) Quintus Sulpcius Camerinus being the consuls, on the Ides of March (15 March 46), at Baiae in his headquarters, that edict of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus was issued, which is written below . . . ' . . . I sent Planta Julius, my friend and *comes*, to deal with the present situation, who . . . investigated and reported with very great care . . . as for the other matters indeed, as they have been demonstrated by himself in the report that he made, I permit him to decide and pronounce on them . . .'

Julius Planta is called *amicus* and *comes* of Claudius in the edict on the Anauni and others,[5] into whose status he had enquired and reported, *summa cura*, before the imperial pronouncement of 15 March 46. Mommsen argued that Planta gained the title *comes* as a participant in the British expedition, was still with Claudius when the emperor returned via northern Italy to Rome in 44, and was seconded to enquire into the controversy.[6] Mommsen was followed by A. Stein, who stressed that Planta must have been a senator. This has been doubted by some, but seems reasonable.[7] At any rate, Planta may be listed as a member of Claudius' entourage in Britain. He is otherwise unknown. A high-ranking Julius at this period, particularly one qualified to investigate landownership and citizenship in the Alpine region, might have derived from Cisalpine Italy himself; the very rare *cognomen* is found there twice.[8]

3. **Lucius Junius, Marci filius, Silanus**, *comes* of the emperor

CIL xiv. 2500 = *ILS* 957, Tusculum: *[L(ucius) Iunius, M(arci) f(ilius), M(arci) n(epos), Silanu[s . . . , | honoratus an]n(orum) XVIII [triumphalib(us) ornam(entis), | q(uaestor), pr(aetor) inte]r civis e[t peregrinos, gener* [4] *| Ti(beri) Claudi C]aesaris Augus[ti].*

Lucius Junius, son of Marcus, grandson of Marcus, Silanus, . . . honoured at the age of 18 with triumphal decorations, quaestor, praetor between citizens and aliens, son-in-law of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus.

Tac. *Ann.* 12. 3. 2: *. . . quia L. Silano desponderat Octaviam Caesar iuvenemque et alia clarum insigni triumphalium et gladiatorii muneris magnificentia protulerat ad studia vulgi.*

12. 3. 2: . . . because Caesar had betrothed Octavia to Lucius Silanus and had advanced the

[5] See e.g. U. Schillinger-Häfele, *Hermes*, 95 (1967), 353 ff.

[6] T. Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften*, iv (1906), 299 ff.

[7] A. Stein, *RE* 10/1 (1917), 773; followed in *PIR*[2] J 471, against doubts by J. A. Crook, *Consilium principis* (1955), 168.

[8] Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 145, lists *CIL* v. 3807 and 3931 as well as the Edict on the Anauni. Note also Pliny's friend Pompeius Planta, *PIR*[2] P 637, perhaps from N. Italy: Syme, *RP* v. 450.

youth, in other respects distinguished, by the award of triumphal decorations and the lavishness of a gladiatorial display, to the favour of the common people.

Suet. *D. Claud.* 24. 3: *triumphalia ornamenta Silano, filiae suae sponso, nondum puberi dedit.*

24. 3: He gave triumphal decorations to Silanus, his daughter's fiancé, who was not yet adult.

Dio 60. 21. 5: quoted under Gov. 1.

Dio 60. 31. 7: Silanus was regarded as a good man and was honoured by Claudius to the extent of receiving triumphal honours when still a boy, being betrothed to the Emperor's daughter Octavia, and becoming praetor long before the usual age . . .

L. Junius Silanus, son of M. Silanus Torquatus (*cos. ord.* 19) and Aemilia Lepida, a great-granddaughter of Augustus, was betrothed to Claudius' younger daughter Octavia soon after the emperor's accession in 41.[9] If his inscription is correctly restored, Silanus was probably at least 16 when he went to Britain, although both Suetonius and Dio stress that he was still a boy when he received the *ornamenta triumphalia* in 44. It may have been normal to assume the *toga virilis* in the eighteenth year.[10] At all events, his presence on the expedition was doubtless purely honorific, although he and Claudius' other son-in-law Pompeius Magnus were given the task of taking the news of victory to Rome (Dio 60. 21. 5). The selection of the younger Agrippina as Claudius' wife in 48 spelt Silanus' doom. Agrippina wanted his betrothed as a bride for her son Nero. Silanus was accused of incest with his sister and removed from his office as praetor at the end of December 48. He committed suicide early in 49, on the day of Claudius' marriage to Agrippina.[11]

4. **Marcus Licinius, Marci filius, Crassus Frugi** (*cos. ord.* 27), *comes* of the emperor

Suet. *D. Claud.* 17. 3: *secuti et triumphalia ornamenta eodem bello adepti, sed ceteri pedibus et in praetexta, M. Crassus Frugi equo phalerato et in veste palmata, quod eum honorem iteravit.*

Those who gained triumphal decorations in the same war followed, but while the rest went on foot and wearing the *toga praetexta*, Marcus Crassus Frugi rode on a horse adorned with phalerae and wearing a tunic embroidered with palm-branches, because he had that honour for the second time.

Crassus Frugi, son of the consul of 14 BC of the same names, and married to a descendant of Pompey, possessed a pedigree second to none. The prestige attaching to it was duly utilized by Claudius, who married his elder daughter Antonia to Crassus' son Pompeius Magnus (no. 6 below). Crassus had held a

[9] See *PIR*² J 829. His mother, A 419, had once been betrothed to Claudius.
[10] J. Regner, *RE* 6A/2 (1937), 1452.
[11] Details in *PIR*² J 829. Silanus was replaced as praetor by Eprius Marcellus (LL 4).

military command as *leg. Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Ge[r]manici in M[. . .]*,[12] for which he won his first *ornamenta triumphalia*, as may be deduced from Suetonius.[13] Crassus' presence with Claudius in Britain is inferred only from this passage. Two years later Crassus, his wife, and eldest son, were put to death at the instigation of Messallina.[14] Crassus is described in the *Apocolocyntosis* as 'so stupid that he was even capable of being emperor' (11. 2) and 'as similar to Claudius as an egg is to an egg' (11. 5). His surviving children included Galba's ill-fated heir Piso Licinianus,[15] and among his descendants were the much exiled Calpurnius Crassus, put to death by Hadrian,[16] and Marcus Aurelius.[17]

5. Tiberius Plautius, Marci filius, Aniensis, Silvanus Aelianus
(*cos.* 45, *II* 74), *comes* and *legatus* of the emperor

CIL xiv. 3608 = *ILS* 986 = *Inscr. It.* IV 125, near Tibur: *Ti(berio) Plautio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) | Silvano Aeliano, | pontif(ici), sodali Aug(ustali),* [4]*| IIIvir(o) a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo), q(uaestori) Ti(beri) Caesaris, | legat(o) leg(ionis) V in Germania, | pr(aetori) urb(ano), legat(o) et comiti Claud(i) | Caesaris in Brittannia, consuli,* [8]*| proco(n)s(uli) Asiae, legat(o) pro praet(ore) Moesiae | . . . hunc legatum in | {in} Hispaniam ad praefectur(am) urbis remissum*[2] [8]*| senatus in praefectura triumphalibus ornamentis honoravit . . .*

To Tiberius Plautius, son of Marcus, Aniensis, Silvanus Aelianus, pontifex, *sodalis Augustalis*, mintmaster, quaestor of Tiberius Caesar, legate of the Fifth Legion in Germany, urban praetor, legate and *comes* of Claudius Caesar in Britain, proconsul of Asia, propraetorian legate of Moesia . . . This man, (sent as) legate to Spain, sent back to the prefecture of the city, the senate honoured in his prefecture with triumphal decorations . . .

As a close relative of Claudius' former wife Urgulanilla and a kinsman of the commander-in-chief of the invasion army, A. Plautius (Gov. 1), Silvanus Aelianus was an obvious choice to accompany the emperor. His career before 43 displays all the hallmarks of the patrician: the post as *monetalis*, service as Tiberius' quaestor, and the absence of tribunate of the plebs or aedileship. Thus he clearly had patrician rank well before his consulship in 45, yet his brother or uncle, P. Plautius Pulcher, did not achieve this until 48.[18] As

[12] *CIL* vi. 31721 = *ILS* 954, Rome.

[13] J. Gascou, *Mélanges P. Boyancé* (1974), 299ff., restoring *in M[auretan]ia*, argues that Crassus began the suppression of the Mauretanian revolt under Caligula, being succeeded by Suetonius Paullinus (Gov. 5) and Cn. Hosidius Geta (cf. *Com. Aug.* 12). F. Papazoglu, *ZAnt* 29 (1979), 234ff., restored in *M[oesia, Acha]ia/ [et Macedonia]*. Gascou's version is favoured emphatically by G. A(lföldy) in *CIL* vi. 8, p. 4779 (with further bibliography).

[14] Details in *PIR*[2] L 190.

[15] *PIR*[2] C 300. He was married to Q. Veranius' daughter (Gov. 4).

[16] *PIR*[2] C 259.

[17] A. R. Birley, *Historia*, 15 (1966), 249f.; *PIR*[2] R 213.

[18] *ILS* 921, from the same mausoleum as the inscription of Silvanus Aelianus.

suggested by his second *cognomen*, Silvanus Aelianus had no doubt been adopted from a patrician family of Aelii. His descendants also bear the name Lamia, so he was presumably by birth an Aelius Lamia, perhaps Ti. Aelius Lamia, although the *praenomen* is a puzzle, and may point to his mother or grandmother being a Claudia.[19] His quaestorship cannot have been later than 37, the year of Tiberius' death, hence he was born at latest in 12. He was made a legionary commander before the praetorship, as was not uncommon in the pre-Flavian period. Although he seems not to have received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, he became consul in 45, the year after the triumph, as suffect to another *comes*, M. Vinicius (no. 11 below). Apart from a year as proconsul of Asia he had no further employment under Claudius. In the latter part of Nero's reign he was governor of Moesia; his achievements there are described at length in lines 9–26 of the inscription, and he received belated honours for this from Vespasian (lines 32 ff.). Finally, when he must have been in his sixties, he was made governor of Tarraconensis, but was evidently recalled *en route* to become prefect of the city, with a second consulship.[20] The honour he received from Vespasian might reflect in part a friendship formed in 43.

6. **Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus**, *comes* of the emperor

Dio 60. 21. 5: quoted under Gov. 1.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus, eldest of four sons of Crassus Frugi (no. 4 above) and Scribonia, a descendant of Pompey, advertised his ancestry by his names. Caligula ordered him to surrender the *cognomen*, but Claudius allowed him to resume it, then gave him his elder daughter Antonia as his bride in 41,[21] a 'matrimonial stratagem' that was 'timely and expedient', as demonstrated the following year when another descendant of Pompey, the governor of Dalmatia Scribonianus, attempted a coup.[22] As an inscription from Rome shows, Magnus was Claudius' quaestor after the marriage, perhaps in 44.[23] His presence with Claudius in Britain is attested only by Dio. He was put to death at the same time as his parents (see no. 4 above).

[19] See L. R. Taylor, *MAAR* 24 (1956), 28 ff. and n. 60; *PIR*² P 480, with stemma.
[20] See *PIR*² P 480 with further bibliography.
[21] Details in *PIR*² P 630.
[22] Syme, *RP* ii. 507.
[23] *ILS* 955.

7. **Rufrius Pollio**, prefect of the guard

Dio 60. 23. 2: To Rufrius Pollio the prefect he [Claudius] granted a statue and a seat in the senate as often as he should enter that body with the Emperor.

Rufrius Pollio, whose origin and previous career are unknown, was appointed prefect of the guard by Claudius immediately after his accession in 41 (Jos. *AJ* 19. 267). He evidently commanded that portion of the praetorians which escorted Claudius to Britain,[24] while his colleague Catonius Justus remained at Rome, where he was put to death by Messallina in the emperor's absence (Dio 60. 18. 3, cf. 19. 1). Pollio was rewarded in 44 by a statue, doubtless a *statua triumphalis*, and the right to have a seat in the senate whenever he accompanied the emperor there. He was later put to death, although no details are recorded in the *Apocolocyntosis*, the sole source of this information, where his execution is mentioned together with that of Justus (13. 5). It is not recorded whether he was related to Rufrius Crispinus, first husband of Poppaea Sabina, and also praetorian prefect, from 47 to 51, who was ordered to commit suicide by Nero in 66.[25] 47 is presumably the latest date at which Pollio can have commanded the guard, since Crispinus' colleague was Lusius Geta.[26]

8. 43 **Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus** (*cos. ord.* 41), *comes* of the emperor

Camodeca, *TPS*, nos. 13, 14, 27: *vadimonium factum . . . Romae in foro Augusto ante statuam Cn. (Gnaei) Senti Saturnini triumphalem . . .*

Recognizance made . . . at Rome in the Forum of Augustus in front of the triumphal statue of Gnaeus Sentius Saturninus.

Eutropius 7. 13: quoted under Gov. 1.

Only Eutropius records that Sentius participated in the conquest of Britain, apparently in an important role, since he alone is named with the commander-in-chief A. Plautius, and indeed is mentioned first (see under Gov. 1 for further discussion). But wax tablets from Pompeii reveal that he had a *statua triumphalis* at Rome, in the Forum of Augustus, in other words he received the *ornamenta triumphalia* for his service. He had been colleague of Caligula as consul in 41 and, for a matter of hours, after his assassination, had to fulfil the Republican consul's role as head of state. He was a grandson of the *cos. ord.* 19 BC, one of Augustus' staunchest allies and a kinsman of the *princeps*' former wife

[24] *ILS* 2648, 2701 show guardsmen decorated by Claudius *bello Britannico*. See L. J. F. Keppie, *Britannia*, 2 (1971), 149 ff.

[25] *PIR*² R 169.

[26] *PIR*² L 435.

Scribonia. The family appears to derive from Atina in *regio* I.[27] Not much is known of his earlier career, although an inscription from Saepinum is thought to record his quaestorship, tribunate of the plebs, and praetorship.[28] His later fortunes are not recorded in detail. He, along with the Stoics Thrasea and Barea Soranus, is said to have been a friend of Vespasian (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 7. 2)—and clearly will have come to know him in Britain if at no other time—and perhaps lost his life when they did, at the orders of Nero.[29] No descendants are known.

9. Lucius Livius Ocella Servius Sulpicius Galba

(*cos. ord.* 33, *II ord.* 69), *comes* of the emperor

Suet. *Galba* 7. 1: *caede Gai nuntiata multis ad occasionem stimulantibus quietem praetulit. per hoc gratissimus Claudio receptusque in cohortem amicorum tantae dignationis est habitus, ut cum subita ei valitudo nec adeo gravis incidisset, dilatus sit expeditionis Britannicae dies.*

7. 1: When the death of Gaius was announced, while many were stirring up trouble at this opportunity, he preferred quiet. For this reason he was very much deserving of thanks by Claudius and, having been received into the cohort of friends, was so highly regarded that when a sudden but not very serious illness affected him, the departure date of the British expedition was deferred.

The participation of the future emperor Galba in the British expedition of 43 is not explicitly mentioned by Suetonius, although generally assumed. Claudius may have taken him because he could not safely be left behind, as with several other *comites* in 43. But Galba could have been a valuable military adviser, for he had commanded the army of Upper Germany from 39 until 41 or later. He had imposed stern discipline and campaigned with success against the Chatti in 41.[30] Two of the legions in the invasion force had been under his orders in the Upper German army, II Augusta and XIV Gemina.[31] Galba's career is too well known to require more than a brief summary.[32] Descendant of a patrician family, the Sulpicii, he had been adopted by his stepmother Livia Ocellina, a kinswoman of Augustus' wife, who also showed him favour. He was consul in 33, at an early age, after a year as governor of Aquitania (cf. also under no. 12 below). After his Upper German command and the British expedition, he was proconsul of Africa for two years. He received *ornamenta triumphalia* for his achievements in Germany and Africa, Suetonius records (8.

[27] Syme, *RP* ii. 605ff., discusses the family.
[28] *CIL* ix. 2460: *praenomen* and *gentilicium* are erased, *Cn. f. Saturninus* survives.
[29] E. Groag, *RE* 2A/2 (1923), 1536f. This would explain the erasure on the Saepinum inscription.
[30] Eck, *Statthalter*, 13f.
[31] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1459, 1730.
[32] See M. Fluss, *RE* 4A/1 (1931), 772ff.

1); he does not mention any honour for service in Britain. After many years in retirement, he was appointed governor of Hispania Tarraconensis in 60, and there became emperor in 68, 'by universal consent capable of being emperor, had he not ruled' (Tac. *Hist.* 1. 49. 4).

10. Decimus Valerius Asiaticus (*cos.* 35, *II ord.* 46), *comes* of the emperor

Tac. *Ann.* 11. 3. 1: . . . *dein percursis Asiatici in rem publicam officiis recentique adversus Britanniam militia* . . .

11. 3. 1: . . . then he ran through Asiaticus' services to the commonwealth and his recent military service against Britain . . .

Valerius Asiaticus, from Vienna in Narbonensis, and no doubt of ultimately Gallic extraction, was the first man from that province to become consul, late in Tiberius' reign. Nothing is known of his career other than his two consulships and his 'military service against Britain', mentioned only in this passage of Tacitus. But several sources, including the *Annals*, combine to provide a full picture of his personality. He was enormously rich, owning the Gardens of Lucullus at Rome, and married to a sister of Caligula's wife Lollia Paullina. It was allegedly her adultery with Caligula that caused Asiaticus to become a prime mover in the plot to assassinate the emperor in January 41. After the murder he is said to have been a candidate for the throne. It was doubtless partly because of this that Claudius took him to Britain, although Asiaticus' prestige, especially in Gaul, through which Claudius travelled on his way, probably helped to enhance Claudius' popularity. His second consulship, only eleven years after his first, as *ordinarius*, is a sign of great favour. Tacitus makes clear that Asiaticus, who, with Claudius' chief senatorial ally L. Vitellius, had once cultivated the emperor's mother, must have been an old friend. Yet in 47 Messallina had him condemned to death, out of greed and jealousy, and when Claudius alluded to him in his famous speech the following year the hatred that he felt was made plain by his violent language.[33]

[33] The evidence is assembled by P. Weynand, *RE* 7A/2 (1948), 2341 ff. The date of the first consulship is supplied by *FO*^{2} 42; also by Camodeca, *TPS*, no. 50. Claudius' violent language: *ut dirum nomen latronis taceam, et odi illud palaestricum prodigium*, 'to be silent about the dread name of the bandit, and I hate that monster of the wrestling-school', *ILS* 212, col. 2, ll. 14 f. See also R. Syme, *The Provincial at Rome* (1999), esp. 33 f.

11. Marcus Vinicius, Publii filius (*cos. ord.* 30, *II ord.* 45), *comes* of the emperor

AE 1929. 166, Cales: *M(arcus) Vinicius, P(ublii) f(ilius), M(arci) n(epos)* | *P(ublii) pron(epos), co(n)s(ul) II, VIIvir* | *[epu]lonum, sodalis* [4]| *Augustalis, thriumphalibus* (sic) | *ornamentis . . . viam . . . [sua pecunia stravit]*.

Marcus Vinicius, son of Publius, grandson of Marcus, great-grandson of Publius, consul twice, *septemvir epulonum*, *sodalis Augustalis*, (honoured with) triumphal decorations . . . paved the road . . . with his own money.

Syme and Premerstein deduced that the above inscription from Cales, home of the Vinicii, must be in honour of the *cos. II ord.* 45 rather than of his grandfather the *cos. suff.* 19 BC, and that the *ornamenta triumphalia* must have been bestowed for participation in the expedition of 43.[34] Nothing is known of his career before the first consulship in 30, repeatedly referred to by the historian Velleius Paterculus, who dedicated his work published in that year to Vinicius (1. 8. 1, 1. 12. 6, 2. 7. 5, etc.). In 33 Tiberius selected him as the husband of Germanicus' youngest daughter, the beautiful Julia Livilla. This marriage became dangerous on the accession of Caligula, whose unnatural fondness for his sisters was notorious but turned to hatred in the case of Livilla and the younger Agrippina, both exiled for adultery and alleged treason in 39. Livilla was recalled by Claudius, but soon exiled again, through Messallina's influence, on a charge of adultery with Seneca, and killed soon after, probably in 42.[35] Meanwhile Vinicius had been involved in the successful plot to assassinate Caligula in January 41, and had been nominated as emperor before Claudius seized power (Jos. *AJ* 19. 102). For Claudius 'to have omitted Vinicius from his retinue would have been a gratuitous insult and a gratuitous risk'.[36] As with the other candidate for the throne in 41, Valerius Asiaticus (no. 10 above), Claudius was apparently doing his best to forgive and forget. Both received a second consulship; but both were put to death within a year of holding office, at Messallina's instigation (Dio 60. 27. 4).

12. Ignotus, *comes* and *legatus* of the emperor

J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, 10 (1941), 239ff. = *AE* 1947. 76, Athens: a. *[. . .]EI[. . . | . . .]o inter [. . . | . . .]quit[. . .* [4]*| . . .]R[. . .]*.

b, c, d, e: *[. . . le]ga[to i]n Brittan[nia . . . , | leg]ato Cae[s]aris, | [leg]ato div[i] Clau[dii,* [4]*| le]gato [. . .] prov[inc(iae) . . . , | le]gat[o . . . pr]ovin[c(iae) . . . | . . .]V[. . .]*.

[34] R. Syme, *CQ* 27 (1933), 142ff., repr. in id., *Danubian Papers* 26ff., with add., 34ff. (where it is pointed out that *L. pron.* in l. 2 should be read as *P. pron.*); A. v. Premerstein, *JÖAI* 29 (1934), 60ff.

[35] *PIR*[2] J 674.

[36] Syme, *CQ* 27 (1933), 143.

Oliver identified the person honoured with A. Didius Gallus (*cos.* 39), governor of Britain under Claudius and Nero, and assumed to have served in the invasion force in 43; but there are serious objections to this view (see Gov. 3). More plausible is that the fragments refer to Cn. Hosidius Geta (*cos.* 47), to whom another inscription with similar lettering found in the same place has been assigned: *Cn. [Hosidio?. . .] f. Ar[n. Getae]* | *co[s. procos. provinciarum? Afr]icae* | *[et? Cretae et C]yrenar[um]*.[37] He had already won distinction as successor to Suetonius Paullinus (Gov. 5) in the conquest of Mauretania. But Dio (60. 20. 4) names the Hosidius Geta who took part in the campaign of 43 'Gaius', no doubt a brother (LL 3). It is not impossible that both accompanied Claudius to Britain, Gaius as legionary legate and Gnaeus as *comes et legatus Augusti*, the title of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (no. 5 above). But the first inscription might refer to another *comes*, for example, Galba: *[. . .]quit[. . .]* in the first fragment could be restored as *[A]quit[ania]*, which he governed (no. 9 above).

Hadrian's Retinue in 122

?Marcus Atilius Bradua (*cos. ord.* 108), *comes* of the emperor

See Gov. 16 above.

13. Gaius Septicius Clarus, prefect of the guard

HA Hadr. 11. 2–3: *ergo conversis regio more militibus Brittaniam petit, in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.* 3. *Septicio Claro praefecto praetorii et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro multisque aliis, quod apud Sabinam uxorem in usu eius familiarius se tunc egerant, quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit, uxorem etiam ut morosam et asperam dimissurus, ut ipse dicebat, si privatus fuisset.*

Having reformed the soldiers in royal fashion, then, he made for Britain, where he set right many things and, the first to do so, drew a wall along a length of eighty miles to separate barbarians and Romans. 3. He appointed successors for Septicius Clarus, prefect of the guard, and Suetonius Tranquillus, director of his correspondence, and many others, because they had at that time behaved in the company of his wife Sabina, in their association with her, in a more informal fashion than respect for the court household demanded. He would have dismissed his wife too, for being moody and difficult, if he had been a private citizen, as he himself used to say.

Septicius Clarus was the recipient of Pliny's opening letter (1. 1), in which Pliny attributes his decision to publish to Clarus' encouragement; and, according to Johannes Lydus (*De mag.* 2. 6), Suetonius addressed his *Caesars* to Septicius.

[37] *Hesperia*, 10 (1941), 237 f. = *AE* 1947. 74; for the identification, *PIR*[2] H 216. For his consulship see Camodeca, *TPS*, nos. 1, 72, 100.

None of Pliny's letters to him (the others being 1. 15, 7. 28, 8. 1) reveal any details of his career. He first emerges in public service as prefect of the guard. The *HA* states (*Hadr.* 9. 4–5) that Hadrian made him the successor of Sulpicius Similis, at the same time as Acilius Attianus was replaced by Marcius Turbo, evidently in 119. It also records his dismissal, together with that of Suetonius and 'many others', in the passage quoted above. Since, after anecdotes about Hadrian spying on his friends (11. 4–7), the author continues with the remark 'after settling matters in Britain he crossed to Gaul' (12. 1), it is a legitimate inference that the dismissals took place during Hadrian's visit to Britain in 122 (see under Gov. 17). Clarus' origin is unknown, perhaps northern Italy.[38] His nephew, Sex. Erucius Clarus, also named in Pliny's letters (2. 9. 4, and perhaps 9. 28. 5), later became prefect of Rome, with a second consulship in 146, in which year he died.[39]

14. Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *ab epistulis*

HA Hadr. 11. 2–3: quoted under no. 13.

Suetonius' career was known only from this passage of the *HA* until the discovery of an inscription in his honour at Hippo Regius. This shows that he had been one of the *iudices selecti*, and had then held two posts in the secretariat, *[a] studiis* and *a byblio[thecis]*, presumably under Trajan, before being appointed *ab epistulis* by Hadrian.[40] The context of the story of his dismissal, along with the prefect Septicius and 'many others', places it during Hadrian's visit to Britain in 122.[41] It may have been in Britain that Suetonius made the observation, recorded in the *Life* of Titus, that the latter's memory was still green in Germany and Britain, 'as appears from the great number of statues and images of him in each province, and inscriptions' (*D. Tit.* 4. 1). Suetonius' father Laetus was an equestrian tribune under Otho in 69 (Suet. *Otho* 10. 1). A letter of Pliny (3. 8) reveals that Suetonius himself had declined a tribunate, in Britain: Pliny had obtained one for him from the governor Neratius Marcellus (Gov. 15), but Suetonius turned it down. His home was probably in Africa, in view of the dedication at Hippo, for which no other reason may readily be offered. The family's *ultima origo* may have been Pisaurum in Italy (cf. under Gov. 5). His priesthood as *pontifex Volcani*, recorded on the stone, was surely not held at Ostia.[42]

[38] Syme, *RP* iii. 1301; v. 461; vii. 476 f., 600.

[39] *PIR*² E 96; Syme, *RP* v. 461, 559, 575; vii. 476, 600.

[40] *AE* 1953. 73; see Pflaum, *CP*, no. 96 + *add.*

[41] Some doubt was cast on the chronology by the diploma of Aug. 123. But see e.g. *RMD* i. 21; G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 36 (1979), 250 ff.; Piso, *Fasti*, 31 ff.

[42] R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (²1973), 515, 584, 597.

Comites of Severus, Caracalla, and Geta 208–211

15. **Aemilius Papinianus**, prefect of the guard

Dio 76. 14. 5–6: quoted between Gov. 40 and 41 above.

The presence of the prefect Papinianus in Britain during the expedition of 208–11 is revealed only by Dio's story about Caracalla's attempt on Severus' life there. It is a little surprising that Papinian, best known as a jurist, was chosen for this campaign. His only attested previous post was as *a libellis*. He became prefect in 205, with Q. Maecius Laetus, after the murder of Plautianus.[43] Of particular importance was no doubt his relationship to Julia Domna (*HA Carac.* 8. 2). After Severus' death Caracalla dismissed him, perhaps before leaving Britain (Dio 77. 1. 1); he was killed in 212, shortly after the murder of Geta (see under Gov. 41).

16. **Gaius Julius Avitus Alexianus** (*cos.* between *c.*198 and 200), *comes* of the emperors

AE 1921. 64 = 1963. 42, Salonae: *C. (Gaio) Iulio [Avito Ale]|xiano, [praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I? Ulp(iae)]* | *Petraeo[r(um), trib(uno) leg(ionis) . . .],* [4]| *praef(ecto) eq(uitum) [al(ae) . . . , proc(uratori)]* | *ad anno[nam Aug(usti) Ostiis],* | *c(larissimo) v(iro), prae[t(ori), sodali Titiali,],* | *leg(ato) leg(ionis) III[I Fl(aviae), leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) pro]*[8] |*vinciae [Raetiae, co(n)s(uli), co]*|*miti imp[p. (imperatorum duorum) Severi et Anto]*|*nini in B[ritannia, praef(ecto)]* | *aliment[orum, comiti imp(eratoris)]* [12]| *Antonin[i in Germania],* | *praef(ecto) ali[ment(orum) II, leg(ato) pro pr(aetore)]* | *provin[ciae Dalmatiae], procon[suli prov(inciae) Asiae?],* [16]| *praesidi [clementissimo?],* | *M. Aure[lius . . .],* | *trib(unus) coh(ortis) [I ∞ Dalmatarum]* | *Anto[ninianae].*

To Gaius Julius Avitus Alexianus, prefect of the First? Ulpian Cohort of Petraeans, tribune of the . . . Legion, prefect of cavalry of the Ala . . . , procurator for the Annona of the Emperor at Ostia, senator, praetor, *sodalis Titialis*, legate of the Fourth Legion Flavia, propraetorian legate of the province of Raetia, consul, *comes* of the two Emperors Severus and Antoninus in Britain, prefect of the *alimenta*, *comes* of the Emperor Antoninus in Germany, prefect of the *alimenta* a second time, propraetorian legate of the province of Dalmatia, proconsul of the province of Asia?, M. Aurelius . . . , tribune of the First milliary cohort of Dalmatians, Antoninus' own, to his most kind? governor.

Julius Avitus Alexianus came from Emesa in Syria and can be identified with Julia Domna's brother-in-law named by Dio (78. 30. 2 and 4) as Julius Avitus, thanks to the dedication he made, while governor of Raetia, to the Emesene god Elagabalus, called *deus patrius Sol Elagabalus*.[44] This dedication led to an improved restoration of his career-inscription from Salonae. A revised

[43] *PIR*[2] A 388; Pflaum, *CP*, no. 226.
[44] *AE* 1962. 229, *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg).

chronology of his career was established by Halfmann, summarized here.[45] Alexianus began as an equestrian officer, then held a minor procuratorship at Ostia—in which he may have performed useful service for Severus at the time of the march on Rome in 193. He was made a senator, no doubt in 193 by Severus, appointed legate of IV Flavia in Moesia Superior, and, probably in 196, when the war with Albinus had begun, governor of Raetia. This post was followed by the consulship. But thereafter he was out of office for many years, no doubt because the powerful guard prefect Plautianus was hostile to Julia Domna and her family—Alexianus' son-in-law Varius Marcellus experienced similar treatment (Proc. 12). Plautianus fell in 205, which explains why Alexianus could accompany Severus and his party to Britain. After the British expedition he became prefect of the *alimenta*, accompanied Caracalla as *comes*, clearly on his German expedition in 213, and had a second spell as prefect of the *alimenta*. He became governor of Dalmatia for a brief term, *c.*214–15, then proconsul of Asia, 215–16. The proconsulship was thus held, as then normal, about fifteen years after the consulship. In 216 he accompanied Caracalla to Mesopotamia; from there he was sent by Caracalla on a mission to Cyprus, where he died (Dio 78. 30. 4). His names were erased, although still legible, on the Salonae inscription, indicating *damnatio memoriae*. This presumably occurred after his grandson Severus Alexander was murdered in 235.

17. Gaius Junius Faustinus [Pl]a[ci]dus Postumianus (*cos. a. inc.*), *comes* of the emperors

See Gov. 40.

[45] H. Halfmann, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 217ff. , superseding all previous contributions.

1.9
THE LEGIONS AND THEIR BASES

Four legions arrived with the army of invasion in 43, II Augusta and XIV Gemina from the Upper German army, XX from the Lower German, and IX Hispana from Pannonia.[1] XIV Gemina received the title Martia Victrix and XX that of Valeria Victrix for their part in suppressing the rebellion of Boudica in 60 (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 34, not mentioning the new titles).[2] All four evidently remained in the island until XIV Gemina was withdrawn by Nero, *c.*66–7, for his projected Caucasus campaign.[3] It was sent back in 69, but soon afterwards left again to join the Roman forces in the Rhineland (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 66, 4. 68. 4; cf. LL 9), never to return to Britain.[4] In 71 Petillius Cerialis arrived as governor, evidently bringing with him the recently formed II Adiutrix. This remained in Britain until *c.*86 (see below).[5] Thenceforward there were only three legions in Britain. Possible exceptions are a brief period under Trajan, when IX Hispana may have been absent at Nijmegen in Lower Germany, which would have reduced the garrison to only two; and the years 122–*c.*133, after VI Victrix had arrived, when it may have gone up to four again (see below). IX Hispana certainly left Britain at latest in the early 130s, and its former base at York was occupied by VI Victrix. IX Hispana's last years remain uncertain and require further discussion below. First one may list the legions' movements within Britain during the years 43–122, summarizing the survey by Hassall.[6]

II Augusta — southern England (Chichester or Silchester?), *c.*43–9; Lake Farm or Dorchester, Dorset?, *c.*49–55; Exeter, *c.*55–75; Caerleon from *c.* 75.[7]

[1] Ritterling, *RE* 12/1 (1924), 1249 f.; L. J. F. Keppie, in Le Bohec, *Les Légions* i (2000), 25 ff.; id., *Britannia*, 2 (1971), 149 ff., repr. in id., *Legions and Veterans* (2000), 166 ff., shows that there is no good evidence for VIII Augusta having participated in the invasion.

[2] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1731, 1780. For *legio XX*, R. McPake, *Britannia*, 12 (1981), 293 ff., approved by Keppie, in Le Bohec, *Les Légions*, 27 f., who is sceptical about the suggestion by R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia*, 23 (1992), 141 ff., that it won the title under Agricola.

[3] Ritterling, *RE* 12/1 (1924), 1260, put the first withdrawal in autumn 67, but a slightly earlier date is required, since it is difficult to date the creation of I Italica, raised by Nero for the Caucasus campaign, later than 66: Dobson, *Primipilares*, 204.

[4] T. Franke, in Le Bohec (ed.), *Les Légions*, i. 191 ff., summarizes the legion's later movements and history.

[5] B. Lörincz, ibid. 159 ff., summarizes the legion's history.

[6] M. Hassall, in Brewer, *Roman Fortresses*, 51 ff.; summarized by id., in Le Bohec, *Les Légions*, ii. 441 ff.

[7] Cf. also the contributions in R. J. Brewer (ed.), *The Second Augustan Legion* (2002), esp. Brewer, 2 f.; W. H. Manning, 28 ff.

IX Hispana	Leicester?, *c.* 43?-55?; Lincoln 43–71 or 55–71; at York *c.*71–122?; near Carlisle, *c.*122–5?; perhaps at Nijmegen in Lower Germany under Trajan.
XIV Gemina	Leicester?, 43–55; Wroxeter 55–66 and 69–70; in Italy *c.*66–9.
XX Valeria Victrix	Colchester, 43–8; Kingsholm, nr. Gloucester 48–57; Usk 57–67; Gloucester 67–75; Wroxeter 75–83/4; Chester from *c.*83/4.
II Adiutrix	Lincoln, *c.*71–*c.*78; Chester *c.*78–83/4; Inchtuthil 83/4–87?[8]

IX Hispana was once thought to have been destroyed in Britain early in the reign of Hadrian, but the careers of several of its officers made this hardly plausible.[9] First there are three *tribuni laticlavii*, L. Aemilius Karus (*cos.* 144), L. Novius Crispinus (*cos.* 150), and Q. Camurius Numisius Junior (Trib. 16, 17, LL 28), whose service in it should be later. Crispinus can hardly have been tribune earlier than the mid-120s. Karus' favour with Hadrian was demonstrated by his being *quaestor Augusti*; he could have been tribune *c.*122. If the third tribune is the Numisius Junior who was suffect consul in 161, he can hardly have served with IX Hispana earlier than *c.*140, for his later offices show him to have been highly favoured.[10] Then there is the legate, L. Aninius Sextius Florentinus (LL 17). He went on to be proconsul of Narbonensis, then legate of Arabia, where he is attested in 127. He is unlikely to have left the legion much before 124.

This leaves unresolved the moment of its departure from Britain. Its latest datable record in Britain is an inscription of 108 at York.[11] At some stage in the early second century it seems to have been at Nijmegen (*Noviomagus*) in Lower Germany, but its stay there is not precisely defined. Possible occasions might be during the Second Dacian War, *c.*105–6, or during the Parthian war, *c.*113–17. Bogaers favoured the years *c.*121–30,[12] but it seems barely credible that Hadrian would have moved VI Victrix from Lower Germany to Britain in 122, rather than sending back IX Hispana when more troops were required.

[8] XX V.V. is generally supposed to have been garrisoned at the short-lived fortress at Inchtuthil, *c.*83/4–87. Hassall, in Brewer, *Roman Fortresses*, prefers II Adiutrix. There is no evidence either way.

[9] Pointed out by Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1924), 1669, and in more detail by E. Birley, *RBRA* 25ff., neither yet aware of the date of Numisius Junior's consulship.

[10] W. Eck, *Chiron*, 2 (1972), 462. L. J. F. Keppie, in D. H. French and C. S. Lightfoot (eds.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* (1989), 247ff., repr. in Keppie, *Legions and Veterans* (2000), 173ff., prefers to suppose that the consul of 161 was the son of the former tribune of IX Hispana. He reaffirms this view in Brewer, *Roman Fortresses*, 94, repr. in Keppie, *Legions and Veterans*, 212.

[11] *RIB* 665. It is not listed in the register of legions drawn up not long before *c.*165, *ILS* 2288, Rome.

[12] J. E. Bogaers, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms*, ii (1977), 93ff. E. Birley, in R. M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (1971), 77, repr. in id., *Roman Army*, 322, suggested that IX Hispana went from Britain to Nijmegen *c.*126 and from there with Julius Severus to Judaea a few years later.

The legion earlier in garrison at Nijmegen, X Gemina, seems to have been tranferred to Pannonia *c.*102–4.[13] It is plausible that IX Hispana was then sent from Britain to plug the gap—but perhaps more likely that only a detachment went, along with auxiliary troops from Britain, attested at Nijmegen as the *vexillatio Britannica*.[14] If all or part of the legion were still at Nijmegen in 117, when trouble broke out in Britain on Hadrian's accession (*HA Hadr.* 5. 2), he could have sent IX Hispana back there. It may then have moved further north than York; its presence at or near Carlisle may be inferred from tile-stamps.[15] It is not attested as having taken part in the building of Hadrian's Wall, but this is an argument from silence: no stone building inscriptions have been found in the western part of the wall, which was initially made of turf.[16] The addition of VI Victrix to the garrison could then be construed not as the response to renewed hostilities but to the heavy demands of frontier construction on military manpower. VI Victrix evidently took over IX Hispana's fortress at York, which remained its base.[17]

IX Hispana could have been taken from Britain to the East by Julius Severus (Gov. 21), initially to fight in the Jewish war, *c.*134–6, and then transferred to Cappadocia, perhaps *c.*137, when trouble threatened from the Alani.[18] Thus the final departure of IX Hispana from Britain need not have occurred for a further ten or eleven years.[19] Its disappearance could conjecturely be assigned to the disaster at Elegeia in 161, when an unnamed legion of the Cappadocian army was destroyed with all its officers (Dio 70. 2. 1).[20]

[13] K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans* (1984), 87ff., dates X Gemina's move to winter 101/2. J. K. Haalebos, in Le Bohec, *Les Légions*, ii. 468, put it in the years 103–4, without discussion.

[14] Haalebos, in Le Bohec, *Les Légions*, ii. 472, favoured the period between 103/4 and 120 for the presence of a detachment of IX Hispana—rather than the whole legion—at Nijmegen.

[15] *RIB* ii. 2462. 2–4.

[16] E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (1961), 125f.; Breeze and Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall*[4], 31f.

[17] See e.g. A. R. Birley, in R. M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (1971), 81ff.

[18] Thus Eck, *Chiron*, 2 (1972), 462. For the threat from the Alani and Arrian's counter-measures see Birley, *Hadrian* 287f.

[19] Keppie, *Legions and Veterans* (2000), 92ff. = 210ff., remains sceptical about a transfer of IX Hispana to the East.

[20] First suggested by E. Birley *ap.* J. E. Bogaers, *Numaga* 12 (1965), 30 = id., in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* (1967), 75; see further E. Birley, in Butler, *Soldier*, 71ff. = 316ff. G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano* (1953), 88 n. 3, cited Aelius Asclepiades, *nati(one) [C]il(ix, mil(es) leg(ionis) IX*, who died after eight years' service and was buried at or near Naples, *CIL* x. 1769, for the legion still existing under Hadrian—because of the name Aelius, which, with his Cilician origin, suggests that the legion was in the east no earlier than Hadrian's reign. The argument was accepted by Bogaers, *Studien*, 73. As suggested in *FRB* 222 n. 27, Asclepiades might originally have been in the Misenum fleet, transferred to IX Hispana *c.*133, cf. men from the fleet put into X Fretensis then, *CIL* xvi., app. 13. The case is not accepted by Keppie, *Eastern Frontier* (1989), 251 = (2000), 177. J. C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (1983), 177 n. 473, discussing *CIL* x. 1769, suggested that the legion 'was transferred to the east for Trajan's Parthian War, . . . to be destroyed in the second Jewish rebellion'.

To summarize the later position: from Hadrian onwards, the legionary garrison consisted of II Augusta, based at Caerleon (*Isca*), XX Valeria Victrix, based at Chester (*Deva*), and VI Victrix, based at York (*Eburacum*). After the division of the province, VI Victrix was assigned to Britannia Inferior, of which its legate became the governor, the other two being in Superior (II. 1).

I.10

THE LEGIONARY LEGATES (LL 1–41, a-g)

During the 160 years of the undivided province, at least 180 men probably served as legionary legates in Britain, assuming an average tenure of about three years. Only forty-one are known (some uncertain or not known by name). Ten are mentioned in literary sources, eight in the Julio-Claudian (LL 1–3, 5–9) and early Flavian period (10), the other two—one unnamed—under Commodus (34–5). The service of one of the first legates (3) seems also to be attested in an inscription from his home town in Italy. Five are attested only by inscriptions in Britain (13, 23, 30, 37, 39), and two by Vindolanda writing-tablets (12, 14); another two are known from both British and other inscriptions (31, 41). The legateship of the other sixteen, together with that of a further three whose legion may not have been a British one, is known only from inscriptions outside Britain.

Only Julius Agricola (Gov. 11) is known to have served in Britain previously, as military tribune; and only he and Petillius Cerialis (Gov. 9) to have returned to Britain as governor. Fourteen were from Italy (1–7, 15, 19, 27, 28, 32, 39, 41); up to six each from Spain (9?, 13, 18, 21, 22, 24), and the eastern provinces (11, 14?, 16, 20, 26, 40), one (31), perhaps a few more (35, 36, 37), from Africa; one (11) from Gaul; and one perhaps from Sicily (8). The origin of the remainder (12, 17, 23, 25, 29, 30, 33, 34) is uncertain.[1] Some very doubtful cases are added at the end (a-g). (The three known legates of an Upper British legion are listed in II.)

1. 43 **Titus Flavius, . . . filius, Quirina, Sabinus** (*cos.* 47)

Dio 60. 20. 3: quoted under Gov. 1 above.

Sabinus, like his younger brother Vespasian (LL 2), served in the invasion. Dio's text as transmitted would mean that Sabinus was 'in a subordinate capacity to Vespasian', but Sabinus must have been a legionary legate as well,[2] which can be confirmed by a simple emendation: both were 'his [sc. Plautius'] legionary legate⟨s⟩', *ὑποστρατηγουντά⟨ς⟩ οἱ* [sc. *τῷ Πλαυτίῳ*].[3] There is no

[1] The origins and careers of most of these legionary legates are compared in more detail in *FRB* 407ff. New information has made possible revision here for LL 24 (origin) and 31 (names, career, and origin); and added 12, 14, 33, and 35 (perhaps identical with 34).

[2] *PIR*² F 352.

[3] G. Vrind, *De Cassii Dionis vocabulis quae ad ius publicum pertinent* (1923), 90, noted that Dio's epitomator Xiphilinus understood Dio in this sense.

means of deciding which of the three legions not commanded by Vespasian was under Sabinus. Tacitus, after describing Sabinus' violent death in December 69, in an obituary notice mentions his thirty-five years of public service (*Hist.* 3. 75. 1). Thus he presumably entered the senate in 34, when he must have already passed the minimum age to be quaestor. Nothing is known of his pre-consular career other than the command in Britain. He was consul in the second half of 47, his colleague being Cn. Hosidius Geta (cf. *Com. Aug.* 12).[4] Sabinus later governed Moesia for seven years, probably 53 to 60, and was prefect of Rome, evidently from 61 until dismissed by Galba in 68, and again from January 69 until his death.[5]

2. 43–?47 II Augusta, Titus Flavius, . . . filius, Quirina, Vespasianus (*cos.* 51)

Jos. *BJ* 3. 4–5: Vespasian had grown old in military service, begun in his youth. Years before he had pacified the West, which was disturbed by the Germans, and by force of arms had added Britain, hitherto unknown, to the empire, 5. allowing his [Nero's] father Claudius, without any effort of his own, to celebrate a triumph.

Tac. *Agr.* 13. 3: *divus Claudius auctor ta⟨n⟩ti operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium mox venturae fortunae fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.*

13. 3: The Deified Claudius was responsible for carrying out the mighty task, legions and *auxilia* were shipped across, and Vespasian was given a role in the enterprise, the first step towards his future greatness. Peoples were subdued, kings captured, and destiny pointed to Vespasian.

Tac. *Hist.* 3. 44: *et Britanniam inclinatus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat.*

3. 44: And Britain was inclined to favour Vespasian, because he had been put in command of the Second legion there by Claudius and had served in the war with distinction.

Suet. *D. Vesp.* 4. 1: *Claudio principe Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est; inde in Britanniam translatus tricies cum hoste conflixit. duas validissimas gentes superque viginti oppida et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam in dicionem redegit partim Auli Plauti legati consularis partim Claudi ipsius ductu.* 2 *quare triumphalia ornamenta et in brevi spatio duplex sacerdotium accepit, praeterea consulatum, quem gessit per duos novissimos anni menses.*

4. 1: Under the emperor Claudius, through the influence of Narcissus, he was sent to Germany as legionary legate; from there he was transferred to Britain and fought thirty times with the enemy. He achieved the submission of two very strong peoples, more than twenty *oppida*, and the island *Vectis* (Wight) next to Britain, partly under the command of Aulus Plautius, the consular legate, partly under that of Claudius himself. 2. For this reason he received triumphal

[4] Geta and Sabinus and Geta's later colleagues were formerly assigned to 45 or 44, but the year must be 47. See Camodeca, *TPS*, nos. 1, 72, 100, with further references.

[5] His later career is also given by *ILS* 984 + *add.*, Rome. See Griffin, *Seneca*, 456 f.

decorations and shortly afterwards two priesthoods, besides this the consulship, which he held for the last two months of the year.

Dio 60. 20. 3, quoted under Gov. 1; 60. 30. 1, quoted under Trib. 7; 65. 8. 3[2] (Vespasian's 'reputation won in Britain'); Eutrop. 7. 19. 1 (based on Suet., but with 'thirty-two times').

The future emperor's legionary command is recorded by more sources than that of any other legate in Britain.[6] He was born on 17 November AD 9 at Falacrina, close to his home town Reate, younger son of Flavius Sabinus and Vespasia Polla. His paternal grandfather Petro had been a debt-collector after serving in Pompey's army; Sabinus was a tax-farmer in Asia, then a money-lender 'among the Helvetii'. Polla, daughter of an equestrian officer from Nursia, with a senatorial brother who reached the praetorship, was the driving force behind her sons' rise. Sabinus fairly soon became a senator; but Vespasian 'was long against doing so' (Suet. 1. 2–2. 2). His service as military tribune in Thrace may have been as an equestrian.[7] No post in the vigintivirate is mentioned; perhaps he did not hold one. He was apparently aedile in 38, quaestor, in Crete-Cryene, presumably 35–6, praetor in 39 or 40 (Suet. 2. 3). Soon after Claudius' accession in 41 he became legate of II Augusta, on the upper Rhine, 'through the influence of Narcissus' (Suet. *D. Vesp.* 4. 2).[8] Only Tacitus (*Hist.* 3. 44) names the legion, which went to Britain in 43, where Vespasian led it with distinction at the two-day battle (Dio 60. 20. 3), going on to further exploits, listed by Suetonius. Josephus attributed the expedition's entire success to Vespasian; Tacitus says that 'he was given a role in the enterprise'.[9] He did not need to return to Rome in 44 to receive triumphal *ornamenta*; he probably stayed in Britain until 47.[10] A long legateship would explain the legion's support for him in 69: some still serving, particularly centurions, would have remembered his command. He had to wait until 51 to be consul, in the 'normal', forty-second year, with no remission for his elder children; two priesthoods were some compensation (Suet. *D. Vesp.* 4. 2). His proconsulship of Africa was probably in the early 60s.[11] In spring 67 came the command in Judaea (Suet. 4. 4; Jos. *BJ* 3. 6–8); his rise to the purple in 69 followed.

[6] *PIR*[2] F 398.

[7] Thus A. Chastagnol, *Historia*, 25 (1976), 253ff.; Devijver, *PME* F 83 bis.

[8] For II Augusta on the Upper Rhine, see Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1459. He presumably served under the future emperor Galba or the latter's successor C. Vibius Rufinus: Eck, *Statthalter*, 13ff.

[9] The references to his British exploits in the Flavian poets Valerius Flaccus and Silius Italicus are to successes in North Britain during his reign or soon after, see under Gov. 11 above.

[10] As shown by D. E. Eichholz, *Britannia*, 3 (1972), 149ff.

[11] Thomasson, *Fasti*, 40: probably 63–4.

3. 43 Gaius Hosidius, . . . , Arnensis, Geta

CIL ix. 2847 = *ILS* 971, Histonium: *C. (Gaio) Ḥ[os]id[io, . . . f(ilio), Arn(ensis), Getae, co(n)s(uli)?, . . . ,] | regi sacror(um), flam(ini) [. . . , a divo Claudio lecto inter] patric(ios), leg(ato) Caesaris pro [pr(aetore) . . . , leg(ato) divi] 4| Claudi in Britannia, a d[ivo Claudio misso legato | p]ro pr(aetore) in Hiberia(m) ad seḍ[andas turbas(?) . . . huic senatus, auctore divo Claudio,] | ornamenta triumphalia [?ob res in Britannia prospere gestas? decrevit].*

To Gaius Hosidius, son of . . . , Arnensis, Geta, consul?, . . . , *rex sacrorum*, *flamen* . . . , adlected by the deified Claudius among the patricians, propraetorian legate of Caesar of . . . , legate of the deified Claudius in Britain, sent by the deified Claudius as propraetorian legate to Hiberia to restrain disorders . . . ?On the proposal of the deified Claudius, the senate decreed this man triumphal decorations ?for his successes in Britain?

Dio 60. 20. 4: quoted under Gov. 1.

The Hosidius Geta in Dio's account of the invasion was clearly a legionary legate: some emend the MS *Γάιος*, Gaius, to *Γνάϊος*, identifying him with Gnaeus Hosidius Geta, who succeeded Suetonius Paullinus (Gov. 5) in Mauretania and was consul with Flavius Sabinus (see under LL 1). This inscription, now lost, from Histonium, home of the Hosidii, cannot be assigned to Gnaeus, although it clearly refers to a man from that town who participated in Claudius' expedition.[12] CIV at the beginning, could be a misreading of *Cn.* (*Gnaeo*); but one could also restore *C. Ḥ[osidio]*, as above. Cn. Hosidius Geta may also have been on the expedition, as *comes* of Claudius (cf. *Com. Aug.* 12). In line 3 *leg. Caesaris pro [pr. . . .]* presumably refers to a governorship under Caligula.[13] *Claudi* at the start of line 4 appears to require *[legato divi]* at the end of line 3. Geta received *ornamenta triumphalia* 'although he had not been consul' (Dio): perhaps a phrase such as *ob res in Britannia prospere gestas* came at the end of the inscription. No consulship is attested, perhaps because he was debarred as *rex sacrorum*: holders of this priesthood were excluded from public office (Dion. Hal. 4. 74. 4; Plut. *QR* 63). They also had to be patrician; his adlection, presumably by Claudius as censor, 47–8, made him eligible.[14] If this is right, Geta must have conducted his mission in Iberia before this and after service in Britain. The only known occasion seems to be disturbances in the region described by Tacitus—not mentioning Geta—under the year 47 (*Ann.* 11. 8 ff.). Geta's daughter married M. Vitorius Marcellus, patron and friend of Statius, who dedicated to him his fourth book of *Silvae*, published no earlier than 95

[12] Pointed out by E. Groag, *RE* 8/2 (1913), 2490, nos. 5–6, noting, no. 4, that the brothers probably descended from the late Republican *IIIvir monetalis* C. Hosidius C. f. Geta, who was proscribed in 43 but later pardoned (Appian, *BC* 4. 171; Dio 48. 10. 6). For Hosidii at Histonium see Andermahr, *Totus*, 295 f.

[13] Praetorian provinces were few in number at this period, but one of the Tres Galliae or Galatia is possible—no governors known under Caligula, Thomasson, *LP* i. 35, 39, 43, 255—or Lusitania, only one, in 37: ibid. 27.

[14] Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 151 f.

(4. 1). In a poem to Marcellus, he mentions his small son Geta, by his full names C. Vitorius Hosidius Geta:[15] The boy's 'warlike [maternal] grandfather', apparently still alive (hence well over 80),[16] was already demanding worthy feats from the boy and telling him about 'the triumphs of the house' (4. 4. 72 f.). Speculating where Marcellus may be sent by Domitian, Statius lists command over legionaries on the Rhine, in Britain (*litora Thyles*), on the Danube, and at the Caspian Gates (4. 4. 61ff.). Perhaps this alluded to Marcellus' father-in-law, who, as legionary legate in Britain in 43, had probably served first on the Rhine (if his legion was XIV Gemina or XX) or Danube (if it was IX Hispana), and was to operate in Iberia, in the area of the Gates.[17]

Ignotus

Rusellae: probably a *tribunus laticlavius*, not legate, see Trib. 3.

4. ? between 49 and 53 XIV Gemina?, Titus Clodius, Marci filius, Falerna, Eprius Marcellus (*cos.* 62, *II* 74)

T. B. Mitford, *Report of the Dept of Antiquities, Cyprus 1940–8* (1954) 2 = *AE* 1956. 186 = *SEG* 18. 587, Paphos: [*Ἀπόλλ*]*ωνι* [*Ὑλάτηι*?, | *Τίτῳ Κλωδίῳ Ἐπρίῳ*] *Μαρκέλλῳ*, [*ταμίᾳ*?, *δημάρχῳ*?, | *στρατηγῷ*, *πρεσβ*]*ευτῆ λεγιῶνος τε*[*σσαρακαιδεκάτης*(?)] [4]| *Τιβηρίου Κλαυδ*]*ίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ*, *π*[*ρεσβευτῆ ἀντι*|*στρατ*]*ήγῳ Λυκίας Τ*⟨*ι*⟩*βηρίου Κλαυδ*[*ίου Καίσαρος Γερ*|*μανι*]*κοῦ καὶ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Γερ*|*μανι*]*κοῦ*, *ἀνθυπάτῳ Κύπρου*, [8]| *Ἀριστοκ*[*λῆς Ἀπισ*]*τοκ*[*λ*]*έους*, *τιμῆς χάριν*.

To Apollo Hylates?, Aristocles, son of Aristocles, (set this up) in honour of Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus, quaestor?, tribune of the plebs?, praetor, legate of the Fourteenth? (or Fourth) Legion of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus, propraetorian legate of Lycia of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus and of Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus, proconsul of Cyprus.

Eprius Marcellus, humbly born at Capua, but rising to a second consulship and great influence in the 70s, figures largely in Tacitus.[18] His legionary com-

[15] Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 64 n. 11. The *praenomen* C., supplied by *CIL* vi. 2079, is further evidence for the existence of two brothers. Cn. Hosidius Mauricus (*PIR*² H 220) was clearly a son or descendant of the Mauretanian commander Gnaeus. See also M. Torelli, *EOS* ii. 185; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 419.

[16] L. Håkanson, *Statius' Silvae* (1969), 120, refused to accept that the grandfather was still alive. But cf. Manlius Valens, a contemporary, aged 89 in 96 (LL 5).

[17] Tertullian, *De praescr. haer.* 39, mentions the poet Hosidius Geta, author of a *Medea*, heavily derived from Virgil. 461 lines of such a work are extant (ed. R. Lamacchia, 1981), of very poor quality according to Kroll, *RE* 8/2 (1913), 2489 f. If the author was the Geta who went to Iberia, this might have inspired the subject.

[18] Details in *PIR*² E 84 (written before the Paphos inscription was known). The later career is given by *ILS* 992, nr. Capua.

mand is known only from this dedication. But it is not certain which legion he commanded: either the Fourth, τε[τάρτης], with title, Macedonica or Scythica, or the Fourteenth, τε[σσαρακαιδεκάτης], can be restored in line 3.[19] There is some uncertainty about his early career,[20] but he was praetor at the end of 48, for one day only (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 4. 3). The inscription shows that he was legate of Lycia under both Claudius and Nero, that is, in 54; he was prosecuted unsuccessfully by the Lycians for corruption in 57 (*Ann.* 13. 33. 3). His legionary command should have been between 49 and 53, under Scapula and Didius Gallus (Gov. 2–3) if the legion was XIV Gemina. His first consulship was in 62,[21] hence he was proconsul of Cyprus in the period 58–61.[22] Later he was an active informer; and also the dedicatee of Columella's *De cultura vinearum et arborum*. Prominent in the senate in 69 and 70, he was proconsul of Asia for three years, 70–3, and consul for the second time in 74. He was executed for alleged conspiracy in 79, before Vespasian's death.[23]

5. 52 XX?, Gaius Manlius Valens (*cos. ord.* 96)

Tac. *Ann.* 12. 40. 1: quoted under Gov. 3 above.

Manlius Valens, commanding a legion, presumably XX, newly quartered close to Gloucester (I. 9), when Ostorius Scapula died, suffered a reverse against the Silures. He was then 45 or 46, much older than other legionary legates. His age is known because as *consul ordinarius* in 96 he was 'in his ninetieth year' (Dio 67. 14. 5). Without this information the consul would have been taken to be a son, or even grandson, of the Claudian legionary legate. Even more remarkable, in 69, when over 60, he commanded another legion, I Italica (Tac. *Hist.* 1. 64, cf. 59). His origin is unknown; he might be connected to C. Manlius C. f. Fal. Valens, recorded at Tarracina.[24]

[19] Mitford, *Report*, 4, noted that both are possible; in *AE* 1956. 186 τε[σσαρακαιδεκάτης] is given without discussion. K. R. Bradley, *SO* 53 (1978), 175ff., followed by Franke, *Legionslegaten*, 87, favours restoring IV Scythica. One of the fragments of *CIL* xiv. 2612, Tusculum, assumed to belong to an inscription in Marcellus' honour, cf. *PIR*² E 84, has the letters MIN, which might be restored as *[leg. XIV Ge]min[ae]*. *SEG* 18. 587 and Thomasson, *LP* iii. 54 no. 16, restore λεγιῶνος τε[σσαρακαιδεκάτης
[4]| Γεμίνης? Γα]ίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ. This makes the legateship quaestorian, against which see next note.

[20] Mitford, *Report*, 4, insisted that Marcellus commanded his legion as quaestorian, but this is not particularly likely. Some cases are known from this period, but most Julio-Claudian legionary legates were ex-praetors, including those who served in Britain. E. Groag in *PIR*² E 84 restored a fragment of *CIL* xiv. 2612 as *hic lectus est ab divo Claud[io inter tribunicios]*, perhaps rightly, and Bradley, *SO* 53 (1978), 173ff., urges that Marcellus entered the senate as tribunician. But another Tusculum fragment can be restored as *[qu]aesto[ri]*.

[21] *PP* 9 (1954), 69.

[22] Thomasson, *LP* i. 296.

[23] Details in *PIR*² E 84. He was also augur, *curio maximus*, and *sodalis Augustalis*.

[24] *CIL* ix. 6373.

6. *c.*56 IX Hispana?, Caesius Nasica

Tac. *Ann.* 12. 40. 4: quoted under Gov. 3 above.

The context shows that Caesius Nasica's operation against Venutius' Brigantian insurgents came in the latter part of Didius Gallus' governorship. Such a task must have been assigned to the legate of IX Hispana, then stationed close to Brigantian territory, at Lincoln (LL Intr.). Nasica is otherwise unknown, but might have been an kinsman of the next known legate, Q. Petillius Cerialis *Caesius* Rufus. If so, he was Italian, probably from Umbria or the Sabine country (see under Gov. 9).

7. 60 IX Hispana, Quintus Petillius Cerialis Caesius Rufus
(*cos.* 70?, II 74)

See under Gov. 9.

8. 68 or earlier–7 XX Valeria Victrix, Marcus Roscius Coelius
(*cos.* 81)

Tac. *Hist.* 1. 60; cf. *Agr.* 7. 3: quoted under Gov. 8 above.

By spring 69 the governor Trebellius Maximus (Gov. 7) was hated by his army, stirred up by Roscius Coelius, legate of the Twentieth legion (Tac. *Hist.* 1. 60). As Roscius had been 'long since at odds' with Trebellius, he had clearly been appointed by Nero. After Trebellius' flight in April 69, the legionary legates ruled the province with shared authority, but Roscius was 'the more powerful'—the comparative should mean that there were only two of them and II Augusta was perhaps without a legate at the time (cf. under Trib. 8). He remained at his post after Trebellius' successor Bolanus (Gov. 8) arrived. His legion, as the account in the *Agricola* shows, was late in swearing allegiance to Vespasian and had made Bolanus, as well as Trebellius, nervous: the legate, unnamed in the *Agricola*, was unable to restrain it. Roscius was replaced in 70 by Agricola (Gov. 11). Nothing further is heard of him until 81, when he was consul, five years later than his successor: his conduct in 69 may have held him back. In the manuscripts of the *Histories* he is called Roscius C*a*elius or Celius. But the Arval Acts call him M. Roscius C*o*elius as consul.[25] The second *gentilicium* may have been used as a *cognomen*, in the Etruscan fashion;[26] but he

[25] Scheid, *CFA*, no. 49.
[26] H. Rix, *Das etruskische Cognomen* (1963), 325ff.; cf. Vettius Bolanus (Gov. 8).

probably had additional names, including Murena, since Q. Pompeius Falco (Gov. 17) included 'Roscius Coelius Murena' in his nomenclature; and there are several senatorial Roscii Murenae of the second and third centuries, perhaps his descendants. He was probably father of L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer, tribune of IX Hispana in the 80s (Trib. 10). The Roscii may have come from Sicily.[27]

9. 69–70 XIV Gemina, Marcus? Fabius Priscus

Tac. *Hist.* 4. 79. 3: *circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus, ne quarta decima legio, adiuncta Britannica classe, adflictaret Batavos, qua Oceano ambiuntur. sed legionem terrestri itinere Fabius Priscus legatus in Nervios Tungrosque duxit, eaeque civitates in deditionem acceptae: classem ultro Canninefates adgressi sunt maiorque pars navium depressa aut capta.*

4. 79. 3: Civilis had another concern, that the Fourteenth Legion, together with the British fleet, might harry the coastal parts of Batavian territory. The legate Fabius Priscus led the legion by the land route against the Nervii and Tungri, and the surrender of those states was received. The Canninefates spontaneously attacked the fleet and the greater part of its ships was sunk or captured.

Cf. 4. 68. 4: *XIV legio e Britannia, VI ac prima ex Hispania accitae.*

4. 68. 4: The Fourteenth legion was summoned from Britain, the Sixth and First from Spain.

XIV Gemina was withdrawn from Britain by Nero, *c.*66, to participate in his projected expedition to the Caucasus (*Hist.* 2. 11. 1). But after the battle of Bedriacum in April 69, where only detachments of XIV were present, on Otho's side (2. 43. 2), Vitellius sent the legion back to Britain (2. 66. 1–3). The XIVth was already being canvassed to join the Flavians in summer 69 (2. 86. 4), with what success is not known—it was II Augusta which took the lead in bringing the province over to Vespasian (3. 44, quoted under LL 2). Early in 70 XIV was summoned to help suppress the revolt in the Rhineland, where it was soon in action under Fabius Priscus. He might have been appointed only after the legion left Britain (for the last time), but could have been in command since summer 69.[28] Although the names are very common, he might be M. Fabius Priscus, known from a Tarraco inscription to have been *IIIIvir viarum curandarum*, *trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I*, *q(uaestor) provinciae Achaiae*. The absence of title for *legio I* supports a Julio-Claudian date, and the find-spot suggests that Tarraco was his home.[29] It is unknown whether he had held any other post, if he is identical with the commander of XIV Gemina, before taking over the legion.[30]

[27] *PIR*² R 94, cf. Stemmata 9–10 for the other Roscii. Sicilian origin: W. Eck, *ZPE* 113 (1996), 109ff.

[28] Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 10f., appears to excludes the possibility that Priscus served in Britain. For another view, E. Groag, *RE* 6 (1909), 1845, followed by Franke, *Legionslegaten*, 241.

[29] *CIL* ii. 4117 = *RIT* 134. Some readings of the now lost stone give the *gentilicium* as Fadius.

[30] Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 11, regards it as improbable that Priscus was still quaestorian.

10. 70–73 XX Valeria Victrix, Gnaeus Julius, Luci filius, Aniensis, Agricola (*cos.* 76?)

See Gov. 11.

11. *c.*76–79 IX Hispana, Gaius Caristanius, Gai filius, Sergia Fronto (*cos.* 90)

ILS 9485, Antiochia ad Pisidiam: *C. (Gaio) Carist[a]nio, C. (Gai) f(ilio), Ser(gia), F[ron]|toni, trib(uno) mil(itum), p[raef(ecto)] eq(uitum) al(ae) Bosp(oranorum), adl[e]|cto in senatu(m) inter* [4]*| tribunic(ios), promoto in|ter praetorios, leg(ato) pro | pr(aetore) Ponti et Bithyniae, leg(ato) imp(eratoris) | divi Vespasian(i) Aug(usti), leg(ionis)* [8]*| IX Hispanae in Britann(ia), | leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) divi Titi | Caes(aris) Aug(usti) et imp(eratoris) Domitian(i) Caes(aris) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Pam*[12]*|phyliae et Lyciae, patro|no col(oniae), T(itus) Caristanius Cal|purnianus Rufus, | ob merita eius h(onoris) ca(usa).*

To Gaius Caristanius, son of Gaius, Sergia, Fronto, military tribune, prefect of cavalry of the Ala Bosporanorum, adlected into the senate among the ex-tribunes, promoted to the ex-praetors, propraetorian legate of Pontus and Bithynia, legate of the Emperor, the deified Vespasianus Augustus, of the Ninth Legion Hispana in Britain, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the deified Titus Caesar Augustus, and of the Emperor Domitian Caesar Augustus of the province of Pamphylia and Lycia, patron of the *colonia*, Titus Caristanius Calpurnianus Rufus (set this up), on account of his merits, as a mark of honour.

Caristanius Fronto was an equestrian officer under Vespasian in 69, rewarded for his support by elevation to senatorial status;[31] the grant of tribunician rank at first, and then promotion to praetorian, is matched in the case of Salvius Liberalis (*iurid.* 1). As he mentions only Vespasian as the emperor whose legate he was, while both Titus and Domitian are mentioned for his next post, it is probable that he commanded IX Hispana *c.*76–9, under both Frontinus and Agricola (Gov. 10–11). His predecessor in Lycia-Pamphylia, T. Aurelius Quietus, is attested there by an inscription datable to 80 or 81. The latter year was presumably Fronto's first in the province. A new governor was in office in 85, and Fronto had probably been replaced in 84.[32] But he had to wait until 90 for the consulship.[33] His home was Pisidian Antioch, and he was a descendant of one of the Augustan colonists, C. Caristanius Fronto Caesianus Julius, also an equestrian officer.[34] C. Caristanius Julianus, proconsul of Achaia *c.*101, also promoted to senatorial rank after service as *praefectus equitum*, was either Fronto's younger brother or cousin.[35] Fronto's wife, Sergia L. f. Paulla, was

[31] *PIR*[2] C 423; Devijver, *PME* C 80; B. M. Levick, *Roman Colonies in S. Asia Minor* (1967), 111; Halfmann, *Senatoren*, 109.
[32] Thomasson, *LP* i. 277f.
[33] *AE* 1949. 23; Degrassi, *FC* 27.
[34] *PIR*[2] C 425; Devijver, *PME* C 81.
[35] *PIR*[2] C 426; Devijver, *PME* C 82; Thomasson, *LP* i. 192f.

from another family at the town, which had senators in the Julio-Claudian period.[36] They had two sons, Fronto and Paullinus. Nothing more is known of Fronto, but Paulinus might be attested at Antioch as tribune of XII Fulminata,[37] and just possibly as legionary legate in Britain, between *c.*98 and 105 (LL 14).

12. *c.*87? IX Hispana?, Ferox

TV ii. 154, Vindolanda: *XV K(alendas) Iuniias, n(umerus) p(urus) [co]h(ortis) I Tungro|rum, cui prae(e)est Iulius Vere|cundus praef(ectus): DCCLII, in is 7(centuriones) VI;*[4]*| ex eis absentes, | singulares leg(ati) XLVI | officio Ferocis* [the document continues for a further 21 lines, with more details of the whereabouts of soldiers in the cohort].

18 May, complete strength of the First Cohort of Tungrians, of which Julius Verecundus, prefect, is commander: 752 men, among them six centurions; of those, absent, as guards of the legate, 46, on the staff of Ferox . . . .

This writing-tablet can be dated archaeologically to Vindolanda's period I, *c.*85–92 (see under Gov. 12). Since other tablets call the governor *consularis* not *legatus*,[38] Ferox was presumably legate of a legion, IX Hispana, the most northerly, being the likeliest. But he ought also to have been acting-governor: normal legionary legates did have guards, but drawn from their own legion, not from auxiliary units.[39] It was suggested above that a possible occasion for an acting-governorship might have been the execution of Sallustius Lucullus, perhaps in 87 (Gov. 12). The fairly rare name Ferox[40] is attested for only two senators. Both could have commanded a legion under Domitian. Cn. Pompeius Ferox Licinianus (*cos.* 98) is only known as consul.[41] Ti. Julius Ferox (*cos.* 99), a correspondent of Pliny, who shared his literary activities (*Epp.* 7. 13), is likelier as the legate in the strength report. Pliny refers to him *c.*112 as former governor of a military province (10. 87. 3).[42]

[36] Halfmann, *Senatoren*, 101f., 105; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 702.

[37] *PIR*² C 424, 427. For the tribune: *JRS* 2 (1912), 102 no. 34, cf. Ritterling *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1708.

[38] *TV* ii. 223, 225, 248, 295, 404(?); *TV* iii 581.

[39] Convincingly argued by M. A. Speidel, *Festschrift Lieb* (1995), 43ff. However, he follows the dating of *TV* ii. 154 offered by the editors, *c.*92–7, which must be corrected, see Gov. 12 and n. 106 above.

[40] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 267 found just over fifty men called Ferox. Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 139, lists twenty in the Latin European provinces and Cisalpina.

[41] *PIR*² P 606 (mentioning the Vindolanda legate).

[42] *PIR*² J 306: he was Tiber curator 101–3, and proconsul of Asia. Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 210, suggests that he might have been governor of Germania Superior, Moesia Superior, or Britain in the period between 104 and 110.

13. *c.*93 XX Valeria Victrix, Titus Pomponius, Titi filius, Galeria, Mamilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus (*cos.* 100)

RIB 445, Chester (*Deva*): *Fortunae reduci,* | *[A]esculap(io), et saluti eius,* | *libert(i) et familia* [4]| *[T(iti)] P[o]mponi T(iti) f(ili) Gal(eria) Mamilian[i]* | *Rufi Antistiani Funisulan[i]* | *Vetton[i]ani, leg(ati) Aug(usti).*

To Fortuna the home-bringer, Aesculapius, and his health, the freedmen and household of Titus Pomponius, son of Titus, Galeria, Mamilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus, legate of the Emperor.

A man described as *leg. Aug.* but not *pr. pr.* at the legionary fortress of Deva can only be the legionary legate, clearly of XX Valeria Victrix (LL Intr.): the dedication suggests that he was unwell and eager to return home. He was consul in 100 and is presumably the Mamilianus who received two letters from Pliny (*Ep.* 9. 16, 9. 25); he was governing a military province ('beset with the business of the camps . . . your [legionary] eagles') when Pliny wrote the second one, *c.*108 or 109. Britain cannot be ruled out.[43] His legionary command presumably came in the early 90s. He was clearly connected with the Flavian general L. Funisulanus L. f. Ani. Vettonianus, perhaps assuming his names after a legacy. Mamilianus' tribe Galeria surely indicates Spanish origin, which applies to Funisulanus.[44] Pliny calls him 'very learned and serious, and above all very sincere' (he had praised Pliny's verses). T. Pomponius Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus (*cos.* 121) was presumably his son.[45]

14. between *c.*98 and 105 IX Hispana?, Caristanius Paullinus?

TV ii. 326 = A. R. Birley, *Electrum*, 5 (2001), 24, Vindolanda: i: . . . *Ca̤ri̤ṣta̤ni̤ Pa̤ulli̤n̤[i]?* | *c(larissimi) v(iri) de . . . us enim illis Ve*|*recundi furis ma̤te̤ri̤s p[. . .].* ii: . . . *di̤cṳn̤ . . . ua̤s rogo* | *sicut here coepisti̤ i̤nquiras* | *in q[u]a . . . [ ].*

i: . . . of Caristanius? Paullinus?, senator. For about those . . . of Verecundus you are enraged(?) . . . ii: . . . I ask that, just as you started doing yesterday, you enquire . . .

This letter found at Vindolanda in a period III level, that is, *c.*98–105, clearly referred to a senator, as the abbreviated title *c. v.* (with medial point) shows, probably a legionary legate. Of his name only the bottom of the lettering is

[43] *PIR*² P 734. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (1966), 500, dated the letter 107–8; Syme, *RP* v (1988), 487, hinted at 109; but *RP* iv. 150 noted that '[t]he province evades conjecture . . . legionary legates in Britain . . . seldom return as consulars', citing *FRB* 29.

[44] Syme, *RP* iv (1988), 150f. Funisulanus (*cos.* 78), legate of Pannonia and Moesia Superior, *ILS* 1005, evidently came from Saragossa; Syme suggested that Mamilianus' grandfather might have married into this family. See also Caballos, *Senadores*, 146ff., 269f.

[45] *PIR*² P 698. The next generation may be represented by the Antistianus who had a rescript from Pius, *CJ* 6. 24. 1, noted by Syme, *RP* iv. 152.

preserved. The editors offer a partial reading: . . . *ṇ* . . . *ul. i̯. [ ]*. This alone might be sufficient to restore *-n[i] [Pa]ul[l]i[ni]*; the traces are compatible with the reading offered above. A possible identification is a son of Caristanius Fronto, legate of IX Hispana under Vespasian (11 above). IX Hispana, the most northerly legion, is the likeliest for him to have commanded.

15. *c.*104–106 II Augusta, Aulus Larcius, Auli filius, Quirina, Priscus (*cos.* 110)

AE 1908. 237, Foum-Merial: dedication to Juppiter Optimus Maximus by Larcius Priscus; the career is as in that below, but has different abbreviations, is free of the mistakes in lines 3–4, and lacks the proconsulship of Narbonensis, designation to the consulship, and priesthood.

CIL viii. 17891=*ILS* 1055, Timgad (*Thamugadi*): *A(ulo) Larcio, A(uli) filio, Quirina, Prisco, | VIvir(o) equitum | Romanor(um), Xvir(o) stliti(us) iudicand(is), quaestor(i) | provinciae Asiae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) III⟨I⟩ Scythicae,* [4] *| ped* (sic: for *pro*) *leg(ato) consulare provinciae Syriae, trib(uno) pleb(is), | praetori, praef(ecto) frumenti dandi ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), leg(ato) pro | vinciae Baeticae Hispaniae, proco(n)s(uli) provin | ciae Galliae Narbon(ensis), leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), leg(ato)* [8] *| Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) exercitus provinc(iae) Afric(ae), VIIvir(o) | epulonum, co(n)s(uli) design(ato), patrono col(oniae), d(ecreto) decurionum), p(ecunia) p(ublica).*

To Aulus Larcius, son of Aulus, Quirina, Larcius Priscus, *sevir* of Roman knights, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, quaestor of the province of Asia, legate of the Emperor of the Fourth Legion Scythica, acting consular legate of the province of Syria, tribune of the plebs, praetor, *praefectus frumenti dandi* by decree of the senate, legate of the province of Baetica Hispania, proconsul of the province of Gallia Narbonensis, legate of the Emperor of the Second Legion Augusta, legate of the Emperor of the army of the province of Africa, *septemvir epulonum*, consul designate, patron of the *colonia*, by decree of the decurions, with public money.

The second text, with additional posts, is the later. At first sight it suggests that he was legate of II Augusta after being proconsul of Narbonensis. But the legion is already mentioned in the earlier dedication: he clearly went from Numidia to Narbonensis, and was there designated to the consulship for 110.[46] The proconsulship was held at latest 108–9, the command in Numidia *c.*106–8, that in Britain *c.*104–6.[47] The two posts after the praetorship, proconsular legate in Baetica and *praefectus frumenti dandi*, were presumably occupied 102–4. His praetorship should have come *c.*101, his quaestorship *c.*96–7. The dating explains the unusual feature in his early career. He was quaestor in Asia when Domitian's death and Nerva's accession brought wholesale changes in

[46] In the Thamugadi inscription the proconsulship is placed out of order, to make a block of three senatorial appointments, followed by two posts in the emperor's service: thus E. Birley, JRS 52 (1962), 224f., accepted by Thomasson, *Fasti*, 141f. The consulship, for the last months of 110: *FO*^{2} 47.

[47] Eck, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 341f. n. 250; Franke, *Legionslegaten*, 38; Thomasson, *Fasti*, 141f.

the East, including Priscus' appointment as legate of IV Scythica and acting-governor of Syria. He must have temporarily replaced the man referred to by Pliny, 'then in the east in command of a powerful army, about whom serious rumours were circulating' (*Ep.* 9. 13. 11).[48] This brief emergency post did not influence his later career. No consular posts are recorded.[49] His father was evidently A. Larcius Lepidus Sulpicianus, from Antium, who commanded a legion in Judaea in 70, among other posts, his mother perhaps Caecinia Larga.[50]

16. *c.*116–119 II *or* VIII Augusta, Gaius Calpurnius, . . . filius, Quirina, Flaccus (*cos. c.*123)

IGR iii. 991, Salamis (Cyprus): [*Γ(άιον) Καλπούρνιον, . . . υἱόν,*] *Κυρείνα, Φλάκκον,* | [*ὕπατον, ἀνθύπατον Κύπρου, πρεσβευτὴν*] *καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον αὐτοκ*[*ράτορος* | *Τραιανοῦ Ἁδρ*]*ιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρχείας Λου*[*σιτανίας,* [4]| *ἡγεμόνα λεγ*(*ιῶνος*) *β'*(?) *Σεβ*]*αστῆς, ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδῶν Αὐρηλίας κα*[*ὶ τριουμφάλης* (?), | *στρατηγόν, δήμαρχον, ταμίαν Ῥωμαίων, χιλίαρχον* [*λεγ*(*ιῶνος*) . . . ,] | *ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν ὁδῶν ἐπιμελητὴ*[*ν . . . , |ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σα*]*λ*[*α*]*μινίων, τιμῆς χάριν.*

To Gaius Calpurnius, son of . . . , Quirina, Flaccus, consul, proconsul of Cyprus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor Traianus Hadrianus Augustus of the province of Lusitania, legate of the . . . legion Augusta, curator of the Viae Aurelia and Triumphalis?, praetor, tribune of the plebs, quaestor, tribune of the . . . Legion . . . , *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, the council and people of the Salaminians (set this up) as a mark of honour.

The legate's names and the chronology of his career are confirmed by another inscription from Salamis, set up in 123.[51] His proconsulship of Cyprus followed the governorship of Lusitania and preceded the command of a legion with the title Augusta. Alföldy argues that II Augusta is likelier than VIII Augusta, since no known post-Flavian legates of the latter governed praetorian provinces.[52] He was presumably legate *c.*116–19. Alföldy points out elsewhere that he could be son of Pliny's friend Calpurnius Flaccus (*Ep.* 5. 2), identifiable with C. Calpurnius P. f. Quirina, Flaccus, *flamen* of Tarraconensis, perhaps in office when Hadrian visited Tarraco and this legate was proconsul of Cyprus.[53] He went on to the consulship, *c.*123, with L. Trebius Germanus, governor of Britain in 127 (Gov. 20).

[48] Identified as M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus by G.Alföldy and H. Halfmann, *Chiron*, 3 (1973), 331ff., repr. in Alföldy, *Heeresgeschichte*, 153ff.; see esp. 361ff. = 183ff., with *add.*, 195ff., esp. 199ff.; see now id., *REMA* 1 (2004), 58ff.

[49] *PIR*² L 103, with further references.

[50] Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, nos. 160, 341 (with details of his son and grandson, cf. *PIR*² L 152, 92–3). For the origin of the Larcii see also O. Salomies, in H. Solin (ed.), *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* (1996), 32f.; Andermahr, *Totus*, 317f., with further references.

[51] *SEG* 23. 609.

[52] Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 65.

[53] G. Alföldy, *Flamines Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* (1973), 66f.

17. early Hadrianic IX Hispana, Lucius Aninius, Luci filius, Papiria, Sextius Florentinus

CIL iii. 87+14148[10], Petra: *L(ucio) [A]ninio, L(uci) fil(io), Pap(iria), Sextio Florentino, IIIviro aur(o) arg(ento) flando, trib(uno) milit(um) | leg(ionis) I Minerviae, quaest(ori) prov(inciae) A[c]haiae, trib(uno) pleb(is), leg(ato) leg(ionis) VIIII Hisp(anae), proco(n)s(uli) | pr[ov(inciae) N]arb(onensis), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Arab(iae), patri piis[sim]o ex testamento ipsius.*

To Lucius Aninius, son of Lucius, Papiria, Sextius Florentinus, mintmaster, military tribune of the First Legion Minervia, quaestor of the province of Achaia, tribune of the plebs, legate of the Ninth Legion Hispana, proconsul of the province of Narbonensis, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Arabia, a most devoted father, in accordance with his testament.

Florentinus' *cursus* is inscribed on 'the finest of all the tombs in the necropolis at Petra'.[54] A papyrus shows that he was governing Arabia on 2 December 127; his predecessor and successor are also attested, on 12 October 125 and in 130.[55] Hence he can hardly have taken up the post before 126. His proconsulship of Narbonensis preceded this, from 124 to 125, and his command of IX Hispana can be dated to Hadrian's first few years. His career opened as a mint-master, the most prestigious appointment in the vigintivirate, followed by a tribunate with the Lower German legion I Minervia, probably *c.*110. The praetorship is omitted on the inscription, presumably by oversight.[56] A possible kinswoman is Aninia Senecilla, whose name occurs on a water-pipe from Rome.[57] The daughter or son who erected his funerary monument withheld their name. No other senatorial Aninii are known, but there are various Sextii.[58] The jurist Florentinus, active in the later second century, and the third-century writer on rural affairs of the same name, might be descendants.[59] His tribe, Papiria, is too widely distributed in Italy and the provinces to give a clue to his origin.[60]

18. *c.*122 VI Victrix, [Marcus? Valerius, Marci? filius, G]aleria, [Propinquus?] Grani[us Fabianus?] Grattius [Cerealis?] Geminius R[estitutus?] (*cos.* 126)

CIL ii. 6084=G. Alföldy, *RIT* 149, Tarraco: *[M(arco)? Valerio, M(arci)? f(ilio), | G]al(eria), [Propinquo] | Grani[o Fabiano?]* [4]*| Grattio [Cereali?] | Geminio R[estituto?], | praetori, XV[vir(o) sacris] | faciundis, lega[to Aug(usti)]* [8]*| leg(ionis) VI Victricis [piae fidelis], legato provinc(iae) A[quitanic(ae)?], consuli,*

[54] R. E. Brünnow and A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* (1909), 169.

[55] N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri* (1991) nos. 16 (giving his *praenomen* as Titus), 23, 25–6.

[56] *aer(e)* and *feriundo* are also omitted in l. 1.

[57] *CIL* xv. 7384: see W. Eck, *EOS* i. 211; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 48.

[58] *PIR*[1] S 462 ff.

[59] *PIR*[2] F 454, 454a.

[60] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271.

curator[i alvei] | Tiberis et cloacar(um) [urbis, leg(ato) [12]*| Germaniae inferio[ris, proco(n)s(uli)] | provinciae Asiae, ex [testamento] | Sex(ti) Pompei Ter[tulliani?] | amico op[timo].*

To ?Marcus Valerius, son of Marcus?, Galeria, Propinquus Granius Fabianus? Grattius Cerealis? Geminius Restitutus?, praetor, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, legate of the Emperor of the Sixth Legion Victrix Pia Fidelis, legate of the province of Aquitania?, consul, curator of the Tiber bed and sewers of the city, legate of Germania Inferior, proconsul of the province of Asia, (set up) in accordance with the testament of Sextus Pompeius Tertullianus?, to his best of friends.

Alföldy restores this man's missing names on the basis of the surviving ones, which link him with members of the Spanish élite of the late first and early second centuries. He was probably son of M. Valerius Propinquus Grattius Cerealis of Liria.[61] No posts before the praetorship seem to be mentioned, so he had probably been adlected into the senate with tribunician or aedilician rank after service as an equestrian officer.[62] His co-option as *quindecimvir* immediately after the praetorship indicates influential support.[63] The chronology depends on the assumption that his principal *cognomen* was Propinquus. Three early second-century brick-stamps from Rome are dated *Propinquo et Ambibulo cos*. As one bears the same formula as a stamp of the *consules ordinarii* of 126, *Vero III et Ambib(ul)o cos*., Propinquus must have been the suffect who replaced Verus, in spite of being named before Ambibulus.[64] After the legateship of VI Victrix he was governor of a province beginning with the letter A, clearly Aquitania.[65] If he stayed in the province as consul, his governorship could be dated *c*.123–126. He might have commanded VI Victrix for a year or two in Germania Inferior, conducted it to Britain, then handed over to Tullius Varro, surely his successor, for he was consul a year after Propinquus.[66] After the consulship Propinquus was Tiber curator, then,

[61] G. Alföldy, on *RIT* 149, cites M. Valerius M. f. Gal. Propinquus Grattius Cerealis (*RIT* 311), a Flavian equestrian officer (Devijver, *PME* V 30), probably the legate's father, from Liria; L. Valerius L. f. Gal. Propinquus, a 2nd-cent. *flamen* of Hispania citerior (310); C. Cornelius Q. f. Gal. Restitutus [Gra]ttius Cerealis of Saguntum (*CIL* ii. 3851), a Flavian or Antonine equestrian officer (Devijver, *PME* C 247); [G]emin[i]a C.f. Restituta of Ebusus (II 3659); and Q. Licinius M. f. Gal. Silvanus Granianus, of Tarraco (*RIT* 288–9, 321), an equestrian with senatorial descendants (cf. Trib. 15). The career was fully discussed by Syme, *RP* v (1988), 579ff.; see also Caballos, *Senadores*, 319ff., with full bibliography; and the summary in *PIR*[2] P 1011.

[62] Syme, *RP* v. 581, 598, noted that if his last name was R[ectus] rather than R[estitutus], there would be space to restore *[q(uaestori), tr(ibuno) pl(ebis)]* at the end of l. 4.

[63] Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 234 (suggesting, implausibly, that he was patrician). Syme, *RP* v (1988), 585f., noted that there may have been extra vacancies in the priestly colleges early in Hadrian's reign, after deaths from pestilence brought back from the Parthian war.

[64] L. Schumacher, *ZPE* 24 (1977), 155ff., on *CIL* xv. 127, 375, 1288a–b. He was previously assumed to have been consul in 132 or 133.

[65] Arabia is excluded, since another governor is attested in 125: *AE* 1976. 791, Gerasa; Syme, *RP* v. 582 (also dismissing Achaia and Africa as possibilities).

[66] Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 65 (still assuming that he was consul in 132 or 133), puts his command in Britain; Eck, *Statthalter*, 247, in Germany, *c*.120.

*c.*130, governor of Germania Inferior.[67] Finally, he was proconsul of Asia, *c.*141–2.[68]

19. *c.*122 VI Victrix, Publius Tullius, Varronis filius, Stellatina Varro (*cos.* 127)

CIL x. 3364 = *ILS* 1047, *Tarquinii: P(ublio) Tullio,* | *Varronis fil(io), Stel(latina), Varroni, co(n)s(uli),* [4] | *auguri, proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae)* | *Africae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)* | *Moesiae superior(is), curat(ori)* [8] | *alvei Tiberis et riparum* | *et cloacarum urbis, praef(ecto)* | *aerari Saturn(i), proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae)* [12] | *Baeticae ulterioris Hispa*|*niae, leg(ato) leg(ionum) XII Fulminatae* | *et VI Victricis p(iae) f(idelis),* | *praetori, aedil(i) Ceriali,* [16] | *quaestori urb(ano), tribuno milit(um) leg(ionis) XVI Fl(aviae), Xviro stlitibus* | *iudicand(is), praetori Etruriae, quinquennali Tarquinis,* [20] | *P(ublius) Tullius Callistio* | *posuit.*

To Publius Tullius, son of Varro, Stellatina, Varro, consul, augur, proconsul of the province of Africa, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of Moesia Superior, curator of the bed and banks of the Tiber and the sewers of the city, prefect of the Treasury of Saturn, proconsul of the province of Baetica, Further Spain, legate of the Legions Twelfth Fulminata and Sixth Victrix Pia Fidelis, praetor, *aedilis Cerialis*, urban quaestor, military tribune of the Sixteenth Legion Flavia, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, praetor of Etruria, *duumvir quinquennalis* at Tarquinii, Publius Tullio Callistio set this up.

Varro, from Tarquinii in Etruria, served there as quinquennalis and was also 'praetor of Etruria'; his father of the same names had risen to the proconsulship of Macedonia.[69] His early career was unremarkable. After the praetorship he was legate of the Cappadocian legion XII Fulminata, possibly late in the Parthian War, then of VI Victrix. It was rare to command more than one legion: recorded cases can mostly be explained by unusual circumstances, such as the transfer of the second one to a new province. But if he was commanding VI Victrix when it was transferred to Britain in 122, or soon after, he cannot have stayed there long: he went on to be proconsul of Baetica and Treasury prefect before becoming consul in April 127. After his consulship he was Tiber curator, legate of Moesia Superior, presumably in the early 130s, and proconsul of Africa, *c.*142.[70] His social standing is demonstrated by his augurship.

[67] Eck, *Statthalter*, 166f.; Syme, *RP* v. 583f. (perhaps slightly earlier); Caballos, *Senadores*, 320 (perhaps slightly later).

[68] Syme, *RP* v. 584f.

[69] *ILS* 1002. It is generally assumed that Varro's elder brother was P. Dasumius Rusticus, *cos.ord.* 119 as colleague of Hadrian, thought to have been adopted by a kinsman of Hadrian called Dasumius: thus e.g. M. Torelli, *EOS* ii. 294; Syme, *RP* v (1988), 521ff., and stemma, 544; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 308; Caballos, *Senadores*, 353f. But Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 98f., shows convincingly that the link between Tullii and Dasumii came later, with the adoption of Varro's son, L. Dasumius P. f. Tullius Tuscus (*cos.* 152), by a Dasumius. Approved by Andermahr, *Totus*, 453f., who gives other evidence for the landholding of the Tullii.

[70] Thomasson, *Fasti*, 61.

20. *c.*124–127 XX Valeria Victrix, Gaius Cassius,? Agrippi? filius, Agripp[a?]] (*cos.* 130?)

AE 1950. 251, Nicaea: [*Γαίον? Κάσ*]*σιον* [*Ἀγρίππαν*?, | *Μάρκου? Κασσίου? Ἀγρί*]|*ππου υἱόν*, [. . . *ἀνθύπατον Ἱσπα*|*νίας*] *Βαιτικῆς, πρεσβευτὴν*] *αὐτοκράτορος* [4]| *λεγ*]*ιῶνος κ' Οὐαλε*[*ρίας Νικηφόρου, στρατηγόν,*]| *πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντι*[*στράτηγον ἐπαρχείας*] | *Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης,* | *δήμαρχον*?, *ταμίαν*] | *ἐπαρχείας* [. . . , *χιλίαρχον*] [8]| *λεγιῶν*[*ος* . . .].

In honour of Gaius? Cassius Agrippa, son of Marcus Cassius? Agrippa, proconsul of Hispania Baetica, legate of the Emperor of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, praetor, propraetorian legate of the province of Crete and Cyrene, tribune of the plebs?, quaestor of the province of . . . , tribune of the . . . Legion . . .

This man has generally been identified as the *cos.* 130, [Ca]ssius Agri[ppa] or Agri[ppinus], and his names are restored on this stone accordingly.[71] It has been argued that *Ἀγρίππου* is incorrect as the genitive of *Ἀγρίππα*, and that the father's name must have ended in *-ππος*, for example, *Φίλιππος*.[72] But the genitive *Ἀγρίππου* is otherwise attested,[73] and the identification may be regarded as perfectly possible. A further post was probably held after the proconsulship of Baetica.[74] If he is the consul [Ca]ssius Agri[. .], he must have preceded Aemilius Papus, legate of the XXth in 128, whose consulship was in 135 (LL 21). His earlier career was straightforward. No post in the vigintivirate is preserved, but mention of a legion in line 7 must refer to a military tribunate, *ἐπαρχείας* before it to a provincial quaestorship. Either tribunate of the plebs or aedileship can be restored in line 6 and the next post as a legateship in Crete-Cyrene, evidently before the praetorship, which must have come in line 4. If he was a Cassius, it is natural to conclude that he was from the family of Cassius Dio and a native of Nicaea, where his *cursus* was found—nothing in the surviving portion of his career connects him with the city or with Bithynia.[75]

21. 128 XX Valeria Victrix, Marcus Cutius Priscus Messius Rusticus Aemilius, Marci filius, Galeria, Papus Arrius Proculus Julius Celsus (*cos.* 135)

CIL ii. 1371, Callenses: set up by Papus himself to Hadrian 'best of emperors' in 128, with the legionary command the latest item in his career; he lacks the names Cutius Priscus, but was already *sodalis Augustalis*; the legion in which he was military tribune is correctly given as III Augusta.

[71] Alföldy, *Fasti*, 168, suggesting that his father was M. Cassius M. f. Agrippa, procurator of Baetica, *CIL* ii. 2212.

[72] H.-G. Pflaum, *AEA* 39 (1966), 15ff., esp. 21.

[73] *ILS* 8784, Thasos: *Ἰουλίαν Μάρκου Ἀγ*[*ρ*]*ίππου θυγατέρα.*

[74] Eck, *ANRW* 2/1 (174), 202 n. 213, cf. id., *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 86f.

[75] Thus W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 86f.; Pflaum, *AEA* 39 (1966), 15ff.; Halfmann, *Senatoren*, 194. Caballos, *Senadores*, 96, argues that he was from Baetica.

CIL ii. 1283, Salpensa: *M(arco) Cutio, M(arci) f(ilo), Gal(eria), Prisco Messio* | *Rustico Aemilio Papo Ar[r]rio Proculo* | *Iulio Celso, co(n)s(uli), sodal(i) Augustal(i),* [4]| *leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [T(iti)] Aelii Hadriani* | *[Antonini] Aug(usti) Pii provinc(iae) D[e]mat(iae), curator[i]* | *operum publicorum, praefecto aerarii Saturni, leg(ato) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis),* [8]| *curator(i) viae Aureliae, pr(aetori) peregrino,* | *trib(uno) pleb(is), [q(uaestori)] pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Africae,* | *trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VII* (sic) *Aug(ustae),* | *IIIIvir(o) viarum curandarum,* [12]| *Caesia Senil[l]a amico* | *optimo.*

To Marcus Cutius, son of Marcus, Galeria, Priscus Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arrius Proculus Julius Celsus, consul, *sodalis Augustalis*, propraetorian legate of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius of the province of Dalmatia, curator of public works, prefect of the Treasury of Saturn, legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, curator of the Via Aurelia, praetor *peregrinus*, tribune of the plebs, propraetorian quaestor of the province of Africa, military tribune of the Third Legion Augusta, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, Caesia Senilla (set this up), to her best of friends.

This legate was certainly in office in 128, when he set up a statue to Hadrian at Callenses in Baetica, near his home at Siarum in Baetica.[76] The legionary legateship is the last post mentioned; his appointment may have occasioned the dedication. He presumably served under Trebius Germanus (Gov. 20), at a time when wall-building was still in progress. His principal names were Aemilius Papus: he is so named as curator of public works ten years later.[77] He was son of the Aemilius Papus known as a senatorial friend of Hadrian at the time of Trajan's Parthian war (*HA Hadr.* 4. 2).[78] The names recall an early Republican family, with a dictator in the fourth century BC and consuls in the third; hardly his ancestors.[79] The epitaph for Papus' brother, set up near Tibur by Aemilius Papus and Cutia Prisca, his parents, indicates that the family had property there, like other Spanish notables.[80] Papus clearly acquired the names Cutius Priscus from his mother, Messius Rusticus by inheritance from the *cos.* 114.[81] The sources of the others are unknown. After the vigintivirate, Papus was tribune of III Augusta, probably late in Trajan's reign, quaestor of Africa, tribune of the plebs, and praetor. Before his legionary command he was road curator, after it Treasury prefect. He was consul in 135, with Burbuleius Optatus (Trib. 12), whose daughter married Papus' son,[82] and curator of public works in 138. Later he became governor of

[76] For the origin and links with several other places in Baetica see Caballos, *Senadores*, 222f.

[77] *CIL* vi. 998; *AE* 1934. 146, Rome; also *CIL* ii. 1282a, Salpensa. In spite of this he and his family are included among the Messii in *PIR*², M 520b, 523–6.

[78] Thus H.-G. Pflaum, *Klio*, 46 (1955), 331ff., restoring the text as *Sosi* ⟨*Senecionis, Aemili*⟩ *Papi, et Platori Nepotis*.

[79] *RE* 1/1 (1893), 575f. A son of the legionary legate was called among other names 'Aemilius Lepidus', Caballos, *Senadores*, 213f.

[80] *CIL* xiv. 3615, cf. *PIR*² M 523–4, stemma p. 266 and *add.* p. 329; Caballos, *Senadores*, 217f.; C 1644; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 307. Spaniards at Tibur: Syme, *Tacitus*, 602; id., *RP* iii. 94ff.

[81] *PIR*² M 521.

[82] *AE* 1983. 517, cf. Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 150; 1999. 1352 = *RMD* iv. 260.

Dalmatia, in office in 147.[83] In spite of his father's friendship with Hadrian, he was not *candidatus* of the emperor, nor did he hold a major priesthood. He had two sons, both polyonymous, and a nephew, C. Julius Pisibanus Aemilius Papus.[84]

22. *c.*130 VI Victrix, Lucius Minicius, Luci filius, Galeria, Natalis Quadronius Verus (*cos.* 139)

CIL xiv. 3599 = *ILS* 1061 = *Inscr. It.* iv. 113, Tibur: *L(ucio) Minicio, L(uci) f(ilio), Gal(eria), Natali | Quadronio Vero, co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) | prov(inciae) Africae, auguri, leg(ato) Aug(usti)* [4] *| pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Moesiae infer(ioris), | curatori operum publicorum | et aedium sacrar(um), curat(ori) viae | Flamin(iae), praef(ecto) alimentor(um), leg(ato)* [8] *| Aug(usti) leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) in Britannia, | praetori, trib(uno) pleb(is) candidato, | quaestori candidato divi | Hadriani et eodem tempore legato* [12] *| prov(inciae) Afric(ae) dioeceseos Carthaginien(sis) | proconsulis patris sui, trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I | Adiut(ricis) p(iae) f(idelis), item leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), item leg(ionis) XIIII Gemin(ae) Martiae victric(is), IIIviro* [16] *| monetali a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) f(lando) f(eriundo), patrono munipiii, | curat(ori) fani Herc(ulis) V(ictoris), decuriones Tiburt(ini) | ex aere collato, q(uin)q(uennali) maximi exempli.* (At the side) *curante | M(arco) Tullio Blaeso.*

To Lucius Minicius, son of Lucius, Galeria, Natalis Quadronius Verus, consul, proconsul of the province of Africa, augur, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Moesia Inferior, curator of public works and sacred buildings, curator of the Via Flaminia, prefect of the *alimenta*, legate of the Emperor of the Sixth Legion Victrix in Britain, praetor, tribune of the plebs as candidate, quaestor as candidate of the Deified Hadrian and at the same time legate of the province of Africa for the dioecese of Carthage under his father as proconsul, military tribune of the First Legion Adiutrix, also of the Eleventh Legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, also of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina Martia Victrix, mint-master, patron of the *municipium*, curator of the shrine of Hercules Victor, the councillors of Tibur, from money that was collected, (set this up) to their most exemplary *quinquennalis*; Marcus Tullius Blaesus took charge of the work.

The full career is also recorded by *CIL* ii. 4510, Barcino; xi. 3002, *ager Viterbensis*; *IGR* i. 658, Callatis.

This legate can be dated to *c.*130. He was a native of Barcino (Barcelona) in Tarraconensis, where he was born,[85] one of several Spanish senators with property at Tibur,[86] and son of one of 'the younger Trajanic marshals', also called L. Minicius Natalis (*cos.* 106).[87] His career started remarkably: after

[83] *CIL* ii. 1282. He might have taken up this post several years earlier: Caballos, *Senadores*, 221, with further references.

[84] *PIR*² M 520b, + *add.*, p. 329, 525, J 463–4; Caballos, *Senadores*, 213ff., 218ff.; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 34.

[85] *CIL* ii. 4511 = *Ampurias*, 28 (1966), 125, Barcino: he was born in January or February, probably in 96 or 97, *PIR*² M 620; Caballos, *Senadores*, 227ff., who also notes (182f.) that his name 'Quadronius' suggests links with his father's consular colleague Q. Licinius Silvanus, whose son was also a Quadronius (cf. also Trib. 15).

[86] Syme, *Tacitus*, 602; id., *RP* iii. 94ff.

[87] Syme, *Tacitus*, 649ff.; *PIR*² M 619; Caballos, *Senadores*, 226f.

being mint-master, he was tribune in three successive legions, for which Hadrian is the only parallel.[88] All were Danubian, the third being XIV Gemina in Pannonia Superior, surely under his father, governor from 112 to 117.[89] He entered the senate as quaestor of the emperor, but instead of staying at Rome served as legate to the proconsul of Africa, his father, probably in 121–2.[90] There followed the tribunate of the plebs as Hadrian's candidate and the praetorship—no later than 128: he won the four-horse chariot race at the Olympic Games of 129 as 'ex-praetor'.[91] He presumably came to Britain *c.*130, to serve under Julius Severus (Gov. 21), formerly legate of XIV Gemina, probably when Natalis was tribune in that legion. Perhaps Severus recommended him: governors seem normally to have had no say in appointing legionary legates, but Hadrian may have waived precedent on occasion (cf. LL 24). Thereafter he had administrative duties in Italy, was consul in 139,[92] curator of public works, governor of Moesia Inferior, and proconsul of Africa. Although no literary source names him, his personality emerges from numerous incriptions. He was extremely wealthy, somewhat vain, and a devotee of various religious cults.[93] He became an augur as a quaestorian, an indication of influential patronage.[94] After his father's death this may have declined.

23. late Hadrianic VI Victrix, Quintus Antonius Isauricus
(*cos. c.*143)

RIB 644, York (*Eburacum*): *Deae* | *Fortunae* | *Sosia* [4]| *Iuncina* | *Q(uinti) Antoni Isaurici, leg(ati) Aug(usti).*

To the goddess Fortuna, Sosia Juncina, wife of Quintus Antonius Isauricus, legate of the Emperor.

A *leg. Aug.* at York must be a legionary legate rather than governor. He is surely the suffect consul Q. Antonius I[sa]u[ricus], in office *c.*143,[95] so may be assumed to have commanded VI Victrix late in Hadrian's reign, *c.*135. Nothing else is known of his career. Quinti Antonii are rare everywhere and

[88] *ILS* 308, Athens; *HA Hadr.* 2. 2–5.

[89] Thomasson, *LP* i. 103; id., *Op. Rom.* 24 (1999), 165.

[90] Thomasson, *Fasti*, 54.

[91] *SIG* ii[3]. 840, Olympia. See now A. Krieckhaus, in L. de Blois et al. (eds.), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power* (2003), 302 ff.

[92] *CIL* xvi. 175. This meant that he was consul at 42, the 'minimum' age. Because of his favoured earlier career he might have expected the office earlier. Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 232, denies that Natalis had lost favour with Hadrian, although several men did so in the 130s, *HA Hadr.* 15. 2 ff., 23. 1 ff. A. Krieckhaus (previous note), 313 ff., conjectures that Natalis' loss of favour might have been due to marriage links with another Barcino family, that of Hadrian's ill-fated grand-nephew, the Pedanii.

[93] E. Groag, *RE* 15/2 (1932), 1840 f.

[94] *CIL* ii. 6145 = *ILS* 1029, Barcino.

[95] Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 144 f.

only one other known senator is so named.[96] 'Isauricus' recalls the *cos. ord.* 79 BC and his son, *cos. II ord.* 41 BC, P. Servilius Isauricus. The latter had several children (Cic. *Phil.* 12. 5), and apparent descendants may be detected as late as the second century.[97] Antonius Isauricus might perhaps descend from them through the female line. His wife was perhaps connected with the family of Q. Sosius Senecio (*cos. II ord.* 107).[98]

24. late Hadrianic VI Victrix, Publius Mummius, Publii filius, Galeria, Sisenna Rutilianus (*cos.* 146)

CIL xiv. 3601 = *Inscr. It.* iv. 115, Tibur: *P(ublio) Mummio, P(ublii) f(ilio), Gal(eria) Si|sennae Rutiliano, co(n)s(uli), | auguri, proco(n)s(uli)* [4] *| provinc(iae) Asiae, legato Aug(usti) | pr(o) pr(aetore) Moesiae Inferioris, | praef(ecto) alimentorum per Aemiliam, | praef(ecto) aer(ari) Saturni, leg(ato) leg(ionis) VI* [8] *| Victric(is), praetori, tr(ibuno) pl(ebis), quaest(ori), | trib(uno) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae), Xviro stli|tib(us) iudic(andis), patrono munici|pii, cur(atori) fani H(erculis) V(ictoris), salio, Her*[12] *|culanii Augustales, | l(ocus) d(atus) s(enatus) c(onsulto). dedicato kal(endis) Iun(iis), Maximo | et Orfito co(n)s(ulibus), curantibus P(ublio) Ragonio Satur|nino et C. (Gaio) Marcio Marciano, q(uaestores)* [16] *|ordinis Augustalium Tiburtium.*

To Publius Mummius, son of Publius, Galeria, Sisenna, consul, augur, proconsul of the province of Asia, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of Moesia Superior, prefect of the *alimenta* in the Aemilia region, prefect of the Treasury of Saturn, legate of the Sixth Legion Victrix, praetor, tribune of the plebs, quaestor, tribune of the Fifth Legion Macedonica, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, patron of the *municipium*, curator of the shrine of Hercules Victor, *salius*, the Herculian Augustales (set this up), the place being given by decree of the council. Dedicated on the Kalends of June when Maximus and Orfitus were consuls (1 June 172), Publius Ragonius Saturninus and Gaius Marcius Marcianus, quaestors of the order of Augustales, having charge of the work.

CIL xiv. 4244 = *Inscr. It.* iv. 116, Tibur, undated, gives the same *cursus*.

These inscriptions set out a conventional career. A different impression is given of Rutilianus in Lucian's *Alexander*, on the oracle-monger of Abonuteichus in Paphlagonia. 'A man of good family and tested in many Roman offices, but utterly sick as far as the gods were concerned', Rutilianus was the most distinguished of Alexander's many adherents. On hearing about the new oracle, 'he almost abandoned the office entrusted to him to rush to Abonuteichus' (*Alex.* 30). Lucian's chronological data show that the 'office' must have been the proconsulship of Asia, *c.*160–1.[99] Soon afterwards he married the prophet's

[96] Q. Antonius Cassius Cassianus (*cos.a.inc.*), *PIR*² A 819.

[97] Two owners of brick-works in or near Rome in the early 2nd cent., Plotia (Servilia) Isaurica), *PIR*² P 524; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 620; Flavia Seia Isaurica, *FOS*, no. 380; and Caesennius Servilius Isauricus, a senator of the late Antonine and Severan period, *PIR*² C 175.

[98] *FOS*, no. 721, cf. 719, Sosia Frontina, daughter of Senecio: no husband is known; she might have married L. Aemilius Juncus (*cos.* 127), *PIR*² A 355—a daughter of such a marriage might have retained her mother's *gentilicium*, as did other descendants of Senecio.

[99] K. Dietz, *Chiron*, 23 (1993), 295ff., esp. 304ff.

daughter, as a 'sexagenarian bridegroom' (35), hence was born *c.*105. 'Mad from melancholy', he died aged 70 (44), *c.*175. He was clearly son of P. Mummius Sisenna (*cos. ord.* 133), governor of Britain in 135, probably from 133, and consul only thirteen years after his father, who presumably attained the office late (Gov. 22). The family came from Osset in Baetica and like other Spanish notables had property at Tibur. His early career was straightforward. After the vigintivirate, he was tribune of V Macedonica in Moesia Inferior; the three urban magistracies followed, the last *c.*134. Thus he could have commanded VI Victrix under his father, *c.*135–8. Close links between governors and legionary legates were abnormal; it could be a sign of special favour (Gov. 21 and LL 22). Next he was Treasury prefect, early in the reign of Pius, and before or after the consulship prefect of the *alimenta*.[100] His only certainly consular post, apart from the proconsulship, was the governorship of Moesia Superior, *c.*150. His high social standing is confirmed by his augurship.

25. ? early Antonine **XX Valeria Victrix** or **XXX Ulpia Victrix, *Ignotus***, Salonae

AE 1922. 36, Salonae: *[. . . le]gat(o) l[eg(ionis) XX Val(eriae)* or *XXX Ulp(iae)* | *vic]tric(is), praetori c[andidato* | *divi] Hadriani, tri[b(uno)] plebis* [4]| *candidato eiusdem, q[uaestori* | *divi Ha]driani, t[rib(uno) mil(itum) legion(is) I] Itali[cae . . .].*

. . . legate of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix *or* Thirtieth Legion Ulpia Victrix, praetor as candidate of the Deified Hadrian, tribune of the plebs as candidate of the same Emperor, quaestor of the Deified Hadrian, military tribune of the First Legion Italica . . .

This fragmentary inscription reveals part of the career of a senator of the Hadrianic period, perhaps a native of Salonae or some other Dalmatian city, as Alföldy suggests. He stresses the exceptional favour which the *ignotus* received from Hadrian, his *candidatus* as both tribune of the plebs and praetor, after being the emperor's quaestor. He conjectures that he might have been a son or close kinsman of Julius Severus, and could have served as tribune of I Italica in Moesia Inferior when Severus was governing that province, *c.*128–30 (Gov. 21). In that case, the three Republican magistracies must have been held in the last five years or so of Hadrian's reign, and the legionary command *c.*140. There is no way of deciding whether the legion was XXX Ulpia Victrix or XX Valeria Victrix. Alföldy favours the former, since three other *candidati Caesaris* commanded it in this period, whereas none are known to have gone on to be legate of the XXth at this or any other period.[101] But the evidence is too limited to draw any conclusion.

[100] Eck, *Organisation*, 183, regards him as a consular prefect; but a few years before two prefects held the post before being consul (one being Minicius Natalis, 22 above).

[101] G. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 119f.; id., *Legionslegaten*, 30f.

26. early 140s II Augusta, Aulus Claudius Charax (*cos.* 147)

C. Habicht, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 9/10 (1959/60), 109ff. = *AE* 1961. 320, Pergamum: *Πατρέων ἡ πόλις | Α(ὖλον) Κλ(αύδιον)Χάρακα, | ὕπατον Ῥωμαίων, [4]| ἡγεμόνα Κιλικίας, | Λυκαονίας, Ἰσαυρίας, | ἡγεμόνα λεγιῶνος β΄ Αὐγ(ούστης), | ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδοῦ Λατείνης, [8]| [στ]ρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων, | [κα]ταλεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς | [συγ]κλήτου | εἰς τοὺς ἀγορανομικούς, | ταμίαν Σικελίας, [12]| τὸν συγγραφέα, | εἰσηγησαμένου | Ὀκταβίου Χρυσάνθου.*

The city of Patrai (honours) Aulus Claudius Charax, consul, governor of Cilicia-Isauria-Lycaonia, commander of the Second Legion Augusta, curator of the Via Latina, praetor, adlected by the senate among the ex-aediles, quaestor of Sicily, the historian, on the motion of Octavius Chrysanthus.

The career of Claudius Charax, revealed by this inscription from Pergamum, his home, can be dated with some precision, since he was consul in 147—perhaps when still governor of Cilicia, for three other Cilician governors under Pius held the consulship in the province. His governorship may have lasted from *c.*144 to 147.[102] The command over II Augusta can be assigned to the early 140s, during the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus and the building of the Antonine Wall that followed it (Gov. 24). The inscription mentions no preliminary post as a *vigintivir* or military tribune, but adds that he was a historian (he wrote *Hellenica* in forty books).[103] His literary qualities may have won him entry to the senate as quaestor of Sicily under Hadrian, probably older than the standard age. The subsequent 'adlection by the senate among the ex-aediles' is unparalleled: adlection was a matter for the emperor. Perhaps *ab actis senatus* was misread as *adlectus a senatu* and then mistranslated as applying to the aedileship.[104] Then came the praetorship and the *cura viae Latinae*. All these posts were in or near Rome except for the quaestorship, in a largely Greek province: hardly suitable preparation for commanding troops in the far West. Still, perhaps he had the right qualities to supervise a construction project: at Pergamum he paid for the erection of the Propylon of the Asclepieum and another unknown building, and produced his own tiles there.[105] He is presumably the Charax described by Marcus Aurelius (*Med.* 8.

[102] Consulship: *FO*^{2} 51, from April to June. Governors as consul in Cilicia: Habicht, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 116f.

[103] The fragments were edited by Jacoby, *FGrH*, no. 103; see Habicht, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 110ff., suggesting that the city of Patras honoured Charax with a statue because he had mentioned them in his history; cf. also O. Andrei, *A. Claudius Charax di Pergamo* (1984), who does not discuss the legionary command.

[104] This conjecture is doubted by Talbert, *Senate*, 20 n. 35; but his appeal to *HA Sev. Alex.* 19. 2, a very suspect source, for the senate sometimes confirming adlections is unconvincing. For the known *ab actis senatus* see Pflaum, *Narbonnaise*, 27f.; Talbert, *Senate*, 334ff. gives a fuller list. From the time of Pius almost all went on to be aedile.

[105] *Altertümer v. Pergamon*, viii. 3, no. 8; *IGR* iv. 283. Tiles, stamped *Χαρακιαναί*: Habicht, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 119. Charax might even be the man shown sacrificing on the Bridgeness distance slab erected by the Second legion, *RIB* 2139, as suggested by A. R. Birley, in R. J. Brewer (ed.), *The Second Augustan Legion* (2000), 110.

37) as 'shrewd, far-sighted, and conceited . . . and long since dead'. His great-grandson is also attested at Pergamum; his name, A. Julius Charax, suggests that Claudius Charax may have been polyonymous. The *praenomen* Aulus is hardly ever found with the *gentilicium* Claudius and the legate's full name may have been Aulus Julius Tiberius Claudius Charax.[106]

27. early 140s XX Valeria Victrix, Gaius Curtius, Gai filius, Pollia, Justus (*cos.* 150 or 151)

CIL iii. 1458 = *IDR* iii/2, 91, Sarmizegetusa: *C. (Gaio) Curt[io, C. (Gai) f(ilio), | P]oll(ia), Iust[o], c[o(n)]s(uli), [IIIIviro | v]iarum curandarum, [?trib(uno) leg(ionis) . . . ?], [4]| quaestori urbano, [adlecto] | inter tribunicios a div[o H]ad[riano], | praetori peregrino, IIIIIIviro [eq(uitum) R(omanorum)] | turmis deducendis, praef(ecto) [fr]umen[t(i)] da[n]di, [8]| curatori via[r(um)] Clodiae, Anniae, Cassiae, | [C]iminiae, leg(ato) imp(eratoris) Antonini Augusti Pii | leg(ionis) X[X] Val(eriae) vict(ricis), proco(n)[s](uli provinciae | [Si]ciliae, leg(ato) pr(o) [pr(aetore)] imp(eratoris) Anton(ini) Aug(usti) Pii [12]| provinciae Daciae, | col(onia) Ulp(ia) Traiana Dacic(a) | Sarmizeg(etusa) patrono.*

To Gaius Curtius, son of Gaius, Pollia, Justus, consul, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, ?tribune of the . . . Legion . . . ?, urban quaestor, enrolled among the ex-tribunes by the deified Hadrian, praetor *peregrinus*, *sevir* of Roman knights for leading out the squadrons, prefect of the grain-distribution, curator of the Viae Clodia, Annia, Cassia, and Ciminia, legate of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, proconsul of the province of Sicily(?), propraetorian legate of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius of the province of Dacia, the *colonia* Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa to its patron.

Justus is explicitly said to have served under Pius in this now lost inscription from Dacia, which gives his career up to the consulship. His full names and priesthood as *sodalis Augustalis* are supplied by a fragmentary inscription from Milan.[107] Closer dating is given by a later inscription, from Moesia Superior, recording the discharge under his governorship of veterans of VII Claudia enlisted in successive years, taken to be 134 and 135: the consuls are generally restored as *[Servia]no et [Varo et Po]ntian(o) [et Attic]o*. That would date the discharge to 158 or 159.[108] But two further governors are known for Moesia Superior in 159 and 160–1, which would be a tight squeeze.[109] One can equally restore the consuls of 130 and 131, *[Catulli]no et [Apro et Po]ntian(o) [et Rufin]o*, dating the inscription to 155 or 156.[110] As M. Pontius Sabinus, governor in 159,

[106] E. Birley, *Chiron*, 7 (1977), 280, referring to *AE* 1961. 321; cf. Habicht, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 126f.

[107] *CIL* v. 5809.

[108] Thus T. Mommsen, *Arch.-Epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterreich* (1883), 188ff., followed e.g. by Dessau, *ILS* 2302; Piso, *Fasti*, 58ff., with further references.

[109] Thomasson, *LP* i. 127.

[110] Suggested by A. R. Birley, *CR* 30 (1980), 160 and *FRB* 252; registered by Thomasson, *LP* iii. 32; overlooked by Piso, *Fasti*, 58ff.

was consul in 153,[111] Justus presumably held office a little earlier: the lists are complete for 146–8 and 152, leaving one of the years 149–51.[112] He had been adlected *inter tribunicios* by Hadrian, after a conventional start as *vigintivir*, probably a military tribunate, and the quaestorship. His praetorship may also have come under Hadrian. The first three appointments after the praetorship were brief: the sevirate was only at the annual ride past of the knights,[113] the prefecture of the grain-distribution lasted a year (Dio 54. 17. 1), likewise perhaps the road-curatorship, although nothing is really known about how long curators served.[114] The Dacian governorship no doubt lasted about three years, at latest from *c.*148 to 151, perhaps from *c.*146 to 149,[115] and was preceded by a year as proconsul, probably of Sicily.[116] Thus his command of XX Valeria Victrix probably coincided with the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus (Gov. 24) in the early 140s. Justus' origin is generally reckoned to be north Italian, because of his tribe Pollia, particularly well represented in that region.[117] C. Curtius C. f. Pollia Rufinus, *IIIvir monetalis* and tribune of XIII Gemina, known from inscriptions at Mediolanium and Sarmizegethusa, may be regarded as Justus' son, serving under him.[118] Another son may be Q. Cur[tius C.? f.] Poll. Justus, *Xvir stl. iud.*, recorded at Praeneste.[119] It is worth noting the celebrated figure of the Julio-Claudian era, Q. Curtius Rufus, whose origin Tacitus found too shameful to record (*Ann.* 11. 21. 1f.). Rufus might have been the product of a liaison between a legionary and a woman camp-follower; such persons were customarily enrolled in the Pollia.[120] Justus' own social standing was respectable, as shown by his being a *sevir* and his son's selection as a *monetalis*; and, while not a member of one of the four major priestly colleges by the time of his last post, he was at least a *sodalis Augustalis*. He or his son could be the Curtius Justus cited as a writer on rural affairs by Gargilius Martialis (2. 1. 4 and 7).

[111] *PIR*² P 822.

[112] Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 156, proposes 150 for Justus.

[113] A. Stein, *Der Römische Ritterstand* (1927), 63ff.

[114] Eck, *Organisation*, 24ff. He lists (p. 84), four curators of the Via Labicana who could all have served under Caracalla, i.e. 211–17, which suggests that the term of office could have been very short.

[115] Previous governors under Pius were consuls in 141 or 142, 144, and 148: Piso, *Fasti*, 53ff.

[116] The province is recorded as COLLIAE, presumably a misreading of *[Si]ciliae*, cf. *PIR*² C 1613.

[117] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271. Alföldy, *EOS* ii. 324f. = id., *Gallia Cisalpina*, 274f., suggests origin at Hasta, which was in the Pollia, citing *Curtia Gai liberta Lea* from that town, *CIL* v. 7562.

[118] *CIL* v. 5810; iii. 1459 = *IDR* iii. 2. 110.

[119] *CIL* xiv. 2943; Andermahr, *Totus*, 243, suggests that this inscription may have been brought from Rome.

[120] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271; G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (1969), 39, 167 n. 77.

28. Antonine VI Victrix, Quintus Camurius, Quinti filius, Lemonia, Numisius Junior (*cos.* 161)

CIL xi. 5670, Attidium: *[Q(uinto) C]amurio, Q(uinti) f(lio), Lem(onia),] | Numisio Iu[niori], | IIIvir(o) a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) f(lando) f(eriundo), tr[ib(uno) mil(itum)* [4]*| leg(ionis) VIIII Hi[sp(anae)], sodali Titiali [Flaviali], | qua[e]st(ori) urb(ano), ae[d(ili) cur(uli)] | pr(aetori), [le]g(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) [. . .]* [8]*| et [leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) [. . .] | et [Iu]nior pa[tri . . .].*

To Quintus Camurius, son of Quintus, Lemonia, Numisius Junior, mintmaster, military tribune of the Ninth Legion Hispana, sodalis Titialis Flavialis, urban quaestor, curule aedile, praetor, legate of the . . . Legion . . . and of the Sixth Legion Victrix . . . , . . . and Junior (set this up) to their father.

Numisius Junior clearly came from Attidium in Umbria, where he is mentioned on two further inscriptions. One, with the beginning of another *cursus honorum*, supplies his *praenomen* and tribe; the other honours two polyonymous persons, and names at the end Numisius Junior, *sodalis Titi[alis Flavialis]* and aedile designate, who presumably paid for the monument.[121] One of those honoured was his wife, Stertinia Luci filia Cocceia Bassula Venecia Aeliana Iunioris (*uxor*), the other, Quintus Corn[elius] Flaccus [Stertinius?] Noricus [. . .] Numisius [Junior?], clearly their son, presumably the same as Junior who set up the inscription quoted above. Stertinia was probably granddaughter of Lucius Stertinius Noricus (*cos.* 113); the son's names suggest that he had been adopted by a Cornelius Flaccus, perhaps a descendant of the legionary legate under Corbulo (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 39. 1).[122] Numisius' first *gentilicium* indicates a connection with the Trajanic procurator C. Camurius C. f. Lem. Clemens, also attested at Attidium.[123] Numisius' career has to be dated by calculation from his consulship in 161.[124] (Of course, the consul of 161 might be a son of the legionary legate, who had a son called Junior.[125] But on present evidence it seems reasonable to identify the consul with the legate.) The career opened with the most favoured post in the vigintivirate, followed by a tribunate in IX Hispana. A consul of 161 with children and a favoured start cannot have been born later than *c.*120, so the tribunate was probably held *c.*138–40, when the legion was no longer in Britain (LL Intr.).[126] After the urban magistracies came, exceptionally, two legionary commands, that over VI Victrix

[121] *CIL* xi. 5671–2.

[122] Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 735, cf. 264, 563, 582, with further references, and stemma LXI, for the wide-reaching network of relationships. For possible adoption of the son by a Q. Cornelius see Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 100 n. 27. For the legate under Corbulo cf. *PIR*[2] C 1362, cf. 1354. Cf. also *PIR*[2] N 207–8.

[123] *CIL* xi. 5669 = *ILS* 2728; Pflaum, *CP*, no. 87. Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 100, suggests that Numisius had been adopted by a brother of this man, called Q. Camurius.

[124] *RMD* i. 55, ii. 107.

[125] This is argued by L. Keppie, in D. H. French and C. S. Lightfoot, *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* (1989), 251 f., repr. in Keppie, *Legions and Veterans* (2000), 177 f.

[126] Thus W. Eck, *Chiron*, 2 (1972), 459 ff., discussing the diploma of 161.

perhaps occasioned by the dangerous military situation in Britain in the mid-150s. Perhaps Numisius had been commanding a legion in Germania Inferior, and was appointed to VI Victrix on the recommendation of Julius Verus, when Verus went from there to Britain (Gov. 27). Numisius no doubt held a senior praetorian appointment thereafter, before his consulship.

29. Antoninus Pius II Augusta, *Ignotus*, Tibur

CIL xiv. 4249 = *Inscr. It.* iv. 143, Tibur: *[. . .]cio [. . . , | . . . , l]eg(ato) leg(ionis) II | [Aug(ustae), adlec]to ab* [4] *| imp(eratore) Anto]nino | [. . .].*

To . . . cius . . . , legate of the Second Legion Augusta, adlected by the Emperor Antoninus . . .

Aug. must be restored at the beginning of line 3: of the other *legiones II* existing under Pius, presumably the emperor mentioned in line 4,[127] II Traiana in Egypt was commanded by an equestrian prefect, II Adiutrix in Pannonia Inferior by the praetorian governor, *leg. Aug. pr. pr.*[128] *[. . .]cio* is presumably the end of the man's *gentilicium*, but there are too many possible names with that termination to restore it.[129] The surviving details of the career preclude regarding this inscription as another one in honour of T. Marcius Cle[mens] (LL 39).

30. between 161 and 169? II Augusta, . . . oni . . . Aemilianus . . . Calpurnius . . . Rufilianus

RIB 320, Caerleon (*Isca*): *Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolich[e]n[o] . . . | L(ucius)? [N]oni[us]? Aemilianus [. . .] | Calpurnius [. . .]* [4] *| Rufilianus, [l]eg[atus] | Augustorum, | monitu.*

To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, . . . Aemilianus . . . Calpurnius . . . Rufilianus, legate of the Emperors, at the bidding (of the god).

This man was clearly legate of the Caerleon legion II Augusta (a governor would have styled himself *leg. Aug. pr. pr.*). *Augustorum* was written out in full, suggesting that joint emperors were still a novelty. In that case, 161–9, when M. Aurelius and L. Verus were the first ever co-rulers. The inscription is lost and the manuscript versions of his first name are obscure. Of the five or six letters shown at the beginning of line 2, only ON is certain. The name has

[127] H.-G. Pflaum, *Mél. Carcopino* (1966), 717ff.

[128] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1484ff., 1446ff.

[129] e.g. Anicius, Larcius, Minicius, Sulpicius, etc. A suitably named man adlected into the senate under Antoninus Pius was the procurator M. Tuticius Proculus of Sicca in Africa (*CIL* viii. 1625), a former teacher of Marcus Aurelius, who 'promoted [him] as far as a proconsulship' (*HA M.Ant.* 2. 5, cf. 2. 3, with A. R. Birley, *BHAC 1966/7* (1968), 39ff., correcting *Eutychio* to *Tuticio*).

been restored as F[r]onto. But this produces a curious nomenclature, beginning with two *cognomina*. Instead, one might conjecture for example, *L. [N]oni[us]*.[130] Two further names must be restored before and after Calpurnius. He might be a kinsman of L. Calpurnius Fidus Aemilianus of Utica[131] and of C. Memmius Fidus Julius Albius of Bulla Regia, whose daughter's names, [Iul]ia Me[m]mia Ca[lp]u[rnia] Aemi[liana] Fidia[na], suggest that her mother belonged to a family of Calpurnii Aemiliani.[132] Memmius Fidus was tribune of II Augusta in the 160s (Trib. 24): perhaps the legionary legate recommended him for a commission.

31. Marcus Aurelius II Augusta, . . . sus Claudius [Lucius? S]ilius Q(uintus) P[laut(ius)] Haterianus

RIB 335 = G. Di Vita-Evrard, *EOS* i (1982 [1984]), 461ff., Caerleon (*Isca*): *[. . .]. sus Cl[aud(ius)* | *L(ucius)?] Ṣilius Q(uintus) Ṗ[l(autius)?]* | *Haterianus* [4] | *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* | *provinc(iae) Cilic(iae)*.

[. . .]sus Silius Quintus Plautius Haterianus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Cilicia.

G. Di Vita-Evrard, *EOS* i, 461ff., Lepcis Magna: *[. . .]* | *Ċl[aud]i̯u[s Silius Q(uintus) Plautius]* | *Haterianu[s, . . . , . leg(atus) Aug(usti)]* [4] | *leg(ionis) II [Aug(ustae) . . .]*.

. . . Claudius Silius Quintus Plautius Haterianus, legate of the Emperor of the Second Legion Augusta.

Haterianus was clearly a legate of II Augusta, who set up this altar after receiving his appointment to be governor of Cilicia. It is an example of 'inscriptions indicative of impending or recent movements'. In this case the post held at Caerleon is not specified, probably because he was probably already styled legate of II Augusta on other dedications there.[133] Di Vita-Evrard detects the same man as legate of II Augusta in a fragmentary inscription at Lepcis Magna, and restores the Caerleon inscription, now lost, accordingly. He was from a family well attested at Lepcis, the Silii Plautii, several of whom were called Haterianus.[134] He is also recorded on another fragmentary

[130] Alternatively, an abbreviated *praenomen* and *gentilicium*, e.g. *C.Iul.*, perhaps came at the end of l. 1.

[131] *CIL* viii. 25382.

[132] Thus E. Groag, *PIR*[2] C 310, cf. 264 and A 427.

[133] E. Birley, *Chiron*, 9 (1979), 503, repr. in id., *Roman Army*, 138f.

[134] *IRT* 542, the senator L. Silius Amicus Haterianus; 635, two LL. Silii Plautii, each with additional names, Haterianus Blaesilianus and Amicus Haterianus Gavilianus Proximus. A Q. Plautius Haterianus is recorded by *IRT* 593, 632, and 634. The first letters of the Caerleon inscription, shown in Camden's drawing as SVS, preceded by an upright, have not been satisfactorily restored. Suitable names ending –sus are hard to find. [De]ṇsus, proposed by E. Birley, *Chiron*, 9 (1979), 503 is very rare. One might consider [Am]iċus, supposing that Camden misread a C, since that not very common name is found in his family, cf. above, and is also attested by *IRT* 263, 590, 592, 594, 635, 679, and

inscription at Lepcis as tribune of two legions, the second being II Adiutrix, and decorated by Marcus and Verus, no doubt for service in the Parthian war, quaestor of a province, and *ab actis senatus*.[135] The province in which he was quaestor can be identified as Crete-Cyrenaica by an inscription from Cyrene, giving his names as Silius Plautius Haterianus, datable to 165 or shortly afterwards.[136] This allows an approximate dating of the legionary command to the early 170s. It is possible that he served under Antistius Adventus, who had commanded II Adiutrix in the Parthian war, when Haterianus served in it (Gov. 31).

32. Marcus Aurelius? (or Severan)? XX Valeria Victrix, Lucius Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Justus Lutatius Natalis (*cos. des. a. inc.*)

CIL x. 3722, Volturnum: *L(ucio) Cestio Gallo Cerri|nio Iusto Lu[t]atio Natali, | IIIIviro viar(um) curand(arum), trib(uno)* [4]*| laticlavio leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), | quaestori urbano, ab | actis [se]natus, aedil(i) curul(i), | praetori, leg(ato) Augg. (Augustorum duorum) leg(ionis)* [8]*| XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis), proco(n)s(uli) provin|ciae Narbonensis, praef(ecto) aerar(ii) Saturn(i), co(n)s(uli) d̤ẹ[s(ignato)], patrono colo[ni]ae, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Lucius Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Justus Lutatius Natalis, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, *tribunus laticlavius* of the Eighth Legion Augusta, urban quaestor, *ab actis senatus*, curule aedile, praetor, legate of the (two) Emperors of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, proconsul of the province of Narbonensis, prefect of the Treasury of Saturn, consul designate, patron of the *colonia*, (set up) by decree of the decurions.

The only dating clue is *Augg.* in line 7, showing that his legateship cannot be earlier than 161–9; 177–80 or 198–209 are also possible. The career is conventional. A very fragmentary inscription from Salonae—only a few letters at the beginning of six lines survive—seems to match this *cursus*, including *[leg. leg. XX?] Val. [Victr.?]*, although adding another post, *[cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Sup[eraequanor(um)?]*.[137] He is otherwise unknown. He might be a descendant of the consuls of 35 and 42, both called C. Cestius Gallus;[138] and was clearly a

713, all at Lepcis. (It is probably a Latinized form of Punic (H)amilcar: A. R. Birley, *Libyan Studies*, 19 (1988), 14f.) Di Vita-Evrard does not restore anything before *Silius* in l. 2 of *RIB* 335, but there seems ample room for *L(ucius)*.

[135] Di Vita-Evrard, *EOS* 1: 457ff., revising *IRT* 552. Her identification of Haterianus, whose parents may have been Q. Plautius Haterianus and Aurellia Sextilla, *IRT* 634, is accepted by Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 139, but treated with scepticism in *PIR*² P 466.

[136] *JRS* 49 (1959), 98ff., no. 3 = *SEG* 17. 740.

[137] *Bull. Dalm.* 27 (1914), 42: E. Groag, *PIR*² C 692; G. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 136f.; Pflaum, *Narbonnaise*, 26ff. But other restorations are possible, e.g. for *[. . .] Val[. . .]*, *[cur. viae] Val[eriae]*, so this must remain doubtful.

[138] *PIR*² C 690–1. The C. Cestius of the famous pyramid at Rome was L. f.; and there were two Augustan senators called L. Cestius, ibid. 686–8. Descent is assumed by Groag, Alföldy, and Pflaum. However, if this legate did have such ancestors, one would have expected him to have had a more dis-

close kinsman of L. Cestius L. f. Pomptina Gallus Varenianus Lutatius Natalis Aemilianus, patron of Gaulus in Sicily.[139] If the legate had the same tribe, he must have been Italian.[140]

33. *c.*182 *Ignotus* Dio 72. 8. 2

See under Gov. 33.

34. second century? II Augusta, *Ignotus*, Artena

S. Orlandi, *ZPE* 115 (1997), 271–7 = *AE* 1997. 279, Artena, . . . | *[co(n)s(uli), VIIvir(o) ep]ul[on(um),* | *trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) V]* [4]| *Mac(edonicae), [quaest(ori) . . . ,* | *. . . t]rib(uno) [pleb(is), praet(ori),* | *curat(ori) viae V]aleri[ae Tiburtinae* | *et aliment(orum)?, leg(ato) l]eg(ionis) II A[ug(ustae),* [8]| *. . . , p]rae[f(ecto) aer(ari Sat(urni)?].*

To . . . consul, *septemvir epulonum*, military tribune of the Fifth Legion Macedonica, quaestor . . . , tribune of the plebs, praetor, curator of the Via Valeria Tiburtina and of the *alimenta*?, legate of the Second Legion Augusta, . . . , prefect of the Treasury of Saturn?.

The legion which this man commanded may safely be restored as II A[ug(usta)] rather than II A[diutrix], in Pannonia Inferior, which was commanded by the governor of that province. He cannot be identified and the dating must remain approximate.

35. *c.*184? Priscus

Dio 72. 9. 2a (Petrus Patricius, *Exc. Vat.* 122): The soldiers in Britain chose the legionary legate Priscus as emperor, but he declined, saying that 'I am as much an emperor as you are soldiers'.

From its position in the *excerpta* this must describe an event between 177, *exc. Vat.* 121, on Marcus Aurelius' return to Rome in 177 (Dio 71. 32. 1), and 189–90, 123, on Julius Solon's entry to the senate (72. 12. 3). A passage in the *HA* points to the early 180s: 'Commodus was called Britannicus by flatterers when the Britons even wanted to choose another emperor in opposition to him' (*HA Comm.* 8. 4). The offer to Priscus could then be dated to 184, when Commodus became Britannicus (see under Gov. 33). The *HA* also transmits the response

tinguished career, including not least membership of a priestly college. Other possible ancestors are the Augustan senator Cerrinius Gallus (Suet. *D. Aug.* 53. 3) and Martial's friend Cerrinius, who wrote epigrams (8. 18).

[139] *CIL* x. 7506 + *add.*; *PIR*[2] C 693.

[140] All communities in Pomptina were Italian: Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanun*, 271. Pflaum, *Narbonnaise*, 26f., pointed out that he was not a native of Volturnum.

to this abortive coup, although the connection is not made: the guard prefect Perennis replaced legionary legates with equestrian commanders during the British war, a measure which led to his own overthrow, in 185 (*Comm.* 6. 2) (see under Gov. 33). Later in the *HA* Pertinax (Gov. 35) is said to have 'deterred the soldiers from mutiny, when they wanted anyone [else other than Commodus] as emperor, especially Pertinax himself' (*Pert.* 2. 6), shortly after his arrival as governor in 185. This is another possible context for the Priscus episode, but Perennis' measure makes the previous year more plausible. This legate could be the Commodan general discussed below (36), who may have been called Priscus among other names and possibly commanded VI Victrix at about this time.

36. *c.*184? VI Victrix?, [. . . J]unius [?Pris]cus Gar[gilius? . . . ?Qui]ntil[i]anus (*cos. c.*190)

G. Gregori, *ZPE* 106 (1995), 269–79 = *AE* 1995. 231 = G. Alföldy, *CIL* vi. 41127, Rome:

[. . . I]unio, [. . . f(ilio), . . . , Pris(?)]co | Ḡar[gilio(?) | . . . Qui(?)]ntil[i]an[o, co(n)s(uli), [4] *| sodal]i̯ Titiali Fla[viali, | leg(ato) Au]g(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) leg(ionis) II I̯[talic(ae), | praep]o̯sito vexill(ationum) [leg(ionum) III (trium)? | Brita]n̯nicar(um)(?), legato l̥[eg(ionis) V*[8] *| Macedo]nic(ae), leg(ato) leg(ionis) [VI | Victr(icis)(?) pi]ae fidel(is), cur[atori | rei pub]lic(ae) Cirtens[ium, | iuridic]o per Aemil[iam,* [12] *| Liguri(?)]am, praetor[i, trib(uno) | pl(ebis)?, qua]est(ori), triumvi[ro | c]apitali. | [Huic s]enatus, auc̣[tore*[16] *| Imp(eratore) Cae]s(are) L(ucio) Aelio Aur[elio | Comm]odo Pio Feli[ce Aug(usto, | statua]m i̯n t̥empl[o . . . | . . . ponendam censuit (?)].*

To . . . Junius, son of . . . , . . . , Priscus? Gargilius? . . . Quintilianus?, consul, *sodalis Titialis Flavialis*, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the Second Legion Italica, commander of vexillations of the three? British? legions, legate of the Fifth Legion Macedonica, legate of the Sixth? Legion Victrix? Pia Fidelis, curator of the commonwealth of the Cirtensians, *iuridicus* in Aemilia and ?Liguria, praetor, tribune of the plebs?, quaestor, *triumvir capitalis*. The senate, on the motion of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Pius Felix Augustus, decreed the setting up of a statue? to this man in the temple of . . .

This unusual career can be dated by Commodus' names, a style first assumed in 191.[141] The restoration of VI Victrix as one of the legions which the honorand commanded depends on Alföldy's conjecture that he is identical with the legate Priscus (LL 35). A summary may be offered of Alföldy's discussion. This legate was no doubt a *novus homo*, to judge from his start as *capitalis*. Without being military tribune, he went on to the three usual urban magistracies. After the praetorship he was *iuridicus* in North Italy, then curator of Cirta in N. Africa, before his first legionary command, of a legion with the title *pia fidelis*, perhaps VI Victrix. If this is right, and he was the Priscus whom the legionaries tried to make emperor, he was removed from this post by Perennis. He

[141] G. A(lföldy) on *CIL* vi. 41127, citing D. Kienast, *Kaisertabelle*[2] (1996), 148; cf. *PIR*[2] Q 18.

certainly went on to command another legion, V Macedonica, in Dacia: a second legionary command indicates trouble where the second one was based and there was warfare in Dacia under Commodus (*HA Comm.* 13. 5). There followed command over detachments of several legions, restored as *[Brita]nnicarum*. Alföldy convincingly proposes that this force was assigned to deal with the so-called 'deserters' war' and can be identified with the '1,500 javelin-men' from the British army who lynched Perennis near Rome in 185 (Dio 72(73). 9. 2^2–4) (cf. under Gov. 33). His final appointment—before the consulship, restored, but very probable[142]—was as legate of yet another legion, II Italica, exceptionally described as 'propraetorian legate'. II Italica was by then normally commanded by the governor of Noricum. As he is not called legate of Noricum, the legion must have been operating outside the province, even beyond the frontier in Commodus' 'third German expedition', perhaps datable to 188.[143] His names include [J]unius, then a *cognomen* ending [ ]cus, which could of course be for example, [Atti]cus, [Flac]cus, [Fus]cus, [Tus]cus, [Urbi]cus, to mention some of the many names of the right length, as well as [Pris]cus.[144] His next name began Gar[ ], probably Gar[gilius], followed by one ending [ ]ntil[i]anus, for which [Qui]ntilianus is more plausible than [De]ntilianus. Alföldy infers from the name Gar[gilius] and the post as curator of Cirta that the man may have come from North Africa.

37. *c.*185 II Augusta, Quintus Aurelius Polus Terentianus
(*cos.* before 193)

AE 1965. 240 = *ES* 3 (1967), 44 n. 229, Mainz (*Moguntiacum*): *Libero et Apol|lini pro salute | [[im[p(eratoris)] C[a]es(aris) M(arci) [Au]r(eli)* [4]*| Commod[i] Pi[i] Fel(icis) Aug(usti)]] . . . | . . .] Q(uintus) Aurel(ius) | Polus Terentianus,* [8]*| cum Q(uinto) Aur(elio) Polo | Syriaco filio, | fetialis, leg(atus) | leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis),* [12]*| item leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae).* [Cf. *AE* 1965. 241, Mainz (*Moguntiacum*), for another altar, to Mars and Victory, also dedicated by Polus Terentianus and his son, with essentially the same text, of which the lower part breaks off after *fetiali[s]*.]

To Liber and Apollo for the welfare of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Pius Felix Augustus . . . , Quintus Aurelius Polus Terentianus, fetial priest, legate of the Twenty-second Legion Primigenia Pia Fidelis and of the Second Legion Augusta, (dedicated this) together with his son, Quintus Aurelius Polus Syriacus.

[142] But *AE* 1928. 86, Dura-Europos, cited by Alföldy, *ad CIL* 41127, can no longer be taken as evidence for a suffect consul called Priscus late in Commodus' reign, see M. P. Speidel, *JRS* 83 (1993), 109ff. , showing that the inscription was set up in March 193, and the consuls were the *ordinarii* of 193, *Flacco* (for *Falcone*) *et Claro*.

[143] *ILS* 1574, undated; but *HA Comm.* 12. 8 refers to Commodus' planned third *profectio*, dated by 12. 9 to 188. For alternative datings see the bibliography in Alföldy, *ad CIL* 41127.

[144] Theoretically he might be a descendant of the senator Junius Priscus put to death by Caligula (Dio 59. 18. 4f.), but both names are very common.

Polus Terentianus was consular governor of Tres Daciae in the crucial year 193.[145] Two further elements in his career are supplied by the above inscription and another in the province of Asia. Terentianus was successively legate of two legions, XXII Primigenia, stationed at Mainz, and II Augusta, and a member of the college of *fetiales*.[146] As Commodus had the title Felix, the date cannot be earlier than 185 (see under Gov. 33). Where two posts are specified on a dedication, as parallel cases suggest, the occasion was the appointment to the second one.[147] It was only when unusual circumstances prevailed that men commanded more than one legion. These certainly prevailed in Britain in the 180s. Terentianus probably took up his command there in 185 or 186.[148] He ought to have held one further post before the consulship, *c.*190. His appointment as legate of the Tres Daciae was probably made before the death of Commodus, perhaps arranged by Q. Aemilius Laetus, the guard prefect, as part of his preparations for the *coup d'état* of 31 December 192.[149] Like Septimius Severus, who had evidently served as legionary legate under Pertinax (Gov. 35) when the latter governed Syria, *c.*180, Terentianus had probably served under Pertinax, in Britain. His origin is not recorded: the distribution of Quinti Aurelii, and other elements in his nomenclature, suggest that, like other men in key positions at the end of 192, he may have been African.[150] His governorship of Dacia cannot have lasted later than 195, when the emperor's brother Geta is recorded in that office.[151] He was later proconsul of Asia.[152]

38. Antonine or Severan VI Victrix, Lucius Junius Victorinus Flavius Caelianus

RIB 2034+*add.*, Kirksteads, between Stanwix (*Uxellodunum*) and Burgh-by-Sands (*Aballava*) on Hadrian's Wall: *[. . .],* | *L(ucius Iunius Vic*|*torinus Fl[av(ius)]* [4]| *Caelianus, leg(atus)* | *Aug(usti) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis)* | *p(iae) f(idelis), ob res trans* | *vallum pro*[8] | *spere gestas.*

To . . . Lucius Junius Victorinus Flavius Caelianus, legate of the Emperor of the Sixth legion Victrix Pia Fidelis, (dedicated this) because of successes beyond the wall.

The inscription is not directly datable, but one can rule out the periods before

[145] *CIL* iii. 1374 = *IDR* iii. 3, 45, Micia. See esp. Piso, *Fasti*, 145ff.

[146] The fact that this priesthood is the only item apart from the legionary legateships to be mentioned suggests that it was a recent honour.

[147] E. Birley, *Chiron*, 9 (1979), 495ff.

[148] Piso, *Fasti*, 147f., prefers a slightly later date.

[149] As argued by A. R. Birley, *BJ* 169 (1969), 250ff.; id., *Septimius Severus*[2], 82ff.

[150] Birley, *BJ* 169 (1969), 267. Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 44, followed by Piso, *Fasti*, 149f., regards eastern origin as equally possible because of the son's name Syriacus and the name Polus—but the latter may just be a plebeian spelling of Paulus, rather than the Greek *Πῶλος*.

[151] Piso, *Fasti*, 150ff.

[152] *AE* 1964. 232, Maeonia.

the construction of Hadrian's Wall, here called *vallum*, and after the Antonine Wall replaced it, until the latter was abandoned, *c.*158; but before the division of Britain (see under Gov. 27), after which the legate of VI Victrix would be styled *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* as governor of Britannia Inferior.[153] He could be Junius Victorinus, governor of Germania Superior, probably in the later second or early third centuries; identity has also been suggested with the consul L. Ju[ ], in office probably in 158.[154] But a consul of 158 should have commanded a legion well before that year, and this can hardly fit 'successes beyond the wall', for Hadrian's Wall was out of commission from *c.*142–158. He may have been from North Africa, where the names Junius Victorinus are particularly common.[155]

39. late Antonine or Severan II Augusta, Titus Marcius, Titi filius, Falerna, Cle[mens]

CIL xiv. 3595 = *Inscr. It.* iv. 110 + *add.*, Tibur: *T(ito) Marcio, T(iti) f(ilio) Fal(erna), Cl[ementi,] | sacerdoti fetiali, tr(ibuno) [mil(itum)] | leg(ionis) XIIII Gem(inae), q[uaest(ori) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Achaiae, a[b actis]* [4] *| senat(us), aed(ili) cur(uli), praet(ori) c[and(idato)], | curatori viae Latinae, [legato] | leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), | Grania Tertull[a?. . .].*

To Titus Marcius, son of Titus, Falerna, Clemens, fetial priest, military tribune of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina, propraetorian quaestor of the province of Achaia, *ab actis senatus*, curule aedile, praetor as candidate, curator of the Via Latina, legate of the Second Legion Augusta, Grania Tertull[a?].

This career cannot be precisely dated. Groag suggested that the sequence *ab actis senatus-aedilis curulis* should belong to the period from Antoninus Pius to Severus Alexander. But the evidence is too limited to be sure.[156] This otherwise unknown man was Italian, as shown by his tribe, Falerna; he probably had a residence at Tibur.[157] Grania was presumably his wife.[158]

[153] R. W. Davies, *ZPE* 27 (1977), 244f., favoured the time of Commodus or Caracalla. R. S. O. Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB*, notes that the dedication seems to have been made at a wayside shrine.

[154] Thus Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 170ff., on the consul (now *FO*[2] 52); and citing for the legate of Germania Superior *CIL* xiii. 6638, Stockstadt; cf. Eck, *Statthalter*, 70, noting that dated inscriptions from this site belong to the period 166–208; *PIR*[2] J 848.

[155] Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 314.

[156] Groag, *Achaia*, 121. See the list of *ab actis* in Talbert, *Senate*, 334ff.

[157] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 270: eight towns in *regio* I, one each in *regio* II, IV, and IX. See Andermahr, *Totus*, 329, inferring that he had property at Tibur.

[158] Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 409.

40. late Antonine or Severan VI Victrix, Lucius Claudius Hieronymianus (*cos. a. inc.*)

RIB 658, York (*Eburacum*): *Deo sancto | Serapi | templum a so*[4]*|lo fecit Cl(audius) Hierony|mianus, leg(atus) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis).*

To the holy god Serapis Claudius Hieronymianus, legate of the Sixth Legion Victrix, built the temple from the ground up.

An approximate dating is supplied by two early third-century sources. Papinian, killed by Caracalla in 211 or 212,[159] is cited (*Dig.* 23. 7. 12. 40) on a bequest to the senator Claudius Hieron⟨ym⟩ianus by Umbrius Primus. Primus had made various dispositions before setting out for a proconsulship, doubtless of Africa, undated, but probably *c.*201–2; and evidently died in his province.[160] In 212 or 213[161] Tertullian referred to the fate of Roman officials who had persecuted Christians (*Ad Scap.* 3. 4): Vigellius Saturninus, 'the first to turn the sword against us here' (in Africa), sc. in 180, who then went blind, and 'Claudius Lucius Hieronymianus in Cappadocia', who, angry at his wife's conversion, treated the Christians cruelly. He was the only one 'in his *praetorium*' struck by plague; festering with worms, he wanted no one to know, 'lest the Christians rejoice'; later, seeing the error of his ways, he died 'almost a Christian'. Tertullian adds that 'Caecilius Capella shouted out at the fall of Byzantium'—in 195—"Christians rejoice!".'[162] This suggests at first sight that the Cappadocian governorship was between 180 and 195; the plague could be one that reached Rome in 188–9 (Dio 72. 14. 3f.; Herodian 1. 12. 1f.). But Tertullian doubtless recalled Capella's outburst by association of ideas, because of 'Christians rejoice'; so Hieronymianus' governorship need not have preceded the fall of Byzantium. At all events, he was still alive after Umbrius Primus' death, *c.*202, and had died—probably not long after contracting the plague—by the time Tertullian wrote, 212 or 213.[163] The governorship can then be dated between 202 and 212, the legionary command to the 190s. His *cognomen* suggests eastern origin.

[159] For his date of death see T. D. Barnes, *JTS* 19 (1968), 574f.

[160] Thomasson, *Fasti*, 79.

[161] Ibid. 71; on the date of *Ad Scapulam* ibid. 83f.

[162] On Capella and the fall of Byzantium see A. R. Birley, *GRBS* 32 (1991), 81ff.

[163] Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 234, notes that other governors are attested in 198 and 199, and dates Hieronymianus between 202 and 211.

41. Severan II Augusta, Lucius Julius, Luci filius, Palatina, Julianus (*cos. a. inc.*)

RIB 1138 + *add.*, near Hexham: *Victoriae* | *Aug(ustae),* | *L(ucius) Iul(ius) Iuli[anus],* [4]| *ḷeg(atus) [Aug. leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)? . . .].*

To Augustan Victory, Lucius Julius Julianus, legate of the Emperor(s) of the Second Legion Augusta? . . .

CIL xi. 4182, Interamna: *L(ucio) Iulio, L(uci) f(ilio), Pal(atina),* | *Iuliano,* | *praetori, curatori* [4]| *civitatis Interamna*|*tium Nartium, praef(ecto)* | *Minicia(e), proconsuli* | *provinciae Achaiae,* [8]| *leg(ato) legionis secund(ae) August(ae), legato Aug(usti)* | *pro pr(aetore) provinci*|*ae Aquitaniae, con*[12]|*suli, officiales* | *eius provinciae Aquita*|*niae, optimo praesidi,* | *homini bono.*

To Lucius Julius, son of Lucius, Palatina, Julianus, praetor, curator of the town of Interamna Nahars, prefect of the Minicia, proconsul of the province of Achaia, legate of the Second Legion Augusta, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Aquitania, consul, his staff-members from the province of Aquitania, to an excellent governor, a good man.

If the ascending order of appointments—omitting everything before the praetorship—is in correct sequence, Julius Julianus only received command of II Augusta several years after his praetorship. The jurists quote two rescripts to a Julius Julianus, who is probably this man, even though the names are so common. The first (*Dig.* 48. 21. 2) was from Severus and Caracalla. The second, also from two emperors, clearly the same, is cited from Ulpian's *De officio proconsulis* (*Frag. Vat.* 119), so his proconsulship of Achaia can be dated to the joint reign, 198–209.[164] Further precision is supplied by the incomplete inscription found near Hadrian's Wall, probably deriving from Corbridge. If the dedicator may be identified with this man, the governorship of Alfenus Senecio or the Severan expedition (Gov. 39 above) seems a likely period for II Augusta and its legate to have been involved in successful fighting in the north.[165] Julianus went on to be governor of Aquitania as legate of a single emperor, that is, not before 212, which fits this dating.[166] The tribe Palatina gives no help in identifying his origin. He lived at Interamna, of which he had been curator and where his Aquitanian staff honoured him. But he may have come from nearby Ocriculum, where a local dignitary of the same names and tribe is attested, perhaps his father or grandfather.[167]

One may also list the following possible cases, the first three of which are discussed elsewhere:

[164] Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 294.

[165] Ibid. 338, supporting the rejection, *FRB* 266 n. 5, of the alternative restoration by R. W. Davies, *Latomus*, 35 (1976), 399 and n. 3. The reading above follows that by Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB.*

[166] Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 283.

[167] Andermahr, *Totus*, 303.

a. *EE* ix. 772 + 774 = H.-G. Kolbe, *Chiron*, 2 (1972), 405 ff.: see under *iurid.* 7.
b. *Bull. Dalm.* 37 (1914), 42 = G. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 137 n. 246, Salonae: see under LL 32.
c. *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 305 f. = *AE* 1971. 213, Caerleon (*Isca*): see under Gov. *Inc.* f.
d. date uncertain *CIL* xiv. 4059 = *EE* vii. 1267, Fidenae: *[. . . leg(ionis)] XX Valeriae [Victricis,* | *. . .]nares ex pr[. . .]* | *patr[ono].*

The restoration of line 2 in *EE* is highly conjectural: *[Reii Apolli]nares ex pr[ovincia Narbonensi].* There is no indication what rank the honorand held in XX Valeria Victrix, but, if he was a senator whose career was in descending order, a tribunate would have been mentioned last. If the order was ascending, the legionary legateship would be the highest position held. As he was honoured as patron of a town, he may well have been a senator.

e. second half of first or first half of second century. *CIL* vi. 37083, Rome: *[. . . Bit]hynia[. . . | . . .]iae Vict[ricis, . . . | . . . Ce]ioniu[s . . .].*

A legate or tribune of one of three legions with the title Victrix, XIV Gemina Martia, XX Valeria, or XXX Ulpia, appears to be referred to in line 2.

f. date uncertain. *Corinth* VIII. 2. 64, Corinth: *[. . . ?legi]on. II [. . . | . . .]es. pro[. . . | . . .]r. et [. . . ⁴| . . .]at[. . .].*

This inscription is too fragmentary for confident restoration. Even *[. . . legi]on. II* in line 1 is at best probable; for example, *[. . . expediti]on(e) II [. . .]* is also possible. If *[legi]on(is)* is right, *II*, rather than *II[I]* or *II[II]* must follow, since there is a stop after the second upright. II Augusta, II Adiutrix, or even II Traiana (for the career might be equestrian) are all possible. Either a tribunate or legateship could be restored.

g. date uncertain *CIL* xiv. 3518, Castelmadama: *[. . . , leg(ato) leg(ionis) . . .]tricis, leg(ato) leg(ionis) XI Claud(iae), sodal(i) Titi[o,* | *pr(aetori), trib(uno) plebi]s, quaest(ori) urb(ano), qui vix(it) annis X[. . . | . . .]iani C[. . .].*

The first legionary legateship could have been of any of six legions: I and II Adiutrix and the four called Victrix, VI, XIV Gemina Martia, XX Valeria, and XXX Ulpia.

I.11

IURIDICI

Only five *iuridici* of Britain are known by name. All may be dated to periods when the governor of Britain is known to have been preoccupied with military affairs in the north of the province. There are also two *ignoti*, probably of second-century date. The small number and the evidence for their date suggests that a *iuridicus* was only appointed when the governor was too busy to deal with his judicial functions in person. The two Flavian *iuridici* were both fairly senior praetorians, perhaps the first to be appointed, at a time when the province was being greatly expanded. The second-century ones seem to have held the post soon after the praetorship. It seems improbable that the office continued to exist after the division of the province (II. 1).

1. 78–81 (or 81–83?) Gaius Salvius, Gai filius, Velina, Liberalis Nonius Bassus (*cos.* 85?)

CIL ix. 5533 = *ILS* 1011, Urbs Salvia: *[C. (Gaio) Salv]io, C. (Gai) f(ilio), Vel(ina) Liberali | [Nonio] Basso, co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) provin|[ciae Ma]cedoniae, legato Augustorum* [4]*| [iuridi]c(o) Britann(iae), legato leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae), | [fratri A]rvali, allecto ab divo Vespasiano | [et divo Ti]to inter tribunicios, ab isdem | [promoto] inter praetorios, quinq(uennali) IIII, p(atrono) c(oloniae). hic sorte* [8]*| [proco(n)s(ul) fac]tus provinciae Asiae se excusavit.*

To Gaius Salvius, son of Gaius, Velina, Liberalis Nonius Bassus, consul, proconsul of Macedonia, juridical legate of the Emperors of Britain, legate of the Fifth Legion Macedonica, Arval Brother, enrolled by the deified Vespasian and deified Titus among the ex-tribunes, promoted by the same among the ex-praetors, *quinquennalis* four times, patron of the *colonia*. Having been made proconsul of Asia by lot, he excused himself.

The career is given in descending order, except that admission to the senate among the ex-tribunes is mentioned before promotion to the ex-praetors.[1] There follow his municipal honours, chief magistrate of Urbs Salvia, his home, in four separate census years, that is, at least fifteen years separate the first from the last tenure of that office. Finally his selection by lot for the proconsulship of Asia, probably early in Trajan's reign, and his withdrawal from taking up office, are mentioned. This was perhaps not unusual, although there seems to be only one other epigraphic record of it.[2] No details are supplied of

[1] The restoration *[promoto]* in l. 7 is preferable to *[allecto]*, as in *ILS*, by comparison with Caristanius Fronto's inscription (LL 11 above).

[2] *CIL* vi. 31719, C. Julius . . . Paternus (*cos. ord.* 269), *procos. pro[v. Asiae, p]ost excusat(ionem) praef. urbi.* Cf. also Tac. *Agr.* 42. 1 (Agricola withdrew before the ballot); Fronto evidently withdrew on health

his career before entry to the senate, which was probably during the censorship of 73–4. As he received the same initial seniority and subsequent promotion as Caristanius Fronto (*cos.* 90) (LL 11 above), he too had probably held equestrian military appointments and been on the right side in 69.

Pliny's letters and a passage in Suetonius illustrate Liberalis' character, and the Acts of the Arval Brethren provide some evidence to date his career. He was an outstanding advocate, fluent and forcible. His outspokenness won Vespasian's approval (Suet. *D. Vesp.* 13), but under Domitian he was in trouble, perhaps in exile (Pliny, *Ep.* 3. 9. 33); this may explain his absence from the Arval *Acta* between 89 and 91. He was co-opted to the Brethren on 1 March 78. If his *cursus* lists the priesthood in chronological order, his command over V Macedonica should have begun after that date, or rather, after May 78, when he was at another meeting of the Arvals. He is not named in the *Acta* for 80 or for most of 81, but was present again on 30 September that year.[3] It would be natural to suppose that he had just returned from his legion, after a tour of duty of about three years. But a difficulty arises from the description of his next post as *legato Augustorum [iuridi]c. Britann.* Titus died on 13 September 81, so the two emperors should not, on this chronology, be Titus and Domitian. On the other hand, if he had been appointed *iuridicus* by Vespasian and continued in office by Titus, his legionary command can, on the face of it, hardly have lasted more than a year, from late May 78 at earliest, until shortly before Vespasian's death on 23 June 79.[4] Equally, his post as *iuridicus* would in that case have lasted at most just over two years, to allow time for him to have been proconsul of Macedonia before his consulship, at latest in 86 (see below). It is possible that he was named *iuridicus* by Titus, but had not left to take up the appointment before the latter died. If one of the emperors under whom he served had been Domitian, it would be understandable if he avoided mentioning that name by writing *Augustorum*.[5]

A preferable explanation is that Liberalis' co-option as Arval Brother immediately followed his legionary command—just as, although the order of the *cursus* is descending, the adlection *inter tribunicios* is listed before the promotion *inter praetorios*. If the priesthood were a reward for meritorious service as legionary legate, it would be logical for it to be mentioned after that post. In that case, his command over V Macedonica could be dated *c.*74–7, and his service as *iuridicus* to 78–81.[6] On this chronology, his proconsulship of

grounds after being chosen proconsul of Asia, *Ad Antoninum Pium* 8. 166ff. van den Hout; *ILS* 1071, C. Popillius Carus Pedo, appointed legate of X Fretensis, *a cuius cura se excusavit.*

[3] Scheid, *CFA* 44, 48–9.

[4] But this was regarded as perfectly possible by H. Petersen, *CP* 57 (1962), 32f.

[5] This interpretation was suggested by H. Dessau, *PIR*[1] S 205; favoured by E. Groag, *RE* 1A/2 (1920), 2027, and by R. Syme, *Some Arval Brethren* (1980), 26.

[6] This solution, put forward in *FRB* 212, is favoured by Franke, *Legionslegaten*, 114f.

Macedonia could be dated to 83–4 and his consulship to 85, or rather, 82–3 and 84—for he attended another meeting of the Arvals in late May 84.[7] It would then be necessary to suppose that there was another *iuridicus* between Liberalis and Javolenus Priscus, whose tenure must have begun in 83 or 84. Certainty is unattainable in the absence of further evidence but Liberalis probably served in Britain from 78 to 81, under the governorship of Agricola, who was far to the north in those years (see Gov. 11). Agricola may indeed have recommended the creation of the post.

Liberalis' wife was Vitellia C. f. Rufilla, and their son was C. Salvius Vitellianus, whose own career included service as tribune of V Macedonica and legate to the proconsul of Macedonia, in both cases no doubt with Liberalis.[8] L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (*cos. ord.* 81), also from Urbs Salvia, must have been a close kinsman of Liberalis and no doubt assisted his career.[9] One of Pliny's letters shows that Liberalis attended the senate in 100, when he unsuccessfully defended Marius Priscus at his trial, against Pliny himself and Tacitus (2. 11. 17); and he was present at meetings of the Arval Brethren in 101. But his name does not feature in the *Acta* of 105, and he may be assumed to have died before then.[10]

2. 84–86 Gaius Octavius Tidius Tossianus Lucius Javolenus Priscus (*cos.* 86)

CIL iii. 2864 = *ILS* 1015 + *add.*, Nedinum: *C. (Gaio) Octavio | Tidio Tossia{a} | no L(ucio) Ia⟨v⟩oleno* [4] *| Prisco, leg(ato) leg(ionis) IV Flav(iae), leg(ato) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), iuridic(o) provinc(iae) Brittaniae, leg(ato) | consulari provin[c(iae)] Germ(aniae) superioris, | legato consulari provinc(iae) Syriae, | proconsuli provinc(iae) Africae, pontifici,* [8] *| P(ublius) Mutilius, P(ublii) f(ilius), Cla(udia), [C]rispinus t(itulum) p(oni) i(ussit) | amico carissimo.*

To Gaius Octavius Tidius Tossianus Lucius Javolenus Priscus, legate of the Fourth Legion Flavia, legate of the Third Legion Augusta, *iuridicus* of the province of Britain, consular legate of the province of Germania Superior, consular legate of the province of Syria, proconsul of the province of Africa, pontifex, Publius Mutilius, son of Publius, Claudia, Crispinus, ordered this inscription to be set this up to his dearest friend.

[7] Franke, *Legionslegaten*, 115, with further references, suggests 83–4 in Macedonia, consulship in 85. But the proconsulship and consulship could be a year earlier, 82–3 and 84. He is now known to have been present with the Arval Brethren in late May 84, Scheid, *CFA* 53, a Domitianic fragment not previously dated to a specific year, and Feb. 86, *CFA* 53–4. As noted by Eck, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 308 n. 112, 327 n. 181, he could not have been permitted to be consul in the year in which he returned from his proconsulship. His consulship cannot have been later than 86, since the consular Fasti are full for 87–92—and only one place is vacant in 86.

[8] *CIL* ix. 5534 = *ILS* 1012.

[9] *AE* 1969/70. 183b. See Franke, *Legionslegaten*, 200ff., with further references. The possible relationship between Liberalis and Flavius Silva is discussed by Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 80, 132f.

[10] Scheid, *CFA* 62, 64.

The *cursus* inscription of Javolenus Priscus is unusual in that no offices are mentioned earlier than the legionary command. Perhaps his friend first met Javolenus when he was commanding IV Flavia at Burnum, not far from Nedinum, and was not interested in, or informed about, the earlier career. But it is quite likely that Javolenus had been adlected to the senate and that the legionary legateship was his first senatorial post.[11] Several of his other offices are precisely dated, so the chronology of his service in Britain is clear. He was legate of III Augusta in 83, and consul during the last four months of 86.[12] Since he can hardly have taken up the former post earlier than 82,[13] he presumably came to Britain in 84 and remained for two years. He later became governor of Upper Germany, where he is attested in 90, and of Syria, and proconsul of Africa early in Trajan's reign.[14] He was also a *pontifex*.[15]

His principal claim to fame was as a jurist, and he became leader of the Sabinian school (*Dig.* 1. 2. 2. 53). It is true that a gaffe which he perpetrated at a literary gathering at Rome *c.*106 prompted Pliny (*Epp.* 6. 15) to cast unworthy doubts on his sanity, although admitting that 'he is summoned to meetings of the *consilium* and also gives responses on civil law'.[16] At any rate, he must have continued active leadership of the school well into the reign of Hadrian, since he was the teacher of the great Salvius Julianus (*cos. ord.* 148) (*Dig.* 40. 2. 5).[17] One of the numerous citations of his opinions in the *Digest* concerns the will of Seius Saturninus, chief helmsman in the British fleet, whose son, Seius Oceanus, had died before attaining the age for inheritance (36. 1. 48). The case must have come before him when he was *iuridicus*.

The names Javolenus, Tidius, and Tossianus all point to Umbria, specifically Iguvium, as his *origo*.[18] But Alföldy points out that he ought to be connected with the Octavii of Nedinum in Dalmatia, where he was honoured, a family well established in that province before Javolenus served there. He suggests that he was born a Gaius Octavius, and received his other names by

[11] See G. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 108 f.

[12] *CIL* viii. 23165; *PIR*² J 14; Thomasson, *Fasti*, 49 f., 137 f.

[13] His predecessor was still there in autumn 81, Thomasson, *Fasti*, 137.

[14] Eck, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 316, 320.

[15] Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 13, 147, Anlage 1. His freedman attendant (*kalator*) L. Javolenus Phoebus is listed with those of other *pontifices* in AD 101–2, *CIL* vi. 31304, 32445.

[16] Priscus reacted to his friend the poet Passenus Paulus' address at the start of his reading, 'Priscus, you command', *Prisce iubes*, by saying 'I certainly do not command', *ego vero non iubeo*.This provoked laughter and jokes. For Pliny Priscus' remark was a sign of his 'doubtful sanity', *dubiae sanitatis*, or 'derangement', *deliratio*. One suspects that Priscus had been asleep and woke up when his name was called out.

[17] He is not, however, named by *HA Hadr.* 18. 1 as one of the *iurisconsulti* who advised Hadrian. The passage names only Juventius Celsus, Julianus, and Neratius Priscus. For the date of birth of Julianus, *c.*106–8, see R. Syme, *BHAC 1986/89* (1991), 206 f.

[18] W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen* (1952), 139 n. 181, noted that the very rare name Javolenus and the uncommon Tidius are both attested at Iguvium; *PIR*² J 14.

adoption into an Umbrian family.[19] However, Salomies argues that '(if there was in fact an adoption) from the order of the names we should surely conclude that he was a L. Iavolenus adopted by a C. Octavius'.[20] A son or grandson might be the polyonymous senator whose names began Gaius Iavolenus Calvinus, governor of Lusitania *c.*138.[21]

The fact that he had already commanded a legion and had been *de facto* governor of Numidia before going to Britain underlines the importance of the post of *iuridicus* when it was first created, already revealed by the career of Salvius Liberalis. By contrast, the second century holders of the post were junior ex-praetors.

3. Hadrianic Marcus Vettius, Marci filius, Aniensis, Valens

CIL xi. 383, Ariminum: *M(arco) Vettio, M(arci) f(ilio)* | *An(iensi), Valenti* | *quaestori provinc(iae)* [4]| *Macedon(iae), quaestori* (sic) *pleb(is),* | *seviro eq(uitum) [R]om(anorum), praet(ori),* | *leg(ato) provinc(iae) [N]arbonens(is),* | *[iuridic(o)] provinc(iae) Britan(niae),* [8]| *[leg(ato)] leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is),* | *provincia Brittannia* | *patrono.*

To Marcus Vettius, son of Marcus, Aniensis, Valens, quaestor of the province of Macedonia, quaestor [*presumably* tribune *was intended*) of the plebs, *sevir* of the Roman knights, praetor, legate of the province of Narbonensis, *iuridicus* of the province of Britain, legate of the Fifteenth Legion Apollinaris, the province of Britain (set this up) to its patron.

This man can be identified as the Valens mentioned twice by Arrian as legate of the legion XV Apollinaris at the time of his measures to ward off an invasion of the Alani, *c.*137 (*Ectaxis* 5, 24).[22] Hence his service as *iuridicus* can be dated to the late 120s or early 130s, a time when the governors were still preoccupied with building Hadrian's Wall. He was presumably grandson of the man of the same names and tribe also honoured at Ariminum, clearly the family home. He was decorated for service in the praetorian guard during the Claudian invasion, and held many posts as an officer in the Rome garrison before becoming *primus pilus bis* of XIV Gemina in Britain and then procurator of Lusitania in 66.[23] The intervening generation is represented by M. Vettius M. f. Valens, who acted as *praefectus* for Trajan when the emperor was

[19] G. Alföldy, *ES* 5 (1968), 110ff., reviving earlier suggestions; followed by Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 239f. But Syme, *Danubian Papers*, 119, was sceptical.

[20] Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 120.

[21] *ILS* 1060; *PIR*² J 13. The *HA Ant. Pius* 12. 1 lists *Diaboleno* among the jurists approved by Antoninus Pius. Syme, *BHAC 1986/89* (1991), 203, regarded this as a joking invention of the *HA*, rather than a mistake.

[22] Arrian governed Cappadocia from *c.*131 to 137, Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 169ff. The *Ectaxis* deals with Arrian's measures to counter a threatened invasion of the Alani, late in his governorship, E. L. Wheeler, 'Flavius Arrianus: A Political and Military Biography' (Diss. Duke, University Microfilms Ann Arbor, 1977), 272ff.; id., in Le Bohec, *Les Légions*, i (2000), 296.

[23] *ILS* 2648, Ariminum; see Pflaum, *CP*, no. 32 + *add.*; Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 69.

honorary *duumvir* of Ariminum late in his reign.[24] In line 4 of the inscription, *quaestori* has been repeated in error instead of *tribuno* (or less probably *aedili*). There are no other special features of Valens' career, but it should be noted that he was junior compared to the two earlier *iuridici*, who were appointed after legionary commands. The inscription, and a statue to go with it, was set up by the province of Britain, in other words by the provincial council, *concilium provinciae*. Valens is one of only two known patrons of the province.[25]

4. *c.*172–175 Gaius Sabucius, Gai filius, Quirina, Major Caecilianus (*cos.* 186)

CIL vi. 1510 = *ILS* 1123, Rome: *C. (Gaio) Sabucio, C. (Gai) f(ilio), Quir(ina) Maiori | Caeciliano, co(n)s(uli), | sodali August(ali) Claudial(i), proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae)* [4]*| Ach(aiae), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Belgicae, | praef(ecto) aerari mil(itaris), leg(ato) iurid(ico) prov(inciae) | Britanniae, iurid(ico) per Flamin(iam) | et Umbriam, curat(ori) viae Salar(iae) et* [8]*| alimentorum, praet(ori) candidato, tr(ibuno) pleb(is) | [. . .].*

To Gaius Sabucius, son of Gaius, Quirina, Major Caecilianus, consul, *sodalis Augustalis Claudialis*, proconsul of the province of Achaia, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Belgica, prefect of the military treasury, juridical legate of the province of Britain, *iuridicus* for Flaminia and Umbria, curator of the Via Salaria and of the *alimenta*, praetor *candidatus*, tribune of the plebs . . .

Sabucius was consul in 186,[26] which allows his service as *iuridicus* to be dated approximately. The proconsulship of Achaia should belong to 184–5, the governorship of Belgica *c.*180–3, and the prefecture of the *aerarium militare* *c.*176–9.[27] Thus his service in Britain may be assigned to the period *c.*172–5. He had already held two administrative posts in Italy after the praetorship, the second of them as one of the newly created Italian *iuridici*, but did not command a legion. During the 170s several former equestrian officers, whose military capability had already been demonstrated, were adlected to senatorial rank to enable them to become legionary legates, in preference to men like Sabucius, who were thus allowed to specialize in other spheres.[28]

Although Sabucius is a rare Etruscan *nomen*, not found outside Italy,[29] the family could have been provincial, for the tribe Quirina is much more

[24] *ILS* 6662. Note also the eminent doctor Vettius Valens, one of Messallina's lovers, executed in 48, Tac. *Ann.* 11. 30 ff.; *PIR*[1] V. 343, where it is noted that there is no need to suppose relationship with the astrologer Vettius Valens of Antioch, a contemporary of the *iuridicus*.

[25] The other one is C. Julius Asper (*cos. II ord.* 212), for whom see I. 6, introduction.

[26] *RMD* i. 69.

[27] Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 283 f., 293; cf. M. Corbier, *L'Aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare* (1974), 398 ff.

[28] Notably P. Helvius Pertinax (Gov. 35), and M. Valerius Maximianus, *AE* 1956. 124; Pflaum, *CP*, no. 181*bis* + *add.*

[29] Schulze, *LE* 170, 223.

common outside Italy than in the peninsula.[30] Other Sabucii are C. Sabucius Perpetuus at Lanuvium, and S(extus) Sabucius Sabinus, *v(ir) c(larissimus)*, named on a bronze seal from Florence; and Sabucius' grandson, Gaius Sabucius Major Plotinus Faustinus, set up an inscription in his memory.[31]

5. *c.*184–5 **Marcus Antius Crescens Calpurnianus** (*cos. a. inc.*)

See Gov. 34.

6. 2nd century? ***Ignotus***

CIL xiv. 4248 = *Inscr. It.* iv. 137, Tibur: *[. . .] Q(uinti) f(ilio), Quir(ina), [. . . | . . . , p]roconsu[li | prov(inciae)] Cypri, leg(ato) le[g(ionis) . . . , [4]| iuri]dic(o) Britan[niae . . .].*

To . . . , son of Quintus, Quirina, . . . , . . . , proconsul of the province of Cyprus, legate of the . . . Legion, *iuridicus* of Britain . . .

The inscription gives the career in descending order, with command over a legion and the proconsulship of Cyprus following the post of *iuridicus*. This order of appointments shows that, as with Vettius Valens, the juridicate was less senior than with the first two holders of the office. The man is not identifiable with any known senator. His tribe, Quirina, shows that he was not a native of Tibur.[32]

7. 2nd century? ***Ignotus*** *AE* 1973. 133, Praeneste

EE ix. 772 + 774 = H.-G. Kolbe, *Chiron*, 2 (1972), 405 ff. = *AE* 1973. 133, Praeneste: (a) *[. . . pr]ovinc[iae . . . , | . . . Mac]edonia[e, . . . | . . .]ar(. . .), proco[(n)s(uli) . . .]*; (b) *[. . .][ia[. . .] | eiusde[m . . . iuridic(o)?] | prov(inciae) Br[it(anniae)?, leg(ato) leg(ionum) . . .] [4]| Victr(icis) et [. . .] | praef(ecto) aer(arii) m[il(itaris) . . .].*

(a) . . . of the province of . . . , ... of Macedonia, . . . , proconsul of . . . ; (b) . . . of the same . . . , *iuridicus*? of the province of Britain?, legate of the Legions . . . Victrix and . . . , prefect of the military treasury . . .

Kolbe showed that two fragments originally published separately must belong to the same *cursus* inscription of an unknown senator. The letters formerly taken to be part of a name at the beginning of an inscription, *[. . .]lius D[. . .]*,

[30] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271 f. (in Etruria only at Forum Clodii). The *cognomina* borne by the Sabucii, Major, Caecilianus, Faustinus, and Perpetuus, were all favoured in Africa: Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 18, 142, 272; A. R. Birley, *BJ* 169 (1969), 276 n. 209 (add *CRAI* (1962), 55, no. 1).

[31] *EE* ix. 629; *CIL* xi. 6712; *ILS* 1123a.

[32] Kubitschek 50: Tibur was in the Camilia. It was a favoured residence for provincial senators.

now prove to be the word *eiusde[m]* at the start of the second line of fragment (b). Of the surviving letters, doubt attaches only to those in line 1 of fragment (b), where *-cia-* or *-eia-* are also possible, while *-ar.* in line 3 of fragment (a) can be restored in several different ways. The order of the career is clearly ascending, with the prefecture of the *aerarium militare* the most senior post, preceded by two legionary commands, the first over a legion with the title Victrix (VI Victrix, XX Valeria Victrix, XXX Ulpia Victrix, or even XIV Gemina Martia Victrix). An upright stroke follows the *B* in line 3, which excludes Baetica. Belgica can be ruled out too, since the governorship of that province would be out of place before a legionary command. The proconsulship of Bithynia-Pontus is theoretically possible. But the province was almost always called *Pontus et Bithynia* rather than vice versa. On balance, therefore, *[iuridic.] prov. Bṛ[itanniae]* is the most probable restoration. In the earlier career a provincial quaestorship seems required in line 1 of fragment (a), followed presumably by tribunate of the plebs or aedileship, then the post of legate to a proconsul of Macedonia in line 2. In line 3, *-ar.* could refer to a second such appointment, for example, *[leg. prov. Cretae Cyren]ar(um)* or *[curator viae Sal]ar(iae)*; but the curatorship of a town with a name terminating *-ar.* cannot be excluded. Then came a proconsulship, clearly of a praetorian province, unless a legateship to a proconsul be understood. The large number of posts held after the praetorship makes a second century date likelier than the first, while the third century appears to be excluded, since *iuridici* were probably no longer appointed after the division of Britain.[33]

?Ignotus *RIB* 8

See under Gov. 41.

[33] It may be added that in several *cursus* inscriptions of *iuridici* the province or Italian region in which they served is missing. It would be superfluous to discuss such cases in detail: *CIL* vi. 1471 = 41206 (Neratius M[. . .]; 1551 = 41193 (*Ignotus*); 37074 (-us Stat[. . .]); x. 5379 (-cius Macer); xi. 7042 (*Ignotus*). (The man in *CIL* vi. 1518, T. Sextius . . . etc., turns out not have been a *iuridicus*, see the revision in vi. 41131.)

I.12

TRIBUNI LATICLAVII (TRIB. 1–32, A–D)

Even more men must have served as *tribuni laticlavii* in Britain than the estimated *c.*180 legionary legates, on the assumption that many served for less than three years. But only thirty-two at most are known (Trib. 1, 3, 11, 22, 30 are uncertain, 9 very conjectural; and 20 probably did not serve in Britain): with one possible exception (21, probably not *laticlavius*) none are attested in the province; three (4, 6, 7) are known only from literary sources; for the others all the evidence is from inscriptions outside Britain.[1] Only one, Julius Agricola (Gov. 11) is known to have later served again in Britain. None can certainly be dated after the division of Britain. Two inscriptions where the legion was not necessarily one of those in Britain are added at the end of this section (a-b), along with two rejected cases (c–d).

1. under Claudius? IX Hispana?, Ignotus *CIL* v. 7165

CIL v. 7165, Piedmont (exact provenance unknown): *[. . .]GI[. . . | donis dona]t(o) ab Ti(berio) Claud[io Caesare Augusto Germanico | coronis aur]ea classica val[lari . . . ,* [4]*| . . . cohort(em) amicorum. [h]ospitium cum leg(ione V[IIII? | tab]ula argent(ea) ae[. . . | . . .]o[. . .].*

. . . decorated with decorations by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, with crowns, a gold one, a naval one, a rampart one, . . . (received into) the cohort of friends. (He concluded) a *hospitium*-agreement with the Ninth? Legion, . . . a silver tablet . . . .

The *dona* awarded to this unknown senator are said to be those appropriate to a consular, but could equally have been given to a *tribunus laticlavius*.[2] At any rate, they were surely for service in Britain at the time of the invasion. The legion in line 4 was probably that in which the honorand presumably served, the Ninth.[3]

2. under Claudius? II Augusta, LuciusVettius, Luci filius, Stellatina, Statura

CIL xi. 6054, Urvinum Mataurense: *L(ucio) Vettio, L(uci) f(ilio), Stel(latina), Staturae, | [X]vir(o) stlit(ibus) iudic(andis), trib(uno) | milit(um) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), quaestori* [4]*| provinc(iae) Narbonensis, |*

[1] For detailed discussion of the origins and careers of tribunes see *FRB* 416ff. Some have been added in the present work: nos. 1 (taken to be a consular *comes* of Claudius in *FRB* 364), 3 (cf. *FRB* 434f.), 9 (very conjectural), 19; nos. 2 and 27 have been redated.

[2] Domaszewski, *RO*[2] 184 and n. 1, consular; but, ibid. n. 8, he implies that the man was a *tribunus laticlavius*. Ritterling, *RE* 12/1 (1924), 1250, and 12/2 (1925), 1666, took him to be a consular.

[3] Thus Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1666.

trib(uno), praetori, IIIIvir(o) | *quinq(uennali) i(ure) d(icundo), patrono municipi, decuriones ex* [8] | *aere conlato, ob plenis*|*sima merita eius, quod* | *primus omnium cum quin*|*quennalis esset annuum se* [12] | *epulum municipibus suis* | *daturum pollicitus est.*

To Lucius Vettius, son of Lucius, Stellatina, Statura, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, military tribune of the Second Legion Augusta, quaestor of the province of Narbonensis, tribune (of the plebs), praetor, *quattuorvir quinquennalis iure dicundo*, patron of the *municipium*, the decurions (set this up) from money that had been collected, on account of his very great services, because, as first of all (to do so), when he was *quinquennalis*, he promised that he would give his fellow-citizens a banquet.

The inscription shows that Urvinum was this man's home, for which his tribe Stellatina is the appropriate one.[4] His *cognomen* is otherwise attested only at nearby Tifernum Mataurense.[5] A fragmentary inscription from Xanthus may also have been set up to him. The honorand's name is missing, but the career matches exactly, except that the decemvirate and legionary tribunate are in a different order, and an additional post is given, legate of Nero in Syria, presumably of a legion.[6] If identity were accepted, this would date his tribunate to the time of Claudius or the first half of Nero's reign.[7]

3. first century? [. . .]us, Quinti filius, Ar[nensis, . . .]nus
(*cos. a. inc.*)

V. Saladino, *ZPE* 38 (1980), 159–176 = *AE* 1980. 445 = M. Torelli, *EOS* ii. 292 f. = *Supplementa Italica* NS 16 (1998), no. 132 = *AE* 1998. 454, Rusellae: *[. . .]o, Q(uinti) f(ilio), Ar[n(ensi),* | *. . .]no, co(n)s(uli), +[. . . , po]ntif(ici),* | *[trib(uno) mil(itum)? leg(ionis) . . . exe]rcitus Br[it(annici), . . . ,* [4] | *q(uaestori)? pro]v(inciae) Narbone[nsis, tr(ibuno) pl(ebis)?, pr(aetori)?,* | *?cur(atori) viae Vale]riae, VI[vir(o)? eq(uitum) Rom(anorum)?,* | *. . .]o* (or *q)[. . .].*

To . . . , son of Quintus, Arnensis, . . . nus, consul, pontifex, ?tribune? of the . . . Legion? of the army of Britain, . . . , ?quaestor? of the province of Narbonensis, tribune of the plebs?, praetor?, ?curator of the Via Valeria?, *sevir*? of the Roman knights?, . . . , . . .

This fragmentary inscription, dated to the first century by its lettering, is differently restored by Saladino, with the career in descending order. In line 5 he proposes *[leg(ato) leg(ionis) XX Vale]riae vi[ct(ricis)]*.[8] On this basis Torelli offers Q. [Sulpicius Cameri]nus (*cos.* 46). However, that would mean that

[4] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 78 f.

[5] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 365, citing *CIL* xi. 5992, a centurion of Trajanic date, L. Aconius L.f. Clu. Statura, and his homonymous son.

[6] A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, 8 (1981), 123 ff. = *AE* 1981. 828. Balland regards it as unlikely that the *ignotus* is Vettius Statura; he is followed by Andermahr, *Totus*, 478 n. 1. But there seems no good reason to doubt this.

[7] R. Hanslik, *RE* 8A/2 (1950), 1868, proposed a 1st-cent. date. Pflaum, *Narbonnaise*, 88, preferred the 2nd cent. because of the 'loquacité des décurions'. Neither could be aware of the Xanthus inscription.

[8] Cf. *FRB* 434 f., where Saladino's restoration of the legion was accepted.

Camerinus would have commanded the legion under Tiberius, before it had the title Valeria Victrix, awarded after the Boudican uprising (LL Intr.). Hence some other man must be in question. In any case, it seems just as plausible that after the consulship and priesthood immediately following the man's name, the *cursus* is ascending. If so, *exercitus Britannicus* in line 2 probably refers to a military tribunate, with the legion specified as belonging to the army of Britain because it had not been there long. The inscription ought then to be not long after the year 43. Line 5 could be restored as, for example, *cur(atori) viae Vale]riae, VI[vir(o) eq(uitum) Rom(anorum)]*. It is true that most known *seviri* served before or just after the quaestorship. But at least two were ex-praetors.[9]

4. 48 Marcus Ostorius, Publii filius, Scapula (*cos.* 59)

Tac. *Ann.* 12. 31. 4: quoted under Gov. 2.

16. 15. 1: *Ostorius longinquis in agris apud finem Ligurum id temporis erat: eo missus centurio, qui caedem eius maturaret. causa festinandi ex eo oriebatur, quod Ostorius multa militari fama et civicam coronam apud Britanniam meritus, ingenti corporis robore armorumque scientia metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum semper et reperta nuper coniuratione magis exterritum.*

16. 15. 1: Ostorius was at that time on his distant estate, on the boundary of the Ligurians. A centurion was sent there to hasten his death. The reason for hurrying arose from the fact that Ostorius, with a great military reputation and having won the civic crown in Britain, and through his massively strong physique and skill at arms, had made Nero afraid that he would attack him, being always nervous and having been terrified more by the recently detected conspiracy.

Tacitus does not specify the younger Scapula's status when he won the *corona civica* in his father's governorship, probably in 48 (Gov. 2). He was surely a military tribune, aged about 20: as son of a consular he was probably in his early thirties as consul in 59. Nero feared his 'vast size and skill at arms'; he committed suicide to avoid execution in 66.[10]

5. early Neronian XIV Gemina, Lucius Cornelius, Luci filius, Galeria, Pusio Annius Messalla (*cos.* under Vespasian)

CIL vi. 37056, Rome: *L(ucio) Cornelio, L(uci) f(ilio), | Gal(eria), Pusioni | IIIIvir(o) viar(um) curandar(um),* [4]*| tr(ibuno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XIIII Geminae, | quaestori, tr(ibuno) pl(ebis), pr(aetori), legat(o) | Augusti leg(ionis) XVI, | M(arcus) Vibrius Marcellus,* [8]*| 7(centurio) leg(ionis) XVI.*

To Lucius Cornelius, son of Lucius, Galeria, Pusio, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, military tribune

[9] P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus, *AE* 1940. 99; C. Curtius Justus (LL 27).

[10] *PIR*[2] O 162, where the possibility is ventilated that he might have been a legionary legate of quaestorian status in 48.

of the Fourteenth Legion Gemina, quaestor, tribune of the plebs, praetor, legate of the Emperor of the Sixteenth Legion, Marcus Vibrius Marcellus, centurion of the Sixteenth Legion (set this up).

Pusio presumably served with XIV Gemina before 60, when it received the additional titles Martia Victrix (LL Intr.). The *terminus ante quem* is 70, when the old legion XVI was reconstituted as XVI Flavia Firma. Alföldy dates his command late in Nero's reign, since he was consul under Vespasian.[11] He was later proconsul of Africa or Asia and *septemvir epulonum*.[12] He was clearly a Spaniard, probably from Gades, near which a slave of his was buried, with a residence at Tibur, where his full names occur on a stone set up by Cornelia Sabina, probably his daughter.[13]

6. 59–60 Gnaeus Julius, Luci filius, Aniensis, Agricola (*cos.* 76?)

See Gov. 11.

7. 60? Titus Flavius, Titi filius, Quirina, Vespasianus (*cos. ord.* 70 etc.)

Suet. *D. Titus* 4. 1: *tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit, summa industriae nec minore modestiae fama, sicut apparet statuarum et imaginum eius multitudine ac titulis per utramque provinciam.*

He served as military tribune both in Germany and in Britain, with the highest reputation for hard work and, no less, for moderation, as is apparent from the large number of statues and portraits of him, and inscriptions, in both provinces.

Dio-Xiphilinus 60. 30. 1: In Britain, when Vespasian was once hedged in by the barbarians and was in danger of being killed, Titus, his son, fearing for his father, broke through their enclosing lines with unusual daring, and then pursued and destroyed the fleeing enemy.

The future emperor Titus' service in Britain is recorded only by Suetonius. The story in the epitome of Dio, that he saved his father's life there, reported under the year 47, probably derives from a misunderstanding by Xiphilinus: Titus was born on 30 December 39.[14] His tribunates, first in Germany, where the Elder Pliny was a fellow-officer (*NH*, *praef.* 3 f.), then in Britain, ought to fall *c.*58–60. His transfer to Britain may be explained by the dispatch of 2,000 legionaries, eight auxiliary cohorts, and 1,000 cavalry, to restore the British

[11] Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 6 f.

[12] *PIR*² C 1425.

[13] *EE* ix. 214, Gades; *Inscr. It.* iv. 107, Tibur. See also Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 292 (taking Sabina to be his wife); Andermahr, *Totus*, 240.

[14] D. E. Eichholz, *Britannia*, 3 (1972), 154 f., suggested that what Dio originally related referred to an incident in the Jewish war, mistakenly assigned to Britain by Xiphilinus.

army to strength after the Boudican war (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 38. 1, quoted under Gov. 5). Titus could have conducted these men (cf. 10, below, for such a move in the opposite direction). He may have been assigned to the legion that had lost most men, IX Hispana, the legate of which, Petillius Cerialis, was by 69 his kinsman, presumably his brother-in-law (see Gov. 9). Titus went on to be quaestor and then commanded XV Apollinaris under his father in the Jewish war.[15]

8. 69 II Augusta, Lucius Antistius, Luci filius, Galeria, Rusticus (*cos.* 90)

AE 1925. 126, Pisidian Antioch: *[L(ucio) Antistio, L(uci) f(ilio)], Gal(eria), Rustico, co(n)s(uli), | leg(ato) imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [[Domitiani]] Aug(usti)* [4]*| pro pr(aetore) provinciarum | Capp(adociae), Galat(iae), Ponti, Pisidi(ae), Paphl(agoniae), Arm(eniae) min(oris), Lyca(oniae), praef(ecto) | aer(ari) Sat(urni), proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) Hisp(aniae)* [8]*| [u]lt(erioris) Baetic(ae), leg(ato) divi Vesp(asiani) et divi Titi | et imp(eratoris) Caesaris [[Domitiani]] Aug(usti) | [[Germanici]] leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), cura|tori viarum Aureliae et Corne*[12]*|liae, adlecto inter praetorios | a divo Vespasiano et divo Tito, | donis militaribus donato ab iisdem, | corona murali, cor(ona) vallari,* [16]*| corona aurea, vexillis III, | hastis puris III, trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) II | [A]ug(ustae), Xvir(o) stlitibus iudicand(is), | patrono coloniae, quod [ind]ustrie prospexit annon(ae).*

To Lucius Antistius, son of Lucius, Galeria, Rusticus, consul, propraetorian legate of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus of the provinces of Cappadocia, Galatia, Pontus, Pisidia, Paphlagonia, Armenia Minor, Lycaonia, prefect of the treasury of Saturn, proconsul of the province of Further Spain Baetica, legate of the deified Vespasian and of the deified Titus and of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus of the Eighth Legion Augusta, curator of the Viae Aurelia and Cornelia, adlected among the ex-praetors by the deified Vespasian and the deified Titus, decorated with military decorations by the same, a mural crown, a rampart crown, a golden crown, three flags, three pure spears, military tribune of the Second Legion Augusta, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, patron of the colony, because he assiduously looked after the food-supply.

Adlection as ex-praetor was surely Rusticus' reward for II Augusta's part in swinging Britain to the Flavian side in 69. His decorations, appropriate to an ex-praetor, were clearly given after he had attained that rank.[16] He may have been acting-commander of II Augusta in the absence of a legate (see under LL 8). After adlection he held four praetorian posts, as road curator, legate of VIII Augusta, clearly from 79–81, proconsul of Baetica, and treasury prefect. After his consulship in 90, he governed Cappadocia-Galatia, where he died *c.*93. He was of Spanish origin, from Corduba;[17] his friend Martial (4. 75–82; 9. 30–6) commemorated his death (9. 30). His wife was Mummia Nigrina.[18]

[15] See *PIR*[2] F 399 for details.
[16] E. Birley, *Roman Army*, 256f. (repr. from *Britannia*, 8 (1978), 243f.).
[17] Syme, *RP* iv. 278ff. (repr. from *Historia*, 22 (1983), 359ff.); Caballos, *Senadores*, 69ff.
[18] *PIR*[2] M 714; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 558.

9. ? under Vespasian, *c.*77–79? Publius? Cornelius Tacitus Ca[. . .] (*cos.* 97)

CIL vi. 1574 = G. Alföldy, *MDAI (R)* 102 (1995), 252ff. = *AE* 1995. 92 = *CIL* vi. 41106: *[P(ublio)? Cornelio . . . f(ilio), . . . Ta]cito Ca[ecinae? Paeti?, co(n)s(uli), | XVviro sacris faciundis, X]viro stlitib[us iudicandis, trib(uno) | mil(itum) leg(ionis . . . , quaesto]ri Aug(usti), tribun[o plebis, praetori], . . .*

To Publius? Cornelius, son of . . . , Tacitus Ca . . . , consul, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis, decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, military tribune of the . . . Legion, quaestor of the Emperor, tribune of the plebs, praetor, . . .

This inscription has been convincingly identified by Alföldy as part of the historian Tacitus' funerary monument. It would be out of place to repeat all that is known or has been conjectured about Tacitus' origin, probably in southern Gaul or northern Italy, and career. Here it may be stressed that a military tribunate can be restored in lines 2–3. If, as seems probable, Tacitus was born *c.*58, he would have been the right age to hold a tribunate when Agricola, whose daughter he had just married, began his governorship of Britain. In that case, it is plausible that he served in one of Agricola's four legions, perhaps from 77 to 79. He could then have been an eye-witness of what he describes in *Agr.* 18–22. Of his later career the quaestorship of the emperor (Domitian) and tribunate of the plebs are supplied by the inscription. Otherwise only the praetorship in 88 and his membership of the *XVviri s.f.* in that year (*Ann.* 11. 11. 1), his suffect consulship in 97 (Plin. *Ep.* 2. 1), and his proconsulship of Asia, probably 112–13,[19] are known. His absence from Rome for over three years, *c.*89–93 (*Agr.* 45. 5), might have been to command a legion; and conceivably he governed a consular province before 104 or 105, when he returned 'safely' to Rome (Plin. *Ep.* 4. 13. 1). The inscription shows that he had other names after Tacitus, perhaps Ca[ecina Paetus].[20]

10. 83 IX Hispana, Lucius Roscius, Marci filius, Quirina, Aelianus Maecius Celer (*cos.* 100)

ILS 1025 = *Inscr. It.* iv. 129, Tibur: *L(ucio) Roscio, M(arci) f(ilio), Qui(rina), | Aeliano Maecio Celeri,* [4] *| co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) | Africae, pr(aetori), tr(ibuno) pl(ebis), quaest(ori) | Aug(usti), Xvir(o) stlitib(us) iudic(andis), trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IX Hispan(ae),* [8] *| vexillarior(um) eiusdem | in expeditione Germanica, | donato ab imp(eratore) Aug(usto) | militarib(us) donis, corona* [12] *| vallari et murali, vexillis | argenteis II, hastis puris II, | salio, | C. (Gaius) Vecilius, C. (Gai) f(ilius), Pal(atina), Probus, | amico optimo. | l(ocus) d(atus) s(enatus) c(onsulto).*

To Lucius Roscius, son of Marcus, Quirina, Aelianus Maecius Celer, consul, proconsul of the

[19] *IMylasa* 365.

[20] Reference may be made to A. R. Birley, *Historia*, 49 (2000), 230ff., where the above is argued in detail.

province of Africa, praetor, tribune of the plebs, quaestor of the emperor, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, military tribune of the Ninth Legion Hispana, (in charge of) detachments of the same legion in the German expedition, decorated by the Emperor Augustus with military decorations, a rampart and a mural crown, two silver flags, two pure spears, Salian priest, Gaius Vecilius, son of Gaius, Palatina, Probus, (set this up), to his excellent friend. The place was given by decree of the senate.

EE ix. 612, Lanuvium, a fragmentary inscription, also records this career from *Xvir(o)* in line 6 to the end of line 8.

The German expedition to which Roscius Aelianus took detachments of IX Hispana was clearly Domitian's Chattan war of 83 (mention of Domitian's name is suppressed). He was consul in 100, presumably in his late thirties. Groag suggested that only a selection of posts was given. Otherwise it would be curious if he held a relatively early consulship, with no appointments in imperial service after the military tribunate, and that he had no consular posts until the proconsulship of Africa, *c.*117.[21] His family seems to have come from Sicily.[22] The first *gentilicium* and filiation suggest he was son of M. Roscius Coelius, legate of XX Valeria Victrix in 69 (LL 8); and he was related to the *cos.* 101, M. Maecius Celer, perhaps his first cousin. A descendant was *cos. ord.* 223.[23]

11. Flavian? IX Hispana, Lucius Steṛ[tinius? . . .]

ILAlg. i. 282, Calama: *L(ucio) Steṛ[tinio?, . . . ,] | Hor(atia?), [. . . , | trib(uno) mil(itum) l]eg(ionis) VIIII Hispa[nae, . . . ,* [4]*| leg(ato) Aug(usti) a]t census [accipiendos? | pro]vinciae [. . . , | . . . leg(ato)? di]vi Traiani [. . . | . . . , pro?]co(n)s(uli) [. . . ,* [8]*| . . .]m[. . . | . . . , pa]trono [. . .].*

To Lucius Stertinius(?) . . . , military tribune? of the Ninth Legion Hispana, . . . , legate of the Emperor to take the census of the province of . . . , legate of the deified Trajan of . . ., consul *or* proconsul?, . . . patron of (the town of Calama).

The nomenclature and career on this fragmentary stone are uncertain. Ster[tinius] is the most probable *gentilicium*. As at least part of the career is Trajanic, the man might be either the *cos.* 92, L. Stertinius Avitus, or the *cos.* 113, L. Stertinius Noricus—and perhaps *Nor[ico]* rather than *Hor(atia)[. . .]* could be read in line 2. As VIIII Hispana is mentioned soon after the name, a tribunate rather than a legateship must surely be restored. But the length of the original lines is unknown, hence they cannot be reconstructed more fully. It would be hazardous to make firm suggestions about his *origo*; but the tribe Horatia is found in Africa as well as in four communities in Italy.[24]

[21] E. Groag, *RE* 1A/1 (1914), 117ff.
[22] W. Eck, *ZPE* 113 (1996), 109ff.
[23] *PIR*² R 89, and 90ff. for later generations, with stemma 9.
[24] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 139, 161, 271.

12. late Trajanic IX Hispana, Lucius Burbuleius, Luci filius, Quirina, Optatus Ligarianus (*cos.* 135)

CIL x. 6006 = *ILS* 1066, Minturnae: *L(ucio) Burbuleio, L(uci) f(ilio), Quir(ina),* | *Optato Ligariano,* | *co(n)s(uli), sodal(i) Aug(ustali), leg(ato) imperat(oris)* [4]| *Antonini Aug(usti) Pii pro pr(aetore) prov(inciae)* | *Syriae, in quo honor(e) decessit, leg(ato)* | *eiusdem et divi Hadriani pro pr(aetore) prov(inciae)* | *Cappad(ociae), cur(atori) oper(um) locor(um)q(ue) publ(icorum), praef(ecto)* [8]| *aerar(ii) Saturn(i), proco(n)s(uli) Sicil(iae), logiste* | *Syriae, legat(o) leg(ionis) XVI Fl(aviae) firm(ae), cur(atori) rei p(ublicae)* | *Narbon(ensium), item Anconitanor(um), item* | *Tarricin(ensium), curat(ori) viar(um) Clodiae, Cassiae,* [12]| *Ciminae, pr(aetori), aed(ili) pl(ebis), q(uaestori) Ponti et Bithyn(iae), trib(uno) laticl(avio) leg(ionis) IX Hispan(ae), IIIvir(o) kapital(i), patr(ono) col(oniae),* | *Rasinia Pietas, nutr(ix) filiar(um) eius,* | *s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit). l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Lucius Burbuleius, son of Lucius, Quirina, Optatus Ligarianus, consul, *sodalis Augustalis*, propraetorian legate of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius of the province of Syria, in which office he died, propraetorian legate of the same and of the deified Hadrian of the province of Cappadocia, curator of public works and places, prefect of the treasury of Saturn, proconsul of Sicily, *logistes* of Syria, legate of the Sixteenth Legion Flavia Firma, curator of the commonwealth of the Narbonenses, likewise of the Anconitans, likewise of the Tarracinenses, curator of the Viae Clodia, Cassia, Ciminia, praetor, plebeian aedile, quaestor of Pontus and Bithynia, senatorial tribune of the Ninth Legion Hispana, *triumvir kapitalis*, patron of the colony, Rasinia Pietas, wet-nurse of his daughters, set this up with her own money. The place was given by decree of the decurions.

Burbuleius Optatus succeeded the historian Arrian as governor of Cappadocia in 137 at the earliest, and was there at Hadrian's death in 138.[25] He was consul in 135 with M. Aemilius Papus (LL 21),[26] whose son married one of Optatus' daughters and served as military tribune under his father-in-law in both Cappadocia and Syria.[27] Both Papus and Optatus went on to be curator of public works. Optatus had probably been tribune in Britain at least twenty years earlier. Starting as *triumvir capitalis*, he had to work his passage to the consulship, with eight praetorian posts, suggesting that he might not have held a consular command had not Hadrian in his last years come to distrust many 'former friends' (*HA Hadr.* 15. 3ff.). Optatus' funerary inscription is at Minturnae, of which he was patron, and where his daughters dedicated a tribunal and statue of Victoria Augusta.[28] He clearly had a residence there, but Minturnae was enrolled in Teretina, so cannot have been his home town.[29] The very rare *gentilicium* is not found outside Italy, but he might have been provincial, perhaps from Baetica, home of his son-in-law.[30]

[25] Eck, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 182.
[26] *RMD* iv. 251.
[27] *AE* 1983. 517, near Seville.
[28] *AE* 1982. 157.
[29] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 24.
[30] Suggested by Dąbrowa, *Syria*, 101f., who notes that Salpensa, near Siarum, home of his daughters-in-law, was in Optatus' tribe Quirina (Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 180f.).

13. early Hadrianic II Augusta, Lucius Annius Fabianus (*cos.* 141 or 142)

CIL iii. 1455=7972=*IDR* iii/2. 84, Sarmizegethusa: *L(ucio) Annio Fabiano,* | *IIIviro capital(i), trib(uno)* | *leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), quaest(ori) urban(o),* [4]| *trib(uno) pl(ebis), praetori,* | *curatori viae Latinae,* | *legat(o) leg(ionis) X Fretensis,* | *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Dac(iae),* [8]| *col(onia) Ulp(ia) Traian[a Aug(usta)* | *Dac(ica) Sarmizegetusa].*

To Lulius Annius Fabianus, *triumvir capitalis*, tribune of the Second Legion Augusta, urban quaestor, tribune of the plebs, praetor, curator of the Via Latina, legate of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Dacia, the colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (set this up).

The legionary command cannot be before the later part of Trajan's reign, when Judaea became a two-legion province and X Fretensis regained a separate legate instead of being commanded by the praetorian governor.[31] His governorship of Dacia (Superior) must have preceded the creation of the consular province of the III Daciae in the 160s.[32] Hence he can be identified with the Fabianus who was consul in 141 or 142; his military tribunate is thus datable to early in Hadrian's reign, under Pompeius Falco (Gov. 17). His nomenclature is indistinctive, but he might have been son or kinsman of the equestrian L. Annius C. f. Quir. Fabianus, of Caesarea in Mauretania.[33] The *cos. ord.* 201 of the same names was presumably his grandson.[34]

14. 122 VI Victrix, Marcus Pontius, Marci filius, Pupinia, Laelianus Larcius Sabinus (*cos.* 144)

CIL vi. 1497+1549=*ILS* 1094+1100=*CIL* vi. 41146, Rome: *M(arco) Pontio, M(arci) f(ilio), Pup(inia),* | *Laeliano Larcio Sabino, co(n)s(uli), pon*|*tifici, sodali Antoniniano Veriano,* [4]| *fetiali, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Syriae, leg(ato) Aug(usti)* | *pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Pannon(iae) super(ioris), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Pann*|*non(iae) infer(ioris), comiti divi Veri Aug(usti), donato donis* | *militarib(us) bello Armeniaco et Parthico,* [8]| *ab imp(eratoribus) Antonino et a divo Vero Aug(ustis)* | *[coron(is)] mu[rali, vallari, clas]sica, aur[ea,* | *hast(is) puris IIII, vexill(is) IIII, comiti imp(eratorum) Anto*|*n]ini Aug(usti) et divi Veri bello Germanic(o),* [12]| *item comiti imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) Germanici Sar*|*matici, leg(ato) leg(ionis) I Miner(viae), curatori civit(atis) Araus(ionensium)* | *prov(inciae) Galliae Narb(onensis), praetori, trib(uno) pleb(is) candidato* | *imp(eratoris) divi Hadriani, ab act(is) senatus, quaestor(i) prov(inciae)* [16]| *Narb(onensis), trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis), cum qua ex Germ(ania) in* | *Brittan(iam) transiit, IIIIvir(o) viar(um) curandar(um).* | *huic senatus, auctore M(arco) Aurelio Antonino Aug(usto)* | *Armeniac(o) Medic(o) Parthic(o) maximo Germ(anico) Sarmat(ico)* [20]| *statuam poni habitu civili in foro divi Traiani* | *pecunia publica censuit.*

[31] See e.g. Thomasson, *LP* i. 324f.: Lusius Quietus was already consul before becoming governor of Judaea before Trajan's death.

[32] Piso, *Fasti*, 54ff., dating the Dacian governorship to 139–141/2.

[33] Thus Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 312, citing *CIL* viii. 9374.

[34] *PIR*[2] A 644: he was a patrician.

To Marcus Pontius, son of Marcus, Pupinia, Laelianus Larcius Sabinus, consul, *pontifex*, *sodalis Antoninianus Verianus*, fetial priest, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Syria, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Pannonia Superior, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of Pannonia Inferior, *comes* of the deified Verus Augustus, decorated with military decorations in the Armenian and Parthian war by the Emperors Antoninus and the deified Verus, the Augusti, with crowns, a wall one, a rampart one, a naval one, a gold one, four pure spears, four *vexilla*, *comes* of the Emperors Antoninus Augustus and the deified Verus in the German war, likewise *comes* of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus, legate of the First Legion Minervia, curator of the commonwealth of the Arausienses in the province of Gallia Narbonensis, praetor, tribune of the plebs as candidate of the Emperor, the deified Hadrian, in charge of the proceedings of the senate, quaestor of the province of Narbonensis, military tribune of the Sixth Legion Victrix, with which he crossed from Germany to Britain, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*. To this man the senate, on the proposal of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus Germanicus Sarmaticus, decreed that a statue in civilian dress be set up at public expense in the Forum of the deified Trajan.

Laelianus' consulship, datable to 145,[35] should be about twenty years after his service in VI Victrix, 'with which he crossed from Germany to Britain', surely in 122 (see under Gov. 18). Some forty years later Fronto praised his 'old-fashioned discipline' (*Ad Verum imp.* 2. 1. 22, 128 van den Hout) on L. Verus' staff in the East. He surely remembered Hadrian's restoration of discipline in Germany and Britain (see under Gov. 18). His tribe Pupinia is found only in Italy and at Baeterrae in Narbonensis,where he was quaestor and curator of Arausio. Perhaps his home was Baeterrae;[36] but Italian origin is likelier. A son was *cos. ord.* 163.[37]

15. early Hadrianic? VI Victrix, Quintus Licinius, Quinti filius, Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus

CIL ii. 4609 = *ILS* 1028, Baetulo: *Q(uinto) Licinio,* | *Q(uinti) f(ilio), Silvano* | *Graniano* [4] | *Quadronio Proculo, III*|*viro ad monetam, trib(uno)* [8] | *mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis)* | *p(iae) f(idelis), d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Quintus Licinius, son of Quintus, Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus, mintmaster, military tribune of the Sixth Legion Victrix Pia Fidelis, by decree of the decurions.

This man was surely the son of the *cos.* 106, Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus, a Spaniard.[38] The son of the latter's consular colleague L. Minicius Natalis was military tribune at the end of Trajan's reign (LL 22), hence the younger

[35] The year, previously assumed to be 144, is now known from a diploma of 4 Aug. 145, to be published by T. Parker (information kindly supplied by E. L. Wheeler).

[36] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271, 207. Baeterrae was suggested by Alföldy, *Legionslegaten*, 28 f.

[37] Further details on the family and career in *PIR*² P 806, and 804 for his presumed grandfather, 805 for his son; Dąbrowa, *Syria*, 104 ff.; and Alföldy's commentary on *CIL* vi. 41146.

[38] *PIR*² L 247, 249.

Granianus might have been tribune in the 120s, after VI Victrix had moved to Britain. Natalis also had the otherwise almost unknown name Quadronius, suggesting that the families were related by marriage.

16. early Hadrianic IX Hispana, Lucius Aemilius, Luci filius, Camilia, Karus (*cos.* 143 or 144)

CIL vi. 1333 = *ILS* 1077, Rome: *L(ucio) Aemilio, L(uci) f(ilio), Cam(ilia), Karo, co(n)[s(uli)], | leg(ato) Augusti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Cappadociae, | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) censitori provinciae Lugdunensis, [4]| leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Arabiae, | curatori viae Flaminiae, leg(ato) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis), | praet(ori), trib(uno) pleb(is), quaest(ori) Aug(usti), trib(uno) militum leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), [8]| trib(uno) militum leg(ionis) VIIII Hispanae, | Xviro stlitib(us) iudic(andis), | sodali Flaviali, XVviro s(acris) f(aciundis), | C. (Gaius) Iulius Erucianus Crispus, praef(ectus) [12]| alae primae Ulpiae Dacorum, | amico optimo.*

To Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, Camilia, Karus, consul, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Cappadocia, propraetorian legate of the Emperor for the census of the province of Lugdunensis, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Arabia, curator of the Via Flaminia, legate of the Thirtieth Legion Ulpia Victrix, praetor, tribune of the plebs, quaestor of the Emperor, military tribune of the Eighth Legion Augusta, military tribune of the Ninth Legion Hispana, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, *sodalis Flavialis*, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, Gaius Julius Erucianus Crispus, prefect of the First Ulpian Ala of Dacians, to his excellent friend.

Karus, governor of Arabia in April 143, was consul soon afterwards.[39] His earlier posts were presumably contemporary with those of Pontius Laelianus (*cos.* 145), tribune of VI Victrix in 122 (Trib. 15). If his two tribunates are listed in descending order, like the other offices, he may have left IX Hispana in 122. The legion's whereabouts then are uncertain (LL Intr.). Only Italian towns were enrolled in his tribe, Camilia;[40] but other evidence suggests that his family lived in Syria.[41] The governor of the Three Daciae in the 170s was presumably his son.[42]

17. *c.*125 IX Hispana, Lucius Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus (*cos.* 149 or 150)

CIL viii. 2747 = *ILS* 1070 + *add.*, Lambaesis: *L(ucio) Novio Crispino | Martiali Saturnino, | co(n)s(uli) desig(nato), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) [4]| provinciae Africae, proco(n)s(uli) Galliae | Narbonensis, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) I Italicae, | leg(ato) Aug(usti) iuridico Astyriae et Callaeciae, | praetore, trib(uno)*

[39] Thomasson, *LP* i. 328.

[40] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 270.

[41] Thus Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 247f., 262; approved by Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 319 n. 156; see further Piso, *Fasti*, 106.

[42] Also called L. Aemilius Carus: Piso, *Fasti*, 105f.

pleb(is), quaestori pro praet(ore) [8]| *provinciae Macedoniae, trib(uno) mil(itum)* | *leg(ionis) VIIII Hisp(anae), IIIIviro viarum* | *curandarum, seviro eq(uitum) Romanorum,* | *veterani [[leg(ionis) III]] Aug(ustae),* [12]| *qui militare coeperunt Glabrione* | *et Torquato, item Asiatico II et Aquilino co(n)s(ulibus).*[43]

To Lucius Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus, consul designate, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Africa, proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis, legate of the Emperor of the First Legion Italica, juridical legate of the Emperor of Asturia and Callaecia, praetor, tribune of the plebs, propraetorian quaestor of the province of Macedonia, military tribune of the Ninth Legion Hispana, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, *sevir* of the Roman knights, the veterans of the Third legion Augusta, who began to serve in the consulships of Glabrio and Torquatus (124) and of Asiaticus for the second time and Aquilinus (125).

This inscription belongs to 149 or 150, since the veterans who erected it were enrolled in 124 and 125. As Crispinus is called consul designate in another inscription, of 149,[44] he was consul in one of those years, probably 150. Although his career shows no signs of retardation, with only four posts between praetorship and consulship, two other *iuridici* in Spain are known in this period, and he cannot have held that post after Hadrian's last years, and must have been praetor *c.*135.[45] His tribunate of IX Hispana may thus have been in the mid-120s, when the legion may no longer have been in Britain (I. 9). Several senatorial Novii are known in this period, not necessarily connected with Crispinus.[46] He apparently had property near the Via Labicana close to Tusculum; but this need not have been his home.[47] His daughter Novia Crispina married Q. Antistius Adventus, who was to be governor of Britain in the 170s (Gov. 31); his son was P. Novius Saturninus Martialis Marcellus.[48]

18. late 120s? II Augusta, [Gaius Fabius, Gai filius, Voturia, Agri]ppi[nus] (*cos.* 148?)

CIL xiv. 4129, Ostia: *[C. (Gaio) Fabio, C. (Gai) f(ilio), Vot(uria), Agri]ppi[no,* | *IIIIvir(o) vi]ar(um) cur[andar(um),* | *trib(uno) mil(itum) le]g(ionis) II Augu[stae . . .].*

To Gaius Fabius, son of Gaius, Voturia, Agrippinus, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, military tribune of the Second Legion Augusta . . .

The names in this fragmentary inscription can be restored as C. Fabius Agrippinus, from a well-known Ostian family.[49] It is uncertain whether he

[43] The deletion of *leg. III* was no doubt carried out after its disbandment in 238: Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1501.

[44] Thomasson, *Fasti*, 149f.

[45] Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 351ff.

[46] *PIR*² N 180 (Crispinus), 183–7, 191–191a, 193.

[47] *CIL* xv. 7843; Andermahr, *Totus*, 357f.

[48] *PIR*² N 195, 192.

[49] *PIR*² F 20. The restoration was first made by J. Morris, 'The Roman Senate AD 69–193' (unpublished diss. London, 1955), F 2. On the Fabii of Ostia see Andermahr, *Totus*, 260.

was the *cos.* 148, previously governor of Thrace,[50] the Fabius Agrippinus mentioned by Dio (79. 3. 4) as governor of Syria Coele in 218 or 219, or from an intervening generation. But it seems probable that he is the same as the honorand of another fragmentary inscription from Ostia: *C. Fabio, [. . .], | praetori,[tribuno plebis?,leg. pr. pr. ?] | provin[c., q. prov. Cy]|pr., trib. mi[l . . . , IIIIvir. | v]iaru[m curand . . .].*[51] If he is the *cos.* 148, his tribunate in Britain was in the late 120s.

19. under Hadrian? VI Victrix?, . . . Cassius . . .

AE 1980. 117 = *CIL* vi. 41104, Rome: *[. . . , . . . f(ilio)], Men[en(ia)], | [. . .] Cassi[o] | [. . . , co(n)]s(uli), pont[if(ici), [4]| leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) pro]v(inciae) Belgic(ae,) | [leg(ato) leg(ionis) . . . , p]r(aetori), trib(uno) pl(ebis), | [leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Asi]ae, q(uaestori) urb(ano), | [trib(uno) latic(lavio) leg(ionis) VI] Victric(is) [8]| [in prov(incia) Britanni]a?, Xviro | [stlitib(us) iudica]nd(is), | [. . .]o̩ e̩t | [. . .].*

To . . . , Menenia, . . . Cassius . . . , consul, pontifex, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Belgica, legate of the . . . legion, praetor, tribune of the plebs, propraetorian legate of the province of Asia, urban quaestor, *tribunus laticlavius* of the Sixth? Legion Victrix in the province of Britain?, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, . . . o and . . .

This senator is not identifiable. His tribe Menenia is not found outside Italy.[52] The legion's number may be restored as *VI* with some confidence. If what follows is [*in prov(incia) Britanni]a*, this suggests, as the editor of *CIL* vi. points out, a date not long after VI Victrix was transferred to Britain, that is, under Hadrian, in the later 120s or 130s (see Trib. 14 and Gov. 17).

20. *c.*140 IX Hispana, (probably not in Britain): Quintus Camurius, Lemonia, Numisius Junior (*cos.* 161?)

See LL 28.

21. first half of the 2nd century XX Valeria Victrix, Marcus Accenna, Marci filius, Galeria, Helvius Agrippa

CIL ii. 1262, near Hispalis: *M(arcus) Accenna, M(arci) f(ilius), Gal(eria) Helvius | Agrippa, praetorius, trib(unus) | pleb(is), leg(atus) provinciae Africae dioecesis [4]| Carthaginensium, item quaesto|ri* (sic) *provinciae Africae, IIIviro ca|pitali* (sic), *trib(unus) laticl(avius) Syriae leg(ionis) XVI Fla(viae), | item trib(unus)*

[50] Thomasson, *LP* i. 164.

[51] *AE* 1955. 174, cf. *PIR*[2] F 20.

[52] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271: confined to *regio* I, six communities (including Herculaneum and Pompeii, destroyed in 79), and two in X, Feltria and Vicetia.

laticl(avius) Brittanniae leg(ionis) XX [8]*| Val(eriae) Victricis, curio minor, vixit an|nis XXXIIII, mensibus tribus, dieb(us) XXIII, | M(arcus) Accenna Helvius Agrippa [fil(ius)], patri dul(cissimo) f(ecit).*[53]

Marcus Accenna, son of Marcus, Galeria, Helvius Agrippa, ex-praetor, tribune of the plebs, legate of the province of Africa of the diocese of the Carthaginians, likewise quaestor of the province of Africa, *triumvir capitalis*, *tribunus laticlavius* of the Sixteenth Legion Flavia of Syria, likewise *tribunus laticlavius* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix of Britain, *curio minor*, lived thirty-four years, three months, twenty-three days. Marcus Accenna Helvius Agrippa the son made this for his sweetest father.

If the order of posts is descending throughout, Agrippa transferred to XVI Flavia in Syria from XX Valeria Victrix in Britain. Several kinsmen are attested, including L. Helvius Agrippa, proconsul of Sardinia from 67 to 68, and M. Accenna L. f. Gal. Saturninus, proconsul of Baetica, known from an inscription at Tibur, perhaps this man's father.[54] There seems no doubt that the family was Spanish, from Hispalis (Seville). The precise details of age at death suggest the second century, as do the naming of the African diocese in which he was proconsular legate and the description of his tribunate as *laticl.* The inscription has been dated to the time of Antoninus Pius. If this is correct, the tribunate could be Hadrianic.[55]

22. ? later 150s VI Victrix (probably not *laticlavius*), L(ucius) C- or O-

RIB 1132, Corbridge (*Coria*): quoted under Gov. 27.

This tribune is more likely to have been *angusticlavius*. Of his name, only the *praenomen* L. is certain; the *nomen* could have begun C, O, or Q, to judge from the traces. He can be dated to the later 150s, since he served under Julius Verus (Gov. 27).

23. late 160s II Augusta, Publius Septimius, Publii filius, Quirina, Geta (*cos. a. inc., II ord.* 203)

IRT 541, Lepcis Magna: *P(ublio) Septimio Getae, c(larissimo) v(iro), X|vir(o) stlitibus iudican|dis, trib(uno) laticl(avio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae),* [4]*| quaest(ori) provin(ciae) Cretae et | Cyrenarum, aed(ili) cereali, | curatori rei publicae Anconita|norum, praet(ori) hastario et tu*[8]*|telar(i), sacerdoti fetiali, leg(ato) leg(ionis) I*

[53] *quaestori* and *IIIviro capitali* are in the dative by oversight.

[54] *PIR*[2] H 64; A 24, Alföldy, *Fasti*, 171.

[55] M. Helvius M. f. Serg. Agrippa, given a public funeral at Hispalis, *CIL* ii. 1184, is another connection. Presumably the Helvii were in Sergia, the Accennae in Galeria; both tribes are known for Hispalis, Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 174f. See on the family's background and the chronology Caballos, *Senadores*, nos. 1–4, 79, with further references.

Italicae, proco(n)s(uli) Siciliae, | *les(*sic; for *leg(ato)) Augg[[g.]] (Augustorum trium) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Lusitaniae, co(n)s(uli), leg(ato) Augg[[g.]] (Augustorum trium)* [12]| *pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Mysiae Inferioris, leg(ato) Au[ggg. (Augustorum trium) p]r(o) pr(aetore)* | *provinc(iarum) Daciarum,* | *curia Dacica ex voto pos(uit)*.[56]

To Publius Septimius Geta, senator, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis, tribunus laticlavius* of the Second Legion Augusta, quaestor of the province of Crete and Cyrene, aedile for the corn-supply, curator of the commonwealth of the Anconitani, praetor for auctions and guardianship, fetial priest, legate of the First Legion Italica, proconsul of Sicily, propraetorian legate of the three Emperors of the province of Lusitania, consul, propraetorian legate of the three Emperors of the province of Moesia Inferior, propraetorian legate of the three Emperors of the Dacian provinces, the *curia Dacica* set this up in accordance with its vow.

This is the brother of the emperor Severus. There is no evidence which was the elder. *A priori* Geta is likelier, since he was named after their father; but this is not certain. As Severus was consul in 190, if Geta were his elder brother he probably held the office a year or two before this. If so, his tribunate of II Augusta should be datable to the late 160s. Apart from the offices listed on this inscription, he held a second consulship in 203.[57]

24. *c.*170 II Augusta, Gaius Memmius, Gai filius, Quirina, Fidus Julius Albius (*cos.* 191 or 192)

CIL viii. 12442 = *ILS* 1110, Vina: *C. (Gaio) Memmio, C. (Gai) f(ilio), Quir(ina),* | *Fido Iulio Albio, cons(uli), sodali* | *Titio, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Noricae, cur(atori)* [4]| *viae Flam(iniae), praef(ecto) Minic(iae), proco(n)s(uli) provin(ciae)* | *Baetic(ae), leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) VII Claudiae, iuridico per* | *Italiam reg(ionis) Transpadanae, praetori, leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Afric(ae), aedil(i) Ceriali(i), q(uaestori) prov(inciae)* [8]| *Asiae, trib(uno) laticl(avio) leg(ionis) II Augustae,* | *C. (Gaius) Annius Iulius Secundus [[et . . .* | *. . .]] amico rarissimo, ob eximiam eius er*|*ga se benivolentiam, sua pec(unia) posuer(unt) et d(ederunt),* [12]| *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Gaius Memmius, son of Gaius, Quirina, Fidus Julius Albius, consul, *sodalis Titius*, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Noricum, curator of the Via Flaminia, prefect of the Minicia, proconsul of the province of Baetica, legate of the Emperor of the Seventh Legion Claudia, *iuridicus* in Italy of the Transpadane region, praetor, propraetorian legate of the province of Africa, aedile for the corn-supply, quaestor of the province of Asia, *tribunus laticlavius* of the Second Legion Augusta, Gaius Annius Julius Secundus and [[*deleted*]] to their

[56] *Auggg.* was incorrect before 209, when Severus' younger son Geta became Augustus (I. 6, n. 41) the first time when there were three co-emperors, and in any case he governed Lusitania under a single emperor. But under Severus *Auggg.* was often found before 209, especially in Africa. The third G was deleted after the Emperor Geta's murder. The *curia Dacica* was not connected to the province of Dacia; it was, like other *curiae* there, a local subdivision of Lepcis, so named under Trajan: *IRT*, p. 81.

[57] See for details Birley, *Severus*[2], 218; Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 143 f.; Piso, *Fasti*, 150 ff., who notes that in l. 2 of *ILS* 441, Ancona, *co[s. II, fratri]* should be restored, rather than *co[gnato]*. Piso and Leunissen both regard Geta as Severus' younger brother.

exceptional friend, on account of his outstanding kindness towards them, set up and gave (this statue) with their own money, by decree of the decurions.

Memmius Fidus was consul designate on 18 September 191, so his consulship can be dated to 191 or 192. His legateship to a proconsul of Africa is also dated, to 175 or 176. Since he held this after the aedileship, his tribunate of II Augusta was presumably *c.*170. A fragmentary inscription from Bulla Regia, his home, shows that he later governed a consular province, on the Rhine or Danube, since it was *[Superio]ris* or *[Inferio]ris*. Another inscription from Bulla records his daughter, [Jul]ia Memmia [?Pris]ca Rufa Aemiliana Fidiana.[58]

25. later Antonine II Augusta, (Rubrenus)

AE 1938. 177, Antioch (Syria) = F. Chausson, *Journal des Savants* (1997), 244ff.: *[. . . , praef(ecto) frumenti] dandi, p[r]ae[tori, | trib(uno) p]leb(is), quaestori u[r|ba]no, trib(uno) milit(um) leg(ionis) II Au[g(ustae), [4]| X]viro stlitib(us) iudicand(is), | ?Tria]ria Magia Secundil[la | u]xor et M(arcus) Rubrenus Ma[|gi]anus filius fecerun[t | . . .]v[. . .].*

For . . . Rubrenus . . . , *praefectus frumenti dandi*, praetor, tribune of the plebs, urban quaestor, military tribune of the Second Legion Augusta, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, Triaria? Magia Secundilla, his wife, and Marcus Rubrenus Magianus, his son, made this, . . .

This man was presumably called Rubrenus in view of his son's names. The son could be the third-century patrician, M. Rubrenus Virius Priscus Pomponianus Magianus Proculus, consul and proconsul of Africa. The latter was described as *civis et patronus* at Atina,[59] which must be the family's home. If, as has been argued, the former tribune was also father of the Severan senator Q. Virius Egnatius Sulpicius Priscus, his tribunate is probably later Antonine.[60] The family's presence at Antioch may suggest that he was holding office in Syria, as legate of IV Scythica or consular governor. But the comparatively rare *nomen* Magius is fairly common at Berytus in Syria, so the Rubreni might have been at Antioch in a private capacity.

[58] See *PIR*² M 462, 487 for details. The post of *dece[mvir stl. iud.]*, omitted in the above inscription, is included in the fragmentary *ILTun.* 1244, Bulla.

[59] *ILS* 1197; see O. Salomies, in H. Solin (ed.), *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* (1996), 44.

[60] Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 215f., suggests a link with Q. Virius . . . Priscus, ibid. 38. This is pursued further by Chausson, *Journal des Savants*, 244ff., who restores the first name of the former tribune's wife as [Tria]ria rather than [Ar]ria, and suggests, as one possibility, that the former tribune might be father of Q. Virius . . . Priscus, cf. his stemma, ibid. 257. See also Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 100, and *PIR*² R 117–19.

26. later 2nd or early 3rd century? XX Valeria Victrix, Marcus Caelius Flavus Proculus

CIL xi. 3883, Capena: *d(is) m(anibus)* | *M(arci) Caeli Flavi Proculi,* | *Xviri stlitibus iudicandis,* [4]| *tribuni laticlavi leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis),* | *VIvir(o) equitum Romanor(um),* | *quaestoris, tribuni plebis* | *candidati, praetoris candidati,* [8]| *curatoris rei publicae* | *Aquinatium.*

To the divine shades of Marcus Caelius Flavus (*or* Flavius) Proculus, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, *tribunus laticlavius* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *sevir* of the Roman knights, quaestor, tribune of the plebs as candidate (of the Emperor), praetor as candidate (of the Emperor), curator of the commonwealth of the Aquinates.

As it is not specified under which emperor Proculus was *candidatus*, his career should be post-Hadrianic. Groag and Barbieri took the third name to be Flavus. The only other senatorial Flavus known from the principate is [. . .] Flavus, *cos.* 160? (see under Gov. 28), perhaps this man's father: his favoured career is suitable for a consul's son. If so, his service in the Twentieth should have been under M. Aurelius at earliest. Capena need not be his place of origin.[61] If he was a Flavius, as suggested by the other genitives, *Caeli* and *laticlavi*, a possible ancestor might be Flavius Proculus, to whom Hadrian wrote a rescript (*Dig.* 49. 14. 3. 9).[62]

27. 3rd century? VI Victrix, [. . .]sidius [. . .]

CIL vi. 31780 = 41202/3, Rome: *[. . . , curatori r(ei) p(ublicae) Laure]nṭium [Lavinat(ium)?],* | *praet(ori) candiḍ(ato) [Augg. (Augustorum duorum), q(uaestori)]* | *candid(ato) Augg. (Augustorum duorum), [trib(uno) mil(itum)]* [4]| *leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) p(iae) [f(idelis), IIIviro]* | *a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo), sevir[o eq(uitum) Rom(anorum), . . .]* | *sidii Masc. [. . . , . . .],* | *filius, ĊIḮ. [. . . , filia?].*

To . . . , curator of the commonwealth of the -ntes, . . . , praetor as candidate of the Emperor, quaestor as candidate of the Emperor, military tribune of the Sixth Legion Victrix Pia Fidelis, mint-master, *sevir* of the Roman knights, the [. . .]sidii, Masc[. . .], his son, and C. . [. . .], his daughter, (set this up).

The first surviving line probably mentioned a curatorship, perhaps of Lavinium. There follows, in descending order, a patrician career, proceeding direct from quaestor to praetor. The term *candidatus Augustorum*, not naming the emperors, excludes a date earlier than Hadrian.[63] The lettering suggests

[61] E. Groag, in *PIR*² C 133; Barbieri, *L'Albo*, no. 673, cf. p. 3f., favouring an early 3rd-cent. date. For the principate Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 227, found only two senatorial Flavi, presumably this man and the *cos.* 160?; cf. *PIR*² F, p. 194. Andermahr, *Totus*, 192 n. 2, notes that the tombstone, walled into the church of St Silvester near Monte Soratte, might have been brought there from Rome.

[62] Flavius, Caelius, and Proculus are all common; but note from the senatorial order L. Junius Victorinus Flavius Caelianus, legate of VI Victrix (LL 38); a Severan couple, P. Fl(avius) Pudens Pomponianus and Caelia Procilla, at Thamugadi, *PIR*² F 346; and Q. Caelius Flavianus, patron of Canusium in 223, *PIR*² C 132.

[63] Barbieri, *L'Albo*, pp. 3f.

the early third century. As normal with patricians, the first post was as mint-master. This is the only certain instance of a patrician *tribunus laticlavius* serving in Britain. His name is not recoverable, but his *gentilicium* probably ended -sidius as did that of his children. One might suggest Hosidius or Tusidius, attested for second-century senators. But Alföldy, in the commentary on the revised text, prefers the unattested Sidius, on the grounds that no other words are divided between lines. The only known *cognomina* beginning Masc- seem to be Masc(u)lus/Masculinus, Mascellio, and Mascellinus.[64] For the daughter's *cognomen* Alföldy offers Cli[entilla] or Cli[vana]. Preferable might be Cil[niana] or Cil[oniana].[65]

28. date uncertain II Augusta, *Ignotus*, Salernum

CIL x. 525, Salernum: *[. . .] | pr(aetori), aed(ili) Cer(iali), q(uaestori) provinc(iae) | C[y]pri pro pr(aetore),* [4] *| trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) II August(ae), | IIIvir(o) [sic] viar(um) curand(arum), | patrono col(oniae), | d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(osito).*

To . . . , praetor, *aedilis Cerialis*, propraetorian quaestor of the province of Cyprus, military tribune of the Second Legion Augusta, *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, patron of the colony, set up by decree of the decurions.

It is not possible to date this career or to identify the honorand. In line 5 *IIIvir.* is a mistake for *IIIIvir.*

29. date uncertain II Augusta, *Ignotus*, Ostia

CIL xiv. 182, Ostia: *[. . . , ?viocu]ro, tr[ib(uno) mil(itum) | le]g(ionis) II Augu[st(ae), . . . , c]urat[ori*[4] *| . . .]c[. . .].*

To . . . , street-commissioner?, military tribune of the Second Legion Augusta, . . . , curator? of . . .

The first two letters of this fragmentary inscription might be the end of *[viocu]ro*, occasionally used in place of *IIIIviro viarum curandarum.*[66] In that case, there would be no doubt that this is the remains of a senatorial *cursus* inscription. But it is not absolutely certain that it is in ascending order, given that the military tribunate could precede or follow a post in the vigintivirate. If it was ascending, it would be unusual to find a curatorship so early in the career, and perhaps *q.* should be restored at the end of line 3—if so, the curatorship could have been as *curator actorum senatus* (normally called *ab actis senatus*).[67]

[64] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 307.
[65] Ibid. 313, 309, 236, 144.
[66] H.-G. Pflaum, *JS* (1962), 117f., citing several examples; add *Karthago*, 11 (1961), 6ff.
[67] Cf. the case of L. Neratius Marcellus (Gov. 15).

30. date uncertain II Augusta?, . . . Julius, Titi filius, Insteius Paulinus

CIL xiv. 2926, Praeneste: *[. . .]ulio, T(iti) f(ilio), P[up(inia)?,* | *In]steio Pauli[no* | *IIIvir(o)] capital(i), trib(uno) [mil(itum)]* [4]| *leg(ionis) [I?]I Aug(ustae), quaest(ori), [. . .].*

To . . . Julius, son of Titus, Pupinia?, Insteius Paulinus, triumvir capitalis, military tribune of the Second? Legion Augusta, quaestor, . . .

In *CIL* the legion is restored as *[II]I*, but *[I]I* is also possible. Ritterling provisionally preferred *[VII]I*,[68] but that seems too long. The otherwise unknown man ought to be connected with Q. Insteius T. f. Pup. . . . , honoured with his family by the town at Praeneste. Part of the latter's career is recorded, *[. . . tr]ib. pleb., pr., cos., leg. consularis prov[. . .]*, but there is no indication of date.[69] Other Insteii were connected with Africa; one was enrolled in the Horatia, but his daughter's name Praenestina suggests relationship to this family.[70] Senatorial Insteii are found until the late fourth century.[71]

31. date uncertain XX Valeria Victrix, Annius Satrius, Lemonia, Sal[. . .]

CIL xi. 6165, Suasa: *An(nio) Satr[io, . . . f(ilio),]* | *Lem(onia), Sal[. . .],* | *Xvir(o) stlit(ibus) i[udic(andis)],* [4]| *trib(uno) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) [v(ictricis)],* | *q(uaestori) urb(ano), q(uaestor) prov(inciae) [. . .],* | *trib(uno) pleb(is), pr(aetori) de[sig(nato)],* | *patrono mun[icipi].*

To Annius Satrius, son of . . . , Lemonia, Sal . . . , *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, tribune of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, urban quaestor, quaestor of the province of . . . , tribune of the plebs, praetor designate, patron of the *municipium*

This inscription is not closely datable. The double quaestorship can be paralleled by some nine cases:[72] the occasion must normally have been the death of a provincial quaestor during the interval between election and the start of the proconsular year.[73] This man's nomenclature requires some discussion. The first two letters are an abbreviation for An(nius), used as a *praenomen*, as in a few other Italian inscriptions.[74] Of *gentilicia* beginning Satr-, only Satrius is at all

[68] E. Ritterling, *Fasti des römischen Deutschland* (1932), 141.

[69] *CIL* xiv. 2924; *PIR*[2] I 29.

[70] See Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 316 n. 127, on M. Insteius Bithynicus (*cos.* 162), who was buried in Africa, *PIR*[2] I 30, as was Insteius Tertullus, ibid. 35. Horatia: *CIL* vi. 1429 = 31652 + *add.* (vi. 8. 4697): this man and family were honoured by Faustinus, *servus actor arkarius ex Africa.* Horatia is found in Africa: Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanus*, 28, 139, 161.

[71] *PLRE* i. 883f.

[72] *PIR*[2] A 993; F 448(?); G 102; P 290, 590; *HA Sev.* 2. 2–3 (the future emperor Severus); *ILS* 1002; Barbieri, *L'Albo*, no. 1173; *ILS* 8842.

[73] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht,* ii[3]. 258.

[74] Salomies, *Vornamen*, 65f.

common, and this restoration is supported by an inscription from Sentinum set up by Satria An(ni) f. Vera, especially as Sentinum was in the Lemonia tribe, as was this man, and several other Satrii are recorded there. As Suasa was in the Camilia, Satrius, although patron of the town, was not a native.[75] He probably came from Sentinum, also in *regio VI.*[76] Numerous *cognomina* begin Sal-; only Salvius and Salvianus are found at all frequently.[77]

32. date uncertain XX Valeria Victrix, Lucius Aemilius, Luci filius, Galeria, Naso Fabullinus

CIL vi. 29684 = *CIL* xi. 4083, Ocriculum: *L(ucio) Aemilio,* | *L(uci) f(ilio), Gal(eria), Naso*|*ni Fabulli*[1]|*no, trib(uno) lat(iclavio)* | *leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae)* | *Vict(ricis), IIIvir(o) capit(ali),* | *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) publ(ice).*

To Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, Galeria, Naso Fabullinus, *tribunus laticlavius* of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, *triumvir capitalis*, (set up) by decree of the decurions at public expense. (*CIL* vi. 29683 has the same text with different abbreviations.)

Ocriculum was in Arnensis, not Galeria, so cannot have been this man's home town.[78] Elements of his nomenclature occur further north, Aemilius Naso at Milan, Fabulla and Naso at Verona.[79] But the Galeria is found only at Genua in that region, whereas it is very common in Spain.[80] His second *cognomen* Fabullinus is otherwise unattested, but Fabullus, itself quite rare, is found in several parts of Spain, where Aemilius is one of the commonest *gentilicia.*[81] Spanish origin is therefore not improbable. Andermahr notes that the *urceus* and *patera* on one stone indicate that it was funerary, hence the man died before holding further office.[82] There are no clues to dating the career.

Possible *Tribuni Laticlavii*

a. *ILS* 8980 = *ILAfr.* 324, Sidi-Bou-Arkoub, near Vina: *[. . . , ?consuli ordin]ario, a sena[tu . . . ,* | *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Aqui]tanicae, sace[rdoti fetiali?* | *sodali Antoninia]no, leg(ato) leg(ionis) VII[. . . ,* [4]| *curatori viarum Labica]nae et Latinae ve[teris,* | *proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Sic]iliae,*

[75] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanus*, 75, 77.

[76] Thus M. Gaggiotti, *EOS* ii. 268.

[77] Note also *CIL* xi. 833: Salvius Satrianus Minicius, senatorial patron of Suasa, *curator* of Ocriculum and Blera.

[78] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanus*, 74.

[79] *CIL* v. 5837, 3441, 3341 (a 1st-cent. senator, in the tribe Publilia).

[80] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanus*, 103, 270 f.

[81] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 170 counted only twenty-one Fabulli. Cf. E. Groag, *RE* 6/2 (1909), 1770, on M. Fabius Fabullus, citing eight Spanish Fabii Fabulli.

[82] Andermahr, *Totus*, 139.

praetori, tribu[no plebis, quaest(ori), | *trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) . . .]tricis p(iae) f(idelis), Xviro s[tlitibus iudicandis,* | *ob exi]miam eius in se a[dfectionem,* [8]| *pec(unia) pu]bl(ica), ex decr(eto) spl(endidissimi) o[rdinis].*

To . . . , consul *ordinarius*?, . . . by the senate, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Aquitania, fetial priest?, *sodalis Antoninianus*, legate of the . . . Legion . . . , curator of the Viae Labicana and Latina Vetus, proconsul of the province of Sicily, praetor, tribune of the plebs, quaestor, military tribune of the . . . Legion -trix Pia Fidelis, *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, on account of his outstanding affection towards it (set up) with public money, by decree of the most splendid council.

This is probably a third-century tribune, of either [I Adiu]trix or [VI Vic]trix, both also Pia Fidelis.

b. *AE* 1961. 37, Sufetula: *[. . . , trib(uno) leg(ionis) . . .]tricis, quaestor[i, . . . ,* | *. . . , i]uridico per Flaminiam et P[. . . , XVviro* | *sa]cris faciundis, praes(idi) prov(inciarum) Pan[noniae . . . ,* [4]| *Ma]c[edo]niae, Dalmatiae, agenti vice prae[. . .],* | *universus populus [curiarum].*

To . . . , tribune of the . . . Legion -trix, quaestor, . . . *iuridicus* for the Flaminia and P . . . , *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, governor of the provinces of Pannonia . . . , Macedonia, Dalmatia, acting as deputy to . . . , all the people in the curiae (set this up).

The tribunate could have been in any of six legions: I or II Adiutrix, or the four called Victrix, VI, XIV Gemina Martia, XX Valeria, and XXX Ulpia. The career is certainly third-century.[83]

See also, under uncertain legionary legates (LL a–g), men who might have served as either tribune or legate of a legion which might have been one in Britain.

Rejected *Tribuni Laticlavii*

c. [. . .]lus, IX (Hispana)

CIL xi. 5173 = Alföldy, *Fasti* 154, Vettona: *[. . . |* *. . .]lo, tr(ibuno) mili[tum* | *legionum] IX et XXI, [quaest(ori)* [4]| *provinc(iae) . . .]ae, aed(ili) pl(ebis) Cer(iali), [praet(ori), leg(ato)* | *pro pr(aetore) provinc(iae)] Ponti et [Bithyniae,* | *item Galliae N]arbonensis ter? ex s(enatus) [c(onsulto), pro consule* | *in provin]cia Hisp[ania ulteriore,* [8]| *. . .].*

To . . . lus, military tribune of the Ninth and Twenty-first Legions, quaestor of the province of . . . , *aedilis plebis Cerialis*, praetor, propraetorian legate of the province of Pontus and Bithynia, also of the province of Gallia Narbonensis for three years by decree of the senate, proconsul in the province of Further Spain, . . .

The absence of title for the legions later regularly called IX Hispana and XXI Rapax, and other items in this career, suggest a date in the early principate.

[83] See Thomasson, *LP* i. 96, no. 63, with further references.

He was probably tribune well before the Ninth legion was transferred to Britain in 43 (see Alföldy, op. cit).

d. Quintus Fuficius Cornutus (cos. 147)

ILS 8975 = Alföldy, *Fasti*, 81ff., near Histonium: *[Q(uinto) Fufi]cio Cornu[to, co(n)s(uli), | sodali Titia]li Flaviali, leg(ato) Aug(usti) p[r(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Pann(oniae) inf(erioris), | leg(ato) leg(ionis) . . . ,] quae est in Moesia [. . .], leg(ato) Aug(usti)* [4]*| iurid(ico) per As]tyriam et Callaecia[m, praetori can|didato, tri]b(uno) pleb(is) candidato, [quaest(ori) . . . , trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) . . . , d]onis militarib(us) [donato a divo Had|riano?, coron(a)] murali, vexillo a[rgenteo, leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore)* [8]*| Antonini Au]g(usti) Pii provinciae M[oesiae inferior(is)], | d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Quintus Fuficius Cornutus, consul, *sodalis Titialis Flavialis*, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Pannonia Inferior, legate of the . . . Legion, which is in Moesia . . . , iuridical legate of the Emperor in Asturia and Callaecia, praetor as candidate (of the Emperor), tribune of the plebs as candidate (of the Emperor), quaestor . . . , military tribune of the . . . Legion . . . , decorated with military decorations by the deified Hadrian?, a mural crown and a silver flag, propraetorian legate of Antoninus Augustus Pius of the province of Moesia Inferior. By decree of the decurions.

Cornutus' career is dated only by his governorship of Pannonia Inferior in 145 and consulship in 147 (see Alföldy, *Fasti*, for the evidence). After the Republican magistracies, he was legionary legate in Moesia and *iuridicus* in Spain. His military service, for which he was decorated, presumably as legionary tribune, could not have been as early as Trajan's Parthian war. The obvious alternative is Hadrian's Jewish war. Alföldy regards this as too late to fit in the posts held up to 145, proposing that his *dona* were for an earlier war under Hadrian, perhaps in Britain. But if born *c.*110, he could have been military tribune in Judaea *c.*132–3, quaestor 134, tribune of the plebs 136, praetor 138, legionary legate *c.*139–41, *iuridicus c.*142–4, legate of Lower Pannonia *c.*145–7, and consul at 37. In any case, there seem to be no grounds for assigning his military service to Britain: no *dona* for service there are known to have been awarded in the second century.

I.13
THE PROCURATORIAL CAREER

Augustus also reformed, indeed virtually created, the career-structure for equestrians, members of the second order in society after the senate.[1] The senior equestrian official in Britain was the *procurator Augusti*, responsible for the collection of taxes and for paying the army. More junior was the *praefectus classis Britannicae*, 'prefect of the British fleet'. Further, a number of lower-grade equestrian procurators and census-officials are known who served in Britain.

The procurators were drawn from several sources. Some had served as centurions and tribunes in the praetorian guard and were appointed straight into a senior grade. But perhaps most were former equestrian officers, who had commanded auxiliary regiments and served as one of five equestrian legionary tribunes (alongside the sixth, the *laticlavius*). After military service they could enter an administrative career, later specifically graded according to salary. Two other categories are known from Hadrian's time: former chief centurions of legions, and former *advocati fisci*, 'treasury counsel'. The most junior appointments were as *sexagenarius*, with a salary of 60,000 sesterces, the next grade, *centenarius*, received 100,000 a year, and the top grade, *ducenarius*, 200,000. In the third century *trecenarii* are found, earning 300,000 a year. Procurators of the emperor served both at Rome and in all the provinces, with mainly financial duties. In imperial provinces they were in charge of financial affairs. A few provinces had procurators who were also governor, known as 'presidial procurator'. At the pinnacle of the equestrian career were the four prefectures, three at Rome, of the *vigiles*, the *annona*, and the praetorian guard, and the prefecture of Egypt. Further, at earliest in the late first century, important departments at Rome, that had previously been run by imperial freedmen, were transferred to equestrians: notably those of the imperial accounts, *a rationibus*; correspondence, *ab epistulis*; and petitions, *a libellis*. These were ranked only slightly lower than the four great equestrian prefectures.

The prefect of the British fleet was in the centenary grade, the procurator in the ducenary. Within these salary-gradings a hierarchy can be detected from the main epigraphic evidence for careers. The prefect of the fleet was relatively low in the centenary grade, and the procurator of Britain was in the lowest échelon of the ducenary grade. Compared to the governors, legionary

[1] The next paragraphs are based on the fundamental studies by H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1950); and *CP*. See also his valuable summaries: *RE* 23/1 (1957)1239–79 and *Abrégé des procurateurs équestres* (1974).

legates, and *tribuni laticlavii*, relatively few holders of these posts are known: eleven are certain (Proc. 2–9, 11–13), three conjectural (1, 10, 14). Pompeius Homullus (4) was a former officer in the guard, whose first procuratorship was in Britain, followed by that of two Gallic provinces, then the department *a rationibus* at Rome; Bellicus Sollers (5), a former equestrian officer, was procurator of Dalmatia and of Britain, both ducenary posts, having presumably held a centenary one previously, and was then made a senator. Maenius Agrippa and Claudius Antoninus (6–7) both began as equestrian officers: Agrippa became prefect of the British fleet and then procurator of Britain; Antoninus held several procuratorial appointments before Britain. Valerius Pansa (9) was a former officer in the guard, whose only known procuratorship was in Britain. Under Severus, Oclatinius Adventus (11) had started as a soldier in the *frumentarii*, 'secret police'; not all the other stages in his career before and after his British procuratorship are known, but he became prefect of the guard under Caracalla and even consul and briefly prefect of the city under Macrinus in 218. Also under Severus, Varius Marcellus (12), son-in-law of the emperor's sister, had a favoured career with only one appointment in each grade: centenary as procurator of the water-supply, ducenary as procurator of Britain, and trecenary (the new highest grade) as procurator of a financial department at Rome; he was later made a senator by his wife's cousin Caracalla.

The origins of some procurators are known or can be conjectured: Julius Classicianus (3) a Treveran from Gallia Belgica; Bellicus Sollers (5) from northern Italy; Maenius Agrippa (6) also Italian, from Camerinum in Picenum; Claudius Antoninus (7), probably from an eastern province; Valerius Pansa (9), Italian, from Novaria; Varius Marcellus, from Apamea in Syria. The origin of Oclatinius Adventus and the few other attested or possible procurators is uncertain. Two procurators, or perhaps four (2, 3, perhaps 1, 10) are known from literary sources, one of them, C. Julius Classicianus (3) from his funerary monument at London as well; three or perhaps four others (8, 11, 13, perhaps 14) are epigraphically recorded in Britain; the other five by inscriptions elsewhere.

In addition to the above, from time to time junior procurators served in Britain, in most known cases to conduct a census. Of the seven junior equestrian procurators, five (Jun. Proc. 1–3, 5–6) were Italian, one (4) was from Mauretania, the other possibly from the East (7). Three (1, 2, 7) later had successful careers in imperial service. One freedman procurator (8) is also known.

The procurators clearly had their headquarters in London, as shown not least by evidence from there for some of their subordinates (discussed below).[2]

[2] See e.g. Frere, *Britannia*[3], 106; R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum* (1997), 121f.

One early procurator (Proc. 3) was buried at London. The three or four others attested in Britain (8, 11, 13, ?14) are known from inscriptions on or near the northern frontier, where they were no doubt attending to building operations or distributing army pay.

1.13.1. Subordinates of the Procurators

The procurators had at their disposal a number of freedmen assistants, who were imperial freedmen and slaves, known collectively as *Caesariani*. One senior freedman 'procurator of Britain', Marcus Aurelius Marcio (Jun. Proc. 8), is known from an inscription in Asia Minor; he was presumably the senior freedman assistant-procurator. Evidence for multiple procurators acting collectively, presumably the equestrian *procurator Augusti* and his freedmen assistant-procurators, is supplied by a branded circular stamp from London: *proc(uratores) Aug(usti) dederunt Brit(anniae) prov(inciae)*, 'the imperial procurators of the province of Britain issued this'.[3] Tile-stamps with the abbreviated formula P.P.BRI.LON can be interpreted as *p(rocurator)* or *p(rocuratores) p(rovinciae) Bri(tanniae) Lon(dini)*, 'the procurator or procurators of the province of Britain at London'. Variants have PRB LON, or P.PR.BR.[4] A writing-tablet found in London records the purchase of a slave-girl by one Vegetus, himself the slave of the imperial freedman Montanus.[5] The imperial freedman Aquilinus restored a temple at London, together with three other men, perhaps imperial slaves, all no doubt on the staff of the procurators.[6] An altar at York was dedicated to *Britannia sancta* by a freedman of two emperors.[7] A possible imperial freedman or slave, Optatus, *Au[g(usti) lib(ertus)* or *ser(vus)]*, may be mentioned on a stylus-tablet found at Vindolanda, evidently a letter sent from York.[8] A letter found at Vindolanda mentions the *Caesariani* in connection with a financial transaction.[9] Lead pigs (ingots) stamped with the emperor's name are a reminder that mines were imperial property. But the names of contractors, companies, *socii*, or individuals, on some, show that the working of the mines was leased out;[10] procurators will have been super-

[3] *RIB* ii. 2443. 2.

[4] *RIB* ii. 2485. 1–10.

[5] R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia*, 34 (2003), 41ff.; summarized ibid. 373f., no. 22.

[6] *Britannia*, 7 (1976), 378.

[7] *RIB* 643, now lost, where the freedman's name is read, implausibly, from a drawing of 1740, as *P(ublius) Nikomedes*. A name beginning Philo- is perhaps likelier.

[8] Unpublished: Inv. 93/1220.

[9] *TV* iii. 645.

[10] *RIB* 2411. 1 (Claudius), 3 (Nero), 4–13, 31–5, (Vespasian), 36–7, 61–2 (Domitian), 65 (Nerva), 63 (Trajan), 14–15, 28–30, 39, 64, 66 (Hadrian), 16–18 (Antoninus Pius), 20–2 (M. Aurelius and L. Verus), 71, 72a (Severus).

vised the financial arrangements. An iron die found at London refers to the province's mines: *m(etalla) p(rovinciae) B(ritanniae)*.[11] Naevius, an imperial freedman, assistant to the procurator(s), *adiut(or) proc.*, restored a 'headquarters building' (*principia*), presumably of an imperial estate, near Bath under Caracalla.[12] A tenant-in-chief, *con(ductor)*, of an imperial estate may be attested by another inscription from Somerset.[13] Evidence for imports from imperial estates outside Britain, rather than for imperial property in this province, is supplied by glass unguent-flasks stamped on the base PATRIMONI or VECTIGAL PATRIMO(ni), 'revenue or tax of the imperial estate'.[14]

[11] *RIB* ii. 2409. 26.
[12] *RIB* 179.
[13] *RIB* 181 + *add.*, Somerdale.
[14] *RIB* ii. 2419. 130–4; 154–5.

I.14
THE PROCURATORS (PROC. 1–14)

1. 43 ?Publius Graecinius, Publii filius, Poblilia, Laco?

Dio 60. 23. 3: He [Claudius] also honoured Laco, former prefect of the *vigiles* and at that time procurator of the Gauls, in the same way [with a statue in the senate-house and a seat there whenever he accompanied the Emperor] and also by giving him consular decorations.

Laco's honours on the occasion of Claudius' triumph in 44 suggest that he had been to Britain with the emperor.[1] As he was at the time 'procurator of the Gauls', he had perhaps supervised the arrangements for taxing the new province and paying the army, so might be regarded as its first procurator, albeit for a brief tenure. Laco had become prefect of the *vigiles* in 31, when he assisted Macro in the overthrow of Sejanus, receiving quaestorian *ornamenta* (Dio 58. 9. 3ff.; 12. 7). He may have held that post for some years. An inscription from Verona gives his full nomenclature; his tribe, that of Verona, suggests that his home was there.[2]

2. 60 Decianus Catus

Tac. *Ann.* 14. 32. 2–3: *sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivere a Cato Deciano procuratore auxilium. ille haud amplius quam ducentos sine iustis armis misit . . . . 3 . . . qua clade et odiis provinciae, quam avaritia in bellum egerat, trepidus procurator Catus in Galliam transiit.*

But since Suetonius was far away, they [the veteran settlers of Camulodunum] sought help from Catus Decianus, the procurator. He sent no more than two hundred men without proper weapons. [*there follows the account of the fall of the city and Petillius Cerialis' failed attempt to save it, quoted under Gov. 9 above.*] Panic-stricken by this disaster and because of the hatred of the province, which he had incited to war by his greed, the procurator Catus crossed to Gaul.

Tac. *Ann.* 14. 38. 3: *gentesque praeferoces tardius ad pacem inclinabant, quia Iulius Classicianus, successor Cato missus et Suetonio discors, bonum publicum simultatibus privatis impediebat.*

And the very warlike peoples were rather slow in leaning towards peace, the more so because Julius Classicianus, who had been sent as successor to Catus and was at odds with Suetonius, was working against the common good through personal animosity.

Dio 62. 2. 1: The confiscation of money which Claudius had given to their [the Britons'] leading men became a pretext for the war: for this too, as Decianus Catus, the procurator of the island maintained, was to be paid back.

[1] Thus A. Stein, *RE* 7/2 (1912), 1691 f.; not mentioned by Pflaum, *CP*, no. 10.
[2] *ILS* 1336; Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 116.

Nothing is known of Decianus Catus apart from the accounts by Tacitus and Dio: his conduct evidently helped to provoke Boudica's rebellion. If Suetonius' story that Nero contemplated abandoning Britain (*Nero* 18) is accurate, the period following Catus' flight is as likely as any. His report explaining his panic-stricken arrival in Gaul might have led Nero to believe that the province was irretrievably lost (see under Gov. 5). Although he is called 'Catus Decianus' in the *Annals*, this need not mean that Decianus was a second *cognomen*. Tacitus frequently inverts *nomen* and *cognomen*, and Decianus, albeit uncomon, is attested as a *gentilicium*.[3] Catus is also rare, but gives no clues to origin.[4]

3. 60/61 Gaius Julius, Gai filius, Fabia, Alpinus Classicianus

RIB 12 = R. D. Grasby and R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia*, 33 (2002), 43ff., London: *Dis* | *[m]ánibus* | *[C. (Gai) Iul(i), C. (Gai) f(ili), F]ab(ia), Alpini Classiciáni,* [4] | *[. . .] . . .]* | *proc(uratoris) provinc(iae) Brita[nn](iae),* | *Iúlia, Indi filia, Pacáta I[nduta?]* [8] | *uxor.*

To the divine shades of Gaius Julius, son of Gaius, Fabia, Alpinus Classicianus, . . . procurator of the province of Britain, Julia, daughter of Indus, Pacata I[nduta?], his wife (set this up).

Tac. *Ann.* 14. 38. 3: quoted under 2.

The splendid funerary monument of Classicianus is the earliest documentary record of any high official in Britain.[5] He was appointed after the flight of his predecessor, either late in 60 or early in 61. It may be assumed that he died at latest *c.*65, for a term of more than four years would be unlikely. Tacitus registers his conduct in unfriendly terms: 'Julius Classicianus . . . was at odds with Suetonius, working against the common good through personal animosity: he had spread it about that they ought to await a new legate . . . At the same time he reported to the City that they could expect no end to warfare unless a successor was appointed for Suetonius—whose reverses he attributed

[3] In *PIR*[2] C 587 Decianus is taken to be a second *cognomen*. For Tacitus' inversion of *nomen* and *cognomen* cf. 'Paulinus Suetonius', *Ann.* 14. 29. 2; other examples 13. 8. 2, 13. 45. 1, 14. 57. 1. For Decianus as *gentilicium* see *CIL* vi. 1056, Rome; *AE* 1915. 22, Carthage; *Le epigrafi romane di Canosa*, i (1995) no. 124; M. Chelotti, in G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area Adriatica* (1998), 203, both from Canusium and spelt *Deccianus*; *Il Museo Archeologico di Venosa* (1991), 168 no. i. 6, Venusia.

[4] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 249 cited the *cos.* 198 BC, four senators from the principate, and a further sixteen men and four women, and two freedmen with this name. Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 45, lists twelve from his area. The evidence is too limited to support the suggestion by M. G. Jarrett, *ES* 9 (1972), 222f., that he was from Africa.

[5] Grasby and Tomlin, *Britannia*, 33 (2002), 43ff., offer a full discussion with several new details in the restoration of the text. They reconstruct the monument, 72ff. with fig. 21, as having been 'altar-shaped, surmounted by two bolsters flanking an ornate antefix, a wide cornice jutting out to protect carved frieze and inscription below, with the whole tomb raised upon a high plinth and surrounded by shallow steps'. They evidently conjecture an original height of over 5m.

to the latter's own perversity, his successes to luck.' This is a paradigm case for the tension between legate and procurator which Augustus is thought to have envisaged as a key element in his system.[6] Agricola, who witnessed the discord between Paullinus and Classicianus, was to be careful to avoid conflict with procurators as governor of Aquitania (Tac. *Agr.* 9. 4). Classicianus' inscription sheds further light on his background.[7] As can be deduced from his names, he was a member of the Gallic aristocracy. His second name, Alpini in the genitive, may have been another *gentilicium*, Alpinius, rather than the *cognomen* Alpinus; both were characteristic of the Celtic areas.[8] His wife's patronymic shows that she was a daughter of the Treveran noble Julius Indus, who helped to suppress the Gallic rebel Florus in 21 (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 42. 3) and gave his name to the *ala Indiana*.[9] Her *cognomen* Pacata, 'pacified', suggests that she was born soon after that campaign.[10] Celtic origin may have made Classicianus more sympathetic to the Britons. Nothing is known of his earlier career, but there is room in the missing portion of the inscription for several posts to have been recorded. Previous service as an equestrian officer is probable.[11] No descendants are known, but an equestrian officer in Vitellius' army in 69, Alpinius Montanus, a Treveran, and his brother Decimus Alpinius, might have been his sons.[12] Classicianus' place of burial implies that London was the procuratorial headquarters.

[6] Thus H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres* (1950), 157ff.; id., *Bull. Fac. des lettres de Strasbourg*, 37/3 (1958), 1ff.

[7] Noted by E. Birley, *Ant.J.* 16 (1936), 207f.

[8] H.-G. Pflaum, *AEA* 39 (1966), 5ff.; Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 195; Lörincz, *OPEL* i. 83.

[9] G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior* (1968), 19ff.; E. Birley, *AncSoc* 9 (1978), 257, 267, repr. in id., *Roman Army*, 368, 378; Devijver, *PME* J 69.

[10] She is also attested at Trier, *CIL* xiii. 3737: *[Iuli]a Pacata Indi f(ilia) I[. . .]*, as pointed out by Grasby and Tomlin, *Britannia* (2002), 67 n. 42. They reject (64), the restoration *[f(ecit)]* in l. 8, and (68), *I[ndiana]* or *i[nfelix*] as the restoration of the end of l. 7, on spacing grounds, proposing instead *I[nduta]*.

[11] Grasby and Tomlin, *Britannia* (2002), 65ff., argue that the *origo*, *Aug(usta) Treverórum*, (of which the apex above the conjectured O is still preserved), stood at the beginning of l. 4, followed by the *tres militiae*, which they restore conjecturally in the rest of this line and the whole of the next. Residence at Rome is suggested by *CIL* vi. 9363 = 33805, tombstone of Diocharis, slave of Julius Classicianus. The *cognomen* is very rare: Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 319, knew only five examples, presumably including the procurator and *dominus* of Diocharis as two persons. As well as the procurator, Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 59f., lists only one each in Cisalpina and Moesia Superior and two in Belgica and the Germanies. Classicianus may have been related to the rebel of 70, Julius Classicus (*PIR*² J 267).

[12] Tac. *Hist.* 3. 35. 2, 4. 31. 1, 32. 1f., 5. 19. 3 (Montanus and his brother joined Civilis' rebellion along with over 100 members of the Treveran élite), 5. 19; cf. E. Birley, *ap.* M. G. Jarrett, *ES* 9 (1972), 223. For the practice in north-western provinces of inventing a new *gentilicium* from the father's *cognomen*, see Schulze, *LE* 56ff., 120 (on Alpinius Montanus); E. Birley, *RBRA* 165f.

4. under Domitian Gnaeus Pompeius, Sexti filius, Quirina, Homullus Aelius Gracilis Cassianus Longinus

CIL vi. 1626 = *ILS* 1385, Rome: *Cn. (Gnaeo) Pompeio Sex(ti) f(ilio)* | *Quir(ina) Homullo* | *Aelio Gracili Cassiano Longino*, [4]| *p(rimo)p(ilo) bis leg(ionis II Aug(ustae) et leg(ionis) X Fretens(is)*, | *trib(uno) coh(ortis) III (vig(ilum), trib(uno) coh(ortis) X urb(anae)*, | *trib(uno) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae), donis donato ab* | *imp(eratore), torq(uibus), phal(eris), armill(is), cor(ona) aur(ea)*, [8]| *hast(a) pur(a), proc(uratori) Aug(usti) provinciae* | *B[ritt]aniae, proc(uratori) Aug(usti) provinc(iarum)* | *duarum Lugud(unensis) et Aquit(aniae), proc(uratori)* | *Aug(usti) a rationibus*, [12]| *heredes*.

To Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Sextus, Quirina, Homullus Aelius Gracilis Cassianus Longinus, chief centurion twice, of the Second Legion Augusta and of the Tenth Legion Fretensis, tribune of the Third Cohort of *vigiles*, tribune of the Tenth Urban Cohort, tribune of the Fifth Praetorian Cohort, procurator of the Emperor of the province of Britain, procurator of the Emperor of the two provinces of Lugdunensis and Aquitania, procurator of the Emperor *a rationibus*, (his) heirs (set this up).

The only clue to dating this career is the *dona* in lines 7–8: the unnamed emperor was surely Domitian. Homullus presumably won part of them as tribune of the guard in one of the wars of the 80s or early 90s. Hence his British post may be assigned at latest to the mid-90s.[13] His heirs omitted his early career, the first post mentioned being *primus pilus* of II Augusta. He may have begun as a soldier, then as a centurion, in the Rome garrison; but could have entered the army with a direct commission, as a *centurio ex equite Romano*.[14] After his post in II Augusta he passed through the three Rome garrison tribunates before going to Judaea as *pp. bis* with X Fretensis, then to Britain as procurator. Pflaum defined this post as as a junior 'ducenary' one, that is, with a salary of 200,000 sesterces. Noting that a further ducenary procuratorship was normally held between the first appointment in this grade and the one in Gaul, he infers that exceptional circumstances may have allowed him to omit one.[15] During the period when Homullus could have served in Britain, the governor Sallustius Lucullus was put to death (Gov. 12). Homullus could have had accelerated promotion for his conduct at this time. His final appointment, as *a rationibus*, was doubtless held under Trajan. One item in his nomenclature, 'Aelius Gracilis', provides a clue to his origin: there was a Spanish senator of that name in the 50s, from Dertosa.[16] Homullus' other names and his tribe Quirina would accord with Spanish *origo*, although not at Dertosa itself, which was in the Galeria.[17]

[13] Thus Pflaum, *CP*, no. 89; Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 97; *PIR*² P 617.

[14] Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 97.

[15] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 89, cf. id., *Les Procurateurs équestres*, 246ff., 250ff.; Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 97. Most of the evidence comes from the 2nd cent.

[16] *PIR*² A 776, noted by Pflaum, *CP*, no. 89, suggesting that he might have been Homullus' maternal grandfather.

[17] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 193, cf. 271f. for communities in the Quirina.

5. under Domitian (Tiberius Claudius) Augustanus Alpinus Lucius Bellicus Sollers

CIL v. 3337, near Verona: *[Ti]b(erio) Claudio,* | *Tib(eri) f(ilio), Quir(ina),* | *Augustano, patri* [4]| *Bellici Sollertis* | *proc(uratoris) prov(inciae) Britan(niae),* | *Claudia, Ti(beri) f(ilia), Marcellina*|*, socero optimo p[osuit]*

To Tiberius Claudius, son of Tiberius, Quirina, Augustanus, father of Bellicus Sollers the procurator of the province of Britain, Claudia, daughter of Tiberius, Marcellina, set this up to her excellent father-in-law.

From this dedication it has generally been understood that Augustanus was procurator of Britain.[18] But Salomies argues convincingly that *proc. Aug.* referred to his son Bellic(i)us Sollers, originally called Tiberius Claudius Augustanus Alpinus and adopted by a Bellicus. Another inscription at Verona, set up to Sollers by his wife Marcellina, records his original name Alpinus; the missing first line no doubt gave his adoptive nomenclature.[19] Sollers had by then served in the *tres militiae*: as prefect of the *cohors II pr(aetoria)*, decorated 'in the German war', presumably Domitian's Chattan campaign of 83, tribune of II Augusta, and prefect of the *ala Gallica* in Syria.[20] He went on to be a procurator, first probably in one or more centenary posts, then in the ducenary grade, in Dalmatia, where he is recorded as Augustianus (*sic*) Bellicus.[21] Before or after this he held the British procuratorship, also ducenary. This was clearly in the latter part of Domitian's reign. An inscription from Latium records him as *pontif(ex) min(or)*, *proc(urator) Aug(usti)*, showing that he was in this minor priestly college, reserved for equestrians.[22] He was then adlected into the senate: 'Sollers, a man of praetorian rank', is mentioned by Pliny as an estate-owner in the territory of Verona's eastern neighbour Vicetia, in a letter of 105 (*Ep.* 5. 4. 1).[23] He later became consul, as shown by a third dedication at Verona, in which Marcellina is described as wife 'of

[18] Thus *PIR*² C 103; Pflaum, *CP*, no. 68; *FRB* 289ff.; Devijver, *PME* C 122; Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 243.

[19] Salomies, *Adoptive Nomenclature*, 46, pointing out that Dessau had also interpreted the inscription in this way when he published *EE* ix. 676, another inscription of Sollers (cf. below). Salomies's interpretation is followed by Andermahr, *Totus*, 179ff. Alföldy, *Gallia Cisalpina*, 303, still regards the father as the procurator of Britain. That the original form of the procurator's new *gentilicium* was Bellicus seems clear from the consuls of 68, 87, and 124, *PIR*² B 98–9, 101–2. Cf. Schulze, *LE* 42 n. 4. The consular Bellic(i)i seem to be from Vienna in Narbonensis. Whether the procurator's adoptive father was related to them is unknown; but he can hardly have been senatorial.

[20] *CIL* v. 3356 = *ILS* 2710.

[21] *ILS* 5968, Burnum.

[22] *EE* ix. 676, Castrimoenium.

[23] His presumed brother-in-law Claudius Marcellinus was already a senator in 100, when he spoke at the trial of Marius Priscus (Pliny, *Ep.* 2. 11. 15); M. Corbier, *ZPE* 43 (1981), 75ff., 83ff., argues that he too had been adlected, after being procurator of the *patrimonium* under Domitian, *ILS* 1487; cf. Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 243.

Bellicus Sollers, consul'.[24] The family's connection with Verona is guaranteed by the inscriptions. But neither Vicetia nor Verona were in the Quirina. The family must have been enrolled in this tribe when a member of an earlier generation received citizenship under Claudius or Nero, if not from Tiberius or Drusus *c.*15 BC.[25] They probably belonged to the élite in one of the Alpine peoples. Bellicus Sollers had a son, known from an inscription at Castrimoenium in Latium, where the family no doubt had property; and he and his wife are attested by tile-stamps at Rome and surroundings from the 120s. The direct line perhaps died out not long afterwards, for the names 'Augustanus Alpinus Bellicius Sollers' appear in the nomenclature of two Antonine senators.[26]

6. late Hadrianic Marcus Maenius, Gai filius, Cornelia, Agrippa Lucius Tusidius Campester

CIL xi. 5632 = *ILS* 2735, Camerinum: *M(arco) Maenio, C. (Gai) f(ilio), Cor(nelia), Agrip*|*pae L(ucio) Tusidio Campestri,* | *hospiti divi Hadriani, patri* [4]| *senatoris, praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae)* | *Britton(um) equitat(ae), electo a divo Hadriano et misso* | *in expeditionem Britan*|*nicam, trib(uno) coh(ortis) I Hispanor(um)* [8]| *equitat(ae), praef(ecto) alae* | *Gallor(um) et Pannonior(um) catafracta*|*tae, proc(uratori) Aug(usti) praef(ecto) classis* | *Brittannicae, proc(uratori) provin*|*ciae Britanniae, equo pu*|*blico, patrono municipi,* [12]| *vicani Censorglacenses,* | *consecuti ab indulgentia* | *optimi maximique imp(eratoris) Anto*|*nini Aug(usti) Pii, beneficio inter*|*pretationis eius, privilegia, quibus in p[e]rpetuum aucti* | *confirmatique sunt.* [16]| *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

To Marcus Maenius, son of Gaius, Cornelia, Agrippa Lucius Tusidius Campester, host to the deified Hadrian, father of a senator, prefect of the Second Flavian Cohort of Britons, chosen by the deified Hadrian and sent on the British expedition, tribune of the First Cohort of Spaniards, prefect of the mail-clad Ala of Gauls and Pannonians, procurator of the Emperor (and) prefect of the British fleet, procurator of the province of Britain, (holder of) the public horse, patron of the *municipium*, the villagers of Censorglacum (set this statue up), having obtained by the generosity of the best and greatest Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius, thanks to his [sc. Agrippa's] mediation, privileges by which they are enhanced and strengthened for ever. The place was granted by decree of the town-councillors.

This career is clearly Hadrianic; but there is disagreement about the precise dating of the *expeditio Britannica*. It seems logical to date it to 122, when Hadrian visited Britain (see under Gov. 18). However, E. Birley argued that the career

[24] *CIL* v. 3358 = *ILS* 1031. Tile-stamps of the couple, *CIL* xv. 934–6, 887, supply his *praenomen* Lucius.

[25] Cf. Syme, *MH* 34 (1977), 138 = *RP* iii. 994, on various provincial Claudii in Tac. *Hist.*, whose citizenship are 'is not a recent acquisition, from Claudius or from Nero. It goes back to the campaigns of Ti. Claudius Nero and his brother Drusus.'

[26] For the son, *EE* ix. 676, *PIR*[2] B 100, C 922, cf. Andermahr, *Totus*, 181, suggesting that he died young, when Sollers was still a procurator; tile-stamps, n. 24 above; Antonine senators, *ILS* 1050 + *add.*, 1104. Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 212, conjectures that the man in *ILS* 1050 inherited the names from a daughter of Sollers.

of T. Pontius Sabinus, 'commander of three 1000-strong vexillations (detachments) in the British expedition', is difficult to reconcile with that date. Sabinus, after being an equestrian officer in the Parthian war of 114–17, had transferred to the centurionate, serving in XXII Primigenia in Upper Germany, XIII Gemina in Dacia, and—as *primus pilus*—in III Augusta in Numidia, before taking the vexillations to Britain.[27] As there scarcely seems time for three posts in widely separated legions, he urged that there had been a second expedition later in the reign, to be explained in the light of the changes of plan during the building of the wall-system.[28] But Jarrett, among others, pointed out that Sabinus could perfectly well have held three centurionates between 117 and 122. In the absence of further evidence it seems best to assume that he came to Britain in 122.[29] At some point Agrippa was 'host of the deified Hadrian', perhaps in 127.[30] His son had meanwhile obtained senatorial rank: as Agrippa was also called L. Tusidius Campester, the son is thought to be the Tusidius Campester who was consul in 142—and hence cannot have been born much after 102.[31] The identification is, however, uncertain: apart from the evidence for his consulship, L. Tusidius Campester is recorded at Ricina, as son of Lucius, not Marcus, and was in the Velina tribe, whereas Agrippa had the *praenomen* Marcus and was in the Cornelia.[32] A solution might be that the consul was adopted, for example, by a maternal uncle. At any rate, if Agrippa was the father of the *cos.* 142, he himself can hardly have been born much after *c.*83; this would have clear implications for the dating of his career. He might have been sent to Britain in 118, then in his mid-thirties—from Moesia Inferior,[33] at that time governed by Pompeius Falco (Gov. 17), himself sent from there to Britain by Hadrian that year, when the emperor was visiting the Lower Danube; Agrippa might have been selected by Hadrian personally, as the wording of his inscription suggests, at that time.[34] Whichever

[27] E. Birley, *ap.* Pflaum, *CP*, nos. 118 + *add.* (Sabinus) and 120 (Agrippa); cf. id., *RBRA* 28 f., 38. See further on Sabinus Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 117; Devijver, *PME* P 89; *PIR*² P 823; cf. Devijver, M5, also following E. Birley's dating of Agrippa's and Sabinas' presence in Britain to later in the reign.

[28] Cf. on these C. E. Stevens, *The Building of Hadrian's Wall* (1966), *passim.*

[29] M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia*, 7 (1976), 145 ff.

[30] Birley, *Hadrian*, 198, noting that Hadrian toured the region in which Camerinum lies in that year. Some might prefer the conjecture that Agrippa entertained Hadrian at Maryport in 122.

[31] W. Eck and P. Weiss, *ZPE* 134 (2001), 251 ff. Campester's consulship was previously dated to 165. As they note, the name Tusidius is exceedingly rare.

[32] See Andermahr, *Totus*, 328, 455, on *CIL* ix. 5781 and *EE* viii. 830, Ricina, doubting the identification. O. Salomies kindly confirms (pers. comm.) that a son of Maenius Agrippa would normally have been called Maenius. The procurator and the *cos.* 142 were clearly related. Agrippa's mother might have been a Tusidia and his son might have been adopted by a kinsman on the mother's side, hence the different tribe and filiation.

[33] *CIL* xvi. 45.

[34] This dating for Agrippa was suggested by Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 117, who puts Sabinus' command of vexillations soon after 119 or 'to support the building of the Wall'.

year he arrived, he is attested as tribune at Maryport (*Alauna*) by four altars to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, suggesting that he was there for at least four years.[35] (It may be that the cohort was only quingenary and that Agrippa was given the rank of tribune as a special favour.[36]) His third *militia* took him back to Moesia Inferior, perhaps after a period back home.[37] The governor of that province *c.*127–130 was Julius Severus (Gov. 21); perhaps it was on Severus' recommendation that Agrippa was made prefect of the British fleet when Severus himself went from Moesia to Britain. Agrippa probably stayed on in Britain for the further appointment as procurator of the province. He thus achieved ducenary rank after a single centenary appointment, a further sign of favour. Agrippa was clearly a native of Camerinum.[38] As its patron he was able to obtain privileges from Pius for one of its *vici*.

7. early Antonine Tiberius Claudius, Tiberii filius, Sergia, Antoninus

unpublished, Apollonia Mygdonia, Macedonia; text reproduced from Devijver, *PME C* 118bis (Suppl. II): [*T*]*ι(βέριον) Κλαύδιον, Τι(βερίου) υἱόν, Σερ|γίαν* (sic), *Ἀντωνεῖνον, ἐπί|τροπον Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρ*[4]*|χειῶν Βρετανίας, Μακε|δονίας, εἰκοστῆς κληρονο|μιῶν Γαλλιῶν Γερμανιῶν, | ἔπαρχον ἐ̣ί̣λ̣ης Ταυριανῆς,* [8]*| χειλίαρχον σπείρης α΄ Σπανῶν μειλιαρίας, ἔ|παρχον χόρτης β΄ Γα|λατῶν, ἐπιμελη̣θέντα* [12]*| τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος.*

In honour of Tiberius Claudius, son of Tiberius, Sergia, Antoninus, procurator of the Emperor of the provinces of Britain, Macedonia, (and) of the *vicesima hereditatium* in the Gauls and Germanies, prefect of the Ala Tauriana, tribune of the First Cohort of Spaniards, one thousand-strong, prefect of the Second Cohort of Galatians, having supervised the leading in of water.

This is clearly an inscription 'indicative of impending movement': Claudius Antoninus was honoured at a town in Macedonia, where he had been serving as procurator, after being named procurator of Britain.[39] The approximate date can be inferred from a letter of Hadrian, of 137, to the councillors of the town, also unpublished, telling them that his procurator Junius Valerianus will investigate whether a water-supply can be led in and what the cost will be.[40]

[35] *RIB* 823–6. See M. G. Jarrett, *Maryport, Cumbria: A Roman Fort and its Garrison* (1976), 17ff.

[36] This is suggested by S. S. Frere, *Britannia*, 31 (2000), 26f., noting that *coh. I Hispanorum* is not called milliary on the diplomas of 98, 103, 105, 122, 124, 127, and 146, comparing *RIB* 1791 for a man *militans tribunus in praefecto*, and citing for other such cases F. Bérard, *Gallia*, 52 (1995), 349ff. Frere's arguments for reverting to E. Birley's hypothesis, that Agrippa first went to Britain in 129 or 130, are rejected by Eck and Weiss, *ZPE* 134 (2001), 253 n. 7, on the grounds that his son was already consul in 142. But some doubt must remain, cf. n. 32 above.

[37] *CIL* xvi. 78.

[38] The Cornelia was the tribe of Camerinum: Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 70.

[39] Cf. the cases treated by E. Birley, *Chiron*, 9 (1979), 495ff., repr. in id., *Roman Army*, 130ff.

[40] The inscriptions were presented by G. Souris (who is preparing a full publication) in seminars at Cologne and Cambridge.

Claudius Antoninus was evidently Valerianus' successor and completed the task. This may of course have taken several years; but it allows his appointment to Britain to be dated to the early 140s, perhaps during the governorship of Lollius Urbicus (Gov. 24). His career began as prefect of the Second Cohort of Galatians, attested, with the title Ulpia indicating that it was raised by Trajan, in the army of Syria Palaestina in 139, and still there in 160 and 186.[41] This was followed by command of the milliary First Cohort of Spaniards, in Dacia from 110 to 164,[42] and of the Ala Tauriana in Mauretania Tingitana.[43] The *tres militiae* were followed by the junior (sexagenary) procuratorship in charge of the death-duties tax in the Gallic and German provinces, a post for which only one other holder is known.[44] Half a dozen other procurators of Macedonia are attested; their salary grade seems to have been centenary.[45] Antoninus' origin is difficult to determine, but the names point to the Greek half of the empire. His tribe Sergia would suit Pisidian Antioch.[46] The command of the Second Galatians, raised in this area, would have been a logical start for a man of this origin.

8. Antonine Quintus Lusius Sabinianus

RIB 2132 + *add.*, Inveresk: *Apollini* | *Granno* | *Q(uintus) Lusius* [4]| *Sabinia*|*nus,* | *proc(urator)* | *Aug(usti),* [8]| *v(otum)* {*s*}*s(olvit) l(ibens)* {*v*}*m(erito).*

To Apollo Grannus, Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, procurator of the Emperor, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

Britannia, 8 (1977), 433, Inveresk: *[. . .] Q(uintus)* | *Lusius* | *Sabinian*[4]|*us, proc(urator) Aug(usti)*; secondary text: *[. . .]a*|*ra ex nu*|*ntio dic(ata), ar(am)* [4]| *pos(uit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).*

. . . Quintus Lusius Sabinianus, procurator of the Emperor.

The only indication of date is provided by the find-spot of these inscriptions, a few miles east of Edinburgh. This territory was occupied only from *c.*79 to *c.*87, *c.*140 to *c.*158, and 208 to 211/12. The last is surely excluded as the man was procurator of a single emperor. Only the Antonine period seems possible, since the second inscription must have been *in situ* long enough to have been reused. Further, no other dedications to Apollo Grannus appear to be earlier than the second century.[47] An early Antonine date thus looks almost certain.

[41] *CIL* xvi. 87; *RMD* iii. 173, I 69.

[42] *CIL* xvi. 57, 163; *RMD* i. 35, 47, 64.

[43] *CIL* xvi. 159, 169–71, 173; *RMD* i. 53, etc.

[44] *ILS* 1140; see Pflaum, *CP*, no. 203, Ti. Claudius Candidus. Pflaum graded the post as sexagenary.

[45] Pflaum, *CP*, p. 1070, his nos. 178, 204, 221, 244, 312, 357A (*Suppl.*).

[46] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 236. As kindly pointed out by P. Herrmann (pers. comm.), the tribe was mistakenly given in the accusative in the inscription.

[47] Ihm, *RE* 7/2 (1912), 1823ff.

The presence of a procurator close to the Antonine Wall seems appropriate, not least to supervise the distribution of pay to the garrisons. Sabinianus' names are too indistinctive to give any clues to his origin. The *gentilicium* is found widely in Italy; in the provinces there is a particular concentration at Narona in Dalmatia, one of whom achieved senatorial rank.[48] A Severan consular, Q. Lusius Laberius Gemin(i)us Rutilian[us], possibly African, might be a descendant.[49]

9. Antonine Gaius Valerius, Gai filius, Claudia, Pansa

CIL v. 6513, Novaria: *C. (Gaius) Valerius, C. (Gai) f(ilius), Claud(ia), Pansa, flamen | divorum Vespasiani, Traiani, Hadrian[i], p(rimus)p(ilus) bis, | trib(unus) coh(ortis VIIII pr(aetoriae), proc(urator) provinc(iae) Britanniae,* [4]*| balineum, quod vi consumptum fuerat, ampliatis solo | et operibus, intra biennium pecunia sua restituit et dedicavit, | in quod opus legata quoque reip(ubicae) testamento Albuciae Candidae | uxoris suae HS (sestertiorum) CC, consensu ordinis amplius erogavit.*

Gaius Valerius, son of Gaius, Claudia, Pansa, *flamen* of the deified Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, chief centurion a second time, tribune of the Ninth Praetorian Cohort, procurator of the province of Britain, with his own money restored and dedicated within two years the baths, which had been destroyed forcibly, the surface area and adjacent works being enlarged; he also increased further the 200,000 sesterces bequeathed to the community for this task by the testament of his wife Albucia Candida.

Pflaum convincingly inferred that this inscription may be assigned to the reign of Antoninus Pius, since after the latter's death Pansa would certainly have been *flamen* of Pius as well as of Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian at his home town, Novaria. Pflaum also noted Dobson's comment that Pansa was probably one of those who began his military career as a *centurio ex equite Romano*, since he is described as *[e]q. R.* on another inscription from the town.[50] On the inscription quoted above Pansa only specifies two posts and his rank as *pp. bis*, but he may be assumed to have passed through the three tribunates of the Rome garrison as did Pompeius Homullus (4). No direct descendants are known, but the Severan consular M. Juventius Secundus Rixa Postumius Pansa Valerianus . . . Severus, of Brixia, may have inherited part of his nomenclature.[51] Pansa's wife Albucia Candida was probably a distant descendant of the Augustan rhetor C. Albucius Silus of Novaria, 'no obscure teacher and writer' (Quintil. 2. 15. 36).

[48] G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (1969), 95 f.
[49] *PIR*² L 436.
[50] *CP*, no. 127, referring to *CIL* v. 6514. See also Dobson, *Primipilares*, 260 f., no. 142.
[51] *PIR*² J 888.

10. 193 ?Heraclitus

HA Severus 6. 10: *sed eos ipsos pertimescens, de quibus recte iudicabat, Heraclitum ad optinendas Britannias, Plautianum ad occupandos Nigri liberos misit.*

But being very nervous of those very men, about whom his judgement was correct, he sent Heraclitus to secure the Britains, Plautianus to seize the children of Niger. [Cf. *HA Pesc. Nig.* 5. 2, where *Bithyniam* is substituted for *Britannias*.]

Heraclitus' dispatch to Britain in 193 is undoubtedly that described by Dio: Severus, before marching on Rome from Pannonia, 'sent a letter to Albinus by the hand of one of his confidants' (73. 15. 1, cf. Herodian 2. 15. 4; see under Gov. 36). Hasebroek, following Hübner, believed that Heraclitus was sent to Britain as procurator.[52] He might have taken up an appointment there, but more probably returned with Albinus' reply and was merely an emissary. There are several homonyms in the period.[53] Whatever his status, the name Heraclitus suggests Greek origin; he might have been the son of an imperial freedman.

11. between 205 and 207 Marcus Oclatinius Adventus

(*cos. ord.* 218)

RIB 1234, 1462: quoted under Gov. 39.

Adventus was to rise higher than any other known procurator of Britain: guard prefect under Caracalla, city prefect and consul *ordinarius* under Macrinus.[54] His notoriety at the end of his life prompted Dio to describe his career (78. 14. 1 ff.). He began in the 'spies and scouts', that is, was a *speculator*, became a centurion in the 'couriers', *frumentarii* or 'secret agents', then commander of that force, *princeps peregrinorum*, and later a procurator.[55] Whether the British procuratorship—not named by Dio—was his first in that rank is unknown. Rankov conjectures that Adventus' previous career in military intelligence prompted Severus to select him for this post, and that he had a

[52] J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* (1921), 29, citing E. Hübner, *RhM* 12 (1857), 64 f. Cf. also A. Stein, *RE* 8/1 (1912), 406 f. He is not listed as a procurator of Britain by Pflaum, *CP*, p. 1050.

[53] Cf. M. Aurelius Heraclitus, procurator of the Illyrican *portorium* in 201, later procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis, *PIR*² H 90, where identity with this Heraclitus, H 88, is rejected in favour of H 89, [Her]aclitus, legate of VI Ferrata in 196; identity is also rejected with the prefect of Egypt in 215, Aurelius Septimius Heraclitus, Thomasson, *LP* i. 354. Note also Septimius Heraclitus, *IRT* 437, Lepcis Magna (Severan), thought by A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten* (1950), 118, to be brother of the prefect and assumed to have been governor of Syria Phoenice; but in fact he merely erected a statue at Lepcis on behalf of the city of Tyre.

[54] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 247; Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 172; *PIR*² O 9.

[55] N. Rankov, *Britannia*, 18 (1987), 243 ff., discusses his early career in detail.

special mandate to recruit and train scouts to serve north of Hadrian's Wall.[56] He presumably went on to other posts after being in Britain, since he did not become guard prefect until 212 at the earliest.[57] He was holding that post, together with Macrinus, when the latter arranged the murder of Caracalla in April 217 and proclaimed himself emperor.[58] Adventus told the soldiers that 'the sovereignty belongs to me, because I am older than Macrinus, but since I am excessively old I yield it to him' (Dio 78. 14. 2). Macrinus made him his colleague in the consulship for 218[59] and then sent him back to Rome as city prefect, a task for which he was manifestly unsuited, 'being unable to see by reason of his age nor to read for lack of education nor to do anything through lack of experience'. He was soon replaced, but continued to be consul even after Macrinus' overthrow by Elagabalus (Dio 78. 14. 2f.; 79. 8. 2). Nothing is known of his origin, except that it was humble. His *gentilicium* appears to be unique, although related to Oc(u)latius and the *cognomen* Oclatinus.[60] This does not exclude provincial extraction, especially as his not very common *cognomen* is found more frequently in Africa than elsewhere.[61]

12. 208–211 Sextus Varius Marcellus

CIL x. 6569 = *ILS* 478, Velitrae: *Sex(to) Vario Marcello, | proc(uratori) aquar(um) C (centenario), proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Brit(anniae) CC (ducenario), proc(uratori) rationis privat(ae) CCC (trecenario), vice praeff. (praefectorum) pr(aetorio) et urbi functo, | c(larissimo) v(iro), praef(ecto) aerari militaris, leg(ato) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae),* [4] *| praesidi provinc(iae) Numidiae, | Iulia Soaemias Bassiana, c(larissima) f(emina), cum filiis, | marito et patri amantissimo.* [A Greek version, identically worded except that it omits the salary grades for the procuratorships, follows, with Britain is written out in full, clearly singular.]

To Sextus Varius Marcellus, procurator of the aqueducts with salary of 100,000 sesterces, procurator of the province of Britain with salary of 200,000 sesterces, procurator of the private account with salary of 300,000 sesterces, acting in place of the prefects of the Guard and of the City, senator, prefect of the military treasury, legate of the Third Legion Augusta (and) governor of the province of Numidia, Julia Soaemias Bassiana, senatorial lady, with the children, to a most beloved husband and father.

Marcellus, from Apamea in Syria Phoenice, married to a niece of the empress Julia Domna and father of the emperor Elagabalus, died before the latter's

[56] Ibid. 248f., referring in particular to the *expl[oratores Habitancenses]*, based in 213 at Risingham, *RIB* 1235, one of the forts at which Adventus' involvement is attested a few years earlier, *RIB* 1234.

[57] See *PIR*^{2} O 9.

[58] *PIR*^{2} O 108.

[59] In spite of Dio's statement that Macrinus refused to let himself and Adventus be called 'consul for the second time . . . merely on the basis of their having honorary consular rank' (79. 13. 1), Adventus is called *cos. II* in *CIL* iii. 6161.

[60] Schulze, *LE* 151, 364. See Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 109, 111 for Oclatii and Oculatii; he finds two Oclatini in Dalmatia, 109.

[61] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 349: twenty out of forty examples come from Africa.

accession in 218 (Dio 78. 30. 2). His first post is thought to be attested by a water-pipe from Rome naming Severus and Caracalla as *imp(eratores)*, Geta as Caesar, the 'consular Thrasia (*sic*) Priscus', and Varius Marcellus, *proc(urator) Aug(ustorum duorum)*. Since Thrasea Priscus was consul in 196, it is assumed that he was *curator aquarum* soon after, hence that Marcellus was procurator of the aqueducts *c.*198.[62] The chronology of his later career has been convincingly revised by Halfmann, who also redated that of another kinsman of Severus, Julius Avitus Alexianus (*Com. Aug.* 17).[63] The argument depends on the third post, procurator of the *ratio privata*,[64] combined with or followed by the acting prefecture of both the guard and the city of Rome. This position can only have been held when both offices were vacant, namely, immediately after the dismissal of the guard prefect Papinian and the city prefect L. Fabius Cilo, some time before the murder of Geta in late December 211 (Dio 77. 1. 1 and 4. 1; *HA Carac.* 3. 1–2; 4. 1).[65] Marcellus had held no post between the procuratorships of the aqueducts and of Britain, Halfmann argues, because of the influence of the guard prefect Plautianus, hostile to the family of Severus' wife (cf. Dio 75. 15. 6).[66] Thus the British post was held after Plautianus' fall in early 205, probably during Severus' expedition to Britain, 208–11 (see between Gov. 40 and 41). Marcellus' promotion to senatorial rank, indicated on the inscription by the letters *c(larissimo) v(iro)*, and appointment as prefect of the *aerarium militare*, can be assigned to 212. His final appointment, as governor of Numidia—where he evidently died, for he did not reach the consulship—may have lasted for a short time only, *c.*215. This career is quite exceptional. Thanks to his relationship with the empress, Marcellus held only one post in each of the three superior grades of procurator, omitting the sexagenary stage altogether—and possibly having had no previous service of any kind. His funerary inscription mentions 'children', but only his universally reviled son is otherwise known.

13. between 212 and 217 Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus

RIB 2066, Brampton: *Deae Nymphae Brig(antiae?), | quod v[o]verat pro | salu[te] et [i]ncolum[it]a[t]e* [4] *| dom(ini) nostr(i) invic(ti) | imp(eratoris) Mar(ci) Aurel(i) Severi | Antonini Pii Felicis | Aug(usti) totiusque*

[62] *ILS* 8687; cf. Bruun, *Water*, 231f., 244, with slight reservations.

[63] H. Halfmann, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 216ff., esp. 226ff.

[64] As his predecessor Q. Cerellius Apollinaris was evidently still in office on 4 Apr. 211, Marcellus cannot have been appointed before that month, J. M. Reynolds, *PBSR* 30 (1962), 33ff., whence *AE* 1969/70. 193; Halfmann, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 230.

[65] Ibid. 229ff.; Geta's murder is dated to 26 Dec. 211 by T. D. Barnes, *JTS* 19 (1968), 523ff.; on the dismissal of Cilo see also K. Dietz, *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 403f.

[66] See E. Kettenhofen, *Die syrischen Augustae* (1979), 10ff.

do[8]*|mus divinae eius, | M(arcus) Cocceius Nigrinus, | [pr]oc(urator) Aug(usti) n(ostri), devo|[ti]ss[im]us num[ini* [12]*| maiest]at[i]que eius, v(otum) [s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito).*

The vow to the goddess-nymph Brigantia?, which he had vowed for the welfare and safety of Our Lord the Unconquered Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and of all his Divine House, Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus, procurator of our Emperor, most devoted to his divine spirit and majesty, gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled.

Lines 4–9 of this lost inscription reproduce an early seventeenth-century reading, which can be compared with a poor contemporary drawing; the rest is based on conjecture from the drawing.[67] This procurator clearly belongs to the sole reign of Caracalla, 212–17. The names M(arcus) Cocceius Nigrinus are plausible enough, if not quite certain. Even the exact find-spot is in doubt, but it was clearly near the western part of Hadrian's Wall. One may compare the numerous dedications to Caracalla made by and under the governor Julius Marcus in 213 (Gov. 41). This one could also be from that year, or perhaps from 212, 'as soon as the news had come to hand of the emperor's escape from his brother Geta'.[68] The presence of the procurator in the frontier region is noteworthy: Hadrian's Wall was being reinstated just before this (see under Gov. 37–9).

14. procurator?Valens

RIB 752 + *add.*, Watercrook: *[Dis] deab[us|que] sacru[m, . . .] | Valens [proc(urator)?]* [4]*| Aug(usti) v(otum) s(olvit) | l(ibens) m(erito).*

Sacred to the gods and goddesses, . . . Valens, procurator? of the Emperor, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

Wright suggests, ad loc., that 'the dedicator may well have been *procurator Augusti*', but other restorations are possible, for example, *[7 leg. II] Aug.*[69] The stone is now lost and the MS drawing very sketchy. There is room to restore an abbreviated *nomen* in line 2. The *cognomen* is very common, but one may note Valerius Valens, prefect of the Misenum fleet and later of the *vigiles* under Gordian III, and P. Aelius Valens, presidial procurator-prefect of Sardinia in 248.[70]

[67] For doubts about the deity, whose name is shown as BRIC in the drawing, A. R. Birley, in N. J. Higham (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Roman Empire. A Tribute to . . . Barri Jones* (2001), 17: 'Nymphs were normally water-spirits: one of these, called Bricia, is known at Luxeuil in Sequanian territory, *CIL* xiii. 5426—whereas the powerful and robust Brigantia was surely no nymph or water-deity'.

[68] N. Jolliffe, *AJ* 98 (1941), 58; E. Birley, *CW*[2] 53 (1953), 61 (here quoted).

[69] Suggested in *FRB* 299 and by E. Birley, *ANRW* 2/18/1 (1986), 22; approved by Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB* I.

[70] Pflaum, *CP*, nos. 323, 332.

I.15

THE *PRAEFECTI CLASSIS* (*PRAEF. CL.* 1–7)

For the status of the prefects of the fleet see under I. 13. An unnamed prefect under Agricola (Gov. 11) is mentioned by Tacitus (*Agr.* 38. 3). Of the six named fleet prefects, L. Valerius [. . .] (*Praef. cl.* 1) had served as an equestrian officer, and went on to be procurator of Dalmatia; he probably came from Spain. Maenius Agrippa (Proc. 6), an Italian, has already been mentioned in the previous section. Aufidius Pantera (3), a former equestrian officer, was Italian, from Sassina in Umbria; no later career is known; he is the only prefect attested as such in Britain. Baienus Blassianus (4), a former equestrian officer, also Italian, from Tergeste, went on to a long career, culminating in the prefecture of Egypt. Varius Priscus, from Celeia in Noricum (6), another former equestrian officer, also rose to high office. Flavius Quietus (5), whose origin is unknown, was a former chief centurion. The prefects of the British fleet were based principally at the fleet's main base, across the Channel at Boulogne, but no doubt spent a good deal of time at forts such as Dover, where detachments were stationed.[1] The fleet contributed building-parties during the construction of Hadrian's Wall.[2] How long the fleet existed is not certain. It is possible that Carausius commanded it in 286 (see III. 1).

1. early 2nd century? Lucius Valerius . . . ?

CIL iii. 8716 = Pflaum, *CP* no. 92, Salonae: *D(is) m(anibus)* | *L(ucio) Valerio [. . .],* | *proc(uratori) Aug(usti) p[rov(inciae) Dalmat(iae)?],* [4]| *praef(ecto) classis [Brit(annicae)* or *Germ(anicae), praef(ecto) alae],* | *Moesicae, trib(uno) [mil(itum) . . .],* | *praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Tyr[ior(um), . . .]* | *Gal(eria) Niger, pro[. . .],* [8]| *consobr[ino posuit].*

To the divine shades and to Lucius Valerius . . . , procurator of the Emperor of the province of Dalmatia?, prefect of the British *or* German fleet, prefect of the Ala Moesica, military tribune of . . . , prefect of the First Cohort of Tyrians, . . . , Gal(eria), Niger, pro . . . , set this up to his cousin.

Pflaum showed that the restoration *classis [Flaviae] Moesicae* in lines 4–5 is unsatisfactory: promotion from the sexagenary prefecture of the *classis Flavia Moesica* to the ducenary procuratorship of Dalmatia, which seems required in line 3, would be irregular. He restored *[praef. alae] Moesicae*, a post in the third

[1] See the helpful summary account by H. Cleere, in Maxfield, *Saxon Shore*, 18f. See also on the origin of the fleet D. B. Saddington, *Britannia*, 21 (1990), 223ff. For tiles of the fleet see *RIB* ii. 2481. 1–119, with further bibliography in the Introduction.

[2] *RIB* 1340, 1944–5.

militia, from which promotion to one of the centenary fleet prefectures, of Pontus, Germany, or Britain, and then to the Dalmatian procuratorship, would be appropriate. Pflaum preferred the British or German, as the *ala Moesica* was based in Germania Inferior, from which appointment to one of these fleets would be logical. He noted that the separate procuratorship of Dalmatia was only created *c.*106, but that the fine lettering favours a date soon after that. Valerius' cousin was in the Galeria tribe, found only in Italy, at Lugdunum, and in Spain, providing a pointer to the men's origin.[3]

2. mid-130s Marcus Maenius, Gai filius, Cornelia, Agrippa Lucius Tusidius Campester

See Proc. 6.

3. mid- to late 130s Lucius Aufidius Pantera

RIB 66, Lympne: *[N]eptu[n]o* | *aram* | *L(ucius) Aufidius*[4] | *Pantera,* | *praefect(us)* | *clas(sis) Brit(annicae).*
To Neptune, Lucius Aufidius Pantera, prefect of the British fleet, (dedicated this) altar.

Aufidius Pant(h)era is recorded as prefect of the *ala I Ulpia contariorum milliaria* on an Upper Pannonian diploma of 2 July 133. He no doubt went on shortly after this to be prefect of the fleet. He is the only prefect recorded as such in Britain. Nothing else is known of his career, but his origin, Sassina in Umbria, is supplied by the diploma, and Aufidii are well attested there.[4] His remarkable *cognomen* recalls the tribune of the plebs Gnaeus Aufidius, who persuaded the assembly to nullify a decree of the senate banning the import of African wild beasts, including panthers, probably in 170 BC (Pliny, *NH* 8. 64, cf. Livy 44. 18. 8).[5] The prefect was presumably a descendant of the tribune or of a freedman of his family.

4. *c.*140 Quintus Baienus, Publii filius, Pupinia, Blassianus

CIL xiv. 5341+5353+5382+*AE* 1972. 70=*AE* 1974. 123, Ostia: *[Q(uinto) Baieno], P(ublii fil(io), Pup(inia),* | *Bla[s]ṣian[o],* | *praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti), praef(ecto) ann(onae), p[roc(uratori) a rat(ionibus)?],* [4] | *proc(uratori) provinciar(um) Lu[gdunens(is)] et Aqu[itanicae,* | *praef(ecto)] c̣ḷassis praetor̤(iae) Ravẹ[n]nat(is), pro̤[c(uratori provin*|*ciae Rae]t(iae)?, proc(uratori) Mauret(aniae) Tingitan(ae), [. . . ,* | *. . . , p]raef(ecto) class(is) Brittanni̤ç[ae, proc(uratori) ad cen*[8]*|sus accip(iendos)] Cappadoc(iae), Armen(iae) min[oris,* | *Ponti*

[3] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 270f. Salona was in Tromentina, although Sergia is also found frequently there, ibid. 236.

[4] *CIL* xvi. 76; cf. xi. 6494, 6546, 6550–4, 6508=*AE* 1972. 171bis, Sassina. See Pflaum, *CP*, no. 133; cf. also N. Mathieu, *Histoire d'un nom: Les Aufidii* (1999), 158f.

[5] Broughton, *MRR* i. 423 n. 6; cf. Mathieu, *Histoire*, 117f.

mediterra]ni, functo tribus m[ilitiis equestrib(us), | sacer]dot[i] Caeninensium, | c]olleg(ium) fabr(um) t[ign(uariorum) Ost(iensium), [12]*| opti]mo e[t s]anctissimo pi[issimoque patrono, | c]ura(m) agent[ibus | . . .] Maximo, C. (Gaio) [Iulio Tyranno, | Iulio] Commune, magistris q(uin)q(uennalibus), lustri XXII].*

To Quintus Baienus, son of Publius, Pupinia, Blassianus, prefect of Egypt, prefect of the Annona, procurator *a rationibus*?, procurator of the provinces of Lugdunensis and Aquitania, prefect of the Praetorian fleet of Ravenna, procurator of the province of Raetia?, procurator of the province of Mauretania Tingitana, . . . , prefect of the British fleet, procurator for taking the census of Cappadocia, Armenia Minor, and Pontus Mediterraneus, having performed the three equestrian *militiae*, priest of the Caeninenses, the guild of carpenters of Ostia (set this up) to their excellent, most virtuous, and most loyal patron, . . . Maximus, Gaius Julius Tyrannus, and Julius Communis, fifth-year *magistri*, having charge, in the twenty-second five-year term.

Blassianus' career culminated in the prefecture of Egypt: he is attested in office on 21 February 168 and his predecessor was still there in June 167.[6] He was honoured when prefect by the carpenters of Ostia between the years 164/5 and 168/9.[7] His service as an equestrian officer, not specified in the Ostian *cursus* inscription, is detailed on other stones at his home town, Trieste. He began as prefect of *cohors II Asturum*, probably in Britain. It would fit the chronology if he was commissioned by Platorius Nepos, governor of Britain 122–4, who was patron of Aquileia (Gov. 18), close to Blassianus' home and where he himself is recorded.[8] He served as tribune either in VII Claudia (Moesia Superior) or VII Gemina (Tarraconensis), and as prefect of the Ala II Gallorum in Cappadocia.[9] He evidently went directly from this post to the sexagenary census-procuratorship in the same province[10] before the command of the British fleet, which can thus be dated *c.*140. His next post is unknown. He then held two presidial procuratorships, the command of the Ravenna fleet, and the senior financial procuratorship of two Gallic provinces; and evidently became *a rationibus* before rising to the two great prefectures.

5. *c.*148 Sextus Flavius, Sexti filius, Quirina, Quietus

AE 1960. 28, Rome: *D(is) m(anibus) | Sex(to) Flavio, Sex(ti) f(ilio), Quir(ina), Quieto, | p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), misso cum | exer(citu) in exp(editionem) Maur(icam) ab imp(eratore) | Antonino Aug(usto), praef(ecto) classis | Brit(annicae), Varinia Crispinilla, coni(u)g(i) | pientissimo, et Fl(avii) Vindex et Qui*[8] *|etus, fil(ii) piissimi.*

To the divine shades and to Sextus Flavius, son of Sextus, Quirina, Quietus, chief centurion of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix, sent with an army on the Moorish expedition by the

[6] *SB* 11374. See Pflaum, *CP*, no. 126 and *Suppl.*, pp. 41 f.; Thomasson, *LP* i. 351.

[7] A. Licordari, *RAL* 29 (1974), 253 ff., restores the names of the *magistri* by comparison with *CIL* xiv. 5383 and 5406; whence *AE* 1974. 123.

[8] E. Pais, *Supplementa Italica*, i. 229.

[9] *Inscr. It.* x. iv. 37–40: see Pflaum, *CP*, no. 126; Devijver, *PME* B 14 + *add.* (*Suppl.* II).

[10] M. Christol and A. Magioncalda, *Procuratori delle due Mauretaniae* (1989), 28, 43, convincingly reject the previous restoration of ll. 8–9, *Armen. [minoris, proc. ludi matuti]ni* in favour of *Armen. [minoris, Ponti mediterra]ni.*

Emperor Antoninus Augustus, prefect of the British fleet, Varinia Crispinilla, to her most devoted husband, and the Flavii, Vindex and Quietus, his most devoted sons.

As Pflaum noted, Quietus had doubtless risen from the ranks to become *primus pilus* of XX Valeria Victrix via the centurionate. His dispatch with an expeditionary force by Antoninus[11] may be assigned to the year 144, when rebellion in Mauretania led to exceptional measures, or soon after.[12] He returned to Britain to become prefect of the fleet, probably *c.*148. He died at Rome, presumably not long after the prefecture, before any further appointment. The fact that he was buried at Rome gives no real clue to his origin.[13]

6. early 150s Titus? Varius, Titi filius, Claudia, Celeia, Priscus

J. Šašel, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 175ff. (repr. in id., *Opera Selecta* (1992), 212–19)=*AE* 1987. 796, Celeia: *[T(ito)? V]ario, T(iti) f(ilo), [Cl(audia) Cel(eia), | Pr]isco, proc[uratori | p]rovinciarum [?Raetiae, | Ma]uretan(iae) Tingitanae, | [D]aciae inferioris, | [prae]ef(ecto) classis Britannicae, | [pra]ef(ecto) al(ae) I Ulp(iae) contariorum mil(liariae),* [8]*| [pra]ef(ecto) al(ae) I Taurianorum ter|quat(ae)* [sic = *torquat(ae)*] *victricis, praef. alae | [I Hispa]nor(um) Campagon(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum), trib(uno) leg(ionis) | [. . .], praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Lusitanor(um) equit(atae), | praesidi optumo,* [12]*| [decu]riones alar{i}es cohortales, | [ce]nturiones, et officiales, provecti | ab eo.*

To Titus? Varius, son of Titus, Claudia, from Celeia, Priscus, procurator of the provinces of Raetia?, Mauretania Tingitana, Dacia Inferior, prefect of the British fleet, prefect of the First Ulpian Ala of *contarii*, one thousand strong, prefect of the First Taurian Ala Torquata Victrix, prefect of the First Ala of Campagonian Spaniards, Roman citizens, tribune of the . . . Legion . . . , prefect of the First Cohort of Lusitanians, part-mounted, the decurions in the *alae* and cohorts, centurions, and staff-members, promoted by him, (set this up) to their excellent governor.

The honorand of this inscription, known only from a nineteenth-century drawing, was governor of Mauretania Tingitana in 157, and replaced at latest the next year, which allows the rest of his career to be dated approximately.[14] His five commissions as equestrian officer, ending with the fourth *militia*, probably occupied about a dozen years, *c.*140–51. His promotion from prefect of an

[11] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 156bis; cf. Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 130, who suggests that Quietus may have returned to Rome before taking command of the task force, not necessarily composed of men from the British army.

[12] M. P. Speidel, *Acta XI Int. Limes Congress* (1977), 129ff., repr. in id., *Roman Army Studies*, 1 (1984), 211ff., argues that the war may have been fought and won in 149; G. Alföldy, *Chiron*, 15 (1985), 100f., repr. in id., *Heeresgeschichte*, 472f., retains the starting date of 144.

[13] Sex. Flavii are very rare: only three in *CIL* vi, one each in viii, xii, and xiii. Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 130, notes a freedman at Peltuinum Vestinum, ix. 3467. That city was in Quirina: Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 60.

[14] *CIL* xvi. 181 = *IAM* ii. 242; his presumed predecessor, Au- or Av-, is attested by a diploma of the same year, *CIL* xvi. 182 = *IAM* ii. 809. Another man was procurator in 158, *CIL* viii. 212825 = *IAM* ii. 377, Volubilis. See Thomasson, *Fasti*, 227f.

ala milliaria to the British fleet is similar to that of Aufidius Pantera (*Praef. cl.* 3). He may have been the immediate successor of Flavius Quietus as prefect of the British fleet, *c.*152–4, after which he was presidial procurator of Dacia Inferior, then of Tingitana. His final appointment was perhaps as presidial procurator of Raetia. He was clearly a younger brother of Titus Varius Clemens of Celeia in Noricum, well attested by numerous inscriptions there and elsewhere.[15] Clemens had a similar, but even more successful career, ending with the post *ab epistulis Latinis* and probably senatorial rank.[16]

7. 208? *Ignotus*

CIL vi. 1643, Rome: *[. . .],* | *praef(ecto) class(ium) Brit(annicae) et [German(icae) et]* | *Moesic(ae) et Pannonic(ae), [. . .],* [4]| *proc(uratori) et praesidi Alpium [. . .],* | *subpraef(ecto) class(is) praet(oriae) [. . .],* | *trib(uno) leg(ionis) XVI Fl(aviae) et praep[o]s(ito) a[lae . . .].*

To . . . , prefect of the British and German and Moesian and Pannonian fleets, procurator and governor of the . . . Alps, sub-prefect of the Praetorian fleet of . . . , tribune of the Sixteenth Legion Flavia and acting commander of the Ala . . .

This man began as equestrian officer, probably with the prefecture of a cohort, of which mention would have been made at the end of the inscription. His tribunate of XVI Flavia in Syria was combined with acting command of an *ala*, presumably in the same province. He then became sub-prefect of an Italian fleet and presidial procurator of one of the Alpine provinces. Pflaum pointed out that the description *proc. et praeses* does not occur before the Severan period. Hence the extraordinary post which followed, joint command over the entire Rhine and Danube fleets combined with the *classis Britannica*, may reasonably be assigned to 208, when Severus launched his British expedition (see between Gov. 40 and 41). Command over all the naval units which could be assembled in the Channel implies a British war.[17] Although the inscription comes from Rome, he was not necessarily a native of the capital. He could have held a post there after the naval command. This dating makes it possible that he was tribune under L. Alfenus Senecio, governor of Syria Coele in 200 (Gov. 39), and that Senecio's patronage helped his further career.

For the possibility that Carausisus was prefect of the *classis Britannica* in 286 see III. 1.

[15] Details in Šašel *ZPE* 52 (1983), 175ff. Cf. also Devijver, *PME* V 52bis (*Suppl.* I).

[16] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 156 and *Suppl.* p. 156; Devijver, *PME* v. 52 + *add.* (*Suppl.* I); Pflaum, *CP*, no. 156; J. Šašel, *ZPE* 51 (1983), 295ff., repr. in id., *Opera Selecta* (1992), 206ff.

[17] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 259, followed by Devijver, *PME Inc.* 96. D. Kienast, *Untersuchungen zu den Kriegsflotten* (1966), 44f., argues that these forces could have been assembled for a Danubian campaign in the Marcomannic wars in the 170s.

I.16

CENSUS-OFFICIALS AND JUNIOR PROCURATORS (JUN. PROC. 1–8)

For the status of these officials see under I. 13.

1. *c.*100 *censitor Brittonum Anavion[ens(ium)]* Titus Haterius Nepos

ILS 1338, Fulginiae: *[. . .]. . o, prae[f(ecto), | coh]ortis, trib(uno) milit[um, | p]raef(ecto) equit(um), censito[ri]* [4]*| Brittonum Anavion[ens(ium)], proc(uratori) Aug(usti) Armeniae mai(oris), | ludi magni, hereditatium | et a censibus, a libellis Aug(usti), | praef(ecto) vigilum, praef(ecto) Aegy[pti],* [8]*| M. Taminius Ce . . . [. . .].*

To Titus Haterius Nepos . . . , prefect of a cohort, military tribune, prefect of cavalry, census-officer of the Anavionensian Britons, procurator of the Emperor of Greater Armenia, of the *ludus magnus*, of inheritances and the census, of petitions, prefect of the *vigiles*, prefect of Egypt, Marcus Taminius Ce . . .

The names of the honorand and perhaps other details (e.g. tenure of a local office) are lost from the top of this inscription; also the *cognomen* (e.g. Celer) of Taminius and a phrase such as *amico optimo*. What survives gives the career of an equestrian who rose to be prefect of Egypt. He began with posts in each of the equestrian *tres militiae*, units not specified. The third, as prefect of cavalry, was probably coupled with that of census-officer, *censitor* 'of the Anavion[ensian] Britons'. Thereafter he became procurator of Greater Armenia, which was only a Roman province between 114, when annexed by Trajan, and 117, when Hadrian abandoned it.[1] The inscription was found next to one honouring T. Haterius Nepos Atinas Probus Publicius Matenianus (*cos.* 134), governor of Arabia from *c.*130, where he helped to suppress the Jewish revolt of 132–6, receiving triumphal decorations, and later governor of Upper Pannonia.[2] These two items show that the *censitor* must be the elder T. Haterius Nepos, well documented as prefect of Egypt between 120 and 124.[3] He was doubtless father of the *cos.* 134 (perhaps also polyonymous; if so, one could restore the lost opening of his inscription as e.g. *[T. Haterio . . . f. Nepoti Atinati Prob]o*). The census in Britain has mostly been dated *c.*110–12, on

[1] Birley, *Hadrian*, 68f., 78.
[2] *ILS* 1058; *PIR*² H 30; W. Eck, *JRS* 89 (1999), 84ff.
[3] *PIR*² H 29; Thomasson, *LP* i. 348.

the assumption that Haterius went to Armenia straight after it.[4] But Pflaum postulated a gap between Haterius' *militiae* and the later posts held in rapid succession—four at Rome, between 114 and 120. When Haterius governed Egypt, Pflaum argued, he was probably about 50 and well over 40 as procurator of Armenia Maior. If he had still been an equestrian officer just before this, he would have been a rather elderly one. Pflaum conjectured an interruption before what became 'une très belle carrière'. He also showed that before Hadrian junior census-officers such as Haterius did not have the status of procurator.[5] Evidence from Vindolanda indicates that his dating was correct: Haterius was in Britain a good dozen years before the annexation of Greater Armenia. A letter from him to the Vindolanda prefect Flavius Genialis reads in part: *tanto magis venturụm Coriṣ sicut•constituisti spero•scripsi isdẹm vẹṛbis•et Proc̣[ulo?]*, 'the more so do I hope that you will come to Coria, just as you decided; I have written in the same words to Proc̣[ulus?] as well'. It ends: *vaḷe ḍomine, frạter ḳạrissime*, 'Farewell, my lord, dearest brother'. On the back is the address: *FLAVIÓ GENIAḶI PRAEF COH ab Haṭerio Ṇepoṭẹ*.[6] Flavius Genialis was evidently a predecessor of Flavius Cerialis (see under Gov. 15), and the letter can be dated *c.*100.[7] The name *Anavion[enses]* derives from the River Annan, *Anava*, in Dumfriesshire; it is also attested in another Vindolanda tablet. It seems probable that this people supplied conscripts for the army, who, after training, were sent in *numeri Brittonum* to serve on the frontier in southern Germany. Haterius was no doubt prefect of the *ala Petriana*, based at Corbridge, *Coria*, at this time.[8] It is unnecessary to discuss his later career in detail, except to note that he clearly retired from imperial service after returning from Britain, but after re-entry held six posts in rapid succession between 114 and 120 (for which one may compare the centurionates held by Pontius Sabinus between 117 and 122, cf. under Proc. 6).

2. first half of 2nd century Titus Statilius Optatus

CIL vi. 31863 = *ILS* 9011, Rome: *T(ito) Statilio, [. . . f(ilio), . . . ,] | Optato, p[raef(ecto) ann(onae)?,] | proc(uratori) Aug(usti) a [rationibus?],* [4] *| flamini C[armentali], | proc(uratori) Aug(usti) ad patrim[onium], |*

[4] e.g. by Rivet and Smith, *Place-Names*, 249; *FRB* 302; A. L. F. Rivet, *Britannia*, 13 (1982), 321; L. J. F. Keppie, in M. Todd (ed.), *Research on Roman Britain 1960–1989* (1989), 61.

[5] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 95, cf. no. 79; id., *Les Procurateurs équestres* (1950), 62f.

[6] *TV* iii. 611.

[7] A. R. Birley, in N. J. Higham (ed.), *Archaeology of the Roman Empire. A Tribute to . . . Barri Jones* (2001), 16.

[8] Ibid. 16 (on Haterius at *Coria*), 20ff., comparing Inv. *TV* iii. 594, an account mentioning the *Anavion[enses]*, and *TV* ii. 164, a report on the qualities at using weapons of the *Brittunculi*, 'little Britons', whom one may identify with these Anavionenses, under training. Note also *TV* ii. 304, a fragment: *[. . .] census administret[. . .]*.

proc(uratori) Aug(usti) ferrariar[um], [8]| *proc(uratori) Aug(usti) ad cens[us] Gallorum,* | *proc(uratori) Aug(usti) ad census Brit(tonum),* | *praef(ecto) alae Afrorum,* | *trib(uno) leg(ionis) VI Victricis,* [12]| *trib(uno) leg(ionis) VI Ferratae,* | *praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Lucensium,* | *Statilii Homullus* | *et Optatus* [16]| *patri optimo.*

To Titus Statilius . . . Opatus, prefect of the Annona?, procurator of the Emperor *a rationibus*?, *flamen Carmentalis*, procurator of the Emperor for the patrimony, procurator of the Emperor of the iron-mines, procurator of the Emperor for the census of the Gauls, procurator of the Emperor for the census of the Britons, prefect of the Ala Afrorum, tribune of the Sixth Legion Victrix, tribune of the Sixth Legion Ferrata, prefect of the First Cohort of Lucenses, the Statilii, Homullus and Optatus, (set this up) to their excellent father.

Optatus' career began with a cohort prefecture in Syria, from which he was promoted to tribune in VI Ferrata, in Syria or Syria Palaestina. He remained in the same grade as tribune of VI Victrix, in Germania Inferior or Britain, then became prefect of an *ala* in Germania Inferior. His first procuratorial appointment was *ad census Brit(tonum)*. Pflaum noted that before Hadrian equestrian *censitores* did not have procuratorial rank, which suggests that his tribunate of VI Victrix had been in Britain. But he suggested further that Optatus might have served successively in VI Victrix and as commander of the Ala Afrorum in Germania Inferior under Platorius Nepos (Gov. 18), and that the latter selected him for the census post on his transfer to Britain in 122.[9] There is not enough evidence to date the career so precisely. But as Optatus was procurator of a single emperor, the years 161–9 and 177–80 can probably be ruled out, while the lettering looks too early to be Severan. After a second sexagenary procuratorship, also concerned with the census, in Gaul, Optatus held one centenary post, and then a series of ducenary ones, culminating, perhaps, with the prefecture of the *annona.* Pflaum regarded Optatus as of western origin; Alföldy notes that Statilii are much more frequent in Italy than in the provinces.[10]

3. first half of 2nd century Marcus Arruntius, Marci filius, Sergia, Frugi

ILS 9013, Iconium: *M(arco) Arruntio, M(arci)* | *fil(io), Serg(ia), Frugi, praef(ecto)* | *coh(ortis) III Ulp(iae) Petraeorum,* [4]| *trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae),* | *praef(ecto) alae Parthor(um)* | *sagit(tariorum), proc(uratori) Aug(usti) provin(ciae)* | *Britan(niae) ad census, provin(ciae)* [8]| *Cilic(iae), prov(inciae) Cappad(ociae) et* | *Armeniae minoris* | *et Ponti mediterranei,* | *M(arcus) Claudius Longus* [12]| *cognato suo ob me*|*rita.*

To Marcus Arruntius, son of Marcus, Sergia, Frugi, prefect of the Third Ulpian Cohort of Petraeans, military tribune of the Thirteenth Legion Gemina, prefect of the Ala of Parthian Archers, procurator of the Emperor of the province of Britain for the census, of the province of

[9] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 119; id., *Narbonnaise*, 136ff.; Devijver, *PME* S 69.
[10] G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen in der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior* (1968), 169.

Cilicia, of the province of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor and Pontus Mediterraneus, Marcus Claudius Longus (set this up) to his kinsman, because of his merits.

Arruntius Frugi's *tres militiae* were as prefect of a cohort in Cappadocia, tribune in the legion XIII Gemina, based in Dacia from Trajan onwards, and prefect of an *ala Parthorum* in an unknown province. It has been suggested that all three posts were held in the East during Trajan's Parthian war.[11] His procuratorial career began as sexagenary census procurator in Britain, followed by one centenary and one ducenary post, in Cilicia and Cappadocia. As Pflaum pointed out, Frugi's two auxiliary units would have been composed of Greek-speaking soldiers and, apart from the tribunate in Dacia, adjacent to the Greek half of the empire, his sole western post was in Britain. Pflaum conjectured that he owed it to a governor of Britain who had appreciated Frugi's qualities in one of his own previous posts. He was probably from Pisidian Antioch, which was in his tribe, Sergia, rather than from Iconium, where he was honoured by a kinsman, which was evidently in Claudia.[12]

4. 2nd century Gaius Hosidius, Gnaei filius, Claudia, Severus

J. Boube, *MEFRA* 102 (1990), 213ff. = *AE* 1991. 1749, Sala: *C. (Gaio) Hosidio, Cn. (Gnaei) f(ilio), Claud(ia), | Severo, praef(ecto) fabr(um), | praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Bospho*[4] *| ranorum, praef(ecto) coh(ortis) IIII Raetorum, trib(uno) mil(itum) | leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), praef(ecto) eq(uitum) alae | Claudiae novae, proc(uratori) Aug(usti)* [8] *| ad census in Brittan | nia, L(ucius) Marius, L(uci) f(ilius), Claud(ia), Rufus Seve | rianus consobrino optimo.*

To Gaius Hosidius, son of Gnaeus, Claudia, Severus, prefect of engineers, prefect of the First Cohort of Bosporans, prefect of the Third Cohort of Raetians, military tribune of the Seventh Legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, prefect of cavalry of the Ala Claudia Nova, procurator of the Emperor for the census in Britain, Lucius Marius, son of Lucius, Claudia, Rufus Severianus (set this up) to his excellent cousin.

After being 'prefect of engineers', that is, aide to a high official,[13] Hosidius Severus went through the *tres militiae*, with two posts in the first grade.[14] It is not clear in which provinces he served: *coh. I Bosporanorum* was based in Cappadocia, *coh. IV Raetorum* in Moesia Superior between 94 and 100[15] and in

[11] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 157; Devijver, *PME* A 167 + *add.* (*Suppl.* I), with further references, suggesting that all three posts were held in the East during Trajan's Parthian war.

[12] Tribes of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium: Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 253–4.

[13] B. Dobson, in M. G. Jarrett and B. Dobson (eds.), *Britain and Rome* (1966), 61ff., repr. in D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson, *Roman Officers and Frontiers* (1993), 218ff., points out that the post became purely administrative under the principate.

[14] Boube, *MEFRA* 102 (1990), 229ff.; summarized by Devijver, *PME* H 21a (*Suppl.* II), as *praef. coh.* in Cappadocia under Trajan; *trib. leg.* in Moesia Superior, *praef. alae* in Cappadocia under Trajan or Hadrian.

[15] *CIL* xvi. 39, 46; *RMD* i. 6.

Cappadocia under Hadrian (Arrian, *Ectaxis* 1. 7f.), perhaps from the time of the Parthian war onwards. VII Claudia and the Ala Claudia *nova* were both based in Moesia Superior from Flavian times;[16] but a tribune of VII Claudia served in the East during the Parthian war;[17] the *ala* may also have been there then.[18] Thus Severus' entire military service was perhaps in the east. There is no clear indication of date, but his census procuratorship in Britain should not antedate Hadrian, if Pflaum's view that *censitores* did not have procuratorial rank until then is correct.[19] It is at least certain that he was a native of Sala, probably descended from a man enfranchised through the good offices of Cn. Hosidius Geta at the time of the latter's Mauretanian campaign (cf. *Com. Aug.* 12).[20]

5. later 2nd century? *censitor* of Roman citizens . . . at Camalodunum [sic], Gnaeus Munatius, Marci filius, Palatina, Aurelius Bassus

CIL xiv. 3955 = *ILS* 2740, nr. Nomentum: *Gn(aeus) Munatius, M(arci) f(ilius), Pal(atina), | Aurelius Bassus, | proc(urator) Aug(usti),* [4]*| praef(ectus) fabr(um), praef(ectus coh(ortis) III | sagittariorum, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) iterum, II | Asturum, censitor civium Romanorum coloniae Victri*[8]*|censis, quae est in Brittania | Camaloduni, curator | viae Nomentanae, patronus eiusdem | municipi, flamen perpetu(u)s,* [12]*| duumvirali potestate, | aedilis, dictator IIII.*

Gnaeus Munatius, son of Marcus, Palatina, Aurelius Bassus, procurator of the Emperor, prefect of engineers, prefect of the Third Cohort of Archers, prefect of a cohort a second time, of the Second Asturians, census-officer of the Roman citizens of the Victricensian *colonia*, which is in Britain at Camalodunum [Colchester], curator of the Via Nomentana, patron of the same *municipium*, *flamen* for life, holder of duumviral power, aedile, four times dictator.

Bassus' home town was clearly Nomentum, of which he was patron and magistrate at repeated intervals. His tribe Palatina was one in which freedmen were enrolled[21] and since he was *Marci filius* and had Aurelius as a second *gentilicium*, he could have been son of a freedman of the Antonine or Severan dynasty, adopted by a Cn. Munatius Bassus.[22] In that case, his career must

[16] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1619ff.; *CIL* xvi. 28, 39, 46, 46, 111; *RMD* i. 55.

[17] *ILS* 9491, Berytus. See Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1622. Boube, *MEFRA* 102 (1990), 233f., and Devijver, *PME* H 21a (*Suppl.* II), do not consider this possibility.

[18] *CIL* iii. 13636, discussed by A. Radnoti, *Limes-Studien* (1959), 144.

[19] Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres* (1950), 62f.

[20] Boube, *MEFRA* 102 (1990), 228.

[21] C. Koch, *RE* 28/2 (1942), 2528f.

[22] Suggested in *FRB* 304; approved by Salomies, *Nomenclature*, 113, who notes that the adoptive parent might be Cn. Munatius Cn. f. Bassus, also recorded at Nomentum, *CIL* xiv. 3951—taken as our man's son in *PIR*[2] M 719. See also H. Solin, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen in Rom und Umgebung*, vi (1975), 71, for a forged inscription from Nomentum of 'Cn. Munatius Cn.f. Ser. Bassus'.

belong at earliest to the later second century, rather than to the time of Trajan, as Pflaum supposed.[23] Its presentation is odd. The three posts as equestrian officer are straightforward. He began as *praefectus fabrum*, a post involving little or no military duties.[24] Then came two prefectures of cohorts, the first of a unit only once or twice recorded elsewhere, perhaps in Germania Superior,[25] the second probably in Britain.[26] He was probably appointed *censitor* of the Roman citizens at Colchester when already serving in the province.[27] His other named post was as curator of the minor road linking Nomentum, his home town, with Rome. Yet, although neither this post nor that of census-officer ranked as a procuratorship, he is called *proc. Aug.* immediately after his name. Pflaum concluded that, in a 'situation singulière et sans exemple', the curator was at the same time an imperial procurator. But it is conceivable that *proc. Aug.* referred to a further appointment which Bassus had just received, but omitted to specify.

6. 150s procurator recruiting gladiators in Britain and other provinces, Gaius Vibius, Gai filius, Pomptina, Celer Papirius Rufus

P.-L. Gatier, *Syria*, 73 (1996), 53f. = *AE* 1996. 1603, Gerasa: *C. (Gaio) Vibio Celeri,* | *praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Mont(anorum)* | *ped(itatae), trib(uno) coh(ortis) I Hisp(anorum)* [4]| ∞ *(milliariae), praef(ecto) alae I Ulp(iae)* | *sing(ularium), proc(uratori) ad famil(ias)* | *glad(iatorias) per Gall(ias) et Hisp(anias)* | *et Brittan(iam), proc(uratori) prov(inciae)* [8]| *Arabiae,* | *L(ucius) Proculeius Secundus,* | *corn(icularius) eius.*

To Gaius Vibius Celer, prefect of the First Infantry Cohort of Montani, tribune of the First Cohort of Spaniards, one thousand strong, prefect of the First Ulpian Ala of *singulares*, procurator for the gladiatorial families in the Gauls, Spains, and Britain, procurator of the province of Arabia, Lucius Proculeius Secundus, his adjutant (set this up).

This man's full names and career as an equestrian officer are known from an inscription at Circeii and his procuratorship of Arabia from another one at Gerasa.[28] The latter shows that he was procurator during the governorship of C. Allius Fuscianus, datable to *c.*160.[29] Celer's appointment to recruit gladia-

[23] It is dated by Pflaum, *CP*, no. 83, cf. p. 1051, to the reign of Trajan; followed by Eck, *Organisation*, 86; Devijver, *PME* M 72.

[24] See B. Dobson, in Jarrett and Dobson, *Britain and Rome*, 61ff., repr. in Breeze and Dobson, *Roman Officers*, 218ff.

[25] Devijver, *PME* C 101b (Suppl. II), revising L 50 and 50bis, a prefect under Nero or Vespasian; E. Birley, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982/3), 275, repr. in id., *Roman Army*, 282, notes that the Ituraean serving in a *coh. III*, attested at Mainz, *AE* 1978. 2562, was probably from this unit.

[26] For the *cohortes II Asturum* cf. under Gov. 11 (with n. 90).

[27] As pointed out by E. Birley, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982/3), 275f. = 282f., the *colonia* was no doubt renamed Victricensis on its refoundation after the sack in 60.

[28] *CIL* x. 6426, Circeii; iii. 14156[3], Gerasa. Cf. E. Birley, *RBRA* 146f.; Pflaum, *CP*, no. 155.

[29] Alföldy, *Konsulat*, 354ff.; cf. Thomasson, *LP* i. 334.

tors can therefore be assigned to the 150s. He was probably a native of Circeii, where he was patron, since the town was enrolled in his tribe, Pomptina.[30] As prefect of a cohort he probably served in Lower Pannonia, as tribune of a milliary cohort in Dacia Porolissensis;[31] the *ala I Ulpia* was stationed at Palmyra in Syria, where he was honoured.[32] The gladiatorial post is known otherwise only for no. 7, whose responsibility additionally included Raetia.

7. Severan procurator recruiting gladiators in Britain and other provinces, Lucius Didius Marinus

ILS 1396, Ancyra: *b(ona) f(ortuna).* | *L(ucio) Didio Marino, v(iro) e(gregio),* | *proc(uratori) Aug(usti) n(ostri) provinc(iae) Ara[b(iae)],* [4]| *proc(uratori) Galatiae, proc(uratori) fam(iliarum)* | *glad(iatoriarum) per Gallias, Bret(anniam), Hisp|[a]nias, German(ias) et Raetiam,* | *[pr]oc(uratori) Minuciae, proc(uratori) alimen*[8]*|[to]r(um) per Transpadum, Histriam* | *[et] Liburniam,* | *proc(uratori) vectigalior(um)* | *[p]opul(i) R(omani), quae sunt citra Padum,* [12]| *proc(uratori) fam(iliae) glad(iatoriae) per Asiam, Bi|thyn(iam), Galat(iam), Cappadoc(iam), Lyciam,* | *Pamphyl(iam), Cilic(iam), Cyprum, Pontum* | *Paflag(oniam), trib(uno) coh(ortis) I praetor(iae),* [16]| *Marianus, Aug(usti) n(ostri) lib(ertus), p(rae)p(ositus) XX (vicesimae) lib(ertatis)* | *Bithyniae, Ponti, Paflag(oniae),* | *nutritor eius.*

Good fortune. To Lucius Didius Marinus, *vir egregius*, procurator of our Emperor of the province of Arabia, procurator of Galatia, procurator of the gladiatorial households in the Gauls, Britain, the Spains, the Germanies, and Raetia, procurator of the Minicia, procurator of the *alimenta* in the Transpadana, Istria, and Liburnia, procurator of the revenues of the Roman People this side of the Po, procurator of the gladiatorial families in Asia, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, tribune of the First Praetorian Cohort, Marianus, freedman of our Emperor, in charge of the 5 per cent manumission tax in Bithynia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, his foster-father, (set this up).

Marinus' career touched Britain only marginally.[33] He began with a single appointment in the equestrian *militiae*, as tribune of a *cohors I praetoria*, clearly an auxiliary regiment, not the first cohort of the praetorian guard, which would have qualified him for immediate appointment to a ducenary procuratorship:[34] instead, he held five junior, sexagenary posts, the last recruiting gladiators in Gaul, Britain, Spain, Germany, and Raetia.[35] This may be

[30] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 271.

[31] Devijver, *PME* V 92.

[32] *AE* 1933. 207, Palmyra, a statue-base honouring him as commander of the *ala* there and calling him 'fellow-citizen and councillor', clearly in an honorary capacity.

[33] *PIR*[2] D 71; Pflaum, *CP*, no. 295 + *add.*; id., *Narbonnaise*, 173ff.; Devijver, *PME* D 8. But Pflaum's inference that his career was interrupted before 198 and only resumed over ten years later is unwarranted. See n. 36 below.

[34] Pflaum, *CP*, no. 295. Cf. the lists in Dobson, *Primipilares*, 83ff. B. Salway, in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Italy* (2000), 163 n. 254, seems to have overlooked this, assuming a tribunate of a guard cohort.

[35] This matches the post of Vibius Celer (above), except that Marinus' recruiting zone also included Raetia.

assigned to the period *c.*202–5 in the light of his subsequent career. He went on to be procurator of Galatia, where the above inscription was set up on his appointment to a similar post in Arabia.[36] These two centenary appointments probably occupied the years *c.*206–10, since he is attested as ducenary procurator of two emperors, evidently Caracalla and Geta, that is, in 211, in Asturia-Callaecia; later he was procurator of Caracalla in Asia and *a sacris cognitionibus*.[37] He is finally attested as one of the patrons of Canusium in 223, with senatorial rank.[38] His origin is thought to have been Syrian, but this is far from certain.[39] He is thought to have married, as her second husband, M. Aurelius' daughter Cornificia, who was forced to suicide by Caracalla *c.*213 (Dio 78. 16. 6a).[40]

8. later 2nd or early 3rd century a freedman procurator, Marcus Aurelius, Augusti libertus, Marcio

CIL iii. 348 = *ILS* 1477, Tricomia (Phrygia): *M(arco) Aurelio, Aug(usti) liber(to),* | *Marcioni, proximo* | *rationum, proc(uratori) marmorum, proc(uratori)* [4]| *prov(inciae) Britanniae,* | *proc(uratori) summi choragi,* | *proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Fryg(iae),* | *Senecianus collib(ertus),* [8]| *ex tabular(io),* | *h(onoris) c(ausa).*

To Marcus Aurelius, freedman of the Emperor, Marcio, assistant for the accounts, procurator of the marble-quarries, procurator of the province of Britain, procurator of the *summum choragium*, procurator of the province of Phrygia, Senecianus, his fellow-freedman, former record-keeper, (set this up) in his honour.

Career inscriptions of freedmen procurators are rare, as is evidence for freedmen with the title *procurator provinciae*,[41] so it is not surprising that Marcio is the only known freedman 'procurator of the province of Britain'. Imperial freedmen *proc. prov.* had a different status to equestrian procurators. Whether

[36] As he is called procurator of a single emperor, Pflaum inferred that this must have been before 198, when Caracalla became joint emperor. But see R. Haensch, *ZPE* 95 (1993), 177f., citing B. E. Thomasson, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 125ff., for *Aug(usti)* in the titulature of officials serving under more than one emperor. Haensch dates Marinus' post in Arabia immediately before that in Asturia-Callaecia.

[37] *ILS* 9240; *AE* 1911. 5, Aquae Originae; *IEph.* 660E, 3051; *AE* 1933. 282, Pergamum.

[38] *CIL* ix. 338 = *ILS* 6121. Pflaum, *Le Marbre de Thorigny* (1948), 39, argued that Marinus was guard prefect at the time; repeated, *CP*, no. 295, and elsewhere. But Salway, *Epigraphic Landscapes*, 160ff., has shown this to be improbable; he suggests that Marinus was prefect of the Annona in 223, with honorary senatorial rank.

[39] Inferred by Pflaum, *CP*, no. 295, because of the name Marinus, favoured in Syria, and the evident devotion of this man to Julia Domna. But Didius and Marinus are widespread in the European Latin provinces: Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 99f.; iii. 58.

[40] Inferred by Pflaum, *add.* to *CP*, no. 295, from *AE* 1954. 171, Ostia, a lead water-pipe on which their names appear together; followed by all subsequent scholars, e.g. Raepsaet-Charlier, *FOS*, no. 294. See Salway, *Epigraphic Landscapes*, 149, for scepticism (but it should be noted that the description of Cornificia as 'sister of our emperor' does not have to be Commodan; Severus as self-adopted son of M. Aurelius also became her 'brother').

[41] P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* (1972), 271, 276ff.

their duties were confined to imperial estates or as assistants to the equestrian procurators in their province cannot be established.[42] Nor is it known whether they were appointed regularly[43]—the paucity of evidence might suggest that they were not, although imperial freedmen and slaves were stationed in all provinces in a variety of subordinate capacities.[44] Three other inscriptions in Phrygia, in Greek, record Marcio and his wife, Aelia Maximilla, and he is also named on one at Rome, a dedication he made to Silvanus, 'for the welfare and safety of the most generous Lords'.[45] Combined with the description of him in the Greek inscriptions as 'procurator of the Emperors', this indicates that he served during a joint reign. But as the Latin *cursus* inscription calls him freedman of a single emperor, perhaps his service in Phrygia spanned, for example, 169, 180, or 212, years when a joint reign was followed by a single one. At all events, as he was manumitted by Marcus Aurelius or one of his successors, he cannot have been in Britain before the late 160s at the earliest. Beginning as assistant to the *a rationibus*, he went on to administer imperial marble quarries before his spell in Britain. After this he took charge of the *summum choragium*, the stage-machinery of the theatres and amphitheatre at Rome, and finally went to Phrygia, where his duties must have been principally concerned with imperial estates.

[42] See Pflaum, *RE* 23/1 (1957), 1277 f.; id., *Bull. Faculté de lettres des Strasbourg* (1958), 194. F. Millar, *JRS* 53 (1963), 196, suggested that freedmen had access to the same posts as equestrians; refuted by P. R. C. Weaver, *Historia*, 14 (1965), 460 f.; id., *Past and Present* 37 (1967), 17 f.; id., *Familia Caesaris*, 276 ff.; and by G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux* (1970), 392 f.

[43] See the comments by G. P. Burton, *JRS* 67 (1977), 162.

[44] Boulvert, *Esclaves*, *passim*; Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, esp. 197 ff.

[45] *IGR* iv. 546, 676, 704 (his name is not preserved on the first stone honouring his wife); *CIL* vi. 648 = *ILS* 3535, where he is just called *Marcio lib. proc.*

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II

Caracalla to Carinus

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II. 1

THE FIRST DIVISION OF BRITAIN

By the time that Dio wrote his history the province had been divided into two, Britannia Superior, Upper Britain, and Inferior, Lower Britain. Listing the distribution of legions in his own time, he states that VI Victrix was in Lower Britain, while he places XX Valeria Victrix as well as II Augusta in the Upper province (55. 23. 2 and 6). The account was written after the redistribution of legions in the Pannonian provinces, for in the same passage (55. 4. 2) he puts I Adiutrix, which had formerly been in Upper Pannonia, in Lower Pannonia. This change of boundaries in Pannonia took place between *c.*212 and, at latest, 217, probably in 214.[1] Epigraphic evidence confirms that VI Victrix was in Britannia Inferior,[2] II Augusta and XX Valeria Victrix in Superior.[3] Under this arrangement, it may be assumed, for as long as *legati Augusti pro praetore* served in Britain, the governors of the two legion Upper province were of consular, those of the one legion Lower province of praetorian status. But none of the epigraphically recorded governors name their province on inscriptions within Britain, while the single legate recorded outside Britain, Ti. Claudius Paulinus, is unhelpfully described as *leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. [B]ritanniae* on the famous Thorigny inscription. Elsewhere on the stone, however, the phrase describing how Sennius Sollemnis was assessor to Paulinus *in Brit. ad legionem sext[am]* implies that Paulinus' province had only that one legion. A further clue is provided by the identification of the governor attested in the northern frontier area on two inscriptions of 216, and on a third stone of Caracallan date from Ribchester, with the future emperor Gordian I. Since Gordian was proconsul of Africa 237–8, it is almost certain that his consulship fell after 216. This would indicate that the province of Inferior, with a praetorian governor, was already in existence by that year. The residence of the governor of Inferior, York, which was still a *municipium* when Severus died there, according to Aurelius Victor (20. 27), had become a *colonia* by 237.[4] It probably received this enhanced status at the time of the division.

The evidence for governors under Severus suggests that the province was still undivided in his reign. The three firmly attested legates, Virius Lupus, C. Valerius Pudens, and L. Alfenus Senecio (Gov. 37–9), were all consular, although recorded exclusively in what was later to be the far end of the

[1] Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 256, 279.
[2] *CIL* viii. 5180 + 17266 = *ILAlg.* i. 539.
[3] *CIL* viii. 2080.
[4] *AE* 1922. 116, Bordeaux. See E. Birley, *Yorks. Arch. J.* 41 (1966), 727, citing J. C. Mann.

praetorian province of Inferior. Pudens and Senecio are actually called *co(n)sularis* or *cos.* on several inscriptions, while in the *Digest* Lupus is described as 'governor of Britain', *Brittanniae praesidem* (28. 6. 2. 4). But in any case all three are known—in the case of Pudens without a shadow of doubt—to have governed a consular province before coming to Britain. For what it is worth, the procurator Varius Marcellus (Proc. 12), in office *c.*208–211, was called 'procurator of Britain', not of 'the Britains' or of Upper or Lower Britain. Prima facie, therefore, an impressive volume of evidence suggests that Britain remained undivided until some time between the governorship of Senecio, datable to the years between 205 and 207, and the year 216, or at latest 220, when Paulinus is attested.

But a complication is introduced by Herodian's statement that Britain was divided into two provinces by Severus immediately after the battle of Lugdunum in 197 (3. 8. 2): after sending Albinus' head to Rome, Severus 'arranged matters in Britain, dividing the governorship of the province into two commands'. Various expedients have been put forward to reconcile the evidence. Ritterling suggested that the division at first left two legions under a consular governor of Superior, while Inferior was assigned to a presidial procurator, whose legion, VI Victrix, would have been under an equestrian *praefectus.* He explained the presence of consular governors in the territory of Inferior as a temporary measure, which also accounted for what seemed anomalous, the presence side by side of the consular legate Alfenus Senecio and the procurator Oclatinius Adventus.[5] A modified form of this hypothesis was put forward by E. Birley, suggesting that the procuratorial province of Inferior excluded York and VI Victrix and had its capital at Carlisle.[6] Ritterling proposed that on Severus' arrival in 208 these arrangements were altered to those described by Dio; Birley put this change *c.*213.

Graham argued firmly against accepting Herodian. He showed good reason to doubt that the presence of a procurator alongside the legate was exceptional, and hence need not mean that Adventus was the presidial procurator, supervised by his senior colleague from the other province. Citing an inscription from Ephesus, recording the travels of a local man to Severus 'in Britain' and Caracalla 'in Upper Germany', he concluded that at the time of the Severan expedition Britain was still a single province—for while Germany was specified as 'Upper', Britain had no such label.[7]

Another solution was offered by Mann and Jarrett: that the division of 197 left two legions, XX Valeria Victrix as well as VI Victrix, under a consular governor of Inferior, with a praetorian governor of Superior having only II

[5] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1609.
[6] E. Birley, *AA*[4] 11 (1934), 131ff.; id., *CW*[2] 53 (1953), 52ff.
[7] A. J. Graham, *JRS* 56 (1966), 92ff., discussing *SEG* 17. 505 (now *IKEph* 802), at 100f.

Augusta under his command. This scheme could then have been modified at about the time that Caracalla adjusted the boundaries of the Pannonian provinces, thereby altering the status of Pannonia Inferior. In other words, *c.*213, Chester and the XXth legion were transferred from the Lower to the Upper province.[8] Mann and Jarrett explained away the Ephesus inscription by pointing out that 'Britain' was 'merely a geographical description', while 'Germany' unqualified could have led to confusion with free Germany.

The above summary will serve to indicate that the problem remains unresolved. Yet it must be doubted whether Herodian deserves to be taken so seriously. Numerous studies have demonstrated his unreliability in important questions of fact and chronology.[9] For example, he does not mention the division of Syria after the defeat of Niger, which is attested by Dio (55. 23. 2) and confirmed by epigraphy; he conflates Severus' first and second Parthian wars, of 194–5 and 197–8, into one, which he implies took place after the Saecular Games of 204 (3. 8. 10–9. 12).[10] What is more, when he mentions Britain again, in preparation for his description of the Severan expedition, he refers to an appeal for help to the emperor from 'the governor of Britain . . . the barbarians there were laying waste the countryside, plundering and destroying almost everything' (3. 14. 1). Such an appeal is of dubious historicity: he cites similar ones to Severus Alexander from 'the governors of Syria and Mesopotamia' (6. 1. 10. 2ff.), and 'the governors in Illyria' (6. 7. 2ff., clearly inaccurate), which led to Alexander's Persian and German expeditions. Yet, whatever the facts of that matter regarding Britain under Severus, Herodian only mentions one governor, apparently forgetting that he had recorded the division of the province. It may be added that the natural interpretation of an inscription from near the wall shows the presence in the far north under Severus, well within what was later the Lower province, of a legate of the Caerleon legion II Augusta (LL 41). Finally, a patron of the *provincia Britannia* was probably honoured by the—still undivided—province under Severus, although it is just possible that the inscription in question was set up under Commodus (I. 6 above).

Thus the most likely solution seems to be that Herodian was simply wrong.

[8] J. C. Mann and M. G. Jarrett, *JRS* 57 (1967), 61ff.

[9] See e.g. E. Hohl, *Kaiser Commodus und Herodian* (1954); id., *Kaiser Pertinax und die Thronbesteigung seines Nachfolgers im Lichte der Herodiankritik* (1956); G. Alföldy, *Historia*, 20 (1971), 84ff.; id., *RhM* 114 (1971), 360ff.; id., *Hermes*, 99 (1971), 429ff.; id., *BJ* 171 (1971), 367ff.; id., *Latomus*, 32 (1973), 345ff. See also the repr. of these contributions, with *addenda*, in id., *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches* (1989), with a further paper, 'Cleanders Sturz und die antike Überlieferung', 81ff.; A. R. Birley, *AA*[4] 50 (1972), 179ff.; F. Kolb, *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta* (1972), *passim*. See now M. Zimmermann, *Kaiser und Ereignis: Studien zum Geschichtswerk Herodians* (1999), 1ff., with full bibliographical references.

[10] *AE* 1930. 141 shows a praetorian governor of Syria Phoenice in office in 194.

Perhaps, having read Dio,[11] he muddled up the division of Syria with that of Britain. It therefore seems probable that it was Caracalla who divided Britain, perhaps as a consequence of the British army's hostile reaction when he murdered his brother Geta. The governor Julius Marcus manifestly attempted to protest their—and his own—loyalty with a series of dedications *pro pietate ac devotione communi*; in vain, as the deletion of Marcus' name demonstrates. It is possible to restore Marcus' name in an inscription from London (*RIB* 8 + *add*): *[. . . | C. Julius Mar]cus [leg. eius pr. pr. prov. Bri]tann[i]ae | [fecit ob vi]ctoriam | [Germanicam]*. Certainly, no better candidate is known as dedicator, and few better occasions can be found than Caracalla's German victory of 213 (see under Gov. 41). This would mean that Marcus was governor of a still undivided province.

The precise boundary line between the Upper and Lower provinces has not been worked out, but its approximate position can be seen from the fact that, while Chester was in Superior, Lincoln was in Inferior.[12] It may be added that Alföldy, discussing the short-lived province Hispania Superior, has shown that in all such cases the terms Superior and Inferior should be understood literally: the Upper province was 'higher', that is, contained higher mountains than the Lower one.[13] In the case of Britain, the Welsh mountains are manifestly higher than the northern Pennines, not to mention the flat lands of east Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. There is evidence of men from the Upper province operating in Inferior.[14]

[11] See Kolb, *Beziehungen*, esp. 25ff., 160f.

[12] As shown by *AE* 1922. 116, Bordeaux, '*sevir* of the *coloniae* of Eburacum and Lindum in the province of Lower Britain', dated AD 237.

[13] G. Alföldy, *Provincia Hispania superior* (Schriften der Phil.-hist. Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie, 19, 2000), 28ff.

[14] *RIB* 745, 747?, Greta Bridge; 1696, Vindolanda: all three attest *b(ene)f(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) provinciae superior(is)* operating in Inferior. Note also *RIB* 980, Netherby (quoted under Modius Julius, 219(?), below), men from the two legions of Superior building north of Hadrian's Wall, apparently in 219; *Britannia*, 20 (1989), 331f. no. 5, a tribune of XX Valeria Victrix at Carlisle under Caracalla or Elagabalus.

II.2

GOVERNORS AND LEGIONARY LEGATES IN THE THIRD CENTURY

In this section governors of both provinces, together with the three attested legionary legates, all of II Augusta, are treated, as far as possible in chronological order. The service in Britain of virtually all is known only from inscriptions within Britain, the exceptions being Pollienus Auspex, attested by an inscription in Lycia, and the unknown governor under Probus, the only one to be mentioned in a literary source. Hardly anything is recorded about the men concerned apart from their service in Britain, exceptions being Claudius Paulinus, Antonius Gordianus, Pollienus Auspex, and T. Flavius Postumius Varus. The impression is given that Britain was relatively peaceful in this period, spared from the barbarian invasions. Britain formed part ot the separatist Gallic Empire of Postumus and his successors from 260 to 274. The removal of senators from military service is attributed by Aurelius Victor (33. 34) to Gallienus. Although a few governors of senatorial status, *legati Augusti pro praetore*, are found in some other provinces after *c.*260, none are known to have commanded troops later than *c.*262. Probably most governors between Gallienus and Diocletian were equestrian *praesides*, and all legions were commanded by equestrian prefects.[1] Whether or not Gallienus systematically instituted such a measure, under Postumus a senator, Octavius Sabinus, was legate of Britannia Inferior, named on a military inscription and thus still commanding the army of the province. Presumably the transfer of command to equestrian prefects was implemented in Britain after Aurelian's recovery of the West, although direct evidence is lacking. Under Probus an unknown governor attempted a coup, which was soon suppressed. There is no direct evidence for campaigning in this period, although it is possible that Postumus visited the island; and in 284 Carinus certainly claimed a success for which he took the title Britannicus. No *iuridici* are known in the third century and it seems likely that the post lapsed after the division of the province. Although no *tribuni laticlavii*, procurators, or prefects of the fleet (cf. III. 1 for Carausius) can be firmly dated to this period either, there is no reason to doubt that these continued to be appointed, the *tribuni laticlavii* at least until *c.*274, the procurators, and perhaps the prefects (cf. under III. 1 for Carausius), on into the tetrarchy.

[1] On the 'Edict of Gallienus' see e.g. M. Christol, *Essai sur l'évolution des carrières sénatoriales dans la seconde moitié du IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.* (1986), 38ff.; A. Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain à l'époque impériale* (1992), 201ff. The latest senator definitely in command of troops (other than in Britain) seems to be C. Julius . . . Fortunatianus, legate of Numidia *c.*262: Thomasson, *Fasti*, 190f.

Gaius Junius Faustinus Postumianus (*cos. a. inc.*)

See Gov. 40.

legate of II Augusta under Caracalla: Tiberius Claudius Paulinus

See below under the year 220.

Inferior 216 Marcus Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus (*cos. c.*220/222)

RIB 1049, Chester-le-Street (*Concangium*): *[. . .] eqq. (equitum) | [alae . . . [[Antoninianae]], t]erri-to*[4]*|[rium] . . . aquam] induxit, | [balneum . . . a s]olo in|[struxit, sub cura M(arci) Antoni Gor]diani leg(ati) | [Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), Sabino II et An]ullino co(n)s(ulibus).*

. . . of the cavalrymen of the Ala . . . , Antoninus' own, . . . domain-land . . . brought in a water-supply, and erected a bath-building from ground-level, under the charge of Marcus Antonius Gordianus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, Sabinus for the second time and Anullinus (being the) consuls (216).

RIB 1279, High Rochester (*Bremenium*): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio | Severo Antonino | Pio Felici Aug(usto), Parthic(o)* [4]*| Max(imo), Brit(annico) Max(imo), Germ(anico) | Max(imo), pontifici maxim(o), | trib(unicia) potest(ate) XVIIII, imp(eratori) II | co(n)s(uli) IIII, proco(n)suli), p(atri) p(atriae), coh(ors) I* [8]*| fida Vardul(lorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitata) (milliaria) Anto|niniana fecit, sub cura [[M(arci) | Antoni Gordiani]], | leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) p[r(aetore)].*

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Parthicus Maximus, Britannicus Maximus, Germanicus Maximus, in his nineteenth tribunician power (216), hailed imperator twice, consul four times, proconsul, father of the fatherland, the First Loyal Cohort of Vardulli, Roman citizens, part-mounted, one thousand strong, Antoninus' own, built this, under the charge of Marcus Antonius Gordianus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor.

RIB 590, Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*): *pro salute | et victoria | invicti imp(eratoris) Mar(ci)* [4]*| Aur(eli) Sever(i) Ant|onini P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) et Iul(iae) | Aug(ustae), matri d(omini) n(ostri) et cas(trorum), | [[?su[b cura M(arci) Antoni* [8]*| Gordiani]]] Se(m)pr|[oniani Romani, | leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)].*

For the welfare and victory of the unconquered Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and of Julia Augusta, mother of our Lord and of the camps, under the charge of Marcus Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor (between 212 and 217).

Britannia, 1 (1970), 307=*AE* 1971. 218, York (*Eburacum*): *[genio?] collegi | [. . . o]b p(romotionem?), b(ene)f(iciarii) Gordian(i).*

To the Genius of the guild of . . . because of their promotion?, the *beneficiarii* of Gordianus.

On the High Rochester inscription the governor's name has been deleted. The traces and space available make it impossible to restore *C. Juli Marci* (Gov. 41). That from Chester-le-Street, also of 216, preserves part of the governor's

cognomen, [. . .]diani. E. Birley divined that this was the ephemeral emperor of 238, Marcus Antonius Gordianus,[2] proclaimed emperor when proconsul of Africa in opposition to Maximinus 'Thrax'. The erasure will have been done that year while several western provinces remained loyal to Maximinus.[3] This conjecture is strengthened by the Ribchester inscription, where SEPR survives at the end of line 8 after an erasure, on a dedication for Caracalla and his mother. Gordian's full names were M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus;[4] the elaborate ligatures used here made it possible to inscribe all of them, and the last two were no doubt overlooked when the others were erased.[5] Finally, an inscription from York was probably set up by his *beneficiarii*.

As Gordian was proconsul of Africa for 237–8, he was probably consul some fifteen to seventeen years earlier, in one of the years 220–2.[6] Hence there is little doubt that he was praetorian governor of Britannia Inferior. This supports the view that the division of Britain described by Dio (55. 23. 2, 6), with Britannia Inferior having only one legion, VI Victrix, had been implemented by 216 at latest (see II. 1 above). The three Gordians are the subject of a *vita* in the *HA*, mostly fiction except for a little adapted from Herodian. The latter, writing not long after Gordian's death, says that he was proclaimed emperor in his eightieth year and had governed several provinces besides Africa (7. 5. 2).[7] Apart from Lower Britain, one was perhaps Achaia, as Groag pointed out, for Philostratus, who dedicated his *Lives of the Sophists* to Antonius Gordianus, 'the distinguished consul', calls him 'best of proconsuls' at the end of his preface.[8] Gordian may thus be supposed to have been consul shortly after a year as proconsul of Achaia. His career, however incompletely recorded, was thus slightly peculiar: born in 158 or 159, in his late fifties as governor of Lower Britain. He had perhaps suffered retardation under Commodus or after supporting the wrong side in the civil wars of 193–7.

An elderly man may have seemed a safe commander of the still powerful army of Britannia Inferior. Gordian might even be one of those whom Caracalla tried to do away with by sending them 'to uncongenial provinces,

[2] E. Birley, in G. Askew, *The Coinage of Roman Britain* (1951), 82; followed by Wright, *RIB* ad loc.

[3] *PIR*[2] A 833. See further R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (1971), 163ff.; X. Loriot, *ANRW* 2/2 (1975), 688ff., 697ff.; K. Dietz, *Senatus contra principem* (1980), 1ff., 56ff.

[4] He is often assumed to have taken the name Romanus, along with Africanus, only when proclaimed emperor; but see Loriot, *ANRW* 2/2 (1975), 696 n. 309.

[5] Pointed out by A. R. Birley, *Erasmus* 18 (1966), 101; id., *ES* 4 (1967), 87. Earlier editors read SV . . . at the beginning of l. 7, presumably *su[b cura . . .]*.

[6] Thomasson, *Fasti*, 89f.

[7] The age is repeated by *HA Gord.* 9. 1 and in the Byzantine sources, listed by Dietz, *Senatus*, 61 n. 98, where he also refutes the attempt by K. D. Grasby, *CQ* 25 (1975), 123ff., to controvert this evidence.

[8] Groag, *Achaia*, 87f.; rejected by I. Avotins, *Hermes*, 106 (1978), 242ff., but still plausible; cf. also Dietz, *Senatus*, 64f.

the climate of which was deleterious to their health, exposing them to excessive heat or cold on the pretext of giving them great honour' (Dio 77. 11. 6–7). Gordian might have missed the consulship but for Caracalla's death and the disturbed conditions in the years 217–22. Under Elagabalus and Alexander men from the East were favoured: Gordian, who was an easterner (see below), might have been one of them. He possibly went on to other posts in the imperial service: Philostratus also recalls in his preface how he and Gordian once discussed the sophists in the temple of Daphnaean Apollo near Antioch. As Barnes points out, although there are several possible explanations of Gordian's presence there, he might have governed Syria Coele early in the reign of Alexander.[9] The historian Dio, also elderly, was pressed into service to govern consular provinces at this time (80. 1. 3).

Credence was long given to the *HA*'s fiction that Gordian was descended from the Gracchi and Trajan (*Gord.* 2. 2).[10] Philostratus calls him a descendant of Herodes Atticus, the Athenian sophist (*cos. ord.* 143), which may or may not be meant literally.[11] But the name Gordianus smacks of Anatolia, where both Gordius and Gordianus are well attested. A man from Tyana in Cappadocia, Ti. Claudius Gordianus, consul under Commodus, is the earliest known senator of this name.[12] Further, Sempronia Romana, daughter of Sempronius Aquila, *ab epistulis Graecis*, and wife of an unknown senator, is attested by an inscription from Ancyra. She might be Gordian's mother or grandmother.[13] His *praenomen* and *gentilicium* attest descent from a person enfranchised by the Triumvir Antonius or one of his daughters. Several such Antonii of eastern origin were in the senate in the second century.[14] There is no difficulty in regarding Gordian as a senator's son—which is implied by Herodian's statement that he was 'well-born' (7. 5. 2). He had a son of the same names as himself, his legate in 238, already of consular rank (*HA Gord.* 4. 2, 7. 2, 8. 3, 11.

[9] T. D. Barnes, *Latomus*, 27 (1968), 595 f. Alternatively, Gordian might have been legionary legate in Syria Coele some time before 216.

[10] Renewed faith in the *HA*'s claims was generated by J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 89 (1968), 345 ff.; cf. e.g. F. Kolb, *AFLM* 21 (1988), 69 ff.

[11] Stressed by Groag, *Achaia*, 87 f.; but V. Nutton, *Latomus*, 29 (1970), 719 ff., followed by G. Anderson, *Philostratus* (1986), 297 f., argues that Philostratus meant that Gordian was an intellectual heir of Herodes, not a descendant.

[12] See L. Robert, *Les Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* (1963), 526, 548; Loriot, *ANRW* 2/2 (1975), 694 n. 295; *AS* 22 (1972), 225, nos. 3, 10; *Epigraphica*, 27 (1975), 69 f., no. 2. The man from Tyana: *AE* 1954. 138, Lambaesis, adduced by A. R. Birley, in M. G. Jarrett and B. Dobson (eds.), *Britain and Rome* (1966), 58 ff.

[13] *IGR* iii. 188, suggested by A. R. Birley, M. G. Jarrett, and B. Dobson (eds.), *Britain and Rome* (1966), 58 f., also noting the rhetor Aquila Romanus, *PIR*² A 983, the Galatian sophist Aquila, pupil of a pupil of Herodes, A 981, and another rhetor, Antonius Aquila, friend of Fronto, A 792 (for Antonius rather than Antonius Aquila, see Fronto, *Ad amicos* 1. 7, 176 van den Hout). Syme, *Emperors and Biography* 167 n. 7, adds T. Flavius Sempronius Aquila, *AE* 1937. 257, Isaura.

[14] See e.g. *PIR*² A 812, 837, 859, 883.

4, 18. 5), confirmed by an inscription.[15] It might be the younger Gordian who was Philostratus' patron.[16] The question must remain open.

Inferior 219(?) Modius Julius

RIB 980, Netherby (*Castra exploratorum*): *Im[p(eratori Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio)] Antoṇi[no] | P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) b[i]s co(n)s(uli), vẹxil(latio) | leg(ionum) II Aug(ustae) et XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis),* [4] *| item coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Hisp(anorum) | (milliaria) eq(uitata) sub cura M[o] | d[i] Iuḷii, ḷeg(ati) Aug(usti) [pr(o)] | pṛ(aetore), instante Ṭ(ito) Ael(io) | N[. . . , trib(uno)? . . . ,* [8] *| . . . | . . .]temp[lum . . .].*

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, twice consul (AD 219?), a detachment of the Legions Second Augusta and Twentieth Valeria Victrix, also the First Aelian Cohort of Spaniards, one thousand strong, part-mounted, under the charge of Modius Julius, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, Titus Aelius N . . . , tribune of the same cohort?, supervising the work, . . . temple . . . .

RIB 1914, Birdoswald (*Banna*): *sub Modio Iu | lio, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) | pr(aetore), | coh(ors) I Ael(ia) D(a)c(orum),* [4] *| cui praeest M(arcus) | Cl(audius) Menander.*

under Modius Julius, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the First Aelian Cohort of Dacians, of which Marcus Claudius Menander is the commander.

The stone from Netherby was recut in modern times, and Wright, ad loc., declined to offer any reading. Line 1 of the original text, still visible in places, contains traces of an ancient erasure. In line 2 the recut letters PIISVBBSCOS do not make any sense, but they might have been recut in accordance with what could be read at the time. To interpret this as P F AVG B[I]S COS is at least plausible, and, combined with the evidence for an erasure, suggests that the emperor was Elagabalus as consul for the second time, 219.[17] It is true that *bis co(n)s(uli)* should mean 'twice consul', not 'consul for the second time', which is correctly rendered *co(n)s(uli) iterum*. But *bis consule*, if not found epigraphically, was used by Martial to refer to Frontinus as 'consul for the second time' (10. 48. 20).[18]

Modius Julius is not recorded elsewhere. He might be a son, or more probably grandson, of C. Modius Justus, legate of III Augusta in 171.[19] Another possible kinsman is the Severan procurator L. Julius Victor Modianus.[20] But, given Elagabalus' tendency to promote men of humble origins,[21] he might be

[15] *AE* 1971. 475, Caesarea (Palestine). For the son, co-emperor with his father, see Dietz, *Senatus*, 74ff., with further references.

[16] Suggested tentatively by A. R. Birley, *Britain and Rome* 58ff.; strongly urged by Barnes, *Latomus*, 27 (1968), 581ff., and Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 168.

[17] Thus *CIL* vii. 964, not cited by Wright.

[18] Cf. also Tac. *Agr.* 44. 1: *Gaio Caesare ter consule*, emended by editors to *ter⟨tium⟩*. Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB*, accepts the reading offered in *FRB* 187 only from *vexil.* onwards.

[19] *PIR*² M 668; Thomasson, *Fasti*, 158f.

[20] *PIR*² J 626.

[21] Dio 79. 7. 2f., 15. 2f.; Herodian 5. 7. 6f.; *HA Elag.* 6. 1–4, 12. 1f.

connected to, even identical with, a Modius Julius who was a member of the Ostian carpenters' guild in 198.[22] The Birdoswald tribune, who may have owed his commission to Modius or his predecessor, had a Greek *cognomen*, suggesting eastern origin. Modius' governorship presumably began before 219, since another man was in office in the following year. Hence it is not unlikely that he was Gordian's direct successor, in one of the years 216–18.

Inferior 220 Tiberius Claudius Paulinus

RIB 311, Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*): *[Ti(berio) Claudio]* | *Paulino,* |*leg(ato) leg(ionis) II* [4]| *Aug(ustae), proconsul(i)* | *provinc(iae) Nar*|*{r}bonensis,* | *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provin(ciae)* [8]| *Lugudunen(sis),* | *ex decreto* | *ordinis, res* | *publica civit(atis)* [12]| *Silurum.*

To Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, legate of the Second Legion Augusta, proconsul of the province of Narbonensis, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Lugdunensis, the commonwealth of the state of the Silures (set this statue up), in accordance with a decree of the council.

RIB 1280, High Rochester (*Bremenium*): *imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio* | *[[Antonino]] Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto),* | *trib(unicia) pot(estate) [[III]], co(n)s(uli) [[III]], proco(n)s(uli)* [4]| *p(atri) p(atriae), ballist(arium) a sol[o] coh(ors) I f(ida) Vardul(lorum) [[A[ntonin(iana)]] s]ub cura* | *Ti(beri) Cl(audi) Paul[ini, le]g(ati) Aug(usti)* | *pr(o) pr(aetore), fec[cit, insta]nte P(ublio) Ael[io Erasino trib(uno)].*[23]

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, in his third tribunician power, consul three times (220), father of the fatherland, the First Loyal Cohort of Vardulli, Antoninus' own, built the gun-platform, under the charge of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the tribune Publius Aelius Erasinus supervising the work.

?*RIB* 1467, Chesters (*Cilurnum*): *[. . .] per Cl(audium) [Paulinum* or *Xenophontem* or *Maximum]* | *leg(atum) pr(o) [pr(aetore), instante]* | *Sep(timio) Nil(o praef(ecto) eqq. (equitum)].*[24]

. . . through the agency of Claudius Paulinus *or* Xenophon *or* Maximus, propraetorian legate, Septimius Nilus, prefect of cavalry, supervising the work.

CIL xiii. 3162 = H.-G. Pflaum, *Le Marbre de Thorigny* (1948), 7ff., Vieux (*civitas Viducassium*): front face *T(ito) Sennio Sollemni, Sollemnini fil(io) . . . is Sollemnis* | *amicus Tib(eri) Claud(i) Paulini, leg(ati) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) pro*[16]|*vinc(iae) Lugd(unensis) et cliens fuit, cui postea,* | *[l]eg(ato Aug(usti) p(ro) p(raetore) in Brit(annia), ad legionem sext[am]* | *adsedit, [q]uique e[i] salarium militiae* | *in auro aliaque munera longe pluris missi[t] . . . . tres prov(inciae) Gall(iae)* [28]| *primo umquam in sua civitate posuerunt.* | *. . . p(ositum) (ante diem) XVII K(alendas) Ian(uarias) Pio et Proculo co(n)s(ulibus).*

To Titus Sennius Sollemnis, son of Sollemninus . . . That Sollemnis was a friend of Tiberius

[22] *CIL* xiv. S 4569, dec. IIII 3, Ostia: suggested by E. Birley, *ap.* H.-G. Pflaum, *RPh* 82 (1956), 78. For the frequent use of Julius as *cognomen* see Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 200f.; but the only other known senator using it was a 3rd-cent. governor of Dalmatia, M. Aurelius Julius, *ILS* 3710, Salonae.

[23] The tribune's name can be restored from *RIB* 1286, from the same fort. He was presumably descended from the Hadrianic imperial freedman P. Aelius Aug. lib. Erasinus, *CIL* vi. 10682 = *ILS* 8227; Devijver, *PME* A 32.

[24] The name of the prefect can be restored from *RIB* 1465 of 30 Oct. 221, quoted under the next governor below. The governor in 1467 could be Xenophon or possibly Maximus.

Claudius Paulinus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Lugdunensis and his client, and was later his assessor when he was propraetorian legate of the Emperor in Britain assigned to the Sixth Legion; and he sent him the salary for his military service in gold and other gifts, a great many more— . . . the three Gallic provinces (set this up to him), the first ever in his own state . . . Set up on the 17th day before the Kalends of January, Pius and Proculus being the consuls (16 December 238).

[left side] *[e]xemplum epistulae Cl(audi)* | *[Pa]ulini leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae)* | *[B]ritanniae ad Sennium Sollem*[4]|*nem. a Tampio.* | *licet plura merenti tibi h[aec]* | *a me pauca, tamen, quonia[m]* | *honoris causa offeruntu[r],* [8]| *velim accipias libente[r]:* | *chlamidem Canusinam,* | *dalmaticam Laodiciam, fibulam* | *auream cum gemmis, rachanas* [12]| *duas, tossiam Brit(annicam), pellem vit[uli]* | *marini. semestris autem epistulam, ubi propediem vacare coeperi[t],* | *mittam, cuius militiae salarium,* [16]| *[i]d est HS (sestertium) XXV (milia) n(ummum), in auro suscip[e:* | *d]is faventibus et maiestate sanct[a]* | *imp(eratoris), deinceps pro meritis* | *adfectionis magis digna* [20]| *consecuturus. concordit(er).*

Copy of the letter of Claudius Paulinus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Britain, to Sennius Sollemnis. From Tampium. Although you deserve more, I would nonetheless like you to accept these few things from me, since they are offered to do you honour: a cape from Canusium, a sleeved tunic from Laodicea, a gold brooch with gems, two rugs, a British bedspread, a sealskin. But as for the letter of appointment to the six-months' commission, I shall send it as soon as there is a vacancy; accept the salary for this commission, that is, 25,000 sesterces, in gold. With the favour of the gods and of the Emperor's sacred majesty, you will later achieve things more worthy of the merits of your loyalty. Cordially.

This brief governorship has several interesting features. Paulinus is attested by the statue-base at Caerwent as former legate of II Augusta, and is thus the first example for many generations of a former British legionary legate returning to be governor.[25] The Caerwent inscription is also the only senatorial *cursus* inscription found in Britain. Besides this, he is the only governor explicitly attested as praetorian legate of Lower Britain, by the 'Marbre de Thorigny' which also supplies the only known letter from a British governor. Finally, Paulinus is the only governor of Lower Britain recorded outside the province. He is described in the heading of his letter simply as 'propraetorian legate of the Emperor of the province of Britain', with no mention of *inferior*. But in lines 15–16 on the main face his client Sollemnis is described as 'friend of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus . . . , for whom he was later an assessor, when he was propraetorian legate of the Emperor in Britain assigned to the Sixth legion'.

The inscription from High Rochester shows Paulinus in office in 220. His term must have begun shortly before, if Modius Julius was governor in 219, and must have been brief, for Marius Valerianus was already in office by October 221. Tampium, an otherwise unknown place in Britannia Inferior, perhaps took its name from a unit once stationed there: the *ala Tampiana* was in the British army under Trajan and Hadrian.[26] Paulinus had already

[25] The first since Julius Agricola (Gov. 11).

[26] The *ala* was in Britain in 103 and 122, *CIL* xvi. 48 = *RIB* ii. 2401. 1; 69, but in the later 2nd cent. it was transferred to Noricum, where it remained, G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (1974), 257. Rivet and Smith,

governed Lugdunensis, as the Thorigny and Caerwent inscriptions show. Given the irregularity in appointments under Macrinus and Elagabalus, his governorship there had probably been brief as well. His command over II Augusta and proconsulship of Narbonensis were presumably held under Caracalla. Groag suggested that he might be the grandson of a homonym from Cibyra in the province of Asia, who was of consular rank in 184.[27] However, it seems improbable that the grandson of an ex-consul should have had this kind of career, and the names are far too common for any certainty over his origin.[28] It is unnecessary to discuss all the details of the Vieux inscription here, but it may be noted that Sollemnis had swung the Council of the Three Gauls in favour of Paulinus, blocking a motion of censure against him, hence Paulinus'gratitude. At the end of the letter Paulinus expressed the hope that his client, 'with the favour of the gods and of the Emperor's sacred majesty, would obtain rewards more fitting to his loyalty'. But Sollemnis only served as assessor to Paulinus, who was soon replaced, and the emperor, Elagabalus, was violently overthrown in 222. Sollemnis would have recorded any further favours: perhaps Paulinus had no further employment and patronage to offer. He might have died soon after or fallen from grace under Severus Alexander.[29]

Inferior 221, 222 Marius Valerianus

RIB 1465+*add.*, Chesters (*Cilurnum*): *Imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Aurel(ius) [[Antoni[nus P(ius) F(elix)]] | Aug(ustus), [[sacer[do]s ampliss(imus) dei invicti Solis | Elagabali]], p(ontifex) m(aximus), [tr]ib(unicia) p(otestate) [IIII], co(n)s(ul) [III], p(ater) p(atriae), div[i Anton(ini) f(ilius)], [4]| divi Sever(i) nep(os), et M(arcus) [Aur]el(ius) [[[Alexander, nobiliss(imus)]]] | Caesar, imper[i [[e[t sa]cerdoti [consors]]], | alae II Astur(um) [[[Anton(inianae)]]] v[et]ustate [dilapsum restitu]|erunt, per Marium Valer[ianum, leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)], [8]| instante Septimio Ni[l]o, prae[f(ecto) eqq. (equitum)], | dedicatum (ante diem) III Kal(endas) Novem(bres), Gr[a]to et Sele[uco co(n)s(ulibus)]*.[30]

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, most honourable priest of the Unconquered god Sol Elagabalus, pontifex maximus, in his fourth tribunician power, three times consul, father of the fatherland, son of the deified Antoninus, grandson of the deified

Place-Names, 467f., think it unlikely that the place was named after the regiment. But the diploma of 103, issued to a veteran of the *ala*, was found at Malpas in Cheshire; it may be that he was stationed near there and Tampium was in this part of Britain—but if so, it was close to the border of Britannia Inferior.

[27] *IGR* iv. 911; *PIR*² C 954–5.

[28] Barbieri, *L'Albo*, has some fifty Ti. Claudii and over thirty Paulini.

[29] See Pflaum's discussion, *Le Marbre*, *passim*, with conjectures about the reasons why this elaborate monument was erected so many years later.

[30] Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB*, restores l. 5 on the lines of *RMD* 75. This means that the building restored was not named. In the version given above the division between the deleted names and titles and what is missing in the middle and on the right-hand side is naturally conjectural.

Severus, and Marcus Aurelius Alexander, most noble Caesar, partner in the empire and priesthood, restored (this building), collapsed through age, for the Second Ala of Asturians, Antoninus' own, through the agency of Marius Valerianus, propraetorian legate of the Empire, Septimius Nilus, prefect of cavalry, supervising. Dedicated on the third day before the Kalends of November, Gratus and Seleucus being consuls (30 October 221).

RIB 978, Netherby (*Castra exploratorum*): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio | Severo Alexandro Pio Eel(ici)* (sic) *Aug(usto), | pont(ifici) maximo, trib(unicia) pot(estate), co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriae), coh(ors) I Ael(ia)* [4]*| Hispanorum (milliaria) eq(uitata), devota numini | maiestatique eius, baselicam | equestrem exercitatoriam | iam pridem a solo coeptam* [8]*| aedificavit consummavitque, | sub cura Mari Valeriani, leg(ati) | Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), instante M(arco) Aurelio Salvio, trib(uno) coh(ortis), imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro)* [12]*| Severo Alexandro pio fel(ici) | Aug(usto) co(n)s(ule).*

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, pontifex maximus, with tribunician power, consul, father of the fatherland, the First Aelian Cohort of Spaniards, one thousand strong, part-mounted, devoted to his divine spirit and majesty, built the cavalry drill-hall, long since begun from the ground, and completed it, under the charge of Marius Valerianus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, Marcus Aurelius Salvius, tribune of the cohort, supervising, the Emperor, our Lord Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, being consul (222).

RIB 1060, South Shields (*Arbeia*): *Imp(erator) Caes(ar), divi Severi | nepos, divi Magni Antonini fil(ius), | M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Severus [[Alexander]]* [4]*| Pius Felix Aug(ustus), pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate), p(ater) patriae), co(n)s(ul) aquam | usibus mil(itum) coh(ortis) V Gallo(rum) in|duxit, curante Mario Valeriano,* [4]*|leg(ato) eius pr(o) pr(aetore).*

The Emperor Caesar, grandson of the deified Severus, son of the deified Antoninus the Great, Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, pontifex maximus, with tribunician power (222), father of the fatherland, consul, brought in water for the use of the soldiers of the Fifth Cohort of Gauls, under the charge of Marius Valerianus, his propraetorian legate.

These inscriptions demonstrate that the governor of the Lower province was responsible for the whole northern frontier, from the North Sea to the western outpost north of Hadrian's Wall. He was presumably the immediate successor of Claudius Paulinus and predecessor of Claudius Xenophon. Nothing further is known of him, but he might be the Marius Valerianus attested as a centurion in the praetorian guard, not earlier than Severus.[31] The rise of such a man to senatorial rank would not be a surprise under Elagabalus (cf. above).

Inferior 223 Claudius Xenophon

RIB 2299, Crindledykes (on the Stanegate a mile east of *Vindolanda*): *imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [M(arco)] Aurel(io) | Severo Al[e]xandro | Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto), p(ontifici) m(aximo), tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) II,* [4]*| co(n)s(uli), p(atri) p(atriae), cur(ante) Cl(audio) X[e]neph(onte), | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) praet(ore), | m(ilia) p(assuum) XIIII.*

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, pontifex

[31] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1611, citing *CIL* vi. 32536c; approved in *PIR*[2] M 321. But Ritterling's further suggestion that he was later governor of Numidia must be rejected, Thomasson, *Fasti*, 188f.

maximus, in his second tribunician power (223), consul, father of the fatherland, under the charge of Claudius Xenophon, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, 14 miles (presumably measured from Corbridge).

RIB 2306, Cawfields, near Hadrian's Wall milecastle 42, on the Military Way: text as in 2299, except that the governor's name is spelt correctly and the distance is *m(ilia) p(assuum) XVIII*, 18 miles (perhaps measured from where the north–south road, Dere Street, crossed the wall at Portgate? If so, inaccurately).

RIB 1706, *Vindolanda*: *[. . . et coh(ors) IIII] Gallor(um)* | *[[[Severiana Alexandriana]], de]vota nu* | *[mi]ni eius, poṛ[tam cum] tụrribus [a]* [4]| *fundamen[tis restitu]erunt, sub* | *Cl(audio) Xenepho[nte* (sic) *l]ega(ato) [Aug(usti)] n(ostri) pr(o) [pr(aetore)* | *curante [. . .]*.

. . . and the Fourth Cohort of Gauls, Severus Alexander's own, devoted to his divine spirit, restored from the foundations the gate with towers, under Claudius Xenephon, propraetorian legate of our Emperor, under the charge of . . . [*As pointed out by Wright, ad loc., another stone will have listed the Emperor's full names and titles*].

?*RIB* 1467, Chesters: quoted under Claudius Paulinus above.

Xenophon was clearly the immediate successor of Marius Valerianus, and his governorship must have terminated at latest by 225, when Maximus is attested. His names suggest that he was son of the Commodan and Severan procurator T. Claudius T. Papiria Xenophon.[32] The *cognomen* (misspelt Xen*e*phon on the Crindledykes milestone and on the now lost Vindolanda inscription) suggests eastern origin. But no town in a Greek-speaking province is known to have been enrolled in the procurator's tribe, Papiria, except perhaps Cassandrea (Potidaea) in Macedonia, while at least twenty towns in Africa were in it. The procurator's last known appointment was in Africa; hence African origin is not excluded.[33] No connection need be supposed with Ti. Claudius Xenophon of Cos, another man of this name at Pisidian Antioch, or with the philosopher Claudius Xenophon of Cyzicus.[34] Nor is there any reason to identify either the procurator or the British legate with the novelist Xenophon of Ephesus, although the procurator served as *epistrategus* in Egypt (where much of the novel's action takes place) and in Asia (he was honoured at Ephesus), which makes him as good a candidate as any.[35]

[32] *ILS* 1421; *PIR*[2] C 1054; Pflaum, *CP*, no. 222, with details of his career.

[33] Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum*, 241. Pflaum, *CP*, no. 222, did not discuss the tribe and assumed eastern origin.

[34] *PIR*[2] C 1053; *AS* 17 (1967), 110, no. 20; *JHS* 24 (1904), 27, no. 25.

[35] H. Gärtner, *RE* 9A/2 (1967), 2055ff., suggesting a 2nd or 3rd-cent. date, 2080ff. But Xenophon may have been a pseudonym anyway, ibid. 2058f.

Inferior 225 [. . .] Maximus

RIB 1738, Great Chesters (*Aesica*): *imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aur(elius) Seve|rus Alexander P(ius) Fel(ix) | Aug(ustus) horreum vetu*[4]*|state conlabsum mil(itibus) | coh(ortis) II Asturum S(everianae) A(lexandrianae) | a solo restituerunt [sic] | provincia(m) regente [. . .]*[8]*| Maximo, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) p[r(aetore), cur(ante)] | Val(erio) Martiale 7 (centurione) leg(ionis)[. . .], | Fusco II et Dext[ro co(n)s(ulibus)].*[36]

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, restored the granary, collapsed through age, from the ground up, for the soldiers of the Second Cohort of Asturians, Severus Alexander's own, while . . . Maximus was governing the province, under the charge of Valerius Martialis, centurion of the . . . legion, Fuscus, for the second time, and Dexter being the consuls (225).

?*RIB* 1467, Chesters: quoted above under Claudius Paulinus.

There appears to be space at the end of line 7 of the Great Chesters stone for about two letters, suggesting that the governor's *nomen* was either Cl(audius) or Fl(avius). Hence he might just possibly be the governor Cl(audius) of *RIB* 1467—but if so the prefect Septimius Nilus would have been in post under four governors, which seems unlikely. In any case, there were several ligatures in the Great Chesters inscription, so other common *gentilicia* such as Ael(ius), Jul(ius), Ulp(ius), Val(erius), etc., cannot be ruled out. Further conjecture would thus be fruitless. Maximus is the sixth governor recorded in the ten years from 216 to 225 inclusive. In 225 he was presumably at the beginning of his tenure, which should have lasted into 226, if not later.

Inferior between 226 and 234 Calvisius Ru[. . .]

RIB 929+*add.*, Old Penrith (*Voreda*): *[. . . coh(orti) II Gal(lorum) [[S(everianae) A(lexandrianae)]] ampl[iavit . . .], | sub Calvisio Ru[. . . , leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* [4]*| curante Aureli[o . . . , praef(ecto)?].*

. . . for the Second Cohort of Gauls, Severus Alexander's own, enlarged . . . , under Calvisius Ru . . . , propraetorian legate of the Emperor, under the charge of Aurelius . . . , prefect?

This governorship belongs to the reign of Alexander, as shown by the cohort's title, erased but still legible. The years 222–5 appear to be fully occupied by the governors Valerianus, Xenophon, and Maximus. 226 may reasonably be excluded as well, since it should probably be allocated to Maximus; and the last year or two of the reign also appear to be full. But Calvisius could be the successor rather than the predecessor of the next governor to be discussed, Valerius Crescens Fulvianus. The *gentilicium* was borne by a senatorial family

[36] Square brackets are not used above for the reading of ll. 8ff. supplied by Wallis (1769), *Maximo leg. Aug. pr. p/ Sal Martimedlega/ tus co. II et Dext.*, suitably corrected. As Wright noted, the plural verb is incorrect here.

of the first and early second century, the Calvisii Rusones,[37] and it is therefore tempting to restore *Ru[sone]* in line 2; and a graffito on a tile at South Shields is read as *Calvisius Ruso*. But such graffiti generally give the name of the tile-maker.[38] Further, even if the family had survived into the third century, for which there is no other evidence, it is hardly likely that a descendant of patrician consulars would govern a praetorian province. More plausible is that the governor was descended from Pliny's friend C. Calvisius Rufus, a decurion of Comum.[39] Of course, there are other *cognomina* beginning Ru-, of which Rufinus and Rusticus were common. Calvisius, little found outside Italy, is well represented in Narbonensis.[40]

Superior under Severus Alexander? (Tiberius Julius) Pollienus Auspex (*cos. a. inc.*)

IGR iii. 618 = *ILS* 8841 = *TAM* ii. 278, Xanthus: [. . .]ϵ | [. . .]μι[. . .]ανιατ | [. . . Πολλήνια]ν Ὀ[ν]ωράταν, [4]| ἐκγόνη[ν] [4]| Φλ(αβίου) Λατρωνιανοῦ, ὑπατικοῦ, | ποντίφικος, ἐπάρχου Ῥώμης, | [κ]αὶ Αὔσπικος, ὑπατικοῦ Βρι|ταννίας, Μυσίας, Σπα[8]|νίας, ἐν χώρᾳ Σϵβαστοῦ δικά|σαντος, προεκγόνη[ν] Αὔσπικος, ὑπατικοῦ, ἀνθυπάτου | Ἀφρικῆς, ἐπάρχου ἀλειμέν[12]|των Ἀππίας καὶ Φλαμιν[ί]ας | τρίς, κυινδεκεμουίρου, ἐν χώρᾳ Σϵβαστῶν διαγνόν|τος, ὑπατικοῦ Δαλματίας, [16]| θυγατέρα Τιβ(ερίου) Πο[λληνίου] Ἀ[ρ]μ[ενίου | Περεγρίνου . . .].

(In honour of) . . . Polliena Honorata, granddaughter of Flavius Latronianus, consular, pontifex, prefect of Rome, and (granddaughter) of Auspex, consular (governor) of Britain, Moesia, Dacia (and) Spain, judge deputizing for the Emperor, great-grandaughter of Auspex, consular, proconsul of Africa, prefect of the *alimenta* for the Appia and Flaminia for three years, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, judge deputizing for the Emperors, consular (governor) of Dalmatia, daughter of Tiberius Pollienus Armenius Peregrinus, . . .

This inscription from Xanthus in Lycia, honouring Pollienus Auspex's granddaughter Honorata, is the only evidence for his governorship of Britain, and its interpretation is disputed. Honorata was daughter of Ti. Pollienus Armenius Peregrinus, *consul ordinarius* in 244 shortly after being proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia (which explains why she was honoured in that province);[41] granddaughter of Auspex, consular governor of Britain, Moesia, Dacia, and Spain, and judge of appeal deputizing for a single emperor, and of Flavius

[37] *PIR*² C 344, 350, 357.

[38] *RIB* ii. 2491. 83. Tomlin, '[i]n the light of this graffito', prefers the restoration *Calvisio Ru[sone]* to *Ru[fo]* on the Old Penrith inscription, cf. *add.* to *RIB* 929; but concedes that 'what his signature(?) is then doing on a tile defies conjecture'.

[39] Recipient of six letters and mentioned in others: *PIR*² C 349; Birley, *Onomasticon*, 46 f. By mishap the governor was described as prefect of a cohort in *PIR*² C 348 and was taken by A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (1966), 202, to be identical with Pliny's friend and to be a military tribune.

[40] Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 27; Syme, *RP* iv (1988), 414 f., suggested origin in N. Italy or possibly Narbonensis for the Calvisii Rusones; cf. id., *RP* vi (1991), 216.

[41] *IGR* iii. 556 = *ILS* 8840; Thomasson, *LP* i. 284.

Latronianus, consul, *pontifex*, and prefect of Rome; and great-granddaughter of another Auspex, consul, proconsul of Africa, prefect of the *alimenta*, *XVvir*, judge of appeal deputizing for more than one emperor, and governor of Dalmatia. The great-grandfather should be the *XVvir* who took part in the Saecular Games of 204 and is mentioned for his sarcastic wit by Dio (76. 9. 2ff.). But the real key to dating seems to be coins from Lower Moesia which show a Pollienus Auspex as governor in the 190s under Severus, before 198.

The first problem is the great gap in age between Honorata's father, consul in 244, and grandfather, the younger Auspex, who, if governor of Lower Moesia in *c.*196, cannot have been consul much after 190. One can only compare the Volusii Saturnini, consuls in AD 3 and 56. A second difficulty is the younger Auspex's other offices. If Britain was his first consular post—even though governors of Britain were generally rather more senior men—he must have been there before Albinus, not later than 192. The governorship of Dacia is very difficult to fit in, since five other legates are known between 198 and 209; Hispania Citerior is only a little less crowded, with three or perhaps four governors in the same period.[42] If the order is assumed to be descending, the position is a little less awkward. No governors of Hispania Citerior are known under Commodus before 192, so that Auspex's tenure could be assigned to *c.*186–9, while there is just room for a governorship of the III Daciae *c.*190–2.[43] His governorship of Britain would then fall at the end of the 190s, after Lower Moesia, and he could be regarded as the successor in Britain of Virius Lupus (Gov. 37). This would, however, mean that his consulship was even earlier, *c.*185, almost sixty years before that of his son Peregrinus. One explanation might be that Peregrinus was an adopted son of the younger Auspex, his natural father being L. Armenius Peregrinus, praetor in 213.[44] It has been suggested that a presumed third member of the family, Ti. Julius Pollienus Auspex, governor of Numidia under Caracalla or Elagabalus,[45] was the natural son of the younger Auspex, and that on this man's death the younger Auspex adopted an Armenius Peregrinus to perpetuate the family name.[46]

The next question concerns the office as judge of appeal, held by both Auspices. The elder deputized for plural emperors, the younger for one. This function is not otherwise found before the early third century. The earliest securely datable example is M. Nummius . . . Albinus (*cos. ord.* 206), who served soon after his consulship, while Severus and Caracalla were absent in Britain. If the distinction between *Σεβαστῶν* and *Σεβαστοῦ* is accurate, the

[42] Dacia: Piso, *Fasti*, 156ff., nos. 32–6; Hispania cit.: Alföldy, *Fasti*, 45ff.; Thomasson, *LP* i. 17.
[43] Hispania cit.: Alföldy, *Fasti*, 42ff.; Thomasson, *LP* i. 17; Dacia: Piso, *Fasti*, 145.
[44] Proposed by A. Stein, *AEM* 19 (1896), 150.
[45] *CIL* viii. 2743; *AE* 1915. 16; 1917/18. 50, 78; Thomasson, *Fasti*, 180f.
[46] Schumacher, *Priesterkollegien*, 211f., with stemma; *PIR*² P, stemma 23.

elder Auspex must have carried out these duties either under M. Aurelius and Commodus, 176–80, or under Severus and his son(s), 198–211. The younger Auspex must have functioned either before 198 or after 211, in the latter case at a considerable interval since his last governorship.[47]

A. Stein proposed a radical solution, that the elder Auspex was governor of Lower Moesia, but that this post was omitted from the Xanthus inscription. The younger Auspex could then be identical with Ti. Julius Pollienus Auspex, who could have governed his consular provinces in the period *c.*215–35. Britain on the Xanthus stone would refer to Upper Britain, Moesia could refer to Upper or Lower Moesia, both consular. The functions as judge of appeal could then be dated without difficulty: the elder under Severus and Caracalla, the younger under Macrinus, Elagabalus, or Severus Alexander.[48]

However, accepting that the Xanthus inscription is not quite accurate, it might be preferable to suppose that the governorship of Moesia was mistakenly assigned to the younger Auspex *instead of* the elder, and that the younger Auspex did not govern it at all. The fact that Δακίας and Δαλματίας both begin Δα- could have caused Honorata or the stone-carver to make this slip.[49] The elder Auspex may be supposed to have been judge of appeal under Severus and Caracalla, probably during their absence in the East, 198–202, the younger to have held the position *c.*218–19 or even later, during the years from 232 onwards.[50]

In the light of the foregoing discussion it seems almost certain that Auspex governed Upper Britain, not the undivided province, and should be dated to the reign of Severus Alexander. Strong arguments have been put forward for retaining the order of posts Dacia–Spain–(Upper) Britain.[51] His term of office in Britain can be set *c.*230 or a few years earlier.

Some comment is required on the origin of the family. The *gentilicium*, normally spelt Pollienus rather than Pollenius (the Greek version), is exceedingly rare, and, apart from this family, only two other specimens are known, from Spoletium in Umbria and from Sicily.[52] The *cognomen* is also uncommon, being found once in Italy, a few times in Celtic provinces, and once borne by an equestrian officer.[53] Although it appears Latin in type, it might have a Celtic basis, as also perhaps the unique *cognomen* of Pollienus Sebennus,

[47] M. Peachin, *Iudex vice Caesaris: Deputy Emperors and the Administration of Justice during the Principate* (1996), 96ff., dates Nummius Albinus' post *c.*208–9.

[48] Stein, *Moesien*, 82ff., followed by many, including Alföldy, *Fasti*, 54ff.; Piso, *Fasti*, 186ff.; Peachin, *Iudex*, 3ff.

[49] This interpretation is owed to J. B. Leaning (pers. comm.).

[50] Peachin, *Iudex*, 106ff., prefers the first alternative.

[51] Piso, *Fasti*, 191, against Alföldy, *Fasti*, 56.

[52] *CIL* xi. 4874; x. 7349f.

[53] *CIL* iii. 5173 (Noricum); xi. 4751; xiii. 3012; *RIB* 650, York; 2100, 2104, 2108 (an equestrian officer); Tac. *Hist.* 4. 69. 1, Julius Auspex, a leading man of the Remi.

nephew of the elder Auspex (Dio 76. 9. 2f.).[54] Rare *nomina* like Pollienus are sometimes found in the provinces and other elements, including the Ti. Julius of the governor of Numidia, suggest provincial connections. Caution is therefore requisite, although Italian origin still looks likely.[55]

Inferior between 226 and 234 Valerius Crescens Fulvianus

RIB 587 + *add.*, Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*): *[. . . p]ro | [sa]l(ute) iṃ[p(eratoris) Caes(aris) [[Al]exandri]] Aug(usti) n(ostri) et | Iul(iae) Mamaeae, ma]t[r]is d(omini) n(ostri) et castr(orum), su[b cura] [4] | Val(eri) Crescentis Fulviani, leg(ati) eius pr[o prae(tore)], | T(itus) Floridius Natalis 7 (centurio) leg(ionis), praep(ositus) n(umeri) et regi[onis], | templum a solo ex responsu [dei re] | stituit et dedicavit d[e suo].*

To . . . , for the welfare of the Emperor Caesar Alexander, our Augustus, and of Julia Mamaea, mother of our Lord and of the camps, under the charge of Valerius Crescens Fulvianus, his propraetorian legate, Titus Floridius Natalis, legionary centurion, in command of the unit and of the region, restored the temple from the ground up in accordance with the god's response and dedicated it from his own funds.

As noted in the discussion of Calvisius, there is no way of determining whether he or Crescens held office first. Both ought to belong between 226 and 234. He is not certainly identifiable, but a senatorial lady who took part in the Saecular Games of 204 was -illa, wife of Valerius C[res]cens.[56] They might be the governor's parents. But both his *nomen* and first *cognomen* are extremely common, and Valerii Crescentes are attested at Rome and in other parts of the empire, with whom no connection need be supposed.[57] The prefect of cavalry Marcus Valerius Fulvianus, who dedicated to Fortune at Binchester (*Vinovia*), could be a kinsman of the governor, given a commission on his recommendation; or even the governor himself earlier in his career, before he achieved senatorial rank.[58]

At least one unknown governor probably served between Calvisius or Crescens and Claudius Apellinus.

[54] Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, ii. 1421; but Schulze, *LE* 277 treats it as Etruscan.

[55] See now on the Pollieni *PIR*² P 536–41. The solution proposed by A. Stein is there preferred.

[56] Barbieri, *L'Albo*, no. 508 (regarding the senator as possibly identical with the governor, which seems very improbable).

[57] Barbieri, *L'Albo*, pp. 554, 653, noted Val(erius) Maternus, *c(larissimus) i(uvenis)*, brother of an equestrian called Val(erius) Crescentia(nus), *CIL* v. 5729, territory of Milan, as possible kinsmen.

[58] *RIB* 1029. The suggestion made in *FRB* 194f. that this prefect might be the son of Maria Lucina and L. Fulvius Kastus Ful[vianus] of Musti in Africa, who was serving in Britannia Inferior, *CIL* viii. 1578, must be withdrawn. R. S. O. Tomlin, *ZPE* 74 (1988), 145ff., convincingly shows that the man from Musti was [F]ulvius [Fel]ix, prefect of a cohort at Lanchester (*Longovicium*), cf. id., *Britannia*, 19 (1988), 492, no. 10 = *AE* 1988. 841.

Inferior between 226 and 235 (235?) Claudius Apellinus

RIB 1281 + *add.*, High Rochester (*Bremenium*): *imp(eratori) Cae[s(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio) [[Seve]|ro Alex[andr]o]] P(io) F(elici) [Aug(usto) et | [[Iuliae Aug(ustae)], matr(i) i[mp(eratoris) Caes(aris) et ca]s(trorum)]], coh(ors) I f(ida) Vard(ullorum)* [4]*| [[8 (milliaria) S(everiana) A(lexandriana)]] ballis(tarium) a solo re[sti]t(uit) | sub c(ura) Cl(audi) Apellini, le[g(ati) Augg. (Augustorum duorum), | instante Aur(elio) Quinto tr(ibuno).*

For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus and Julia Augusta, mother of the Emperor Caesar and of the camps, the First Loyal Cohort of Vardulli, one thousand strong, Severus Alexander's own, restored the gun-platform from the ground up, under the charge of Claudius Apellinus, legate of the (two) Emperors, Aurelius Quintus, tribune, supervising.

This governor is at first sight no more precisely datable than Calvisius and Val. Crescens Fulvianus, in other words he belongs under Alexander and should come after 225. But Apellinus is called *leg. Augg.*, which is certainly inaccurate for this reign: *Augg.* cannot have referred to the emperor and his mother the Augusta.[59] Even for Mamaea, that would have been excessive, and no other cases are known. The second G, much smaller than the first, is inserted inside it, and could have been added later. Perhaps Apellinus was governor in 235, at the time of Alexander's murder, and the second G added when the names of Alexander and his mother and the title *S. A.* were erased, to signify that Apellinus was now the legate of Maximinus and his son Maximus. The latter was only *nobilissimus Caesar*, but was sometimes abusively called Augustus, and some other governors from the years 235–8 are *leg. Augg. pr. pr.*[60] If this hypothesis be accepted, Apellinus must have been in office in 234, if not earlier, for Alexander was murdered some weeks before 25 March 235.[61] Equally, Apellinus was probably replaced by a nominee of Maximinus later in 235. Although he is called *leg. Augg.*, without *pr(o) pr(aetore)*, there is no question but that he was governor.[62] He is likely to have been related to the Claudii Apellini of Perge in Pamphylia.[63]

[59] Thus I. A. Richmond, in *History of Northumberland* (1940), 146.

[60] *PIR*² J 620; cf. e.g. *CIL* ii. 4756 = *ILS* 490, Bracara Augusta; Stein, *Moesien* 98; cf. a *proc. Augg.*, *CIL* iii. 1422–3 = *IDR* iii. 2, 206, 244.

[61] X. Loriot, *ANRW* 2. 2 (1975), 670 f.

[62] Cf. *RIB* 905, C. Julius Marcus, *leg. eius*; 883, *ignotus* (Oct. 241), *[l]eg. Aug.*

[63] *IGR* iii. 397, noted by E. Groag, *PIR*² C 780.

Superior under Caracalla or Severus Alexander? -r-ius Rufinus
(*cos. a. inc.*)

I. A. Richmond, *Ant. J.* 41 (1961), 22 = R. P. Wright, *JRS* 51 (1961), 191 = *AE* 1962. 258, cf. id., *JRS* 55 (1965), 220, Reculver (*Regulbium*): *aedem p[rinc]piorum* | *cu[m b]asilica,* | *su[b . . .]r[. . .]io Rufino,* [4]| *co(n)s(ulare),* | *[. . . Fo]rtunatus,* | *[praef(ectus)? fec]it.*

. . . Fortunatus, the prefect?, built . . . the shrine of the headquarters building, with the basilica, under . . . r . . . ius Rufinus, the consular.

This inscription records the construction of a major part of the fort headquarters building. As pointed out by the editors, the emperor's name presumably came on a separate slab, on which the regiment in garrison at Reculver, probably *coh. I Baetasiorum*, was also named. The surviving one specifies the work done, with the governor's name and, it is assumed, that of the garrison-commander responsible, [. . . Fo]rtunatus. The governor's name is incompletely preserved, but enough survives for conjecture about his identity. The traces of the *nomen*, and the space available, show that it included the letter R soon after the beginning and was relatively short. The archaeological evidence for the fort's construction is limited and not very helpful,[64] but makes it likely that the province of which Rufinus was consular governor was Britannia Superior. Richmond restored *su[b A. T]r[iar]io Rufino*, identifying the governor with the *cos. ord.* 210. To make the name fit the space he supposed that the first I was smaller than the other letters and inserted above the line, between the first R and the A. This was legitimate, as several vowels elsewhere in the inscription were so treated. But it has been argued that it is improbable that a former *consul ordinarius* would have governed a military province at this period.[65] All the same, three or four did govern such provinces during this period: M. Nummius Umbrius cet. (*cos. ord.* 206), C. Octavius Ap. Suetrius Sabinus (214), M. Munatius Sulla Cerealis (215), and perhaps Pomponius Bassus (211).[66] Hence Triarius cannot be excluded. He could have been governor of Britannia Superior under Caracalla. The Triarii appear to have been Italian and Rufinus' father is thought to have been Triarius Maternus (probably the *cos. ord.* 185), who evaded an attempt by the praetorian guard to proclaim him emperor in early January 193 (*HA Pert.* 6. 4f.).[67]

Another favoured candidate is Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus.[68] The restoration *su[b A]r[ad]io Rufino* would certainly fit easily. A large part of this

[64] S. Johnson, *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* (1976), 47. His drawing, 17, fig. 11, based on Richmond's, omits a *praenomen* for the governor.

[65] R. P. Harper, *AS* 14 (1964), 166 n. 18, followed by A. R. Birley, *ES* 4 (1967), 83, and J. C. Mann, in D. E. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore* (1977), 15.

[66] *PIR*[2] N 238; O 25; M 735; P 700.

[67] Barbieri, *L'Albo*, 503f., 2108.

[68] R. P. Harper, *AS* 14 (1964), 166 n. 18, followed by A. R. Birley, *ES* 4 (1967), 83, and others.

man's career is preserved on an inscription from Bulla Regia in Africa, evidently his home town. After numerous praetorian posts, the last being the governorship of Syria Phoenice, he was consular governor of Syria Coele, then acting proconsul of Africa, perhaps in 238.[69] If he did go on to govern Upper Britain, this would probably be under Gordian III.[70] But a later Aradius Rufinus, probably his son, was evidently the Rufinus who was governor of one of the Syrian provinces in 267.[71] Consequently, even if the Reculver inscription can be restored to show an Aradius Rufinus, there would be a wide range of possibilities over the date.

A third, perhaps stronger, candidate is L. Prosius Rufinus, legate of Thrace in 222.[72] The restoration *su[b L. P]r[os]io Rufino* would fit the space admirably. Prosius is not known to have become consul, but relatively few third-century suffects are known. The governorship of Thrace regularly led to the consulship, as in the case of several legates from this period.[73] His *nomen* is extremely rare, but another prominent bearer was Prosius Tertullianus, governor of Lower Moesia under Gordian III.[74] If the Reculver governor turned out to be Prosius Rufinus, a date in the mid- to late 220s would seem probable, and the province would certainly have been Britannia Superior. But it is safest to leave the identity and date of this governor open, pending the discovery of further evidence.

Inferior? under Caracalla, Elagabalus or Severus Alexander?

RIB 2060, Bowness on Solway (*Mais*): (a) MARC. AVRELLIVS | IMPERA. TRIVMPH. | PERSA. (b) MARC. AVREL. PHILO.

It is clear that the reading of this now lost inscription was faulty, but if PERSA in line 3 of fragment (a) is correct, it might contain the first part of a governor's name: *per Sa[. . . leg(atum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)]*. The use of *per* with the governor's name in the accusative is characteristic of third-century inscriptions in Britain.[75] There are several *nomina* beginning Sa- borne by third-century sen-

[69] *AE* 1971. 490. See also Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 168, 219; Thomasson, *Fasti*, 94f., both with further bibliography.

[70] See K. Dietz, *Senatus contra principem* (1980), 81ff., for a full discussion of his career, and details of his family, including his wife, Calpurnia Ceia Aemiliana, another possible wife, Junia Aiacia Modesta, and brother, Aradius Paternus.

[71] *PIR*² A 1013a (vol. ii, p. XIV); R 143. The family remained prominent into the late 4th cent.: *PLRE* i, Rufinus 10–11.

[72] *PIR*² P 1014.

[73] Thomasson, *LP* i. 171f.; Leunissen, *Konsuln*, 290ff.

[74] Schulze, *LE* 90 n. 5, knew no other examples; but cf. *CIL* ii. 5927; viii. 18694, 18703, 19207; ix. 2282; x. 4306, 5513, 6695; xiv. 4242 = *ILS* 1044; *AE* 1931. 13; *PIR*² P 1015 (Tertullianus).

[75] See *RIB* 334, 1091–2, 1465, 1467.

ators: Sabinius, Saenius, Sallius, Salvius, Sallustius, etc.[76] The form *Aurellius*, although not found on other British inscriptions, was shown by Degrassi to be peculiar to Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander.[77] The Fasti of Britannia Inferior are rather congested at that period, but the reading is so uncertain that further speculation would be fruitless.[78]

A funerary inscription from Epetium, near Salonae in Dalmatia, records the career of Lucius Artorius Castus, who had been prefect of the legion VI Victrix and then commander of a task force of two British legions against a people whose name used to be restored as *Arm[oricano]s*, that is, the Armoricans of western Gaul:

CIL iii. 1919 + *add.* = *ILS* 2770 + *add.* = Pflaum, *CP* no. 196 = X. Loriot, *BSNAF* (1997), 855ff: *D(is) M(anibus)* | *L(ucius) Artori[us Cas]tus, 7 le[g(ionis)]* | *III Gallicae, item [7 le]g(ionis) VI Ferra*[t]|*tae, item 7 leg(ionis) II Adi[utricis, i]tem 7 leg(ionis) V M[a]c(edonicae), item p(rimus)p(ilus) eiusdem [leg(ionis)], praeposito* | *classis Misenatium, [item pr]aef(ecto) leg(ionis) VI Victricis, duci legg(=legionum) [duaru]m Britanici*|*miarum* (sic) *adversus Arme[nio]s, proc(uratori) cente*|*nario Lib[urniae iure] gladi, vi*[s]|*vus ipse sibi et suis [. . .]st.*

To the divine shades. Lucius Artorius Castus, centurion of the Third Legion Gallica, also centurion of the Sixth Legion Ferrata, also centurion of the Second Legion Adiutrix, also centurion of the Fifth Legion Macedonica, also chief centurion of the same legion, in charge of the Misenum fleet, prefect of the Sixth Legion Victrix, commander of two British legions against the Armenians, centenary procurator of Liburnia with the power of the sword. He himself (set this up) for himself and his family in his lifetime.[79]

This command over the task force of British legions has frequently been dated to the reign of Commodus and associated with the 'deserters' war' in that reign.[80] However, the improved reading by Loriot shows that *Arme[nio]s*, the Armenians, must be restored in line 7. Hence the context is an eastern expedition, most probably either under Caracalla in 215 (cf. Dio 77. 21) or Severus Alexander.[81]

[76] See the index in Barbieri, *L'Albo*, 752ff.

[77] A. Degrassi, *Athenaeum*, 9 (1921), 292ff., repr. in id., *Scritti vari di Antichità*, i (1962), 467ff.

[78] R. W. Davies, *ZPE* 27 (1977), 241ff., suggested that the name of Ulpius Marcellus might be concealed in (b), with PHILO a misreading of *bello*.

[79] Note the change in case between nominative in ll. 1 and 8–9 and dative in ll. 5–7. It seems preferable to read *V M[a]c(edonicae)* rather than *M(acedonicae) c(onstantis)* (as proposed by Pflaum) in l. 4; and to leave the end of the last line unrestored. The man's names may be restored with confidence on the basis of another inscription from the same area, *CIL* iii. 12791 = 14224: *L. Artorius Castus, pp leg. V Ma[c.], praefec[t]us leg. VI Victric.*

[80] See e.g. Pflaum, *CP*, no. 196, followed by Dobson, *Primipilares*, no. 151, and others. K. Malone, *Modern Philology* 22 (1925), 367ff., even suggested that Artorius Castus' supposed expedition to Armorica might be the historical kernel of the Arthurian legend. The idea still seems to be viewed positively e.g. by N. J. Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* (2002), 75f., 96, cf. 268. It must now lapse.

[81] X. Loriot, *BSNAF* (1997), 855ff., refers to the photograph published by J. Medini, *Diadora*, 9 (1980), 363ff. For operations in Armenia under Severus Alexander he cites *IGR* i. 623 = *ILS* 8851, Tomi.

Inferior 236? [. . .]imus Di[. . .] (if a governor)

RIB 1922, Birdoswald (*Banna*): *[. . .]CM[. . . | . . .]mus Di[. . . | . . .]es a solo fe[cit . . . ,* [4] *| [Maximino] et Africano c[o(n)s(ulibus)].*

. . . imus Di . . . built (this) from the ground up, Maximinus and Africanus being the consuls (236).

There is no guarantee that this stone recorded a governor, but one could restore *[praes]es* in line 3. His name would have come in line 2, first perhaps an abbreviated *gentilicium* such as Ael., Fl., Iul., Val., followed by [?Max]imus Di[. . .]. Other expansions of [. . .]imus are of course possible, for example, [Dec]imus, [Marit]imus, [Pr]imus; only a few Latin *cognomina*, such as Di[dianus] or Di[gnus], begin Di[. . .], but there are numerous Greek ones, Di[o], Di[odorus] Di[ogenes], etc. It is extremely rare for the governor to be named in the nominative as responsible for building. One may compare from Britain only *RIB* 730, *Virius Lupus . . . restituit* (Gov. 37) and 741, *Aem[ilian]us . . . fecit* (below). Examples from other provinces are also hard to find.[82] If the inscription belonged to a religious dedication for the welfare of the emperor, a verb such as *posuit* or *dedicavit* was normal; but occasionally *fecit* may have been used.[83] No identification can be offered for [. . .]imus Di[. . .], who could have been an equestrian *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praeses*, rather than a senatorial *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* here called, for example, *v.c. praeses*. If he was in fact governor, he presumably succeeded Claudius Apellinus in 235 and was himself succeeded at latest in 237 by [T]uccianus.

Inferior 237 [T]uccianus

RIB 1553, Carrawburgh (*Brocolitia*): *[imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [[C. (Gaio) Iulio Ver]o | [Maximino]] P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto), Ge]r(manico) Max(imo), | Dac(ico) Max(imo), Sarm(atico) Max(imo), pont(ifici) max(imo),* [4] *| [tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) III, imp(eratori) VI, co(n)s(uli), p]r(o)co(n)s(uli), | [p(atri) p(atriae), et [[C.(Gaio) Iulio Vero] Maxi|mo, Ger(manico max(imo), Dac(ico) max(imo), S]arm(atico) | max(imo), nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari) n(ostro), sub* [8] *| [. . .]ucciano, v(iro) c(larissimo), leg(ato) | [Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)], coh(ors) I B[a]tavorum | [fecit, cur]ante Burrio | [. . .]sto, prae[f(ecto),* [12] *| Perpetuo et C]orneliano [co(n)s(ulibus)].*

For the Emperor Caesar Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus, Germanicus Maximus, Dacicus Maximus, Sarmaticus Maximus, pontifex maximus, in his third tribunician

[82] Cf. *CIL* iii. 1393 = *IDR* iii/3. 233 (Germisara, Dacia): *L. Octavius I[u]lianus cos. II[I] Dac. fieri iussit*; *AE* 1919. 11, Histria: *T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio leg. Aug. pr. pr. faciendum curavit*; 1957. 123, Lambaesis: *p[er]fici curavit Cl. Gallus [leg.] Augustor. pr. pr.*; 1967. 571, Histria (*fecit* restored); *CIL* viii. 22763 = *ILS* 9352, Tibubuci (Numidia): *Aurelius Quintianus v.p. praeses . . . perfici curavit*; cf. next note.

[83] Cf. *AE* 1910. 86, Viminacium: *[M. Stati]us Priscu[s . . . leg. Augusto]r . . . f(ecit)* (quoted under Gov. 29); more normal is e.g. *RIB* 1265, High Rochester: *C. [[Iulius]] Marcus leg. Aug. pr. pr. posuit et dedicavit* (Gov. 41).

power, six times acclaimed Imperator, consul, proconsul, father of the fatherland, and Gaius Julius Verus Maximus, Germanicus Maximus, Dacicus Maximus, Sarmaticus Maximus, our most noble Caesar, under . . . -uccianus, senator, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, the First Cohort of Batavians built (this), under the charge of Burrius -stus, prefect, Perpetuus and Cornelianus being the consuls (237).

The restoration *[T]ucciano* is reasonably certain, since Tuccius is the best attested of the *nomina* ending -uccius, from one of which this *cognomen* must derive.[84] This would leave about six letters at the beginning of line 8 for the *nomen*, providing an enormous range, especially as it could have been abbreviated. But one may note the Diocletianic senator Egnatius Tuccianus, curator of Thugga in proconsular Africa, attested by two inscriptions; he might have been a grandson of this governor. The question of his origin must remain open. Tuccius appears to be an Etruscan name, but that need not exclude provincial extraction for a third-century Tuccianus.[85] One may also note the Latin Anthology poet Tuccianus, thought to be from Africa.[86] Since three governors are attested during the reign of Gordian III, 238–44, it seems probable that [T]uccianus was replaced on the downfall of Maximinus. He could well have governed Lower Britain for most of the latter's reign, after replacing Claudius Apellinus in spring 235, unless -imus Di- was governor in 236 (cf. above).

Inferior between 238 and 244 Maecilius Fuscus

RIB 1092, Lanchester (*Longovicium*): *imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Antonius | Gordianus P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) | principia et armamen*[4]*|taria conlapsa restit|uit, per Maecilium Fuscum, leg(atum) | Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), curante M(arco) Aur(elio) | Quirino, pr(aefecto) coh(ortis) I L(ingonum) Gord(ianae).*

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus restored the headquarters building and armouries, which had collapsed, through the agency of Maecilius Fuscus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, under the charge of Marcus Aurelius Quirinus, prefect of the First Cohort of Lingones, Gordian's own.

?*RIB* 1751, Great Chesters (*Aesica*): *[. . . ?coh(ors) II Ast]u|[rum G]ord(iana) | [. . . , provinciam] regen[te* [4]*| ?Maecilio Fus]c[o, | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), . . .]* (or *?Egnat. Lu]c[il|iano]o | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), . . .]*).

. . . the Second Cohort of Asturians?, Gordian's own, (built this), while Maecilius Fuscus? (or Egnatius Lucilianus), propraetorian legate of the Emperor?, was governing the province?.

[84] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 139ff., on *cognomina* derived on *gentilicia*, has only one other ending -ccianus, Luccianus, 149, a single specimen, *CIL* ix. 2249.

[85] *CIL* viii. 26566, 26573 + 26567 = *ILAfr.* 532. Not mentioned by Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 157, who has three other examples, *CIL* x. 6400 + *add.*, xi. 3208, and viii. 2396 = *ILS* 2752, Thamugadi in Numidia. From the 3rd cent. onwards the *curator civitatis* was increasingly a native of the town where he served, E. Kornemann, *RE* 4/2 (1901), 1809f.

[86] *PLRE* ii. 1130.

Except for a water-pipe at Rome with his name and senatorial rank, Fuscus is otherwise unknown.[87] His *gentilicium* is rare, virtually confined to Italy and Africa. But a governor of Thrace under Hadrian possibly called Maec(ilius) might be an ancestor.[88] It seems likely that Fuscus preceded Egnatius Lucilianus, if the renewal of the headquarters building and armouries at Lanchester had priority over the bath-house.[89] The latter building work was supervised by the same prefect, also attested by an altar he dedicated to Silvanus a few miles from the fort.[90] Fuscus or Lucilianus might be the governor whose names are missing on the inscription from Great Chesters, probably set up under Gordian.[91]

Inferior between 238 and 244 Egnatius Lucilianus

RIB 1091, Lanchester (*Longovicium*): *imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Antonius Gordia|nus P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) balneum cum | basilica a solo instruxit* [4] *| per Egn(atium) Lucili|anum, leg(atum) Aug(usti) | pr(o) pr(aetore), curante M(arco) Aur(elio) Quirino, pr(a)ef(ecto) coh(ortis) I L(ingonum) Gor(dianae).*

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus erected from the ground up the bath-building with basilica, through the agency of Egnatius Lucilianus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, under the charge of Marcus Aurelius Quirinus, prefect of the First Cohort of Lingones, Gordian's own.

RIB 1262, High Rochester (*Bremenium*): *g(enio) d(omini) n(ostri) et | signorum | coh(ortis) I Vardul[l(orum)],* [4] *| n(umeri) explora|tor(um) Brem(enensium) Gor(dianorum), Egnat(ius) Lucili|anus, leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), | curante Cassio | Sabiniano trib(uno).*

To the spirit of our Lord and of the standards of the First Cohort of Vardulli (and) of the Unit of Scouts of Bremenium, Gordian's own, Egnatius Lucilianus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor (set this up), under the charge of Cassius Sabinianus, tribune.

Egnatius Lucilianus, otherwise unknown, may be father of the Lucillus who was *cos. ord.* 265, and a kinsman of Gallienus, whose mother seems to have been an Egnatia. If so, his home town was probably Falerii in Italy.[92] His place in the series of Gordianic governors is not certain, but he may be supposed to

[87] *AE* 954. 67; Barbieri, *L'Albo*, no. 1642; *PIR*² M 41.

[88] Schulze, *LE* 185, 204. Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 44, also finds one each in Spain and Dalmatia. For Maec. Nep., the Hadrianic governor of Thrace cf. *PIR*² M 43 and under Gov. 13; cf. also M 40, Maecilius, recipient of a rescript from Antoninus Pius; 44, M. Maecilius Rufus, proconsul of Achaia before AD 67; 45, M. Maecilius Tullus, an Augustan mint-master.

[89] Dietz, *Senatus*, 147f., is sceptical about the argument from priority. But his conjecture that the collapse of the *principia* and *armamentaria* might have been caused by enemy action is based on a false premise, cf. below and n. 95, on Nonius Philippus.

[90] *RIB* 1042.

[91] *RIB* 1751, now lost: *[. . .]V / [. . . G]ord(ian..)/ [. . . provinciam] regente/ . . . C . . .* For the formula *provinciam regente* cf. under Maximus, above, from the same fort.

[92] *PIR*² E 23, a conjecture going back to Borghesi, cf. E 25, 35–7, 39; see Dietz, *Senatus*, 146f., with further references.

have followed Maecilius Fuscus and preceded Nonius Philippus, for the latter is datable to 242, and there is hardly time for two more governors between then and the death of Gordian III in 244. He or Fuscus might be the governor whose name is lost on an inscription from Great Chesters, probably set up under Gordian (above).[93]

Inferior 242 Nonius Philippus

RIB 897, Old Carlisle (*Olerica*): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), | pro salu[te] imperatoris | M(arci) Antoni Gordiani P(ii) [F(elicis)]* [4]*| invicti Aug(usti), et Sab[in]iae Fur|iae Tranquil⟨lin⟩ae, coniugi(s) eius, to|taque domu divin(a) eorum, a|la Aug(usta) Gordia(na) ob virtutem* [8]*| appellata posuit, cui prae(e)est | Aemilius Crispinus pr(a)ef(ectus) | eqq. (equitum), natus in pro(vincia) Africa de | Tusdro, sub cur(a) Nonii Ph*[12]*|ilippi, leg(ati) Aug(usti) pro pr(a)e[to(re)], | At]tico et Praetextato c[o(n)s(ulibus)*.[94]

To Jupiter, best and greatest, for the welfare of the Emperor Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Invictus Augustus, and of Sabinia Furia Tranquillina, his wife, and of their whole divine house, the Ala, called Augusta for valour, Gordian's own, of which Aemilius Crispinus, prefect of cavalry, born in the province of Africa, from Thysdrus, is in command, set (this) up, under the charge of Nonius Philippus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor, Atticus and Praetextatus being the consuls (242).

RIB 883 + *add.*, Papcastle (*Derventio*): *[. . . , ?a Noni]o Ṗh[ilippo?], | l(eg(ato) Aug(usti), in c[u]|neum Frisio*[4]*|num Aballav|ensium [[Philip]]|p(ianorum), (ante diem) XIIII kal(endas) et XIII kal(endas) | Nov(embres), Gord(iano) II et Pompei(ano)* [8]*| co(n)s(ulibus) et Attico et Pr(a)e[te]|xtato co(n)s(ulibus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

. . . , transferred? by Nonius Philippus?, legate of the Emperor, to the *cuneus* of Fris(iav)onians of Aballava, Philip's own, on the 14th and 13th day before the Kalends of November, Gordian for the second time and Pompeianus, and Atticus and Praetextatus, being the consuls, willingly and deservedly fulfilled the vow (19 and 20 October, 241 and 242).

Cf. *RIB* 882, Papcastle (*Derventio*): *[. . . in cuneum Frisionum Aballave]nsium [. . . | ex v(oto) p(osuit), (ante diem) XIIII [Kal(endas)] | et XIII Kal(endas) Nov(embres), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), | [G]ordiano II e(t) Ponpeiano* (sic) *co(n)[s(ulibus)]*.

As noted above, the other two Gordianic governors presumably preceded Philippus, so 242, if not 241, is likely to have been his first year. The title of the *ala*, *Augusta Gordiana ob virtutem appellata*, is not evidence for military action under Gordian. It had been called *Augusta ob virtutem appellata* long before this.[95] An oddity about the inscription from Papcastle is that the unit of Fris(iav)onians bears the title 'Philip's own', so that it cannot have been set up before

[93] Note also *RIB* 1750, Great Chesters: a fragment, now lost, read as: [. . .]VI.IA/[. . .]VC./ . . .]LEG/[. . .]. Ll. 2–3 could be restored as *[L]uc[iliano] leg. [Aug. pr.pr.]*.

[94] As noted in *RIB*, the grammar is adrift here: *totiusque domus divinae* is required.

[95] *AE* 1979. 388 (Hadrianic); *RIB* 893–4, 946 (Commodan). This is overlooked by Dietz, *Senatus*, 148 and nn. 399, 401, who infers from the title in *RIB* 897 that the *ala* had been decorated for valour by Gordian.

Gordian was replaced by Philip early in 244.[96] Perhaps the governor continued in office into that year. There is no other record of him, but a Nonia Phili[ppa] is attested on an inscription from Rome.[97] The Greek *cognomen* has a respectable Italian record, in the Republican Marcii Philippi, so Nonius Philippus need not have been of Greek or freedman origin. He could well have been Italian. There were several senatorial families of Nonii. He is unlikely to have been descended from the Nonii Asprenates, known in the late Republic and prominent under Augustus, or the Cisalpine Nonii who reached their apogee in the Severan period. But he might have been a kinsman of the *cos. II ord.* of 279, Nonius Paternus.[98] The cavalry prefect Aemilius Crispinus was at pains to draw attention to his origin: Thysdrus was where Gordian I was proclaimed emperor in 238 (Herodian 7. 4. 1ff.). Crispinus' career may have been furthered or launched by participation in that transaction.

Superior, 3rd century Marcus Martiannius Pulcher

Britannia, 7 (1976), 378f., London: *in h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) | M(arcus) Martian|nius Pulch|er, v(ir) c(larissimus),* [4]*| leg(atus) Augg. (Augustorum duorum) pro | praet(ore), templ(u)m | Isidis c[. . .]|tis vetustate* [8]*| collabsum | restitui prae|cepit.*

In honour of the divine house, Marcus Martiannius Pulcher, senator, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors, ordered the temple of Isis . . . , collapsed through age, to be restored.

This governor is otherwise unknown. His *nomen*, seemingly unique,[99] is of a well-attested type, formed from a *cognomen*, in this case Martianus.[100] Such 'fabricated' *nomina* are common in the Celtic provinces,[101] the best known that of the Gallic emperor Postumus, Cassianius.[102] One would have expected Martianius here. But other variants of *nomina* and *cognomina*, with single or double consonant, suggest that the governor preferred Martiannius.[103] The

[96] *PIR*² J 461; D. Kienast, *Kaisertabelle*² (1996), 195, 198 (between 13 January and 14 March). *Aballava*, from which the *cuneus* took its name, was Burgh-by-Sands on Hadrian's Wall. The spelling of the ethnic name surely refers to the Frisi(av)ones rather than the Frisii.

[97] *CIL* vi. 16237.

[98] *PIR*² N 113, 117–27, 132–3, 151–3, 160 (Asprenates), cf. stemma p. 367; 114–16, 141, 145–6 (Cisalpine); 148 (Paternus); 149 (Philippus).

[99] No examples in Lörincz, *OPEL* iii (omitting this man).

[100] Hence it is unnecessary to understand e.g. M(arcus) Mar(ius) Ti(berius) Annius, as J. R. Martindale, *ap.* J. M. Reynolds, *JRS* 66 (1976), 187.

[101] Schulze, *LE* 51ff., esp. 57ff., 'Gentilnamen aus cognomina', citing Cupitius, Dubitatius, Faustinius, Mansuetius, etc. Closer parallels: Annianius, *CIL* xii. 765; xiii. 2060; Julianius, iii. 5825, xiii. 7299, 8620; Lollianius, xiii. 4412, Lucilianius, xiii. 6724, Mammilianius, xiii. 6771; Marcianius, xiii. 4108, 11647; Nonianius, xiii. 3729.

[102] *PIR*² C 466.

[103] See Schulze, *LE* 422ff., on 'Consonantengemination'. Cf. also the index to *CIL* vi. for Fan(n)ius and Man(n)ius.

name is the only clue to his origin: one of the areas where such forms were favoured, Gaul, the Rhineland, or even Britain. Pulcher, familiar from the great Republican house of the Claudii Pulchri, was little favoured in the imperial period, just over forty epigraphic examples being known.[104] Martianus was even less common.[105]

The only clue to dating is the style 'legate of two Emperors'. Of joint reigns, those of M. Aurelius and L. Verus and M. Aurelius and Commodus, can be excluded: the abbreviated *leg. Augg.* is very rare before the Severan period;[106] and in any case there are barely any vacancies in Britain under M. Aurelius (Gov. 29–33). If Britain was not divided until *c.*213, there is scarcely room under Severus and Caracalla, 198–209, either, except perhaps *c.*200–3 (see Gov. 37–8). Almost certainly Pulcher was a consular governor of Upper Britain.[107] Possible periods when *leg. Augg.* could have been used are 221–2, 235–8, and most of the years 238–60. Hardly later, for, although senatorial governors continued under the *imperium Galliarum*, it seems not to have had joint emperors; and subsequently it must be assumed that equestrian *praesides* governed both British provinces from the mid-270s onwards.

Inferior, 3rd century [. . .]us Aem[ilian]us

RIB 741 + *add.*, Bowes (*Lavatrae*); . . . | . . . | . . . *]us Aem[ilian]us, [leg(atus)* ^{4} *| Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)?, co[h(orti) I Thrac(um), ins(tante) | [. . .]llo, praef(ecto) [coh(ortis)] fecit.*

For the Emperor . . . ?, [. . .]us Aemilianus, propraetorian legate of the Emperor?, built this for the First Cohort of Thracians, [. . .]llus, prefect, supervising the work.

This inscription, mutilated through reuse as a quern, is expanded in *RIB* as follows: *[. . . | . . . | . . . us Aem[ilian]us [pr|aef eq. co]h. I Thrac[um], ins. |[. . .]llo praef. | [. . .], fecit*, with the comment: 'In l. 3 —us Aemilianus is presumably the *praefectus equitum* from Binchester (cf. *RIB* 730) rather than the provincial governor, who, on a building-inscription such as this appears to be, could hardly be mentioned except in an oblique case'. However, in *RIB* 730, also from Bowes, the governor Virius Lupus (Gov. 37) is mentioned in the nominative: *Virius Lupus leg. Aug. pr. pr. balineum . . . restituit, curante Val. Frontone praef. eq. alae Vetto*. Hence the restoration proposed above is acceptable.[108] The

[104] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 231. Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 171, lists twenty-three examples in his area.

[105] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 150 counted about twenty; Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 61, lists eighteen in his area.

[106] B. E. Thomasson, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 125ff., esp. 127.

[107] It should be noted that *v.c.* could be read as *v.e.*, i.e. *v(ir) e(gregius)*, making him an equestrian. But an equestrian should have been called *vice legati*, not *leg. Augg. pr.pr.* It is better to take the letter in question as a rather square-shaped C.

[108] *FRB* 199f., first proposed *ES* 4 (1967), 92, following E. Birley's suggestion; approved by Tomlin, *add.* to *RIB* 741.

original length of the lines is uncertain. As noted in *RIB* the first two contained an erasure, still visible after the retooling. This suggests a third-century date, as does the garrison, *cohors I Thracum*, first attested on *RIB* 730 at Bowes in 197 or soon after. If this is correct, Aemilianus ought to have been praetorian governor of Britannia Inferior: there is hardly room for him in the early third century, when consular governors were still in charge of northern England. The date may be narrowed down, since for the period 216–44 at least thirteen governors are already attested, making it unlikely that this man could be fitted in. But many emperors in the mid- to late third century, including all those of the Gallic Empire (cf. below), had their names erased, so closer dating is impossible. The governor's common *cognomen* does not help.[109] He might have been an equestrian *praeses*, rather than a senatorial *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, if the inscription belongs after the recovery of the western provinces by Aurelian.

legate of II Augusta, mid-3rd century Titus Flavius Postumius Varus (*cos. a. inc.*)

RIB 316, Caerleon (*Isca*): *T(itus) Fl(avius) Postumius* | *Varus, v(ir) c(larissimus), leg(atus),* | *templ(um) Dianae* [4] | *restituit.*

Titus Flavius Postumius Varus, senator, legate, restored the temple of Diana.

A senator calling himself simply *leg(atus)* at a legionary fortress can only be the legionary legate, clearly of II Augusta. Varus became prefect of Rome in 271,[110] so probably commanded the legion some twenty years earlier. His high social standing is demonstrated by membership of two great priestly colleges, the augurs and the *quindecimviri*. He was a great-grandson of the orator M. Postumius Festus (*cos.* 160), who was a friend of Fronto and a fellow-African.[111] His brothers or cousins were Postumius Quietus (*cos. ord.* 272) and T. Flavius Postumius Titianus (*cos. II ord.* 301). The latter's names suggest that he was grandson of Pertinax's brother-in-law T. Flavius Titianus. A son or descendant of Varus, of the same names, was evidently a Christian.[112]

[109] Barbieri, *L'Albo*, index p. 665, listed over twenty senatorial bearers of the name. The future ephemeral emperor of 253, M. Aemilius Aemilianus (*L'Albo*, no. 1417) and the *praeses* of Tarraconensis in 259 (ibid. 1415) are promising possibilities.

[110] *PLRE* i. 946f.

[111] *ILS* 2929, set up by Varus in memory of Festus, 2940, Rome, both stressing that Varus was an orator like his ancestor; cf. Fronto, *Ad amicos* 2. 11. 1, 199 van den Hout; A. Gellius, *NA* 19. 13; *PIR*[2] P 886, 900.

[112] *PIR*[2] P 890 (Quietus), 899 (Titianus), 900 (Varus), with further references. Another probable kinsman is Postumius Suagrus, prefect of Rome in 275 (896).

Superior, between 253 and 258 Desticius Juba

RIB 334, Caerleon (*Isca*): *impp. (imperatores duo) Valerianus et Gallienus | Augg. (Augusti duo), et Valerianus nobilissimus | Caes(ar), cohorti VII centurias a so*[4]*|lo restituerunt, per Decicium Iubam, | v(irum) c(larissimum), legatum Augg. (Augustorum duorum) pr(o) pr(aetore), et | Vitulasium Laetinianum, leg(atum) leg(ionis) | II Aug(ustae), curante Domitio Potentino,* [8]*| praef(ecto) leg(ionis) eiusdem.*

The (two) Emperors Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti, and Valerianus, most noble Caesar, restored the barracks for the Seventh Cohort from the ground up, through the agency of Desticius Juba, senator, propraetorian legate of the (two) Emperors, and of Vitulasius Laetinianus, legate of the Second Legion Augusta, under the charge of Domitius Potentinus, prefect of the same legion.

This governor must fall within the years 253 to 258: Valerian and Gallienus became emperors in 253 and the latter's elder son Valerian junior was associated with them as *nobilissimus Caesar* until his death in 258.[113] Desticii, with the *praenomen* Titus, and several with the *cognomen* Juba, are attested by various inscriptions from Concordia in northern Italy, clearly their home. The founder of the family's fortunes was T. Desticius Severus, procurator of Raetia in 166. The first Desticius Juba, presumably his son, was a senator, and seems to have been father of Desticius Sa[l]lus[tius] Juba and [Dest]i[c]i[a] Sallustia Plotina, whose names suggest that their mother was a Sallustia Plotina.[114] This governor is thus likely to have been at least a third-generation senator, a matter of some interest, since he is the latest known consular governor of Upper Britain, and indeed the latest consular governor with senatorial legates and legions under him. Gallienus was shortly to exclude senators from military posts, although the Gallic emperors did not follow him in this policy (cf. below).[115]

legate of II Augusta, between 253 and 258 Vitulasius Laetinianus

RIB 334, Caerleon (*Isca*): quoted above.

This man is otherwise unknown. His names suggest Italian origin, as is certain for the governor under whom he served. So rare is the *gentilicium* that he was probably a descendant of the Flavian senator Sex. Vitulasius L. f. Quirina Nepos (*cos.* 78).[116] Laetinianus is the latest known legionary legate anywhere in the empire (apart from a few governors of one-legion provinces).

[113] *PIR*[2] L 258, 184.

[114] *PIR*[2] D 54–8; Alföldy, *Gallia Cisalpina*, 108ff. There are no clues to explain the name Juba, which evokes the kings of Numidia and Mauretania, *PIR*[2] J 65; see further Alföldy, *Gallia Cisalpina*, 90.

[115] On Gallienus' exclusion of senators from military command, reported by Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 33. 33, see the introduction to II. 2 above.

[116] Andermahr, *Totus*, 492, cites three inscriptions, from Peltuinum, Paganica, and Aveia, which indicate that he had property in this part of central Italy, probably his home.

Under Valerian and Gallienus troops were sent from Britain to reinforce the Rhine and Danube armies at the time of barbarian invasions and civil wars:

CIL xiii. 6780 = A. v. Domaszewski, *Westd. Ztschr.* 18 (1899), 218 f., Mainz: *[milites] leg(ionis) XX pro sal(ute) | canabe(nsium) ex v[o] | to pos[uerunt] regr(essi) [ad]* [4] *| can[ab(as) ab expedit] | ione VI Kal(endas) [. . . Vale] | riano III et G[allieno co(n)s(ulibus)].*

The soldiers of the Twentieth Legion, set this up in accordance with their vow for the welfare of the dwellers in the *canabae*, having returned to the *canabae* from the expedition, on the sixth day before the Kalends of . . . , Valerian for the third time and Gallienus being the consuls (255).

CIL iii. 3228. = *ILS* 546 = *CIL* iii. 2328, Sirmium: *[I(ovi) o(ptimo)] m(aximo) | monitori [p]ro salute adque* [4] *| incolumitate d(omini) n(ostri) Gallieni Aug(usti) | et militum vexil(lationum) legg. (legionum) | [G]ermanicianar[r(um)* [8] *| e]t Britannici(a)n(arum) | [cu]m auxilis [e]arum | . . . [V]italianus, | [pro]tect(or) Aug(usti) n(ostri), | [somnio mon]itus,* [12] *| [praepo]situs, | [v(otum)?] p(osuit).*

To Jupiter, Best and Greatest, Monitor, for the welfare and safety of our Lord Gallienus Augustus and of the soldiers of the vexillations of the German and British legions, with their *auxilia*, . . . Vitalianus, *protector* of our Emperor, commander, set up his vow?

The British legionaries are not recorded on Gallienus' legionary coins and are thought to have returned to Britain before these were issued.[117] However, those recorded at Sirmium, evidently under Gallienus as sole emperor, between 260 and 268, may have been absorbed into other units: they could have hardly returned to Britain after it fell into Postumus' hands.[118]

Britain under the Gallic Empire

Postumus' control over Britain, beginning at latest in 261, soon after he seized power in Germany in 260, is illustrated by inscriptions from Lancaster, *RIB* 605, quoted below, and Birdoswald, 1883, 1886, giving the regiments there, the *ala Sebosiana* and *coh. I Aelia Dacorum*, the title *Postumiana*; and by four milestones, 2232, Cornwall; 2255, south Wales; 2260, Carmarthenshire; *JRS* 55 (1965), 224, Cumbria. Coins of Postumus with reverses commemorating Neptune as his companion, NEPT COMITI, and as the god who will bring him back, NEPTVNO REDVCI, may, as Mann conjectured, indicate that he conducted 'successful operations in the North Sea. If so, then the *classis Britannica* will have been involved.'[119] But Drinkwater suggests that Postumus went to Britain, probably in 261, just to secure the island's allegiance, rather than to campaign against external enemies.[120]

[117] Ritterling, *RE* 12/2 (1925), 1340, 1342.

[118] Pflaum, *CP*, p. 919, citing E. Birley (pers. comm.), argued that these detachments were permanently separated from their original legions.

[119] *RIC* v/1, Postumus nos. 30, 76, 214–17; J. C. Mann, in Maxfield (ed.), *The Saxon Shore* (1989), 5.

[120] J. F. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire* (1987), 168 f.

Inferior, between 263 and 268 Octavius Sabinus

RIB 605 + *add.*, Lancaster: *[. . . , | ob] balineum refect(um) | [et] basilicam vetustate conlapsum* (sic) [4]*| a solo restitutam eqq. (equitibus) alae Sebosianae [[[Po]s[t]u[mi]anae]], sub Octavio Sabino, v(iro) c(larissimo), praeside n(ostro), curante Fla(vio) Ammau|sio, praef(ecto) eqq. (equitum), d(e)d(icata) (ante diem) XI kal(endas) Septem(bres),* [8]*| Censore II et Lepido II co(n)s(ulibus).*

[For the Emperor . . . Postumus], on account of the rebuilt bath-house and the basilica, collapsed through age, restored from ground level, for the cavalrymen of the Ala Sebosiana, Postumus' own, under Octavius Sabinus, senator, our governor, under the charge of Flavius Ammausius, prefect of cavalry; dedicated on the eleventh day before the Kalends of September, Censor for the second time and Lepidus for the second time being consuls (22 August in one of the years 263–8).

As Dessau first pointed out, the consuls Censor and Lepidus held office in the Gallic Empire,[121] a view confirmed by Wright's reading of traces of the deleted title *Postumiana* for the *ala*; the year must be one of those between 263 and 268.[122] Postumus continued to appoint senators to govern military provinces, with command over the army, after Gallienus, against whom he had seceded, had either replaced them by equestrian *praesides* or at least the legionary commanders by equestrian prefects (see the introduction to II. 2 above). Octavius Sabinus is otherwise unknown and there is no reason to connect him with the few recorded homonyms.[123]

Rule over Britain by Postumus' successor Victorinus, who reigned from 269 to 271, is attested by five milestones: *RIB* 2238, Chesterton, Camb.; 2241, Lincoln; 2251, near Neath; 2261, near Brecon; 2287, near Old Penrith; 2296, Corbridge. Further, a tile from Caerleon, *RIB* II 2459. 64, bears the stamp *[leg(io) II A]ug. Vi[. . .]*, perhaps to be expanded as *Vi(ctoriniana)*. Others from Chester, *RIB* 2463. 56–7, are stamped *leg. XX V. V. V.*, the third *V* perhaps representing *V(ictoriniana)*. The Twentieth is the only British legion commemorated by a coin-issue of this emperor, *RIC* v/2, Victorinus nos. 21–2. The last Gallic emperor, Tetricus, is represented in Britain by the title *Tetriciana* for the Birdoswald regiment, *RIB* 1185, and by three milestones from Bitterne, ii. 2224–6.[124] Britain remained part of the *imperium Galliarum* until this was suppressed by Aurelian in 274.[125] Two milestones, from both ends of

[121] H. Dessau, *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 165ff.

[122] J. Lafaurie, *ANRW* 2/2 (1975), 907, shows that Postumus was himself *cos. II* in 261, *cos. III* in 262, *cos. IV* in 267 or 268, and *cos. V* in 269. This leaves one of the years 263–6 or 267–8 for Censor and Lepidus.

[123] Cf. *ILS* 6579; *CIL* xiv. S 4499; *AE* 1902. 8; and C. Octavius Ap. Suetrius Sabinus (*cos. ord.* 214, *II ord.* 240), *PIR*[2] O 25, cf. O 56, the British governor, where the inscription is mistakenly attributed to *Longovicium*, Lanchester, instead of Lancaster.

[124] For full discussion of the Gallic emperors see esp. Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire*, *passim*; on the chronology, 92ff.

[125] Ibid. 43ff.

Britain, show that Aurelian was recognized there.[126] But an inscription thought to show Aurelian with the title Britannicus turns out to have been misread.[127]

Superior (or Inferior?), *c.*280 or 281 *Ignotus*

Zosimus 1. 66. 2: Through Victorinus, a Moor by origin, he [Probus] also suppressed another rebellion, carried out in Britain. It happened that he had appointed the rebel to be governor of Britain following the suggestion of Victorinus. Probus namely summoned Victorinus, blamed him for the advice he had given, and sent him to combat the rebellion. The latter set out at once and disposed of the usurper with great subtlety.

This version is repeated by Joh. Antiochenus, Fr. 160 Mueller.

Zosimus 1. 68. 3: Such of them [Burgundians and Vandals] as he could capture alive, he sent to Britain. Dwelling in the island, they were subsequently useful to the emperor when someone rebelled.

Zonaras 12. 29 (iii. 155, 1–12 Dindorf): And another man, in the Britains, whom the Emperor had appointed governor, carried out a rebellion, Victorinus, a Moor, who was a friend of his [*or*: was related to him], having obtained this position for him. And Probus, learning this, blamed Victorinus, who asked to be sent against that man. Victorinus set off, pretending to be fleeing from the Emperor, and was gladly received by the usurper, whom he destroyed during the night, and returned to Probus.

This version is repeated by Georgius Cedrenus, i. 463, 15–464. 3, Bonn, and the Anon., *Hist. Ecloge*, *Anec. Graeca bibl. reg. Parisiensis* 2, ed. J. A. Cramer (1839), p. 291 = 'Leo Grammaticus', 80, 11–16 Bonn; they add that Victorinus 'turning round as he left the ship, loosed his belt and threw it into the sea, and came to the Emperor without a belt; and he was angered as he seemed to have suffered this at the hands of another man. But Victorinus said that he had done this himself, asking no longer to administer a command, for command was full of dangers and changes of fortune; and the Emperor both granted him retirement and gave him many gifts.' (Cf. also Georg. Monachus Harmatolus, *Chron.* 3. 168. 2.)

This governor in the reign of Probus, 276–82, can be slightly more closely dated by Zosimus' second mention of his coup, which shows that his main account is out of chronological order.[128] The prisoners (Burgundians and Vandals) sent to Britain, who later helped to suppress 'a certain insurgent' there, had been captured at the end of Probus' Raetian campaign in 278.[129] Probus himself had appointed the governor on the recommendation of one Victorinus, a Moor. Zonaras and the other late Byzantine writers[130] add that

[126] *RIB* 2227, Bitterne; 2309, nr. Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall.

[127] As shown by E. Kettenhofen, *Tyche*, 1 (1986), 138ff.

[128] F. Paschoud, *Zosime*, *Histoire Nouvelle*, i². *Livres I et II* (2nd edn., 2000), 181f. n. 95.

[129] For the date, see G. Kreucher, *Der Kaiser Marcus Marcus Aurelius Probus und seine Zeit* (2003), 145f.

[130] See on them B. Bleckmann, *Die Reichskrise des III. Jhs. in der spätantiken und byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung: Untersuchungen zu den nachdionischen Quellen der Chronik des Johannes Zonaras* (1992), *passim*, esp. 49f. on this episode.

Victorinus was 'a friend' or perhaps 'relative' of the governor—if the latter, the governor was presumably also a Moor. Victorinus requested to be given the task of overthrowing him, which, as Zonaras, and the other Byzantine writers using the same source, report he did by pretending to be 'fleeing from the emperor'. The date was probably a year or two after Probus' Raetian campaign.[131] Victorinus might be the *cos. ord.* 282 of that name, colleague of Probus (*cos. V*). If so, his consulship might be a reward for suppressing the usurper, which would suggest that the action took place in 280 or 281.[132] The governor was no doubt an equestrian *praeses*. His province was almost certainly Superior, which had two legions and was nearer to the continent than the one-legion Inferior. Various motives have been suggested for the rebellion, including external attack.[133] This must remain speculation.

The Latin sources based on the *Kaisergeschichte* all ignore this rebel.[134] Instead, they concentrate on the usurpation of Proculus and Bonosus on the Rhine. The *HA* embroiders this at length, claiming (*Prob.* 18. 5) that these two gained control of 'all the Britains, Spains, and provinces of trousered Gaul (*Galliae bracatae*)', and even that Bonosus' father was a professor of British origin (*Quad. tyr.* 14. 1). Both items are surely fiction. Further, whereas the other Latin sources report Probus' vine edict of 282 as allowing 'the Gauls and Pannonians' to plant vines, the *HA* has 'all the Gauls, Spaniards, and Britons' (*Prob.* 18. 8), probably another invention.[135]

284–285 a campaign in Britain under Carinus?

Carinus, who ruled in the West in 283–5, took the title Britannicus Maximus in 284 (shared by his brother and colleague Numerian).[136] This should indicate that he, or at least an officer sent by him, campaigned with success in Britain. It has been suggested that the contemporary poet Nemesianus

[131] Paschoud, *Zosime* i². 183f. n. 97.

[132] In that case, the story in Georg. Cedrenus, and Leo, that, after accomplishing his mission, Victorinus asked 'no longer to have any command' and retired, would not be strictly accurate. Still, the consulship was hardly a 'command'. The consul is often identified with Pomponius Victorianus, prefect of Rome in 282, e.g. *PLRE* i, Victori(a)nus 3; *PIR*² P 762; for doubts, Barbieri, *L'Albo* no. 1760, who, however, identified the consul with the man who went to Britain.

[133] Thus G. Kreucher, *Probus* 165, who cites a great many British coin hoards from this time as evidence for insecurity. He also conjectures, 203, that the governor of Britannia Prima, L. Septimius [. . .], *RIB* 103, Cirencester, might have been the rebel, following *FRB* 177ff., where this man was dated to the period 274–86, and taken to be an equestrian *praeses* of Britannia Superior. But this suggestion is now withdrawn, see IV. 4 below, assigning the inscription to the time of Julian.

[134] See the comments by F. Paschoud, *Histoire Auguste*, v/2, *Vies de Probus* . . . (2001), 131f., 135f., on *HA Probus* 18. 4–7.

[135] See Paschoud, *Vies de Probus*, 131ff.

[136] *CIL* xiv. 126(= *ILS* 608), 127, near Ostia.

referred to such a victory with the words *bella sub arcto*, 'wars under the north star', *Cynegetica* 63–70:

> *mox vestros meliore lyra memorare triumphos*
> *accingar, divi fortissimi pignora Cari,* 64
> *atque canam nostrum geminis sub finibus orbis*
> *litus et edomitas fraterno numine gentes,*
> *quae Rhenum Tigrimque bibunt Ararisque remotum*
> *principium Nilique vident in origine fontem;* 68
> *nec taceam, primum quae nuper bella sub Arcto*
> *felici, Carine, manu confeceris, ipso paene prior genitore deo . . .*

Soon I shall gird myself with a better lyre to record your triumphs, sons of the most gallant deified Carus, and will sing of our coast beneath the twin boundaries of the world and the subjugation by the brothers' divine spirit of the peoples that drink the Rhine and Tigris and the distant start of the Arar [Saône] and see the source of the Nile at its origin; nor shall I be silent about, first, the wars which you with successful hand lately completed under the north star, Carinus, almost outstripping your divine parent . . .

Diocletian was also called Britannicus Maximus not long after defeating Carinus in 285. He probably just took over the title from Carinus, but it is possible that campaigning continued, or was resumed, in his name.[137]

[137] On Nemesianus, see J. C. Mann, in Maxfield (ed.), *Saxon Shore*, 5; followed by Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 101 ff., who conjectures that 'Carinus' forces were [in 285] once again conducting a campaign in Britain, which was concluded very shortly after his death and that the new ruler, Diocletian, gathered the symbolic fruits of victory.' Diocletian as Britannicus Maximus in 285: *CIL* xvi. 128 = *ILS* 615, Ostia.

III

Carausius and Allectus, 286–296

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III. 1

MARCUS AURELIUS MAUS (. . .) CARAUSIUS, 286–293

Carausius was not only ruler of Britain for six years, but also a military commander before this. His origin and career are mentioned briefly by Victor and Eutropius. Victor calls him a 'citizen of Menapia', who had been a helmsman in his youth (39. 20). There is no reason to doubt that he came from this region, bounded by the Meuse and the Scheldt.[1] Eutropius just stresses his 'very humble origin', *vilissime natus*, but adds that 'he had achieved an outstanding reputation in successive vigorous military service' (9. 21. 1). He need not be labelled 'nothing but a barbarian':[2] the Menapii had been within the empire since Caesar's conquest (they surrendered in 53 BC, *BG* 6. 5. 6). A *cohors I Menapiorum* is attested by two diplomas in Britain under Hadrian; it possibly occurs on a third, with the additional name *nautarum*, 'sailors'.[3] The panegyrist of Constantine, referring to Constantius' ridding Batavia of the Franks in 293 or 294 claims that the latter had occupied Batavia 'under the leadership of its own former inhabitant himself', *terram Bataviam sub ipso quondam alumno suo a diversis Francorum gentibus occupatam* (*Pan. Lat. vet.* 6(7). 5. 3). This *alumnus* must be Carausius:[4] the Menapians stretched inland to border on Batavia in the north-east. Like the tetrarchs (Victor 39. 5, 26–8), Carausius had no doubt risen from the ranks.

His command fell at the moment of transition between the old system and the new, so need not have been exactly analogous to any known position. As he controlled the fleet 'which formerly protected the Gauls' (*Pan. Lat. vet.* 8(5). 12. 1), he may have been prefect of the *classis Britannica*.[5] Some have doubted this, partly because the last dated evidence for this fleet dates to the reign of Philip, 244–9.[6] Casey takes Victor's statement that Carausius was 'put in

[1] E. Janssens, *Latomus*, 1 (1937), 269ff., argued unconvincingly that he was a Manxman, that is, from 'Monapia', as Pliny, *NH* 4. 103, calls the island; cf. N. Shiel, *The Episode of Carausius and Allectus* (1977), 15.

[2] Thus W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, i (1946), 74.

[3] *CIL* xvi. 69, 70, 82, the latter, of AD 135, being restored as *[I Me]n(apiorum) Naut(arum)* e.g. by M. G. Jarrett, *Britannia*, 25 (1994), 62f.

[4] Thus B. Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310* (1990), 97f.; C. E. V. Nixon, in id. and B. S. Rodgers, *In Praise of Roman Emperors* (1996), 224 n. 21.

[5] This was the view of J. C. Mann, in Maxfield, *Saxon Shore*, 5: 'He was surely prefect of the *classis Britannica*, whether that command yet had a new name or not.' See also M. Reddé, *Mare Nostrum* (1988), 271ff., 423ff., 439f., 622ff.

[6] *CIL* xii. 686 = *ILS* 2911, Arles. See e.g. H. Cleere, in Maxfield, *Saxon Shore*, 22: 'It seems likely that there was a major reorganization of the Roman army some time in the mid-third century, which resulted in the disbandment of the *classis Britannica* (and, indeed, of other provincial fleets, none of which is recorded after that date).'

charge of preparing a fleet' (39. 20) to imply that 'none existed'. Since excavation of the naval bases at Dover and Boulogne indicates that occupation ceased *c.*270, '[t]he demise of this fleet was probably instrumental in setting in motion the piratical activities which would normally be within the remit of the *Classis Britannica*'.[7] Eutropius is more specific: 'he had received, at Bononia, the task of pacifying the sea, which the Franks and Saxons were infesting, in the Belgica and Armorica sector' (9. 21). This might mean that Carausius held the post later attested by the *Notitia Dignitatum*, *dux tractus Armoricani et Nervicani limitis* (*Occ.* 37. 24). But this command did not necessarily exist in the 280s, even if it did when Eutropius was writing in the 360s.[8] Perhaps the *classis Britannica* was still in being, with new bases if Boulogne and Dover were out of commission. If so, it will have come under Carausius' orders. But he must also have had a larger force. The nine legions, including two from Britain, commemorated on his coinage were surely those that supplied detachments, perhaps amounting to 9,000 men, for his special command. They also included the four legions from Germany and the two from Upper Moesia.[9] An 'officer's badge' found in Gaul, depicting two facing groups of five legionaries, labelled LEG XX V V and LEG SECVNDA AVGVS, with the name AVRELIVS CERVIANVS between them, could have belonged to the officer commanding the 'British brigade' in this force.[10] Carausius was surely its *dux*, or *praepositus vexillationibus*, and perhaps *praefectus classis Britannicae* as well. It should be added

[7] P. J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus* (1994), 103; he cites B. Philp, *The Excavation of the Roman Forts of the Classis Britannica at Dover* (1981), and R. Brulet, in Maxfield, *Saxon Shore*, 65ff.; see also Reddé, *Mare Nostrum*, 276ff., 622f.

[8] e.g. D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (1969–70), i. 190, believes that this command already existed under Diocletian; J. S. Johnson, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 83ff., is more sceptical.

[9] See Shiel, *Episode*, 189ff., and Mann, in Maxfield, *Saxon Shore*, 5: 'The coins . . . show that by the 280s, if not earlier, he [Carausius] or a predecessor had had his command [sc. over the *classis Britannica*] strengthened by a large force of legionary detachments . . . if of normal size (two cohorts or about 1000 men from each legion), this would add 9000 infantry to the forces at the disposal of the commander of the British fleet—a formidable force, whose size may well have encouraged Carausius to make his bid for the throne.' The legions named are II Augusta, XX Valeria Victrix, from Britannia Superior; I Minervia, XXX Ulpia Victrix, from Germania Inferior; VIII Augusta, XXII Primigenia, from Germania Superior; IV Flavia, VII Claudia, from Moesia Superior; and the central reserve legion, II Parthica. See *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 55–84, 268–77 and the list in Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 92. The third British legion, VI Victrix, had presumably sent no contingent, as noted by Shiel, *Episode*, 190. But it is now attested by a later issue, with the additional title AVG(VSTA): M. Lyne, *NC* 161 (2001), 291f., who had already published another new coin showing that XX Valeria Victrix was also given this title, *NC* 160 (2000), 290f. Lyne, *NC* 163 (2003), 162, publishes another later coin showing VII Claudia as Aug. as well. He suggests that all Carausius' legions were called Augusta after 'the postulated victory over the forces of Maximian in 290' (cf. below).

[10] Most conveniently reproduced as *RIB* ii. 2427. 26, suggesting that Cervianus 'was perhaps an officer from the two legions of Upper Britain, sent on a continental expedition (as is attested under Gallienus)', citing *CIL* xiii. 6780, iii. 3228 bis = *ILS* 546 (quoted in II above). Lyne, *NC* 160 (2000), 290f., equally plausibly connects this evidence with Carausius.

that he may have settled the Franks in Batavia (cf. above) after defeating them, with the approval of Maximian. Only when the Franks supported Carausius will this measure have been treated as a hostile act. Constantius was later to resettle Franks 'in deserted regions of Gaul' (*Pan. Lat. vet.* 6(7). 6. 2).

Carausius had initially distinguished himself in Maximian's campaign against the Bagaudae in Gaul. Victor recounts their uprising, which led to Maximian's appointment as 'emperor (*imperatorem*)' and rapid suppression of it (39. 17, 19), adding that 'in this war Carausius, a citizen of Menapia, distinguished himself by rather resolute deeds' (39. 20). He was then given a new commission, to deal with Germans, specified by Eutropius as Franks and Saxons, who were infesting the seas. Victor and Eutropius clearly used a common source, the so-called *Kaisergeschichte* (*KG*), first identified by Enmann in 1883 as the basis of several fourth-century works, notably Victor, Eutropius, and Jerome's continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Subsequently, Polemius Silvius used the *KG* for his *Laterculus*. As Burgess points out, the *KG* gave special attention to *tyranni*, usurpers. Further, he shows that it was not completed until *c.*357, and can even offer 'a local habitation and a name' for its author, Eusebius 'Nanneticus', that is, of Nantes. This writer was used by Ausonius, according to a medieval library catalogue, as his source for verses (now lost) on usurpers between Decius and Diocletian.[11]

The main historical sources may be quoted first:

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39. 19–21: *sed Herculius in Galliam profectus fusis hostibus aut acceptis quieta omnia brevi patraverat.* 20. *quo bello Carausius, Menapiae civis, factis promptioribus enituit; eoque eum, simul quia gubernandi (quo officio adulescentiam mercede exercuerat) gnarus habebatur, parandae classi ac propulsandis Germanis maria infestantibus praefecere.* 21. *hoc elatior, cum barbarum multos opprimeret neque praedae omnia in aerarium referret, Herculii metu, a quo se caedi iussum compererat, Britanniam hausto imperio capessivit.*

19. But Herculius, setting out for Gaul, in a short time had achieved complete peace, routing the enemy or accepting their surrender. 20. In this war Carausius, a citizen of Menapia, distinguished himself by rather resolute deeds. For this reason, and at the same time because he was regarded as an expert pilot (he had earned a living at this task in his youth), they put him in charge of preparing a fleet and driving out the Germans who were infesting the seas. 21. Through this he became rather arrogant, and when he had overcome many of the barbarians but did not turn over all the booty to the treasury, through fear of Herculius, who, he learned, had ordered him to be executed, he usurped imperial power and seized Britain.

Eutropius 9. 21: *per haec tempora etiam, Carausius, qui, vilissime natus, in strenuae militiae ordine famam egregiam fuerat consecutus, cum apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicae et Armoricae pacandum mare accepisset, quod Franci et Saxones infestabant, multis barbaris saepe captis, nec praeda integra aut provincialibus reddita,*

[11] A. Enmann, *Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser* (*Philologus*, Suppl. 4 (1883)); see R. W. Burgess, *CQ* 43 (1993), 491 ff.; id., *CPh* 90 (1995), 111 ff.; id., *HAC*, NS 6 (1998), 83 ff. This Eusebius is named in a list of Ausonius' writings compiled at Verona soon after 1320 by Giovanni Mansionario, first brought to scholarly notice in 1971 by R. Weiss, in R. R. Bolgar (ed.), *Classical Influences on European Culture AD 500–1500* (1971), 67 ff. Cf. Burgess' first paper here cited, 495 ff., with further references; F. Paschoud, *Vies d'Aurélien, Tacite* (1996), xxxvii f.

aut imperatoribus missa, cum suspicio esse coepisset consulto ab eo admitti barbaros, ut transeuntes cum praeda exciperet, atque hac se occasione ditaret; a Maximiano iussus occidi, purpuram sumpsit, et Britannias occupavit.

9. 21: Also at this time Carausius, a man of very humble birth, had gained an outstanding reputation. He had been commissioned at Bononia (Boulogne) to bring peace to the sea, which the Franks and Saxons were infesting, in the Belgica and Armorica sector. Many barbarians were captured on frequent occasions but the booty was neither returned intact to the provincials nor sent to the emperors. When it began to be suspected that the barbarians were being let in by him on purpose so that he could intercept them with the booty in their passage, and use this opportunity to enrich himself, he was ordered to be killed by Maximian; and he took the purple and seized the Britains.

Cf. 'Nennius', *Historia Brittonum* 23, 24: *rustico opere Severus ille praedictus construxit, set nihil profuit. Carutius postea imperator reedificavit et VII castellis munivit inter utraque ostia, domumque rotundam politis lapidibus super ripam fluminis Carun, quod a suo nomine nomen accepit, fornicem triumphalem in victoriae memoriam erigens construxit . . . 24. quartus fuit Karitius imperator et tyrannus, qui et ipse in Brittanniam venit tyrannide. qui propterea tyrannus fuit pro occisione Severi et cum omnibus ducibus romanicae gentis, qui erant cum eo in Brittannia, transverberavit omnes regulos Brittannorum et vindicavit valde Severum ab illis et purpuram Brittanniae occupavit.*

23. The aforementioned Severus built it [the Wall] in rustic masonry, but it profited nothing. The emperor Carutius rebuilt it later and strengthened it with seven forts between both arms of the sea, and built a round house of polished stones on the bank of the river Carun, which took its name from his name, and a triumphal arch in memory of his victory . . . 24. The fourth emperor and usurper was Karitius, who also came to Britain in a usurpation. He was a usurper because of the killing of Severus, and with all the generals of the Roman nation who were with him in Britain, he struck down all the minor kings of the Britons and strongly avenged Severus against them and seized the purple in Britain.

Carutius or Karitius (called 'Carucius' in the list of contents) in this early ninth-century work is clearly Carausius. But apart from the statement that he was a usurper who seized Britain, there is no good reason to regard the other details as more than fantasy. The same applies even more strongly to the much lengthier fictional histories by John of Fordun and Hector Boethius.[12]

Only Eutropius specifies that Diocletian 'sent Maximianus Herculius as Caesar to crush the rebels' (9. 20. 3), and mentions his promotion to Augustus later (9. 22. 1). The dates at which Maximian was appointed Caesar and then, not long afterwards, Augustus, have been much debated. The most plausible chronology seems to be that he became Caesar in December 285, perhaps on the 13th; that he launched the campaign against the Bagaudae in early spring 286; and was promoted to Augustus shortly after this was concluded. This disposes of the notion, mainly based on Eutropius, that Maximian was appointed Augustus because of Carausius' usurpation.[13]

[12] See Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 168ff.; cf. on 'Nennius' N. J. Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* (2002), 119ff. It is odd that P. Webb, *RIC* v/2. 426ff., treated John and Hector as sources that might preserve some truth.

[13] See on Maximian's appointment as Caesar and Augustus F. Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie* (1987), 22ff. (cf. his list of the divergent datings, 24f.). The chronology favoured by T. D.

Victor and Eutropius both place Carausius' appointment to clear the seas of barbarian invaders immediately after the Bagaudic war. Several months must be allowed for Carausius' successful operations, followed by the suspicion that he had allowed in the invaders in order to enrich himself with their plunder, and Maximian's order for his execution. Carausius' reaction, to proclaim himself emperor and seize control of Britain, should belong to the autumn of 286. There is apparent conflict between Eutropius, who puts Allectus' murder of Carausius—clearly in 293—'after a seven-year period', whereas Victor (39. 40) says it was 'after six years'. The numismatic evidence seems to favour late 286.[14]

Carausius, then, ruled Britain for over six years. He also controlled part of Gaul from the Channel coast as far inland as Rouen. The details are a matter of conjecture. It has been argued that he was soon ejected by Maximian from an initial Gallic base, where he issued coinage, and was for some time confined to Britain; but that after Maximian's attempt to invade Britain in 289/290 failed, Carausius regained parts of northern Gaul, including his old naval base at Boulogne.[15]

Of his subordinates only Allectus is known, his chief lieutenant, probably his praetorian prefect. Victor describes Allectus' position at the time of his coup against Carausius with the words *cum eius permissu summae rei praeesset*, 'after he had been put in supreme charge by leave of Carausius' (39. 41). This used to be interpreted to mean that Allectus was in charge of Carausius' finances, as *rationalis summae rei*. Victor's use of the words *summae rei* was, it seemed, confirmed in this sense by the mint-mark RSR on early gold and silver coins and bronze medallions of Carausius. Webb's interpretation of these letters as *r(ationalis) s(ummae) r(ei)*, put forward in 1906, was in 1994 'accepted by all workers today'.[16] Another abbreviation, I.N.P.D.C.A., known only by the reverse of a bronze medallion of Carausius, celebrating his victory,

Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982), 4, 50, puts Maximian's appointment as Caesar on 21 July 285 and as Augustus 1 Apr. 286. However, he also believes that Diocletian defeated Carinus in spring 285, surely too early: see Kolb 11 n. 23, favouring late summer. As Kolb notes, the *Chronographer of 354* (*Chron. Min.* i. 148) gives the total length of reign for Carus and his sons as two years, eleven months and two days, which produces a date of Aug. or Sept. for Carinus' death. See also Kolb, *Diocletian*, 48, against the view of Seston, *Dioclétien*, 75ff., that Maximian was made Augustus because of Carausius' usurpation. But Kolb's own view that the usurpation was provoked by Maximian's promotion seems unnecessary.

[14] Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 39ff.; see also Kolb, *Diocletian*, 48 and n. 129.

[15] Thus Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 89ff., principally based on numismatic evidence, but also arguing that Mamertinus referred in 289 to an early success against Carausius by Maximian, *Pan. Lat. vet.* 10 (2). 11. 7–12. 2 (quoted below). For Carausius' seizure of Boulogne, Rouen, and Amiens, see Casey, 106ff.

[16] P. H. Webb, *NC*[4] 6 (1906), 1ff.; Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 76ff. The idea goes back to W. Cooke, *The Medallic History of Imperial Rome*, ii (1781), 455, as noted by X. Loriot, in M. Christol *et al.* (eds.), *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'Empire romain au IVe siècle ap. J.-C.* (1992), 164 n. 21.

and showing him wearing consular regalia on the obverse, long remained enigmatic. But in 1997 De la Bedoyère pointed out that both are quotations from Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, prophesying the return of the Golden Age with the birth of a wonder-child: *redeunt Saturnia regna, | iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto*, 'the reign of Saturn returns, now a new progeny is sent down from high heaven' (*Ecl.* 4. 6–7).[17] This solution is without a shadow of doubt correct. Two rare coins, both evidently early, have the reverse legend CONIVGE and CONIVGI AVG; 'Carausius standing left and receiving globe over altar from female figure'. This might commemorate his marriage; if so, the Virgilian reference to the birth of a wonder-child might hint that Carausius hoped for a son. Otherwise, CONIVGE might refer to the symbolic union between Carausius and his new realm.[18]

The Virgilian references match another one on an RSR issue, which had already been identified as an allusion to the *Aeneid*: the reverse, showing Britannia welcoming Carausius, with the legend EXPECTATE VENI, 'come thou longed for one', echoes Aeneas' question, in a dream, to the shade of Hector, *quibus Hector ab oris exspectate venis?*, 'from what shores do you come, longed for Hector? (*Aen.* 2. 282–3).[19] Casey detects a hint of the *Georgics* in the reverse of another RSR issue, *uberitas Au(gusta)*, 'Augustan plenty', showing a cow being milked; note especially *ubera vaccae | lactea demittunt*, 'the cows let down their milky udders' (2. 524–5)[20]—followed shortly afterwards by another reference to 'golden Saturn's' time (2. 538). One may also mention, referring, it is true, to goats rather than cows, *ipsae lacte domum referent distentia capellae | ubera*, 'the she-goats themselves will bring home their udders swelling with milk' (*Ecl.* 4. 21 f.).[21]

This group of legends, unique among Roman coins in quoting the great poet, justifies a reassessment of Carausius' regime, depicted by the hostile literary sources as thoroughly barbarous, and contrasted with Constantius, the 'restorer of the eternal light' (see below). At the very least, it must be inferred that the British élite would be favourably impressed by Virgilian

[17] G. De la Bédoyère, *Current Archaeology*, 153 (1997), 358 ; at more length, id., *NC*[6] 58 (1998), 79 ff.

[18] Published by M. Lyne, *NC* 163 (2003), 148 ff.: the former is 'without mintmark but in the style of Rouen', the latter has the mark [X]X, also found on issues with *Adventus Aug.* and *Expectate veni*. None of the tetrarchs issued coins for their wives. Lyne comments that '*coniugium* can also mean other types of binding agreement: the presentation of a globe or orb to Carausius could suggest transfer of power to him by the people of the British provinces and the citizens of Rouen'. However, CONIVGE should derive from *coniunx* not *coniugium*.

[19] *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 216, 554 ff., 605, 716, 771–6. Lyne, *NC* 163 (2003) 149 ff., conjectures that one of the *Expectate veni* coins, which he publishes, 151, with obverse busts of Carausius and 'an unknown person or deity', might show Hector, and that this could be explained by the British legend, first attested much later (from 'Nennius' onwards), of the Britons' Trojan origin. This seems a little far-fetched.

[20] *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 589–90; see Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 58 f.

[21] Cf. De la Bédoyère, *NC*[6] 58 (1998), 86, who also notes *Ecl.* 3. 30: [*vitula*] *binos alit ubere fetus*.

quotations. Appreciation of the classics in the island is certainly otherwise attested.[22] The *uberitas* coins also recall the lyrical description of Britain by the panegyrist of Constantius, introducing his account of the island's secession and its reconquest:

Pan. Lat. vet. 8(5). 11. 1: *et sane non, sicut Britanniae nomen unum, ita mediocris erat iacturae reipublicae terra, tanto frugum ubere, tanto laeta numero pastionum, tot metallorum fluens rivis, tot vectigalibus quaestuosa, tot accincta portibus, tanto immensa circuitu.*

8(5). 11. 1: And, in truth, while Britain has a single name, for the commonwealth it was no modest loss—of a land so fertile in cereals of all kinds, that rejoices in so great a number of pastures, so abundant in veins of metal, so productive of tax-revenues, so well provided with harbours, of so vast a circumference.

An extended version of this 'praise of Britain' was produced by the panegyrist of 310, *Pan. Lat. vet.* 6(7). 9. 1–5 (quoted below).

To return to Allectus' position under Carausius, *summae rei praeesset* perhaps means that he was praetorian prefect. Carausius certainly formed his own praetorian guard, attested by the coinage.[23] No evidence survives for separate *praesides* of the British provinces under him, but his control reached the frontier in the far north-west. This is shown by the single inscription with his name, a milestone from near Carlisle, *RIB* 2291: *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) M(arco)* | *Aur(elio) Maus.* | *Carausio, p(io) f(elici)* [4]| *invicto Aug(usto)*. His full nomenclature is uncertain. His coins have Carausius, M. Carausius, and M(arcus) Aur(elius)[24] M. Carausius. He presumably assumed the names 'M. Aur.' in imitation of Maximian. The other name beginning M. seems to be given more fully on the milestone. Mowat's suggestion that *Maus.* is an abbreviation of Mausaius or Mausaeus, a name attested only on Gallic coins, is generally accepted.[25] But Haverfield initially regarded MAVS as a mason's error, by confusion with M. AVR. before it and AVS in CARAVSIO after it.[26] Hence caution is required: there is poor spelling on some other third-century British milestones.[27] Perhaps the name was, for example, Maius(ius), Matus(sius), or the common

[22] See e.g. A. A. Barrett, *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 307ff., who, however, 308, regards *expectate veni* as having only a fortuitous resemblance to *Aen.* 2. 282f., and concludes, 313, that 'allusions to Roman literature are not at all numerous in Roman Britain and not all of them offer valid evidence of a general familiarity with the classical writers'. This verdict requires revision.

[23] *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 12, 742; no. 833, with a reverse commemorating LIBERALITAS AVG, shows Carausius with a prefect standing behind him. O. Seeck, *RE* 1/2 (1894), 1584, regarded it as probable that Allectus was Carausius' praetorian prefect.

[24] Sometimes M. Au(relius).

[25] R. Mowat, *AA.*[2] 17 (1895), 281ff.; id., *Rev. num.*[3] 13 (1895), 129ff. But H.-G. Pflaum, *Rev. num.*[6] 2 (1959–60), 53, was more cautious. (Nixon, *In Praise of Roman Emperors*, 72 n. 42, by mishap states that 'some of his coins give his name as M. Aurelius Maus[aeus] Carausius'. Maus. is known only from the Carlisle milestone; the coins just have M.)

[26] F. Haverfield, *CW*[1] 13 (1895), 437.

[27] Cf. *RIB* 2226, 2250, 2307; *JRS* 55 (1965), 224.

Maes(ius),[28] botched by the mason. In favour of Maes(ius) it may be observed that if in the text supplied to the mason E had been written | |, as often in cursive script, it could easily have been mistaken for V. The name Carausius itself appears to be otherwise unknown before the sub-Roman period in Britain.[29] (For the mid-fourth-century coins found in Britain with this name see under IV below.) It may have been a 'fabricated' *gentilicium*, derived from Carosus or Carausus, a diminutive of Carus; but was probably a *cognomen*. *Cognomina* ending -ius are much more frequently found in late Roman times.[30] Names beginning Car- were common in Celtic areas.[31] One source, the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (39. 3) transmits the name as 'Charausius'. This might just be a slip, but this may have been the original spelling, later 'romanized': Ch- suggests Germanic origin.[32]

The earliest literary reference to Carausius comes in Mamertinus' panegyric of Maximian delivered at Trier, on the birthday of Rome, 21 April, probably in 289.[33] Mamertinus never names Carausius: instead he is called 'a monster more frightful' (than Geryon, overcome by Hercules), and 'that pirate'. Later panegyrists followed this example (Allectus' name is likewise suppressed).

Pan. Lat. vet. 10(2), *Mamertini Panegyricus Maximiano Augusto dictus*, 2. 1: . . . *quanto tandem studio nos hic convenit, qui te praesentem intuemur deum toto quidem orbe victorem, sed nunc cum maxime in eadem occidentis plaga non pastorem trino capite deformem sed prodigium multo taetrius opprimentem, quidquid spiritus et vocis habeamus, omne id in laudibus tuis non occupare modo sed, si res poscat, absumere* . . . .

2. 1: . . . with what enthusiasm, at last, is it fitting for us here, who are gazing on you as a manifest god, victor indeed over the whole world, but now especially as you are overcoming, in the same region of the west, not the hideous shepherd with triple head, but a much more frightful monster, not only to use in your praise whatever breath and voice we have, but even, if the subject demands it, to exhaust them . . .

[28] Maiusius is attested once, in Belgica, *CIL* xiii. 4560, Matussius twice, in Lugdunensis, ibid. 2555, 2558. For Maesius see Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 45. Cf. also Magusius, *CIL* xii. 848; Mansuetius, Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 51; Maurusius, *CIL* xiii. 11561. One may detect a V instead of E on a Carausian coin: VICTORIV—for VICTORI(A)E)?— CARAVSI AV(GVSTI), *RIC* v/2, Carausius no. 530.

[29] V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (1950), 92, no. 101, Penmachno: *Carausius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum*.

[30] Carosus/Carausus a diminutive from Carus: Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 123, 284; ibid. 115ff. for *cognomina* in -ius. He did not include Carausius. For Carosus, Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 39; Carus, Carusius, Carussus, ibid. 39; Carusus, ibid. 213. He also omits Carausius, but ibid. 35 lists Carasius, Carasso, Carassounius, Carassounus, Carasus, all in Gaul.

[31] Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, i. 775ff.

[32] Thus M. Festy, in his Budé edn. of the *Epitome* (1999), ad loc., 173 n. 6. Cf. the names, evidently of Batavians, in the Vindolanda tablets, Chrauttius, *TV* ii. 310, and Chnisso, iii. 581–2; Chariovalda, *dux Batavorum*, Tac. *Ann.* 2. 11; Chariomerus, Cheruscan king, Dio 68. 5. 1; Charietto (two 4th-cent. generals), *PLRE* i. 200; Chararicus, 5th-cent. Frankish king and Chariobaudes, *magister militum* in 410, ibid. ii. 283. For names ending -ausius, evidently from the NW provinces, cf. Ammausius, *CIL* xiii. 7831, 8639, *RIB* 605; Pennausius, *CIL* xiii. 4277; Poppausius, ibid. 11703.

[33] For the date see Nixon, *In Praise of Roman Emperors*, 42f.

Pan. Lat. vet. 11. 7–12. 1–2: . . . *vestrae, inquam, fortunae, vestrae felicitatis est, imperator, quod iam milites vestri ad Oceanum pervenere victoria, iam caesorum in illo litore hostium sanguinem reciproci fluctus sorbuerunt.* 12. 1. *quid nunc animi habet ille pirata, cum fretum illud, quo solo mortem suam hucusque remoratus est, paene exercitus vestros videat ingressos, oblitosque navium refugum mare secutos esse qua cederet?* 2. *quam nunc insulam remotiorem, quem alium sibi optet Oceanum? quo denique pacto effugere poenas rei publicae potest, nisi si haustu terrae devoretur aut turbine aliquo in devia saxa rapiatur?*

11. 7: It is through your good fortune, I say, through your success, Emperor, that your soldiers have already reached the Ocean in victory, that the ebbing tides have swallowed the blood of the enemies slain on that shore. 12. 1. What is now the state of mind of that pirate, when he sees that your armies have almost entered that Channel, by which alone he has postponed his own death up till now, and that they, forgetting their ships, have followed the retreating sea wherever it receded? 2. What remoter island shall he now wish for himself, what other Ocean? Under what conditions, finally, can he escape the punishment of the commonwealth—except if he is swallowed up by the earth or snatched away by some whirlwind to pathless rocks?

At 12. 3–8 the orator gives a detailed description of the fleets assembled by Maximian, which are about to reach the Ocean, and predicts his victory; and at 13. 1–4 congratulates Rome on the emperors' forthcoming visit, invokes their names Iovius and Herculius, and recalls, 5, Hercules' assistance in a dream to someone who thereby was able to defeat pirates.

Pan. Lat. vet. 13. 5: . . . *adeo, sacratissime imperator, multis iam saeculis inter officia est numinis tui superare piratas* . . .

13. 5: . . . thus, most sacred emperor, it has been for many ages among the duties of your divine spirit to conquer pirates . . .

Maximian's initial success 'on the shores of Ocean' refers to a defeat of Carausius' forces on the continent (cf. above). But his intended invasion of Britain, for which a fleet had been prepared, clearly failed, probably because the ships were destroyed in a storm, as implied in the panegyric of 297 (*Pan. Lat. vet.* 8(5). 12. 2, quoted below).[34] In the next surviving panegyric, probably of 291,[35] there is a brief reference to Maximian's success, already praised in 289, *Pan. Lat. vet.* 11(3). 7. 2: . . . *Transrhenana victoria et domitis opressa Francis bella piratica* . . . , ' . . . the victory across the Rhine and the wars with pirates when the Franks were subdued'. At the end of the speech the orator is still expecting a naval victory,

Pan. Lat. vet. 19. 3–5: . . . *bona sidera et amica* . . . , 4. *quae vobis* . . . *praeter victorias toto orbe terrarum partas etiam navalia trophaea promittunt*, 5. *ut* . . . *Romani rostra campi novis ornetis exuviis* . . .

. . . the beneficent and friendly stars, which promise you, in addition to the victories won in the whole world, naval trophies as well, so that . . . you may adorn the rostra in the Campus at Rome with new spoils.[36]

[34] But Shiel, *Episode*, 9f., followed by Nixon, *In Praise of Roman Emperors*, 72 n. 42 and 130f. n. 46, suggests that the reference in 8(5). 12. 2 may be to a later setback, to Constantius in 293 or 294.

[35] See Rodgers, in Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise of Roman Emperors*, 76ff.

[36] R. Tomlin, in Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 192, writes that in this speech '[n]o mention is made of Carausius or of affairs in Britain. This deafening silence is highly significant.' He forgets 7. 2 and 19. 3–5.

On 1 March 297[37] the unknown panegyrist of Constantius, after general praise of Constantius and of the tetrarchs' victories (*Pan. Lat. vet.* 8(5). 1–5), gives a detailed account (6–7) of Constantius' recapture of Boulogne from 'the piratical faction' (6. 1) in 293, after blocking the harbour entrance to prevent 'the pirate bringing help to his men' (7. 3). He next describes the reconquest of the Rhine delta, followed by the settling of captives in Gaul (8. 1–9. 4), and apologizes for his delay in coming to 'the crossing to Britain' and 'that unique victory' (9. 5–6). This is the subject of the remainder of the speech (14–21: quoted below). First he stresses the importance of the recovery of Britain. Under Gallienus 'the cutting off of these provinces [of Britain] from the light of Rome (*a luce Romana*), although sad, was less of an indignity', for 'the commonwealth had lost almost all its limbs' (10. 1–3). But the recent situation was worse: when the rest of the world had been reconquered and Rome's enemies sued for peace, 'only this single obstacle to our glory remained' (10. 4). He waxes lyrical over the value of Britain (11. 1, quoted above) and recalls Caesar's expeditions—but the Britons then had no navy, and at that time were only accustomed to fighting *Pictis modo et Hibernis . . . hostibus adhuc seminudis*, 'Picts and Hibernians, enemies who were still half-naked', so were easily defeated by Caesar (11. 2–4). He then summarizes the initial secession of 'the fleeing pirate' and his fall at the hands of his 'henchman', Allectus,

Pan. Lat. vet. 8(5). 12. 1–2: *isto vero nefario latrocinio, abducta primum a fugiente pirata classe, quae olim Gallias tuebatur, aedificatisque praeterea plurimis in nostrum modum navibus, occupata legione Romana, interclusis aliquot peregrinorum militum cuneis, contractis ad dilectum mercatoribus Gallicanis, sollicitatis per spolia ipsarum provinciarum non mediocribus copiis barbarorum, atque his omnibus ad munia nautica, flagitii illius auctorum magisterio, eruditis, exercitibus autem vestris, licet invictis virtute, tamen in re maritima novis, malam coaluisse ex indignissimo latrocinio belli molem audiebamus, licet de exitu fideremus.* 2. *nam et accesserat diuturna sceleris impunitas, quae desperatorum hominum inflarat audaciam, ut illam inclementiam maris, quae victoriam vestram fatali quadam necessitate distulerat, pro sui terrore iactarent, nec consilio intermissum esse bellum, sed desperatione omnium crederent, adeo ut, iam communis poenae timore deposito, archipiratam satelles occideret et illud auctoramentum tanti discriminis putaret imperium.*

8(5). 12. 1: But in that nefarious act of brigandage, first the fleet that once used to protect the Gauls was stolen by the fugitive pirate, and besides this very many ships were built in our style, a Roman legion was seized, several units of foreign soldiers were cut off, Gallic traders were collected for a levy, considerable forces of barbarians were seduced by the loot from the provinces themselves, and all of these were trained in seamanship, taught by the authors of that crime. But your armies, albeit unconquered in courage, were nonetheless novices in maritime matters, and we heard that out of that most shameful act of brigandage a war had grown, of unfavourable proportions—although we were confident about its outcome. 2. For added to this was the fact that their crime long went unpunished. This had swollen the audacity of these

[37] The attempt to put the recovery of Britain in 297, and hence the speech in 298, e.g. by E. Stein, in id. and J. R. Palanque, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, i (1959), 78, followed by D. Kienast, *JNG* 10 (1959–60), 71ff., is convincingly refuted by A. Burnett, *BNJ* 54 (1984 (1985)), 22f., whose article is overlooked by Nixon, *In Praise of Roman Emperors*, 105ff., still hesitant over the date.

desperate men. As a result they boasted that it was your fear of themselves, rather than the harshness of the sea, which had postponed your victory by some fateful necessity, and they believed that the war had not been interrupted on purpose, but abandoned out of despair. So, with his fear of paying the common penalty now set aside, the henchman killed the pirate-chief, and thought that the reward for so great a risk would be imperial power.

By asserting that it was only because of the 'harshness of the sea . . . [that] the war had . . . been abandoned on purpose', the panegyrist tactfully deals with the fact that Carausius had been left undisturbed for several years. 'The harshness of the sea' is generally supposed to be the reason why Maximian's planned naval expedition, still expected in 291, had failed. Victor and Eutropius interpreted this situation in stronger terms: unlike the rebels in Egypt and Africa, who were easily dealt with, Carausius 'was left to retain imperial power over the island', and 'peace was finally agreed with Carausius since wars were waged in vain against a man very skilled in military affairs'.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39. 38–39: *at in Aegypto Achilleus, facili negotio pulsus, poenas luit.* 39. *per Africam gestae res pari modo, solique Carausio remissum insulae imperium, postquam iussis*[38] *ac munimento incolarum contra gentes bellicosas opportunior habitus.*

39. 38. But in Egypt Achilleus, who was defeated without difficulty, paid the penalty. 39. In Africa things were dealt with in a similar manner, and only Carausius was allowed to retain imperial power over the island, after he had been judged more suited to govern the inhabitants and to protect them against warlike peoples.

Eutropius 9. 22. 1–2: 1. *ita cum per omnem orbem terrarum res turbatae essent, et Carausius in Britanniis rebellaret, Achilleus in Aegypto, Africam Quinquegentiani infestarent, Narseus Orienti bellum inferret, Diocletianus Herculium ex Caesare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximianum Caesares . . .* 2. *cum Carausio tamen, cum bella frustra tentata essent contra virum rei militaris peritissimum, ad postremum pax convenit . . .*

22. 1. Thus, when things were disturbed throughout the whole world, and Carausius was in rebellion in the Britains and Achilleus in Egypt, the Quinquegentiani were infesting Africa, and Narseus was waging war on the east, Diocletian promoted Maximian from Caesar to Augustus and made Constantius and Maximian [Galerius] Caesars . . . 22. 2. With Carausius, however, peace was finally agreed, since wars were waged in vain against a man very skilled in military affairs.

Oros. *Hist. adv. paganos* 7. 25. 2 and 6 is a paraphrase of Eutropius; cf. also Jerome, *Chron.* 225 Helm (assigned to 289); Johann. Antioch. Fr. 125; Jordanes, *Rom.* 296; Zonaras 12. 31.

Carausius certainly tried to give the impression that he was recognized as a colleague by Diocletian and Maximian. Towards the end of his reign he issued coins in the names of both and on one issue portrayed himself with the two

[38] The MS *iussis*, 'orders', seems odd: whose orders? Tomlin, in Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 197, renders this 'amenable to orders'. Yet clearly Carausius had not been amenable to Maximian's orders. S. Wolfson (pers. comm.) kindly suggested the above translation, taking both *iussis* and *munimento* as governing *incolarum*, which is an objective genitive: 'Since *imperium insulae* implies authority over the island, why can't *iussa incolarum* mean "instructions to the inhabitants"?' It is surely possible, however, that there is a lacuna after *iussis*: one would expect a contrast to *Achilleus facili negotio pulsus poenas luit*, equivalent to Eutropius' *cum bella frustra tentata essent.*

legitimate rulers and the legend *Carausius et fratres sui*, 'Carausius and his brothers'. The reverses of these issues commemorate the *concordia*, *hilaritas*, *laetitita*, *moneta*, *pax*, *pietas*, *providentia*, *salus*, *victoria*, and *virtus Auggg.*, the 'concord', 'cheerfulness', 'rejoicing', 'mint', 'peace', 'piety', 'foresight', 'welfare', 'victory', and 'virtue of the three emperors', or show Minerva as their companion, *comes Auggg.*, and Hercules as their protector, *conservatori Auggg.*[39] The 'brothers' did not reciprocate. Instead, on 1 March 293 Constantius was made junior emperor to Maximian, as Caesar, and at the same time, or a few months later, Galerius became Caesar to Diocletian, thus inaugurating the tetrarchy.[40]

Something needs to be said about Carausius' other coinage, apart from the RSR and 'three emperors' issues, already discussed. He issued coins from a mint in Gaul, probably at Rouen, and from several mints in Britain. The bulk of his coinage was produced first from one with no mark, probably early and at London, then from one with the mark ML indicating London. Further mint-marks were C or CL, perhaps Colchester, and BRI, probably an abbreviation for BRI(TANNIA).[41] Noteworthy is that Carausius was the first to employ 'mint-marks and control symbols in a rational and systematic manner'.[42] He struck coin in gold, silver, billon, bronze, and copper, from a different standard to the central government, 'making alterations to the monetary system in two quick successive stages'.[43]

He clearly awarded himself at least four consulships. Several issues portray him as consul, the earliest no doubt in 287.[44] A rare issue by the C mint also shows him claiming tribunician power, indeed for the fourth time, as well as the titles *p(ontifex) m(aximus)* and *p(ater) p(atriae)* and the consulship, *c(os.)*: PM TR P IIII C P P.[45] Other rare issues, without mint-mark, register third and fourth consulships, COS III and COS IIII; and on the reverse of a coin from an unknown mint COS IIII is shown on a cippus, with the main legend proclaim-

[39] M. Lyne, *NC* 163 (2003), 162ff., conjectures that there may even have been a joint campaign by Maximian and Carausius 'against Frankish and other pirates'. The evidence seems a little limited.

[40] On the *Auggg.* coinage see H.-G. Pflaum, *Rev. num.*[6] 2 (1959–60), 53ff.; R. A. G. Carson, in S. Scheers (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata*, i (1983), 245ff.; Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 110f., who, however, dates the appointment of Constantius as Caesar to Mar. 292. See for 293 e.g. Barnes, *New Empires*, 4, 62 n. 73; Kolb, *Diocletian*, 68ff.; D. Kienast, *Kaisertabelle*[2] (1996), 280, 283.

[41] Discussed by Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 71ff. (continental mint); 78ff. (unmarked); 83f. (London); 84f. (C); 85 (BRI); but in the light of De la Bédoyère's interpretation, *NC* 58 (1998), 79ff., one must now accept that there was no RSR mint, still assumed by Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 76ff.

[42] Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 88.

[43] Ibid. 70f., 85f.; Lyne, *NC* 163 (2003), 151f. (here quoted).

[44] Shiel, *Episode*, 94ff., 162; A. Burnett and J. Casey, *BNJ* 54 (1984 (1985)), 10, 11f.; cf. *RIC* v/2 Carausius 881.

[45] R. Bland, in id. and A. Burnett (eds.), *The Normanby Hoard and Other Roman Coin Hoards* (1988), 155f., 162f. nn. 164–8. The new specimen which they publish confirms the partly illegible one in *RIC* v/2, Carausius no. 188.

ing Saecular Games, SAECVLARES AVG. This was probably adapted from an issue of Philip.[46]

As well as the unique EXPECTATE VENI series, Carausius' welcome by Britannia is commemorated by the standard type ADVENTVS AVG(VSTI) or CARAVSI.[47] The GENI(VS) BRITANNI(AE) also appears;[48] and a rare specimen calls him 'restorer of Britain', RESTITVTOR BRIT(ANNIAE).[49] Other reverse legends (too numerous to list in full) include CONCORDIA and FIDES MILIT(VM), ABVDANTIA AVG, AEQVITAS, CONCORDIA AVG, FELICITAS AVG (or SAEC, TEMP), FORTVNA AVG (or REDVX), HILARITAS AVG, LAETITIA AVG, LIBERALITAS AVG, MONETA AVG, PROVIDENTIA AVG, PIETAS AVG, VBERITAS (cf. above), VICTORIA AVG and VIRTVS AVG.; further, RESTIT(VTOR) ORB(IS) or SAEC(VLI), SALVS and SPES PVBLICA, TVTELA; and RENOVAT(OR) ROMANO(RVM) and ROMAE AETERN(AE) assert the patriotic character of his regime. The protection of Hercules, Jupiter, Mars, and Sol is claimed.[50] But the bulk of his coinage 'is restricted to the single type with the legend PAX AVG(VSTI)'.[51] Issues claiming a victory over Germans, VICTORIA GERM(ANICA), may refer to successful campaigns against Saxons and perhaps also Franks, but the title GERMANICVS MAX V is no doubt copied from earlier coins.[52] Naval themes are, not surprisingly, present. The FELICITAS AVG types show a galley, and Neptune appears as the emperor's companion, COMES AVG, or protector, CONSERVAT(OR) AVG.[53] A rare specimen, with obverse VIRTVS CARAVSI, has the remarkable reverse with the legend PACATRIX AVG, 'showing a galley to left with rowers and superstructure at stern: upon the latter, an eagle l., with wings open and wreath in beak: in ex., CANC'. As Sutherland plausibly suggested, *pacatrix Aug(usti)* could well have been the name of his flagship.[54] CANC has not been interpreted: it is tempting to conjecture

[46] *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 769, COS III, 770; COS IIII, where the reading of the number is not quite certain; 393 (SAECVLARES AVG). These coins are not discussed by Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*; see Bland, in Bland and Burnett, *Normandy Hoard*, 163 n. 165, on the SAECVLARES AVG specimen, attributed to the C mint in *RIC* v/2, who points out that the mint-mark is lost as 'the exergue is well off flan'; and E. Besley, in M. J. Price *et al.* (eds.), *Essays . . . Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins* (1993), 225 (copied from a coin of Philip). Other issues depicting him as consul, with 'radiate bust l. in imperial mantle, holding eagle-tipped sceptre': *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 303, 461, 535, 544, 548, 560, 582–3, 586–9, 895.

[47] *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 10–11, 190–1, 535–41, 598, 706–8, 732–4, 1067–8, 1075–6.

[48] Ibid. 240.

[49] W. V. Wade, *NC*[6] 13 (1953), 131.

[50] Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 59, table 4 (silver), 60ff., table 5 (insular billon), 66f., table 6 (special billon issues). RESTIT(VTOR) ORB(IS), *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 384–6; TVTELA, nos. 521–2, 682–92; HERC(VLI) DEVSENIENSI, no. 800; cf. 801–2, HERC. INVICT and PACIF.

[51] Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 57f. and his table 5, 62f.

[52] *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 178, 432, 531, 1030–1, VIC(TORIA) GERMAN(ICA); 799, GERMANICVS MAX V.

[53] *RIC* v/2, Carausius nos. 552–3, 709, 746, 764f.

[54] C. H. V. Sutherland, *NC*[5] 17 (1937), 306ff.

something on the lines of *C(arausi) A(ugusti) n(ova) c(lassis)*, 'the new fleet of the emperor Carausius'.

There is little doubt that in the course of his six years in power Carausius developed, if not created, a powerful defensive system along the south and east coasts, later known as the 'Saxon Shore' forts. It was argued long ago that Carausius and Allectus were largely responsible for building these forts.[55] The thesis was rebutted vigorously, and the *communis opinio* has been that they were built earlier, probably under Probus.[56] It is clear that some were earlier than Carausius, but he certainly garrisoned them: as Casey points out, 'the forts are full of Carausius' coins and no one denies that they are deposits of his, and his successor's reign'.[57] New evidence shows that Pevensey, thought to have been added to the system in the fourth century, was probably built under Allectus.[58]

[55] D. A. White, *Litus Saxonicum: The British Saxon Shore in Scholarship and History* (1961).

[56] S. Johnson, *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* (1979), 104; cf. Frere, *Britannia*[3], 329.

[57] Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 115ff. (the quotation is from p. 125).

[58] For previous views on Pevensey see Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 120ff. M. G. Fulford, *Antiquity*, 69 (1995), 1009ff., shows that its construction can be assigned to the time of the '*imperium Britanniarum*'.

III.2

THE FALL OF CARAUSIUS AND THE RULE OF ALLECTUS

Constantius' capture of Carausius' base at Boulogne was perhaps a blow to the latter's prestige from which Allectus profited to stage his coup. His removal of Carausius, his own rule, and overthrow by Constantius and his prefect Asclepiodotus are described by Victor and Eutropius.

Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39. 40–2: 40. *quem [Carausium] sane sexennio post Allectus nomine dolo circumvenit.* 41. *qui cum eius permissu summae rei praeesset, flagitiorum et ob ea mortis formidine per scelus imperium extorserat.* 42. *quo usum brevi Constantius, Asclepiodoto, qui praetorianis praefectus praeerat, cum parte classis ac legionum praemisso, delevit.*

40. To be sure, a man called Allectus caused his fall by a trick after a six-year period. 41. When in supreme charge by Carausius' permission, through fear of being put to death for his offences, he had wrested imperial power. 42. Constantius destroyed him, when he had exercised it for a brief period, having sent ahead Asclepiodotus, who was commanding the praetorians as prefect, with part of the fleet and of the legions.

Eutropius 9. 22. 2: . . . *eum [Carausium] Allectus socius eius occidit atque ipse post eum Britannias triennio tenuit. qui ductu Asclepiodoti, praefecti praetorio, oppressus est. ita Britanniae decimo anno receptae.*

9. 22. 2: His associate Allectus killed Carausius after a seven-year period and himself held the Britains for a triennium. He was overthrown by the generalship of Asclepiodotus, praetorian prefect. Thus the Britains were recovered in the tenth year.

Eutropius' version is paraphrased by Orosius 7. 25. 6; cf. also Jerome, *Chron.* 227 Helm, dated to 300; Zonaras 12. 31; all attribute the recovery only to Asclepiodotus.

Allectus is a figure even more shadowy than Carausius. The name Allectus, the only one he is known to have borne, is extremely uncommon.[1] It may be a form of Adlectus, likewise very rare.[2] The 'fabricated' *gentilicium* Allectius, clearly derived from Allectus, is known from an inscription at Cologne.[3] Allectus might be a latinized form of a Celtic or Germanic original, such as Alctus, recorded at Arlon in Belgica.[4]

His dates are perhaps not quite certain, but it seems likeliest that he was defeated and killed in 296,[5] three years after he had overthrown the 'chief

[1] X. Loriot, in M. Christol *et al.* (eds.), *Institutions, société et vie publique dans l'Empire roman* (1982), 161 f., discusses the items in the next three notes.

[2] Allectus: *CIL* vi. 241, 464, Rome; Adlectus, two inscriptions, also at Rome, *AE* 1951. 184, time of Antoninus Pius, and 1983. 44, 4th cent.

[3] *CIL* xiii. 12051: Q. Allectius Marcell(us).

[4] *CIL* xiii. 3988: Boutius Alctus. For names in All- see Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, i. 95 ff.

[5] Arguments for 297 are refuted by Burnett, *BNJ* 54 (1984 (1985)), 22 f., who himself suggests, mainly on the basis of Alexandrian coins issued before late Aug. 295 celebrating a victory of Constantius,

pirate', *archipirata*, whose *satelles* he had been.[6] Eutropius, more sober than the panegyrist, calls him Carausius' associate, *socius*, but Victor is specific, introducing Allectus with the phrase 'in supreme charge by his [Carausius'] permission'. This probably means that he was Carausius' praetorian prefect (not 'finance minister', as once thought, see above). At first sight it seems that Victor should have been able to say so, for in the next sentence he introduces Asclepiodotus with the words 'who was in command of the praetorians as prefect'. But perhaps this was simply stylistic *variatio*; or he may have been unwilling to use this title for an unrecognized prefect. It may be conjectured that Allectus had previously served as, for example, a tribune with one of the legionary detachments under Carausius' command.

Some rare coins, showing him facing left, wearing the *trabea*, and holding an eagle-tipped sceptre, indicate that Allectus awarded himself a consulship, presumably at the earliest opportunity, at the opening of 294.[7] He issued a surprising amount of gold, to judge from the surviving examples more than from Carausius' much longer reign,[8] but no silver. He seems to have been restricted to two mints only. An innovation was 'the introduction of a new [billon] denomination, the so-called *quinarius*, . . . [with] the mintmark[s] QL and QC for the . . . London and Colchester mints . . . , the letter Q a denominational sign indicating *quinarius*'.[9] This was presumably intended to be worth half the other billon coin of Allectus, the so-called *antoninianus* or *aurelianus* which Carausius had also issued.[10] The bulk of his coinage stressed peaceful themes, taken over from those of Carausius, but lacking 'the programmatic qualities' of the latter's coins.[11] As Burnett comments, '[t]he vast majority of his coinage was struck with the unexciting PAX, LAETITIA or PROVIDENTIA; the only exception is the "C" mint, where FIDES MILITVM was also minted rel-

that Allectus was overthrown that year; but he concedes, ibid. 24, that they might refer to Constantius' previous campaign at the mouth of the Rhine. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 43ff., while allowing that Burnett's case is attractive, seems to favour early 296. Nixon, 130f. n. 46, notes that if Eutropius' *triennium* were inclusive, Allectus might not have gained power until 294.

[6] Loriot, in Christol, *Institutions*, 167f., conjectures that Allectus might have overthrown and replaced Carausius before the siege of Boulogne and that he, not Carausius, could be the 'pirate' who 'was unable to bring help to his men' there, *Pan. Lat. vet.* 8(5). 7. 3.

[7] Burnett, *BNJ* 54 (1984 (1985)), 26.

[8] Ibid. 24, 28ff.

[9] Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 86f.

[10] Burnett, *BNJ* 54 (1984 (1985)), 24ff.; Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 87; Lyne, *NC* 163 (2003), 167, suggests that Allectus' quinarius 'may represent his attempt to introduce a coin equal to the post-reform radiate in value'.

[11] Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 68; Burnett, *BNJ* 54 (1984 (1985)), 25, notes that DIANAE REDVCI, with Diana leading a stag (*RIC* v/2, Allectus no. 65) was copied from Postumus' coins; and VICTORI GER, with trophy and captives (ibid., no. 120), from those of Probus—and does not necessarily mean that Allectus claimed a German victory.

atively abundantly'.[12] He did not imitate Carausius' attempt to claim Diocletian and Maximian as 'his brothers'.

Apart from the coinage, archaeological evidence shows that in 294 Allectus began the construction of a monumental complex in the south-western corner of London, adjacent to the riverside wall. One building probably had a colonnade, and there is much to be said for the view that Allectus had begun to build himself a new palace-complex, with mixed civic, military, and state function.[13] He probably also had further work carried out on the coastal defences, as at Pevensey (cf. above).

One reason why Allectus survived for as long as three years was clearly because the tetrarchs were concerned to neutralize the Franks, his potential allies (*Pan. Lat. vet.* 8(5). 8. 1–9. 4; 6(7). 5. 3–6. 2; 7(6). 4. 2).[14] According to the panegyrist of 297, Allectus' main troops were Frankish mercenaries (8(5). 16. 4–17. 1, quoted below). Further, it has been argued that in spite of the loss of Boulogne Allectus continued to control parts of northern Gaul, at least until 295.[15] In any case, Constantius had to prepare two powerful invasion fleets.

[12] Burnett, *BNJ* 54 (1984 (1985)), 25.

[13] T. Williams, in V. A. Maxfield and M. J. Dobson (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989* (1991), 132ff.; id., *Public Buildings in the South-West Quarter of Roman London* (1993); summarized by Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 133f. The timbers were from trees felled in spring 294, as shown by dendrochronological analysis.

[14] The campaign against the Franks in Batavia is customarily dated to late 293, but could have been later; the panegyrists simply place it between the recapture of Boulogne and the start of the British expedition, as noted by A. Lippold, *Chiron*, 11 (1981), 348; Burnett, 23f.

[15] Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 129ff., based on id., *Britannia*, 8 (1977), 283ff.

III.3
THE RECOVERY OF BRITAIN IN 296

Whereas Victor and Eutropius give the credit for the recovery of Britain to the prefect Asclepiodotus, the panegyrists do not name him at all and he must, at best, be included among the *duces* in the fullest account, 8(5), at 14. 4 and 15. 6. Asclepiodotus is generally identified with Julius Asclepiodotus, named by the *Historia Augusta* as a general trained by Probus (*Pr.* 22. 3), consul in 290, and epigraphically attested as praetorian prefect between 286 and 290. But Barnes plausibly conjectures that Constantius' prefect may have been the latter's son.[1] Asclepiodotus took his fleet from the mouth of the Seine, while Constantius sailed from Boulogne.

Pan. Lat. Vet. 8(5). 14. 3–5: *at enim tu, Caesar invicte, omnis istius et navigationis et belli non modo, pro imperii iure, praeceptor, sed rebus ipsis et exemplo constantiae tuae hortator atque impulsor fuisti.* 4. *prior siquidem a Gesorigiacensi litore quamvis fervidum invectus Oceanum, etiam illi exercitui tuo, quem Sequana amnis invexerat, inrevocabilem iniecisti mentis ardorem, adeo ut, cunctantibus adhuc ducibus, caelo et mari turbidis, ultro signum navigationis exposceret, quae iam minacia videbantur signa contemneret, die pluvio vela faceret, ventum, quia derectus non erat, captaret obliquum.* 5. *quis enim se quamlibet iniquo mari non auderet credere, te navigante? omnium, ut dicitur, accepto nuntio navigationis tuae, una vox ex hortatio fuit: 'quid dubitamus? quid moramur? ipse iam solvit, per quoscumque fluctus eamus. quid est quod timere possimus? Caesarem sequimur.'*

In 14. 1–2 the orator contrasts the way in which previous emperors won victories through others, while staying at Rome, giving as an example Antoninus Pius: quoted in I above under Gov. 24.

3. But you, unconquered Caesar, were not only, as is an emperor's right, the director of all of that, both the voyage and the war, but were also the one who exhorted and instigated the undertaking by the example of your constancy. 4. Indeed, having embarked first from the shore of Gesoriacum [Boulogne] onto the Ocean, although it was turbulent, you inspired that army of yours, which had been carried down the River Sequana [Seine], with the irresistible fervour of your mind. As a result, although the generals were still hesitating, sky and sea being stormy, the army of its own accord demanded the signal to sail, scorned the presages which appeared threatening, set sail on a day of rain, and, because there was no tailwind for them, sought an oblique one. 5. For who would not dare to entrust himself to the sea, however hostile it was, when you were setting sail? From all sides, it is said, when they heard the news that you were sailing, came with one voice a shout of encouragement: 'Why do we hesitate? Why are we delaying? He himself has already raised his anchor, he is already under way. Let us risk everything, let us go on through the waves, whatever they be like! What is there that we could fear? We are following Caesar!'

The next two sections deal only with Asclepiodotus (without naming him). Having evaded the British fleet thanks to a thick mist, he landed somewhere

[1] *PLRE* i. 115 f.; Barnes, *New Empire*, 124, 126.

near the Isle of Wight, and burnt his ships. Allectus, who had evidently been waiting for Constantius further east, hastily moved to confront Asclepiodotus' force, was defeated, and killed. There is no good evidence for the site of the battle.[2]

15. 1. *nec fefellit opinio vestrae felicitatis, siquidem, ut ex ipsorum relatione comperimus, ad tempus ipsum tantae se dorso maris nebulae miscuerunt, ut inimica classis, apud Vectam insulam in speculis atque insidiis conlocata, ignorantibus omnino hostibus, praeteriretur, ne vel moraretur impetum, quamvis non posset obsistere.* 2. *iam vero quod idem ille vestro auspicio invictus exercitus, statim atque Britanniae litus invaseret, universis navibus suis iniecit ignes, quinam alii nisi divinitatis vestrae monitus impulerunt?* 3. *aut quae alia ratio persuasit nullum praesidium fugae reservare nec vereri dubia bellorum nec Martem, ut dicitur, putare communem, nisi quod vestri contemplatione constabat de victoria non posse dubitari?* 4. *non illi tunc vires, non humana robora, sed vestra numina cogitaverunt. proposito qualicumque proelio certam sibi spondere fortunam non tam est fiducia militum quam felicitas imperatorum.* 5. *ipse ille autem signifer nefariae factionis cur ab eo litore quod tenebat abscessit, cur classem portumque deseruit, nisi quod te, Caesar invicte, cuius imminentia vela conspexerat, timuit iam iamque venturum?* 6. *utcumque cum ducibus tuis maluit experiri quam praesens maiestatis tuae fulmen excipere, demens qui nesciebat, quacumque fugeret, ubique vim vestrae divinitatis esse, ubi vultus vestri, ubi signa colerentur.*

15. 1: Nor did their belief in your good fortune deceive them, since, as we have learnt from their own account, at that very moment such a great mist covered the surface of the sea that the hostile fleet, posted on watch and in ambush off the island of Vecta [Isle of Wight], was bypassed, with the enemy being completely unaware of it, and could not even delay the attack—although it could not resist it. 2. Now indeed, what other prompting except that of your divinity was it, that caused that army, unconquered under your leadership, as soon as it had landed on the coast of Britain, to set fire to all its own ships? 3. Or what other reason convinced it not to keep in reserve any means of escape, not to fear the uncertainties of war, not to think, as they say, that 'Mars is impartial'—except the unshaken belief that victory could not be doubted if they thought of your person? 4. They did not then consider the size of their force, nor human strength, but your divine spirits. In whatever battle that is faced it is not the confidence of the soldiers but the good fortune of the Emperors that guarantees certain success. 5. As for that standard-bearer of the criminal faction, why did he withdraw from the shore that he was holding, why did he desert fleet and harbour—if not because it was you, unconquered Caesar, you, whose looming sails he had sighted, that he feared, about to arrive at any time? 6. At any rate, he preferred to measure his strength against your generals rather than to endure the actual thunderbolt of your majesty. The madman was unaware that, no matter where he fled, the force of your divinity was present wherever your portraits and standards were worshipped.

16. 1. *te tamen ille fugiens incidit in tuorum manus, a te victus, a tuis exercitibus oppressus est.* 2. *denique adeo trepidus et te post terga respiciens et in modum amentis attonitus, properavit ad mortem, ut nec explicarit aciem nec omnes copias quas trahebat instruxerit, sed cum veteribus illius coniurationis auctoribus et mercennariis cuneis barbarorum, tanti apparatus oblitus, inruerit.* 3. *adeo, Caesar, etiam hoc rei publicae tribuit vestra felicitas, ut nemo fere Romanus occiderit, imperio vincente Romano. omnes enim illos, ut audio, campos atque colles non nisi taeterrimorum hostium corpora fusa texerunt.* 4. *illa barbara aut imitatione barbariae olim cultu vestis et prolixo*

[2] Cf. D. E. Eichholz, *JRS* 43 (1953), 45; Shiel, *The Episode of Carausius and Allectus* (1977), 14; Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 138f., who notes that the Blackmoor Hoard of 30,000 base metal coins, found near Woolmer in Hampshire, far from being Allectus' 'war chest', as has been claimed, was only the equivalent of about 72 *aurei*: '[h]ardly a war chest and in a most inconvenient form'.

crine rutilantia, tunc vero pulvere et cruore foedata et in diversos situs strata, sicuti dolorem vulnerum fuerant secuta iacuerunt, atque inter hos ipse vexillarius latrocinii, cultu illo, quem vivus violaverat, sponte deposito, et vix unius velaminis repertus indicio. 5. *adeo verum sibi dixerat morte vicina, ut interfectum se nollet agnosci.*

16. 1: In flight from you, he nonetheless fell into the hands of your men, he was conquered by you, he was destroyed by your armies. 2. In the end, so terrified, looking at you behind him, and thunderstruck as if he were insane, he rushed so precipitately to his death that he did not even form a battle-line or draw up all the forces that he was leading, but, forgetting all his great preparations, charged headlong with the old ringleaders of that conspiracy and the units of barbarian mercenaries. 3. Thus, Caesar, your good fortune even granted the commonwealth this: that almost no Roman died when the Roman empire was conquering. For all those plains and hills, as I hear, were covered only by the fallen bodies of the foulest enemies. 4. Those corpses, barbarian or long since imitating barbarism by the clothes they wore and their long, reddened hair, lay filthy with dust and blood, stretched out in the various positions imposed by the agony of their wounds; and among them was the flag-bearer of the robber-band himself. Of his own accord he had cast off that apparel which he had profaned when alive and was scarcely identified by the evidence of a single garment. 5. When death was near, so truly had he foretold what awaited him that he did not wish to be recognized when killed.

Constantius himself moved on London, preceded by his army, which had also lost its way in the mist. His men slaughtered the mainly Frankish survivors of the battle with Asclepiodotus. The Caesar then made his triumphal entry into the city, when the fighting was all over.

17. 1: *enimvero, Caesar invicte, tanto deorum immortalium tibi est addicta, consensu omnium quidem, quos adortus fueris hostium, sed praecipue internecio Francorum, ut illi quoque milites vestri, qui per errorem nebulosi, ut paulo ante dixi, maris abiuncti ad oppidum Londiniense pervenerant, quidquid ex mercennaria illa multitudine barbarorum proelio superfuerat, cum direpta civitate fugam capessere cogitarent, passim tota urbe confecerint et non solum provincialibus vestris in caede hostium dederint salutem, sed etiam in spectaculo voluptatem.* 2. *o victoria multiiuga et innumerabilium triumphorum, qua Britanniae restitutae, qua Francorum ⟨vires⟩ penitus excisae, qua multis praeterea gentibus, in coniuratione illius sceleris deprehensis, imposita est necessitas obsequendi, ⟨qua⟩ denique ad perpetuam quietem maria purgata sunt!* 3. *gloriare tu vero, Caesar invicte, alium te orbem terrarum repperisse, qui, Romanae potentiae gloriam restituendo, navalem addidisti imperio, terris omnibus maius elementum.* 4. *confecisti, inquam, bellum, Caesar invicte, quod cunctis impendere provinciis videbatur, tamque late vagari et flagrare poterat quam late omnis Oceanus et mediterranei sinus adluunt.*

17. 1: Yes indeed, unconquered Caesar, the immortal gods were unanimous in granting you the slaughter of all the enemies you attacked, but especially of the Franks, so that those of your soldiers who, after losing their way in the sea, which, as I said a little earlier, was misty, had arrived at the town of London separately, finished off the survivors from the battle of that horde of barbarian mercenaries, all over the city, when they were intending to take to flight after looting it. By this slaughter they not only saved your provincials but also gave them the pleasure of a spectacle. 2. What a manifold victory and one for countless triumphs: thereby the Britains were recovered and the forces of the Franks were completely wiped out, the necessity of obedience was imposed on many other peoples who had been accomplices in that criminal conspiracy, and the seas were cleared and made peaceful for ever. 3. You may boast, unconquered Caesar, that you have discovered another world, and by restoring its naval glory to Rome's power you have added to the empire an element greater than all lands. 4. You have finished a war, I say, unconquered Caesar, which seemed to be threatening all the provinces and could range and flare up wherever they were washed by all the Ocean and its inlets.

18. 1: *neque enim, si metu vestri lues illa solis Britanniae visceribus intabuit, idcirco nescimus quanto se alias furore iactasset, si fiduciam pervagandi qua patebat habuisset.* 2. *nullo siquidem certo fine montium aut fluminum terminabatur, quem dispositae limitis custodiae tuerentur, sed ubique, vanis licet ob virtutem felicitatemque vestram, magnis tamen terroribus imminebat, qua iacent maria quaque venti ferunt . . .* 4. *itaque hac victoria vestra non Britannia solum servitute est liberata, sed omnibus nationibus securitas restituta, quae maritimo usu tantum in bello adire periculi poterant, quantum in pace commodi consequuntur . . .* 7. *atque ipsam Britanniam, quae sedem tam diuturno sceleri praebuisset, constat victoriam vestram sola sui restitutione sensisse.*

18. 1: For while, thanks to fear of yourself, that plague wasted away only in the innards of Britain, we are not unaware of the fury with which it would have spread elsewhere if it had been confident of ranging wherever there were openings. 2. It was bounded neither by mountains nor rivers with an end point which the garrisons of a laid-out frontier (*limitis*) could defend. Rather, in all the places where there are seas and carrying winds, it was threatening us with terror—vain, to be sure, because of your valour and good fortune, but great nonetheless. [3. *The orator recalls how the Franks had terrorized the seas under Probus.*] 4. Thus by this victory of yours not only has Britain been freed from slavery but security has been restored to all nations, which in time of war could use the sea only by incurring danger as great as the advantages which they gain in peacetime. [5. *The orator lists all the peoples that now enjoy security; and* 6. *reiterates that all rejoice at the destruction of the rebel navy.*] 7. As for Britain, which offered a base to a crime that lasted so long, it is agreed that it perceived your victory only as its own restoration.

Constantius is described in the next section as 'the long yearned for liberator': *exoptatus olim* perhaps consciously goes beyond Carausius' claim to have been *expectatus* (cf. above). The 'true light of the empire' which refreshed the people of London was to be proclaimed on a medallion issued by the Trier mint (see below).

19. 1. *merito igitur statim atque ad litus illud exoptatus olim vindex et liberator appuleras, obvius sese maiestati tuae triumphus effudit, exsultantesque gaudio Britanni cum coniugibus ac liberis obtulerunt, non te ipsum modo, quem ut caelo delapsum intuebantur, sed etiam navis illius, quae tuum numen advexerat, vela remigiaque venerantes, paratique te ingredientem stratis sentire corporibus.* 2. *nec mirum si tanto gaudio ferebantur post tot annorum miserrimam captivitatem, post violatas coniuges, post liberorum turpe servitium tandem liberi tandemque Romani, tandem vera imperii luce recreati.* 3. *siquidem praeter illam clementiae vestrae pietatisque famam, quae communi gentium voce celebratur, in ipso, Caesar, tuo vultu videbant omnium signa virtutum: in fronte gravitatis, in oculis lenitatis, in rubore verecundiae, in sermone iustitiae.* 4. *quae singula ut respectantes agnoverunt, laetitiae clamoribus concinebant; vobis se, vobis liberos suos, vestris liberis omnis generis sui posteros devovebant . . . .*

19. 1. Deservedly therefore, as soon as you, the long since yearned for avenger and liberator, had landed on that shore, a triumphant procession poured out to meet Your Majesty. The Britons presented themselves with their wives and children, jumping for joy, worshipping not merely you yourself, whom they regarded as come down from heaven, but even the sails and oars of that ship that had brought your divinity; and they were ready to prostrate their bodies beneath your feet. 2. It is no wonder that they were elated with such great joy, after so many years of most wretched captivity, after the outrages on their wives and the shameful enslavement of their children being at last free and at last Roman, at last refreshed by the true light of the empire. 3. For apart from that reputation of yours for piety and clemency, which is celebrated with one voice by all the peoples, in your very face, Caesar, they saw the signs of all the virtues: of dignity on your forehead, of gentleness in your eyes, of modesty in your blush, of justice in your words. 4. When they had recognized each of these qualities as they gazed at you, they chorused

with shouts of joy. They devoted themselves to you, their children to you, and to your children they devoted all their posterity.

20. 3: *nihil ex omni terrarum caelique regione non aut metu quietum est aut armis domitum aut pietate devinctum. et ex aliis quidem partibus aliqua restant, quae, si voluntas vel ratio rerum desiderent, possitis adquirere; ultra Oceanum vero quid erat praeter Britanniam?* 4. *quae a vobis ita reciperata est ut illae quoque nationes, terminis eiusdem insulae cohaerentes, vestris nutibus obsequantur.* 5. *nulla progrediendi causa superest, nisi si, quod Natura vetuit, fines ipsius quaerantur Oceani. omnia, inquam, invictissimi principes, vestra sunt quae digna vobis. et inde est quod consulere singulis aequaliter licet, cum universa teneatis . . .* 21. 2. *quin etiam illa, cuius nomine mihi peculiariter gratulandum, devotissima vobis civitas Aeduorum ex hac Britannicae facultate victoriae plurimos, quibus illae provinciae redundabant, accepit artifices, et nunc exstructione veterum domorum et refectione operum publicorum et templorum instauratione consurgit . . .*

[*In 20. 1–2 the orator echoes the Britons' devotion to the tetrarchs and their descendants and hails the universal peace.*] 20. 3: Of all the regions of earth and heaven there is not one that is not free from fear or pacified by arms or bound by loyalty. To be sure, there remain some parts which, if you wished or if reasons of state demanded, you could acquire: but beyond the Ocean what was there except Britain? 4. And it has been recovered by you so completely that even those peoples adjacent to the frontiers of that island obey your commands. 5. There remains no reason to go further, unless—what nature forbids—the limits of Ocean itself be sought. Everything, I say, unconquered princes, is yours which is worthy of you. And hence it is right for you to accord equal care to each individual part, since you possess the whole. [*21. 1 lists the other conquests of Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantius.*] 21. 2. What is more, that city of the Aedui, in whose name I must especially give thanks and which is most devoted to you, has received on the occasion of this British victory a great many artisans, with whom the British provinces were abundantly supplied, and is now arising with the reconstruction of old houses and the restoration of public buildings and temples. [*He adds that his city has been refounded by Constantius. 21. 3. Concluding remarks.*]

Not long after the above speech, one was delivered by Eumenius, speaking before the governor of one of the Gallic provinces, *Pan. Lat. vet.* 9(4).[3] He briefly mentions the participation of *artifices transmarinos*, 'craftsmen from overseas', that is, Britain (cf. 8(5). 21. 2), in the reconstruction of Autun (4. 2) and in two further sentences hails the recovery of Britain, with the restoration of 'the Roman light' again recalled.

18. 3: *nisi forte non gravior Britanniam ruina depresserat quam si superfuso tegeretur Oceano, quae, e profundissimo poenarum gurgite liberata, ad conspectum Romanae lucis emersit . . .*

18. 3: . . . the ruin of Britain was as disastrous as if it had been covered by Ocean poured above it, and, liberated from the deepest abyss of punishment, it has emerged to the sight of the Roman light.

21. 1–2: 1. *ibi fortissimorum imperatorum pulcherrimae res gestae per diversa regionum argumenta recolantur . . .* 2 . . . . *aut sub dextera tua, domine Constanti, Bataviam Britanniamque squalidum caput silvis et fluctibus exserentem . . .*

21. 1: there [i*n pictures to be set up in porticoes at Autun*] let the most wonderful deeds of the bravest Emperors be recalled through depictions of the different regions . . . 2 . . . . or beneath your right

[3] For the date and occasion see B. S. Rodgers, in C. E. W. Nixon and B. S. Rodgers, *In Praise of Roman Emperors* (1996), 146ff.

hand, Lord Constantius, Batavia and Britannia lifting their unkempt heads from forests and waves . . .

In the panegyric of Constantine of 310, the orator summarizes much of the foregoing (*Pan. Lat. vet.* 6(7). 5. 1–6. 1 (5. 3, where Carausius seems to be called a Batavian, quoted above; for 7. 1–9. 5, on Constantius' last campaign, 305–6, and death see IV. 4 below); cf. also brief remarks in the panegyrics of Constantine and Maximian of 307, 7(6). 4. 3, and of Constantine of 313, 12(9). 25. 2).

The 'official' version of the reconquest is clearly shown by the gold medallion struck by the mint of Trier, found with other medallions, coins, and jewellery at Arras. On the obverse is the laureate and cuirassed bust of Constantius, with the legend FL(AVIVS) VAL(ERIVS) CONSTANTIVS NOBILISSIMVS C(AESAR). The reverse has the legend REDDITOR LVCIS AETERNAE, 'restorer of the eternal light'—which the panegyrists also hailed. Constantius is shown mounted, approaching the gate of a city, identified as London by the letters LON below a kneeling figure with arms raised in welcome, the city-goddess, while alongside a galley represents his fleet.[4] How long Constantius remained in Britain is of course unknown. If, as seems likely, the reconquest was relatively early in the year, he may have stayed for several months. He would have needed to replace most of Allectus' officials and officers; and it seems likely that it was now that the British provinces were further subdivided on the same lines as the rest of the empire (see IV below). It may be that he needed to inspect the northern frontier. According to his Panegyrist, Britain 'has been recovered by you so completely that even those peoples adjacent to the frontiers of that island obey your commands' (8(5). 20. 4). Perhaps Allectus had weakened the garrison, giving the Picts the opportunity to invade and create some damage.[5] Constantius' victory was commemorated by all the tetrarchs taking the title Britannicus Maximus, not in fact attested until 301.[6]

[4] *RIC* vi, Trier no. 34; ibid., nos. 32–3 also refer to the reconquest of Britain, one with the legend PIETAS AVGG showing Constantius crowned by Victory and restoring Britannia, and one obverse showing him as consul, which must belong to 296, when he was *cos. II*: see A. Burnett, *BNJ* 54 (1984 (1985)), 23 f. See also Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 140 ff., with the interesting conjecture, ibid. 143, that a graffito scratched on the reverse of another medallion (of Constantine, AD 310) in the Arras hoard (which he illustrates, pl. 7. 5), may give the name of the hoard's owner, *Vitaliani p(rae)p(ositi)*. He suggests that Vitalianus might have been one of Constantius' officers.

[5] Thus Frere, *Britannia*[3], 332, noting evidence for some destruction; with 348 nn. 12 (citing the panegyrist as implying a campaign in 296) and 14 (for destruction).

[6] *AE* 1973. 526a (the Coin Edict, AD 301, before 1 Sept.); *ILS* 642 (preamble to the Price Edict, late Nov. to early Dec. 301); see Barnes, *New Empire*, 17 ff.

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IV

The Last Century of Roman Rule

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IV.1

THE SECOND DIVISION OF BRITAIN

The two British provinces of Superior and Inferior probably continued in existence from *c.*213 (see II, Introduction) at least until the time of Carausius and Allectus. There was more than one province in 297: the panegyrist thanked Constantius for supplying 'very many craftsmen, with whom those provinces were well supplied', to rebuild Autun (*Pan. Lat. Vet.* 8(5). 21. 2), and referred to *Britanniae* (17. 2). But this does not make it explicit whether there were still only two provinces. Further subdivision might have taken place under the Gallic emperors, 260–74 or under Carausius and Allectus, 286–96. While Britain was controlled by the latter, Diocletian had carried out a drastic reform of provincial government in the rest of the empire. It seems almost certain that the administration of Britain was adapted on the same lines immediately after the reconquest in 296.[1] A key feature was the subdivision of provinces, and in due course their grouping into dioceses, with a governor-general, *vicarius*, 'deputy (of the praetorian prefects)', in overall charge. The governors had the title *praeses* in most cases; later a few of these were *consulares*. The full reform probably came under Constantine. At all events, by the time that the *Laterculus Veronensis*, the Verona List, was compiled, between 303 and 314, there were four provinces, forming the *dio(e)ce{n}sis Brittaniarum*: Prima, Secunda, Maxima Caesariensis, Flavia Caesariensis (fo. 255. 18–20).[2] These names are also found in the western section of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*ND Occ.*, ed. Seeck, 3. 34, 23. 11) and in the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius (11); and Prima is apparently attested by an inscription at Cirencester, probably from the time of Julian. Four British provinces, unnamed, were evidently represented at the ecclesiastical council at Arles in 314: three bishops, of York, London, and Lincoln, no doubt the provincial capitals of Secunda, Maxima, and Flavia respectively, with a priest and deacon presumably replacing the absent fourth bishop, whose see is unfortunately unnamed—no doubt that of the capital of the fourth province, Prima.[3]

[1] Barnes, *New Empire*, 224f.

[2] A. H. M. Jones, *JRS* 44 (1954), 21ff.; J. C. Mann, *Antiquity*, 35 (1961), 316 n. 1; Barnes, *New Empire*, 201ff., with a new transcript, 202f. Barnes concludes (205) that 'the Verona List depicts . . . the western provinces as they were between 303 and 314'; and (216) that 'the divisions were presumably made in 296, when Constantius reconquered Britain'.

[3] Mann, *Antiquity*, 35 (1961), 317, and E. Birley, in *Quintus Congressus* (1963), 85, point out that the British clerics at Arles were clearly from four provinces: *Eborius episcopus de civitate Eboracensi*, *Restitutus episcopus de civitate Londiniensi*, *Adelphius de civitate colonia Londiniensium* [to be emended to *Lindiniensium*], and *Sacerdos presbyter*, *Arminius diaconus* (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (1759, repr. 1901) ii. 476), the last two representing the fourth bishop.

Prima and Secunda, by analogy with other provinces, will have been formed from Superior and Inferior respectively. It may be that an initial subdivision in 296 created only one new province, Caesariensis.[4] The name Flavia Caesariensis was surely in honour of Flavius Constantius Caesar; but it would be odd if Maxima Caesariensis were named after Maximianus *Augustus*.[5] Perhaps Caesariensis itself was subdivided not long after 296, and Maxima so called simply as the largest or most important British province. Otherwise, Maxima Caesariensis was perhaps named after Constantius' fellow Caesar, Galerius Maximianus.[6] Of the four provinces only Maxima was to receive a governor with the rank of *consularis*, as shown by the *ND* (*Occ.* 23. 9–10). Mann argued that this makes it almost certain that it was the province of which London was the chief city.[7] Prima is generally supposed to have had its centre at Cirencester, where an inscription was set up by the *primae provinciae rector* (see below). Flavia Caesariensis probably comprised the areas east and north-east of London, with Secunda the rump of the old Inferior, north of the Humber.[8]

[4] J. B. Bury, *CHJ* 1 (1923), 1ff., conjectured that parts of Superior and Inferior were already hived off *c.*286 to create a third province, Maxima Caesariensis, honouring Maximian as Caesar, and that this name could only have derived from a town called Caesarea; he suggested that Verulamium might have been so named before the Claudian conquest, by analogy with the Caesareae in the client-kingdoms of Mauretania and Judaea; and that this province was later split into Maxima and Flavia. E. Birley, in *Quintus Congressus* (1963), 83ff., offered a variant: that London was called Caesarea by Constantius when he recovered Britain in 296, becoming Augusta on his elevation to Augustus in 305 approved by Frere, *Britannia*[3], 198f. London was certainly Augusta later (Amm. Marc. 27. 8. 7, 28. 3. 1, quoted under 367–8, below). But see P. J. Casey, in J. Bird *et al.* (eds.), *Collectanea Londiniensia* (1978), 192: 'the capital's mint . . . continued to strike issues with the mintmarks which are abbreviations of "London" to the end of its working life [in 325–6, see *RIC* vii. 96]. It is unlikely that a new official name . . . would not be used at once.'

[5] But this is accepted by E. Birley, *Quintus Congressus* 85; Frere, *Britannia*[3], 199; *FRB* 317.

[6] See P. J. Casey (attributing the suggestion to J. C. Mann), in Bird *et al.*, *Collectanea*, 191f.; but he himself conjectures that Maxima derived from Constantine's title assumed in 314, Maximus Augustus.

[7] Mann, *Antiquity*, 35 (1961), 318f. In *RIB* ii. 2411. 38, a lead sealing from Silchester reading PMC is plausibly expanded as *p(rovincia) M(axima) C(aesariensis)*, and reference is made to two with the same abbreviation found at Trier.

[8] But M. Hassall, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 109, calls Flavia Caesariensis 'the York province', with Secunda the southern part of the old Inferior.

IV.2

THE PROBLEM OF VALENTIA

A fifth province, Valentia, is listed by the *ND* (*Occ.* 23. 11) and Polemius Silvius (*Laterculus* 11)—the latter adding a sixth, Orcades (Orkneys). The name Valentia is attributed by Ammianus to the elder Theodosius' victory in 367–8: 'And he had so completely restored to its former state the recovered province that had fallen under the enemies' control that . . . it now received a regular governor and was then called Valentia by the decision of the emperor' (28. 3. 7, see below). Considerable discussion has taken place over the location of this province, without general agreement. According to the *ND*, Valentia, as well as Maxima Caesariensis, was governed by a *consularis*, rather than by a *praeses* like the other three. Hind argues that what was renamed was not a single province, but the entire diocese, for which he gives parallels.[1] He is right that Ammianus does not call Valentia a newly created province; but it is difficult to discount the evidence of the *ND* and Polemius Silvius.[2]

Another solution could be that a fifth province already existed in 368—but under another name.[3] In that case, its previous name is unknown; but it may be guessed when it could have been created. Constans' expedition in 343 involved the *areani*, surely on the northern frontier. It is plausible that during this visit he subdivided Secunda.[4] It is true that Festus, in his *Breviarium* dedicated to Valens, gives only the four provinces of the Verona List (6). From this it has been inferred that he wrote *c.*368, shortly before Valentia was created;[5] but he was probably just ignorant or careless.[6]

Bartholomew argued a different case: that of the four entries in the *ND*

[1] J. G. F. Hind, *Historia*, 24 (1975), 101 ff.

[2] C. E. Stevens, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 222 n. 31, dismissed Polemius' sixth British province, *Orcades*, as an interpolation from Eutropius 7. 13. 3, against Hind, *Historia*, 24 (1975), 101, who argues that this was evidence for Polemius' unreliability about Valentia—although Hind comments, 111, that 'Polemius Silvius included Orkney in his list of *provinciae* in Britain purely on the evidence of Eutropius and Claudian'. Stevens added that 'I believe that Hind's interpretation of Ammianus is right, but I submit that Ammianus (who was not infallible) made a mistake.' (By mishap Hind writes that according to Eutropius 'Theodosius conquered Britain as far as *Orcades insulae*'—whereas it was to Claudius that Eutropius attributed this unlikely conquest; cf. under Gov. 1. However, the slip does not affect his argument.)

[3] This view was put forward independently by P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (1980), 393, and in *FRB* (1981), 318 f.

[4] Another possible context is one of Constantine's visits to Britain.

[5] Thus T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, v (1908), 587 (first published in 1862); A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, iii (1964), 381; J. W. Eadie, *The Breviarium of Festus* (1967), 1. But A. Cameron, *CR* 19 (1969), 305 f., reviewing Eadie, points out that that date is too early for Festus anyway.

[6] Thus W. Den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians* (1972), 198.

listing Valentia, that in the Index (*Occ.* 1. 77) and the caption to an illustration are later insertions, while at 3. 34 and 23. 11 the word *nunc* was omitted between *Maxima Caesariensis* and *Valentia*; hence that *Valentia* was the new name for *Maxima*. But he did not discuss Polemius Silvius.[7] Against this, as the *dux* commanded troops in more than one British province, and these troops were all in what had previously been in Inferior and later presumably in Secunda (see below), it can be inferred that Secunda had been split, with the northernmost part turned into a new province, later renamed Valentia.[8]

[7] P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 178 f.

[8] J. C. Mann, *Antiquity* 35 (1961), 320 n. 22, notes that '[t]his suggests a subdivision of the early 4th century York province'. E. Birley, *Quintus Congressus*, 85, put 'Valentia as the Wall and its immediate neighbourhood, with Carlisle as the seat of its *consularis*'.

IV.3

MILITARY COMMAND AND CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN LATE ROMAN BRITAIN

A *praeses*, Aurelius Arpagius, was still commanding troops in the north under the tetrarchs. Mann pointed out that the garrison will have continued to be commanded by *praesides* throughout the tetrarchy.[1] There is no evidence for a *dux* before 367, when Fullofaudes is referred to under this title, but no doubt, as Mann noted, Britain had acquired one before Constantine's death. Thereafter it may be assumed that the *praesides* ceased to have military authority.[2] The radical changes instituted by Constantine, regarded by his nephew Julian as 'an innovator who upset the old laws and custom handed down from antiquity' (Amm. Marc. 21. 10. 8), included the disappearance of the old equestrian career, a great expansion of the senate, the creation of many new offices, and the final separation of military command and civil administration.[3] The latter was to be regarded as the norm by Ammianus, who in his otherwise largely hostile obituary notice on Constantius II, praised him for maintaining the proper distinction between the careers and functions of generals and provincial governors (21. 16. 2).

Most information on the late Roman army derives from the *ND*, a work which has attracted much discussion, without general agreement on its date and purpose. It is impossible here to enter into the debate. What follows is confined to setting out as clearly as possible the information on Britain in the *ND*, which probably represents the position *c.*395, with a few slightly later amendments.[4] The *dux* is shown in command of the northern garrison, with the rank of *vir spectabilis* (*Occ.* 40); as he was *dux Britanniarum*, 'of the Britains', his troops were stationed in more than one province. Under him are listed the prefect of the Sixth legion, followed by thirteen prefects commanding units of late Roman formation not previously attested, all in northern England (40. 18–31); then 'along the line of the Wall', *item per lineam valli*, eleven tribunes of cohorts and five prefects, four of them of *alae* and one of a *numerus*, that is,

[1] J. C. Mann, in D. E. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore* (1977), 11 f.

[2] Ibid.; Mann, *Glasgow Arch. J.* 3 (1974), 39 f. He suggested, however, that 'such military forces as remained in Wales were left under the control of the *praeses*'.

[3] See e.g. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1950), 317 ff.; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), 97 ff.; A. Demandt, 'Magister militum', *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970), 560 ff.; A. Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain à l'époque impériale* (1992), 233 ff.

[4] M. W. C. Hassall, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 103 ff., gives a helpful presentation of 'Britain in the *Notitia*'. For a more recent discussion, with full bibliography and some new ideas, see M. Kulikowski, *Historia*, 49 (2000), 358 ff.

sixteen units, all previously attested in the second or third centuries (40. 32–49)—another tribune of a cohort may be restored between 44 and 45 (but Seeck's conjectured line 46 is superfluous);[5] finally come another six officers, five tribunes commanding previously known cohorts, and the prefect of the *ala Herculea*, clearly a unit formed under Maximian Herculius, and the *cuneus Sarmatarum*, of which no commander is named (50–6), all these units stationed in northern England, mostly on the Cumberland coast.

The *ND* lists the *officium*, staff, of the *dux*: a *princeps* (chief of staff), supplied in alternate years from the *officia* of each the *magistri militum praesentales*; a *commentariensis* (record-keeper), supplied in the same way; *numerarii* (accountants), supplied each year from each of the *magistri*'s *officia*; an *adiutor* (assistant); a *regerendarius* (judicial officer), and an assistant to the latter, *subadiuva* (*Occ.* 40. 57–63). Only a few *duces* of the Britains are known, all from the literary sources.

The role of the *comites* is more complex. Logically there was no place for a *comes* in the regular military establishment of a frontier area such as the British diocese. The *comites* Gratianus and Theodosius clearly served in Britain on special missions; and Theodosius (Amm. Marc. 27. 8. 7) took a small field army with him, as had the *magister equitum* Lupicinus in 360 (20. 1. 3). In 367 a general called *comes maritimi tractus* by Ammianus (27. 8. 1) was in post. The description is surely a literary periphrasis for the *comes litoris Saxonici* of the *ND*. The units listed under this count are in some cases frontier troops (*Occ.* 28).[6] Mann argued convincingly that, as with some other *comites*, the post of the *comes litoris Saxonici* was 'an elevated frontier ducate'.[7] It may have originally spanned both sides of the Channel;[8] in the *ND* it extended into more than one British province (*Occ.* 5. 131, *per Britannias*—but at 28. 12 *per Britanniam*). Nine officers are shown under his command (28. 13–21), including the prefect of the Second legion, the tribune of *coh. I Baetasiorum* at Reculver (where it had been based since at least the early third century, see II. 2 above), and *praepositi* of various newer formations.

The *comes litoris Saxonici*, a *vir spectabilis*, had an *officium* slightly larger than that of the *dux*: his *princeps*, *numerarii*, specified as two, and *commentariensis*, all supplied from the *officium* of the *magister peditum praesentalis*; and as well as an *adiutor*, a *subadiuva*, and a *regerendarius*, he had a *cornicularius* (adjutant), *exceptores* (shorthand-writers), *singulares* (guardsmen), and 'the other *officiales*' (28. 23–31).

The *comes Britanniarum*, a *vir spectabilis* like the other two commanders, like-

[5] M. W. C. Hassall, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 112 f., convincingly restores *[Banna]* after *tribunus cohortis primae Aeliae Dacorum* in l. 44, and inserts *[tribunus cohortis secundae Tungrorum]* before *[C]amboglanna*, replacing *Petrianis* after *alae Petrianae* in l. 45 with *Uxel(l)oduno*, and *Axeloduno* in l. 49 with *Mais*.

[6] M. W. C. Hassall, in Johnston, *Saxon Shore*, 7 f.

[7] Mann, in Johnston, *Saxon Shore*, 13 f. He commented that 'the later elevation of what does not seem to have been a very important command to comitival rank is a puzzle, to which I see no obvious answer'.

[8] Thus J. S. Johnson, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 87 ff.

wise operated in more than one British province (*Occ.* 6. 153, 199). Mann showed that the post was instituted by Stilicho, 'who began the practice of creating small permanent field-armies, too small to qualify for the appointment of a *magister*, and which were therefore put under the command of men with the next lowest rank, which was that of *comes*'.[9] There is thus no need for a count of the Britains to have held office before the very end of the fourth century; earlier *comites* served only on special missions. The permanent post, only attested in the *Notitia*, can only have survived until the expulsion of Roman officials by the Britons in the year 409 (Zos. 6. 5. 2–3). He is assigned a small permanent field army in the *ND*: three *vexillationes comitatenses* (6. 154–6), and six cavalry units (6. 200–5), one of them, the *equites Stablesiani*, seemingly identical with a unit under the command of the *comes litoris Saxonici* (6. 203; 28. 17). His *officium* is almost identical to that of the *comes litoris Saxonici*, except that the source of his main officials is the same as those of the *dux*, and he lacked a *cornicularius*; the *regerendarius* is restored by Seeck (29. 6–14).

All three commanders are listed in the *ND* as subordinate to the *magister peditum praesentalis* (5. 1256, 131–2, 142). The post of 'Master of the Soldiers' was created by Constantine at the same time as he reformed the praetorian prefecture. Effectively the *magistri* replaced the praetorian prefects as something like 'chiefs of the general staff'.[10] What is not clear from the *ND* or from other sources is how large the garrison really was in late Roman Britain. There is much to be said for the view that many, if not most, of the units listed were far smaller in size than those in previous centuries.[11]

The *vicarius* was the subordinate of the praetorian prefect of the Gauls (*Occ.* 3. 1, 4). Before the prefects lost their military role and the creation of the *dux*'s command, early *vicarii* presumably had military responsibilities, but their duties then became purely civilian. They had general oversight over the governors of the provinces in the diocese, not least in the financial sphere, especially as concerned the supply of the army, which formed a large part of the praetorian prefect's duties after Constantine's reform; served as judge (mostly in cases where a governor's verdict had been appealed against); and clearly had to carry out, on the spot, duties of the praetorian prefect.[12] The

[9] Mann, in Goodburn and Batholomew, *Notitia*, 6f.; id., in Johnston, *Saxon Shore*, 13f. R. Scharf, *Historia*, 39 (1990), 470ff., conjectures that the post was not established by Stilicho until 405–6 and that it was this measure that provoked the proclamation by Marcus in 406.

[10] See A. Demandt, *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970), 556ff.

[11] On the 4th-cent. army see P. A. Holder, *The Roman Army in Britain* (1982), 97ff., with a list of regiments, 127ff.; S. James, in T. F. C. Blagg and A. C. King (eds.), *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain* (1984), 161ff. Both take the view that the strength of units was much reduced.

[12] On the *vicarii* see e.g. W. Ensslin, *RE* 8A/2 (1958), 2024ff., 2030f.; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), 374 (who regards them as 'a rather unnecessary wheel in the administrative machine'), 450, 481; on the praetorian prefects in the late empire, see Ensslin, *RE* 22/2 (1954), 2427ff.; Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 411f., 448ff.

vicarius's *officium* differed only slightly from those of his military colleagues: his *princeps* came from the *scola agentum in rebus* (originally post-inspectors, later a kind of secret police) and was one of the *ex-ducenariis*, the senior rank in this corps controlled by the *magister officiorum*;[13] he had two extra officials, an *ab actis* (responsible for taking minutes) and a *cura epistolarum* (correspondence secretary), and more than one *subadiuva*, but no *regerendarius (*23. 16–26).

One *vicarius*, Papius Pacatianus, is attested by the Theodosian Code from a rescript of 319; three, Martinus, Alypius, and Civilis, are named by Ammianus, Alypius also being known from letters to him while in office from Libanius and Julian; and two are known from the late fourth or early fifth century, Chrysanthus and Victorinus, respectively from Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* and Rutilius Namatianus' poem *De reditu.* Only for Pacatianus and to a lesser extent Alypius, does the evidence give insight into the *vicarius*' duties.

Several further high officials in Britain were subordinate to the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, 'count of the sacred largesses', the head of one of the finance ministries: the *rationalis summarum Britanniarum*, 'accountant of the chief accounts of the Britains'(11. 3, 20), responsible for collecting taxes; the *praepositus thesaurorum Augustensium*, the man 'in charge of the treasuries at Augusta [i.e. London, cf. below, under 367–8]' (11. 37); and the *procurator gynaecii in Britanniis Ventensis*, 'procurator of the women's (weaving-factory) at Venta in the Britains' (11. 60).[14] Finally, a *rationalis rei privatae per Britannias*, 'accountant of the private account in the Britains', responsible for imperial property, was a subordinate of one of the other financial ministers, the *comes rerum privatarum*, 'count of the private property [of the emperors]' (12. 3, 15). No holders of these posts in Britain are known by name.

The duties of the *praesides*, provincial governors, after they ceased to command troops, can only be inferred from parts of the empire with more evidence. They involved jurisdiction; finance, particularly the collection of taxes; and a wide range of administrative tasks, including road-maintenance and the supervision of local councils. Their term of office was probably short, one or two years.[15] Only two *praesides* are attested epigraphically within Britain itself, one under the tetrarchy, Aurelius Arpagius, still commanding troops on Hadrian's Wall, the other, L. Septimius . . . , making a dedication at Cirencester, probably under Julian. A third, Perpetuus, is known from an inscription at Rome, probably under Constantine, a fourth, Fl. Sanctus, who perhaps served *c.*350, from a poem of Ausonius.

[13] Ibid. 578ff.; also O. Seeck, *RE* 1/1 (1893), 775ff.; id., *RE* 5/2 (1905), 1753f.

[14] See on this procurator and on the *gynaecea* generally J. P. Wild, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 51ff. They produced soldiers' and civil servants' uniforms. It is not certain which of the three British towns called Venta is meant, probably Winchester: ibid. 54 and n. 31.

[15] See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 44ff., 374, 434, 479, 481; 381 (term of office).

IV.4

FROM THE TETRARCHY TO THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY: HIGH OFFICIALS AND IMPERIAL INVOLVEMENT

In what follows the evidence for known officials who served in Britain is set out, as far as possible in chronological order. Further, at appropriate points, there is a discussion of imperial involvement in Britain, such as the activity there of Constantius I, Constantine I, and Constans, Julian's restoration of British grain-shipments to the Rhineland, Stilicho's measures affecting the army, the coups d'état of Marcus, Gratian, and Constantine, and the end of Roman rule. The defence of Britain in this period was principally against the Picts, Scots, Attacotti, and Saxons. The Picts are first mentioned under this name in connection with Constantius' campaigns (*Pan. Lat. vet.* 8(5). 11. 4, quoted in III. 3, and 6(7). 7. 2, quoted below). At about this time, the *Laterculus Veronensis* listed *gentes barbarae, quae pullulaverunt sub imperatoribus*, 'barbarian peoples which have sprouted under the emperors', starting with *Scoti, Picti, Calidoni* (13. 1–4).

A *praeses* of Britannia Secunda between 296 and 305, Aurelius Arpagius

RIB 1912 + *add.*, Birdoswald (*Banna*): *[dd. (dominis)] nn. (nostris) Dioc[letiano] et | M[axim]iano invictis Augg. (Augustis) et | Constantio et Maximiano* [4]*| nn. (nobilissimis) CC (Caesaribus), sub v(iro) p(erfectissimo) Aur(elio) Arpagio, pr(aeside,) | praetor(ium), quod erat humo co(m)pert(um) | et in labe(m) conl(apsum) et princ(ipia) et bal(neum) rest(ituit) |, curant(e) Fl(avio) Martino cent(urione), p(rae)p(osito), c[oh(ors) . . .].*

For our Lords Diocletianus and Maximianus, unconquered Augusti, and Constantius and Maximianus, most noble Caesars, under the most perfect man Aurelius Arpagius, governor, the . . . Cohort . . . restored the commanding officer's residence, which had been covered with earth and had collapsed, and the headquarters building, and the bath-house, under the charge of Flavius Martinus, centurion in command.

The inscription cannot be later than 305, when Diocletian and Maximian abdicated. Senatorial *legati Augusti pro praetore* have now gone for good, and Aurelius Arpagius (who is otherwise unknown) is an equestrian *praeses*, with the appropriate grading of a *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*. The restoration of the wall and its forts may have been undertaken by Constantius immediately after his defeat of Allectus in 296 (III. 3). If, as seems likely, the subdivision of Britain, on the lines of that already carried out in the rest of the empire in 293, was

implemented immediately after the reconquest, the province which Arpagius governed will probably have been Britannia Secunda (IV. 1). His name suggests eastern origin, but homonyms are recorded at Aquincum in Lower Pannonia and Lugdunum, and three examples of an almost identical name in Africa.[1]

Constantius in Britain, 305–306, and Constantine's Proclamation as Emperor, 306

Constantius I became Augustus in May 305. In that year he crossed to Britain from Boulogne, where he was joined by his eldest son Constantine, who campaigned with Constantius on expedition against the Picts in 305. Constantius died at York on 25 July 306. In breach of Diocletian's tetrarchic system, Constantine was then proclaimed emperor by the army.[2] The fullest account is given by the Panegyrist of 310. Various other writers give a summary version, most sources, beginning with Lactantius, believing that Constantine only reached his father when the latter was already on his death-bed.

Constantius clearly claimed a victory in 305, since he had taken the title Britannicus Maximus II by 7 January 306, as shown by *AE* 1961. 240 = *RMD* I 78. A brooch celebrating Diocletian's *vicennalia* (20 November 303), found in south-west Scotland, *RIB* ii/1, 2421. 43, Erickstanebrae, Dumfries and Galloway: *Iovi(i) Aug(usti) vot(is) XX, Fortu[nati ?]*, might have been lost by an officer called Fortu[natus] serving under Constantius on this campaign, presumably directed against the Picts.[3]

Pan. Lat. vet. 7(6). 4. 3 (delivered in 307): *liberavit ille Britannias servitute; tu etiam nobiles illic oriundo fecisti.*

7(6). 4. 3: He [Constantius] freed the Britains from slavery; you [Constantine] also ennobled them by starting out from there.

Pan. Lat. vet. 6(7). 7. 1–5 [*delivered at Trier in summer 310; this orator's brief account of Constantius' recovery of Britain, 5. 1–6. 1, is quoted in III*]: *dies me ante deficiat quam oratio, si omnia patris tui facta vel hac brevitate percurram. cuius etiam suprema illa expeditio non Britannica tropaea, ut vulgo creditum est, expetivit, sed, dis iam vocantibus, ad intimum terrarum limen accessit.* 7. 2. *neque enim ille, tot tantisque rebus gestis, non dico Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas et paludes, sed nec Hiberniam proximam, nec Thylen ultimam, nec ipsas, si quae sunt, Fortunatorum insulas dignabatur adquirere, sed, quod eloqui nemini voluit, iturus ad deos, genitorem illum deorum, ignea caeli astra refoventem, prospexit Oceanum, ut, fruiturus exinde luce perpetua, iam*

[1] *CIL* xiii. 2065, 2073; iii. 10542; viii. 989, Missua = *ILS* 9043, where Dessau read Fl(avius) Arpagius (not in *PLRE*); 13391, Carthage; 23274, Ammaedara (both Harpagius). Note also the senator Arpagius Lupus, xiv. 300, Ostia, and the 6th-cent. inscription from Mascula, viii. 2245 = *ILS* 9350, *Arpag. duci.*

[2] The day and month are given by the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, s.a. 306; *CIL* i². 302.

[3] Thus M. W. C. Hassall, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 107f.

videret illic diem paene continuum. 7. 3. *vere enim profecto illi superum templa patuerunt, receptusque consessu caelitum, Iove ipso dexteram porrigente. quin immo statim sententiam rogatus cui imperium decerneret, dixit ut decebat Constantium Pium: manifeste enim sententia patris electus es, imperator*. 7. 4. *quod quidem ita nos dicere cum veritas iubet, tum pietati tuae, ut video, gratissimum est. sed cur tantummodo privatis tuis adfectibus blandiamur, cum omnium deorum fuerit illa sententia, et quidem iam pridem auctoritate perscripta, quamvis tunc pleno sit firmata consilio?* 7. 5. *iam tunc enim caelestibus suffragiis ad salutem rei publicae vocabaris, cum ad tempus ipsum quo pater in Britanniam transfretabat, classi iam vela facienti repentinus tuus adventus inluxit, ut non advectus cursu publico, sed divino quodam advolasse curriculo videris.*

7. 1: The day will finish before my speech if I review, even in this brief fashion, all your father's deeds. Certainly, that final expedition of his was not, as commonly believed, an attempt to gain British trophies, but, when the gods were already calling, it was an approach to the extreme threshold of the world. 7. 2. Nor indeed was he deigning, after so many and such great exploits, to annexe, I will not say the forests and marshes of the Caledonians and other Picts, or even Hibernia [Ireland] close by, or furthest Thule, or the Isles of the Blessed themselves, if they exist. But—something that he did not wish to tell anyone—at the moment when he was to go to the gods, he gazed upon Ocean, that father of the gods, who restores the fiery stars of heaven, so that, when about to enjoy eternal light, he might already see the almost unending daylight there. 7. 3. Truly, indeed, did the temples of the higher beings open to him and he was received in the assembly of the heavenly ones, Jupiter himself reaching out his right hand. Indeed, being asked at once for his decision as to the one to whom he would assign the imperial power, he said what was fitting for Constantius Pius. 7. 4. For manifestly it was by the decision of your father that you were chosen, emperor. This fact indeed—while it is indeed the truth that commands us speak thus—is most welcome, as I see, to Your Piety. But why should we just flatter your personal feelings, when that was the decision of all the gods and one that was long since written officially into the record, although it was at that time confirmed by their full assembly. 7. 5. For you were already being summoned by the votes of heaven to save the commonwealth at the very moment when your father was preparing to cross the Channel and your sudden arrival illuminated the fleet as it was setting sail—you seemed not to have been carried by the public posting service but to have flown in a divine chariot.

8. 1–6: *non enim ulla Persarum Cydonumque tela tam certis iactibus destinata fixerunt quam tempestivus patri tuo terras relicturo comes adfuisti, omnesque illius curas, quas praesaga et tacita mente volvebat, praesentiae tuae securitate laxasti*. 8. 2. *di boni, quanta Constantium Pium etiam in excessu suo felicitate donastis! imperator transitum facturus in caelum vidit quem relinquebat heredem. ilico enim atque ille terris fuerat exemptus, universus in te consensit exercitus, te omnium mentes oculique signarunt et, quamquam tu ad seniores principes de summa re publica quid fieri placeret rettulisses, praevenerunt studio quod illi mox iudicio probaverunt*. 8. 3. *purpuram statim tibi, cum primus copiam tui fecit egressus, milites utilitati publicae magis quam tuis adfectibus servientes iniecere lacrimanti; neque enim fas erat duitius fleri principem consecratum*. 8. 4. *diceris etiam, imperator invicte, ardorem illum te deposcentis exercitus fugere conatus equum calcaribus incitasse. quod quidem, ut verum audias, adulescentiae errore faciebas*. 8. 5. *quis enim te Cyllarus aut Arion posset eripere quem sequebatur imperium? illa, inquam, illa maiestas, quae Iovis sublata nutu, nec Iridi deum nuntiae, sed pinnis commissa Victoriae, tam facile te continata est quam cito ad terras caelo missa perveniunt*. 8. 6. *sic modestiam tuam atque pietatem et differendi imperii conatus ostendit et rei publicae felicitas vicit.*

8. 1: No missiles of the Persians or Cydonians reached their targets with such sure shots as did your timely arrival as companion to your father, when he was about to leave the world, and when you assuaged, by the peace of mind that your presence brought, all his anxieties, which he was turning over in his mind with silent foreboding. 8. 2. Dear gods, what happiness did you grant Constantius Pius even at the time of his death! The emperor, about to make the crossing

into heaven, saw him whom he was going to leave as his heir. For hardly had he been taken away from the earth when the entire army resolved unanimously on you. It was you that the minds and eyes of all marked out, and although you had consulted the elder princes on what they thought should be done at the highest level of the commonwealth, they anticipated, in their enthusiasm, what the princes soon approved by their decision. 8. 3. At once, when you first came out and gave them the opportunity, the soldiers threw the purple on your shoulders, in spite of your tears, for they were more concerned for the public good than for your feelings. For, indeed, it was not lawful to lament any longer for a prince who had been deified. 8. 4. You are even said to have tried to escape that passion of the army which was demanding you, unconquered emperor, and to have urged on your horse with your spurs. You were indeed, so that you may hear the truth, acting out of youthful error. 8. 5. What Cyllarus, what Arion could have snatched away him whom the imperial power was following? That majesty, I say, that majesty, which had been conferred by the nod of Jupiter, and was not entrusted to Iris, the messenger of the gods, but to the wings of Victory, came to you as easily as commands from heaven rapidly reach earth. 8. 6. Thus, while your attempt to defer imperial power displayed your modesty and loyalty, the good fortune of the commonwealth overcame them.

9. 1–5: *o fortunata et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quae Constantinum Caesarem prima vidisti!* 9. 2. *merito te omnibus caeli ac soli bonis natura donavit, in qua nec rigor est nimius hiemis nec ardor aestatis, in qua segetum tanta fecunditas ut muneribus utrisque sufficiat et Cereris et Liberi, in qua nemora sine immanibus bestiis, terra sine serpentibus noxiis, contra pecorum mitium innumerabilis multitudo, lacte distenta et onusta velleribus;* 9. 3. *certe, quod propter vita diligitur, longissimae dies et nullae sine aliqua luce noctes, dum illa litorum extrema planities non attollit umbras noctisque metam caeli et siderum transit adspectus, ut sol ipse, qui nobis videtur occidere, ibi appareat praeterire.* 9. 4. *di boni, quid hoc est quod semper ex aliquo supremo fine mundi nova deum numina universo orbi colenda descendunt? sic Mercurius a Nilo, cuius fluminis origo nescitur, sic Liber ab Indis prope consciis solis orientis deos se gentibus ostendere praesentes.* 9. 5. *sacratiora sunt profecto mediterraneis loca vicina caelo, et inde propius a dis mittitur imperator ubi terra finitur.*

9. 1: O fortunate Britain and now more blessed than all lands, you who were the first to see Constantine as Caesar! 9. 2. Nature has deservedly granted you all the benefits of climate and soil, a land in which there is neither excessive cold in winter nor excessive heat in summer, in which there is such fertility of crops that it suffices for both benefits, of Ceres and of Liber, in which there are forests without monstrous beasts, soil without poisonous snakes, but there is, on the contrary, a countless multitude of peaceful herds and flocks, their udders full of milk, laden with fleeces. 9. 3. Certainly—which makes life attractive—the days are very long here and there are no nights which do not have some light, in so far as the furthest plain of the shores does not cast shadows and the sight of the heavens and the stars crosses the boundary of the night. Thus the sun itself, which seems to us to set, there appears to pass by. 9. 4. Dear gods, why is it that new divine spirits always come down from some most distant end of the universe, to be worshipped by the whole world? Thus did Mercury, coming from the Nile, a river whose source is unknown, and Liber, coming from the Indians, who almost witness the rising of the sun, reveal themselves to the nations as gods in person. 9. 5. Assuredly the regions close to heaven are holier than those inland, and it is more fitting that an emperor is sent by the gods from the place where the earth ends.

Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 24. 2–9, referring to Constantine's elevation to imperial rank, does not mention that it took place in Britain. Likewise, Eusebius, *VC* 1. 18. 1–22. 2, in a very full account of Constantine's 'escape' to join his father and his acclamation as emperor, does not seem to be aware that

Constantine went with Constantius to Britain and was acclaimed there. Later however, he twice quotes Constantine himself referring to his having begun his victorious path from Britain,

2. 28. 2: 'He examined my service and approved it as fit for his own purposes; and I, beginning from that sea beside the Britons and the parts where it is appointed by a superior constraint that the sun should set, have repelled and scattered the horrors that held everything in subjection, so that on the one hand the human race, taught by my obedient service, might restore the religion of the most dread Law, while at the same time the most blessed faith might grow under the guidance of the Supreme.'

4. 9: '. . . Having the power of this God as ally, beginning from the shores of Ocean I have raised up the whole world step by step with pure hopes of salvation, so that all those things, which under the slavery of such great tyrants yielded to daily disasters, and had come near to vanishing, have enjoyed the general restoration of right, and have revived like a patient after treatment . . .'

In three other passages, however, 1. 8. 2, 1. 25. 2, and 4. 50, Eusebius appears to think that Constantine conducted a campaign in Britain early on in his reign (see below).

The fourth-century chroniclers summarize the events of 305–6. All probably derive from the so-called *Kaisergeschichte*, except for the fullest version, in the *Origo Constantini imperatoris*; the *Epitome de Caesaribus* adds the interesting detail that an Alamannic king, Crocus, played a prominent role in the acclamation of Constantine.

Origo Constantini imperatoris 2. 4: *tunc eum Galerius patri remisit. qui ut Severum per Italiam transiens vitaret, summa festinatione, veredis post se truncatis, Alpes transgressus, ad patrem Constantium venit aput Bononiam, quam Galli prius Gesoriacum vocabant. post victoriam autem Pictorum Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est, et Constantinus omnium militum consensu Caesar creatus . . . 6. postquam vero Constantius in Britannia mortuus est et Constantinus filius succcessit, subito in urbe Roma praetoriani milites Maxentium, filium Herculii, imperatorem crearunt . . .*

2. 4: Then Galerius sent him back to his father. In order to avoid Severus as he passed through Italy, having crossed the Alps with the greatest haste, the post-horses being slaughtered after him, he came to his father Constantius at Bononia, which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum. But after a victory over the Picts his father Constantius died at Eboracum, and Constantine was created Caesar by unanimous consent of all the soldiers . . . . 6. But after Constantius died in Britain and his son Constantine succeeded, suddenly in the city of Rome the praetorian soldiers created Maxentius, son of Herculius, emperor . . .

Aurelius Victor 40. 1–4: *igitur Constantio atque Armentario his succedentibus, Severus Maximinusque Illyricorum indigenae Caesares, prior Italiam posteriorque in quae Iovius obtinuerat, destinantur. 2. quod tolerare nequiens Constantinus, cuius iam tum a puero ingens potensque animus ardore imperitandi agitabatur, fugae commento, cum ad frustrandos insequentes publica iumenta, quaqua iter egerat, interficeret, in Britanniam pervenit; nam is a Galerio religionis specie ad vicem obsidis tenebatur. 3. et forte iisdem diebus ibidem Constantium patrem vel parentem vitae ultima urgebant. 4. quo mortuo, cunctis qui aderant adnitentibus, imperium capit.*

40. 1: Therefore, Constantius and Armentarius [Galerius] succeeding them [Diocletian and Maximian], Severus and Maximinus, natives of Illyricum, were appointed Caesars, the former

for Italy, the latter for the lands which Jovius [Diocletian] had held. 2. Constantine, whose mighty and powerful spirit had been stirred up from boyhood by the passion to rule, being unable to tolerate this, contriving an escape, since, to frustrate his pursuers, he killed all the post-horses along the route wherever he journeyed, reached Britain; for he was being detained by Galerius as a hostage on the pretext of religious considerations. 3. And by chance during those same days his father or parent Constantius was approaching the end of his life there. 4. On his death, with the consent of all who were present, Constantine took imperial power.

Eutropius 10. 1. 3, 2. 2: *obiit in Britannia Eboraci principatus anno tertio decimo atque inter divos relatus est. verum Constantio mortuo Constantinus ex obscuriore matrimonio eius filius in Britannia creatus est imperator et in locum patris exoptatissimus moderator accessit.*

10. 1. 3: He [Constantius] died in Britain, at Eboracum, in the thirteenth year of his reign and was enrolled among the deified emperors. 2. 2. But when Constantius died, his son from a rather undistinguished marriage, Constantine, was created emperor and succeeded to his father's position as a most desirable ruler.

Jerome, *Chron.* 228[g] Helm: *Constantius XVI imperii anno diem obiit in Britannia Eboraci. post quem filius eius Constantinus ex concubina Helena procreatus regnum invadit.*

Constantius died in the sixteenth year of his reign in Britain, at Eboracum. After him his son Constantine, born of the concubine Helena, seized the imperial power.

Epit. de Caes. 41. 2–3: *Constantinus, Constantii imperatoris et Helenae filius, imperavit annos triginta. hic dum iuvenculus a Galerio in urbe Roma religionis specie obses teneretur, fugam arripiens atque ad frustrandos insequentes publica iumenta, quaqua iter egerat, interfecit et ad patrem in Britanniam pervenit; et forte iisdem diebus ibidem Constantium parentem fata ultima perurgebant. 3. quo mortuo cunctis, qui aderant, annitentibus, sed praecipue Croco Alammanorum rege, auxilii gratia Constantium comitato, imperium capit.*

41. 2: Constantine, son of the emperor Constantius and of Helena, reigned for thirty years. As a very young man, while he was being held by Galerius in the city of Rome as a hostage on the pretext of religion, snatching at flight, to frustrate the pursuers he killed the post-horses wherever he journeyed and reached his father in Britain; and by chance during those same days the final fate was pressing on his parent Constantius. 3. On his death, all who were present approving, but especially Crocus, king of the Alamanni, who had accompanied Constantius for the sake of military assistance, he took imperial power.

Zosimus 2. 8. 1–2 . . . . those who were already emperors, Constantius and Maximianus Galerius, designated as Caesars Severus and Maximinus . . . 2. While affairs were favourable and the barbarians everywhere, following the successful earlier expeditions against them, were glad to stay peaceful, Constantine, born from the relationship which an obscure woman, not the legitimate wife of Constantius, had had with the latter, already possessing the idea of imperial power, and filled with greater desire after Severus and Maximinus had gained the rank of Caesar, decided to leave the place he was staying at and to join his father Constantius, who was in the transalpine provinces and was residing in Britain. [*8. 3 has the story about Constantine impeding his pursuers; and in 9. 1. Constantius' death just after Constantine reached him.*]

307? Constantine Visits Britain?

This visit has been conjectured on the basis of a coin from the London mint: *RIC* vi. 129 (London), 82 : FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C rev. ADVENTVS AVGG; mint-mark PLN; dated '*c.* summer 307'. But it is a single specimen of dubious authenticity and the reverse, referring to the *adventus* of two emperors, is odd, as Casey stresses.[4] It is, however, possible that Eusebius' report about Constantine crossing to Britain at the beginning of his reign (quoted below) might mean that he returned there in 307. It is more likely (if it is not just a muddled recollection that Constantine was proclaimed emperor there, which Eusebius does not mention) that this refers to a visit not long before the campaign against Maxentius in 312, since there is better numismatic evidence for a visit at that time.

Between late 310 and mid-312 and 314 Constantine visits Britain?

RIC vi, London, 133–41: ADVENTVS AVG; 142–3: ADVENTVS AVG N; 144–5: ADVENTVS AVGG NN (mintmarks of the London mint); *RIC* vii. 1, 2, 21: ADVENTVS AVG N (mint-marks of the London mint).

These issues are dated in *RIC* to '*c.* mid-310 to late 312' and to 313–14 and 314–15; and the *adventus* is assumed to refer to 'Constantine's threatened or actual presence at Rome'. But Casey argues that the issues of *c.*310–12 refer to a visit to Britain, perhaps that mentioned in the following passages of Eusebius.[5]

Eus. *VC* 1. 8. 2: With mild and sober injunctions to godliness he equipped his troops, then campaigned against the land of the Britons and those who dwell at the very Ocean where the sun sets.

1. 25. 2: When these matters were settled to his satisfaction, he turned his attention to the other parts of the inhabited world, and first crossed to the Britains, which lie enclosed by the edge of Ocean; he brought them to terms, and then surveyed the other parts of the world, so that he might bring healing where help was needed.

4. 50: So when he began his reign the first to be subjected to him were the Britons near where the sun sets in the Ocean, and now it was the Indians, whose land lies near the sunrise.

One purpose of the assumed visit may have been to collect extra troops for his

[4] P. J. Casey, in J. Bird *et al.*, *Collectanea Londiniensia. Studies presented to R. Merrifield* (1978), 183f. Barnes, *New Empire*, 69, accepts the coin as evidence for a visit in 307 (he is unaware of Casey's article).

[5] P. J. Casey, in Bird *et al.*, *Collectanea*, 184ff.

coming campaign against Maxentius. Such troops are attested by Zosimus 2. 15. 1:

And having gathered together forces, both from the barbarians whom he had conquered by the spear, and Germans, and the other Celtic peoples, and those collected from Britain, up to about 90,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, he marched from the Alps into Italy.

Casey argues further that London *adventus* issues of 313–14 and 314–15 commemorate another visit between April and October 314, as a result of which Constantine assumed the title Britannicus Maximus, attested in 315.[6] It is just possible that in 312 or 314 Constantine created a fifth British province, later renamed Valentia (see IV. 2).

A *praeses*, under Constantine? . . . rocles Perpetuus

CIL vi. 1223 + *add.*, Rome: *[. . .] conservator[em totius orbis?, | pr]opagatoremque re[ipublicae Romanae | et im]p(erii)?, quod sacram quoque [viam? . . . , [4]| vet]ustate temporis desid[ioque priorum corruptam, | ad s]plendorem pristinum res[tituerit, | . . .]rocles Perpetuus, v(ir) c(larissimus), cur[ator aedium sacrarum?, | ?praes]es provinciae Brittanniae[. . .].*

. . . conserver of the soldiers and provincials?, extender of the Roman commonwealth and empire?, because he restored to its former splendour the Sacred Way too . . . , which was in a ruinous state through the lapse of time and the neglect of his predecessors . . . rocles Perpetuus, senator, curator of sacred buildings?, governor of the province of Britannia . . .

The language of this fragmentary inscription is thought to suit a late third- or early fourth-century date.[7] It was set up by Perpetuus in honour of an emperor whose name is missing but whose epithets match those of Constantine.[8] Perpetuus gives the emperor the credit for repairs which he himself carried out to the *sacra via* at Rome, as *curator*, probably *aedium sacrarum*. The latest known holder of this post held office under Constantine.[9] Perpetuus was also governor of one of the British provinces.[10] He might have held the post previously, but it seems more likely that he had just been appointed. His first name is generally restored as [Hie]rocles, by far the commonest ending -rocles, and the only such name known to have been borne by senatorial or equestrian office-holders. But there are other possible restorations, for

[6] Ibid. 189ff. The title is attested by *ILS* 8942 (AD 315), also *ILS* 696 (between 313 and 318/319): see Barnes, *New Empire*, 81 n. 145; ibid. 71 he dates the visit to autumn 313.

[7] *PLRE* i. 689.

[8] G. A(lföldy) in *CIL* vi. *add.* compares *ILS* 691 = *ILAlg.* ii. 581, Constantine *conservator t[otius orbis]*, citing T. Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus* (1990), 276, for other inscriptions with the titulature *propagator Romani imperii*, etc.

[9] See the list in *PLRE* i. 1058.

[10] In *PIR*² H 173 doubt is expressed whether Perpetuus was the same person as the *praeses*. But it is hard to see why a governorship should be mentioned unless it was held by Perpetuus himself.

example, [And]rocles.[11] Nothing can be inferred about his origin from the nomenclature.

A vicarius in 319, Lucius Papius Pacatianus (*cos. ord.* 332)

CTh 11. 7. 2: *idem A(ugustus) ad Pacatianum vic(arium) Brittaniarum. unusquisque decurio pro ea portione conveniatur, in qua vel ipse vel colonus vel tributarius convenitur et colligit; neque omnino pro alio decurione vel territorio conveniatur. id enim prohibitum esse manifestum est et observandum deinceps, quo iuxta hanc provisionem nostram nullus pro alio patiatur iniuriam. dat(um) (ante diem) XII kal(endas) Decembr(es), Constantino A(ugusto) et Licinio C(aesare) cons(ulibu)s.*

The same Augustus to Pacatianus, vicar of the Britains. Each and every decurion may be sued for that portion of land in respect of which he himself, or his tenant, or his taxable dependent, is sued, and from which they collect the fruits, and should not be sued on account of another decurion or territory. For it is manifest that that is prohibited, and it must be observed in future that no one, in accordance with our solicitude, may suffer injury on account of another. Issued on the twelfth day before the Kalends of December, Constantine Augustus and Licinius Caesar being the consuls (20 November 319).

Constantine's rescript of 20 November 319 is the only evidence for Pacatianus' vicariate, which may be assumed to have lasted into the following year. Stevens suggested that the need for an imperial decision may have arisen from a conflict between Celtic and Roman laws of land tenure.[12] Pacatianus is known from an inscription in Sardinia to have been governor, *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(a)eses*, of that province in 308 or 309, under the usurper L. Domitius Alexander. This inscription supplies his *gentilicium*, Papius, in full.[13] Since Alexander's usurpation was directed against Maxentius rather than Constantine, this appointment probably assisted, rather than hindered, Pacatianus' career after 312. He may be assumed to have gone on to other posts before becoming *vicarius*.[14] After the vicariate he presumably had further appointments before becoming praetorian prefect, at latest before 13 May 329. He was still in office in 337, by then the senior of five prefects. In the latter part of this period, 335–7, he was attached to the Caesar Constans.[15] Meanwhile, in 332, he had been *consul ordinarius*. He had ceased to be prefect at latest by 341.[16] His origin is unknown, but the *gentilicium* is found much more frequently in southern Italy than elsewhere.[17]

[11] See e.g. *PIR*² L 182, 202; *PLRE* i. 431 f. Most of the other possible names are too long, but note the rhetor Androcles at Ancyra, a friend of Libanius, *Ep.* 1242, 1340. Further names may have come at the end of l. 5.

[12] C. E. Stevens, *JRS* 37 (1947), 132 ff.

[13] *AE* 1966. 169. For the *praenomen*, see *ILTun.* 814, Tubernuc, which abbreviates the *nomen* to Pap.

[14] See H.-G. Pflaum, *Bull. arch. alg.* 1 (1962–5), 159 ff.

[15] Barnes, *New Empire*, 134 ff.; cf. *PLRE* i. 656, 1048.

[16] *ILS* 8944, Traiana, lists three other prefects.

[17] There are some thirty Papii in *CIL* x. (more than in vi), against e.g. eleven in viii and eight in ix.

337–350

From 337 to 340 Britain was in the part of the empire ruled by Constantine II. No information relating to Britain survives for these years. After his death in civil war against Constans, the latter took over the West and controlled it until his own death in 350.

In winter, probably late January, 343, Constans visited Britain. Two contemporary writers, Libanius and Firmicus Maternus, report this, but concentrate mainly on the unusual time of year for the Channel crossing. The visit is also mentioned several times by Ammianus, referring back to his lost account in an earlier book.

Libanius, *Or.* 59. 137, 139–41: 137. But it is not fitting to pass over in silence the voyage to Britain either, since the island is unknown to many. But the more it is unknown, the more shall be said, so that all may be aware that the Emperor has also closely examined what is beyond the known. And I think that the voyage appears to be no lesser thing than the greatest trophy. [*In the rest of 137 and in 138 Libanius describes the dangers of sailing the Ocean.*] 139. The Emperor paid regard to none of these things, but rather, knowing it all clearly, did not shrink back, but was the more eager to embark the more he knew the danger that was being described in tragic tones. He did not wait on the coast until spring arrived and the storms of Ocean abated. But straightaway, in mid-winter, when everything, clouds, cold, and waves, were aroused to total fury by the weather, having sent no warning in advance to the cities there and made no previous announcement of his sailing—not wishing to create tumult with his plans before he had completed his undertaking ; having embarked a hundred men, so it is said, and, casting off, he clove the Ocean, and at once all became calm. And Ocean, having smoothed the swell, provided a flat surface for the Emperor to cross, and the sea's regular ebb, abolishing the norm this time, protected the place. 140. Now it was not the case that, while the crossing to the island went so peacefully, the sailing back was any different. Indeed, the second happened more favourably than the first, confirming the proverb, so that no dispute could arise, that this was not youthful boasting without the aid of god. 141. Now if he had risked sailing during a revolt of the island, with its inhabitants rebelling and its government being overthrown, and if he had been angered on receiving such reports, his daring would not have been caused by ambition. Rather, compulsion created by those in revolt would have removed most of the glory—but, as it was, affairs in Britain were stable, and there was no necessity to leave the land to enjoy the wonders of Ocean . . .

Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum* 28. 6: *hieme, quod nec factum est aliquando, nec fiet, tumentes ac saevientes undas calcasti Oceani sub remis vestris. incogniti iam nobis paene maris unda contremuit, et insperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit.*

In winter, which has never been done at any time, nor will be done, you [Constans] pounded the swelling and raging waves of Ocean with your oars. The waves of the sea that is almost unknown to us now trembled and the Briton was terrified at the unexpected face of the Emperor.

Amm. Marc. 20. 1. 1 (quoted below, on Julian: *Because of threats from the Alamanni, Julian was afraid to go in person to help the Britains when they were ravaged by the Scots (or Attacotti) and Picts, as Constans had done.*)

27. 8. 4 (quoted below, under 367–8: *Ammianus had given full details of Britain in his account of Constans.*)

28. 3. 8 (quoted below, under 367–8: *Ammianus had reported some details about 'the* areani*, a class of persons instituted of old' in his account of Constans.*)

The purpose of Constans' sudden winter visit to Britain in 343, probably at the end of January or in early February,[18] is not obvious in the sources. Libanius, in a panegyric on Constantius II and Constans, devotes a good deal of space (*Or.* 59. 126–35) to Constans' campaign against the Franks in 342,[19] with the British episode as a kind of epilogue. He stresses that there was no rebellion in progress when Constans set out. It has been inferred from Firmicus' statement that 'the Briton was terrified at the unexpected face of the Emperor' that Constans had got wind of a planned revolt, which he 'nipped in the bud'.[20] Yet Ammianus' brief references surely supply the real explanation. He had 'reported some details about the *areani* in his account of the reign of Constans', which must indicate that Constans' measures had involved the northern frontier (28. 3. 8).[21] Further, when referring to the attacks on the 'places near the frontiers' in 360, he writes that Julian, because of the Alamannic threat on the Rhine, 'was afraid to go to help the people across the sea, as we reported that Constans had done' (20. 1. 1). Constans had clearly no threat to face on the Rhine: he had defeated the Franks in 342,[22] and, although no details are preserved, probably the Alamanni as well, for 'the Alamanni feared him' (Amm. Marc. 30. 7. 3). As for Firmicus, 'the Briton' who was terrified by Constans' unexpected arrival can perfectly well mean Britons beyond the frontier. Libanius' claim that Constans 'embarked a hundred men, so it is said' need not mean that he brought no other forces. The coins suggests that some sort of victory was claimed. This may well have been the occasion on which

[18] For the date, cf. *CTh.* 11. 16. 5 = *CJ* 11. 75, issued at Bononia (Boulogne) on 25 Jan. 343. He was still at Milan on 4 Dec. 342, *CTh.* 9. 8. 3. P.-L. Malosse, *Historia*, 48 (1999), 466 f., comparing Libanius' remarks at *Or.* 59. 138 with the phases of the moon and their known effects on the sea, suggests 4 Feb. 343 as the most probable date of embarkation. It was commemorated by a 'proto-contorniate' medallion: Obv. CONSTANS P.F. AVG, Rev. BONONIA OCEANEN(sis), with Constans shown in a ship, J. P. C. Kent, *RIC* viii. 283; see also p. 35, where the frequently issued coins with a galley are taken to refer to Constans' crossing.

[19] *Chron. min.* i. 236; Socrates, *HE* 2. 13. 4.

[20] Thus E. A. Thompson, *Nott. Med. Studies*, 34 (1990), 2 ff., who argued that the sole purpose of Constans' mission was to crush in advance a planned internal rebellion; he dismissed too readily Constans' dealings with the *areani* and did not discuss Amm. 20. 1. 1.

[21] C. E. Stevens, *Latomus*, 14 (1955), 395, defended the MS *areanos* (often emended to *arcanos*, 'secret agents'): he interpreted the name as derived from soldiers' slang, men quartered in an *area*, 'sheepfold', which he conjectured may have been what the milecastles of Hadrian's Wall were called; cf. also I. A. Richmond, in id. (ed.), *Roman and Native in North Britain* (1958), 114 f. J. G. F. Hind, *Northern History*, 19 (1983), 1 ff., prefers to render the word 'men of the closed or walled space(s)' and takes this to refer to the 'cleared strip between Hadrian's Wall and the *Vallum*, and adjoining the forts'.

[22] See O. Seeck, *RE* 4/1 (1900), 949 f.

the elder Gratian served as *comes rei militaris* in Britain, probably with an emergency field-army. He could have gone to Britain before the emperor.[23] Constans' visit was possibly the occasion for subdividing the northernmost province, Britannia Secunda, with the part threatened by the Picts being hived off into the province renamed Valentia in 368 (see IV. 2).

A *comes rei militaris*, in 342–343? Gratianus

Amm. Marc. 30. 7. 2–3: *natus apud Cibalas, Pannoniae oppidum, Gratianus maior ignobili stirpe, cognominatus est a pueritia prima Funarius . . . 3. ob ergo validum corporis robur, et peritiam militum more luctandi, notior multis, post dignitatem protectoris atque tribuni, comes praefuit rei castrensi per Africam, unde furtorum suspicione contactus, digressusque multo post pari potestate Brittanicum rexit exercitum, tandemque honeste sacramento solutus, revertit ad larem, et agens procul a strepitu, multatione bonorum adflictus est a Constantio, hoc nomine, quod civili flagrante discordia, hospitio dicebatur suscepisse Magnentium, per agrum suum ad proposita festinantem.*

The elder Gratianus was born of humble stock at Cibalae, a town in Pannonia. From early boyhood he was nicknamed 'Rope man' . . . 3. Having therefore become widely known because of his physical strength and skill at wrestling in the soldiers' fashion, after posts as *protector* and tribune, he commanded the army in Africa as *comes*. Having left this appointment after incurring suspicion of theft, he much later commanded the British army with the same rank, and at length, having received an honourable discharge, returned home. While living quietly he was afflicted by Constantius with confiscation of his property, the grounds being that during the civil war he was said to have received Magnentius hospitably, when the latter crossed his land on the way to his objective.

Gratianus, father of the emperors Valentinian and Valens, is referred to by several writers, but only Ammianus provides details of his career, at the opening of his obituary notice on Valentinian. His military service may be assumed to have begun by the time of Valentinian's birth, *c.*321 (Amm. Marc. 30. 6. 6). It ended before 351, when he was in retirement. After service in the ranks, he became a *protector—protector domesticus* rather than one of the ordinary kind if an inscription from Salonae refers to him—and tribune; he was also a *praefectus*

[23] P.-L. Malosse, *Historia*, 48 (1999) 471ff., argues that *ire subsidio transmarinis* in Amm. Marc. 20. 1. 1 need not refer to any military action, and concludes that Constans, obsessed by the wish to keep his movements secret, as Libanius, *Or.* 59. 148f. stresses, simply wanted to tighten up discipline, perhaps by inspecting the *areani*. This is surely a misinterpretation of Ammianus. Libanius may be silent on details; but writing so soon after the event he probably lacked sufficient information—in spite of his claim, ibid. 126, to have verified his facts like a Thucydides. J. P. C. Kent, *RIC* viii. 35, notes that the 'hut' coin issues, showing a warrior leading a small bareheaded figure from a hut beneath a tree, struck in great numbers for Constans and Constantius II, might be an 'allusion . . . to some event in Britain during Constans' visit'. At 35 n. 7 he notes that 'the legend TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM seems also to refer to the British expedition; note the prow on which the emperor's foot is placed' (cf. ibid. 128). See *RIC* viii, Trier no. 121, Thessalonica no. 61: 'emperor in military dress, stg. l. with r. foot on prow, holding in r. hand standard with Chi-Rho monogram on banner; he is crowned from behind by victory'.

according to the inscription.[24] There followed two commands as *comes rei militaris*, in Africa and in Britain. Mann stressed that 'the title did not imply appointment to a particular post . . . it is very probable that, if indeed he served as a regular frontier commander, an inscription in either case would have referred to him as *v. p. comes et dux*'. There is no reason to suppose that the post of *comes Britanniarum* in the *Notitia Dignitatum* was a regular one before the late fourth century at earliest (IV. 3). Presumably the dispatch of a *comes* to Britain some time before 351 was occasioned by an emergency, such as the one which led to Constans' winter expedition early in 343. Gratianus might have accompanied Constans on that occasion, or, perhaps, have been sent ahead before Constans embarked.[25] An inscription in his memory from Constantine (Cirta) in Numidia, set up between 364 and 367, gives the latest possible date of his death.[26]

A *praeses*, between *c.*340 and 350? Flavius Sanctus

Ausonius, *Parentalia* 20(18): *Fl. Sanctus maritus Pudentillae quae soror Sabinae meae:*

qui ioca laetitiamque colis, qui tristia damna
nec metuis quemquam nec metuendus agis,
qui nullum insidiis captas nec lite lacessis,
sed iustam et clemens vitam agis et sapiens,
tranquillos manes supremaque mitia Sancti
ore pio et verbis advenerare bonis.
militiam nullo qui turbine sedulus egit,
praeside laetatus quo Rutupinus ager,
octoginta annos cuius tranquilla senectus
nullo mutavit deteriore die,
ergo precare favens, ut qualia tempora vitae,
talia et ad manes otia Sanctus agat.

Flavius Sanctus, husband of Pudentilla, who was sister of my wife Sabina: you who cherish jokes and gladness, who condemn moroseness, who neither fear anyone nor act so as to be feared, who entrap no one by trickery nor vex anyone with a lawsuit, but with mildness and wisdom live an upright life, come with reverent lips and good words to honour the quiet shade and the remains of gentle Sanctus. His service he performed diligently, with no tumult, with him as governor the Rutupian land was glad; a calm old age marred his eighty years with no day of decline. Therefore pray propitiously that Sanctus may enjoy such peace among the shades as he found in his lifetime.

Flavius Sanctus had been married to Ausonius' sister-in-law Namia Pudentilla, who predeceased him (*Par.* 21). By the time that Ausonius wrote

[24] The inscription is *CIL* iii. 12900. Identity is taken for granted by O. Seeck, *RE* 7/2 (1912), 1831; regarded as possible in *PLRE* i. 401.

[25] Frere, *Britannia*[3], 337, regards 343 as a likely date for Gratianus' mission in Britain.

[26] *ILS* 758.

the *Parentalia* in the late 380s, Sanctus too had died, at 80, it is not clear how long before. His service in Britain must have been much earlier, perhaps *c*.340–50. *Rutupinus* in line 8 might indicate the province which included Kent, Maxima Caesariensis, but probably just meant 'British'. Sanctus was clearly a Gaul, perhaps descended from the Sanctus who was consul in the *imperium Galliarum* in 269, with the emperor Victorinus.[27] He had a son, Lucanus Talisius, who died as a young man (*Par.* 22).

350–353 Britain under Magnentius

On 18 January 350, the *comes rei militaris* Flavius Magnus Magnentius, commander of two palatine legions, was proclaimed emperor at Augustodunum (Autun). Constans was shortly afterwards killed and Magnentius became ruler of the western empire, including Britain. Although he soon lost control of Illyricum and was defeated by Constantius II at the battle of Mursa on 28 September 351, he retained the West until summer 353, when he was defeated again in Gaul and committed suicide (10 August).[28] Thus Britain was part of his empire for three and a half years and he clearly appointed his own officials and officers there as elsewhere. Conceivably support for Magnentius may have been particularly strong in the island, for, while contemporary sources (Themistius, Julian, and Aurelius Victor) just describe him as 'a (German) barbarian', in two later ones he is said to have been the son of a British father, and one adds that he had a Frankish mother and was born at Amiens.[29] It has been argued that this version of his origin was developed from hostile Constantian propaganda and that he was probably just of humble birth and from northern Gaul.[30]

A *vicarius* 353–354, Martinus

Amm. Marc. 14. 5. 6–8: *inter quos Paulus eminebat notarius, ortus in Hispania coluber quidam sub vultu latens, odorandi vias periculorum occultas perquam sagax. is in Brittaniam missus, ut militares quosdam perduceret, ausos conspirasse Magnentio, cum reniti non possent, iussa licentius supergressus, fluminis modo fortunis*

[27] *CIL* xiii. 11976; see *PLRE* i. 801f.

[28] *PLRE* i. 532.

[29] Ibid. lists the sources for his origin; most are quoted by J. F. Drinkwater, *Chiron*, 30 (2000), 138f. The 'British father' is in Zonaras 13. 6B; also in a Scholion on Julian, *Or.* 2. 95C, published by J. Bidez, *REA* 27 (1925), 312ff., which adds the Frankish mother and birth at Amiens. No doubt Zonaras and the Scholiast had a common source.

[30] J. F. Drinkwater, *Chiron*, 30 (2000), 139ff., argues that Magnentius' origin was in fact 'not in any way barbarian', but that his supposed descent was the invention of Constantius' propaganda. He even conjectures, 143 n. 52, that 'Magnentius' "British" origin was fabricated from the activities of Paul the Chain in the island after his fall', on which see below.

conplurium sese repentinus infudit, et ferebatur per strages multiplices ac ruinas, vinculis membra ingenuorum adfligens, et quosdam obterens manicis, crimina scilicet multa consarcinando, a veritate longe discreta. unde admissum est facinus impium, quod Constanti tempus nota inusserat sempiterna. 7. *Martinus agens illas provincias pro praefectis, aerumnas innocentium graviter gemens, saepeque obsecrans, ut ab omni culpa immunibus parceretur, cum non inpetraret, minabatur se discessurum, ut saltem id metuens, perquisitor malivolus tandem desineret, quieti coalitos homines in aperta pericula proiectare.* 8. *per hoc minui studium suum existimans Paulus, ut erat in conplicandis negotiis artifex dirus, unde ei Catenae indutum est cognomentum, vicarium ipsum eos quibus praeerat defensantem, ad sortem periculorum communium traxit. et instabat ut eum quoque cum tribunis et aliis pluribus, ad comitatum imperatoris vinctum perduceret: quo percitus ille, exitio urguente abrupto, ferro eundem adoritur Paulum. et quia languente dextera letaliter ferire non potuit, iam destrictum mucronem in proprium latus inpegit. hocque deformi genere mortis, excessit e vita iustissimus rector, ausus miserabiles casus levare multorum.*

14. 5. 6: Pre-eminent among these [flatterers of the emperor] was Paulus the notary, born in Spain, a snake with an inscrutable face, extremely cunning at sniffing out hidden paths to peril. He was sent to Britain to fetch certain military men who had dared to join Magnentius' conspiracy. When he found that they could not resist, he wilfully exceeded his instructions and descended suddenly like a river in flood on the fortunes of many people, spreading destruction and ruin in many forms. He loaded the limbs of free-born men with chains and humiliated some with handcuffs, stitching together many charges far removed from the truth. From this arose a wicked deed, which stamped the time of Constantius with an everlasting mark of shame. 7. Martinus, who was administering those provinces as deputy-prefect, deeply grieved at the troubles of the innocent, made frequent pleas that those who were free from all guilt should be spared. When he failed to gain what he had asked for, he threatened to resign, so that the malevolent inquisitor, at least through fear of this occurring, would finally stop throwing into open danger men who were wedded to peace. 8. Paulus, reckoning that his own keen efforts would thereby be restricted, and being dreadfully skilled at weaving intrigues—which is why he was given the nickname Catena—implicated the *vicarius* himself, who was protecting those whom he was governing, in the common peril. He insisted that Martinus too, together with the tribunes and many others, should be led away in chains to the imperial staff. Provoked by this, Martinus, now threatened with impending doom, attacked Paulus. And because he was unable to strike a fatal blow, his right arm being weak, he thrust the already drawn sword into his own side; and, with this ugly form of death a most upright governor lost his life, having dared to alleviate the wretched plight of many people.

Nothing is known of Martinus apart from this vivid episode in Ammianus. He was in office shortly after the fall of Magnentius, who committed suicide on 10 August 353 (see above). He had presumably been appointed by Constantius II soon after this, replacing an appointee of Magnentius. Constantius celebrated 'the end of the thirtieth year of his *imperium*' with games at Arelate (Arles), at which one prominent member of Magnentius' regime, Count Gerontius, was tortured publicly and then exiled. Although Ammianus gives the date as *sextum idus Octobres*, 10 October, this may be a mistake, since Constantius' *dies imperii* was 8 November, *sextum idus Novembres*, the day on which he became Caesar in 324 (Amm. Marc. 14. 5. 1).[31] Constantius 'made his victory an occasion for mourning by slaughtering the innocent' and 'any military man or

[31] As pointed out by T. D. Barnes, *HSCP* 92 (1989), 419 n. 20, referring to id., *New Empire*, 8 n. 31.

person or rank or nobility even rumoured to have supported the other side . . . was condemned to death or exiled to a lonely island' (14. 5. 2–3). Constantius was already bloodthirsty enough but his rage was rekindled by flatterers, 'among whom the Spanish notary Paulus was pre-eminent' (5. 4–6). This suggests that Paulus' mission in Britain, 'to fetch certain military men who had dared to join Magnentius' conspiracy', did not begin until autumn or winter rather than straight after Magnentius' death. According to Ammianus, Paulus exceeded his instructions and arrested a great many others. Martinus made repeated attempts to gain the release of the innocent, then threatened to resign. Paulus reacted by coming to arrest him as well, 'along with the tribunes and many others'. Martinus tried to kill Paulus, but failed to land a blow, and committed suicide.

Martinus' origin and earlier career are unknown. It might be assumed, *a priori*, that Constantius would not have appointed a man from Gaul or indeed from any part of Magnentius' former dominions; still, the name Martinus was particularly common in Gaul.[32] The affair was 'an everlasting mark of shame' on the reign of Constantius. Paulus may previously have earned the hatred of the Donatists in Africa, if he was the Paulus who, with his colleague Macarius, was sent by Constans to restore church unity and called in military assistance to suppress Donatist resistance. He was certainly further active as an agent of Constantius during the next few years: in the West, during trials following the execution of Gallus in 354, hunting down supporters of Silvanus in 355, and spying on Julian in Gaul in 358; and in the East, investigating treason charges in Egypt in 359. He was sentenced to death by Julian's special commission at Chalcedon in 361–2, and burnt alive.[33]

A possible rebellion between *c.*354 and 358? 'Carausius II' and Censeris

Some twenty coins found in southern England, copied from or overstruck on issues of the house of Constantine, and datable between 354 and 358, bear the legend DOMNO CARAVSIVS CES, presumably an attempt at DOMINVS CARAVSIVS CAES(AR); others have the name CENSERIS (or GENSERIS).[34] It has been suggested that they were issued in the course of an otherwise unrecorded rebellion.[35] But it is likelier that they were simply unusual forgeries.

[32] Lörincz, *OPEL* iii. 61.

[33] Sources in *PLRE* i. 683f., Paulus 2 and 3. The same commission sentenced the former *magister officiorum* Palladius to exile in Britain, Amm. Marc. 22. 3. 3.

[34] J. P. C. Kent, *NC*[6] 17 (1957), 345ff.; Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 163ff.

[35] E. A. Thompson, *Nott. Med. Studies*, 34 (1990), 4f.; Casey, *Carausius and Allectus*, 167, is sceptical.

357/8–361 Alypius, *vicarius*

Libanius, *Ep.* 327 (324 Foerster): 1. I congratulate you on the size of your command and I praise you for the excellence with which you exercise it. And I say that this is an advantage for our own teaching, from which you have gained the knowledge of how to govern, since that knowledge is based upon the use of words, the words derive from our teaching, and he who has studied is a credit to his teaching. And the recompense for the teaching would become much finer, if you would give some consideration to it, now that it has fallen to your lot to hold office. 2. But we shall demand this of Fortune, and she will at least grant it, if she were to do what is just. We are educating your Hierocles by no means so as to be better than his father, but perhaps to be as good as him. And indeed his enthusiasm is divided between using his tongue and using his hand, but he is keen in both respects, the former of which I mention to some people, the latter I hear about from others.

Julian, *Ep.* 9 Bidez-Cumont (=29=6), 402D–403C: 402D. Julianus to Alypius, brother of Caesarius. Syloson came up to Darius, they say, and reminded him about the cloak and asked him for Samos in return. Then Darius prided himself greatly on this, thinking that he had given much in return for little—but Syloson received a favour that caused distress. 403A. Now compare my conduct with that of Darius. First, in at least one respect I think that what I have done is better, for I did not wait to be reminded by another—but after preserving for such a long time the memory of your friendship undimmed, at the first moment that the god allowed it we summoned you, not among the second but among the first. So much then for the past. But as to the future, will you allow me to foretell it? For I am a prophet. 403B. I think that it will be a long way better than that example (may Adrasteia be propitious!). For you have no need of a king to conquer a city, but I need many to help me to set right what has fallen on evil days. Thus does my Gallic and barbarous Muse jest for your benefit: but you be of good cheer and come, and may the gods attend you. Added with his own hand: There is good spoil of kids and from the hunting of wild sheep in the winter-quarters. 403C. Come to your friend, who, at a time when he was not able to recognize it, nonetheless valued your merit.

Julian, *Ep.* 10 (=30 Hertlein=7 Wright), 403C–404B: 403C. To the same. I had already recovered from my illness when you sent the *Geography*. But I was no less glad to receive the map you sent. 403D. For it both has better diagrams than previous ones and you have embellished it by adding iambics, not singing of the *War of Bupalus* according to the poet of Cyrene, but such as the fair Sappho likes to fashion for her songs. As concerns your administration, that you strive to carry out everything energetically and at the same time with mildness, we are very pleased. For to blend mildness and moderation with courage and force, 404A. and to exercise the former towards the most reasonable and the latter, implacably, towards the wicked, to set them right, is, as I am convinced, a task for no small natural qualities or virtue. We pray that you may always hold fast to these goals and adapt both of them only to the one honourable end. For the most eloquent of the ancient writers believed, not without reason, that this is the aim of all the virtues. 404B. May you continue for as long as possible in health and happiness, most longed for and most dear brother.

Amm. Marc. 23. 1. 2: [*Julian decided to rebuild the Jewish temple at Jerusalem,*] *negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Brittanias curaverat pro praefectis.*

23. 1. 2: and had given the task to be carried out to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly governed the British provinces as deputy of the prefects.

29. 1. 44: *ecce autem Alypius quoque, ex vicario Brittaniarum, placiditatis homo iucundae, post otiosam et repositam vitam . . . in squalore maximo volutatus, ut venificus reus citatus est . . .*

29. 1. 44: See, further, Alypius too, former Vicar of the Britains, a mild and charming man, after living in leisured retirement, was plunged in the depths of wretchedness, and accused, with his son Hierocles, a young man of good character, of practising sorcery.

Alypius is the most interesting of the six known *vicarii* of Britain, since he was a friend and correspondent of the orator Libanius and of the emperor Julian, whose letters, in each case, seem to have been written to him while he was in the island. Alypius' stern treatment of the 'wicked' may refer to the punishment of corrupt officials attributed by Libanius (*Or.* 18. 82, quoted below) to Julian himself. Ammianus mentions his appointment twice, in both cases retrospectively. Under 363, he describes how Julian appointed Alypius, 'who had formerly governed the Britains as deputy to the prefects', to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. In the second passage, dealing with the sorcery trials at Antioch in 371 or 372, he likewise calls Alypius 'ex-Vicar of the Britains', which suggests that the British post was the most important that Alypius had held. This makes it practically certain that it was his administration of the vicariate to which Libanius was referring in the letter quoted above, dated by Seeck to 357 or 358.[36] It is less clear how the letters from Julian should be interpreted. Seeck thought that letter 9 (29) was written shortly after Julian became Caesar, in late 355 or early 356, and the summons at the end, 'come then to your friend', resulted in Alypius' appointment to the British vicariate. Letter 10 (30), which opens with Julian thanking Alypius for sending him a map, and then continues with some flattering remarks about Alypius' administration, would thus be later.[37] But Geffcken saw that 'the city' and 'the king (i.e. emperor)' in letter 9 (29) must refer to Constantinople and to Julian himself after he entered it as emperor late in 361. Likewise, 'Gallic and barbarous Muse' implies that Julian had been in Gaul long enough to become rather 'barbarized'. Hence the summons at the end of this letter will have marked the end of Alypius' vicariate, and he will have joined the new emperor's entourage.[38]

No further appointment is in fact known until the mission—abortive as it proved—to rebuild the temple, in which capacity he had the rank of *comes*.[39] Ammianus calls Alypius an Antiochene, but as Seeck showed, this must be mistaken, for Libanius would certainly have mentioned it if he had been a

[36] O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanios* (1906), 56f., assigned the letter to 357, but later (177) put it in 358. He noted that the chronology of book 4 of the letters is the most difficult to establish, ibid. 338ff. Thanks are due to S. Wolfson for assistance in translating this letter.

[37] Ibid. 56f. Earlier, *RE* 1/2 (1894), 1709, Seeck had taken a different view.

[38] J. Geffcken, *Kaiser Julianus* (1914), 139, approved by U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes*, 69 (1924), 268f., whose emendation at 403B is followed here.

[39] Rufinus, *HE* 10. 38, gives the rank (omitting Alypius' name); the appointment is also described by Philostorgius, *HE* 7. 9.

native of his own city.[40] Further, he had an uncle whom Libanius describes as a Cilician (*Ep.* 30), who had the same name as Alypius' son, Libanius' pupil Hierocles. Alypius' brother Caesarius also held high rank at this time, as *comes rei privatae* in 363–4, having been, perhaps, *vicarius Asiae* immediately before.[41] One of Julian's letters reveals Alypius as a writer of verse (*Ep.* 10(30)), and another from Libanius (*Ep.* 1395) shows that he was a pagan. In 371 or 372, this 'mild and charming man', who had been living quietly in retirement, was tried, together with his son, at Antioch on a charge of poisoning, and was sentenced to exile after confiscation of his property, while Hierocles was condemned to death—but then, by good fortune, reprieved.[42] Nothing more is heard of the family.

359 Julian resumes regular grain shipments from Britain to the Rhine

Five separate sources (the latest, Zosimus, being dependent on Eunapius) refer to Julian's measures to restore the shipments of grain from Britain to the Rhineland while he was Caesar in Gaul.

Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.* 279D, 280A, B, C: 279D. After this came the second and third years [358–9]. All the barbarians were driven out of Gaul, most of the cities were recovered, and very many ships were brought over from Britain. 280A. I had collected a fleet of 600 ships, 400 of which I had had built in less than ten months, and brought them all into the Rhine . . . 280B. And I so terrified all of them [the Salii and Chamavi] and made them fear my approach, 280C. that I at once received hostages from them and secured safe passage for my corn transports.

Libanius, *Or.* 18. 82–3, 87: 82. 82. And what of his activities during this peace? He took counsel for the greatest island under the sun, which is surrounded by Ocean. He sent accountants there to supervise the expenditure that was nominally military but in practice was a source of income for the generals. And on the one hand he brought to justice those committing these offences, on the other hand he did something much greater, and particularly for the well-being of the Gauls. 83. In the past corn was brought by sea from the island and up the Rhine, but when the barbarians gained control they had not allowed it to pass and while the ships, long hauled ashore, had rotted, a few sailed, but, as they discharged their cargo in coastal ports, it was necessary for the corn to be carried on wagons instead of on the river, and that was a very great expense. He therefore began to renew the practice, and thinking that it would be a serious matter if he could not restore the corn-transport to its traditional form, rapidly produced ships, more than before, and considered how the river could thereby receive the corn . . . . 87. He brought the boats into the Rhine, while those who hoped to prevent it were choking with rage but unable to do so.

[40] Seeck, *Briefe*, 56f.
[41] *PLRE* i. 168f.
[42] As noted by O. Seeck, *RE* 8/2 (1913), 1478, Hierocles' reprieve may be described by Joh. Chrys. *De incompr. dei nat.* 3. 7 (not cited in *PLRE* i. 431; ibid. 47 Alypius is also said to have been reprieved; but Ammianus only speaks of Hierocles' life being spared).

Amm. Marc. 18. 2. 3–4: . . . *ipse anni tempore oportuno, ad expeditionem undique milite convocato, profectus, id inter potissima mature duxit implendum, ut ante proeliorum fervorem, civitates multo ante excisas ⟨ac va⟩cuas introiret, receptasque communiret, horrea quin etiam extrueret pro incensis, ubi condi possit annona, a Brittaniis sueta tranferri. 4. et utrumque perfectum est spe omnium citius. nam et horrea veloci opere surrexerunt, alimentorumque in isdem satias condita, et civitates occupatae sunt septem . . .*

18. 2. 3: He [Julian] himself, having summoned the soldiers together from all sides, and having set out on expedition at an opportune time of year, decided that before entering the heat of battle, what above all had to be fulfilled quickly was to enter the cities long since destroyed and empty, and to repair their defences when they were recovered; also to build granaries to replace those that had been burnt, to store the corn which used to be brought across from the Britains. 4. Both objects were achieved more rapidly than all had hoped. For the granaries rose up in a quick building operation and ample supplies of food were stored in them, and seven towns were occupied . . .

Eunapius, Frag. 12 Mueller: When Julian invaded enemy territory and the Chamavi begged him to spare it as though it were friendly territory, he agreed . . . Since they were willing to carry out all his orders and Julian saw that from his own point of view peace was opportune and necessary—for without the agreement of the Chamavi it was impossible for corn from the island of Britain to be transported to the Roman garrisons—he was induced by necessity to grant them peace, demanding hostages as a guarantee of good faith.

Zosimus 3. 5. 2: The Rhine debouches in the furthest part of Germany, which is a Gallic province, into the Atlantic sea, from the coast of which the British island is 900 stadia distant. Taking timber from the forests around the river, he built 800 boats, larger than galleys, and sending them to Britain had them loaded with corn; and he made preparations for the corn to be brought up the Rhine in river boats. This he did unceasingly, because the sea-crossing is short, and it was sufficient to provide his own cities with food and seed to sow the land and to have supplies until the harvest.

360 **Flavius Lupicinus** (*cos. ord.* 367), *magister equitum*

Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.* 283A: It was my intention . . . to divest myself of the imperial splendour and state, to stay in private life, and to take no part at all in affairs. But I waited for Florenti(n)us to come and Luppicinus; for the former was at Vienna, the latter in the Britains.

Amm. Marc. 20. 1. 1–3: 1. . . . *consulatu vero Constantii deciens terque Iuliani in Britanniis cum ⟨Sco⟩ttorum* [or ⟨*Attaco*⟩*ttorum*][43] *Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus rupta quiete condicta loca limitibus vicina vastarent et implicaret formido provincias praeteritarum cladium congerie fessas, hiemem agens apud Parisios Caesar distractusque in sollicitudines varias verebatur ire subsidio transmarinis, ut rettulimus ante fecisse Constantem, ne rectore vacuas relinqueret Gallias Alamannis ad saevitiam etiamtum incitatis et bella. 2. ire igitur ad haec ratione vel vi componenda Lupicinum placuit, ea tempestate magistrum armorum, bellicosum sane et castrensis rei peritum, sed supercilia erigentem ut cornua et de tragico, quod aiunt, coturno strepentem, super quo*

[43] The MSS omit the first part of the name, generally restored as ⟨*Sco*⟩*ttorum*; but P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1974), 175, proposed ⟨*Attaco*⟩*ttorum*, followed by E. A. Thompson, *Nott. Med. Studies*, 34 (1990), 5 n. 11, who, however, ibid., n. 12, believed that the Attacotti lived in Caledonia, rather than in Ireland. See now P. Rance, *Britannia*, 32 (2002), 243ff., showing convincingly that the Attacotti came from Ireland.

diu ambigebatur, avarus esset potius an crudelis. 3. *moto igitur velitari auxilio, Herulis scilicet et Batavis numerisque Moesiacorum duobus, adulta hieme dux ante dictus Bononiam venit quaesitisque navigiis et omni imposito milite observato flatu secundo ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur petitque Lundinium, ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio festinaret ad procinctum.*

20. 1. 1: But in the tenth consulship of Constantius and the third of Julian (360), when invasions of the Scotti [*or* Attacotti] and Picts, wild peoples, breaking the agreed peace, were laying waste the places close to the frontiers and fear was enveloping the provinces, worn out by the repeated previous disasters, the Caesar was spending the winter at Paris. Being distracted by various anxieties, he was afraid to go to help the overseas provinces, as we related that Constans did, so as not to leave the Gauls without a ruler when the Alamanni had at that very time been stirred up to savagery and war. 2. He decided therefore that Lupicinus, at that time Master of the Soldiers, should go to settle the situation, either by negotiation or by force. He was, to be sure, warlike and with military experience, but one who used to raise his eyebrows like horns and bellow, as they say, from a tragic actor's buskin. It used to be debated for a long time whether his greed predominated over his cruelty. 3. Having set in motion a light-armed force, namely the Heruli and Batavi, and two units of Moesiaci, the afore-mentioned general came to Bononia (Boulogne) in the depths of winter. Embarking all his soldiers he was carried across with a favourable wind to Rutupiae (Richborough) on the opposite side, and made for Lundinium, intending to take counsel on the nature of the problem and hasten to the front.

20. 4. 3, 6, 9: *et super auxiliariis quidem et trecentenis cogendis ocius proficisci Lupicinus conventus est solus, transisse ad Britannias nondum compertus . . .* 6. *. . . maximeque absentia magistri equitum augente dubietatem . . .* 9. *inter has tamen moras absentis Lupicini motusque militares timentis praefecti Iulianus consiliorum adminiculo destitutus . . .*

20. 4. 3: And Lupicinus alone, who was not yet known to have crossed to the Britains, was made responsible [by Constantius] for compelling a speedy departure of the auxiliaries and the three hundred men per unit . . . 6. . . . and the absence of the Master of the Cavalry was especially increasing his [Julian's] uncertainty . . . 9. During this delay caused by Lupicinus' absence and the prefect's fear of military mutiny, Julian was deprived of supporting advice . . .

20. 9. 9: *et quoniam, cum haec ita procederent, timebatur Lupicinus licet absens agensque etiamtum apud Britannos, homo superbae mentis et turgidae. eratque suspicio, quod, si haec trans mare didicisset, novarum rerum materias excitaret, notarius Bononiam mittitur observaturus sollicite, ne quisquam fretum oceani transire permitteretur. quo vetito reversus Lupicinus, antequam horum quidquam sciret, nullas ciere potuit turbas.*

20. 9. 9: And because, while these things were taking place in this way, Lupicinus was a cause of anxiety, although absent and still engaged among the Britons at that time, a man of arrogant and bombastic character. And there was a suspicion that if he found out what was happening overseas he would stir up a revolutionary situation, so a notary was sent to Bononia to watch carefully, so that no one should be permitted to cross the Channel. As this had been forbidden, Lupicinus returned before he knew anything about these matters and was unable to stir up any trouble.

Flavius Lupicinus[44] was *magister equitum* in Gaul under Julian, having been appointed in 359 (Amm. Marc. 18. 2. 7). Early in 360—in the depths of winter—news reached Julian at Paris of an invasion of the Britains by the Scots or Attacotti and Picts. The expression *loca limitibus vicina*, 'places near

[44] The first name is known only from *ICUR* 193.

the frontiers', recalls *limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis*, 'he protected the frontiers with watch-posts and defence-works' (Amm. Marc. 28. 3. 7) in the account of Theodosius' measures in 368.[45] But it is not clear what Ammianus means by 'the repeated previous disasters' which caused the British provinces to be 'worn out'. This might refer back to the troubles which prompted Constans' expedition seventeen years earlier, explicitly mentioned here, and the 'breach of the agreed peace' to terms then imposed. The 'disasters' might also include the purges conducted by Paulus 'the Chain' in the aftermath of Magnentius' defeat. Reluctant to go to Britain in person, ostensibly at least for fear of an Alamannic attack on the Gallic provinces, Julian dispatched Lupicinus with a small field army. After Lupicinus' departure, emissaries arrived from Constantius, ordering Julian to send some of his troops to the East; Lupicinus was to take them, Constantius not being aware that the latter was in Britain. Constantius had evidently 'already appointed Gomoarius as Lupicinus' successor before he had heard anything of what had occurred'—that is, about Julian's proclamation as emperor (Amm. Marc. 20. 9. 5). This seems to have taken place in about February 360. He began to negotiate with Constantius, who refused to accept his elevation. 'While all this was going on', Julian was still nervous about how Lupicinus would react and had Channel shipping blocked to prevent him hearing what had happened. It is not recorded how long Lupicinus stayed in Britain. After his return to Gaul Julian evidently had him arrested, for which he was reproached by Constantius (Jul. *Ep. ad Ath.* 281A–B). He disappears from sight until reappointed *magister equitum*, in the East in 363, by Jovian. He continued in office under Valens, being rewarded for his assistance in suppressing the usurper Procopius by the consulship for 367. His origin is unknown and no relatives are mentioned; he is known to have been a Christian.[46]

A *praeses* under Julian?, 360/1–363? Lucius Septimius . . .

RIB 103, Cirencester (*Corinium*): [Front] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)]* | *L(ucius) Sept[imius . . . ,]* | *v(ir) p(erfectissimus), pr(aeses) Ḅ[r(itanniae) . . . ,]* [4]| *resti[tuit],* | *civis Ṛ[emus?].*

To Jupiter Best and Greatest, Lucius Septimius . . . , most perfect man, governor of Britannia Prima?, restored (this), a citizen of the Remi?.

[Left side] *Septimius* | *renovat* | *primae* [4]| *provinciae* | *rector.* [Back] *[si]gnum et* | *[e]rectam* | *[p]risca re*[8] | *[li]gione co* | *[l]umnam.*

Septimius, *Prima provincia*'s ruler, renews | The statue and the column, by the old religion built.

[45] The mention of *limites* in Amm. Marc. 20. 1. 1 makes the attempt by P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1974), 179, to emend *limites* at 28. 3. 7 to *milites* implausible, cf. below on 367–8.

[46] Details in *PLRE* i. 520f.

Primae provinciae rector in the second line of verse is generally thought to be the equivalent of *pr(aeses) B[r(itanniae) primae?]* on the front face. In that case, L. Septimius must be dated after the Diocletianic reorganization, and the inscription would provide useful evidence for the location of one of the four British provinces which already existed when the Verona List was drawn up (IV. 1). Further, the renovation of a statue and a column 'set up by the old religion' evokes the pagan revival in the reign of Julian.

Of course, inscriptions of all periods recorded the restoration of temples and other buildings to their *pristinus status* or the like; *erectam prisca re[li]gione* appears more specific, but it is after all in verse. Hence E. Birley was sceptical about the fourth-century date: 'the Diocletianic restyling Prima and Secunda, wherever we meet it (in place of Superior and Inferior) represents the adoption officially of what had become general informal usage . . . the non-technical term *rector* should be sufficient to warn us not to take *primae provinciae* as necessarily official terminology—*superioris* would not scan'.[47] If this argument were accepted, the likeliest period at which a *v. p. praeses* of Upper Britain might be expected to have held office would be the years 274–86 after the recovery of Britain by Aurelian and before the usurpation of Carausius. But on the whole the date under Julian seems most likely.

A clue to the governor's origin is provided by the reading of line 5 of the prose dedication, *civis Ṛ[emus?]*. As Wright, ad loc., pointed out, 'the Remi belonged to an area in Gaul where many Jupiter-columns were set up', and it may be regarded as probable that this governor was himself from those parts. In view of the commonness of the *gentilicium*, speculation about his identity would be unproductive. His *cognomen*, now missing, must (unless abbreviated) have been a short one, of four or five letters, such as Felix or Rufus.

Britain under Valentinian

Amm. Marc. 26. 4. 5: *hoc tempore velut per universum orbem Romanum, bellicum canentibus bucinis, excitae gentes saevissimae, limites sibi proximos persultabant . . . Picti Saxonesque et Scotti et Attacotti Brittanos aerumnis vexavere continuis . . .*

During this period, the war-trumpets sounded throughout almost the whole Roman world, as very savage peoples were stirred up and were raiding the frontiers nearest to them . . . . The Picts, and the Saxons, and the Scots, and the Attacotti harried the Britons with continuous troubles . . .

This passage, although placed in the context of the year 364, is part of a list of military problems faced during their entire reigns by Valentinian and Valens, and clearly refers in advance to the invasions of Britain in 367 rather than to a

[47] E. Birley, in *Quintus Congressus* . . . (1963), 84; followed in *FRB* 178 ff. This view is here withdrawn.

separate event in 364.[48] The list of hostile peoples is, it is true, transmitted in a very corrupt text: *recti Saxonesque et secuti et atta citti vritanos aerumnis vexavere continuis*. But the editors' restoration is palaeographically much more plausible than the alternative proposed by Bartholomew: *Franci Saxonesque etiamtum tractus Gallicanos aerumnis vexavere continuis*. Of course, when Ammianus gives his detailed account of the 'troubles', or 'barbarian conspiracy', the Saxons—with the Franks—are said to have attacked the *Gallicanos tractus* rather than Britain (27. 8. 5, quoted below). But to claim that no Saxon invasions of Britain took place in the fourth century seems excessive.[49]

367 Nectaridus, *comes*, and Fullofaudes, *dux*

Amm. Marc. 27. 8. 1–2: *profectus itaque* [sc. *Valentinianus*] *ab Ambianis, Treverosque festinans, nuntio percellitur gravi, qui Brittanias indicabat barbarica conspiratione ad ultimam vexatas inopiam, Nectaridumque, comitem maritimi tractus, occisum, Fullofauden ducem hostilibus insidiis circumventum. 2. quibus magno cum horrore conpertis, Severum etiam tum domesticorum comitem misit, si fors casum dedisset casum dedisset optatum, correcturum sequius gesta: quo paulo postea revocato, ⟨Io⟩vinus* [lacuna] *in eadem loca profectus* [lacuna] *i⟨s⟩dem caeleri gradu permisit, adminicula petituris exercitus validi; id enim instantes necessitates flagitare firmabant.*

[Valentinian] therefore, having set out from Ambiani (Amiens), hurrying to Treveri (Trier), was alarmed by a serious message, which indicated that the Britains had been reduced to extreme helplessness by a barbarian conspiracy, that Nectaridus, *comes* of the coastal region, had been killed, the *dux* Fullofaudes cut off by enemy ambush. 2. Learning of this with great horror, he sent Severus, at that time still *comes domesticorum*, who, if chance should offer the desired opportunity, was to set right what had gone wrong. He was a little later recalled, and Jovinus . . . having set out to the same places . . . he [Valentinian?] allowed the same men, at speed, to seek the support of a strong army; for they confirmed that the pressing urgencies of the situation demanded this.

Nectaridus, killed by the invaders in the 'barbarian conspiracy' of 367 (for the chronology see below under Severus and Jovinus), is described as *comes maritimi tractus*, which looks like a literary periphrasis for the post of *comes litoris Saxonici per Britannias* attested in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Although this has been disputed,[50] it remains the most natural interpretation.[51] Nothing else is

[48] As stated briefly by O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, v ([4]1921), 432n.; shown in detail by R. S. O. Tomlin, *CQ* 29 (1979), 473ff.

[49] See P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 176, for the emendation, on which compare the comment by E. A. Thompson, *Nott. Med. Studies*, 34 (1990), 6 n. 17: 'Whatever the shortcomings of the traditional text, few textual critics will be convinced that *etiamtum tractus gallicanos* is likely to have been corrupted into *et secuti et atta citti uritanos*'. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 173ff., sought to eliminate all evidence for Saxon attacks on Britain and for the involvement of the Scots; but see below, on Count Theodosius. He overlooked not least the reference to *Scotia* and *Saxonia* in the Latin Josephus associated with Britain, quoted below.

[50] K. M. Martin, *Latomus*, 28 (1969), 408ff., argued that the *maritimus tractus* was the west coast. This theory has not won support.

[51] J. S. Johnson, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 87ff.

known of Nectaridus or Fullofaudes. The latter's name clearly reveals his German origin. The same has been suggested, although with less certainty, for Nectaridus.[52] Fullofaudes' fate is not quite clear: *hostilibus insidiis circumventum* appears to mean 'surrounded in an enemy ambush'. He presumably lost his life. This was certainly how the author of the summary attached to book 27 understood it: 'The Picts, Attacotti, and Scotti, who had been ravaging at will after the killing of the Duke and the Count, having been killed, Count Theodosius took back the booty from them'. The word *circumvenit* is used, for example, by Aurelius Victor (39. 40) to describe Allectus' removal of Carausius, who clearly was killed.

367 **Severus**, *comes domesticorum*

Amm. Marc. 27. 8. 2: quoted above.

Valentinian's immediate reaction to the news of the 'barbarian conspiracy' in summer 367 was to send Severus, 'at that time still *comes domesticorum*', to restore the situation; but he was soon recalled and the *magister equitum* Jovinus sent instead. Severus had been *comes domesticorum* since at least 365.[53] He was evidently promoted to *magister peditum* after returning to Gaul, since he is so described by Ammianus when mentioned as a possible successor to Valentinian during the latter's serious illness the same summer (27. 6. 3). Tomlin, making sense of Ammianus' muddled narrative, notes that Severus could be regarded as a possible successor because his senior colleague Jovinus was absent in Britain.[54] Severus held his new post at least until 372 (*Cod. Theod.* 7. 1. 11). His origin and subsequent history are unknown; his name is one of the commonest. Ammianus characterizes him as 'harsh . . . and feared', although preferable in every way to his potential rival at the time of Valentinian's illness, Rusticus Julianus.[55]

[52] For Fullofaudes, M. Waas, *Germanen im römischen Dienst im 4. Jh. n.Chr.* (1965), 99; the name is given as *Bulchobauden* in the edn. of Gelenius; Waas notes that Fullo*b*audes was probably the correct form. Nectaridus: Waas, *Germanen*, 117, with question mark.

[53] *PLRE* i. 833.

[54] R. Tomlin, *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 303ff.; Tomlin's chronology is approved by J. F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (1989), 510 n. 7, who finds 'inconclusive the counter-arguments (supporting 368–9)' of R. C. Blockley, *Britannia*, 11 (1980), 223ff.

[55] *PLRE* i. 479f.

367 Flavius Jovinus (*cos. ord.* 367), *magister equitum*

Amm. Marc. 27. 8. 2: quoted above.

Flavius[56] Jovinus, whose earlier career is unknown, was *magister equitum* from 361 until he was replaced by Theodosius, having been consul with Lupicinus (see under 360) in 367. In the summer of that year he was sent to Britain, following the recall of Severus. Ammianus' text is defective at this point, but there seems little doubt that Jovinus did go to Britain, and that his absence during the emperor's illness explains why he was not regarded as a possible successor. His report on the situation in Britain led to the dispatch of Theodosius. When the latter returned, he replaced Jovinus as *magister equitum*. The date of his dismissal was 368, rather than 369, as shown by Tomlin.[57] He may have been of Gallic origin;[58] at any rate, on retirement he settled at Rheims, where he built the church of St Agricola.[59]

367–368 Flavius Theodosius, *comes rei militaris*

Theodosius was a native of Spain, born into an orthodox Christian family. It was later alleged that the family was descended from Trajan, and hence that they came from Italica. But he had property at Cauca, between Emerita and Caesaraugusta, where his wife Thermantia bore their second son, the future emperor Theodosius I.[60] More is recorded about his activity in Britain than about that of any other figure in the late Roman period. It is possible that its significance was exaggerated by Ammianus because he wrote under Theodosius I; and the same applies to Claudian, writing under Count Theodosius' grandson Honorius. But it is hypercritical to claim that, because Jerome, Zosimus, and Jordanes only refer to the suppression of the exile Valentinus in Britain, not to barbarian invasions, Theodosius' mission was really to deal with internal troubles, including 'the revolt of a discontented urban proletariat', provoked by billeting of troops and a food shortage created by corrupt officials.[61]

[56] The first name is known only from *ICUR* 193.

[57] R. Tomlin, *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 303ff.

[58] Evidently assumed by K. F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (1948), 185, no. 203.

[59] *CIL* xiii. 3256: see S. Applebaum, *Latomus*, 23 (1964), 782; J. F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court* (1975), 51; and for Jovinus' career as a whole *PLRE* i. 462f.

[60] Details in *PLRE* i. 902ff.

[61] This is the thesis of P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), esp. 177ff. (the quotation is from p. 180), whose attempts to emend various passages in the sources are discussed above, nn. 43, 45, 49 and below, n. 66. E. A. Thompson, *Nott. Med. Studies*, 34 (1990), 7ff., took a more balanced view, accepting that there had indeed been barbarian invasions, while adding, p. 11, that '[i]t may be that

The earliest references to the campaign in Britain are two phrases in Symmachus: in addresses composed in 384, he refers to the senate setting up equestrian statues to the elder Theodosius, *Africanum . . . et Brittannicum ducem*, 'the African and British general', *Rel.* 9. 4, and *Africani et Brittannici belli recordatione*, 'in memory of the African and British war', *Rel.* 43. 2. Such statues are also known from an inscription in Apulia and two others at Ephesus.[62] Further, the base of another such statue evidently mentioned the British campaign. It was found at Drenovo, 30 km west of Stobi in Macedonia, where it had no doubt originally stood:

R. Egger, *Byzantion*, 5 (1929), 9–32 = *AE* 1931. 53 = N. Vulić, *Spomenik*, 71 (1931), 66, no. 147 = id., *Archaeologische Karte von Jugoslavien. Kavadarci* (1938), 10 = D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au Vie siècle* (*BCH*, Suppl. 8, 1983), 228ff., no. 273.

A: lines 1–7 are too fragmentary to give any sense, except that [*Φλάβιον Θ*]*εοδόσ*|[*ιον τὸν θεῖον πατ*]*έρα*, 'Flavius Theodosius, the deified father' (of the emperor Theodosius) might be restored at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2. Lines 8–14 were read by Vulić as follows: [*c.* 4 letters]*ν οὐ*|*νόμ*[*α* 2 letters], *χάρμα* | *μέγα* | *Βριττανῶν καὶ* | *Μαυριτανίης μέγα δῖ*[12]|*μα, Σαξονείης λυτῆ*|*ρα καὶ γένους Κελτῶν* | *ὀλε*[*τῆρα, χρυσίον . . .*[63]

. . . name . . . , great joy of the Britons and great terror of Mauretania, conqueror of Saxony and destroyer of the race of Celti (Germans), gold coin . . .

B is also very incomplete: lines 2–5 may be translated as follows: 'You see, stranger, opposite the gates, a statue all gleaming with gold like the sun, . . . is set up . . .'

The most relevant word in this context, *Βριττανῶν* in line 10 of A, was read by Egger as *Δαρδάνων*.[64] The reading above, by Vulić, is favoured by Feissel.

Pacatus, in his panegyric of Theodosius I delivered in 389, praises the emperor's father, stating that he is spoilt for choice of great deeds to praise, *Pan. Lat. vet.* 2(12). 5. 2:

the state of confusion in Britain in the middle and late 360s was due not only to barbarian invasion but also in some degree to the breakdown of internal law and order'. But ibid. 12 he wrote that '[n]o fewer than three authors besides Ammianus mention Theodosius in Britain but say nothing whatever of his victory over the barbarians. They mention him only in connexion with his suppression . . . of the conspiracy of Valentinus.' He presumably referred to Jerome, Jordanes, and Zosimus, but did not cite them. Yet they do not name Theodosius at all—besides, the 'three authors' are hardly independent witnesses, given Jordanes' dependence on Jerome. Zosimus elsewhere, 4. 35. 3, in connection with Maximus' coup, refers to Maximus having campaigned in Britain with the (future) emperor Theodosius, which shows that he knew more about the events of 367–8 than he registered at 4. 12. 2.

[62] References in *PLRE* i. 904.

[63] The author of the text clearly intended it as verse, as pointed out by G. De Sanctis, *RFIC* 58 (1930), 487ff.

[64] *Βριττανῶν* was read in *FRB* 336, following W. Ensslin, *RE* 5A/2 (1934), 1939, who owed the reading to Vulić. This reading was dismissed without discussion by P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 182 n. 59, who retained Egger's *Δαρδάνων*. Although only the bottom of the first five or six letters are preserved, Vulić's reading is preferred here (with the five letters dotted), in the light of Vulić 1931 and 1938, followed by Feissel, *Recueil*. G. De Sanctis, *RFIC* 62 (1934), 52ff., also preferred Vulić's reading (1931).

quid, inquam, faciam? quae Rhenus aut Vachalis vidit adgrediar? iam se mihi Sarmatica caede sanguineus Hister obiciet. attritam pedestribus proeliis Bataviam[65] *referam? Saxo consumptus bellis navalibus offeretur. redactum ad paludes suas Scottum*[66] *loquar? compulsus in solitudines avias omnis Alamannus et uterque Maurus occurrent.*

What, I say, shall I do? Shall I turn to what the Rhine and Waal have seen? Now the Danube, bloody with slaughter of Sarmatians, will confront me. Shall I tell of Batavia, worn out by infantry battles? The Saxon, exhausted by naval warfare, will be called to mind. Shall I speak of the Scot, driven back into his bogs? All the Alamanni, forced into their pathless wastes, and both Moorish peoples will occur to me. [*In 5. 4 he adds that if the elder Theodosius had lived in Republican times he would have gained the titles Saxonicus, Sarmaticus, and Alamannicus.*]

Probably at about this time a reference to the elder Theodosius' campaign was inserted into the Latin translation, transmitted with the works of Ambrose, of Josephus' *Jewish War*, at 5. 15. 1, *CSEL* 66, pp. 319f.:

quid vobis cum victoribus universae terrae, quibus secreta Oceani et extrema Indiae patent? quid adtexam Brittannias interfuso mari a toto orbe divisas, sed a Romanis in orbem terrarum redactas? tremit hos Scotia, quae terris nihil debet, tremit Saxonia inaccessa paludibus et inviis saepta regionibus, quae licet furta belli videatur audere, et ipsa frequenter captiva Romanis accessit triumphis. validissimum genus hominum perhibetur et praestans ceteris, piraticis tamen myoparonibus, non viribus nititur, fugae potius quam bello paratum.

What can you compare to the conquerors of the whole world, to whom the secrets of the Ocean and the distant lands of India lie open? Why should I adduce the Britains, divided by the sea from the whole world, but reduced to being part of the world by the Romans? Scotia, which owes nothing to the dry land, trembles at them, Saxony, inaccessible in its marshes and fenced in by impassable tracts, trembles—to be sure, it may seem to venture on secret attacks in war but it too frequently joins Roman triumphs in captivity. It is said to be a very strong race of men and superior to the rest, but it relies on piratical skiffs, not on strength, and is prepared for flight rather than for war.

This passage clearly treats fighting against both Scots and Saxons as part of a British campaign, which was surely that of Theodosius.[67]

The main evidence for what Theodosius did in Britain is supplied by Ammianus, who, as Gibbon put it, 'has concisely represented the whole series of the British war', adding, with reference to Claudian (quoted below), that 'The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyberborean ocean; and that the distant Orkneys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates.' He commented, in a note, that 'it is not easy to appreciate

[65] Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 183f., points out that *Britanniam*, read in modern edns., is a humanist's conjecture inserted into an inferior manuscript, for *Bataviam* in all the other MSS.

[66] Ibid. 183 and n. 61, Bartholomew emends *Scottum* to *Gothum*: 'arbitrary' in the view of E. A. Thompson, *Nott. Med. Studies*, 34 (1990), 9 n. 28. To have driven back inhabitants of Ireland into their 'bogs' seems perfectly plausible.

[67] R. Egger, *Byzantion*, 5 (1929–30), 15, 29f., dates this translation to the period between 367 and 400. Cf. also R. S. O. Tomlin, *CQ* 29 (1979), 475 n. 32.

the intrinsic value of flattery and metaphor'.[68] It has been suggested that Ammianus' account is, by contrast with that of Theodosius' African campaign, 'so brief and uninformative because he is covering up a partial failure on the part of Theodosius'.[69] But Ammianus could have derived his more detailed information on the African campaign from Nicomachus Flavianus, who was serving as *vicarius* of Africa in October 377; Flavianus could already have been there during Theodosius' mission—and might even have written about it in his *Annales*.[70]

Nothing is known in detail of Theodosius' career before his British appointment. Ammianus only refers vaguely to his distinguished military service. He was selected by Valentinian after the brief and abortive missions of Severus and Jovinus. Tomlin has convincingly unravelled the confusion in Ammianus' account, created by his having described Valentinian's dangerous illness at Amiens in summer 367 before the invasion of Britain and its aftermath. Valentinian's journey to Amiens, soon after 3 June, must have been prompted by the first news of the 'barbarian conspiracy' before the emperor's illness (see above, on Severus and Jovinus).[71]

Ammianus' account must now be set out in full.

Amm. Marc. 27. 8. 3–5: *postremo ob multa et metuenda, quae super eadem insula rumores adsidui perferebant, electus Theodosius illuc properare disponitur, officiis Martiis felicissime cognitis, adscitaque animosa legionum et cohortium pube, ire tendebat, praeeunte fiducia speciosa.* 8. 4. *et quoniam cum Constantis principis actus componerem, motus adolescentis et senescentis oceani, situmque Brittaniae, pro captu virium explanavi, ad ea, quae digesta sunt semel, revolui superfluum duxi, ut Ulixes Homericus aput Faeacas ob difficultatem nimiam replicare formidat.* 8. 5. *illud tamen sufficiet dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti,*[72] *per diversa vagantes multa populabantur. Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones, isdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit, terra vel mari, praedis acerbis incendiisque, et captivorum funeribus omnium, violabant.*

8. 3: Finally, because of the many alarming things which constant rumours were reporting about the same island, Theodosius, whose very successful martial achievements were well-known, was selected and ordered to hasten there; and having enrolled legions and cohorts of spirited young men, he hurried on his way, with splendid expectations going before him. 8. 4. And since, when writing about the deeds of the Emperor Constans, I explained, to the best of my ability, the ebb and flow of the ocean tide and the position of Britain, I have taken it to be

[68] E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i (1776), ch. 25.

[69] E. A. Thompson, *Nott. Med. Studies*, 34 (1990), 10.

[70] See *PLRE* i. 347ff. for Flavianus' career. It is of course unknown what period was covered by his lost *Annales*, which were dedicated to Theodosius I (*ILS* 2948, ll. 19–21), and some prefer to believe that their subject was only Republican history. See A. R. Birley, in G. Marasco (ed.), *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity* (2003), 129ff., with further references, and the conjecture (owed to W. Liebeschuetz), 130f., that Ammianus may have been indebted to Flavianus for information on the African campaign.

[71] R. Tomlin, *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 303ff.

[72] P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 175, proposed emending *Scotti* to *saeva*, making it a second adjective describing the *natio* of the Attacotti. This does not seem particularly plausible. Cf. above for *Scotia* in the Latin Josephus.

superfluous to repeat what has already been set out, just as Homer's Ulysses, among the Phaeacians, shrinks from the great difficulty of narrating his adventures. 8. 5. However, it will suffice to say this: at that time the Picts, divided into two peoples, Dicalydones and Verturiones, and likewise the Attacotti, a warlike nation, and the Scotti, roaming through different parts, were creating much devastation. Besides this, the Franks and Saxons were assaulting the districts of Gaul nearest to them, wherever each could make an incursion by land or by sea, plundering and burning and putting all their captives to death.

8. 6–8: *ad haec prohibenda, si copiam dedisset fortuna prosperior, orbis extrema dux efficacissimus petens, cum venisset ad Bononiae litus, quo a spatio controverso terrarum angustiis reciproci distinguitur maris, attolli horrendis aestibus adsueti, rursusque sine ulla navigantium noxa, in speciem complanari camporum, exinde transmeato lentius freto, defertur Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam.* 8. 7. *unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Heruli, Ioviique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri, egressus tendensque Lundinium, vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, divisis plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus, graves onere sarcinarum, et propere fusis, qui vinctos homines agebant et pecora, praedam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi.* 8. 8. *isdemque restituta omni praeter partem exiguam, impensam militibus fessis, mersam difficultatibus su⟨mm⟩is antehac civitatem, sed subito, quam salus sperari potuit, recreatam, ovantis specie laetissimus introiit.*

8. 6: In order to put a stop to this, should a more favourable turn of fortune give the opportunity, the very energetic general set out for the ends of the world. He reached the coast at Bononia (Boulogne), which is separated from the shore on the other side by a narrow strait, where the sea is regularly swollen by dreadful tides and then is levelled out again like a plain with no danger to navigation. From there he made a calm crossing of the strait to Rutupiae (Richborough), a quiet harbour on the opposite side. 8. 7. When the Batavi and Heruli, Jovii and Victores, who followed, had arrived, units which were confident in their strength, he set out from there, marching towards Lundinium (London), an old town which later generations called Augusta. Dividing his forces into several detachments, he attacked the roving bands of plunderers, who were impeded by the weight of their baggage. Having quickly routed them, as they were driving men in chains and cattle, he took away the booty which the wretched taxpayers had lost. 8. 8. All of this having been restored to them, except for a small part which he distributed to his exhausted soldiers, with great gladness, as if celebrating a triumph, he entered the city, which before this had been plunged into very great difficulties, but which, before rescue could have been hoped for, was suddenly revived.

8. 9–9. 1. *ubi ad audenda maiora, prospero successu elatus, tutaque scrutando consilia, futuri morabatur ambiguus, diffusam variarum gentium plebem, et ferocientem immaniter, non nisi per dolos occultiores, et improvisos excursus, superari posse, captivorum confessionibus, et transfugarum indiciis, doctus.* 8. 10. *denique edictis propositis, inpunitateque promissa, desertores ad procinctum vocabat, et multos alios per diversa libero commeatu dispersos. quo monitu rediere plerique, incentivo perciti, relevatusque anxiis curis, Civilem nomine recturum Brittanias pro praefectis ad se poposcerat mitti, virum acrioris ingenii, sed iusti tenacis et recti, itidemque Dulcitium, ducem scientia rei militaris insignem.* 9. 1. *haec in Brittaniis agebantur.*

8. 9: When, encouraged by the successful outcome to risk greater operations, and pondering what course was safe, he was delaying, being uncertain of the future, he was informed by confessions of prisoners and information from deserters that the scattered men from different peoples, dreadfully ferocious, could not be overcome except by secret stratagems and surprise attacks. 8. 10. Then he issued proclamations promising immunity and recalled deserters to the colours, as well as many others who were dispersed in various places on leave. As a result of this summons and encouraged by the offer, most of them returned, and he, relieved of his anxieties, asked that a man named Civilis be sent to him to govern the Britains as deputy-prefect, of rather

harsh character but one who stuck to what is just and right, and likewise Dulcitius, a general distinguished for his military skill. 9. 1. This is what was happening in the Britains.

Since the conclusion of Ammianus' account of the expedition is placed in the next book, by implication this second part describes the events of the following year, 368.

28. 3. 1–2: *Theodosius vero, dux nominis inclyti, animi vigore collecto, ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium, cum milite industria conparato sollerti, versis turbatisque Brittanorum fortunis, opem maximam tulit, oportuna ubique ad insidiandum barbaris praeveniens loca, nihilque gregariis imperans, cuius non ipse primitias, alacri capesseret mente.* 2. *hocque genere cum strenui militis munia et praeclari ducis curas expleret, fusis variis gentibus et fugatis, quas insolentia nutriente securitate adgredi Romanas res inflammabat, in integrum restituit civitates et castra, multiplicibus quidem damnis adflicta, set ad quietem temporis longe fundata.*

3. 1: But Theodosius, the general with a famous name, having, full of energy, set out from Augusta, which men of old called Lundinium, with a carefully reconstituted force, brought very great assistance to the situation of the defeated and confused Britons. He forestalled the barbarians by choosing everywhere places suitable for ambushes, and he imposed no burdens on the common soldiers which he himself was not the first to undertake with alacrity. 2. And in this way, while fulfilling the duties of an active soldier and the responsibilities of an outstanding general, he routed and put to flight various peoples, whom presumptuousness, fed by lack of caution, was firing to attack what was Roman. He completely restored cities and forts that had indeed suffered damage of many kinds, but were now fortified to give them peace for a long time.

28. 3. 3–6: *evenerat autem eodem haec agente facinus dirum, erupturum in periculum grave, ni inter ipsa conatus principia fuisset extinctum.* 4. *Valentinus quidam ⟨natus⟩ in Valeria Pannoniae, superbi spiritus homo, Maximini illius exitialis vicarii, postea praefecti coniugis frater, ob grave crimen actus in Brittanias exsul, quietis impatiens ⟨ut⟩ malefica bestia, ad res perniciosas consurgebat et novas, in Theodosium tumore quodam, quem solum resistere posse nefandis cogitationibus advertebat.* 5. *multa tamen clam palamque circumspiciens, crescente flatu cupiditatis immensae, exules sollicitabat et milites, pro temporis captu ausorum illecebrosas pollicendo mercedes.* 6. *iamque propinquante temptatorum effectu, doctus haec unde convenerat, dux alacrior ad audendum, et corde celso ad vindictam conpertorum erectus, Valentinum quidem, cum paucis arta ei societate iunctissimis, letali poena plectendos, Dulcitio dediderat duci: militari scientia vero, qua superabat praesentes, futura coniciens, de coniuratis quaestiones agitari prohibuit, ne formidine sparsa per multos, reviviscerent provinciarum turbines consopiti.*

28. 3. 3: But while he was carrying this out, a dreadful deed had taken place, which would have developed into a serious danger, if it had not been crushed at the very outset of the attempt. 4. A certain Valentinus, born in the Pannonian province of Valeria, an arrogant-spirited man—brother to the wife of Maximinus, that deadly *vicarius* who later became prefect—had been exiled to the Britains for a serious offence. Like a malignant wild beast, he could not tolerate inactivity and began to launch a deadly coup, seething with resentment of some kind against Theodosius, whom he saw as the only man who could resist his nefarious plot. 5. At any rate, after inspecting the situation a good deal, both secretly and openly, while the arrogance of his measureless ambition continued to increase, he began to canvass the exiles and soldiers, promising them for the moment seductively attractive payments to support his plot. 36. The moment had nearly come for the coup to be carried out when the general, who had been informed about it by an agreed source, keen to take daring action and resolved, with his spirit firm, to punish what had been uncovered, handed over Valentinus with a few of his closest confederates to the *dux* Dulcitius to suffer the death penalty. But his military skill, superior to

that of his contemporaries, led him, with an eye to the future, to forbid investigation into fellow-conspirators, in case this should spread alarm among many people and stir up again in the provinces the turbulence that had just been calmed down.

3. 7: *hinc ad corrigenda plura conversus et necessaria, periculo penitus dempto, cum aperte constaret, nulla eius propitiam deseruisse fortunam, instaurabat urbes et praesidiaria (ut diximus) castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis, recuperatamque provinciam, quae in dicionem concesserat hostium, ita reddidit statui pristino, ut, eodem referente, et rectorem haberet legitimum, et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis, velut ova⟨ntis⟩.*

3. 7: From this he turned to dealing with many things that needed to be put right, now that the danger had been completely removed—since it was openly agreed that propitious fortune did not desert him in anything that he undertook. He restored cities and garrisoned, as we said, forts, and protected the frontiers with watch-posts and defence works. And he had so completely restored to its former state the recovered province, which had fallen under the enemies' control, that in the light of his report it now received a regular governor and was then called Valentia by the decision of the emperor, who was thereby, so to speak, celebrating a triumph.

3. 8–9: [lacuna]†*t tudio nuntio inest*†. *ha⟨ec⟩ etiam praecipua. areanos genus hominum a veteribus institutum, super quibus aliqua in actibus Constantis rettulimus, paulatim prolapsos in vitia, a stationibus suis removit, aperte convictos, acceptarum promissarumque magnitudine praedarum allectos, quae apud nos agebantur, aliquotiens barbaris ⟨pr⟩odidisse. id enim illis erat officium, ⟨ut⟩ ultro citroque per longa spatia discurrentes, vicinarum gentium strepitus nostris ducibus intimarent.* 9. *ita spectatissime ante dictis rebus aliisque administratis similibus, ad comitatum accitus, tripudiantesque relinquens provincias, ut Furius Camillus vel Cursor Papirius, victoriis crebris et salutaribus erat insignis. et favore omnium ad usque fretum deductus, leni vento transgressus, venit ad commilitium principis, cumque gaudio susceptus et laudibus, in locum Iovini* †*ut lenti*†[73] *successit, qui equorum copias tuebatur.*

3. 8: [*A few missing words and the unintelligble* †t tudio nuntio inest† *probably referred to rejoicing at Theodosius' news.*] These too were important achievements: he removed from their posts the *areani*, a group of men set up long ago, about whom we reported a certain amount in the account of Constans. They had gradually succumbed to evil ways and were openly found guilty of betraying to the barbarians information about what was being done on our side, having been tempted by receiving or being promised large quantities of booty. For their task had been to range backwards and forwards over wide areas and to report to our generals threatening behaviour among the neighbouring peoples. 9. Thus, after brilliantly carrying out the aforementioned measures and others of a similar nature, he was recalled to the imperial staff, winning fame, like Furius Camillus or Cursor Papirius, for frequent victories which saved the day, leaving the provinces dancing for joy. He was escorted to the Channel with universal enthusiasm, crossed over with a light wind, and arrived at the emperor's headquarters. He was received with joy and praise, and succeeded Jovinus as commander of the cavalry.

The last part of the account, referring to the restoration of cities and forts (3. 2), protection of the frontiers with watch-posts and defence works (3. 7), and the dismissal of the *areani* (3. 8, cf. under Constans, above), clearly point to his activity in the region of Hadrian's Wall. From its position in his narrative it looks as if the crushing of Valentinus occurred while Theodosius was already in the north. Valentinus had quite probably chosen a moment when

[73] Jovinus is apparently described as *ut lenti*, taken to mean 'as being sluggish'. It seems more likely that the text is corrupt: the MS reading is *locum ut lentis Iovini*, emended and rearranged by editors; *ut lentis* could have originated by a kind of dittography from *leni vento . . . venit* in the preceding line.

Theodosius was some way away to launch his plot.[74] There can be no certainty about the location of the province recovered from enemy occupation and renamed 'Valentia', but the northernmost part of Roman Britain is the most probable (IV. 2).

Theodosius' achievements in Britain are mentioned a final time by Ammianus as part of the his obituary notice of Valentinian,

30. 7. 9–11: *itidemque Brittanos, catervas superfusorum hostium non ferentes, spe meliorum adsumpta, in libertatem et quietem restituit placidam, nullo paene redire permisso grassatorum ad sua.* 10. *efficacia pari, Valentinum quoque, Pannonium exulem, per has provincias molientem otium turbare commune, antequam negotium effervescat, oppressit . . . .* 11. *ac licet opera praestabilium ducum, haec quae rettulimus, consummata sunt . . . .*

30. 7. 9: Again, when the Britons were unable to resist the hordes of enemies swarming over them, he gave them hope of better things and restored them to freedom and calm peace, hardly any of the attackers being allowed to return home. 10. With like vigour he suppressed Valentinus, too, a Pannonian exile, who was plotting to disturb the common peace in those provinces, before the attempt could burst forth. 11. To be sure, what we have related were achievements carried out by outstanding generals . . .

Under Theodosius' grandson Honorius Claudian found several occasions to refer to the great man's deeds. He confines his attention to the British and Moorish campaigns, singling out in connection with the former Picts, Scots, and Saxons, just as he names the Massylae and Gaetulian arms as well as the Moors for the latter. He has nothing to say about fighting Saxons on the continent, or, for that matter, the Alamanni and Sarmatae. It may be fair to say that, like Symmachus, who named Britain and Africa alone, Claudian got it right: these were Theodosius' independent commands. By contrast Pacatus, speaking just after the fall of Magnus Maximus, may have found it expedient not to dwell on the campaign of 367–8, in which the younger Theodosius and Maximus had served as comrades in arms.

Claudian, *De III cons. Honorii* (AD 396), 52–8:

facta tui numerabat avi, quem litus adustae
horrescit Libyae ratibusque impervia Thule:
ille leves Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
edomuit Scottumque vago mucrone secutus
fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas
et geminis fulgens utroque sub axe tropaeis
Tethyos alternae refluas calcavit harenas.

He [Honorius' father] used to list the deeds of your grandfather, at whom the shore of scorched Libya shudders, and Thule impassable to ships: he subdued the fickle Moors and the Picti who have no false name, and, following with his far-ranging sword the Scot, broke the Hyperborean

[74] Another exile, sent to Britain in 361, was the ex-*magister officiorum* Palladius, Amm. Marc. 22. 3. 3. In 370 or 371 Frontinus, an assessor of the proconsul of Africa, was also banished to Britain, Amm. Marc. 28. 1. 21.

waves with his bold oars; and, shining with his twin trophies from both poles, he trod the wave-swept sands of both Oceans.

Claudian, *De IV cons. Honorii* (AD 398), 24–33:

hinc processit avus, cui post Arctoa frementi
classica Massylas adnexuit Africa laurus,
ille, Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
qui medio Libyae sub casside pertulit aestus,
terribilis Mauro debellatorque Britanni 28
litoris ac pariter Boreae vastator et Austri.
quid rigor aeternus, caeli quid frigora prosunt
ignotumque fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thyle; 32
Scottorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiverne.

From here [Spain] his grandfather came, on whom, after he sounded the war-trumpet in the north, Africa entwined the Massylian victory laurels, on him who pitched his camp among the Caledonian frosts, who endured the heat of Libya beneath his helmet, the terror of the Moors and the conqueror of the British coast, who laid waste both north and south alike. What avail the eternal cold, the freezing climate, and the unknown sea? The Orcades ran red with slaughtered Saxons, Thyle grew warm with the blood of the Picts, icey Hiverne wept for the piles of Scotti.

Claudian, *Laus Serenae* [niece and adoptive daughter of Theodosius, wife of Stilicho] 39–46:

. . . patruo te principe celsam
bellipotens inlustrat avus, qui signa Britanno 40
intulit Oceano Gaetulaque reppulit arma.
claram Scipiadum taceat Cornelia gentem,
seque minus iactet Libycis dotata tropaeis:
cardine tu gemino laurus praetendis avitas: 44
inde Caledoniis, Australibus inde parentum
cingeris exuviis.

Your uncle was emperor, and your warrior grandfather lifted your fame to the heights, he who brought the standards to the British Ocean and repulsed the weapons of the Gaetulians. Let Cornelia keep silent about the famed family of the Scipios and be less boastful for being endowed with Libyan trophies: you display your grandfather's laurels from two poles, you are crowned on one side with your family's Caledonian spoils, on the other with southern ones.

The suppression of Valentinus—called 'Valentinianus'—is registered by Jerome, Jordanes, and Zosimus, without naming Theodosius. Jordanes clearly just reproduces Jerome with slight variation in wording, so is not an independent source.[75]

Jerome, *Chron.* s. a. 371, p. 246c Helm: *Valentinianus in Brittania, antequam tyrannidem invaderet, oppressus.*

Valentinianus was suppressed in Britain before he could launch a usurpation.

[75] See n. 61 above.

Jordanes, *Rom.* 308: *quo tunc regnante alter Valentinianus in Brittania tyrannidem adsumens in continenti oppressus est.*

While he [Valentinian I] was reigning, another Valentinianus, while launching a usurpation in Britain, was suppressed shortly afterwards.

Zosimus 4. 12. 2: At this time Valentin{ian}us, who had been ordered to live in the British island because of certain offences, having attempted a usurpation, lost his life through this.

To summarize: Theodosius dealt with the British emergency in not much more than a year; and his additional forces amounted to only some 2,000 men. Arriving before the campaigning season of 367 was over, he reached London and wintered there, after dispersing bands of raiders and recapturing booty. From London he prepared for an offensive, regrouping the scattered Roman troops and offering an amnesty to deserters; and he sent for Civilis to be *vicarius* and Dulcitius to be *dux*. In 368 he campaigned vigorously, ambushing enemy bands, defeating and putting to flight several peoples, restoring towns and forts. In the mean time he had to deal with Valentinus,[76] who was handed over for execution to Dulcitius. Theodosius forbade any inquisition to find accomplices. Finally, he strengthened the frontiers, and 'the province which had fallen into enemy hands was so thoroughly restored to its former condition that it could be given a regular governor, and was renamed Valentia'. The final item mentioned by Ammianus was the removal of the *areani* from their posts. He then returned, evidently before the end of 368, to the emperor's side, and was appointed *magister equitum* in place of Jovinus.

Although he is always called 'Count' Theodosius, as in the summary of Ammianus' book 27, that writer nowhere explicitly mentions his rank. He is called *dux* in the non-technical sense of 'general' or 'leader' on four occasions (27. 8. 6; 28. 3. 1, 3. 2, 3. 6). But he was clearly *comes rei militaris*, a rank appropriate for a commander of field-army troops, who was then promoted to be *magister equitum*.[77] Among those who served under him were his son, the future emperor, and a distant kinsman, a 'poor relation', Magnus Maximus (see below). Both presumably had the rank of tribune.

Theodosius continued to be *magister equitum* until his death. In 370 he fought the Alamanni *per Raetias* (Amm. Marc. 28. 5. 15; Pacatus 5. 2) and in 372 participated in Valentinian's campaign against the Alamannic king Macrianus (Amm. Marc. 29. 4. 5).[78] In 373 he was sent to Africa, after collecting troops from Illyricum,[79] to suppress the rebellious Moorish prince Firmus: the

[76] *PLRE* i. 935; for his brother-in-law Maximinus, whose career is known in detail, culminating in the praetorian prefecture of the Gauls 371–6, ibid. 577f. (he was executed by Gratian in 376).

[77] In *ILS* 8950 he is called *[inlust]ris comitis, utrius[que militiae mag(istri)]*.

[78] P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 182ff., argued from Pacatus 5. 2 and 5. 4 that he also campaigned successfully against the Saxons in Batavia (cf. n. 65 above), probably in 369.

[79] Pacatus 5. 2, referring to a Sarmatian campaign, may be explained by this. Zosimus 4. 16. 3 says that he took troops from Pannonia and Moesia to Africa. See W. Ensslin, *RE* 5A/2 (1934), 1938.

campaign lasted until the beginning of 375.[80] Valentinian died on the Danube on 17 November of that year, and shortly afterwards Theodosius, still in Africa, was arrested, taken to Carthage, and beheaded. The circumstances are mysterious; even the date is uncertain. The likeliest explanation is that within weeks of Valentinian I's death, Valens, now senior emperor, ordered his execution—because he was still terrified about the 'oracle' prophesying that he would be succeeded by someone whose name began Theod- (Zosimus 4. 13. 4, etc.).[81] Theodosius was baptized immediately before his death (Orosius 7. 33. 7). Ammianus does not record Theodosius' end. That would have been too painful, no doubt, when his son was emperor. But by comparing Theodosius to Corbulo and Lusius Quietus (29. 5. 4), great generals of earlier days executed by ungrateful emperors, he delicately alludes to it.[82]

367–8 Civilis, *vicarius*, and Dulcitius, *dux*

Amm. Marc. 27. 8. 10, 28. 3. 6: quoted above.

Late in 367, after his initial successes in clearing the invaders, Theodosius asked for Civilis to be sent 'to govern the Britains as deputy of the prefects', that is, *vicarius*. Nothing else is known of this man. At the same time he asked for Dulcitius to be sent, 'a general, *dux*, outstanding for his military skill'. In the following year, Dulcitius, again described as *dux*, was entrusted by Theodosius with the task of executing Valentinus and his accomplices. It is natural to assume that Dulcitius replaced the fallen *dux Britanniarum* Fullofaudes, but this cannot be regarded as certain, given Ammianus' stylistic habits. After all, Theodosius himself is called *dux* four times, never *comes*, in the narration of the British campaign. Nothing else is known of Dulcitius, before or after 367–8, to resolve the question of his status.

Before *c.*371–375 *Ignotus*, *praeses*

Auson. *Mosella* 392, 394–5, 405–8:

> *tempus erit, . . .*
> *cum facta viritim*
> *Belgarum patriosque canam decora inclita mores . . .*
> *quique suas rexere urbes purumque tribunal* 405

[80] See *PLRE* i. 903 for sources and the thorough discussion by J. F. Matthews, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 157ff.; Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (1989), 367ff.

[81] Thus N. Gasperini, *Contributi dell' istituto di storia antica* (Milan), 1 (1972), 150ff.

[82] Thus W. Ensslin, *RE* 5A/2 (1934), 1943f.

sanguine et innocuas inlustravere secures;
aut Italum populos aquilonigenasque Britannos
praefecturarum titulo tenuere secundo.

The time will come . . . when to their renown and glory I shall sing the deeds of each man of the Belgae and their native virtues, . . . and those who have ruled their own cities and shed glory on tribunals unstained with blood and innocent axes, or have governed the peoples of Italy and the Britons of the north with the title of prefects of second rank.

All that can be said of this passage is that Ausonius implies that at least one vicar of the British diocese—which is what 'prefect of the second rank' must mean—came from Belgica. The date is very vague: earlier than the composition of the *Mosella*, written after the birth of Valentinian II in 371 (*Mos.* 450), and before Valentinian I's death in 375.

370 Nannienus, *comes litoris Saxonici*?

Amm. Marc. 28. 5. 1–2: *erupit Augustis ter consulibus Saxonum multitudo, et Oceani difficultatibus permeatis, Romanum limitem gradu petebat intento, saepe nostrorum funeribus pasta: cuius eruptionis primae procellam, Nannenus sustinuit comes, regionibus isdem adpositus, dux diuturno bellorum labore conpertus.* 2. *sed tunc ad mortem destinatae plebi congressus, cum milites quosdam ruisse, et se vulneratum, inparem fore certaminibus adverteret crebris, docto imperatore quid agi deberet, id est adeptus, ut magister peditum Severus, opitulatum rebus dubiis adveniret.*

28. 5. 1–2: In the third consulship of the Augusti (370), a large number of Saxons burst out, and, having passed through the difficulties of the Ocean, they were making for the Roman frontier at a determined pace, frequently feeding on our dead. The *comes* Nann(i)enus held back the storm of the first invasion, a general experienced through long service in wars. 2. But then, engaging the mass of those destined for death, when he realized that certain soldiers had fallen and that he himself, having been wounded, would be unequal to frequent battles, the emperor having been informed what ought to be done, he brought it about that the master of the infantry Severus should come to assist in the uncertain situation.

The context suggests that this Saxon invasion in 370 was of northern Gaul, not of Britain.[83] Nannienus, who met the first wave of the attackers, has sometimes been described as *comes Britanniae* or *Britanniarum*,[84] but it is unlikely that the post had been created at this date (IV. 3). More plausible is the suggestion that he was *comes litoris Saxonici*, and that this general's responsibilities then extended to both sides of the Channel.[85] But he may simply have been commanding a small *ad hoc* field army, as Theodosius had in Britain three years earlier. The question cannot be decided on present evidence. No details of Nannienus' long previous career, alluded to by Ammianus, are known. He

[83] This was assumed by the early editor of Ammianus in the summary of 28. 5: *Saxones in Gallia, post factas indutias, a Romanis insidiis circumventi.*

[84] G. Macdonald, *RE* 16/2 (1935), 1682; others who took this view are cited ibid. by W. Ensslin.

[85] J. S. Johnson, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 90f.

must have made a good recovery from the wounds which obliged him to hand over command to Severus, since in 378 he participated in Gratian's campaign on the Upper Rhine; he is described by Ammianus on this occasion as 'a general of sober virtue', with the same rank as Mallobaudes, *comes domesticorum* (31. 10. 6). He turns up finally as *magister militum* of Magnus Maximus in Gaul, in 387–8, when he was left behind, with Quintinus, under the nominal control of Maximus' son Victor. He apparently refused to join his colleague in a campaign against the Franks, but was then dismissed, in any case, after the fall of Maximus and the death of Victor (Greg. Tur. *HF* 2. 9). His name is evidently Celtic,[86] but he may have been a German.

372 Fraomarius, *tribunus*

Ammianus Marcellinus 29. 4. 7: *in Macriani locum Bucinobantibus (quae contra Mogontiacum gens est Alamannica) regem Fraomarium ordinavit, quem, paulo postea, quoniam recens excursus eundem penitus vastaverat pagum, in Brittanias translatum, potestate tribuni, Alamannorum praefecerat numero, multitudine viribusque ea tempestate florenti.*

In place of Macrianus, he [Valentinian I] appointed Fraomarius as king over the Bucinobantes, which is an Alamannic people opposite Mogontiacum. But shortly afterwards, since a recent incursion had totally laid waste the same canton, he transferred him to the Britains, with the rank of tribune, and put him in command of a unit of Alamanni, one which was at that time flourishing in numbers and strength.

It is not clear whether the *numerus Alamannorum* recorded here was already in Britain,[87] or first sent with Fraomarius. No such unit is registered in the army of Britain in the *Notitia Dignitatum*; perhaps it returned to the continent later, for example, under Magnus Maximus.

383 (?) Narses, *comes*, and Leucadius, *praeses*

Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* 3. 11. 8: *praeter multas, quas evoluere longum est, has principales habebat: pro Narseti comite et Leucadio praeside, quorum ambo Gratiani partium fuerunt, pertinacioribus studiis, quae non est temporis explicare, iram victoris emeriti.*

Among the many cases, which would take a long time to narrate, he [Martin] had these main ones: on behalf of Narses, a *comes*, and Leucadius, a *praeses*, both of whom had been on Gratian's side, having earned the victor's anger by rather obstinate loyalty.

The *comes* Narses and the *praeses* Leucadius were two of those on whose behalf St Martin petitioned Magnus Maximus. It may be inferred that they had been serving in one of the territories seized by Maximus in 383, and remained loyal

[86] Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, ii. 682 f.
[87] Thus Frere, *Britannia*[3], 226 n. 45, 344.

to Gratian. Narses, if a military *comes*, probably held a command in Gaul or on the Rhine rather than in Britain. But perhaps he was *comes litoris Saxonici* in 383, and failed to support Maximus. The choice for Leucadius is large, for the three western dioceses contained nearly twenty governors with the title *praeses* (as well as nearly a dozen *consulares*), to judge from the *Notitia*, but the possibility at least deserves to be registered that he had been governing one of the three British provinces, Prima, Secunda, or Flavia Caesariensis, which were not under a *consularis*. Martin's intervention was after the execution of the Priscillianists at Trier.[88] The name Narses indicates Iranian origin.[89] Leucadius' name looks Greek, but could derive from a place in Spain.[90]

383 Magnus Maximus, *dux* or *comes litoris Saxonici*

The almost universally hostile sources (Orosius is a partial exception) do not make clear what Maximus' rank was at the time of his proclamation in Britain. But the Chronicler of 452 credits him with a campaign against the Picts and Scots, suggesting that he was *dux* in command of the northern army.

Pacatus, *Pan. Lat. Vet.* 2(12). 23. 3: *quis non ad primum novi sceleris nuntium risit? nam res infra dignitatem iracundiae videbatur, cum pauci homines et insulani totius incendium continentis adolerent et regali habitu exsulem suum illi exsules orbis induerent.*

Who did not laugh at the first news of the new crime? For the affair seemed not worthy of anger, when a few men, and islanders, sparked off a blaze on the whole continent and those exiles from the world placed the royal robe on their own exile.

31. 1–2: *an sustinere te coram et solum oculorum tuorum ferre coniectum ille quondam domus tuae neglegentissimus vernula mensularumque servilium statarius lixa potuisset? non statim totum subisset hominem praeteriti sui tuique reputatio? non sibi ipse obiecisset te esse triumphalis viri filium, se patris incertum; te heredem nobilissimae familiae, se clientem; te omni retro tempore Romani exercitus ducem, libertatis patronum, se orbis extorrem patriaeque fugitivum?* 2. *iam vero te principem in medio rei publicae sinu, omnium suffragio militum, consensu provinciarum ipsius denique ambitu imperatoris optatum; se in ultimo terrarum recessu, legionibus nesciis, adversis provinciarum studiis, nullis denique auspiciis in illud tyrannici nominis adspirasse furtum?*

31. 1–2: Could he have been able to endure your presence and bear even the look from your eyes, he who was once a most undutiful little house-born slave of your family and attendant who stood waiting at slaves' tables? Would not the thought of your and his own past at once have overcome the man completely? Would he himself not have called to mind that you are the son of a man who celebrated a triumph, that he is not sure who his father is; that you are the heir of a most noble family, and he a client; that you in all the time before this were a general of the Roman army and patron of liberty, he an exile from the world and a fugitive from his father-

[88] See *PLRE* i. 504.

[89] *PLRE* i. 616f.

[90] Cf. *RIT* 971, Tarraco, for a 5th- or 6th-century *primicerius notariorum* of this name, regarded by Alföldy, ad loc., as a native of Tarraco, and the Spanish place-name *Contrebia quae Leucada appellatur*, *RE* 4/1 (1900), 1163.

land; 2. but that now you are emperor in the midst of the commonwealth, with the acclaim of all the soldiers, with the consent of the provinces, finally chosen by imperial recommendation; that he, in the uttermost recesses of the world, with legions who knew him not, with the wishes of the provinces against him, finally with no auspicious support, aspired to steal that usurper's title?

38. 2: *quotiens sibi ipsum putamus dixisse: 'quo fugio? . . . repeto Britanniam, quam reliqui? . . . sed notus sum . . .'*

38. 2: How often do we think that he said to himself: 'Whither shall I flee? . . . Shall I make for Britain again, which I left? . . . But I am known there.'

Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobilium* 64–72:

. . . merito tamen aucta recenti
nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes,
Itala ad Illyricos obiecta colonia montes,
moenibus et portu celeberrima: sed magis illud
eminet, extremo quod te sub tempore legit, 68
solveret exacto cui sera piaculi lustro
Maximus, armigeri quondam sub nomine lixa.
felix, quae tanti spectatrix laeta triumphi
punisti Ausonio Rutupinum Marte latronem. 72

But enhanced by recent services, you, Aquileia, shall be hailed as ninth among famous cities, an Italian *colonia* facing the mountains of Illyricum, very celebrated for your walls and harbour. But what stands out more is that in these last days Maximus, a sutler posing as a squire, chose you to receive belated expiation when the five-year term was completed. Happy are you, joyful spectator of so great a triumph, who have punished with Ausonian arms the Rutupian brigand.

Claudian, *De IV cons. Honorii* 72–9:

per varium gemini scelus erupere tyranni
tractibus occiduis: hunc saeva Britannia fudit;
hunc sibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul:
ausus uterque nefas, domini respersus uterque
insontis iugulo, novitas audere priori *76*
suadebat cautumque dabant exempla sequentem.
hic nova moliri praeceps, hic quaerere tuta
providus . . .

The twin usurpers burst forth with varied crime in the western parts: the one wild Britain poured out, the German exile [Arbogast] had chosen the other [Eugenius] as his servant. Both dared to commit sacrilege, both spilt the blood of an innocent master; his lack of ancestry inspired the first to audacity, and his example provided a warning to him that followed. The first was quick to undertake rebellion, the second cautious in attempting what was safe . . .

Rufinus, *HE* 2. 14: *verum is postquam multa religiose ac fortiter gessit, a Maximo tyranno . . . apud Britannias exorto . . . peremptus est.*

But after he [Gratian] had done many things religiously and bravely, he was slain by the usurper Maximus, . . . who arose in the Britains.

Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* 2. 49. 5: *iam tum rumor incesserat clemens, Maximum intra Britannias sumpsisse imperium ac brevi in Gallias erupturum.*

At that time a rumour had already gradually spread that Maximus had assumed the imperial power within the Britains and would soon break out into the Gauls.[91]

Sulpicius Severus, *V. Martini* 20. 3: *postremo, cum Maximus se non sponte sumpsisse imperium adfirmaret, sed impositam sibi a militibus divino nutu regni necessitatem armis defendisse . . .*

Finally, when Maximus affirmed that he had not assumed the imperial power of his own accord, but that he defended with armed force the necessity of rule imposed on him by the soldiers by divine will . . .

Epit. de Caes. 47. 7: *hoc tempore, cum Maximus apud Britanniam tyrannidem arripuisset et in Galliam transmisisset, ab infensis Gratiano legionibus exceptus, Gratianum fugavit nec mora exstinxit . . . .* 48. 6. *Maximum autem tyrannum, qui Gratianum interfecerat et sibi Gallias vindicabat, apud Aquileiam extstinxit, Victoremque eius filium, intra infantiae annos a Maximo patre Augustum factum, necavit.*

47. 7: At this time, when Maximus had seized usurped power in Britain and had crossed to Gaul, having been accepted by the legions, which were enraged with Gratian, he put Gratian to flight and without delay put him to death . . . . 48. 6. Moreover, he [Theodosius] put to death at Aquileia the usurper Maximus, who had killed Gratian and claimed the Gauls for himself, and he killed his son Victor, who had been made Augustus by his father Maximus while a child.

Orosius 7. 34. 9: *interea, cum Theodosius in Oriente, subactis barbarorum gentibus, Thracias tandem ab hoste liberas reddidisset, et Arcadium filium suum consortem fecisset imperii, Maximus, vir quidem strenuus et probus atque Augusto dignus, nisi contra sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset, in Britannia invitus propemodum ab exercitu imperator creatus, in Gallias transiit.*

7. 34. 9: Meanwhile, after Theodosius in the East, having subjugated barbarian peoples, had at last freed the Thracian provinces from the enemy, and had made his son Arcadius joint emperor, Maximus, an energetic man to be sure, and upright, and worthy of being an Augustus had he not risen through usurpation against his oath of loyalty, having been created emperor by the army in Britain almost against his will, crossed to the Gauls.

Prosper Tiro, *sub anno 384*: *in Britannia per seditionem militum Maximus imperator est factus.*

In Britain Maximus was made emperor through a rebellion of the soldiers.

Sozomenus, *HE* 7. 13. 1, 13: At this time Maximus . . . rebelled from Britain, and tried to make the Roman empire subject to himself . . . . 13. Meanwhile Maximus collected a very large army of Britons, neighbouring Gauls, Celts [Germans] and the tribes thereabouts, and entered Italy. His pretext was to prevent any innovation in religion and ecclesiastical order, but in reality it was to clear himself of the charge of usurpation.

Socrates, *HE* 5. 11. 2: Maximus, from the parts around Britain, rebelled against the Roman empire and attacked Gratian, who was engaged in the war against the Alamanni. [Cf. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *HE* 12. 19–20.]

Zosimus 4. 35. 3–4: This engendered hostility to the emperor [Gratian] among the soldiers, which, after smouldering for a short time and increasing, moved the soldiers to desire a rebellion, especially those stationed in the British isles, who were endowed, more than all the others, with independence of spirit and boldness. Maximus stirred them up the more to this, a Spaniard

[91] For *clemens* meaning 'gradual' cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13. 38, *Hist.* 3. 52. The reading *clementem* led to the mistaken view that the emperor was called Magnus Clemens Maximus, reproduced e.g. by J. Ziegler, *Zur religiösen Haltung der Gegenkaiser* (1970), 74, and B. Vollmann, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 507, in spite of W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930), 2546.

by origin, who had served in the army in Britain with the emperor Theodosius. 4. This man, being discontented that Theodosius was thought worthy of being emperor, whereas he himself did not gain a worthy command, stirred up the soldiers the more to hostility against the emperor. And they readily rebelled and acclaimed Maximus emperor and put the imperial robe and diadem on him, and, at once crossing the Ocean in ships, anchored in the mouths of the Rhine.

narratio de imperatoribus domus Valentinianae et Theodosianae (*Chron. min.* i. 629): *[Gratianus] victus a Maximo tyranno, qui intra Brittanias Augusti nomen adsumpsit.*

Gratian was defeated by the usurper Maximus, who assumed the name of Augustus within the Britains.

Chronographer of AD 452 (*Chron. min.* i. 646):

Gratian iii, Ol. ccxc (AD 381)*Maximus tyrannus in Britannia a militibus constituitur.*
Gratian iiii (AD 382) *incursantes Pictos et Scottos Maximus strenue superavit.*
Gratian vi, a. A. MMCCCC (AD 384) *Maximus in Gallias transfretavit et, conflictu contra Gratianum habito, eundem fugitantem Lugduni interfecit.*
Maximus was set up as usurper in Britain by the soldiers.
Maximus energetically subdued invading Picts and Scots.
Maximus crossed to the Gauls, and, after having had a battle with Gratian, killed him at Lugdunum as he was fleeing.

Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* i. 43: *Maximus vero cum per tyrannidem oppressis Brittannis sumpsisset victoriam, a militibus imperator creatus est.*

But Maximus, when he had gained a victory, the Britons having been oppressed by a usurpation, was created emperor by the soldiers.

Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae* 13: *itidem tandem tyrannorum virgultis crescentibus et in immanem sylvam iam iamque erumpentibus, insula nomen Romanunm, nec tamen mores legesque tenens, quin potius abiiciens germen suae plantationis amarissimae ad Gallias, magna comitante satellitum caterva, insuper etiam imperatoribus insignibus, quae nec decenter usquam gessit, nec legitime, sed ritu tyrannico et tumultuante initiatum milite, Maximum mittit.*

So at length the thickets of usurpers were increasing and all but bursting out into a savage forest. The island, still retaining the name of the Romans, but not their customs and laws, but rather, casting forth a shoot from its own very bitter planting, sent Maximus to the Gauls, accompanied by a great band of henchmen, besides this too, with the imperial insignia—which he never properly or legitimately wore, having been raised in the manner of a usurper and by rebellious soldiers.

John of Nikiu, *Chronicle* 83. 14 (translated from the Ethiopian by R. H. Charles (1916), 86): And during the stay of the emperor Theodosius in Asia, there arose a usurper named Maximus, of British descent, who slew the blessed emperor Gratian through treachery and seized his empire by force and made his residence at Rome.

'Nennius', *Hist. Brittonum* 26–7, 29: *sextus Maximus imperator regnavit in Brittannia . . .* 27. *septimus imperator regnavit in Brittannia Maximianus. ipse perrexit cum omnibus militibus Brittonum a Brittannia, et occidit Gratianum regem Romanorum . . .* 29. *dum Gratianus imperium regebat in toto mundo, in Brittannia per seditionem militum Maximus imperator factus erat.*

26: As sixth emperor Maximus reigned in Britain . . . 27. As seventh emperor Maximianus reigned in Britain. He himself set out from Britain with all the soldiers of the Britons and killed

Gratianus, king of the Romans . . . 29. While Gratianus was ruling the empire in the whole world, Maximus was made emperor by a mutiny of the soldiers.

Bede, *HE.* 1. 9 reproduces Oros. 7. 34. 9.

Joh. Antioch. Fr. 186 Mueller: That, under the emperor Theodosius, Maximus, from the parts around Britain, having rebelled against the rule of the Romans, moved against Gratian, who was involved in the war against the Alamanni and was treacherously plotted against by Andragathius, an ally of the usurper. Gratian died, having lived for twenty-four years and reigned for fifteen years. 2. The cause of Maximus' move against Gratian was this. Having served in the army in Britain with the emperor Theodosius in the times of Valens, and being discontented that Theodosius was deemed worthy of being emperor by Gratian and that he himself did not reach a worthy command, he stirred up the soldiers in Britain to enmity against the emperor; and he was proclaimed emperor by them.

Georg. Cedrenus, *PG* 121, 599: Maximianus, a certain Briton, because Gratian had made Theodosius emperor while he himself gained no honour, stirred up those in Britain to rebel against Gratian. [Cf. also Georg. Monachus Harmatolus, *Chron.* 4. 196. 3; *Anec. Gr.* 2. 304].

Magnus Maximus' proclamation as emperor in midsummer 383[92] is recorded by a variety of sources from late antiquity, and he is also a potent figure in early British literature.[93] First, his origin and earlier career require examination. Zosimus calls him a Spaniard, and he seems to have been some kind of kinsman of Theodosius, a 'poor relation', if there is any substance in the sneering remarks of Pacatus, who also says that Maximus boasted of his relationship and Theodosius' favour to him (24. 1). One may accept that his father was not a public figure, even if he was not really 'unsure who his father was'.[94] At all events, he served in Britain under the elder Theodosius in 367–8: Zosimus describes this as service in Britain 'with the Emperor Theodosius', who was presumably also an officer under his father (4. 35. 3).[95] No details are given of Maximus' rank or activity there, although Stevens argued that the strange sentence in Gregory of Tours referred to his suppressing the would-be usurper Valentinus at that time.[96] But Ammianus says that Count Theodosius entrusted this task to the *dux* Dulcitius.

The next part of his career is obscure. But he could well be the otherwise unidentified officer Maximus, rank not specified, serving under the elder

[92] V. Grumel, *Rev. ét. byz.* 12 (1954), 18, put his proclamation in autumn 382, 'with neither evidence nor likelihood', as commented by J. F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court AD 364–425* (1975), 173 n. 1.

[93] See C. E. Stevens, *Études celtiques*, 3 (1938), 86ff.; R. Bromwich, in H. M. Chadwick *et al.*, *Studies in Early British History* (1954), 97, 107ff.

[94] O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, v (1913), 165, 34, unnecessarily takes this to mean that he was a bastard.

[95] Of course, as Stevens, *Études celtiques*, 3 (1938), 91 n. 6, believed, Zosimus may have confused the elder Theodosius with his son.

[96] Ibid. 92 translated Greg. Tur., *HF* 1. 43 as 'after achieving victory for the Britains who were oppressed by tyranny'.

Theodosius *c.*373 in the war against Firmus in North Africa (Amm. Marc. 29. 5. 6 and 21).[97] It has been suggested that he was exiled in 376, after his chief was executed, which seems unlikely.[98] But he could also be the *dux*, of Moesia or Scythia, involved in transferring the Goths across the Danube into Thrace in 376–7. This critical situation, Ammianus says, 'called for generals of the highest distinction', but 'by some unfavourable dispensation of providence men of ill repute, *maculosi*, were put in command, Lupicinus, *comes* in the Thracian provinces, and Maximus, a deadly general, *dux exitiosus*'. He denounces their 'treacherous greed' and 'pernicious dissimulation' (31. 4. 9–10).[99] This language may have been directly inspired by Pacatus' *Panegyric* delivered in 389, a few years before Ammianus wrote. Pacatus refers repeatedly to Maximus' insatiable greed (24. 1 ff.), and in one of his final insults calls him 'man of death' *homo funebris* (43. 4), very close to Ammianus' 'deadly general', *dux exitiosus*.

If Maximus was on the Danube in 377, he could have played some part in the deliberations that followed the disaster to Valens at Adrianople, which led Gratian to choose the younger Theodosius as his new colleague on 19 January 379.[100] This must remain a conjecture, but it is in any case readily understandable that, as Zosimus stresses (4. 35. 4), Maximus, a fellow-countryman and comrade-in-arms, and even a kinsman of the new emperor, may at least have hoped for high office. Instead, he found himself in Britain. But in what capacity? Zosimus gives no hint. In the Welsh genealogies he is called *guletic*, thought to be 'connected with *gwlad*=land, evidently conveying some idea of command'.[101] This does not help much. Many suppose that he was *comes Britanniarum*.[102] But that cannot be, if it is accepted that that post did not exist in the 380s, but was first instituted by Stilicho (IV. 3). He was probably *dux Britanniarum*; but might have been *comes litoris Saxonici*. In either case, he would have been commanding low-grade troops, and he could well have regarded this as 'insufficiently distinguished', especially if he had already been *dux* of Moesia or Scythia in 377.

[97] O. Seeck, *Geschichte*, v. 167, 20; regarded as probable by W. Ensslin, *RE* 14/2 (1930), 2546; accepted by *PLRE* i. 588 and Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 95. Maximus was sent to arrest Vincentius, a subordinate of the corrupt *comes Africae* Romanus.

[98] Thus Seeck, *Geschichte*, v. 32 and n., inferred from Pacatus 31. 1, 'an exile from the world and a fugitive from his fatherland', cf. 23. 3, 'an exile'. But these expressions surely just refer to Maximus being in far-off Britain when he was proclaimed. Likewise, in 23. 3 the Britons are called 'exiles from the world'.

[99] Identity is not assumed in *PLRE* i. 585 (Maximus 24), where other sources for this Maximus are cited, but is conjectured by Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 95 f.

[100] Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 96.

[101] Stevens, *Études celtiques*, 3 (1938), 89; Stevens's theory that Maximus was *consularis* of Valentia, identified with Wales, with command over local militia, ibid. 94, must surely be rejected; on Valentia cf. IV. 2 above. As Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 175 n. 6, points out, *consularis Valentiae* would be 'an anomalous civilian office in a military career'.

[102] Ensslin, *RE* 14/2 (1930), 2546 f.; J.-R. Palanque, in *Les Empereurs romains d'Espagne* (1965), 255; A. Chastagnol, ibid. 286; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 175 n. 6 ('surely'); cf. *PLRE* i. 588 ('possibly').

Before his departure for Gaul, Maximus 'vigorously repelled the invading Picts and Scots', according to the Gallic Chronicler; this was probably before his proclamation rather than after it, as the Chronicler's version has it. This strengthens the view that he was *dux* rather than *comes litoris Saxonici*. The successful conclusion of this campaign might well have provided a suitable occasion for the pronunciamento. He may have assumed the title Britannicus Maximus, if the restoration of a fragmentary Italian inscription is correct: *[d(ominus) n(oster) Ma]gnus Ṃ[aximus? Brita]n̤nicus? m[aximus | pi]ụs felix [Augustus, | . . . i]ssimii [. . .]*.[103]

Maximus' motives are treated variously in the mainly hostile sources. Sulpicius Severus, quoting Martin, who knew him, reports Maximus' claim to have taken on the *regni necessitatem* imposed on him by the soldiers through the divine will, and not to have seized the imperial power of his own accord. Orosius goes some way towards accepting this. Both men had some sympathy for a pious Catholic: Maximus was baptized in 383, 'ascending straight from the font of salvation to the throne', *ad imperium ab ipso statim salutari fonte conscenderim*, as he himself wrote to Pope Siricius.[104] The Greeks ascribe to him base motives—jealousy of Theodosius and resentment at his lack of promotion. Modern writers have searched for other reasons, for example, discontent among Roman officers at the favours bestowed on barbarian troops by Gratian. Matthews stresses that Maximus and his supporters may simply have tried to replace the rule of 'a dilettante youth and a child', Gratian and Valentinian II, by a western emperor of tried military worth, to match Theodosius in the East.[105] Maximus certainly put out a claim to have Theodosius' backing, which he was forced by torture to retract in 388 (Pacatus 43. 4).

Maximus' five years as emperor do not require detailed discussion here.[106] Nothing is known of his treatment of Britain, except that he appears to have withdrawn troops from the island in his bid to extend his power.[107] One may note also that the Scilly Isles were chosen as the place of exile for two of the Priscillianist heretics (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2. 51. 4), to whose suppression Maximus devoted much of his energies.[108] He clearly gained control of the Gallic and Spanish provinces without difficulty. He was apparently recognized by

[103] L. Braccesi, *Parola del passato*, 23 (1968), 279ff., reinterpreting *CIL* xi. 6327, Pisaurum.

[104] *Collectio Avellana*, 40 (CSEL 35. 90–1).

[105] Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 175f.

[106] See Ensslin, *RE* 14/2 (1930), 2547ff.; Palanque, *Empereurs romains*, 255ff.; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 223ff.

[107] As revealed by the presence of the *(pedites) Seguntienses*, whose name derives from *Seguntium* (Caernavon), in Illyricum in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, *Occ.* 5. 65. Note also Soz. *HE* 7. 13. 13, or even Nennius 27, cited above. Units such as the Alamanni commanded by Fraomarius in 372 may also have left Britain at this time.

[108] H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (1976); A. R. Birley, *BJRUL* 66 (1983), 13ff.

Theodosius, probably early in 384, when his statues were set up at Alexandria (Zos. 4. 37. 3);[109] and his nominee for the consulship in 386, the prefect Euodius, was recognized by Theodosius,[110] who also had coins struck for him at Constantinople.[111] In late 387 Maximus lost patience, invaded Italy, and drove out Valentianian II. In 388 Theodosius marched rapidly through Illyricum; Maximus was trapped at Aquileia and executed.[112] So too, shortly afterwards, was his son Victor, who had been made Augustus in 383.[113] The day of Maximus' death, 28 July,[114] was evidently celebrated annually thereafter (Procop. *Bell. Vand.* 1. 4. 16). But the female members of his family were treated well. Ambrose reports (*Ep.* 40. 32) that his mother was given a pension, and his daughters were entrusted to a relation of Theodosius to be brought up—which may confirm that Maximus was some kind of kinsman.[115] Ambrose says nothing about Maximus' wife. Her name is unknown, but Sulpicius Severus relates how she insisted on serving St Martin at table personally at Trier: he compares her to the Queen of Sheba, and to both Martha and Mary (*Dial.* 3. 11–13). One daughter perhaps made a brilliant marriage, if there is any truth in Procopius' romantic story (*Bell. Vand.* 1. 4. 16, repeated in several later Byzantine writers) that Petronius Maximus, born in 396, and emperor for a few weeks in 455 after a glittering senatorial career, was a descendant of the usurper.[116]

385 A *vicarius* of Britain? under Magnus Maximus: Desiderius

CTh 9. 36. 1: *Imppp. Val(entini)anus, Theodosius, et Arcadius AAA. Desiderio vic(ario). quisquis accusatur reum in iudicium sub inscribtione detulerit, si intra anni tempus accusationem coeptam persequi supersederit vel, quod est contumacius, ultimo anni die adesse neglexerit, quarta bonorum omnium parte multatus aculeos consultissime legis incurrat, scilicet, manente infamia, quam veteres iusserant sanctiones. dat(um) (ante diem) iiii id(us) Iul(ias), Trev(eris), Arcad(io) A(ugusto) et Bautone cons(ulibu)s.*

The Emperors Valentinianus, Theodosius, and Arcadius, Augusti, to Desiderius, *vicarius*. Whoever is accused of bringing a defendant to court under a written charge, if within a year he

[109] See D. Vera, *Athenaeum*, 53 (1975), 267ff., followed by F. Paschoud, *Zosime*, ii. 422ff., nn. 175–6.

[110] *PLRE* i. 297.

[111] *RIC* x. Constantinople, no. 83d; for Maximus' issues at the London mint (now called Augusta), ibid., London, nos. 2–4.

[112] Details in Ensslin, *RE* 14/2 (1930), 2552ff.

[113] *PLRE* i. 961. One may note also Maximus' brother Marcellinus, who served as a *comes*, *PLRE* i. 547, as did an unnamed uncle, Sulp. Sev. *V. Mart.* 20. 4.

[114] Rather than 28 Aug., as shown by Chadwick, *Priscillian*, 122 n. 3.

[115] Thus Ensslin, *RE* 14/2 (1930), 2546.

[116] *PLRE* ii. 749 treats the story as 'untrustworthy and improbable'. J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*[2], i (1923), 324, was less sceptical; so too is C. Settipani, *Continuité gentilice et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque impériale* (2000), 381ff., who suggests that Maximus' daughter married Anicius Probinus (*cos. ord.* 395), one of the Petronii (*PLRE* i. 734f.), and that this pair were the parents of Petronius Maximus.

has ceased to follow through the accusation that has been begun, and failed to be present on the last day of the year, shall with the greatest weight incur the punishment of the law, being fined a quarter of his property, to be sure, with the dishonour remaining which sanctions of old ordered. Issued on the fourth day before the Ides of July, at Treveri [Trier], Arcadius Augustus and Bauto being the consuls (12 July 385).

If the date and place of this rescript are correct, the heading must have been altered, for Magnus Maximus ruled the West in 385. In that case Desiderius was *vicarius* of one of the three dioceses then under Maximus' control, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The name Desiderius, favoured by Christians, is attested four times in Gaul, but not in Spain; a silver beaker found in the River Tyne near Corbridge is inscribed *Desideri vivas*, 'Desiderius, may you live!'.[117]

Later fourth century, Justinianus, *praepositus (limitis?)*

RIB 721, Ravenscar: *Iustinianus p(rae)p(ositus); | Vindicianus | magi̤ṣter ṭurr[e]*[t] *|m (et) castrum fecit | a sol(lo).*

Justinianus, commander; Vindicianus, *magister*, built the tower and fort from the ground up.

There seems little doubt that Justinianus was *p(rae)p(ositus)*. What he was in charge of is less certain. He might just have been garrison commander, but Goodchild, citing North African examples, suggested that he was a *praepositus limitis*, and that Vindicianus was a low-ranking *magister*, 'perhaps a garrison engineer or a pioneer sergeant'.[118] The inscription may date to soon after the 'barbarian conspiracy', when a system of signal stations was set up along the Yorkshire coast, but could be later.[119] He might be the Justinianus appointed by Constantine III, together with Neviogastes, to command troops in Gaul, shortly before the usurper left Britain in 407 (Zos. 6. 2. 2; Olymp. Fr. 12). The name is not particularly common, but the lapse of time that must be assumed between the two appointments is rather large, and the identification is only a slight possibility.

[117] Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 363 counted 'CIL five men, one woman . . . CHRIST. eight men'. Lörincz, *OPEL* ii. 215, lists seven Christians, four in Gaul, one each in Noricum, Pannonia, and N. Italy; he omits *RIB* ii/1. 2414. 32, nr. Corbridge.

[118] R. G. Goodchild, *Ant.J.* 32 (1952), 185 ff. See *IRT* 880 for the earliest African example of a *praepositus limitis*; the post is discussed by Jones, *LRE* 652 and J. F. Matthews, in Goodburn and Bartholomew, *Notitia*, 167 ff. *PLRE* i. 1025 ff. lists other *praepositi*. For low grade *magistri* Goodchild cited *CIL* v. 8750, 8988c, Concordia, and xiii. 8262 = *ILS* 790, Cologne; see also A. Demandt, *RE* Suppl. 12 (1970), 553–6.

[119] Goodchild, *Ant.J.* 32 (1952), 185 ff. suggested *c.*375. Frere, *Britannia*[3], 345.

A *vicarius*, under Honorius?: Chrysanthus

Socrates, *HE* 7. 12. 1: But on the death of Sisinnius, Chrysanthus was dragged into the bishopric. He was son of Marcianus who had been bishop of the Novatians before Sisinnius. Having been in palatine service from his early youth, later having been *consularis* in Italy under the Emperor Theodosius the Great, after this having also been appointed *vicarius* of the British Isles, he was admired in the dioceses. At an advanced age, and settling at Constantinople with the aim of becoming prefect of the city, he was compelled into the bishopric against his will.

Socrates' account, repeated with minor changes by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (*HE* 4. 13), is the only evidence for Chrysanthus. His father Marcianus had begun his career with palatine service and was then tutor to Valens' daughters (Socr. *HE* 4. 9; Sozom. *HE* 6. 9), before becoming Novatianist bishop of Constantinople (Socr. 5. 21). Chrysanthus likewise served as a palatine official in his youth. Under Theodosius, that is, between 379 and 395, he was *consularis* of an Italian province. 'After this'—which may mean 'after the death of Theodosius', if so, after 395—he was vicar of the Britains. In old age he went to Constantinople in the hope of becoming city prefect there, but instead was compelled to become Novatianist bishop on the death of his father's successor Sisinnius. He occupied this position from 412 until his death on 26 August 419, as Socrates mentions in a later passage (7. 17), having acquired considerable fame by refusing to accept a stipend from the church, while distributing his own funds to the poor (7. 12). His origin is unknown and no descendants are recorded.

398? Measures in Britain taken by Flavius Stilicho (*cos.* 400)

Claudian, *In Eutrop.* 1. 391–3:

> *'quantum te principe possim,*
> *non longinqua docent, domito quod Saxone Tethys*
> *mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto.'*

'Examples not far off teach how great is my [Rome's] power, because the sea is safer with the Saxon tamed and Britain is secure with the Pict broken.'

Claudian, *De cons. Stil.* 2. 247–55:

> *inde Caledonio velata Britannia monstro,*
> *ferro picta genas, cuius vestigia verrit* 248
> *caerulus Oceanique aestum mentitur amictus:*
> *'me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus', inquit,*
> *'munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scottus Hivernen*
> *movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.* 252
> *illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem*
> *Scottica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne litore toto*
> *prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.'*

Next Britain, clothed in [the skin of] a Caledonian beast, her cheeks tattooed, her sky-blue cloak, rivalling Ocean's tide, trailing to her feet: 'Stilicho protected me too, perishing at the hands of the neighbouring peoples when the Scot aroused all Hibernia and the sea foamed with hostile oarsmen. The effect of his measures was that I did not need to fear Scottish spears, or tremble at the Pict, or watch on all coasts for the Saxon who would come with the dangerous winds.'

These two passages from Claudian, published in 399 and 400, are the sole evidence[120] for the *magister militum* and father-in-law of Honorius, Stilicho, having taken measures to defend Britain. Earlier in the *De cons. Stil.* (I. 189–245) and in the *De IV consulatu Honorii* (439–60), of 398, Claudian describes at length how Stilicho moved all along the Rhine to its mouth and renewed treaties with the barbarians. This was evidently in 396, and it is possible that he was at this time also involved with the defence of Britain against Scots, Picts, and Saxons. But it is more probable that his British measures were taken in 398—although it is unlikely that more was involved than the dispatch of troops. No campaign need have taken place, let alone a personal expedition of Stilicho. Had this occurred, Claudian would surely have supplied more details. Whatever Stilicho did in the late 390s, the force with which he defeated Alaric at the battle of Pollentia in 402 allegedly included 'a legion stationed among the far off Britons, which reins in the fierce Scot and scans the strange patterns tattooed on the dying Pict' (*De bello Gothico* 416–18). But this may well be a poet's fantasy. It has been suggested that Stilicho established the post of *comes Britanniarum* at this time, to compensate for the withdrawal of frontier troops. But it is more plausible that the post had already been created *c.*398, if not earlier (IV. 3). Any troop withdrawals—of which there are indeed traces in the *Notitia Dignitatum*—may be ascribed to Constantine III in 407 (see below).

A *vicarius*, under Honorius? Victorinus

Rut. Namat. *De reditu* 491–508:

o quam saepe malis generatur origo bonorum!
tempestas dulcem fecit amara moram:
Victorinus enim, nostrae pars maxima mentis
congressu explevit mutua vota suo.
errantem Tuscis considere compulit agris
et colere externos capta Tolosa lares.
nec tantum duris nituit sapientia rebus:
pectore non alio prosperiora tulit.
conscius Oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule

[120] The tiles stamped *Hon. Aug. Andria.* allegedly found at Pevensey were shown by D. P. A. Peacock, *Antiquity*, 47 (1973), 138 ff., to be forgeries: *RIB* ii/1. 2484. 1*.

et quaecumque ferox arva Britannus arat,
qua praefectorum vicibus frenata potestas
perpetuum magni foenus amoris habet. 502
extremum pars illa quidem discessit in orbem,
sed tamquam medio rector in orbe fuit.
plus palmae est illos inter voluisse placere,
inter quos minor est displicuisse pudor. 506
illustris nuper sacrae comes additus aulae
contempsit summos ruris amore gradus.

O, how often the source of good things is generated by bad ones! Unpleasant weather causes a pleasant delay. For Victorinus, the greatest part of our soul, fulfilled our mutual wishes by meeting us. The capture of Tolosa (Toulouse) forced him, on his wanderings, to stay on the Tuscan estates and to worship external household gods. Nor did his wisdom shine out only in hard times: he bore more prosperous ones no differently. The Ocean is aware of his virtues, Thule is aware, and whatever fields the wild Briton cultivates, where, deputizing for the prefects, his disciplined power has a perpetual capital of great love. To be sure, that duty took him to the end of the world, but he was governor as if at the world's centre. It deserves more laurels to have wished to please among those whom it is less shameful to have displeased. Having recently been appointed to the sacred court as an illustrious *comes*, through his love of the country he despised the highest ranks.

On his journey home to Gaul from Rome in late autumn 417,[121] Rutilius Namatianus stayed with his friend Victorinus, whose career he describes. Victorinus had been *vicarius* (*praefectorum vicibus*) of Britain, where he had behaved in exemplary fashion: he made himself popular, even though it hardly mattered if one earned disfavour in that quarter. The comment might reflect a general anti-British prejudice in Gaul,[122] although it might recall the activities of the three British pretenders, Marcus, Gratian, and Constantine III (see below). In line 507, Victorinus is called *illustris*, showing that he had been promoted, since *vicarii* were only *spectabiles*.[123] It is not clear whether he became an *illustris* by the appointment as *comes* which he had recently received, but then resigned, preferring country life.[124] This retirement had been rudely interrupted by the capture of Toulouse, some time between 409 and 414.[125] The vicariate is generally assigned to the reign of Honorius, although nothing in these lines makes this certain; it could have been held under Theodosius. It was clearly before 406, the proclamation of Marcus.[126] Had Victorinus served under the British usurpers he would hardly have received preferment from

[121] For the date, A. Cameron, *JRS* 57 (1967), 31ff.

[122] Cf. Ausonius' sarcastic remarks about the British poet Silvius Bonus, *Epigr.* 107–12 (e.g. 110. 1: *nemo bonus Brito est*).

[123] A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), 143, 378f., 528ff.

[124] See e.g. J.-R. Palanque, *REA* 36 (1934), 273 n. 1; K. F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (1948), 227, no. 48; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 326; *PLRE* ii, Victorinus 1.

[125] Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel*, 227, dates this to 412; *PLRE* ii, Victorinus 1 to 414.

[126] As stressed by Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 326 n. 3.

Honorius. Rutilius' language makes it certain that Victorinus was a Gaul, his home at or near Toulouse.

406–7 Marcus, Gratianus, and Fl(avius) Claudius Constantinus (Constantine III)

The mutiny by the army of Britain in 406–7 is mentioned in several sources.

Orosius 7. 40. 4: *his per Gallias bacchantibus, apud Britannias Gratianus, municeps eiusdem insulae, tyrannus creatus et occiditur. huius loco Constantinus, ex infima militia, propter solam spem nominis sine merito virtutis, eligitur: qui continuo, ut invasit imperium, in Gallias transiit. ibi saepe a barbaris incertis foederibus inlusus, detrimento magis reipublicae fuit.*

7. 40. 4: While they [the Alans, Suebi, and Vandals and many other peoples] were moving riotously through the Gauls, in the Britains Gratianus, a citizen of that island, was made a usurper and killed. In his place Constantinus, from the lowest soldiery, was chosen, solely on account of the hope in his name, without any deserving quality. As soon as he seized imperial power, he crossed to the Gauls. There, frequently deceived by the barbarians with uncertain treaties, he was more to the detriment of the commonwealth.

Olympiodorus, Frag. 12 Mueller (*FHG* iv. 59): . . . and in the Britains Constantinus happened to be proclaimed, having come to this rule through a mutiny of the soldiers there. And indeed in these British provinces, before Honorius' seventh consulship [which was in 407, i.e. this took place in 406], the army in those provinces rose in rebellion, naming a certain Marcus as emperor. But when he was deposed by them, Gratianus was elevated. But when he too, having after four months become unacceptable to them, was killed, Constantinus was then raised to the imperial name.

Prosper Tiro, *Chron.*, *MGH AA* IX, *Chron. Min.* i. 465: *Arcadio VI et Probo Wandali et Halani Gallias traiecto Rheno ingressi (ante diem) II K(alendas) Ian(uarias). Honorio VII et Theodosio II Constantinus in Brittania tyrannus exoritur et ad Gallias transiit.*

Arcadius for the sixth time and Probus being the consuls, the Vandals and Alans, having crossed the Rhine, entered Gaul on the second before the Kalends of January [31 December 406]. Honorius for the seventh time and Theodosius for the second time being consuls [407], Constantinus arose as usurper in Britain and crossed to the Gauls.

Sozomen, *HE* 9. 11. 1–2: At this time many usurpers arose in the western empire . . . 2. For first the soldiers in Britain, having mutinied, named Marcus usurper, and after him Gratianus, having deposed Marcus; but when he too was murdered by them after no more than four months had gone by, again they elected someone, Constantinus, thinking that because he had this name he would exercise the imperial power firmly. Indeed, they appear to have chosen the others for the position of usurper for this sort of reason as well.

Polemius Silvius, *Laterculus* 78–9 (*Chron. min.* i. 523): *Honorius. sub quo Gratianus et Constantinus, bisque Attalus, Constans, Maximus atque Servatus, Marcus, Magnus et Maximus, Iovinus, Sebastianus et Victor tyranni fuerunt.*

Honorius: under whom Gratianus and Constantinus, and Attalus twice, Maximus and Servatus, Marcus, Magnus and Maximus, Jovinus, Sebastianus, and Victor were usurpers.

Chron. Gall. a. 452, *MGH AA IX*, *Chron. min.* i. 654:

61 XVI *hac tempestate praevaletudine Romanorum vires funditus attenuatae.*
62 *Britanniae Saxonum incursione devastatae.*
63 *Galliarum partem Vandali atque Alani vastavere; quod reliquum fuerat, Constantinus tyrannus obsidebat.*
64 *Hispaniarum partem maximam Suevi occupavere.*
65 *ipsa denique orbis caput Roma depraedationi Gothorum foedissime patuit.*
66 XVII *Constantinus tyrannus occiditur.*

61 XVI At this time the forces of the Romans were through weakness completely attenuated.
62 The Britains were devastated by an incursion of the Saxons.
63 The Vandals and Alans laid waste part of the Gauls; the usurper Constantinus occupied what was left of them.
64 The Suevi occupied the greatest part of the Spains.
65 Finally Rome herself, the capital of the world, was most horribly laid open to the plundering of the Goths.
66 XVII The usurper Constantinus was killed.

Zosimus 5. 27. 2–3: While at Ravenna Stilicho was preparing to attack the cities of Illyria with his army, to remove them, with the aid of Alaric, from Arcadius and attach them to Honorius' domains, two obstacles arose: a rumour spread that Alaric was dead and a letter of the emperor Honorius was brought from Rome announcing that Constantinus had established a usurpation, and that after crossing from the island of Britain he was in the transalpine provinces and conducting himelf as emperor in the cities. 3. However, the rumour about Alaric's death appeared to be dubious . . . , whereas what was said about Constantinus' rebellion was believed by everyone.

31. 4: . . . Stilicho said that the rebellion of Constantinus did not allow him to distract his attention from Italy and Rome itself, as the usurper Constantinus had already crossed all Gaul and was staying at Arelate.

32. 3: Although only four days had passed since the emperor took up residence at Ticinum, the soldiers were summoned to the imperial quarters; the emperor appeared before them and urged them to make war against the usurper Constantinus.

43. 1–2: In the mean time the usurper Constantinus sent eunuchs to Honorius to ask forgiveness for having accepted imperial power: he had not chosen to take it but rather it had been forced on him by the soldiers. 2. The emperor, having heard this request, observing that it was not easy for him to contemplate other campaigns when the barbarians with Alaric were not far away, and taking into account, further, that his own kinsmen (they were Verenianus and Didymus) were in the hands of the usurper, yielded to his request and sent him an imperial mantle—in fact, his concern about his kinsmen was in vain, for they had been killed before this embassy. Then he sent back the eunuchs.

6. 1. 2, 2. 1–2, 3. 1: [*1. 1–2 recounts negotiations between Constantine III and Honorius*;] as the events among the Celts have not yet been the object of an appropriate account, it is right to explain from the beginning everything that happened. 2. 1. While Arcadius was still reigning, and the consuls were Honorius for the seventh time and Theodosius for the second time [407], the soldiers in Britain, having mutinied, elevated Marcus to the imperial throne, and obeyed him as the one controlling affairs there. But having removed him as not agreeing with their way of thinking, they led Gratianus into their midst and placing the purple robe and crown on him escorted him as their emperor. 2. But being dissatisfied with him as well and having removed

him four months later, they put him to death, giving the imperial power to Constantinus. He, having appointed Justinianus and Neviogastes to command the soldiers among the Celts, crossed over, leaving Britain behind; and coming to Bononia [Boulogne] . . . and spending some days there and having won over all the forces stationed as far as the Alps . . . , he appeared to hold the imperial power securely. [2. 4–6 *recounts initial conflicts between Constantine's generals and Sarus, sent against him by Stilicho.*]. 3. 1. In the time before this, when Arcadius and Probus were holding their consular office [406], the Vandals, joining forces with the Suebi and Alani, crossing these places [sc. *the Alpine passes referred to immediately before, at 2. 6*], having caused harm to the transalpine peoples and carried out much slaughter, became objects of fear to the armies in the Britains also, and compelled them, in case the invaders might turn against them too, to hold a rushed election of usurpers, I mean Marcus and Gratianus, and in addition to these Constantinus.

Apart from the bare mention in Polemius Silvius' jumbled list, the first usurper, Marcus, is named only in a fragment of Olympiodorus and by the historians who drew on him, Sozomen and Zosimus. The name is far too common to provide any clue to his origin. He was speedily replaced by Gratianus, also named by the three Greek writers, as well as by Orosius, who calls him a *municeps eiusdem insulae*, no doubt meaning not 'a civilian of Britain', but just 'a native of Britain'.[127] Gratianus in turn was suppressed after four months in favour of Constantinus, 'from the lowest ranks of the army', *ex infima militia*, according to Orosius. This need not mean that he was still 'a common soldier' when proclaimed. The usurpers' status before their proclamation is not stated. Marcus and Gratianus might have been army-commanders, *comes Britanniarum*, *comes litoris Saxonici*, or *dux Britanniarum*, Constantine perhaps an officer of more junior standing who had risen from the ranks.[128]

Olympiodorus gives no reason for the initial coup, other than mutiny, στάσις. Zosimus connects it with the barbarian invasion of Gaul in 406, which caused the forces in Britain, 'through fear that the invaders would turn against them too, to proceed to elect usurpers, I mean Marcus and Gratianus, and in addition to these Constantinus'. He had already recounted the usurpations in the previous chapter, there dating them to 407. Olympiodorus dates Marcus' usurpation to 406, but Prosper puts the crossing of the Rhine by the Vandals and Alans on the last day of that year, *II k. Ian.* If this date is accepted, Zosimus—at first sight—can hardly be right: the British army could not yet have been alarmed by this invasion when Marcus was proclaimed. Baynes

[127] Thus *PLRE* ii, Gratianus 3, without discussion. M. Kulikowski, *Britannia*, 31 (2000), 332 n. 44, points out that *municeps eiusdem insulae* simply means that Gratianus was a Briton: 'the use of *municeps* to signify nothing more definite than "inhabitant of such and such a place" is attested as early as Cicero (*Brut.* 70. 246)'. C. E. Stevens, *Athenaeum*, 35 (1957), 322, took Gratianus to have been a civilian; he is followed by Paschoud, *Zosime*, iii. 2 n. 115.

[128] Cf. Valerius Maximus 7. 8. C on T. Marius Siculus, who rose under Augustus *ab infimo militiae loco . . . ad summos castrensis honores*. Procopius, *De bello Vand.* 1. 2. 31 (cited below), calls Constantine 'a not undistinguished man'; but this is hardly good evidence.

suggested that Prosper meant that the barbarians invaded in 406, having crossed the Rhine on 31 December 405. This interpretation has been revived by Kulikowski.[129] Prosper was not a very careful writer, and it is tempting to accept this explanation.[130]

But Paschoud's analysis has surely resolved the apparent contradictions. Zosimus clearly had difficulty in constructing a coherent narrative which combined events in the western provinces with those in Italy. His first mention of Constantine III comes at 5. 27. 2, the second at 5. 31. 4; and there are two more at 5. 32. 3 and 43. 1–2. It is only at the start of his unfinished book 6. 1–5, that he offers a detailed account of the usurpations. He first gives the date as 407, 6. 1. 1; but at 6. 3. 1, still following his source, Olympiodorus, he gives an explanation for the revolt: the passage of the barbarians into Gaul made the troops in Britain fear that they would be attacked as well and hence they proclaimed their own emperors in succession; and here he dates these developments to 406. Orosius (7. 40. 3–4) also makes the invasion of Gaul and the British usurpations simultaneous, but dates them to 408 ('two years before the capture of Rome'). Prosper dates Constantine III's elevation and crossing to Gaul to 407. It was at the beginning of March 407 that Honorius heard the news of Constantine's arrival in Gaul (Zos. 5. 27. 2). His usurpation may thus be dated to the beginning of February 407. Gratian's usurpation, four months earlier (Zos. 6. 2. 2, Olymp. Fr. 12, Soz. 9. 11. 2), was thus in early October 406, while that of Marcus, not specifically dated, probably took place in summer 406. Olympiodorus (Fr. 12) thus correctly assigns to 406 the real beginning of the usurpations. Zosimus clumsily first, at 6. 2. 1, gives the year as 407, which was when Constantine was proclaimed, but corrects this to 406 at 6. 3. 1. As Paschoud stresses, previous discussions have overlooked the fact that the barbarians whose invasion of Gaul made the British army nervous had come from northern Italy, across the Alps: 'these places' (*τούτους τοὺς τόπους*, 6. 3. 1) which they crossed, refers back to the Alpine passes, mentioned immediately before as having been fortified by Constantine III (6. 2. 6). These barbarians had presumably entered Italy in spring 406 with Radagaisus' army—which was to be defeated at Fiesole that summer—but had crossed the Alps into Gaul. The barbarians who Prosper says crossed the Rhine on 31 December 406 must be a different group. At 6. 3. 2 Zosimus reports that there was a great battle between Romans and barbarians, location unspecified but

[129] N. H. Baynes, *JRS* 12 (1922), 417ff., repr. in id., *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (1955), 326ff.; Kulikowski, *Britannia*, 31 (2000), 326ff., who comments, 326 n. 10, that Baynes's article has been 'dismissed in subsequent literature because a number of obviously false arguments sit alongside his penetrating analysis of the Rhine crossing'.

[130] Cf. Mommsen's comments on Prosper, *Chron. Min.* i. 348: *in summa re minore studio et diligentia liber conscribi vix potest quam hunc conscripsit homo Aquitanus . . . in narrandis rebus a. 379–455 auctorem non maiore diligentia versatum esse.*

presumably referring to Fiesole; that some barbarians escaped and resumed fighting; and that Constantine blocked the Alps against them and then turned to the Rhine. Paschoud suggests that Olympiodorus' account, incompetently condensed by Zosimus, had been on the following lines (with phrases omitted by Zosimus in square brackets): 'Previously, in 406, although the Roman army had massacred the barbarians, many escaped and were able to resume fighting. Other barbarians, belonging to the same group, crossed the Alpine passes between Italy and Gaul, ravaged the Transalpine provinces and became a source of fear to the legions in Britain, [especially after linking up with the] Vandals, Suebi and Alans [who had just crossed the Rhine]; the army of Britain then chose [the] three usurpers [previously mentioned].'[131]

Sozomen gives no real explanation for the British soldiers' action, except to comment on Constantine, that they chose him, 'thinking that as he had this name, he would master the imperial power firmly [*βεβαίως* = *constanter*], since it was for a reason such as this that they appear to have chosen the others for usurpation as well'. The magic of the name of Constantine, in Britain above all, needs no documentation. Orosius has a similar version: Constantine was chosen 'solely on account of the hope in his name'. Sozomen's remark that this applied to the others as well probably just means that the soldiers had thought that Marcus and Gratian too 'would master the imperial power firmly'.[132] Constantine's appeal to the memory of Constantine the Great, who had been proclaimed emperor in Britain almost exactly a century earlier, is made even more obvious by his assumption of the names Flavius Claudius. Further, his sons were called Constans, made Caesar in 408 and Augustus in 409 or 410, and Julian, who received the title *nobilissimus*.[133]

The hope that an emperor proclaimed by the army of Britain would protect the island proved to be vain. It was probably in 408 that it was attacked by another barbarian people, the Saxons, as reported by the *Chronicler* of 452: 'The Britains were laid waste by an invasion of the Saxons.' This is surely the invasion of Britain which Zosimus relates, the context being after the events in Spain described at 6. 4. 1–5. 2, in other words in 409. The Britons and some of the Gallic peoples were obliged to cast off Roman rule, expel Roman officials, and defend themselves.

Zosimus 6. 5. 2–6. 1: Since Constantine did not offer any resistance, given that most of his forces were in Spain, the barbarians from across the Rhine attacked everywhere with all their might,

[131] Paschoud, *Zosime*, iii. 2 n. 115, 20ff. n. 119, 28ff. Kulikowski, *Britannia*, 31 (2000), 325ff., does not discuss Paschoud's case. As Paschoud notes (30f.), *πρὸς ὅν* at Zos. 6. 3. 2 must be corrupt.

[132] Stevens, *Athenaeum*, 35 (1957), 320f., took Sozomen to mean that the names 'Marcus' and 'Gratianus' also had some special appeal, which he tried to explain. This seems implausible.

[133] *PLRE* ii, Constantinus 21; Constans 1; Iulianus 7. J. F. Drinkwater, *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 272, plausibly suggests that Constantine named his sons after Constantinian emperors who had been active in the West.

and made it necessary for the inhabitants of Britain and some of the nations among the Celts to revolt from Roman rule and live on their own, no longer obedient to Roman laws. 5. 3. The Britons therefore took up arms, and braving danger for their own independence, freed the cities from the barbarians threatening them; and all Armorica and the other provinces of the Gauls copied the Britons, and freed themselves in the same way, expelling their Roman governors and establishing their own state as best they could. 6. 1. And the rebellion of Britain and of the peoples among the Celts happened at the time of the usurpation of Constantine . . .

The Roman governors expelled by the Britons must have been those appointed by Constantine III. The latter's further activity on the continent and his end in 411 does not concern the present inquiry.[134] It may, however, be noted that after his first *magistri militum* Justinianus and Neviogastes were killed by Honorius' general Sarus in 407 (Zos. 6. 2. 3), their replacements were the Frank Edobichus and Gerontius, a Briton (Zos. 6. 2. 4). Gerontius, an accomplished general and stern disciplinarian, played a prominent part thereafter. In 409 he rebelled against Constantine III and proclaimed his own candidate, Maximus, as emperor at Tarraco; Maximus is said by Olympiodorus (Fr. 16) to have been Gerontius' son, by others to have been his client. In 411 Gerontius killed Constantine's son Constans and besieged Constantine himself at Arles, but when his own men turned against him he committed suicide, after first killing his wife Nunechia to prevent her falling into enemy hands.[135]

[134] For the sources see *PLRE* ii, Constantinus 21; for his coinage *RIC* x. 143–9, 347–50. See further Drinkwater, *Britannia*, 29 (1998), 269ff.; Kulikowski, *Britannia*, 31 (2000), 332ff.

[135] *PLRE* ii, Gerontius 5; Maximus 4, 7; Nunechia. See also on Gerontius and Maximus J. Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana* (1982), 156ff.; id., *España entre el mundo antiguo y el mundo medieval* (1988), 108ff.

IV.5
THE END OF ROMAN RULE

It is generally thought that in 410, a year after the British declaration of independence, the British cities received a letter from Honorius, telling them that they must defend themselves. This is based on a curious passage in Zosimus,

> 6. 10. 2–11. 1: And Alaric captured all the other cities [in the Aemilia region of Italy] without difficulty, but laid siege to Bononia [Bologna], and, since the city held out for many days, he could not take it, and he moved against the Ligurians, so as to compel them also to recognize Attalus as emperor. But Honorius, having written a letter to the cities in Britain announcing that they should protect themselves, and distributing presents to the soldiers from the money sent by Heraclianus, Honorius was completely at ease, having obtained the good will of the soldiers everywhere; 11. 1. but Heraclianus having seized all the harbours in Africa and placed them under guard of all kinds, and neither corn nor oil nor any other kind of supplies being shipped to the port of Rome, famine afflicted the city, more severe than the previous one . . .

These events are clearly datable to 410, not long before Alaric's capture of Rome, which Zosimus never reached, presumably because he never completed his history. Yet the sentence in which the letter to 'the cities in Britain' is placed has very odd syntax: Honorius' letter is mentioned in a genitive absolute with no context, and the main sentence which follows repeats Honorius' name in the nominative. Further, it all seems totally irrelevant to Britain: the passage refers first to Alaric's attacks on cities in Aemilia and Liguria, then, after the mention of Britain, to money sent to Honorius from Africa by Count Heraclianus and to the latter seizing the harbours in Africa and stopping food supplies being shipped from there to Rome. For this reason Gothofredus emended *Βρεττανία* to *Βρουτία*, that is, Bruttium. This is made even more convincing by the observation that the standard late Greek name for Bruttium was *Βρεττία*.[1] Palaeographically this is very convincing, especially considering that Zosimus had written *Βρεττανία* so many times in his work, not least in the last three books. Scribal error thus seems a plausible explanation.[2] It is true that Bruttium is also not obviously relevant. Still, it could be argued that cities in southern Italy, notably Bruttium, might have

[1] Gothofredus' conjecture was published in his commentary on the Theodosian Code, IV 201, on *CTh* 11. 28. 7, as pointed out by E. A. Thompson, *CQ* 32 (1982), 445.

[2] This explanation is favoured by Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 320 n. 7; Rivet and Smith, *Place-Names*, 102; J. P. C. Kent, in P. J. Casey (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain* (1979), 18; and P. Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 13 (1982), 261ff. Ibid. 262 and Paschoud, *Zosime* iii. 2 n. 133, note that one of the MSS of Olympiodorus Fr. 15 actually has *Βρεττανίας* where the context requires *Βρεττίας*; but Paschoud, ibid. 57ff., rejects the emendation in Zosimus.

been under threat from Heraclianus.[3] Furthermore, six months later, Alaric, after capturing Rome and then withdrawing, did indeed go to Bruttium, where he died at Consentia (Cosenza).[4] Perhaps Zosimus, who was obviously muddled at this point, was led by association of ideas to mention prematurely, in the wrong context, a letter which Honorius could well have written later in the same year to the cities in Bruttium.

An alternative explanation has been put forward by Bleckmann. He points out that Zosimus, living in Constantinople *c.*500, was very unfamiliar with the geography of the west (citing 3. 9. 1, Paris in 'Germany', 4. 34. 2, Goths threatening Gaul, 4. 35. 5f., Lugdunum muddled with Singidunum). In the above passage, after Alaric had moved from Bononia into Liguria, it was an appropriate context for Honorius to tell the Ligurian cities to defend themselves. A plausible reason for him suddenly to make the letter go to the cities 'in Britain' could well be, Bleckmann suggests, that he had confused the Italian Bononia, Bologna, with the Gallic one, Boulogne, the main port for the crossing between Gaul and Britain, which he had himself mentioned at 6. 2. 2. The province beyond the Gallic Bononia was Britannia. Bleckmann further notes that at this time any voluntary reduction of imperial authority in peripheral provinces was out of the question: in 409 Honorius had categorically refused to permit Gothic settlement even in Noricum, 'in the furthest parts of the Danube, [which was] continuously overrun by the barbarians, and provided very little income to the fisc' (Zos. 5. 46. 2, 50. 3).[5] At all events, whatever the exact explanation, it is preferable to discount the 'letter to the cities in Britain' as a phantom event.

A passing mention in Jerome, in a letter written in 415, probably refers to the usurpers of 406–7,

Ep. 133. 9: *neque enim Britannia, fertilis provincia tyrannorum, et Scoticae gentes, omnesque ad Oceanum per circuitum barbarae nationes Moysen prophetasque cognoverant.*

For neither had Britain, a province fertile in usurpers, and the Scottish peoples, and all the barbarian nations on the Ocean around its circuit learnt about Moses and the prophets. [Cf. Gildas, *De excidio* 4. 3, who attributes the remark to Porphyry.]

The end of Roman control over Britain is mentioned by two later sources. The first, associating this with the sack of Rome, is the anonymous *Narratio de imperatoribus domus Valentinianae et Theodosianae*,

[3] Bartholomew, *Britannia*, 13 (1982), 262, argued plausibly enough that 'Bruttium is precisely the area in which, at this point in the narrative of Zosimus, we should expect Honorius to take most interest. He had lost control of most of the Italian peninsula; Heraclian alone could provide him with supplies and put pressure on Alaric by withholding corn supplies from Rome; and it was essential that Honorius should keep open his lines of communication with Africa. To do this, he had to hold the "toe" of Italy.'

[4] Sources in *PLRE* ii, Alaricus 1.

[5] B. Bleckmann, *HZ* 265 (1997), 561–95, at 572ff.

MGH AA IX, *Chron. min.* i. 630: *Honorius regnavit annis XXXII . . . multa in huius principatu gravia reipublicae vulnera contigerunt, sed illud acerbissimum fuit, quod urbs Roma per Alaricum Gothorum regem capta atque subversa est. soror imperatoris, Augusta Placidia, primum captiva, deinde uxor regis quidem, sed barbari, statum temporum decolorat. Galliae Hispaniaeque a barbaris nationibus Wandalis Suebis Alanis excisae, funditusque delatae sunt. Brittaniae Romano nomini in perpetuum sublatae.*

Honorius reigned for thirty-two years . . . many serious wounds afflicted the commonwealth in his principate, but the bitterest was the fact that the city of Rome was captured and ruined by Alaric, king of the Goths. The emperor's sister, the Augusta Placidia, first a prisoner, then the wife—of a king, to be sure, but a barbarian one—cast a stain on these times. The Gauls and the Spains were entirely destroyed by barbarian nations, Vandals, Suebi, and Alans. The Britains were lost to the Roman name for ever.

The second passage is in Procopius,

De bello vandalico 3. 2. 31, 37–8: And the island of Britain revolted, and the soldiers there chose Constantinus, a not undistinguished man, as emperor. He indeed, at once raising a fleet of ships and a considerable army, invaded Spain and Gaul to enslave them, with a large force . . . 37. And after Alaric died from disease, and the army of the Visigoths, with Ataulf leading them, went into the Gauls, Constantinus, being worsted in battle, died with his sons. 38. However, the Romans could no longer regain Britain, but it remained under usurpers from that time.

It has sometimes been argued that Britain was reoccupied for a time, for example, from *c.*413 to 423.[6] But although the island was long after 409 still regarded as Roman,[7] and its inhabitants were described as, and felt by themselves to be, *Romani*,[8] the Britons surely did indeed from 409, as Zosimus reports (6. 5. 2–3, quoted above) onwards rule themselves,[9] split up into multiple small kingdoms (see e.g. Gildas, *De ex.* 27ff.), whose rulers could be called 'usurpers' (*tyranni*): 'Vortigern' is the prime example (Bede, *HE* 1. 15; Gildas 23. 1, gives only the translation, 'proud tyrant').[10] Some Roman titles of rank continued in use.[11]

The *Chronicler* of 452 has a much-disputed statement about Britain falling under Saxon control, apparently in 442.

[6] Thus R. Scharf, *Historia*, 39 (1990), 473f.

[7] Thus e.g. Prosper Tiro, *Contra Collatorem* 21. 4 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 51, 271): Pope Caelestinus, who in 431 (*Chron. Min.* i. 473) ordained Palladius as first bishop for the Scoti (of Ireland), had repressed Pelagianism in Britain by sending Germanus there, 'while eager to keep the Roman island [Britain] Catholic, he also made the barbarian one [Ireland] Christian'.

[8] e.g. Patrick, *Ep.* 2; Gildas, *De exc.* 25. 3, on Ambrosius Aurelianus (*PLRE* ii. 200f.), leader of resistance against the invaders, 'perhaps the sole survivor of the Roman race', whose parents 'had worn the purple' (Nennius, *Hist. Britt.* 42, has Ambrosius claiming to be the son of a Roman consul).

[9] It is tempting to see a garbled recollection of the Britons expelling their rulers in 409 in Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 28: 'Hitherto the Romans had ruled the Britons for 409 years. But the Britons overthrew the rule of the Romans and did not accept their kings to reign over them.'

[10] *PLRE* ii. 1185, with other sources. Cf. J. H. Ward, *Britannia*, 3 (1972), 277ff. (very speculative); I. Wood, *Britannia*, 18 (1987), 251ff.

[11] e.g. the 'Elafius, man of tribunician power' whose daughter Germanus healed at the shrine of Alban (Verulamium), Constantius, *V. Germani* 26; Vo(r)teporix, *protictor* [sic], V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (1950) no. 138.

Chron. Gall. a. 452, *MGH AA* IX, *Chron. min.* i. 660:

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126 XVIIII. *Brittaniae usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latae in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur.*

126: The Britains having been up to this time afflicted by various disasters and vicissitudes were brought under the control of the Saxons.

In Britain itself in the next century, one author, Gildas had a curious notion of the end of Roman rule. After Maximus had deprived Britain of an army, the Britons were trodden under foot by the Scots and Picts. They appealed to Rome for help; a legion was sent, which drove out the invaders; and the Britons were told to build a wall, from sea to sea. But it was of turf, not stone, and failed to achieve its purpose. The legion returned home, and the old enemies reappeared (13–16); envoys were sent a second time, the Romans built a new, stronger one, and again left, for good (*De excidio* 17–18). This too proved ineffective and the wall was abandoned (19), 'so the miserable remnants sent off a letter again, this time to Agitius, a man of Roman power' (20. 1):

'Agitio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum;' et post pauca querentes: 'repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros; inter haec duo genera funerum aut iugulamur aut mergimur.' nec pro eis quicquam adiutorii habent.

'To Agitius thrice consul the groans of the Britons'; and, after a few other things, complaining: 'The barbarians push us back to the sea, the sea pushes us back to the barbarians; between these two kinds of death we are either drowned or slaughtered'. But they had no kind of help for these complaints.

Not surprisingly, this account of repeated appeals of the Britons to Rome, the third, unsuccessful one evidently being to Aetius between 446, when he was consul for the third time, and his death in 454, has been compared with Honorius' supposed letter to 'the cities in Britain', itself often inferred to have been a reply to an appeal.[12]

A passage in Procopius, a contemporary of Gildas, suggests that even in the sixth century the Romans still regarded Britain as under their sovereignty. When Belisarius was negotiating with the Gothic king Vitigis in 537, the latter's emissaries offered to hand over Sicily. Belisarius' response was remarkable, *De bello Gothico* 2. 6. 27–9:

27. The barbarians said: 'That everything we have said is true none of you can be unaware. But so that we may not seem to be contentious, we give up to you Sicily, which is of such great size and such wealth, without which, indeed, it is not possible for you safely to possess Libya.' 28. And Belisarius said: 'And we agree that the Goths should have the whole of Britain, which is much larger than Sicily and has long since been subject to the Romans. 29. For it is proper to make an equal return to those who first do a good deed or perform a kindness.'

A Gothic delegation was sent to Justinian, but nothing came of it.

[12] Thus e.g. Frere, *Britannia*[3], 376 n. 16, cf. 358, 362 f.

Procopius and no doubt his East Roman contemporaries were in fact very badly informed about Britain. A strange story later in the *De bello Gothico*, 4. 20, indicates that he thought there were two separate islands next to each other, Britain, *Βρεττανία*, 'to the west about in line with the far end of Spain' and Brittia, *Βριττία*, 'towards the rear of Gaul' (4. 20. 5). Brittia was 'inhabited by three very numerous nations . . . Angili, Frissones, and Brittones, the last being named after the island itself. And so great does the population of these peoples seem to be that every year they emigrate from there in large companies with their women and children and go to the land of the Franks' (4. 20. 6–7). After a lengthy anecdote about a sister of a king of the Angili of Brittia, betrothed to the son of a king of the Varni (4. 20. 11–41), he produces a tall story: 'in this island of Brittia the men of old built a long wall, cutting off a large part of it'. East of the wall the climate was healthy, many people lived there, and the land was fertile. But west of it the opposite was the case: humans could not survive for more than half an hour and it was infested with snakes (4. 20. 42–7). Finally, he adds 'a story which bears a very close resemblance to mythology', but nonetheless feels obliged to pass on, that the souls of the dead are brought to Brittia (4. 20. 47–55). Surely a traveller's tale about Hadrian's Wall.

APPENDIX: BRITISH CLIENT-RULERS[1]

Claudius evidently claimed that eleven British kings submitted to him.[2] Not all will have been allowed to continue reigning. It is completely unknown whether the exiled Verica, whose flight to Claudius gave the pretext for the invasion (see under Gov. 1, introduction) was reinstalled after the conquest in the Commian kingdom in Hampshire and Sussex. Three client-rulers, all from the decades following the conquest, are known by name from Tacitus (and by no other ancient writer): Togidubnus in southern England (*Agr.* 14. 1, see below), Cartimandua of the Brigantes in the Pennines (*Hist.* 3. 45, *Ann.* 12. 36, 40),[3] and Prasutagus of the Iceni in East Anglia (*Ann.* 14. 31). A few others may be identifiable from their coinage.[4] Prasutagus, perhaps not installed until after the uprising of the Iceni, suppressed by Scapula (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 31. 2–32. 1; see Gov. 2), reigned until his death in 59 or 60. Cartimandua was evidently queen regnant, able to divorce her consort Venutius, take a new one, Vellocatus, and continue to reign. She was already ruling in 51, when she surrendered Caratacus to Scapula (see Gov. 2), and continued in power, surmounting more than one attack by her ex-husband, until he expelled her in 69, when she was rescued by the governor Bolanus (Gov. 8).[5] No other women rulers seem to be attested among Celtic peoples. The much better known British queen Boudica[6] (Tac. *Agr.* 16, *Ann.* 14. 31ff.; Dio 62. 27), widow of Prasutagus, was clearly a consort, not a ruler, although she became a rallying-point and figurehead for the rebellion which was partly provoked by her treatment when her husband died (see under Gov. 5, Proc. 2).[7]

The third ruler requires more detailed treatment, not least because of the inscription set up by his authority,

RIB 91 = J. E. Bogaers, *Britannia*, 10 (1979), 243ff., Chichester (*Noviomagus*): *[N]eptuno et Minervae | templum | [pr]o salute do[mus] divinae,* [4]*| [ex] auctoritat[e | Ti(berii)] Claud(ii) | [To]gidubni, re[g(is)*

[1] See generally on the term, convenient if perhaps not quite accurate, D. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King* (1984).

[2] *ILS* = *CIL* vi. 920 = 3777 = 40416 (with improved text).

[3] See on the Brigantes in this period W. S. Hanson and D. B. Campbell, *Britannia*, 17 (1986), 73ff.

[4] Frere, *Britannia*[3], 54ff.: Corio . . . and Boduocus of the Dobunni in Gloucestershire; Antedius, perhaps Prasutagus' predecessor as ruler of the Iceni.

[5] A fragmentary inscription from Chester, *Britannia*, 2 (1971), 290 no. 7, was conjectured by N. Reed, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms*, ii (1977), 41ff., to refer to a residence erected for the exiled queen at Chester. Against, see D. Braund, *Britannia*, 15 (1984), 5f. and n. 20, who, ibid. 1ff., discusses whether the version of Cartimandua's marital discord in *Ann.* is just a doublet of that in *Hist.*, concluding that there were separate episodes. See further on Cartimandua D. Braund, *Ruling Roman Britain* (1996), 124ff.

[6] For this spelling see K. Jackson, *Britannia*, 10 (1979), 255.

[7] See Braund, *Ruling Roman Britain*, 132ff., with further references.

m]agni Brit(anniae), | [colle]gium fabror(um), et qui in eo | [sun]t, d(e) s(uo) d(ederunt), donante aream [8] *| [. . .]ente Pudentini fil(io).*

To Neptune and Minerva, for the welfare of the divine house, the guild of smiths and those that are in it, by the authority of [Tiberius] Claudius [To]gidubnus, Great King of Britain, gave the temple from their own resources, -ens, son of Pudentinus, presenting the site.

This is clearly the man named by Tacitus, *Agr.* 14. 1:

quaedam civitates Togidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges.

Certain states were granted to Togidumnus as king: he remained most loyal up to the time I myself can remember. It is an ancient and now long-established practice of the Roman People to use even kings as instruments of enslavement.

There is no need to doubt the identification of king 'Togidumnus' with [To]gidubnus.[8] The variation *-dumnus* and *-dubnus* is not a difficulty: this is common in Latin versions of Celtic names. Editors of Tacitus print *Cogidumno*, but the reading of E^2, *Togidumno*, should be preferred.[9] The 'certain states' granted to him must have been in essence the kingdom created by Commius and his heirs, the rulers of which had shown themselves to be pro-Roman in the period from Caesar to Claudius. One of the Commian dynasty, Verica (as he is called on his coins), had fled to Claudius, providing him with a *casus belli* in 43 ('Bericus' in Dio 60. 19. 1), and may or may not have been reinstalled as king after the invasion.[10] Nothing is said of Togidubnus' antecedents; probably he was from Verica's family.[11] His name on the inscription shows that he had received Roman citizenship from Claudius or Nero. The title, formerly taken as *r(egis) (et) lega[ti] Aug(usti) in Brit(annia)*, 'king, legate of the Emperor in Britain', was convincingly re-read by Bogaers in the light of early antiquaries' reports. Grossly inflated though the style *rex magnus Brit(anniae)* might appear for a man whose realm comprised only a tract of southern England, the parallels cited by Bogaers, two eastern client-kings of the first century AD,[12] demonstrate that *rex magnus* simply meant 'king of more than one state', which is exactly what Tacitus mentions, *quaedam civitates*. It is unknown when his reign began. He might have first been given a small kingdom in or soon after 43, for example the territory which later formed the *civitas* of the *Regnenses*, of which Chichester was the chief town: surely their name meant 'people of the

[8] Only A. Stein, *PIR*^{2} C 841, was sceptical.

[9] C. E. Murgia, *CPh.* 72 (1977), 339.

[10] Frere, *Britannia*^{3}, 28, 30; cf. I. 2, introduction, above.

[11] There is a great deal more about Verica and Togidubnus in M. Henig, *The Heirs of King Verica: Culture and Politics in Roman Britain* (2002), which combines some discussion of the evidence with excerpts from an engaging historical novel. He evidently assumes, 37ff., that Verica was indeed reinstalled by Claudius and suggests that Togidubnus was his nephew.

[12] *ILS* 8957, the Jewish king Agrippa (I or II), *[regi] magno*; 8958, C. Julius Sohaemus of Emesa, *regi magno*.

kingdom'.[13] This realm might then have been enlarged, for example, by the addition of the Belgae and Atrebates, by Scapula in 49 (see Gov. 2). But he might have received it all at once.

'Great King' Togidubnus survived a long time, to judge from Tacitus' 'up to the time I myself can remember'. Conceivably Tacitus even met him, if the conjecture that the historian served as military tribune under Agricola (Gov. 11) were to be correct (see Trib. 9?). Togidubnus is generally thought to have resided in the palatial villa at Fishbourne, near Chichester. The archaeological evidence does not conflict with the view that its occupant died in the late 70s.[14]

His kingdom was surely taken under direct rule after his death. The appointment of a *iuridicus*, probably for the first time, *c.*80 (see *iurid.* 1), would have made the incorporation of this territory into the province rather smoother than had been the case with the Iceni and Brigantes. But then Togidubnus had all along been loyal. He had probably known Vespasian (LL 2) since the time when the latter was legate of II Augusta in the south-west, 43–7, and no doubt gave his support to the Flavians in 69.[15]

[13] The sources for the name are quoted and discussed by Rivet and Smith, *Place-Names*, 445 f., who, however, dismiss the derivation from *regnum*.

[14] B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne* (1971).

[15] Cf. E. Birley, *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 244f, repr. in id., *Roman Army* 257 f. (but still relying on the original reading of *RIB* 91).

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GLOSSARY OF LATIN TERMS
(omitting most of those translated in IV.3)

* indicates posts initially held by senior imperial freedmen; from the late first century they were given to senior equestrian procurators, a process completed under Hadrian.

ab actis senatus, 'in charge of the proceedings of the senate', a post held by a junior senator

**a bibliothecis*, 'in charge of libraries' at Rome, a post held by a senior equestrian procurator

**ab epistulis*, the emperor's chief secretary, a post held by a senior equestrian procurator

**a censibus*, senior equestrian official who assisted the emperor with the census

**a cognitionibus*, post held by senior equestrian procurator, who advised emperor on lawsuits

adlectus, specially enrolled into the senate or into a higher rank

advocatus fisci, 'treasury counsel', junior equestrian procuratorship created by Hadrian

aedile, *aedilis curulis* or *plebis* or *aedilis Cerialis*, senatorial magistracy held after the quaestorship; aediles were also magistrates in towns

aerarium militare, the military treasury at Rome, from which bounties for veterans were paid

aerarium Saturni, the state treasury, housed in the temple of Saturn at Rome

agens in rebus, 'agent on affairs', in the late Roman 'secret police'

agens vice praesidis, 'acting governor', often abbreviated *a.v.p.*

ala, auxiliary cavalry regiment

**a libellis*, 'in charge of petitions', a post held by a senior equestrian procurator

alimenta, child support scheme in Italy, founded by Trajan

angusticlavius, 'with the narrow stripe', a sign of equestrian rank

**a rationibus*, 'in charge of accounts', a post held by a senior equestrian procurator

archon, chief magistrate at Athens

Arvals, see *frater Arvalis*

augur, member of one of the four most prestigious priestly colleges, reserved for senators

Augusti libertus, freedman of the emperor

aureus, gold coin tariffed at 25 *denarii*

auxilia, auxiliaries, non-legionary troops

beneficiarius, soldier on special duties, appointed by 'the gift', *beneficio*, of an officer

candidatus, senator supported by the emperor in election to magistracy

censitor, census-official

censor, holder of senatorial office to count numbers of citizenship, modify membership of the senate, etc.; in imperial period held only by Claudius, AD 47–8, Vespasian and Titus, 73–4

census, procedure by which numbers of population was counted and property assessed for taxation purposes
centenarius, '100,000 (sestertii) man', salary-grade of procurators
centurion, junior officer commanding a 'century' in a cohort of a legion or an auxiliary cohort
century, 80 strong subdivision of a cohort
civitas, 'citizenship' or 'citizen-body'; term also used as a synonym for town or community
classis, fleet
cognomen, third name, borne by all male Roman citizens from the time of Claudius
cohors, one of the ten subdivisions of a legion, or an infantry regiment in the auxilia
cohortes urbanae, paramilitary police-force at Rome, commanded by the *praefectus urbi*
colonia, chartered town in Italy and the provinces
comes Augusti, 'companion of the emperor', senior member of emperor's staff on campaign
comes (*rei militaris*), in late empire title of senior official (or general)
comitatenses, élite troops in the late empire, attached to the emperor
commentariensis, official in charge of govenor's records
concilium provinciae, 'council of the province', assembly of communities principally to conduct emperor-worship
congiarium, distribution of money by the emperor to the people of Rome
consilium principis, advisory council of the emperor
consul ordinarius, consul in office on 1 January
consul suffectus, 'replacement' consul
consularis, 'former consul', commonly used title of governors
corona, a military decoration for valour, either *aurea*, gold, *classica*, naval, *muralis*, wall, or *vallaris*, rampart; occasionally *civica*, an oak-wreath
cornicularius, adjutant, senior official on staff of governors
curator aedium sacrarum, curator of temples at Rome, post held by a recent ex-consul, jointly with *curator operum publicorum*, q.v.
curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis, curator of the bed and banks of the Tiber and the sewers of the city, post held by an ex-consul
curator aquarum, curator of the aqueducts at Rome, post held by a senior ex-consul
curator civitatis, curator of a town, appointed by the emperor to regular its affairs
curator operum publicorum, curator of public works at Rome
curator rei publicae, curator of a town, appointed by the emperor to regular its affairs
curator viae, official in charge of road-maintenance in Italy, mostly of senatorial rank
curia, the senate-house; also a subdivision of a town-population; and in Celtic regions an assembly
curio maximus, *minor*, senior and junior holder of an ancient priesthood at Rome
cursus honorum, the senatorial career
decemviri stlitibus iudicandis, 'the ten men for judging lawsuits', pre-senatorial magistrates
decurion, civilian, member of a town- or *civitas*-council; military, commander of a *turma*, q.v., of cavalry

denarius, silver coin, worth four *sestertii*
di manes, 'the divine shades', formula used on tombstones
diocese, in late empire, group of provinces (earlier, subdivision of a province)
diploma, copy of folding certificate on bronze, certifying privileges for auxiliaries
divus, 'deified' (emperor)
dona (*militaria*), military decorations for valour
ducenarius, '200,000 (sestertii) man', salary-grade of procurators
duoviri or *duumviri iure dicundo*, 'the two men for pronouncing the law', annually elected chief magistrates in towns of the empire
dux, 'general'; in late empire title of commander of frontier troops
eques Romanus, 'Roman knight', title of member of second order in state after senators
equestrian, with the rank of an *eques Romanus*
equitata, '(part-)mounted', title of an infantry cohort with a cavalry contingent
equites, cavalrymen
equites Romani, pl. of *eques Romanus*
equites singulares Augusti, the emperor's mounted guard, founded by Trajan
equus publicus, 'public horse', traditionally conferred on *equites Romani*
familia gladiatoria, troupe of gladiators for the games at Rome
fasces, 'bundles' of sticks with axes projecting, carried before magistates, especially consuls, as their symbols of office
fetialis,member of priesthood at Rome, reserved for senators
flamen, title of some priests at Rome; most frequently found elswhere with priests of the emperor-cult
frater Arvalis, 'Arval brother', member of priesthood at Rome, reserved for senators
gentilicium, main (family) name of Roman citizens
hasta pura, 'pure spear', a military decoration for valour
imperator, title of emperors; imperatorial salutations
iuridicus, 'juridical officer'; title of high officials in Britain and Hispania Tarraconensis, and (from Marcus Aurelius) in Italian districts
ius Latii, 'Latin right', status of *municipium*, by which annually elected magistrates acquired full Roman citizenship
ius liberorum, privilege for senators, exempting them from a year's wait in the *cursus honorum* for each child
laticlavius, of senatorial rank
latus clavus, 'broad stripe' denoting senatorial rank
legatus, 'deputy' or 'legate', title of governors and of assistants to proconsuls
legatus Augusti pro praetore, 'propraetorian legate of the Emperor', title of governors of imperial provinces
leges annales, the laws regulating age at which magistracies could be held
legion, unit of Roman citizen infantrymen, between 5000 and 6000 strong, subdivided into ten cohorts, each with six centuries
legionary legate, senatorial commander of a legion
libertus, freedman
limes, 'frontier'

limitanei, frontier-troops, a term first used in the fourth century
logistes, official inspecting finances of cities in the Greek-speaking part of the empire
ludus magnus, main training-school of gladiators at Rome
magister, 'master'; 'president' of college of priests; magistrate of a *vicus*; in late empire title of highest-ranking army commander, *magister militum*; occasionally junior officer in late Roman army
magister equitum, 'Master of the Cavalry'
magister militum, 'Master of the Soldiers'
magister peditum, 'Master of the Infantry'
milliaria, '1000-strong', double-strength auxiliary regiment
municipium, in imperial period a provincial town with *ius Latii*, q.v.
nomen, main (family) name
notarius, 'notary', a civilian official in late empire
novus homo, 'new man', who was first in his family to reach senatorial rank
numerus, 'unit', general term for military unit, also used to describe auxiliary units of lower grade than the *alae* and cohorts
officium, headquarters staff
ordo, term used to refer to the senate and senatorial order at Rome, the equestrian order, and to town councils elsewhere
ornamenta, 'decorations', conferring honorary rank, e.g. as senator of a particular grade
ornamenta triumphalia, 'honorary triumph', highest decoration conferred on senatorial army commanders after successful campaign; not conferred after Hadrian's time
ovatio, victory ceremony at Rome, regarded as a minor triumph
pater patriae, 'father of the fatherland'; a title held by all emperors, in some cases not until some years after their accession
patricius, patrician, member of the most ancient aristocracy, into which men were sometimes enrolled by the emperor
patronus, 'patron', of a province or city; high-ranking person expected to support the interests of his clients
pedites, infantrymen
pontifex, member of the most prestigious of the four senior priestly colleges at Rome, reserved for senators
pontifex maximus, 'chief priest', a position reserved for the emperor
pontifex minor, member of priesthood at Rome reserved for equestrians
praefectus, prefect
praefectus aerarii militaris, prefect of the *aerarium militare*, q.v., a senator of praetorian rank
praefectus aerarii Saturni, prefect of the *aerarium Saturni*, q.v., a senator of praetorian rank
praefectus alae, prefect, commander, of an *ala*
praefectus alimentorum, senator supervising the *alimenta* in Italy
praefectus annonae, very senior equestrian official supervising the food-supply for Rome
praefectus castrorum, 'camp-prefect', former centurion, third-in-command of a legion
praefectus equitum, prefect of cavalry

praefectus fabrum, equestrian official, assistant to a senatorial magistrate or governor
praefectus feriarum Latinarum, young man of senatorial rank who deputized for the consuls at Rome while they performed the annual 'Latin festival', at Alba
praefectus frumenti dandi, prefect for distributing the grain-ration at Rome, a senator of praetorian rank
praefectus legionis, equestrian commander of a legion
praefectus Miniciae, from the Severan period onwards, senator of praetorian rank, with offices in the Minician Portico, who supervised the food- and water-supply at Rome
praefectus praetorio, prefect of the praetorian guard
praefectus urbi, prefect of the city of Rome, post held by very senior senator
praefectus vigilum, very senior equestrian, commander of the *vigiles*, q.v., at Rome
praenomen, forename
praepositus, temporary commander
praeses, 'governor', a term used increasingly from the later second century onwards
praetor, magistrate at Rome, with mainly judicial duties
praetorian, either senator who had already beeen praetor; or soldier in the praetorian guard
praetorian guard, the imperial bodyguard at Rome, 4,500 strong (doubled in size by Severus)
praetor peregrinus, president of the court at Rome dealing with disputes between citizens and foreigners (*peregrini*)
praetorium, commanding officer's residence in a fort
primipilaris, former chief centurion of a legion
primus pilus, chief centurion of a legion
primus pilus bis, chief centurion of a legion for the second time
princeps, 'prince', title of the emperor; also used as title of senior official on governor's staff
principia, headquarters building of a fort or fortress
proconsul, governor of one of ten provinces for which governors were selected annually by lot; two were ex-consuls (for Africa and Asia), the remainder ex-praetors
procurator, administrator, mostly of financial matters, of the emperor, of equestrian rank if called *procurator Augusti*; if a freedman, called *Augusti libertus procurator*
quaestor, one of the twenty most junior annual magistrates at Rome; also junior magistrate of other towns
quaestor Augusti, quaestor attached to the emperor
quaestor pro praetore, quaestor in one of the proconsular provinces
quaestor urbanus, city quaestor at Rome
quattuorviri iure dicundo, 'the four men for pronouncing the law', board of magistrates in *municipia*
quattuorviri viarum curandarum, 'the four men for looking after the streets' at Rome, one of the four boards of the *vigintiviri*, q.v.
quindecimviri sacris faciundis, the 'fifteen men for carrying out sacred affairs', one of the four senior priestly colleages at Rome, reserved for senators

quinquennalis, 'fifth-year' official in a town, whose duties were modelled on those of the censor at Rome
rationalis, financial official
regio, 'region'; in Italy one of the eleven districts defined by Augustus
res privata, the 'private property' of the emperors
respublica, 'republic' or 'commonwealth', term still used to describe Rome itself under the empire and generally to mean 'town'
rex sacrorum, holder of ancient priesthood at Rome, reserved for patricians
sacerdos, priest
salius, member of a priesthood at Rome, for which only young senators of patrician rank were eligible
septemviri epulonum, the 'seven men for holding banquets', members of one of the four most prestigious priestly colleges at Rome, reserved for senators
sesterce, *sestertius*, largest base metal coin, tariffed at one quarter of a *denarius*; it was used to express certain values, e.g. property-qualification for senators and equestrians, and pay-rates or salary grades
seviri (Augustales), 'the six men (for worship of the emperor)', a body principally concerned with emperor-worship in Italy and the provinces, the members of which were mainly freedmen
seviri equitum Romanorum turmis ducendis, 'the six men for leading squadrons of Roman knights'; post held by young senators at the annual ride past of *equites Romani*, q.v.
sexagenarius, '60,000 (sestertii) man', salary-grade of procurators
singularis, 'guardsman'
sodalis Antoninianus, member of senatorial priesthood to conduct worship of the deified Antoninus Pius
sodalis Augustalis (Claudialis), member of senatorial priesthood to conduct worship of the deified Augustus; worship of the deified Claudius was added later
sodalis Flavialis Titialis, member of senatorial priesthood to conduct worship of the deified Vespasian and Titus
sodalis Hadrianalis, member of senatorial priesthood to conduct worship of the deified Hadrian
sodalis Titius, member of senatorial priesthood for worship of the king Titus Tatius
speculator, military policeman on staff of governors
subpraefectus, sub-prefect
summa res, financial department at Rome
toga virilis, 'toga of manhood', assumed by young Roman males at about sixteen
trecenarius, '300,000 (sestertii) man', salary-grade of procurators
tres militiae, the 'three (grades) of military service' of equestrian officers
tresviri a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) f(lando) f(eriundo), one of the boards of the *vigintiviri*, *q.v.*; the 'three men in charge of casting and striking gold, silver, and bronze', also called *tresviri monetales*, 'mintmasters'
tresviri capitales, one of the boards of the *vigintiviri*, q.v.; 'the three men for capital charges'
tresviri monetales, the three mint-masters, see *tresviri a(uro) a(rgento) a(ere) f(lando) f(eriundo)*

tria nomina, the 'three names', *praenomen*, *nomen* or *nomen gentilicium*, and *cognomen*, borne by Roman citizens
tribunicia potestas, 'tribunician power', held by all emperors from 23 BC onwards; from time of Trajan evidently renewed each year on 10 December
tribunus laticlavius, 'broad-stripe (senatorial military) tribune'
tribunus militum, 'military tribune', either one of six, five senatorial and one senatorial, in a legion, or commander of a double-strength auxiliary regiment
tribunus plebis, one of ten annually elected senatorial magistrates
tribus, 'tribe', one of the 35 administrative districts in which Roman citizens were registered
triumph, victory ceremony at Rome, in the imperial period only held by emperors or their close relatives
triumvir, one of the *tresviri*
turma, squadron, subdivision, commanded by a decurion, of an *ala* (cavalry regiment)
urban cohorts, para-military police force at Rome, commanded by the prefect of the city
vectigalia, revenues
vicesima hereditatium, 'twentieth of inheritances', i.e. the 5% death-duty
vexillarius, 'flag-bearer'
vexillatio, detachment, mostly of legionaries; in late empire name of army unit
vexillum, flag; also a military decoration
vicani, inhabitants of a *vicus*, *q.v.*
vicarius, deputy; in late empire governor-general of a group of provinces, diocese
vice sacra iudicans, 'judge in place of the sacred (emperor)', post held by senior senator when the emperor was abroad
vicesima hereditatium, 5% inheritance tax
vicus, 'village' or 'ward' in a town; civilian settlement outside a fort
vigiles, para-military force at Rome which acted as police and fire-brigade
vigintivirate, *vigintiviri*, collective name for the pre-senatorial magistracies
viocurus, alternative name for *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, q.v.
vir clarissimus, 'most distinguished man', title of rank of senators
vir egregius, 'outstanding man', title of junior procurators
vir illustris, 'illustrious man', title of highest-ranking officials in late antiquity
vir perfectissimus, 'most perfect man', title of equestrian official from the third century onwards
vir spectabilis, 'notable man', title of high-ranking officials in late empire

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INDEX

1. Persons

Individuals given biographical entries are listed in capitals; for those mentioned in several places, the pages of the main entry are in bold. Persons from the pre-Diocletianic period are given by their *gentilicium*, where known; exceptions are authors, emperors, empresses, usurpers, and a few others (Camillus, Cleander, Macro, Perennis, Scipio, Sejanus, Thrasea). Those from the later period are in most cases listed under their last name. Entries for emperors are as complete as possible; some authors are included here, but where cited *in extenso* they are placed in Index 3. The abbreviations used here should be self-explanatory (Brit.=Britain, British; *cos.*=consul; eq. off.=equestrian officer; gov. = governor of; leg. leg. = legionary legate; proc.= procurator; procos.=proconsul; etc.).

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