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VOLUME II

PROSOPOGRAPHY

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1. ABDIGILDUS

AM XVIII 6 12 (359)

Ammianus relates that the tribune, Abdigildus, managed to escape from a troop of Persian cavalry just outside Nisibis in Mesopotamia in 359.

It seems likely that he was a tribunus vacans serving on the staff of Ursicinus, magister peditum.

2. FLAVIUS ABINNAEUS

a) P. Abinn. I

April 340 - March 342

1. Clementia piet[asque] uestrae, domini perp[etui]
2. Constanti et Con[sta]ns, uictores semper [Augusti, ne unquam deficiant militi]bus suis, praesertim ex protectoris, immo his
3. qui alacriter [ob]sequium suum exh[ibentes benefi]cia ue[stra ipsi mer]ere uidentur, p[ro]uidens casus uenit.
4. Ego .emqueo [...]e[...] [...]exç... ti. o[.....]gente. [...].e[traditus in uexillatione Parthusagittariorum
5. degentium Diospoli prouincia[e] T[h]e[ba]i[d]os super[i]oris. Ve- [ru]m e[mensos post annos] triginta et tres directus a Senecione antehac
6. comite limitis e[is]u[us]dem prouinciae ducere Ble[m]niorum gentis refuga[s] ad sacra uesti[gi]a pietatis uestrae Constantinopolim

7. eo perr[ex]i[mus] cum legatis memoratae ge[ntis] c[um] qu[e] c[om]m[un]ite eiusdem lim[iti]s, atque obtulitis eis clementiae uestrae
8. me e ducenario diuinitas uestra uenerandam purpuram suam ador[ar]e iussit. Praeceptusque itaque producere memoratos
9. leg[atos] i[n] patriam suam cum quibus trienn[e] tempus exigi remeandoque [ad] sacrum comitatum uestrum tirones ex prouincia
10. Thebaidos adu[er]si quos Hierapoli tradidi, et ita data uacatione mihi [prom]ouere me clementia praefectum alae Dionusada
11. prouinciae Aegypt[is] uestra dignata est. Verum insinuat[is] sa[cr]is litter[is] Vala[c]io comiti officium respondit allegasse
12. aliosque h[uius]modi [e]pistulas homines [] ideo cumq[ue] pateat ex suffragio eos pr[om]otos fuisse, me uero iudicio sacro, ideo
13. soliti contemplatione memoratorum [laborum] meorum et quos sedes . . . illo uide[re] habere prouider[e] mihi largissima i[ur]ta s[u]pra[dictos] ap[er]tes uestros tribun[us] praefecturae alae Dionusados amotis per suffragium habentibus ipsorum castrorum promotionem me constitui clementia uestra iubere dignetur
14. piet[as] uestra dignetur unde possim cotidianum uictum adquire[re] et hoc consecutus agam aeterno imperio
15. uestro maximas gratias.

b) P. Abinn. 2

344

Ius Valacius Abinneo suo salutem
 Iario ex protectoribus iuxta diuinitus sanctia subrogato tibi eo quod impe[ri]i iam tempora c[on]p[re]sente suggereris et milites alae quam nunicusque duxis[se] uideris et signa dominica solidamque inarmationem eorundem statim trade. De singulis etiam pro tutela publica obseruandis instruere cura] ne quam sub primitiis saltem suis erroris titubantiam incurrat. hisq[ue] obseruatis deposita administratione supradicta propriis atten]de u[tili]tatibus Bene ual[e].
 Fl(aui) Leontio praef(ecto) praet(orio) et Fl(aui) Sallustio mag(istro) ped(itum) u(iris) c(larissimis) cons(ulibus).

c) P. Abinn. 55, ls. I-2

Feb. 11th 351

Φλαουία Ἀβιν[ν]εῶ ἐξ ἀποπροηκταρῶν ἐπαρχῶ
 εἰλησ καστρῶν Διονυσιαδος. ---

J. Nicole, 'La correspondance de Flavius Abinnaeus', Rev. de Philologie, XX, 1896, pp 43-52.

F.G. Kenyon, 'The correspondence of Flavius Abinnaeus', Greek Papyri in the British Museum, II, pp 265-71.

V. Martin, 'L'etat actuel des archives de Flavius Abinnaeus et la biographie de cet officier', Chronique d'Egypte, VI, 1931, pp 345-59.

E.G. Turner, 'The Career of Abinnaeus', P. Abinn., pp 6-12.

Within the scope of this thesis, a detailed examination of the 82 extant papyri relating to Flavius Abinnaeus is impossible. Hence it is proposed to concentrate chiefly on his career. Regarding his origo, Kenyon argued that he was probably of Italian birth (cf. pp 268-9, citing V 704; IX 5664; X 8059; XIV 1443). However, Turner on the basis of fresh evidence has recently shown that it is more likely that Abinnaeus was of eastern origin (cf. P. Abinn. p 7 & n 2-4). The earliest reference to Abinnaeus as praefectus alae at Dionysias occurs in a papyrus dated to March 29th 342 (cf. P. Abinn. 44). He continued to hold this post up to Feb. 11th 351 (cf. c), though when he finally vacated it is uncertain. During this period, however, he was temporarily relieved of his duties, since a papyrus is extant, dated to 344, containing the text of his dismissal (cf. b). He was still holding this post on Sept. 1st 343 (cf. P. Abinn. 46). But two papyri dated to Jan. 31st and Feb. 2nd 345 refer to him as ex praefectis alae and ex praepositis respectively (cf. P. Abinn. 58, 59). However, by May 1st 346 he had regained his old post (cf. P. Abinn. 47).

Papyrus a) is a copy of the petition sent by Abinnaeus requesting the emperor to confirm his appointment as praefectus alae. It is dated by Turner to the period April 340 to March 342, and was probably drawn up in 341 (cf. P. Abinn. p 8). The document is extremely interesting in that Abinnaeus includes a resumé of his past career in the emperor's service in support of his plea. Unfortunately, the papyrus is incomplete. His first attested post is that of ducenarius in the vexillatio Parthusagittariorum stationed at Diospolis in the Thebaid (cf. ls. 4-5, & l. 8). Turner equates this unit with the

Equites Sagittarii Indigenae attested at the same place in the Notitia (cf. P. Abinn. p 9 n I, citing ND Or XXXI 27). It was while serving in this unit that his ability attracted the notice of Senecio, dux Thebaidos, who ordered him to conduct to Constantinople some refugees from the tribe of the Blemyes. He set out on this mission, accompanied by envoys from the tribe. If Turner's restoration of l. 7 is correct, the comes limitis, Senecio, himself headed the deputation. If so, as he suggests, Abinnaeus may have been acting as chief of his military escort (cf. P. Abinn. p 9). This mission is dated to 337-8, and if Turner's proposed restoration in l. 5 is correct, Abinnaeus had already served for 33 years, and will therefore have entered the army c. 304-5. The customary age for enlistment was 18, and thus Abinnaeus's date of birth will have been c. 286.

An audience was granted by the emperor, and Abinnaeus was permitted to adore the purple (cf. l. 8), and thus was admitted to the coveted status of protector. It is interesting to note that his rank at this time was that of ducenarius, which was always closely associated with the title of protector. He received orders to lead the envoys back to their own country, where he remained for three years. It is not clear what his duties were during this period (cf. l. 9). Probably he was acting as a recruiting officer, since at the end of this time he handed over recruits from the Thebaid to the emperor, who was then at Hierapolis in Syria. A fourth century edict shows that protectores frequently acted as recruiting officers (cf. CT VII 18 10). The recruits were apparently intended to reinforce the field army in the face of a Persian threat to the eastern frontier.

At this point, Abinnaeus ceased to be attached to the field army, and was assigned a frontier appointment, i.e. the prefecture of the ala at Dionysias in Egypt. Probably, as Martin has suggested, this last post represented a kind of honourable retirement after a long and active career in the field army. Soldiers who became protectores normally served at least 20 years before acquiring this status (cf. Flavius Marcus; Flavius Memorius). Turner states that the term, vacatio, in l. 10 means simply 'release from military duty' (cf. P. Abinn. p II n 2, citing CT VI 35 3; VII I 5). However, it is also used in edicts to mean exemption from civil duties (cf. CT VII 12 3; XII I 17; 135), and it may refer to the privileges associated with the status of ex protectoribus. In only one document is Abinnaeus accorded this status, namely a petition of 351 (cf. c). His successor as praefectus alae in 344 clearly also held it (cf. b, 1. 2). It is to be noted that, as in the case of Thiumpo, Abinnaeus's frontier army post was in an area with which he was already familiar.

The unit stationed at Dionysias was the ala V Praelectorum (cf. ND Or XXVIII 34). A letter of February 22nd 345, addressed to Abinnaeus, mentions a δεκαδραχη καστρων Διον[υσιαδος]
ειλης πεμπης Πραιληκτων ητιδανδης

(cf. P. Abinn. 59). His rank is described indifferently as επαρχω
ειλης στρατιωτων καστρων κωμης Διονυσιαδος (cf. P. Abinn. 44)
or πρεποσιτω καστροις Διονυσιαδος (cf. P. Abinn. 61). Altogether, he is addressed as praefectus alae and praepositus castrorum 14 times each. It is the former rank which appears to be

more characteristic of official documents (cf. a, l. 10; b. 1.3; c. 1. 1, where incidentally the title of ex protectoribus is also included). Perhaps praepositus castrorum was a purely local rank, not recognised in the official army lists, reflecting the fact that Abinnaeus's duties were by no means purely military. In fact, police functions and the administration of justice seem to have been his chief concern. Frequently petitions were addressed to him regarding the capture of burglars (cf. P. Abinn. 45), sheep stealers (cf. P. Abinn. 48, 49), kidnappers (P. Abinn. 51, 52), thieves (P. Abinn. 44, 55), and persons guilty of assault (cf. P. Abinn. 28). Other sections of his correspondence relate to the movements and supply of troops (cf. P. Abinn. 4, 11, 17, 26, 29), and the requisition of part of his ala to assist in the collection of rents due on imperial estates (cf. P. Abinn. 3).

P. Abinn. 5 shows that the whole ala was not concentrated in the camp at Dionysias, but parts of it were quartered in the surrounding district. Abinnaeus's duties were probably typical of the commander of a sedentary unit listed in the laterculum minus of a province. No such unit is ever found drafted into the field army. The recruitment of its commanders from experienced field army officers, however, would help to preserve a certain standard of discipline and efficiency among the frontier troops.

Within the bounds of the district he controlled, Abinnaeus seems to have enjoyed a fairly independent authority. His only direct superior was the dux Aegypti, with whose displeasure he is occasionally threatened. Nicole (cf. note to P. Gen. 59 = P. Abinn. 27) argued

that Abinnaeus's dismissal might have been brought about by an appeal to the dux. He pointed out that in P. Abinn. 18, Chaeremon, a senator from Theoxenis, accused Abinnaeus of having removed from justice certain persons alleged to have been guilty of various acts of brigandage, and then let them go, instead of ordering an inquiry into their conduct. Chaeremon stated that if Abinnaeus did not return them, to be tried by himself and his colleagues, he would report the matter to the dux. Nicole pointed out that these exactions may have been in connection with the recovery of the taxes, and cited the letter of Flavius Macarius, *ἐπιτροπος δημωσιων κτησεων*, directing Abinnaeus to furnish soldiers to assist in the collection of the annona (cf. P. Abinn. 3), and he was again threatened with the displeasure of the dux unless he complied with this request. He may thus have been caught between two fires. It seems to have been the dux Aegypti, Valacius, who was responsible for securing Abinnaeus's dismissal (cf. b). But veterans who held the status of ex protectoribus could not be arrested on charges incongruous with their rank. Instead, the governor of the province concerned had to refer the matter to the praetorian prefect (cf. CT. VII 20 5). Perhaps they also had the right of appeal to the emperor in the case of dismissal by the dux under whom they were serving. Clearly, it was by the emperor's order that Abinnaeus was first appointed to be praefectus alae (cf. a, l. 10). At any rate, a) shows that Abinnaeus did in fact appeal to the emperor

c. 341, and in P. Abinn. 58, dated to January 31st 345, where Abinnaeus is addressed as ex praepositis, Aurelius Eulogius, head of the civil administration of Arsinoe, requests him to perform a service for him at the imperial court, which he was evidently on the point of visiting. It seems, therefore, that Abinnaeus was not without influence at court, and the extent to which speculation could go unredressed if this were so can be seen from the case of the comes Africae, Romanus. It is probably not without significance that Abinnaeus's return coincided with the appointment of a new dux Aegypti, Felicissimus, to replace Valacius.

3. FLAVIUS ABRAAM

P. Gron. 10, 1. 26.

Φλαυιος Ἀβρααμ ἀπο πραιποσιτων.

This fourth century papyrus records the details of a donation in a will. Altogether, six witnesses are listed, including two ex praepositis, and three ex tribunis. Flavius Abraam falls into the former category, and is listed first.

He was presumably a retired officer, who had previously commanded a unit among the limitanei under the dux Aegypti.

4. ADDEUS

- a) CT VI 24 5 (Dec. 31st 392; cf. Regest. pp 87, 100,429).
- b) CT 1 5 10 = CI I 26 4 (June 12th 393; cf. Regest. p.100).
- c) CT 1 7 2 (June 12th 393; cf. Regest. p 100).
- d) CT VI 24 6 (Oct. 3rd 395; cf. Regest. p 287).
- e) Liban. Ep. 1062 (392)

RE I I 349 (Seeck); W. Ensslin, 'Die Magistri Militum des viertes Jahrhunderts', Klio XXIV, 1931, pp 102 - 47; P. Petit Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle apres J. - C. 1955.

Addeus is attested as comes domesticorum in a decree which Seeck dates to December 31st 392 (a). By 393, however, he had been promoted to the rank of magister utriusque militiae (b & c), presumably to replace Abundantius, who was dismissed following Eutropius's intrigues (Ensslin, p. 142).

Addeus is last attested in this post in 395 (d). Evidently he was a correspondent of Libanius (e), and may therefore have been a pagan (Petit, pp 180 - 1).

5. AELIANUS

- a) AM XVIII 9 3 (359)

--atque Praeventores, cum Aeliano iam comite, quos tirones tum etiam novellos, hortante memorato ad huc protectore, erupisse a Singara, Persasque fusos in somnum retulimus trucidasse complures.

b) AM XIX 9 2 (after the fall of Amida)

Inter haec tamen funera direptionesque civitatis excisae, Aeliano comite et tribunis, quorum efficacia diu defensa sunt moenia, stragesque multiplicatae Persarum, patibulis sceleste suffixis, --

cf. RE. I I, 482, 6 (Seeck).

As a protector, his first known rank, Aelianus led the Praeventores, a recently recruited unit, in a successful night sally from Singara against the besieging Persian army (cf. a). This event seems to have taken place in 348, when Constantius II was for once at hand with his army to repulse the invasion of Sapor, the Persian King, though with heavy losses to his own forces, whose indiscipline led them into an ambush (cf. Unterg. IV pp 93 - 5, citing Eutrop. X 10; Chron. Min. I, p 236; Hieron. Chron. 2363). Nothing is known of his further career, until he is attested as comes in command of the Roman forces at the siege of Amida (cf. a). After the capture of the city, he was executed, together with the tribuni commanding the units of the garrison, in revenge for the losses inflicted on the Persians during the siege (cf. b).

It is probable that while holding the rank of protector he was acting as praepositus in charge of the newly recruited Praeventores (cf. Flavius Concordius & CT VII 18 10). The unit does not appear in the field army lists of the Notitia, probably owing to its loss at Amida. (cf. V Parthica). From its title it would appear to have been a light scouting formation, of the type which would be useful in launching a surprise attack. After being protector, Aelianus presumably obtained the post of tribunus, commanding a field army unit. Clearly, by 359 he had obtained a high rank, since he held the title of comes and, as in the case of inscriptions and papyri, Ammianus never uses this title except in connection with a general or high official. The besieged force, of which he assumed command, comprised not only the regular garrison of Amida, consisting of V Parthica, 'cum indigenarum turma non contemnenda', (cf. AM

XVIII 9 3), but also the following field army units, which temporarily took refuge there : 'Magnentiaci, et Decentiaci, --- et Tricensimani, Decimanique, Fortenses et Superventores Atque Praeventores, ---'

together with the greater part of the 'Comites Sagittarii, equestris videlicet turmae ita cognominatae, ubi merent omnes ingenui barbari, armorum viriumque firmitudine inter alios eminentes.' This latter unit was a vexillatio palatina (cf ND Or V 30; VI 31) and may have been the one which Aelianus himself commanded.

6. AELIUS AELIANUS

a) III 3529 Pannonia Inferior Aquincum

D(is) M(anibus) memoriae P(ubl)ii Ael(ii) Martialis q(uon)d(am) vet(erano) ex c(ustode) a(armorum) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) patris et Flaviae Agathes matris Aelius Aelianus praefectus leg(ionis) s(upra) s(cryptae) protector Aug(usti) parentibus carissimis regressus ad lares patrios f(e)c(it).

b) VIII 21486 = IIS 4495 Mauretania Caesariensis Zuccabar

Diis patribus et Mauris conservatoribus Aelius Aelianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praeses provinciae Mauretaniae Caes(ariensis) ob prostratam gentem Bavarum Mesegneitisium praedasque omnes ac familias eorum abductas votum solvit.

cf. PIR² 129; Pflaum 357; Dobson 4.

Aelius Aelianus was a native of Aquincum, being the son of a former custos armorum of II Adiutrix. Presumably, as in the case of his father, he began service in the ranks, and by his own ability worked his way up through the grades of centurion and primus pilus to the post of commander of II Adiutrix. Only one other praefectus legionis is attested with the title of protector, namely Valerius Marcellinus, also commander of II Adiutrix in 267. Comparison with other inscriptions indicates that legionary prefects held the title of

protector towards the end of Gallienus's reign (of ILS 4345, 256 - 8; ILS 3845, 260 - 8; AE 1944 85, June 30th 268). It seems probable therefore that as in the case of Valerius Marcellinus, Aelianus held this post during the period when Gallienus was campaigning against the Goths on the Danube. The bulk of II Adiutrix may have been temporarily incorporated into the field army. Numismatic evidence indicates that vexillations of the two legions of Pannonia Inferior were highly regarded during Gallienus's reign (cf. M.&S. V pt. I, p 92).

Both Pflaum and Dobson have given reasons to show that there is little basis for A. Stein's view that this officer was identical with the Aelianus of ILS 9478. The most cogent reason, however, in the author's opinion, is that this officer seems to have had an exclusively military career, and the other an exclusively civil one. Dobson's identification of the Aelianus of a) with the praeses of b) is not unlikely, despite the fact that the names are so common. The case of Clementius Valerius Marcellinus provides a parallel.

7. AELIUS AELIANUS

ILS 9478

Epirus

Photice

τῷ κρατιστῷ Αἰλίῳ Αἰλιανῷ δοικην(αριῶ) ἐκ
π[ρο]τηκτορων, ἐπιτροπῷ τῆς Ἠπειροῦ καὶ
Παννονιῶν ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν,
κηνσειτορι ἐπαρχείας Νωρικου, τὸ συνέδριον
φωτικησιῶ[ν] τῷ εὐεργετῇ ψηφ[ισματι].

cf. PIR² 129; Pflaum 357; Dobson 4.

Aelianus's first attested post is that of censitor Norici. In the earlier period, this had been a sexagenarian appointment, but, like the post of epistrategus in Egypt, it was apparently raised to ducenarian status during the third century (cf. P. Oxy. XVII 2130, ls. 15 - 17). The title of ducenarius protector seems to have been held by centurions of the first cohort by 269 (cf. IIS 569.) It seems probable that Aelianus had previously held this position, and that this is why he holds the status of a ducenarius ex protectoribus. The title of protector was also borne by praetorian tribunes and legionary prefects in Gallienus's reign, but a person who held either of these ranks would obviously not go on to be censitor Norici. After being centurion in the first cohort, the next appointment was normally that of primus pilus. By 286 this had become a hereditary office in the civil administration (cf. Frag. Vat. 278). It is interesting to note that a primipilaris censitor is attested in the province of Syria in the period 292 - 305 (cf. OGIS 612). Thus by analogy it is not impossible that Aelianus was primipilaris censitor of Noricum. The career of Traianus Mucianus indicates that ^{primi pili}~~primipilaris~~ ceased to hold the title of protector shortly after Gallienus's reign. Aelius Aelianus next held a procuratorship in Italy, which Pflaum has suggested may be that of XX hereditatium or ludi magni. There was only one procuratorship embracing both Pannonias, namely that of the mines. Aelianus's final procuratorship, that of Epirus, had originally been a centenarian grade. In my opinion he was concerned with civil administration

throughout his career, and this is the principal reason for not equating him with the Aelius Aelianus of III 3529.

8. AGILO

- a) AM XIV 10 8 (354)
 - b) AM XX 2 5 (360)
 - c) AM XXI 13 3 (361)
 - d) AM XXI 13 8
 - e) AM XXI 12 16-18
 - f) AM XXII 3 1
 - g) AM XXVI 7 4 (365)
 - h) AM XXVI 9 8; Zos IV 8 3; Socrat. IV 5; Philost. IX 5 (366)
- RE I I 809 (Seeck)

Agilo, one of the Alamanni who had entered Roman service, is attested as tribunus stabuli in 354, when he was one of three senior officers suspected of having warned their fellow countrymen of an impending Roman attack (a). By 360 he had gained the post of tribunus Gentilium et Sentariorum, and in this year he was promoted to be magister peditum, missing out the intervening grades of comes domesticorum, and regional magister equitum (b). Silvanus's career, however, offers a parallel. In 361, he and Arbetio, the magister equitum praesentalis, were ordered to maintain watch on the Tigris frontier to prevent the Persians invading (c). On the news that Sapor had withdrawn, they were recalled (d), and accompanied Constantius in his march westwards to intercept the advancing Julian. After Constantius's death, Julian, being aware that Agilo was well known to the troops, sent him to Aquileia to persuade

the rebel garrison to capitulate (e). In 361 Agilo was one of the generals who served on the tribunal which was set up to try many of Constantius's former officials (f). Soon afterwards, probably in 362, he seems to have retired, but was once again appointed magister militum by the usurper Procopius in 365 (g). His desertion to Valens at Nicolia, at a critical stage in the fighting, decided the issue of the battle, since his example was followed by many of Procopius's troops (h). He had probably entered the army and been transferred to the east under Constantine.

9. AGRICOLA

XII 5385

Gallia Marbonensis

Tolosa

[Agr]icola (?) (vixit a]nnos XXXV [milit] avi(t) annos XV [pr]o[te]c[t]or[...]
v(otum) s(olvit) X

This Christian inscription belongs to the fourth century or later. If the above reading is correct, Agricola entered the army at the age of 20, and after 15 years service had acquired the status of protector.

10. AIADALTHE

AM XVIII 8 10 (359)

While Ursicinus, magister peditum, was leading a force to Samosata in 359, the Persians launched a surprise attack near Amida. The Roman troops split up in flight and Ursicinus escaped together with the tribune, Aiadalthes, who was perhaps a tribunus vacans on Ursicinus's staff.

11. ALAESIANUS

P. Caire Preis. 39, ls. 1 - 6 Thebaid Hermopolis 347

[Αὐρηλ]ία Χαριτ[η (?) Ἀμμω]νίου ἀρξ(αντος)
βουλ(ευτου)

[Ἐρμου]πολεως της λαμπροτατης

[π]αρα φλαυιου Κασιου γυ[...]ωτου οὐξ,λλα-

[τ]ιωνος Μαυρων Σκουτ[αρ]ιων των ὑπο

Ἀλαισιανον πραιποσιτο[ν] διακιμενων

ἐν τη Ἐρμουπολει.

Alaesianus was praepositus in command of the vexillatio Maurorum Scutariorum stationed at Hermopolis. This unit is evidently to be equated with the cuneus Equitum Scutariorum, which the Notitia lists as stationed here (cf. ND Or XXXI 24).

12. L. IULIUS CAPITO ALARIS

VIII 9025 Mauretania Caesariensis Auzia 301

Victoriae Aug(ustae) sanct(a)e deae L(ucius) Julius [L(ucii)] f(ilio) Capito Alaris pr(a)epositus limitis cum suis omnibus f(ecit) d(ie) p(rovinciae) CCLXII.

Lucius Iulius Capito Alaris was praepositus in charge of the limes Auziensis (cf. ND Oc XXX 17). During the last decade of the third century, a serious revolt of the Quinquegentanei occurred in Mauretania, which at one point necessitated the presence of the emperor Maximian (cf. R. Cagnat, L'Armée romaine d'Afrique pp 67-9). Perhaps this dedication to the goddess Victory reflects the restoration of order. It is very unusual at this date for the

praenomen and filiation to be mentioned on an inscription.

13. ALBINUS

V 1796

Italy

Ad Tricesimum

[B(ene)]m(erenti) coniugi dulcissimo Albino benemerenti] Crescentina
bir[g]im[us] [o] cun quae bixit [con]iunctus an(nos) XXX et militavit an(nos)
[... (?)] et bixit in saeculo an(nos) LXXX m(enses) IIII d(ies) VIII ex
si[gn]if(ero) ?] betranus ex protectore Nicomea Crescentina co(n)iu(n)x fecit.

Albinus's marriage, at the age of 50, probably also coincided with his retirement from the army. Presumably by then he had completed at least 25 years of service, thereby qualifying for an emerita missio, with the right to the title of ex protectore, and the privileges which this status conferred (cf. CI VII 20 5; VII 20 8). The inscription seems fourth century in style.

14. ALISO

AM XXVI 8 9-10 (365)

The city of Cyzicus was besieged by the troops of the usurper Procopius in 365. Its capture was due largely to the efforts of Aliso, a tribune, who cut through the iron chain which barred entrance to the harbour, a feat of considerable skill and daring. As a result, after the suppression of the rebellion, his life was spared, and he was allowed to retain his rank. He was eventually killed by a band of Isaurian brigands.

15. AMPHILOCHIUS

AM XXI 6 2-3 (361)

Amphilochius, a Paphlagonian, had served formerly as a tribune under Constans. He had probably held high rank, since he was suspected of having stirred up discord between Constantinus II and Constans, i.e. in the period 337 - 340. Also he thought that he ought to have been included among the 'ex tribunis insignibus' who were appointed to greet Constantius II on his return to Antioch in 361. He died as a result of an accident the following day.

16. ANTONINUS

359 - 60

a) AM XVIII 5 1

b) XVIII 5 2

c) XVIII 5 3

d) XVIII 5 6

e) XVIII 6 3

f) XVIII 7 10

g) Liban. Or. XII 74

cf. RE 1 2, 2572, 12 (Seeck); Seeck 'Briefe', p 78, (iii).

Originally a rich merchant, Antonius had entered the imperial service as a clerk on the staff of the dux Mesopotamiae. Seeck interprets the term, rationarius, used by Ammianus in a), to mean numerarius, i.e. an official in charge of financial business. Normally there were two numerarii in the officium of a dux, ranking third and fourth, after the princeps and

commentariensis. Their duties had wide ramifications, including the levy of recruits and the grant of their certificates of fitness, promotion, and the distribution of the annona. For performing each of these services they obtained a sportula, ranging from I to 5 solidi (cf. Grosse, p.130, citing Nov. Iust., 128). Evidently the post required a fairly high level of education, since Antoninus knew both Latin and Greek (cf. a). Clearly, however, it was a lucrative office, since otherwise Antoninus would not have forsaken his previous profession. Perhaps it was in his original capacity as merchant that he had come into contact with the commissariat department, and had decided to assume this post. Its normal duration seems to have been about three years (cf. CT VIII 1 15). He finally acquired the title of protector, probably while still serving in the officium of the dux Mesopotamiae. At some stage of his career, however, he seems to have been guilty of peculation, though in collaboration with others. In this context, it is interesting to note that the numerarii appear to have had a bad reputation, since a whole series of laws was issued, threatening harsh penalties for those found guilty of embezzlement (cf. Grosse p 130, n. II, citing CT VI 35 II; VII 1 4; 6 - 9; II; 13; 15; VIII 15 2). Antoninus was made the scapegoat and forced into accepting responsibility for the entire debt. Rather than face ruin, he decided to desert to the Persians. He was received with honour at the Persian court, and the description of the privileges accorded to him has parallels with those to which he would previously have been entitled as protector. (cf. d). Whatever his previous position, it had been admirably suited for discovering the layout of the Roman defences throughout the east (cf. a & b). This knowledge enabled him to suggest a new type of

strategy to Sapor, namely that of by-passing strongholds, such as Misibis, and concentrating on a swift advance on the rich provinces of the interior, behind the cordon of frontier defences (cf. e). Moreover, he showed Sapor that the time for attack was ripe, now that the bulk of the eastern field army was engaged in operations against Magnentius in Illyricum (cf. b), and the experienced Ursicinus had been replaced by Sabinianus as magister equitum per orientem (cf. c). On several occasions during the resulting campaign, his advice proved of great value to the Persians (cf. f&g).

17. ANTONIUS

AM XXVI 5 10 (365)

In 365 Antonius was tribune in command of a unit stationed in Dacia Mediterranea. He received a vague report of Procopius's revolt against Valens, and passed the news on to Equitius, comes in charge of the army of Illyricum.

18. L. FLAVIUS APER.

a) AE 1936 53

Pannonia Superior

Poetovio

260-8

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) pro sal(ute) d(omini) n(ostri) Gallieni
p(ii) f(elicis) invicti Aug(usti) Fl(avius) Aper v(ir) e(gregius) l(ibens)
m(erito).

b) AE 1936 54

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) pro sal(ute) officialium Apri praepositi
leg(ionum) V Mac(edonicae) et XIII Gem(inae) Galli(enarum).

c) AE 1936 57

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) [pro salute . . . leg(ionum) V] M(acedonicae)
et XIII [G(eminae) Ga]llienarum [Fl]avius Aper v(ir) e(gregius)
pra[epositus].

d) III 15156

Pannonia Inferior

Aquincum

Diis patriis conservatoribus L(ucius) Flavius Aper v(ir) p(erfectissimus)
praeses votum libens m(erito) posuit.

e) Vict. Caes. XXXVIII 6

At Numerianus amisso patre simul confectum aestimans bellum, cum exercitum
reductaret, Apri praefecti praetorio soceri insidiis exstinguitur.

cf. PIR² I A 909; III F 207.

Flavius Aper is first attested during the period 260 - 8 as praepositus in command of a vexillation from the two legions of Dacia, namely V Macedonica and XIII Gemina (cf. a - c). Probably the inscriptions date closer to 268 than to 260, since Aper is not termed protector. This title is held by the praepositus, Vitalianus, while commanding vexillations at Sirmium, probably in 260, but not by the praepositi attested at Gratianopolis in 269 (cf. III 3228 & ad. p. 2328¹⁸²; XII 2228). In this respect, Aper may be compared with Rufius Synforianus (cf. AE 1934 193). The likeliest explanation is that Aper's force was intended to block the incursions of the Goths, against whom Gallienus was campaigning during the closing years of his reign (cf. CAH XII p 149). Poetovio occupies an important position, guarding the crossing of the River Dravus, at the junction of the roads from Mursa and Aquincum to Aquileia. It may well be the same vexillation as that commemorated on the coins of Gallienus, which formed part of his field army on the Rhine in the first half of his reign (cf. M. & S. V pt. I pp 92 f). The parent legions are still attested in Dacia under Gallienus (cf. III 875, 256-8; III 1560, 260-8). Aper, as praepositus, has the status of vir egregius (cf. a & c). The officiales on his staff,

recorded in b, evidently included a cornicularius, actarii, codicarii and librarii (cf. AE 1956 56).

There is no evidence with regard to Aper's earlier career. However, following the analogies of Petromius Taurus Volusianus and Traianus Mucianus, it seems likely that he passed through the grades of centurion and primus pilus, and probably that of praefectus legionis before being appointed to command this field force. Whether he rose from the ranks is unknown. It is not improbable that he is identical with the L. Flavius Aper recorded as vir perfectissimus praeses of Pannonia Inferior (cf. d). As analogies in this respect, one may cite Clementius Valerius Marcellinus, who was prefect of II Adiutrix in 267, and praeses of Mauretania Tingitana ten years later. Similarly, Traianus Mucianus may well have become praeses of Raetia. It is also possible to equate him with the Aper, who, as praetorian prefect, was held responsible for the murder of his son-in-law, the emperor Numerian, in the autumn of 284 (cf. e; SHA Vit. Car. XII-XIII; Vict. Epit. XXXVIII 4 f; Eutrop. IX 18-20; Zonar. XII 30 f; Syncellus Chron. p 724 f; Oros. VII 24 4). Howe believes that Aper was appointed praetorian prefect at the beginning of Carus's reign, in the autumn of 282, and that he is identical with the unnamed prefect, who is said to have urged Carus to launch an expedition against the Persians, hoping that Carus and Numerian might both be killed, so that he himself might gain the throne (cf. L. L. Howe, *The Praetorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian*, 1942, p 83, citing SHA Vit. Car. VIII 2). The marriage of Aper's daughter to Numerian was probably an attempt to ensure his loyalty to the throne.

19. AQUILINUS

P.Oxy. X 1253 18. 17 - 18

(4)

1. [...] υ [.....]
- [..... τω] λαμπροτ[ατω] ἑπαρχῶ Αἰγυπτου
 [γνωστεον ἐν Ὄξυρυ] χιτων πολεῖ ἐπιδεδημηκεναι τους ἑξῆς
 [ἐνγεγραμμενους πρ]ωτηκτορας και κορτιανους ἑνεκεν των
5. [...] θ [...]ων και συνηθρυκεναι τους τε τα κοινα διοικουν
 [τας] πρωτους [μετα σε τιμην και κτητορες ἐσχ]ηκεναι τε παρ'
 αὐτων

λ[ογ]ον ἐφοδίου τα ἐνγεγραμμενα οὕτως
 [...]ον [κ]αι Θεριον κεντηναριους ἔλθουσι ἑνεκεν του
 ἑξαργυρισμου

και της προσφορας χρυσου νομισματια ν,

10. τα [... θ]εντα σ [...]χιαια β,
 δοθεντα αὐτοις δια Σαραπιωνος Εὐδαιμονος γενομ(ένου)
 τραπέζ(ιτου),

Ζω[ιλο]ν κορνικουλαριον ταπητας ἑξαπηχ(εις) κ
 [...] δοθεντα(ς) αὐτω δια Σωζοντος ταπητεμπορου
 Ταυρισκον πρωτηκτορα ἔλθοντι ἑνεκεν της ἀπαιτησεως

15. του σιτοκριθου των ἀπο ζ ἑως ια χρυσου νομ(ισματια) π
 ὦν κεφαλαιωτης ἑνεκεν Ἰσιδωρος βοηθ(ος) πραιπ(οσιτου) ζπαγου
 Ἀκυλινον πρωτηκτορα κολ(λ)ηγα(ν) του προκιμενου Ταυρισκου
 χρυσου νομ(ισματια) ν
 ὦν κεφαλαιωτης ἐγενετο Γαιανος βοηθ(ος) πραιπ(οσιτου)
 ἑ παγου,

20. της γνωσεως των ὑφ' ἑκάστου παρασκεθεντων των
 τε πραιπ(οσιτων) και των λοιπων οὐσης παρα Τριαδελφου
 στρατηγου. και ἵνα μηδεν σου λανθανη την λαμπροτητα μηνυο-
 μεν ἑπαρχε, κυριε
 [...]

25. [.....]

This fourth century papyrus contains a report to the praefectus Aegypti of certain requisitions made at Oxyrhynchus by various officers who had stayed there. They had assembled the public magistrates, and received from them the following amounts to cover their travelling expenses (cf. ls. 1 - 7). Two centenarii received 50 gold solidi as their adaeratio (cf. ls. 8 - 11). A cornicularius received 20 rugs (cf. ls. 12 - 13). Tauriscus, protector, who had come to collect the supply of corn and barley for 5 days, received 80 gold solidi, the collector being Isidorus, assistant to the praepositus of the seventh pagus (cf. ls. 14 - 16). Aquilinus, also protector, his colleague, received 50 gold solidi, the collector being Gaianus, assistant to the praepositus of the fifth pagus (cf. ls. 17 - 19). The force to which they were attached is not named. The term adaerare is first attested in 383 (cf. CT VII 18 8, I). However, a law of 325 decreed harsh penalties against those persons who exchanged their annona for money (cf. CT VII 4 I). Later, this practise was legalised, though only gradually. The first sign of this is a law of 364, which stated that protectores were to obtain prices of the open market for the payments of their annona (cf. CT VII 4 10). Later on, however, the attitude of the government tended to vary considerably in regard to this question (cf. RE I, 340 - I). It is interesting to note that Aquilinus obtained twice the amount that each centenarius received. According to a law of 534, the centenarius serving on the staff of a dux received $2\frac{1}{2}$ annonae, and the primicerius obtained 5. It may be that Tauriscus was senior to Aquilinus, since he received an extra 30 solidi, though perhaps he may have resided longer at Oxyrhynchus. According to a law of 389 (cf. CT VIII 4 17), the exchange was reckoned at 80 lb of oil or cured pork, or 12 measures of salt,

to one solidus. Aquilinus and Tauriscus appear to have been concerned with receiving the annona on behalf of the troops to whom they were attached.

20. ARCADIUS

Zos. II 51 4 (351)

Arcadius was a tribune who commanded a unit of Abulci in Constantius II's army. He was killed at the Battle of Mursa in 351. He appears to have been a high ranking officer, since Zosimus mentions him beside Menelaos, commander of a vexillatio palatina, and these are the only two whom he names. However, only one unit of Abulci is listed in the Notitia, i.e. that quartered at Pevensey on the Saxon Shore, and later transferred as a legio pseudocomitatensis to the field army of Gaul (cf. ND Oc XXVIII 20; VII 109).

21. ARINTHAEUS

a) AM XXVI 8 5 (366)

b) Basil Ep. 269 -- Migne Gr. XXXII 1000

c) Theod. Hist. Ecl. IV 30 = Migne Gr. LXXXII 1193

d) AM XV 4 10 (355)

e) AM XXIV 1 2 (363)

f) Zos. III 13 3

g) AM XXIV 7 2

h) Zos. III 24 I

i) AM XXV 5 2

- j) AM XXV 5 7
- k) Zos. III 31 I
- l) AM XXV 10 9
- m) Philost. VIII 8 = Migne Gr. LXXV 561
- n) AM XXVII 5 4; 9
- o) AM XXVI 5 2
- p) Zos. IV 2 4
- q) AM XXVII 12 13; 15
- r) Themist. Or. XI 149 B

RE II I 831-2 (Seeck); W. Ensslin, 'Die Magistri Militum des viertes Jahrhunderts', Klio, XXIV, 1931, pp 102-47.

Arinthaëus was a man of powerful build and great physical strength (a, b). The name suggests a German origin. He was a catholic (b), and on one occasion dared to contradict the emperor Valens, who supported the Arian party (c). While primicerius acting as commander of the Armaturae, a schola palatina in Constantius II's army, he distinguished himself in a battle against the Lentienses in 355 (d). Evidently rapid promotion followed, since in 363, together with Hormisdas, he commanded the left wing of the army during Julian's advance into Persia (e, f), and later was sent on ahead, with a band of light armed infantry to devastate the countryside and harry the enemy (g, h). In Ensslin's view, he had been appointed as regional magister equitum by Julian before the campaign commenced (Ensslin, p 118). After Julian's death, during the debate concerning his successor, Arinthaëus and Victor were the leaders of the faction representing Constantius's old officials (i). He and Salutius, the praetorian prefect, were put in charge of the peace negotiations with the Persians by Jovian (j, k). Later on he was sent to Gaul with

despatches for Iovinus, the magister equitum there, probably because of his German origin, since the Gallic soldiery were restive (1). He returned to the east, however, before Jovian's death, since he was one of the generals who helped to make Valentinian I emperor (m). Ensslin believes that he was already magister peditum under Jovian (Ensslin, p 122), but it seems more likely that he was promoted to this rank by Valentinian I in 364. He is definitely attested in this post after that date (n), and was assigned to Valens (o, p). Such was his reputation and force of personality that during the revolt of Procopius he persuaded a force of rebel troops to surrender and hand over their commander (a). In 367 he commanded the army in the campaign against the Goths, and in 369 was put in charge of peace negotiations with Athanarich (q, r). In 372 he was appointed consul (Degrassi, p 83). In 377 he was still at the court of Valens (c), but since he is not mentioned as participating in the war against the Goths, it seems likely that he had already retired or died before 378.

22. FLAVIUS AURELIUS

V 6226

Italy

Mediolanum

B(ene) M(erenti) Fl(avius) Aurelius prot(ector) domesticus qui vixit annis
L m (enses) IIIII d(ies) IIIII Arcutio libertus eius posuit contra eius bene
merenti patrono suo.

The first mention of the term domestici to designate those protectores serving on the emperor's staff occurs in a law of 346 (CT XII 1 38). One might add that emperors frequently resided at Milan during the fourth century.

23. AVERUS (?)

XIII 5190

Germania Prima

Laupersdorf

Pedat [ura] Tungrec[ano]rum Senio[rum] suc (sic) cur(a) Av[eri?] tribu[ni].

This officer was tribune in command of the Tungrecani Seniores, a unit which is evidently to be equated with the legio palatina of the same name (ND Oc V 148 = VII 6). It was employed in rebuilding the frontier defences of a stretch of the lines of Germania Prima, and the most likely date is in the reign of Valentinian I (RE VII A 2 2182 - 3). The term, pedatura, is used in four similar fourth century building inscriptions (XIII 960; 4139; 4140; AE 1922 71).

24. BABES

Schrifttafeln zur alt. Lat. Paläogr. 21, ls. 1 - 13 Egypt c.400
cf. Flavius Gaiolus

25. BACURIUS

a) Rufin. Hist. Eccl. I 10 = Migne L. XXI 482

b) Ibid. II 33 = Migne L. XXI 540 (394)

c) AM XXXI 12 16 (378)

d) Liban. Ep. 980

e) Ibid. Ep. 963; 964

f) Zos. IV 57 3

g) Zos. IV 58 3

RE II 2 2724-5 (Seeck); P. Petit, ^{*}Libanius et la vie municipale a Antioche au IV^e siècle après J. - C. ^{*}1955, p 181

Bacurius was a prince of the Hiberi (a, c), a people who lived on the northern frontier of Armenia, which no doubt explains why Zosimus terms him an Armenian (f). He was perhaps a refugee from that part of Hiberia which became a Persian satellite state in the period 368-70 (AM XXVII 12 17). In view of his high rank he may have been commissioned immediately as tribunus, like Pusaesus, without first serving as a protector domesticus. In 378 he commanded a unit of Sagittarii, perhaps a schola palatina, at the Battle of Hadrianople (c), and later was appointed dux Palaestinae (a). He had originally been a pagan (d), but Seeck, in contrast to Petit, thinks that by this time he had been converted to Christianity, in view of the words of Rufinus (a, b). It is uncertain when he was appointed comes domesticorum (a), but it seems probable that he had obtained this post by c. 391, since Libanius's correspondence shows that he was in Antioch at this time (e). In 394 he took part in the expedition against Eugenius, and performed distinguished service at the Battle of the River Frigidus, commanding a section of the foederati whom Theodosius sent on ahead to force the pass (b, g). In Seeck's view, he was not killed in this battle, as Zosimus states (g), since Rufinus refers to him as though he were still alive (a, b).

26. AURELIUS BAI A

III 14165¹

Syria

Heliupolis

D(is) M(anibus) [S(acrum)] Aurel(ius) Vict(or) duc(enarius) prot(ector) vixit annis XXXX. Vivite felices et nostris profundi. Te mans et memores estis vos nobiscum esse futuros, Aurel(ius) Baia duc(enarius) prot(ector) fratri pientissimo memoriam instituit.

Aurelius Baia and his brother, Aurelius Victor, were both ducenarii protectores, i.e. centurions of the first cohort serving in the field army. It is likely that

they fought in Aurelian's campaign against Zenobia in 272, though it is possible that the inscription was set up at a later date in the third century.

27. BAINOBAUDES

AM XIV II 14 (354)

Bainobaudes, tribunus Scutariorum, was one of the three officers ordered by Constantius II to visit the Caesar Gallus during his journey to Milan in 354, ostensibly on official business, but in reality to discover whether Gallus was plotting to rebel before reaching his destination. He was evidently commanding a schola palatina.

28. BAINOBAUDES

a) AM XVI II 6 (357)

b) AM XVI II 9

c) AM XVI 12 53

Bainobaudes commanded a unit of Cornuti under the Caesar Julian in Gaul in 357 (b, c). Together with Valentinian, he was ordered by Julian to intercept a band of Alamanni on their return from a raid on Lugdunum, but Barbatio, the magister peditum, intervened to prevent this, in order to discredit Julian. Later Barbatio reported to Constantius that they had come to tamper with the soldiers under his command, with the result that they were cashiered (a). Before this took place, however, Bainobaudes distinguished himself as commander of some light armed auxiliaries, probably his own unit of Cornuti.

who attacked and drove off those Alamanni who had established themselves on certain islands in the Rhine (b). Finally, he was among those killed at the Battle of Strasbourg in the same year (c). The Cornuti were evidently a cavalry unit (a), and they are probably to be equated with the Cornuti Seniores or Iuniores, which the Notitia lists as a pair of vexillationes palatinae in the western field army (ND Oc VI 48, 49 = VII 162, 168).

Valentinian was presumably in charge of the other unit of Cornuti. In this event, this Bainobaudes can hardly be identified with the officer of the same name who was commanding a schola palatina in 354, since this would constitute a demotion in rank.

29. BALCHOBAUDES

AM XXVII 2 6 (366)

At the Battle of Châlons-sur-Marne in 366, Iovinus, magister equitum, eventually defeated a force of Alamanni, despite the fact that the tribune, Balchobaudes, together with his men, took fright and withdrew from the battlefield in the late afternoon, when the fighting was at its most critical stage. The unit which Balchobaudes commanded is evidently to be identified with the Armaturae Seniores, a schola palatina in the western field army (ND Oc IX 6).

30. BAPPO

AM XV 4 10 (355)

In 355, when the force commanded by Arbetio, magister equitum, was attacked by the Lentienses near Lake Constance, Bappo, commanding the Promoti, was one of the three tribunes who sallied out of the camp and drove the enemy back. The unit which he commanded was either a vexillatio palatina, or comitatensis, perhaps the former. His name seems to suggest a German^k origin (Holder I 343-4), in which case he probably enlisted under Constantine I, and was transferred by him to the eastern field army.

31. BARBATIO

a) AM XIV 11 19-24

b) AM XVIII 3 6

c) Philost. IV I

d) Liban. Ep. 1215

e) AM XVI II 2; XVII 62

f) AM XVI II 6-8

RE III I 1-2 (Seeck)

Barbatio was probably originally appointed as comes domesticorum under Gallus, when the latter was made Caesar in the east in 351, but evidently he soon became estranged from him, and in his despatches sought to prejudice Constantius against him (a, b). He was recalled to the emperor's court (c,d), and rendered valuable service in the campaign against Magentius (d). When Gallus was summoned to Milan in 354, Barbatio, in charge of a picked force, supervised his arrest at Poetovio (a,c). In 355, following Silvanus's assassination, he was appointed magister peditum (e). In 357 he was sent to Gaul with an army of

25,000 men to aid the Caesar Julian in his campaign against the Alamanni, but in fact hindered his operations (f). In 359 he was arrested and executed on a charge of treason, the main evidence being the copy of a letter written to him by his wife, which his rival, the magister equitum, Arbetio, had shown to Constantius (b).

32. BARCHALBA

AM XXVI 9 8; 10 (365)

Barchalba had won fame in all the fiercest fighting since Constantius's accession, and by 365 had risen to the rank of tribune. He was forced to join Procopius's rebellion against his real wishes. He and a certain Florentius accompanied the usurper in his flight after the final defeat of the rebel army at Nacolia. They bound him and brought him prisoner to Valens, but were themselves put to death.

33. BARZIMERES

a) AM XXX I II - 17 (374)

b) AM XXXI 8 9-10 (377)

RE III^I_A 36 (Seeck)

When Papa, King of the Armenians, escaped from Tarsus in 374, the comes, Danielus, and Barzimeres, tribunus Scutariorum, were sent with 1,000 light armed archers to intercept his flight. Because of their superior knowledge of the country, they overtook him, and prepared an ambush, but Papa received warning of this, and evaded them (a). Three years later Barzimeres was in charge of

a force operating in Thrace, which included his own unit, the Scutarii, together with various infantry numeri including the Cornuti. He was pitching camp at Deultum, a town on the Black Sea coast, when he was suddenly attacked by a force of Goths, and was killed while heading a counter-attack (b). The unit which he commanded is probably to be identified with the Scutarii Sagittarii, schola palatina in the eastern field army (ND Or XI 7).

34. FLORIUS BAUDIO

XI 4787 = IIS 2777

Italy

Spoletium

D(is) M(anibus) Florio Baudioni viro ducenario protectori ex ordinario leg(ionis) II Ital(icae) Divit(ensis) vix(it) an(nis) XL, mil(itavit) an(nis) XXV, Val(erius) Vario optio leg(ionis) II Italic(a)e Divit(ensis) parenti karissimo m(emoriam) f(aciendam) c(uravit).

Florius Baudio had the status of a vir ducenarius protector, and therefore was probably a centurion of the first cohort serving in the field army. He had evidently reached this position after being centurio ordinarius in II Italica. The title, Divitensis given to this legion is significant. It implies that at some stage in the third century a detachment was transferred from Lauriacum in Noricum, its regular place of garrison, and stationed on the Rhine at Divitia, the modern Deutz, opposite Cologne. The name, Baudio, seems to imply a Germanic origin. He cannot have been withdrawn to Italy during the period of the Gallic Empire, 260 - 74. At the same time, it is unlikely that Probus would have weakened the Rhine frontier which he took such pains to reinforce, by withdrawing a vexillation from such a key point as Deutz, and stationing it in Italy where no threat existed. Moreover, the title protector ducenarius is written in full, and this indicates an early

date in their development. Gallienus was campaigning on the Rhine during the period 253 - 60, with his headquarters at Cologne. It was during these years that he formed his new field army, incorporating vexillations of the best of the frontier troops. A vexillation of II Italica was prominent in this force, being frequently celebrated on coins (cf. M & S. V pt. I, p 94 : Leg(io) II Ital(ica) VII p(ia) VII f(idelis), 259. In 260 Gallienus withdrew the field army to Italy to protect it against invasion by the Alamanni, and also to operate in Illyricum against the usurpers Ingennus and Regalianus. Just before the end of the same year Postamus revolted in Gaul. The most likely period for units of the field army to be stationed in Italy is the second half of Gallienus's reign, 260 - 8. Other inscriptions from Italy mentioning soldiers of II Italica may also belong to this period (cf. VI 2672; 3637; XI 4085.) It was probably towards the end of Gallienus's reign that centurions of the first cohort became eligible to hold the title of protector. (cf. IIS 569, 269).

35. BELLOVAEDIUS

AM XXV 7 13 (363)

Bellovaedius, Nemota, Victor and a fourth officer, whose name is missing from the text, were handed over as hostages to the Persians after the conclusion of a treaty by Jovian with Sapor in 363. Ammianus terms them 'viri celebres' and states that they were 'tribuni insignium numerorum'. The names of the first two suggest Germanic origin, and it may be that in this way Jovian was neatly ridding himself of four influential officers who had opposed his accession (cf. AM XXV 5 2).

36. BENNAFER

Schrifttafeln zur alt. Lat. Paläogr. 21. ls 1-13 Egypt c.400

cf. Falvius Gaiolus.

37. BESAS

Schrifttafeln zur alt. Lat. Paläogr. 21. ls. 1-13 Egypt 6.400

cf. Flavius Gaiolus

38. BITHERIDUS

AM XXIX 4 7 (372)

After a punitive campaign against the Alamanni in 372, Valentinian appointed Bitheridus, one of their chieftains, to the command of a unit, probably as tribune (cf. Fraomarius).

39. MARCUS BITIANUS

III 14412⁴

Moesia Inferior

Čumakovci

D(is) M(anibus) Fla(vio) Dinnio pr(a)ef(ecto) vehi(culorum) vix(it) an(nos) LX mil(itavit) an(nos) XXXV, T(itae) Aure(liae) Salviae vix(it) an(nos) LXX. Hic sepultisunt filii benemer(ent)i patri et matri M(arcus) Britianus prot(ector) domes(ticus) fecit.

The first dated mention of the protectores domestici occurs in a law of 346 (cf. CT XII I 38). Dinnius's high position as praefectus vehiculorum no doubt enabled him to gain a commission for his son as protector on the emperor's staff. The home of the family seems to have been in Moesia Inferior.

40. BONIO

Moesia Prima

Tricornium

AE 1934 184c
Tric(ornii). Bonio p(rae)p(ositus).

Bonio was evidently praepositus in command of a unit stationed at Tricornium. According to the Notitia Dignitatum, three units were garrisoned at this fort, the Cuneus Equitum Sagittariorum, the Auxiliares, Tricornienses, and the Auxilium Aureomontaneum, though it is very unlikely that all three were here at the same time (cf. ND Or XLI 14, 22, 28). Bonio, however, might also have been praepositus in command of a detachment of IV Flavia, in view of two other brick stamps from this site (cf. AE 1934 184a & d). The most likely date for the inscription is in the reign of Valentinian I (364-75), since this emperor is known to have taken special measures to reinforce the Danubian limes (cf. RE VII A 2 2182-7).

41. BONITUS

AE 1910 90

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

Su(b) c(ura) Boniti pr(a)epositi l(egionis) VII.

Bonitus was praepositus in charge of a detachment of Legion VII Claudia quartered at Viminacium (cf. ND Or XLI 31). It is possible that he was of Frankish origin, since the father of Silvanus, magister peditum in 355, was a Frank called Bonitus (cf. AM XV 5 33). The most likely date for the brick stamp is in the reign of Valentinian I (364-75).

42. FLAVIUS BULICUS

VI 31979

Rome

Flavius Bulicus v(ir) d(evotus) ex tribunis qui vixit annus n(umero) LXX recessit in pacem V ide Novembre.

Flavius Bulicus died aged 70 with the rank of ex tribunis. He had probably served in the army, though this is not certain (cf. CT VII 20 10; VII 21 1).

43. CAESIUS

AM XIX 9 2 (359)

- - - Aeliano comite et tribunis, quorum efficacia diu defensa sunt meonia, stragesque multiplicatae Persarum, patibulis sceleste suffixis, Iacobus et Caesius, numerarii apparitionis magistri equitum aliique protectores, post terga vinctis manibus ducebantur, - - -

This passage is interesting in that it throws light on the hierarchy of the Roman army at this period. Ammianus mentions firstly the comes Aelianus, secondly the tribuni, and finally the protectores. Caesius and Iacobus were numerarii on the staff of the magister equitum per orientem. Hence they had been comrades of Ammianus, and this is probably the reason why he mentions their names (cf. Babut, CXIV, p 229, n. I). Like Ammianus, they had sought refuge at Amida, when the Persians surprised Ursicinus and his staff, while on their way to Samosata (cf. AM XVIII 8 I). Being essentially non-combattant officers, unlike the comes Aelianus and the tribuni, they were not executed. Perhaps the Persians hoped to gain information from them, as they had done in the case of Antoninus, who had deserted to them earlier, having previously served on the staff of the dux Mesopotamiae as a numerarius. In the Notitia Dignitatum only one numerarius is attested on the staff of the magistri militum in the west, while each magister militum in the east has two

numerarii (cf. ND Oc V 277; VI 88; Or V 70; VI 73; VII 62; VIII 57; IX 52).

Their duties were wide, and touched on the levy of recruits, promotion, and the distribution of the annona (cf. Grosse, p 130). It is interesting to note that a law of 354 decreed that no apparitor of the praetorian prefects or magistri militum was to come to the emperor's court to adore the purple, unless he had previously borne arms in the imperial service, and assisted in all the imperial expeditions (cf. CT VIII 7 4; cf. VIII 7 2; 3). Presumably Caesius and Iacobus had fulfilled this stipulation.

44. ULPIUS CANDIDUS

V 7405

Italy

Dertona

B(ene) m(erenti) Ulpio Candido viro laudabili patri ex p(rae)p(osito) et clerico qui vixit annos LXXVII m(enses) V d(ies) XV et Aur(eliae) Valeri(a)e matri dulcissim(a)e et Munati(a)e Spic(a)e. Fl(avius) Candidus [b(ene)] m(erentibus) f(ecit).

It is likely that Ulpius Candidus had held the rank of praepositus in the army, though this may not necessarily have been the case (cf. CT VII 21, 1, 320). The name of the unit which he commanded is not known.

45. CARIS

a) III 3766 a-c = 10680 a

Valeria

Szobb

Caris tr(i)b(unus)

b) III 10680 b

Caris trib(unus)

These brick stamps were found at Szobb, on the left bank of the Danube, near Castra ad Herculem. Caris was evidently tribune of a unit employed on strengthening the frontier fortifications. The most likely date is in the

reign of Valentinian I (364 - 75), who took special care to restore the frontier defences along the Danube (cf. RE VII A 2, 2182 ff).

46. CASSIO

AM XXXI 12 16 (378)

In 378 Cassio was tribunus in command of a unit of Scutarii, probably a schola palatina. Together with Bacurius, tribunus Sagittariorum, he precipitated the Battle of Hadrianople by rushing forward too eagerly to attack the Goths.

47. CASTINUS

P. Lond. II 411, ls. 18 -23 = P. Abinn. 28

Egypt

342-51

----- ἐν τοῖς καστροῖς
καὶ ἐκδικίς με ἐν πασεί
ἐμελλον γὰρ ἀναλθῖν ἐπὶ τῆς
πόλεως καὶ ἀποδυσθῆναι τῷ
ἐμῷ γεουχῷ καὶ τῷ πραιποσι-
τῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν Καστίνῳ.

This is a petition from a certain Demetrius addressed to Flavius Abinnaeus, praefectus alae V Praelectorum at Dionysias, his 'master and patron'. He complains that he has been assaulted by a soldier called Athenodorus, and begs Abinnaeus to summon him to the camp and punish him. He states, however, that his first impulse had been to appeal to Castinus, the praepositus commanding the soldiers garrisoned ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Kenyon in his commentary on this document stated that the city referred to

was unlikely to have been Arsinoe, the capital of the nome, since there was no evidence that any troops were stationed there. However, Van Berchem has recently pointed out that a vexillatio Cataphractorum is attested at Arsinoe 319-59 (cf. P. Abinn. p 14, citing P. Thead. 31, 1. 28, and n 1, citing BGU I 316; cf. also n 3). It seems likely therefore that Castinus commanded this unit. Clearly Demetrius regards Castinus as being superior in rank to Abinnaeus.

48. CASTORION

P. Thead. 48, ls. 4, 5; 9-11

Egypt

(4)

- 4 [Καστοριωνι πραιποσιτω εν Ναρμουθι δι(α) Σακάωνος Υε
 5 τω αὐτῷ Καστοριωνι Σουλτριουζωτος δι(α) Σακάωνος και
 Μελανος Υγ
 9 Καστοριωνι πραιποσιτω ἐπι πολεως δι' Ἀριωνος Υα SET
 10 Καστοριωνι πραιποσιτω ἐπι πολεως τιμη ἀχυρου δι(α)
 ἀπαιτητων Υ,
 11 Καστοριωνι ἐπι της πολεως τιμη ἀχυρου δι(α) των
 αὐτων Υβ

This fourth century document records payments of money made by certain inhabitants of Theadelphia to Castorion, praepositus ἐπι της πολεως at Narmouthis, and a certain Sotas, who has no definite title. Jouguet thinks that Castorion was a military praepositus, rather than a civil official. The only other instance where the phrase, ἐπι της πολεως is used

in connection with a military praepositus is in the case of Castinus. Castorion was probably praepositus castrorum at Narmouthis, in charge of the cohors quarta Numidarum which was stationed there (cf. Salvitius; ND Or XXVIII 46). The money payments were apparently in lieu of corn, which was presumably part of the annona due to the garrison at Narmouthis (cf. 1. 10). Van Benchem has pointed out that it is likely that the fort of Narmouthis had been evacuated before Abinnaeus's appointment as praefectus aloe at Dionysias, i.e. c. 342 (cf. P. Abinn. pp 13-14, citing P. Abinn. 50; 80).

49. VALERIUS STATILIUS CASTUS

IGR III 481 = ILS 8870

Lycia

Oenoanda 256-8

Οὐάλεριον Στατειλιον Καστον, τον κρατιστον συμμαχον των Σεβαστων πραιποσιτον βιξιλατιωνων, Τερμησεων των προς Οϊνοανδοις η βουλη και ο δημοσ και η γερουσια τον ευεργετην, προνοησαμενον της ειρηνης κατα θαλασσαν και κατα γην, επιδημησαντα τη λαμπρα ημων πολει μετα πασης ευκοσμιας ημερων ιβ αγαγοντα δε και ινπεριον φιλοτειμας εν τω λουσωριω τη προεειδ. Νοεμβρια[ν], εν η [η]μερα εκομισθη [ε]ικων ιερα του κυριου ημων Οὐαλεριανου νεου Σεβαστου.

This inscription was set up to Valerius Statilius Castus, vir egregius, praepositus vexillationum, by the town council and people of Termessus.

It commemorates the restoration of peace by land and sea, perhaps following the defeat of a local band of pirates. The reference to the younger Valerian dates the inscription to the period 256-8 (cf. CAH XII p 181).

Professor Birley has suggested that the term συνμαχόν των Σεβαστων is the Greek equivalent of comes Augustorum. An equestrian procurator holds the latter title under Severus (cf. C. Iulius Pacatianus, III 865). Castus was probably commanding a pair of legionary vexillations.

50. CELLA

a) AM XVI 11 6-7 (357)

b) AM XIX 11 16

Cella was tribune in command of a unit of Scutarii, evidently a schola palatina. In 357, on the orders of Barbatio, magister peditum, he forbade Bainobaudes and Valentinian to intercept a band of Alamanni, a task which had been assigned to them by the Caesar Julian (a). In 359 he was killed in a battle with the Sarmatae near Aquincum in Valeria. (b).

51. CEREALIS

a) Socrat. IV 31

b) AM XXVIII 2 10

c) AM XXX 10 5

d) AM XXX 5 19

RE III 2 1981-2 (Seeck)

Cerealis was the son of Iustus, consularis Piceni under Constantius II (a), and brother of Iustina, the wife of Valentinian I (b, c). He was probably promoted to the important post of tribunus stabuli when the office fell vacant c.370, following the death of his brother, Constantianus (b).

On the day that Valentinian I died, he ordered that the right hand of a groom should be cut off, because he had failed to hold his horse steady when he was mounting, but Cerealis postponed this cruel punishment, at the risk of his own life, evidently presuming on his relationship to the emperor (d). After Valentinian's sudden death, at Brigetio in 375, Cerealis was one of the high officials who decided to proclaim his younger son as emperor, and he was sent to the villa 100 miles away where he was staying to fetch him in a litter (c).

52. CLAUDIANUS

P. Oxy. I 43 Recto col. IV, I. I.

295

τοῖς ὑπο Κλαυδιανὸν πρεπο[σῖτον λι(τραί ... π(αρά) ?]

cf. RE XII 2, 1359 - 60 (Ritterling)

W. Ensslin, 'Zu Papyrus Oxyrhynchus I 43 Recto', Aegyptus, XXXII, 1952, pp 163 - 78.

This papyrus is an official document, dating to the first two months of 295. It contains an account of the annonae, in this case chaff and fodder, raised by the epimeletes from the town council of Oxyrhynchus, in order to supply the various field army units temporarily quartered there. In each case, an officer, normally an optio, provides a receipt on behalf of the unit to which he was attached. Unfortunately, the first part of the document is missing, so that relatively few of the units are known. With regard to the cavalry, the names of two only are extant, namely the Comites (cf. col. II ls. 17 f, 24, 27f), and the ala II Hispanorum (cf. col. IV ls

11, 13). With regard to the infantry, a number of vexillations drawn from a pair of legions garrisoned in the same province are recorded, e.g. VII Claudia and IV Flavia, from Moesia Superior (cf. Iulianus), and XI Claudia and I Italica from Moesia Inferior (cf. Mucinianus). Each paired vexillation is under the command of a praepositus, and altogether the names of ten of these commanders have survived, one of whom is Claudianus. The name of the unit which he commanded is missing, but it seems likely that it was a vexillation drawn from a pair of legions garrisoned on the Danube frontier, in view of the other examples. In Claudianus's case, the amount of supplies received has not survived. The reason for the presence of this field force in Egypt is probably connected with the revolt of Domitius Domitianus in the period 295-7 (cf. Ensslin, pp 177-8; CAH XII p 325).

53. AELIUS CLAUDIANUS

VI 32987

Rome

D(is) M(anibus) Aeli Claudiani p(rae)p(ositi) qui vixit ann(os) LXXV.
Aelia Irene coniugi dulcissimo cum quo vixit an(nos) XI b(ene)m(erenti)
f(ecit).

It is probable that Aelius Claudianus held the rank of praepositus as commander of a unit. Its name, however, is not recorded.

54. CLAUDIUS

AM XXIX 3 7 (c. 366)

Claudius and Sallustius had evidently served in the Ioviani Seniores, a legio palatina in the west (ND Oc V 145 = VII 3), and had since risen to the rank of tribune. Under Valentinian they were accused of having spoken favourably of the usurper Procopius. After prolonged questioning, Valentinian ordered the magistri militum who were hearing the case to sentence Claudius to exile and Sallustius to execution, promising to pardon the latter. However, Sallustius's life was not spared, and Claudius was not recalled from banishment until after Valentinian's death.

55. COLLUTHUS

P. Lond. II 403, ls. 1-6¹ = L Abinn. 49 Egypt

342-51

φλαουιω Ἀβινναιω ἐπαρχῶ εἰλησ στρατιωτῶν καστρῶν
Διονυσιαδος παρα Αὐρηλιας Μαρίας γαμβρας Ἀβιαρ
στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν Μεμφί διακιμενῶν ὑπο
κ[ο]λλουθον πρεποσιτον γεουχο[υν]τι ἐν κωμη
Θεοξενιδι κατα την δευτεραν του οντος μην[ος...]

This document is a petition from a certain Aurelia Maria to Flavius Abinnaeus, praefectus alae V Praelectorum at Dionysias, complaining that nine of her sheep have been stolen, and asking him to arrest those suspected.

She states that she is the daughter (or sister)-in-law of Abiar, a soldier stationed at Memphis, under the command of the praepositus, Colluthus. The Notitia records that a detachment of V Macedonica was stationed at Memphis (cf. ND Or XXVIII 14). Colluthus was evidently commander of this unit.

56. FLAVIUS CONCORDIUS

a) XI 6222 = IIS 9204 Italy Fanum Fortunae

Fl(avius) Concordius protector divinorum laterum et pr(a)epositus Iuniorum cenationem ad Guntham ex voto aedificabit ita ut nulli liceat in eodem aedificio corpus sepulture mandare set tantummodo convivi(u)m copulantibus vel refrigerantibus pateat.

b) VI 32011 Rome 361

Dulcissimo filio Mariniano qui vixit annos XI mens(es) IIII dies XIII dep(osito) XI kal(endis) Aug(ustis) qu(i)esquet in pace Tauro et Florentio cons(ulibus); Fl(avius) Concordius v(ir) p(erfectissimus) filio fecit.

a) records that Flavius Concordius, praepositus Iuniorum, with the title of protector, will erect a dining hall for Guntha, according to his vow, and it must not be used for burials. The nomen, Flavius, and the general style of the inscription point to a fourth century date. It may be that the officer of a) is identical with the Concordius recorded in b), since the cognomen is rare, and another protector of the fourth century is attested as vir perfectissimus (cf. Flavius Dalmatius, III 4185). In this case, a) may have been set up a little later, perhaps under Valentinian and Valens (364 - 75), since the title, protector divinorum laterum, implies the existence of at least two emperors. The phrase divini lateris is only known from three other inscriptions (cf. Aurelius Faustus, Flavius Gaudentius,

Aurelius Valerius). No other instance is known where a praepositus holds the title of protector. One would normally expect an officer in command of a unit to have been protector earlier, as in the case of the praepositus Salvitius, who is termed ex protectoribus in a papyrus of 307. The case of Viatorinus shows that protectores could act as deputy commanders of units, but no unit called simply Iuniores, is known, and it seems therefore that Concordius was in charge of a body of recruits. Several laws attest the use of the term iuniores to mean recruits (cf. Grosse, p 107 n. 3, citing CT VII 13 1; 6; 7; 10; 12; 15; 18: cf. also Veget. I 15; 16). The levy of recruits, and their conduct to the emperor's headquarters was one of the duties to which protectores were sometimes assigned (cf. CT VII 18 10; Flavius Abinnaeus; Aelianus).

57. CONON

Schrifttafeln zur Alt. Lat. Paläogr. 21, ls. 1-13 Egypt c.400

cf. Flavius Gaiolus.

58. T. FLAVIUS CONSTANS

VI 3555

Rome

D(is) M(anibus) T(itus) Flavius Constans p(rae)p(ositus) sibi et suis libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum se vivus inchoavit et Flavii Sabinus et Chrestus liberti et heredes eius cum Maceria clusum consummaverunt.

cf. Aelius Clandianus

59. T. FLAVIUS CONSTANS

XIII 8291

Germania Inferior

Colonia Agrippinensium

T(itus) Fl(avio) Supero (centurioni) leg(ionis) XXX T(itus) Fl(avius) Constans
(centurio) protec(tor) fratri f(e)c(it).

The mention of the praenomen, and the post of centurion indicate a third century date for this inscription. It is unlikely that Gallienus granted the title of protector to centurions before he withdrew the field army from the Rhine frontier in 260. It is uncertain whether the title of protector was granted by the Gallic emperors to their officers, but it seems unlikely. The most suitable date for the inscription would be the earlier part of Probus's reign, when a serious invasion of the Franks and Alamanni was defeated, and the Rhine defences were restored. Cologne would form an obvious strategic centre for the assembly of troops. Presumably Constans held the title of protector because he was a centurion in the first cohort, whereas his brother, Superus, as a centurio ordinarius was not qualified to hold this status. Legion XXX Ulpia was normally garrisoned at Vetera. This was presumably a field army vexillation.

60. CONSTANTIANUS

a) AM XXVIII 2 10 (c. 370)

b) AM XXIII 3 9 (363)

c) Zos. III 13 3

RE IV 960 (Seeck)

Constantianus was the brother of Iustina, wife of Valentinian I (a). Seeck identifies him with the tribune of the same name who commanded the Euphrates fleet, together with Lucillianus, on Julian's Persian campaign in 363, but

this is not altogether certain (b, c), though it is worth noting that he was concerned with organising transport. Valentinian I evidently promoted him to be tribunus stabuli, and he was killed c. 370 by a band of robbers while travelling in Gaul (a).

61. FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS.

a) Anon Vales. Pars 1, 2 2

Hic igitur Constantinus, natus Helena matre vilissima in oppido Naissso atque eductus, quod oppidum postea magnifice ornavit, litteris minus instructus, obses apud Diocletianum et Galerium, sub eisde^m fortiter in Asia militavit;

b) Ibid. 2 3

c) Lact. De Mort. Pers XVIII = Migne L. VII 223 (305)

Constantio quoque filius erat Constantinus, sanctissimus adolescens, et illo fastigio dignissimus, qui insigni et decoro habitu corporis, et industria militari, et probis moribus, et comitate singulari, a militibus amaretur, a privatis et optaretur. Eratque tunc praesens, iam pridem a Diocle^miano factus tribunus ordinis primi.

d) Incert. Pan. VI 3

cf. RE IV I 1013 (Benjamin)

Constantine was born at Naissus in Maesia Superior, the son of Constantius Chlorus and Helena (cf. a). The exact date of his birth is unknown, but it is presumed to have been about 280 (cf. RE IV I 1014). During his early years he did not receive much education, and when Constantius became Caesar in Gaul in 293, Constantine remained at Diocletian's court as a surety for his father's loyalty (cf. a). Following a normal military career (cf. d), he presumably entered the army when nineteen, the customary age of

enlistment (cf. CT VII 13 1), or perhaps even younger. In view of his father's high rank, there can be little doubt that he was immediately commissioned as protector, serving on the emperor's staff. Normally this post was held for about five years, but Constantine's tenure of the office may have been shorter, since Lactantius states that already in 305 he had held the rank of tribunus primi ordinis for some time (cf. c). Perhaps his obvious ability, coupled with his father's influence, secured him promotion faster than was customary. The last post is otherwise unknown. On the other hand, the comitvae primi, secundi and terti ordinis were in existence during Constantine's reign (cf. RE IV I 635). It seems likely that Constantine held the post of praetorian tribune serving on the emperor's staff. The precise nature of the post is unknown, but it is interesting to note how frequently during the fourth century the emperor's relatives were appointed to the key post of tribunus stabuli which carried with it the comitiva primi ordinis (cf. Cerialis, Constantianus, Valens, Stilicho). The office had certainly developed from a praetorian tribuneship (cf. ILS 1277; 1278). Experience in such a post would have been extremely useful when planning his dramatic flight through the territory administered by Severus, ordering the post horses to be killed at each station in order to prevent pursuit (cf. Anon. Vales. Pars 1, 2, 4; Vict. Epit. XL 2; Zos. II 8 5). Apparently he distinguished himself in one of Galerius's campaigns against the Sarmatae (cf. b), perhaps that dated to 299 (cf. RE XIV 2 2523).

62. CONSTANTIUS

a) Liban. Ep. 713 (363)

b) " " 1559

c) AM XXV 9 12

RE IV I 1099 (Seeck).

Libanius wrote two letters to the tribune, Constantius (a, b). He was with Julian at Antioch in 363 (a) and accompanied him on his Persian campaign. Seeck is probably correct in identifying him with the tribune of the same name, who was sent by Jovian to hand over the strongholds and territory which were ceded to Persia in the treaty of 363 (c).

63. FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTIUS

a) Vict. Caes. XXXIX 26

b) Anon. Vales. Pars I 1-2.

Constantius, divi Claudii optimi principis nepos ex fratre, protector primum, inde tribunus, postea praeses Dalmatiarum fuit. Iste cum Galerio a Diocletiano Caesar factus est.

c) SHA Prob. XXII 3

d) Ibid. Car XVII 6

(Carus) Statuerat denique Constantium, qui postea Caesar est factus, tunc autem praesidatum Dalmatiae administrabat, in locum eius subrogare, (i.e. of Carinus) quod nemo tunc vir melior videbatur, illum vero, ut Onesimus dicit, occidere.

e) III 9860

Dalmatia Between Grahovo and Glamoc
[...]iu[d]ex [d]a[t]us a [F]lavio Va[ler]io Cons[t]a[n]tio [v(iro)
p(erfectissimo)] p(raeside p(rovincia) [D]elm(atiae) [f]i[ne]s i[n]te[r]
Salvia[t]as e[t] S[tr]ido[n]e[n]ses [d]e [t]ermi[n]avi[t].

f) III 8716a, cf. p 2135

Dalmatia Salona
[...] adl [..... Cons]tantio v(iro) [p(erfectissimo)] dea [...]

g) Eumen. Pan. II II

Tu quidem certe, Imperator, tantum esse in concordia bonum statuis, ut etiam eos, qui circa te potissime funguntur officio, necessitudine tibi et affinitate devinxeris, id pulcherrimum arbitratus, adhaerere lateri tuo non timoris obsequia, sed vota pietatis.

h) Ibid. Pan. V I.

cf. RE IV I, 1040 - 3 (Seeck).

PIR² III 390

Jagenteufel 38

Like most army officers of the second half of the third century, Constantius was an Illyrian of low birth (cf. a). After his death in 306 the fiction was propagated that he traced his descent from Claudius II (cf. RE IV I, 1040), but this only tends to emphasise his humble origin. Claudius II, however, seems to have been a Dalmatian, and if this were also true of Constantius, it might help to explain why he was favoured by Diocletian, who was also born in this province. The chief source for his career is a passage in the Origo Constantini Imperatoris (cf. b). Although this is fairly reliable, it was written about the year 390, and seems to contain certain anachronisms. Owing to his low birth, he presumably commenced service in the ranks, and was drafted into the field army, where he rose to the position of centurion of the first cohort with the title of protector. In the above source it is stated that his next post was that of tribunus. In the fourth century this was the rank customarily held by the commander of a field army unit. Praepositus, however, was the normal term given to the commander of a pair of legionary vexillations serving in the field army in the latter half of the third century. Perhaps he was a praetorian tribune. By the end of Probus's reign he was already an experienced officer (cf. c), and then was promoted to be praeses of Dalmatia under

Carus (cf. b, d, e, f). It is unlikely that Dalmatia was ever divided into two provinces, and hence the title, praeses Dalmatiarum, seems to be an anachronism, unless, as Dr. Mann has suggested, it should be interpreted as praeses of the Dalmatians (cf. b). However, in a note to III 9860 (cf. e), Mommsen commented on the fact that Constantius has the nomen Valerius, which one would not have expected him to hold before Diocletian secured control of the western empire, following Carinus's assassination after the Battle of the River Margus in Spring 285. Furthermore, while marching to meet Diocletian, Carinus put down a revolt of Iulianus, "corrector Venetiae", whose power extended as far as Siscia in Pannonia (cf. CAH XII p 323 & n. 4). It seems therefore that the Augustan History may be in error in placing Constantius's governorship in the reign of Carus. At any rate, it would appear to extend into Diocletian's reign. The statement that Carus wished to adopt him in place of Carinus certainly must be erroneous (cf. d). Seeck has calculated that Constantius was married to Maximian's step-daughter, Flavia Maximiana Theodora, by the beginning of 289 at the latest (cf. RE IV I, 1041). He also argues that he held the office of praetorian prefect before his appointment as Caesar on March 1st 293 (cf. Unterg. I, p 452), basing this view on two passages from the Panegyrics (cf. g, h). He argues that the phrases, 'potissimum officium' and 'adhaerere latere tuo' in the first passage can only refer to the praetorian prefecture. In regard to the second, he concludes that Constantius must have been in a high position at court to obtain permission for Eumenius to deliver his panegyric, which he dates to April 21st 289. On the other hand, one would have thought that the anonymous author of the Origo Constantini Imperatoris, anxious to glorify the Flavian dynasty, would have

included this important post in his account of Constantius's career.

64. AURELIUS CRESCENTIO

III 12377

Dacia Ripensis

Kutlovic

D(is) M(anibus) Aurelius Crescentio ex pr(a)epositus et Vincentia coniunx eius Aureli(a)e Verici(a)e bru[t]i suae qui (sic) vixit annis XXIIII bene merit(a)e titulo posuerunt.

cf. Ulpus Candidus.

65. CURANDIUS

AM XXIX 5 24 (373)

In 373 Theodosius, magister equitum, led an expedition to Africa to overthrow the usurper Firmus. During the campaign, the Equites IV Sagittarii defected to the rebels. Later, however, they apparently surrendered to Theodosius (AM XXIX 5 20). At first he merely degraded them to the level of limitanei, but later he put them to death, cutting off the hands of their officers (AM XXIX 5 22). Their tribune, Curandius, was executed, on the grounds that he had been reluctant to fight against the rebels himself, and had not encouraged his men to do so. The Notitia lists the unit as a vexillatio comitatensis serving in Africa (ND Oc VI 72 = VII 191).

66. DAGALAIFUS

- a) AM XXV 5 2 (363)
- b) AM XXI 8 1 (361)
- c) AM XXI 9 6
- d) AM XXIV 1 2 (363)
- e) AM XXIV 4 13
- f) Zos. III 21 4
- g) AM XXVI 5 2
- h) Philost. VIII 8 = Migne Gr. LXV 561
- i) CT VII 20 9 (Dec. 6th 366; cf. Regest. p 228)
- j) AM XXVI 9 I (366)

RE IV 2 1983-4 (Seeck); W. Ensslin, 'Die Magistri Militum des viertes Jahrhunderts', Klio, XXIV, 1931, pp 102-47.

The name, Dagalaifus, suggests a Germanic origin. Again, he is mentioned together with Nevitta as leader of the Gallic contingent of officers in the dispute concerning the succession following Julian's death (a). Julian appointed him as comes domesticorum in late 360 or 361, when, following his proclamation, he assigned various commands to officers of proved loyalty and ability (b). During his march to the east, he sent Dagalaifus on ahead with a force of light armed troops to surprise and capture Lucillianus, who was commanding a detachment of Constantius's army at Sirmium (c). During Julian's Persian campaign, he and Victor, the magister militum, commanded the rearguard (d). Later, in company with Nevitta, he was put in charge of siege operations (e, f). He was promoted to be magister militum by Jovian (g), and Ensslin believes that he replaced Lucillianus as

magister equitum per Illyricum in 363 (Ensslin, p 121). When narrating the dispute about the choice of a new emperor following Jovian's death in 364, Philostorgius describes Dagalaifus as comes domesticorum, but he seems to be confusing this occasion with the similar event in the preceding year (h). In 364 Valentinian and Valens divided the army between them at Naissus, and Dagalaifus was selected by the former, doubtless because he had already had considerable experience of conditions on the Rhine frontier (g). Dagalaifus was evidently magister peditum in the west, since Iovanus was magister equitum praesentalis (CT VII 9; 10). A decree of 366 attests Dagalaifus as magister militum (i), and in the same year he was consul ordinarius (j). However, he seems to have retired shortly afterwards, since on August 24th 367 Severus is attested as magister peditum in the west (AM XXVII 6 3). Dagalaifus had probably had considerable experience as a soldier prior to his appointment as comes domesticorum in 361.

67. GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMINUS DATA.

a) Vict. Caes. XL. I

b) Vict. Epit. XL 18

c) Lact De Mort. Pers. XVIII

d) Ibid. XIX

Tum descenditur, et reda per civitatem veteranus rex foras exportatur in patriamque dimittitur, Dai vero sublatus nuper a pecoribus et silvis, statim scutarius, continuo protector, mox tribunus, postridie Caesar, accepit Orientem calcandum et conterendum, quippe qui neque militiam neque rem publicam sciret, iam non pecorum, sed militum pastor.

cf. RE IV 2, 1986 - 90 (Seeck)

Daia was born in Illyricum at an unknown date in the late third century (cf. a). He was still a young man when he became Caesar in 305 (cf. c). Like his uncle, Galerius, he was a herdsman in his early years, and it is probable that like him and Licinius he was a native of Aurelian's new province of Dacia (cf. RE XIV 2, 2517; XIII I, 222). Lactantius's term 'semibarbarum' (cf. c), may reflect the fact that he came from immigrant stock. However, he seems to have had considerable ability, and some measure of education (cf. b). His military career is recorded by Lactantius, a contemporary of the events he describes, and hence a reliable source, though strongly biased against persecutors of Christians. His uncle's patronage secured him rapid promotion. The significance of the phrase, 'statim scutarius' (cf. d), is that it was probably normal at this period to serve in a frontier garrison, before being selected for service in the field army. The influence of Galerius, however, secured for Daia a place in the household guard, no doubt as soon as he was of age. He next obtained the position of centurion of the first cohort in the field army, with the title of protector, and soon afterwards became tribunus. Presumably he was a praetorian tribune serving on the emperor's staff, though the precise nature of the command is unknown. Already, before 305, he had been adopted by Galerius, and received the names Galerius Maximinus (cf. c). In the May of this year Diocletian and Maximian abdicated at

Nicomedia, and he and Severus were appointed as Caesares (cf. RE IV 2, 1987).

68. FLAVIUS DALMATIUS

III 4185

Pannonia Prima

Savaria

Fl(avius) Dalmatius v(ir) p(erfectissimus) ex pro[te]ct(oribus)], qui vixit an(nis) XL, et Aur(elia) Iulia conp(ar) dulc(issima), qui vixit an(nis) XXXV, ideoque hunc titulum scripserunt. Quisquis he(ris) post me d(o)m(inus) Laris huius et orti, vicinas mihi carpe rosas, mihi lilia pone [ca]nded[ia], q(ue) viridis dabit ortulus. I[t]a beatum[.....] Volussius et Satatia lib(erti) posuerunt.

Flavius Dalmatius had evidently held the rank of protector, though it is uncertain what post he was holding at his death. His home was at Savaria.

69. FLAVIUS DALMATIUS

III 13810

Moesia Prima

Gross-Laole

D(is) M(anibus) Fl(avius) Dalmatius p(rae)p(ositus) vicsit annis LX per instantiam BVT LGLG anis [f]ecit [cum] Orient(e) fi[l(io)].

cf. Aelius Claudianus.

70. DANIELUS

AM XXX 1 11-17 (374)

cf. Barzimeres

Ammianus terms Danielus comes. He was probably a tribune in command of a schola palatina, like Barzimeres.

71. DERDIO

V 6213 = ILS 2789

Italy

Mediolanum

A~~X~~Ω B(onae) m(emoriae) Derdio ex tribuno militavit ann(os) XL int(er) Iovianos Sen(iores), vixit ann(os) LXXV, req(uiescit) XVI kal(endis) Ian(uariis), memori(ae) sibi et uxori suae Gaudentiae fecit.

It seems likely that Derdio enlisted about the age of 20 and retired at the age of 60, since he died aged 75, having served for 40 years.

Throughout this period of service, he was attached to the Ioviani Seniores, a legio palatina in that part of the western field army stationed in Italy (ND Oc V 145 = VII 3). After 20 years of service, he no doubt reached the grade of protector, and eventually became tribune in command of this unit.

72. DINITIUS

a) Ost. Jahresh. VI, 1903, Beibl., col. 52, n. 65

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

Leg(io) IIII Fl(avia) s(ub) Dinitio p(rae)p(osito).

b) Ibid. n. 66

Leg(io) IIII Fla(via) su(b) c(ura) Dinic[i p(rae)p(ositi) ?].

These two brick stamps appear to refer to the same commander (cf. Ritterling, RE XII 2 1546). IV Flavia was stationed at Singidunum, and it is interesting to find its stamps occurring in the area of Viminacium, where VII Claudia was garrisoned (cf. ND Or XLI 30-1).

73. C. AURELIUS VALERIUS DIOCLES

a) Lactant. De Mort. Pers. IX II = Migne L. VII 209

b) Eutrop. IX 19 2

c) Vict. Epit. XXXIX I

d. Vict. Caes. XXXIX I

- - -, ducum consilio tribunorumque Valerius Diocletianus domesticos regens ob sapientiam deligitur, magnus vir, his moribus tamen: ---

e) Zonar. XII 31 p 640 A.

Διοκλητιανος δε την ηγεμονικην λαχων ος Δαλματης μεν ην το γενος, πατερων δ' ασημων, τινες δε και απελευθερον αυτον φασιν Ανουλινου συγκλητικου, ες ευτελων στρατιωτων δουξ Μυσιας εγενετο. αλλοι δε κομητα δομεστικων αυτον γενεσθαι φασι δομεστικους δε τινες τους ιππεας νομιζουσι.

f) SHA Vit. Car. XIII I

- - -, Diocletianum omnes divino consensu, cui multa iam signa facta dicebantur imperii, Augustum appellaverunt, domesticos tunc regentem, - - -

g) Hieron. Chron. 2302 = Migne L. XXVII 658

cf. PIR² I A 1627; RE VII A 2 2419-2423 (Ensslin).

Diocletian was born in Dalmatia, probably at Salona, where he later retired (cf. b, c, e & g). His original name was apparently Diocles (cf. a). He was of low birth, and according to some sources was the freedman of a senator called Anullinus (cf. b, c & e). The date of his birth is uncertain, but if one accepts Ensslin's suggested emendation of the text of

the Epitome de Caesaribus, he was 78 when he retired in 305, and therefore was born c. 237 (cf. RE VII A 2 2421, citing Vict. Epit. XXXIX 7).

There is very little reliable evidence for his career. Almost certainly he rose from the ranks, and passed through the grades of the centurionate.

It is uncertain whether the two inscriptions from Testur in Africa and Aquileia in fact refer to him (cf. VIII 10615; V 856 = ILS 547). Some

sources state that he had been dux in charge of troops in Moesia (cf. e; Leo Gramm., ed. Bonn, p 81). This perhaps refers to a post in charge of vexillations from the legions of Moesia (cf. Ensslin, op. cit., 2422).

Three sources state that his last post was that of commander of the 'domestici' (cf. d, e & f). This is evidently an anachronism, since so far as is known the protectores domestici did not exist under that name at this date. An analogous position, however, would be that of one of the two praetorian tribunes who are attested in charge of the castra peregrina in 256-8 (cf. VI 1110). This was the headquarters of the centuriones deputati and supernumerarii from whom the protectores domestici seem to have developed. Diocletian's post evidently corresponded to that of comes domesticorum equitum (cf. e). No doubt the troops recognised that Diocletian as head of the castra peregrina was in the best position to know who was responsible for Numerian's murder, and the rough justice which he meted out on no less a person than Aper, the praetorian prefect, was accepted by them without protest (cf. g). Later, his previous experience in this post may have influenced his decision to abolish the frumentarii, the hated secret police, whose headquarters were at the castra peregrina (cf. Vict. Caes. XXXIX 44-5). It was probably Carus who

appointed him to this key office, following his accession in 282. In the following year the latter emperor accorded him a suffect consulship (cf. Syncellus, ed. Bonn, p. 725; Chron. Min. I p 229).

74. DIONYSIUS

P. Princeton III II9, 1. 1.

ψ(ευδο), λογεια υπ(ερ) Διονυσιον απο προτηκτορων
και Αμμωνιου β(ενε)φ(ικιαριου)

This papyrus is dated by the style of handwriting to the early fourth century. It concerns a false accusation made against Dionysius, ex protectoribus, and Ammonius, beneficiarius, by a certain Macrobius, son of Dioscurus. The editor suggests that Dionysius possibly served with distinction in Diocletian's Egyptian campaign of 295 and was rewarded with a grant of land.

75. CLAUDIUS DIONYSIUS

III 327 = IIS 2775

Bithynia

Nicomedia 270 - 5

Di Manes Claudii Herculani protectoris Aureliani Augusti vixit annos quadraginta, posuit memoriam Claudius Dion(y)sus protector Augusti frater ipsius.

Both Claudius Dionysius and Claudius Herculanus held the title of protector, and were presumably centurions of the first cohort serving in the field army. Neither this post, nor their status as viri ducenarii, is recorded on this inscription. Thus it seems that the title of protector had already become

firmly associated with these. Perhaps the inscription was set up when the field army was temporarily quartered at Nicomedia in Aurelian's reign. It is possible that they were called Claudius after the previous emperor, Claudius Gothicus, since this nomen is not common among troops of this period.

76. ^NDOMINUS

P. Oxy. 1 43 Recto col. III, ls. 29-31

295

ΤΟΙΣ ὑΠΟ ΔΟΜΝ[ΕΙ]ΝΟΝ ΠΡΕΠΟΣΙΤΟΝ ΛΙ(ΤΡΑΙ) ΤΟ
ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΦΡΟΥΜΑΡΙΑΣ ἜΣΤΙΝ Ἄ(ΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ) ΤΩΝ ὑΠΟ
ΔΟΜΝΕΙΝΟΝ ΠΡΕΠΟΣΙΤΟΝ ΣΑΡΜΑΤῆ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤῆ ΟΞ(ΡΟΥΧΙΤΟΥ).

cf. Claudianus

This section of the papyrus shows that the troops commanded by the praepositus, Dominus, received 970 lb of fodder as their share of the annone provided by the town council of Oxyrhynchus. The name of the unit, is unknown, but it was almost certainly a vexillation drawn from a pair of legions quartered in the same province, probably on the Danube frontier.

77. DONATUS

AE 1956 251

Germania Secunda

Colonia Agrippinensium

[Hic iac]et Donatus ex pro[tectorib]us civis Afer qui [vixit a]nnos XLV me[n]ses
...]dies VII de mi[.....]des[.....]III

The style of this inscription, and the absence of a nomen point to a fourth

century date. Donatus was an African by birth, who died aged 45, holding the title, ex protectoribus, showing that he had obtained emerita missio.

78. DOROTHEUS

BGU I 316, ls 5 - 12

- 359
5. Ἐπριατοῦ καλῆ αἰρέσει Φλαυῖος Βιταλιανὸς Βιάρχος
οὐξελλ[ατιῶνος]
6. Ἴππεων Καταφρακταρίων εἰδρυμένων τὰ νῦν ἐν [τῇ Ἀρσί]-
7. νοεῖτων πόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ Δωροθεὸν τριβου[νον]
8. παρὰ Φλαυῖον Ἀγεμουνδοῦ[ν] σινατορὸς νουμεροῦ
Αὐσιλ[ιαρίων]
9. Κωνσταντιακῶν ὑπὸ Βαρίον τριβουνον νῦν ἐξ [.....]
10. τῇ ἐνταῦθα διατριβουσίᾳ φαρμιλία τῶν γεννητ[ατῶν]
11. Κωνσταντιακῶν Στρατιωτῶν δούλον αὐτοῦ ὀ[νοματι]
12. Ἀργουτιν - - -

cf. U. Wilcken, 'Papyrusurkunde über einen Sklavenkauf aus dem Jahre 359 n.Chr.', Hermes XIX, 1884, pp 417 - 31.

This papyrus, dated to 359, is a letter concerning the purchase of a slave.

The writer is Flavius Vitalianus, biarchus in the vexillatio Equitum

Catafractariorum commanded by the tribune Dorotheus. The unit had

previously been stationed ~~at Askalon~~ at Arsinoe in Egypt. The person

to whom the letter is addressed is Flavius Agemundus, senator in the numerus

Auxiliarium Constantiacorum, commanded by the tribune Varius. The letter,

however, was apparently written at Askalon in Phoenicia, and thus it seems that

the vexillatio had since been transferred to this city. Its movement is

almost certainly to be connected with the Persian invasion of Mesopotamia in

the same year (cf. Unterg. IV pp 276-80). The Auxiliares Constantiaci are

perhaps to be equated with the Constantiani listed by the Notitia as an auxilium palatinum in the eastern field army (ND Or V 52). The Equites Catafractarii were probably a vexillatio comitatensis serving in the eastern field army (e.g. ND Or VI 35). Wilcken (p 422) points out that the name, Agemundus, suggests a Frankish origin. It is likely therefore that the Constantiaci were a unit raised by Constantine I, and transferred by him to the east, following his defeat of Licinius.

79. FLAVIUS DRAGILIS

III 15172 b

Valeria

Szent-Endre

Fl(avius) Dragilis p(rae)p(ositus) castr[i]s Constantianis? qui vixit an(nis) LXXIIII m(ensib)us quinque diebus XV, Aurel(ia) Marciola compar carissima viva fecit av[u]n[c]ulo bene merito suo.

This inscription shows that in the early fourth century this fort, formerly called Uloisia Castra, was renamed Constantia, presumably after the emperor Constantius II. The unit listed as stationed here in the Notitia is the Equites Dalmatae (cf. ND Oc XXXIII 34). Flavius Dragilis was presumably the praepositus in command of this unit. Other praepositi castrorum are only attested in Egypt(cf. Abinnaeus, Sabicas, Salvitius, etc.), though they are also mentioned in rescripts (cf. CT VIII 7 II; CI I 46 4). Dragilis died aged 74.

80. EARETER

V 32939

Rome

In hoc locu depositus est Eareter protector domesticus qui vixit annus XXV
requiescit in pacem.

Eareter was evidently a protector domesticus serving on the emperor's staff,
though fourth century emperors rarely resided at Rome. His death at the
age of 25 makes it seem likely that he was commissioned without prior service
in the ranks.

81. EPIGONUS

a) AM XIV 7 18 (354)

b) AM XIV 9 4

Montius, quaestor sacri palatii at Caesar Gallus's court at Antioch, was
murdered by the soldiers, following his protest against the arrest of
Domitianus, the praetorian prefect. Before he died, he cried out the
names of Epigonus and Eusebius, but did not give their rank. Ammianus
states that these were both tribuni fabricarum, though subsequently two
others of the same name were arrested. Normally, the officer in charge
of an arms factory was termed praepositus. This could be an instance of
Ammianus's mistaken terminology, but there is no reason to suppose that
such officers could not be upgraded to the status of tribune. The Notitia
lists two arms factories at Antioch, and probably Epigonus and Eusebius were
in charge of these (cf. ND Or XI 21, 22).

82. EQUITIUS

- a) AM XXVI 1 6
 - b) AM XXVI 1 4
 - c) AM XXVI 5 11 (365)
 - d) CT VII 1 8
 - e) Zos. IV 9 1
 - f) Vict. Epit. XLIV 10
 - g) III 10596 = IIS 762 = AE 1941 (365-7)
 - h) III 5670a = IIS 774 (370); cf. Leontius
 - i) III 3653 = IIS 775 (371); cf. Foscanus
- BE VI I 321-2 (Seeck)

Equitius was a Pannonian by birth (a). By 364 he had gained the rank of tribunus scholae I Scutariorum, a schola palatina in the east (cf. ND Or XI 4), and was held in such esteem that after Jovian's death he was even considered as a possible candidate for the throne, only to be rejected as being too rough and boorish (b). However, he was one of the officers who strongly supported the choice of his fellow Pannonian, Valentinian, as emperor (a). Following Valentinian's accession in 364 he was appointed comes in charge of the army of Illyricum, and in 365 he was raised to the status of magister utriusque militiae p̄r Illyricum (c, d). He seems to have retained this post throughout the reign of Valentinian I, and in 374 was consul together with Gratian (Degrassi, p 83). After the sudden death of Valentinian I, he co-operated with Merobaudes in persuading the troops to recognise his younger son, Valentinian II, as emperor (e, f). Three inscriptions, dating to 365-7, 370 & 371, commemorate the strengthening of the frontier defences along the Danube which he supervised (g, h, i).

83. EUGENIUS

- a) Liban. Or. XI 159
- b) " " XIX 45
- c) " " XX 18
- d) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. VIII 6 8 (303-4)

Unterg. I pp 17 - 18

Libanius states that a cohort employed on harbour works at Seleucia in Cilicia revolted. The troops forced their tribune, Eugenius, to go to Antioch, which at that time had no garrison, and to declare himself emperor. The revolt was quelled by the people of Antioch, who slaughtered the rebels the same night (a-c). The event is dated to the closing years of Diocletian's reign (d).

84. EUSEBIUS

cf. Epigonus

85. EXCUBITOR

AM XX 4 21 (360)

Following a false alarm that Julian had been murdered, the Celtae and Petulantes crowded into the palace at Paris, alarming the guards, tribunes, and the comes domesticorum, Excubitor. The latter is not attested elsewhere, and it is possible that Julian dismissed him as untrustworthy, appointing Dagalaifus in his place. On the other hand, Dr. Mann has pointed out to me that there may be an error in the text at this point, since Ammianus mentions excubitores in the same sentence.

86. FLAVIUS FANDIGILUS

V 8747

Italy

Concordia

Fl(avius) Fandigil(u)s protector de numero Armigerorum vivo suo arcam sibi co(m)parabit. Si quis ilam voleret aperire dabit in fisco auri un(cias) sex et ips(e) area(m) in ecclesie com(men)dav(erit).

The series of late military inscriptions found at Concordia has been dated by Mommsen to the period c. 400 (cf. CIL V, p 1058.) Fandigilus was a protector serving in the Armigeri. Several units with this name are attested in the Western section of the Notitia Dignitatum, though none belong to the Italian field army (cf. Oc V 8 = 151 = VII 142; Oc V 13 = 156 = VII 143; Oc V 78 = 227 = VII 80). The fee payable by anyone who violated the tomb, in this case half a pound of gold, often seems to bear no relation to the rank of the person buried there (cf. V 8753, a tribunus, 1 lb gold; AE 1891 105, a draconarius, 6 lb gold).

87. AURELIUS FAUSTUS

XI 4082 = IIS 4002

Italy

Ocriculum

Pro salute itus ac reditus d(omini) n(ostri) sanctissimi [... invic]ti Aug(usti) aediculam concili deorum dearamque Aurelius Faustus prot(ector) divini lateris Aug(usti) n(ostri) ex visu deae Valentiae s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

The emperor's name has been erased on this inscription, and Mommsen⁵, relying on Bormann's initial reading, proposed the restoration G|alli|e|ni| Invic|ti.

A re-examination of the inscription, however, convinced the editor of this volume of the Corpus that this restoration was without justification.

Aurelius Faustus holds the title of protector divini lateris Augusti nostri.

Only three other examples are known where this version of the title appears.

(cf. Aurelius Valerius, 280; Flavius Concordius; Flavius Gaudentius). All protectores dated to Gallienus's reign qualify this title on inscriptions by stating the name of the post which admitted them to this status. It is not until afterwards that the title occurs by itself, showing that it had now become associated with a definite post, i.e. centurion of the first cohort, normally serving in the field army (cf. IIS 569; 2775). Again, the mention of a concilium deorum, in which the emperor was also included, is reminiscent more of the coins of Probus or Diocletian than those of Gallienus (cf. CAH XII pp 319; 330). Presumably, therefore, the inscription was set up at some stage in the third century, after the reign of Gallienus. The cognomen, Faustus, seems to indicate an African origin (cf. Dean, pp 177-8).

88. FELIX

1077

PSI IX, 1s. 1 - 11

354

cf. Taurus

89. M. AURELIUS FIDELIS

III 3523

Pannonia Inferior

Aquincum

D(is) M(anibus) M(arco) Aurel(io) Fideli ex praepositis qui vixit ann(is) LX
con[i]u[g]i m[e]rentissimo Va[1]jeri[a] Decorata faciendum curavit.

cf. Alpius Candidus.

90. AURELIUS FIRMINUS

III 10406

Pannonia Inferior

Aquincum 290

Herculi Aug(ustorum) Aurel(ius) Firminus pr(a)ef(ectus) leg(ionis) II
Adi(utricis) ex prot(ectoribus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito),
Imp(eratoribus) d(ominis) n(ostri) [D]iocletiano IIII et Maximiano
Aug(ustis) co(n)s(ulibus)

cf. Dobson 84.

Like Valerius Thiumpo, whose career seems to belong to this period, Aurelius Firminus probably commenced service in the ranks, and then was transferred to the field army, where he rose to the position of centurion of the first cohort, gaining the title of protector. He was then appointed prefect of II Adiutrix at Aquincum.

91. FIRMUS

Symmach. III 67

Firmum domesticum meum militiae stipendiis cum honestate perfunctum testimonio meo decuit adiuvari, ut faciliore aditu ad tuam notitiam perveniret. Porrigere igitur, oro te, adiutricem manum legitima praemia ex more cupienti. Huiusmodi quippe veteranis praerogativa debetur, ut illis protectorum dignitas tamquam pretium longi laboris accedat. Quod Firmo incunctanter eveniet, si tuus favor vota hominis ad consueta nitentis adjuverit.

cf. Seeck, Symmach. CXXXV.

In this letter, Symmachus recommends his domesticus, Firmus, to the notice of Richomeres, requesting him to use his influence to see that Firmus receives the dignitas of protector without delay, as the customary reward due on completion of service. The post of domesticus seems to have been equivalent to that of primicerius or princeps, and the duties were similar to those of an adjutant.

Consequently, the status of the individual domesticus depended on that of his superior (cf. Grosse, pp 120 - 4). Symmachus was praefectus urbis in 384 (cf. RE IV A I, 1148), and possibly Firmus had been princeps on his staff. Richomeres probably became magister militum in 382 (cf. RE I A I, 796), a post which he held up to his death in 394. It may have been that Symmachus himself at this particular time was out of favour, as a worshipper of the old pagan gods. But in any case, the title of protector was always regarded as essentially a reward for military service, and hence the most influential patron would be a magister militum.

92. FLAVIUS FLORI[ANUS?]

XIII 1855

Gallia Lugdunensis

Lugdunum

Flavius Flori[anus?] ex tribunis qui vixit annos octoginta et septim, militavi[t] ann(os) triginta et novem, positu(s) est ad sanctos et probatus annorum decim et octo, hic commemora [tur in] san(e)ta aecclesia Lugdunensia [pr]id(ie ?) calendas Aug(ustas).

Flavius Florianus enlisted at 18, and served for 39 years, reaching the rank of tribunus. On retirement at the age of 57, he lived at his home in Lugdunum until his death 30 years later.

93. L. ROMANIUS FORTIS

XI 140

Italy

Ravenna

D(is) M(anibus) Philomello L(ucii) Romani Iuvenalis ser. act.L(ucius) Romanus Fortis praepositus bene merenti.

cf. Aelius Claudianus.

94. ANASTASIUS FORTUNATUS

Acta S. Marcelli - Ruinart, Act. Mart. pp 302-4

298

In civitate Tingitana, procurante Fortunato praeside, advenit natalis dies Imperatoris. Ibi cum omnes in conviviis epularentur, atque sacrificarent; Marcellus quidam ex centurionibus legionis Traianae, profana reputans illa convivia, reiecto etiam cingulo militari coram signis legionis, quae tunc aderant, clara voce testatus est, dicens, 'Iesu Christo Regi aeterno milito.' - - - Stupefacti sunt autem milites ista audientes: tenuerunt eum, et nuntiaverunt Anastasio Fortunato praesidi legionis. Qui iussit eum conici in carcerem. Finitis autem epulis, residens in consistorio praecepit introduci Marcellum centurionem. - - -

This document describes the trial of Marcellus, centurio ordinarius of II Traiana, at Tingis in 298. In general it seems a fairly accurate account, and may even be based on the actual minutes of the proceedings. Marcellus, as a Christian, had refused to sacrifice before the emperor's statue, publicly throwing down his centurion's staff and sword belt. He was seized by the soldiers, who informed the 'praeses legionis', Anastasius Fortunatus. It seems highly probable that the word 'praeses', represents a copyist's mistake, and that the term, praepositus, should be substituted. In this respect it is interesting to note that in the Acta S. Maximiliani, dated to 295, the governor of Mauretania Caesariensis, Valesianus Quintianus, is referred to as 'praepositus' (cf. Ruinart, Act. Mart. p.300). II Traiana Fortis was stationed in Egypt. Evidently a vexillation had been withdrawn for service in Africa. Normally such detachments were formed from two legions, and it is probable that the other unit involved was III Augusta, since detachments of these two legions occur as a pair in the field army lists of the Notitia (cf ND Oc V 254, 255 = VII 151, 152). It is known that about this time there was a revolt of the Quinquegentanei, a confederacy of Mauretanian

tribes. When local forces proved insufficient, the emperor Maximian in person led a detachment of the field army to Africa, late in 297, and quickly brought about the suppression of the rebellion (cf. R. Cagnat, L'armée romaine d'Afrique, 1912, pp 66-8; CAH XII pp 333-4). This detachment of II Traiana presumably belonged to Maximian's field force. Fortunatus was evidently incapable of pronouncing sentence on Marcellus, and the matter was subsequently referred to his superior, Aurelius Agricolanus, agens vices praefectorum praetorio, who ordered Marcellus's execution.

95. FOSCANUS

III 3653 = IILS 775

Valeria

near Gran 371

Iudicio principali dominorum nostrorum Valentiniani Valentis et Gratiani principum maximorum, dispositione etiam illustris viri utriusque militiae magistri Equiti[i] comitis, Foscanus praepositus legionis primae Martiorum una cum militibus sibi creditis hunc burgum, cui nomen Comercium, qua causa et factus est, a fundamentis et construxit et ad summam manum operis in diebus XXXVIII consulatus d(omini) [n(o)stri] Gratiani Augusti bis et Probi viri clarissimi fecit pervenire.

cf. R. Egger, 'Eine Militärziegelei Valentinianischer Zeit', Anz. d. Phil.-Hist. Klasse der Ost. Akad. d. Wiss., XCI, 1954, pp 101-12.

In Egger's opinion, the troops used to construct this burgus were the work party of a legio comitatensis (cf. p 105 & n. 5). However, the fact that their commander, Foscanus, is termed praepositus seems to indicate that they were either limitanei or a legio pseudocomitatensis. There is no mention of this unit in the Notitia among the troops commanded by the dux Valeriae (cf. ND Oc XXXIII). The inscription is dated to the reign of Valentinian I, who is known to have taken special measures to reinforce

the Danube frontier (cf. RE VII A 2182-7). It was probably a new unit drafted to Valeria to strengthen the frontier defences there. Epigraphic evidence indicates that another detachment of I Martia was stationed on the frontier of Germania Secunda (cf. RE XII 2 1418-9). At least one frontier detachment was later recruited into the field army (cf. AE 1891 102; cf. also ND Or IX 32). The inscription records that the burgus was completed in 48 days, and probably a scheduled time had been set. Valentinian and Valens were particularly anxious that the work should progress speedily (cf. CT XV I 13), and the magister militum, Equitius, was criticised for not pushing on the work quickly enough (cf. AM XXIX 6 3). The phrase, 'una cum militibus sibi creditis', is similar to that used in another inscription of this period (cf. Leontius, IIS 774). Dessau, in a note, points out that the name, Foscanus, may be a corruption.

96. FRAOMARIUS

AM XXIX 4 7 (372)

The Bucinobantes were a tribe belonging to the confederation of the Alamanni, and their territory was opposite Mainz. In 372 Valentinian I led a punitive campaign against them, deposing their chieftain, Marcianus. In his place he appointed Fraomarius, a chief presumably belonging to the same tribe. However, since the territory of the Bucinobantes had been devastated in the recent campaign, Fraomarius was shortly afterwards transferred to Britain and appointed tribune of a unit of Alamanni which was distinguished for its size and strength.

97. FRONTINUS

cf. Flavius Marcus

98. FLAVIUS GABSO

XIII 3681

Gallia Belgica

Treveri

(*) Fl(avius) Gabso p[ro]tector domestic[us a(nnos)] X trib[unus]
hi[is] quies[ci]t[ur]]rsu [..... in p]ace.

cf. Mommsen, EE V, p 123, 28.

Babut, CXVI, p 251 n. 3

The above reading, proposed by Babut, seems more satisfactory than that postulated by Mommsen, i.e. domestic[us e]x tribu[nis] Gabso apparently served as protector domesticus for 10 years, and then was promoted as tribunus of a unit in the normal manner (cf. AM XVI 10 21). The protectores domestici are first attested in 346 (cf. CT XII 1 38). Emperors often resided at Trier during the fourth century.

99. FLAVIUS GAIOLUS

Schrifttafeln zur Alt. Lat. Paläogr. 21, ls. 1-13 Egypt c.400

Fl[avius] Gaiolus trib(unus) Quintanor(um) pr(a)epositis horiorum et
susceptoribus d[e]botis singuloru[m] lo[co]r(um) sal(ve). Quat(t)uor
infr[as]criptis protectoribus ad adorandam divinam pu[r]purem d[omi]norum
nostrorum principum die felicissimum pascharum direxi ad sacratissimum
comitatum quibus iuxta annuo consuetud[i]ne annonas quaternas kapitum
quat(t)uor sine ulla mora prevere curate cum stailis solitis e[st].
protectores, Bennafer, Conon, Babes, Besas [..... ρω]ν
προτηκτορων Κυντανων κατεχομενων ασ[.]βι βα[.]is
[.....] καπιτας.

Flavius Gaiolus was tribunus in charge of a detachment of V Macedonica. This had been stationed at Memphis in the reign of Diocletian, and throughout the majority of the fourth century formed part of the garrison of Egypt (cf. ND Or XXVIII 14). However, towards the close of the fourth century it was drafted into the field army, since it is listed in the Notitia as a legio comitatensis under the magister militum per Orientem, in company with units from the Thebaid (cf. ND Or VII 39; cf. also 45 & 46). The document is a permit from Gaiolus, directing the granary supervisors and the tax collectors to issue four annonae to the protectores, Bennafar, Conon, Babes, and Besas. These had evidently not yet participated in the ceremony of adoratio. The editor, K. Wessely, shows that the names of the protectores are Greco-Egyptian. He cites another document, dated to 398, which also mentions Gaiolus, but does not give the exact reference.

100. FLAVIUS GAUDENTIUS

VI 32940

Rome

Fl(avius) Gaudentius v(ir) d(ucenarius) p(ro)t(ector) l(ateris) d(ivini) et Honorata coniux d(e)p(osit(i) n(onas) S(eptembras).

The nomen, Flavius, and the extent of the abbreviation in this inscription points to a date in the fourth century or perhaps later. The phrase, lateris divini, only occurs in three other instances (cf. Flavius Concordius, Aurelius Faustus, Aurelius Valerius). If the above expansions are correct, they show that the title of protector continued to

be associated with the ducenarian status (cf. Flavius Abinnaeus).

V(ir) d(evotissim)us, however, is another possible expansion.

101. ARRIUS GERMANUS

X 1778

Italy

Puteoli

D(is) M(anibus) Arriae Geminae bonae feminae collactiae Arri Germani
p(rae)p(ositi) iunioris Iulius Agrippa marit(o) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The style of this inscription suggests a date in the latter half of the third century. Arrius Germanus evidently held the rank of praepositus Iuniorum, and thus was in charge of a body of recruits, (cf. Flavius Concordius).

102. GERONTIUS

XIII 3680

Gallia Belgica

Treveri

[Hic q] uiescit in pace Babbo qui [vix]it annus VII et me(nses) VII
et dies [...] Gerontius tribunus [filio] suo tetolum (?) posuit. +

The tribune Gerontius set this inscription up to his son, Babbo.

103. GOMOARIUS

a) AM XXI 8 I

b) AM XX 9 5

c) AM XXI 13 16

d) AM XXVI 7 4

e) AM XXVI 9 2

f) AM XXVI 9 6

g) Philostorg. IX 5 = Migne Gr. LXV 572

h) Zos. IV 8 2

i) Socr. IV 5 = Migne Gr. LXVII 469

j) Sozom. VI 8 = Migne Gr. LXVII 1313

RE VII 2 1582 (Seeck)

Gomcoarius held the post of tribunus Scutariorum in 350 under Vetrano, but secretly betrayed the latter to Constantius II (a). In 360 Constantius appointed him to replace Lupicinus as magister utriusque militiae per Gallias, without first consulting the Caesar Julian (b). However, in the Spring of the following year he was dismissed by Julian (a), who did not trust him. He went to the court of Constantius, and was entrusted with the command of the Laeti, and ordered to hold the pass of Succii in Thrace against the advancing Julian (c). After Constantius's death in 361 he seems to have retired. Towards the end of 365, he was appointed magister militum by the usurper Procopius (d), and was given command over the rebel troops in Lycia (e). However, he deserted to Valens early in 366 (f, g, h, i, j). There seems to be no truth in the statement that Valens ordered his execution (i, j).

104. GOUTHA

AE 1911 244

Arabia

Motha

Μνημειον Γουθθα υιου Ερμιναριου πραιποσιτου
Γεντιλιων εν Μοθανοις αναφερομενων απογεν[ομεν]ου
ετων ιδ ετι ρβ περιτιου κα.

Goutha was praepositus in command of a troop of Gentiles stationed at Motha. This force seems to be identical with that listed in the Notitia as being garrisoned here, namely the Equites Scutarii Illyriciani (cf. ND Or XXXVII 14). Another inscription from Motha, dated to 350, mentions a certain Ursus, actuarius vexillationis Mothanensium, which is presumably the same force (cf. Le Bas & Waddington 2037). The unit seems to have been originally recruited from a barbarian tribe settled on the Danubian frontier. The names, Goutha, Herminarius and Ursus point to a Germanic origin.

105. GRATIANUS

III 12900

Dalmatia

Salona.

[.....? Gr]atiani pr[otectoris d]omestici [..... prae]fecti (?) [.....]

It has been proposed by Seeck that the Gratianus of this inscription was perhaps identical with the father of Valentinian I (cf. RE VII 2, 1831). But the name need not necessarily be restored as Gratianus. Secondly, the protectores domestici are not attested until 346, and the elder Gratian probably commenced service at about the beginning of Constantine I's reign. Thirdly, it is more likely that an inscription recording the elder Gratian's career would have been set up at his place of birth, Cibalae, rather than at Salona, where no troops are known to have been stationed in the fourth century.

106. GRATIANUS

a) AM XXX 7 2

b) Ibid XXX 7 3

Ob ergo validi 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 postea pari potestate Britannicum rexit exercitum tandemque honeste sacramento solutus, revertit ad larem, et agens procul a strepitu, multatione bonorum afflictus est a Constantio, hoc nomine, quod civili flagrante discordia, hospitio dicebatur suscepisse Magnentium, per agrum suum ad proposita festinantem.

c) Vict. Epit. XLV 2

d) Ibid 3.

e) Symmach. Or. I I

f) VIII 7014 = ILS 758 Mumidia Cirta c. 365
[Memoria]e felic[issimae viro atq]ue per omni[a saecula cel] ebrando,
Gra[tiano patri] d(ominorum) principumque [nostrorum] Valentiniani et
V(alentis no]bilium ac triumphat [orum semper Au]gustorum, iuxta
C[apitolium] statuum dedicav[it Antonius] Dracontius v(ir) c(larissimus)
[v(ices) a(gens) p(raefectorum) p(raetoria) p]er Africanas [provincias],
curante Valerio [.....] v(iro) e(gregio) sacerdotale.

cf. RE VII 2, 1831 (Seeck).

Pallu de Lessert, II, pp 237 - 40.

Gratian was born of humble stock at Cibalae in Pannonia Secunda, probably towards the close of the third century (cf. a & c). As a boy, while still engaged in selling rope, he won the nickname, Funarius, because he retained his grasp of a length which five soldiers attempted to wrest from him (cf. ibid). He entered the army, presumably about the age of fifteen or eighteen, and became widely known on account of his physical strength, and skill in wrestling (cf. b). These attributes enabled him to gain the

dignitas of protector, and presumably he served at the emperor's court as a staff officer. It seems unlikely that the inscription III 12900 refers to him, as is suggested by Seeck, since the protectores domestici are first attested in 346. He then was appointed as tribunus, presumably commanding a field army unit. There seems to be no evidence to support Seeck's suggestion that he was serving in Illyricum at this time, except that his son, Valentinian I was born at Cibalae in 321 (cf. Unterg. V p 2 = 421). He was next appointed comes Africae (cf. b). Pallu de Lessert dates his tenure of this post to some time in the period 330 - 40. He vacated this office under suspicion of peculation, and for a long time does not appear to have held any position of importance (cf. b). Symmachus refers in a panegyric to his tenure of the post of comes Africae (cf. e), and later an inscription was set up to him at Cirta in the reign of his two sons (cf. f). However, he again returned to favour, probably in the reign of Constans, and was appointed to a command in Britain equal in status to that which he had occupied as comes Africae (cf. b). Ammianus's terminology is vague at this point, and the Notitia Dignitatum does not present a clear and complete picture of the organisation of Britain's defences in the fourth century. Consequently, the precise nature of this command is uncertain. Going by analogy with other provinces, however, it seems that there were two spheres of command in Britain in the fourth century, corresponding to the two third century provinces of Britannia Superior and Inferior. Ammianus, in his account of the barbarian conspiracy of 368, only mentions two commanders, the dux, Fullofaudes, and the comes Litoris Saxonici, Nectaridus (cf. AM XXVII 8 I). Omitting consideration of ND Oc XXIX, which seems a later addition to the Notitia, comparison of the other two

chapters shows that the comes Litoris Saxonici was a higher commander than the dux Britanniarum in the north (cf. OC XXVIII; Oc XL). It seems more likely, therefore, that a past comes Africae would be appointed to the post of comes Litoris Saxonici per Britanniam. There seems to have been unrest in Britain at about this time, since Constans visited the province early in 343 (cf. Unterg. IV p 74 = 416). Gratian then retired to live on his estates at Cibalae in Pannonia, where he was born, but his property was confiscated by Constantius II, because he had acted as host to Magnentius, before the Battle of Mursa in 351 (cf. b). There seems to be no truth in the statement that he ever gained the praetorian prefecture (cf. d). As in the case of Jovian (cf. AM XXV 5 4), his father's reputation undoubtedly played a considerable part in the choice of Valentinian I as emperor (cf. d).

107. SEXTUS ARNIUS GRATUS

VI 32997

Rome

D(is) M(anibus) memoriae Sex(ti) Arni Grati p(rae)p(ositi) Chrestus
li[b(ertus)] posuit.

cf. Aelius Claudianus

108. HARIOBAUDES

a) AM XVIII 2 2 (359)

b) AM XVIII 2 7

In 359 the Caesar Julian secretly ordered the tibunus vacans, Hariobaudes, to go as an envoy to the court of Hortarius, a prince of the Alamanni, whose tribe had already submitted to the Romans. His real purpose, however,

was to make contact with those neighbouring tribes which had still not yet made peace, and to discover their plans (a). He was apparently well acquainted with the language of the Alamanni, and indeed seems to have been of Alamannic stock himself, since a prince of this nation has the same name (AM XVIII 2 15). On receipt of Hariobaudes's report, Julian led his army at full speed to Mainz (b).

109. HARIULFUS

XIII 3682

Gallia Belgica

Treveri

Hariulfus protector domesitigus filius Hanhavalidi regalis gentis Burgundionum qui vicxit annos XX et menses nove(m) et dies nove(m). Reutilo avunculus ipsius fecit.

This Christian inscription was set up to Hariulfus, son of Hanhavalidus, of the royal tribe of the Burgundiones, by his uncle, Reutilo. It is probable that Hariulfus was commissioned direct as protector domesticus, without prior service, since he died aged 20. The first dated reference to the protectores domestici occurs in a law dated to 346 (cf. CT XII I 38). The Burgundiones first appeared on the Rhine frontier at the close of the third century, and common enmity towards the Alamanni made them regular allies of the Romans during the fourth century (cf. Schmidt, 1², pp 131 - 3). Ammianus, describing their organisation, stated that they were ruled by many kings (cf. XXVIII 5 10; 13; 14), and Hariulfus was probably of noble birth, since he was commissioned direct as protector domesticus (cf. Fraomarius, Bitheridus, and Hortarius, AM XXIX 4 7). The bulk of the Burgundiones were still heathen in 370 (cf. AM XXVIII 5 14).

110. FLAVIUS HELIODORUS

P. Gron. 10, 1. 30

φλ(αυιος) Ἡλιοδωρος ἀπο τριβουνων μαρτυρω.

cf. Flavius Abraam

Flavius Heliodorus was probably a retired field army officer, since he holds the status of ex tribunis, in contrast to Flavius Abraam and Flavius L.p.chem, who are listed as ex praepositis.

111. HERACLIUS

VI 32969 a & b

Rome

^P
X Hic iacet Heraclius civis secundus Retus filius Lupicini ex presidibus qui fuit praepositus militum Fo(r)tensium et vixit annis XXXV dep(ositus) kal(endis) Augustus.

Heraclius was born in Raetia Secunda, the son of Lupicinus, a former praeses.

At first sight, this appears to date the inscription to the early part of the fourth century, since praesides finally lost all military powers under Constantine. Afterwards, there was a strict differentiation between civil and military careers, and it is unusual to find the son of a civil official entering the army (cf. however, AM XXIX 6 3 f). Heraclius died aged 35, his last post being that of praepositus commanding the Milites Fortenses. Several units called Fortenses, probably all detachments originally of Legion II Traiana Fortis, are attested in the Notitia, but only one is listed as the Milites Fortenses. This is a frontier unit garrisoned at Lepcis in Tripolitana (cf. ND Oc XXXI 29). Unlike all other provinces, except Isauria and Mauretania, the military and civil power in Tripolitana

seem to have remained in the hands of the praeses until towards the end of the fourth century (cf. IRT 565; AM XXVIII 6 II). It is possible, therefore, that Heraclius was commanding this unit at Lepcis, at the same time as his father was praeses of Tripolitana.

112. HERACLIUS

AE 1903 357

Syria

Kalaat - Ezrak. 293 - 305

[.....] invictos [.....] pro salute et vict(oria) Imp(eratorum) et C(a)es(arum) Ioviorum et Herculiorum ἀντολιγνσε ὁ φοιβελιταζομε
ιερω ἐπι βωμω τον εὐ νοναίζω ὀσικετης Ηρακλιος
ἔγω [πρ]ωτεκτωρ δι[εξερχομενος] (?) φοι[.....] δε
Καισαρων ἰφθιμεγενετο [.....] ἐκιδιμε [.....]
μετιται [.....].

Heraclius, a protector, set up this inscription, giving thanks for the safety and victory of the emperors. The victory referred to is probably that of Galerius over Narses, the Persian King, in 296. Heraclius was presumably a centurion of the first cohort serving in the field army at this time.

113. HERACLIUS

Greg. Tur. II 8 (388)

RE VIII I 503 (Seeck)

In 388 the magister militum, Quintinus, crossed the Rhine near Neuss in order to ravage the territory of the Franks who had recently attacked Gaul.

However, he allowed his troops to be deceived into an ambush in the forest, and among those killed was Heraclius, tribune in command of the Ioviani. Presumably this unit is to be identified with the Ioviani Seniores, a legio palatina in the western field army (ND Oc V 145 = VII 3).

114. HERCULANUS

AM XIV 10 2 (354)

(Constantius II) Dumque ibi diu moratur, (Valentia) commeatum opperiens, quorum translationem ex Aquitania verni imbres solito crebriores prohibebant auctique torrentes, Herculanus advenit protector domesticus, Hermogenis ex magistro equitum filius, apud Constantinopolim (ut supra retulimus) popularium quondam turbela discerpti. Quo verissime referente quae Gallus egerat coniuxque, - - -.

cf. RE VIII I, 549 (Seeck)

Being the son of Hermogenes, a former Magister Equitum Praesentalis,

Herculanus would without doubt have been commissioned direct as protector domesticus on entering a military career. He was clearly an educated man, being a former pupil of Libanius, who mentions him in two letters of 363 (cf. Liban. Ep. 828; 1119). In 354 he brought news to Constantius II at Valentia in Viennensis of the actions of Gallus and his wife in Syria. As a member of the wealthy curial class, and a friend of Libanius, perhaps his report was not as unbiased as Ammianus suggests (cf. E.A. Thompson,

^xThe Historical Works of Ammianus Marcellinus, 1947, p 69).

115. CLAUDIUS HERCULANUS

cf. Claudius Dionysius.

116. HERMOGENES

III 13814 a & b

Moesia Prima

Tzlas-Katarakt 364-75

a) Su(b) c(ura) Hermogeni p(rae)p(ositi) rip(ae) leg(io) VII Cl(audia)
Parce [...]

b) S(ub) c(ura) He[.....] ripe leg(io) V[II Cl(audia)]

The name, Hermogenes, suggests an eastern origin. The letters, 'Parce', probably refer to the name of the fort where this brick stamp was found.

He held the post of praepositus ripae, in charge of a detachment of VII Claudia, guarding a particular stretch of the lines of Moesia Prima.

117. HORTARIUS

AM XXIX 4 7 (372)

Following a punitive campaign against the Alamanni in 372, Valentinian appointed three of their chieftains to command units, one of whom was Hortarius. He was probably given the rank of tribune (cf. Praemarius). Later on, he was found to have been in treasonable correspondence with other chieftains of the Alamanni (cf. AM XIV 10 8). The matter was reported by Florentius, dux Germaniae Primae, and, following a confession, wrung from him by torture, Hortarius was burned to death.

118. IACOBUS

of. Caesius

119. IANUARIUS

a) III 70

Egypt

Thebes

Ianuarus p(rae)p(ositus) vidi et miravi locu(m) cu[m] filia mea
Ianuarina valete omnes.

b) III 71

Egypt

Thebes

Ianuarus p(rae)p(ositus) vidi et miravi loc[um].

c) III 72

Egypt

Thebes

Ianuarus p(rae)p(ositus) vidi et miravi locum.

cf. Aelius Claudianus.

120. IANUARIUS

a) P. Oxy. I 43 Recto col. III, ls. 24-8

295

τοῖς ὑπο Ἐνβαριν πρεποσιτον λι(τραι) υπ.
της δε φρουμαριας ἔστιν ἀντιγρα(φον).
των ὑπο Ἐνβαριν πρεποσιτον Σαρματη
ἐπιμελητη Ὄξ(υρυχιτου). ἔσχον παρα σου κοφινους
δεκα δυο ἐκ λιτρων τεσσαρακοντα.

b) Ibid. col. IV, ls. 24-9

Ἀμαλη ὀπτωνι ὑπο Ἰανβαριν λι(τραι) Ἀψμ
της δε φρουμαριας ἔστιν ἀντιγρα(φον).
Αὔρηλιος Ἀμαρλης ὀπτων ὑπο Ἰανβαριν
Αὔρη[λιω] Διδυμω και Σαρματη Πτολεμινου
ἐπι[μελητ]αις Ὄξ(υρυχιτου) ἔσχον παρα σου
κοφινους
ἔξη[κο]ντα ἑννηα, Τυβι λ.

cf. Claudianus

If the two praepositi referred to in (a) and (b) are identical, which seems likely, it is probable that Enbaris and Ianbaris are corruptions of the Roman name, Ianuarius. Both sections conform to the normal layout of this document, namely the statement of the amount of supplies provided by the epimeletes of Oxyrhynchus, followed by a copy of the receipt, signed by the optio, in this case Aurelius Didymus. On the first occasion, Ianuarius's unit received 480 lb of fodder, and on the second, 1,740 lb. The name of the unit is unknown, but it was probably a vexillation drawn from a pair of legions garrisoned in the same province.

121. VALERIUS INGENUUS

AE 1942-3 81

Numidia

Afn-Naima 303

Imp(eratoribus) d(ominis) n(ostris) Diocletiano et Maximiano aeternis Aug(ustis) et Constantio et Maximiano fortissimis Caesaribus princib(us) iuventutis centenarium quod Aqua Viva appellatur ex praeepto Val(erii) Alexandri v(iri) p(erfectissimi) agent(is) vic(es) praef(ectorum) (duorum) praet(orio); et Val(erii) Flori v(iri) p(erfectissimi) p(raesidis) p(rovinciae) N(umidiae) a solo fabricatum curante Val(erio) Ingenuo praep(osito) limit(is) dedicatum d(ominis) n(ostris) Diocletiano VIII et Maximiano VII Aug(ustis) cons(ulibus).

cf. L. Leschi, 'Le "Centenarium" d'Aqua Viva, près de M'doukal', Ref.Afr., LXXXVII, 1943, pp 5-22.

In 303 Valerius Ingenuus, praepositus limitis, supervised the building of a centenarium at Aqua Viva, according to the orders of Valerius Alexander, agens vices praefectorum praetorio, and Valerius Florus, praeses Numidiae. The site lies between Gemellae and Tubunae, but nearer the latter, and therefore Leschi states that it is more likely that Ingenuus was in charge of the lines Tubunensis (cf. ND Oc XXV 25). The inscription reflects Diocletian's policy of fortifying the frontier defences.

122. INNOCENTIUS

AM XVI 12 63 (357)

Innocentius, tribune in command of a unit of Equites Catafractarii, was one of the four officers who were killed at the Battle of Strasbourg in 357.

He is perhaps to be identified with the tribune commanding the Catafractarii whom Ammianus mentions as being wounded during the fighting (AM XVI 12 38).

123. IOHANNES

AE 1938 II

Thracia

Hissar

† Θεοδώρον προσεκομησθη τας εντολας του θεου Τηρησας
Θεοδωρος της λαμπρας μνημης και προς θεον μελλον
ανελευειν επιποθησας τε το αιειδον οικτηριο εν το σεβασμω
τουτω οικω του αγιου ενδοξου προτομαρτυρος Στεφανου
την καταπαυσιν ενθαδε ηυρατο μηνη Οκτωβριω Τριτη
ινδης εβδομη προαποστιλας καθαρων θυμιαμα τον
εαυτου γνησιον υιον Ιωαννην πρωτηκταρα ωστις εν τω
προφυλεω τουτο την καταπαυσιν εχει [.....].

The protector, Iohannes, set up this inscription to his father, Theodoros, who was buried in the church of St. Stephen.

124. FLAVIUS IOVIANUS

a) V 8037 = IIS 757

Italy

Verona

D(omino) n(ostro) Fl(avio) Iov[i]ano victori ac triumphatori semper Augusto,
b(ono) r(ei) p(ublicae) n(ato) XV.

b) AM XXV 10 13 (364)

c) Vict. Epit. XLIV I

d) Zos. III 30 I

(After Julian's death) ψηφω κοινη βασιλευς Ιοβιανος
αναδεικνυται Βαρρωνιανου του των δομestikων
ηγουμενου ταγματος παις.

e) Eutrop. X 17 I

f) AM XXV 10 14

g) AM XXV 8 9

h) AM XXI 16 20 (361)

i) AM XXV 5 4 (363)

(After Julian's death) Inter has exiguas ad tantam rem moras, nondum pensatis
sententiis, tumultuantibus paucis (ut in rebus extremis saepe est factum),
Iovianus eligitur Imperator, domesticorum ordinis primus, paternis meritis
mediocriter commendabilis. Erat enim Varroniani, notissimi comitis, filius,
haut dudum post depositum militiae munus ad tranquilliora vitae digressi.

cf. RE IX 2, 2006 ff (Seeck).

Flavius Iovianus was born in 331 in Pannonia (cf. a - c). Singidunum^(cf. c) was
actually in the province of Moesia Prima, though close to its border with
Pannonia Secunda. On account of the high rank of his father, Varronianus,

who had reached the post of comes domesticorum, prior to his retirement (cf. c, d, i), he was presumably commissioned as a protector domesticus on entering the army. No doubt his height and presence acted as an additional reason for his being chosen for service at court (cf. f; Theod. Hist. Ecol. IV I). He married the daughter of Lucillianus (cf. g), who became Magister Equitum per Illyricum about 360 (cf. RE XIII 2, 1647). In 361, Iovianus was assigned the honour of conducting the corpse of Constantius II from Mopsucrenae in Cilicia to Constantinople for burial (cf. h). Perhaps his father's influence as comes domesticorum secured him this distinction. By 363 he had reached the post of primicerius domesticorum (cf. i). This position was evidently reached according to seniority as a rule (cf. CT VI 24 II). The normal period of service for a protector domesticus was about five years (cf. Flavius Memorius). If Iovianus was commissioned as a protector domesticus at about the age of 18, however, he must have served 12 years in this rank. Had he not been chosen as emperor on Julian's death, he would presumably have been appointed as tribunus in command of a field army unit (cf. CT VI 24 II). Indeed, both Socrates and Zonaras name him wrongly as being tribunus prior to his accession (cf. Socrat. III 22 3; Zonar. XIII 14). At first sight it seems strange that a person of such comparatively low rank should have been chosen as emperor. His father's high reputation undoubtedly contributed to his being selected (cf. e & i). But Alföldi is probably correct in ascribing his election chiefly to the work of a small group of fellow Pannonians in key positions (cf. A. Alföldi, 'A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire', 1952, p 13).

125. IOVINUS

AE 1891 105

Italy

Concordia

Florus patri pie [....]ia [.....] memoriam posinsib[...] ollec[....]s[...]
re Si quis ante hanc sepulturam move(re) temptaverit inferre debe[bit.....
f]isco auri libr(as) VI.Fl(avius) Iovanus bearcus draconarius ex numero
Octava Dalmatas, militavit annos XX vixit an(n)os XL, posuit memoria Iovinus
prot(ector) parens suus.

Two separate dedications appear to be recorded on this stone. The first is by a certain Florus to his father. A fine of 6 lb of gold is prescribed for anyone discovered interfering with the tomb. The second was set up by Iovinus, a protector, to his son, Flavius Iovianus, who died aged 40 after 20 years service, having reached the post of biarchus draconarius in the numerus VIII Dalmatarum. This unit is listed in the Notitia as a verillatio comitatensis in Gaul (cf. Oc^{VI}_A 13 = 56 = VII 174). The dedication belongs to a series of late military inscriptions found at Concordia, and dated by Mommsen to the period c. 400 (cf. CIL V p 1058).

126. FLAVIUS IOVINUS

III 3370 = ILS 2787

Valeria

near Aquincum

Fl(avius) Iovinus ex p(rae)p(osito) Militum Histricorum et Fl(avius) Paulus biarcus pater et Filius domum a fundamentis iusserunt fabricari.

Prior to retirement, Flavius Iovinus had been praepositus in command of the Milites Histrici. This unit is probably identical with the classis Histrica which the Notitia lists as being stationed at Florentia in the same province (cf. ND Oc XXXIII 58). The inscription commemorates the re-building of his house. The earliest reference to the rank of biarchus, held by his son, Paulus, occurs in an inscription of 324 (cf. AE 1922 72).

127. FLAVIUS ISIGUAR

IRT 886 k

Tripolitana

Bir-ed-Dreder

Flavius Isiguari tribunus

R.G. Goodchild & J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'The Limes Tripolitanus in the light of recent discoveries', JRS, XXXIX, 1949, pp 81-85

R.G. Goodchild, 'The Latino-Libyan Inscriptions of Tripolitania', Antiq. Journ., XXX, 1950, pp 135 - 44

This inscription belongs to a series discovered in the outermost limes forts of the Tripolitanian frontier. Flavius Isiguar was evidently a tribune in command of one of the numeri settled in a limes sector. Such units were originally recruited from local tribesmen, who were allotted land for cultivation, in return for garrisoning the centenaria and guarding the frontier. Isiguar is a local Libyan name (Goodchild, p 139). The nomen suggests a date not earlier than the fourth century.

128. ITALICUS

Ost. Jahresh. VI, 1903, Beibl., col. 56, n. 82

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

Eq(uites) Sag(i)t(arii) s(ub) c(ura) I{t}alici{p(rae)p(ositus)... ?]

This brick stamp shows that Italicus was praepositus of a unit of Equites Sagittarii. It probably dates to the reign of Valentinian and Valens, since it seems unlikely that such a unit would have been employed in manufacturing bricks in the early fourth century. In the Notitia, two cunei of Equites Sagittarii are listed as stationed in Moesia Prima, one at Tricornium, and the other at Lederata (cf. ND. Or XLI 14; 17). Since the latter place is nearest to Viminacium, it seems more likely that Italicus was commanding the detachment garrisoned there.

129. FLAVIUS ITALUS

A.M. Schneider, 'Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik - Nicaea', (Istanbuler Forschungen, XVI), Berlin, 1943, p 34, n. 59 = AE 1950 253.

Bithynia Nicaea

Φλ(αουιος) Ἴταλας ἀπο προτηκτορων κατεσκευασα το
κοιμητηριον ἑμαυτῶ και τη σεμνοτατη μου συμβιω μου
Αὐρηλια Ρωμυλη και τῶ υἱῶ μου Αὐρηλιῶ Ρωμυλ[ω] και
τη κνδεστρια μου Αὐρηλια Οὐρη και τῶ
γυναικαδελφῶ μου Αὐρηλιῶ) Σενεκιανῶ ἐπι τῶ
μετα το κατατεθηναι ἡμας ἀμφοτερουσ τις ἀν
σκυλη το κοιμητηριον, δωσει λογον θεῶ.

This Christian inscription records that Flavius Italus, ex protectoribus erected a tomb for himself and his family.

130. IULIANUS

a) P.Oxy I 43 Recto, col. V, ls. 9 - 15

295

Πυρῶ ὀπτιωνι των [υ]πο Ἰουλιανον πρεποσιτον
της δε φρουμαρια[s] ἐστιν, ἀντιγραφον
Αὐρηλιος Πυρος ὀπτιων ὑπο Ἰουλιανον
πρεποσιτον λεγιω[ν]ος τεταρτης φλαβιας
Σαρματη ἐπιμελητη Ὀξ(υρυχιτου). ἔσχον κοφινους
ἑρενηκον τρεις μονους.

b) Ibid. ls. 23-31

Οὐαλη, ὀπτίων λεγιωναίς ζ' Κλαυδίας
ὑπο Ἰουλιανόν προποσίτον ἡμερ(ων) γ' λι(τραί) Ἀφμ.
της δε φρουμαρίας το ἀντιγραφον).
Αὐρηλιος Οὐαλης ὀπτίων λεγιωναίς ζ'
Κλαυδίας ὑπο Ἰουλιανόν προποσίτον
ἔσχον ἡμερων τριων χειλιας ἑπτακοσια[s]
τεσσαρακοντα τη πρ[ο] τεσσαρων καλενδων
φεβραριων παρα Σαρματου και Διδυμου
ἐπιμελητων σεσ[η(μειωμαι)].

cf. Claudianus.

These two passages are especially important and interesting, in that they show that the same praepositus, Iulianus, was commanding a pair of vexillations, drawn from legions VII Claudia and IV Flavia, which formed the garrison of the province of Moesia Superior. Thus his command is similar to that exercised by Flavius Aper, Traianus Mucianus, and Victorinus. It is probable that the other praepositi mentioned in this document were commanding paired vexillations of this type. Section (a) shows that the vexillation of IV Flavia received 1,260 lb of fodder, while section (b) shows that the vexillation of VII Claudia received 1,740 lb. In each case a copy of the receipt is included, the optiones concerned being Aurelius Purus, and Aurelius Valens.

131. IULIANUS

- a) AM XXV 6 3 (363)
- b) Zos. III 30 4
- c) Liban. Ep. 79 (359)

RE X I 95 (Hähmle)

During heavy fighting against the Persians in 363, three tribunes were killed, their names being Iulianus, Macrobius and Maximus (a, b).

Ammianus states that the legions which they commanded were those which at that time held first place in the army (a). The three units which head the list of legiones palatinae in the eastern field army in the

Notitia are the Lanciarri Seniores, Ioviani Iuniores and Herculiani Iuniores (ND Or V 42-4), and it is likely that these are the detachments to which

Ammianus is referring. This is all the more probable in the case of the two latter, since in the same passage Ammianus states that the

Ioviani and Herculiani especially distinguished themselves in this battle (AM XXV 6 2). It is possible that Iulianus is to be equated with

Libanius's pupil of the same name, mentioned in 359 (c). However, he may have entered the civil administration, rather than the army, and

it seems doubtful whether he would have been appointed to command such an important unit in so short a space of time.

132. FLAVIUS IULIANUS

III 8741

Dalmatia

Salona

Fl(avio) Iuliano ex protectore et ex praepositis qui vixit annis LI et Aur(eliae) Sapr(iciae) uxori obsequentissime quae vixit annis XXXV.

This inscription was set up to Flavius Iulianus who held the titles, ex protectore and ex praepositis and his wife, Aurelia Sapr(icia). If it

is late third century in date, he had presumably served as centurion of the first cohort in the field army, and praepositus in command of a pair of legionary vexillations (cf. Traianus Mucianus). A law of 320 however, shows that these titles were sometimes acquired by persons who had never served in the army (cf. CT VII 21 1).

133. M. AURELIUS IULIUS

III 7440

Moesia Inferior

Novae

D(is) M(anibus) [.....] Castianae in [.....] annis X [.....] Carusiae e[.....]
filiis ex eade(m pro)genitis M(arcus) A[urel(ius) ?] Iulius ex
prote[c]tor(ibus) vivo sibi et supra dictis coniugi et filiis memoriae
gratia titulum constituit [.....]v.

The style of the inscription, and particularly the mention of the praenomen seems to suggest a late third century date. Iulius's title, ex protectoribus, makes it likely that he rose to the position of centurion of the first cohort in the field army prior to his retirement. Since Novae seems to have been his home, he may well have begun his career in I Italica, which was the legion stationed there.

134. AEMILIUS IUNCUS

VI 32995

Rome

D(is) M(anibus) Aemilius Iuncus et Varius Karus p(rae)p(ositi ?)
fecer(unt) lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue) suis posterisq(ue) eorum.

cf. Aelius Claudianus

If Aemilius Iuncus and Varius Karus were military praepositi, the units which they commanded, probably regiones pseudocomitatenses, were apparently paired.

135. IUSTINIANUS

VII 268

Britain

Ravenscar c. 369

Iustinianus p(rae)p(ositus). Vindicianus magister turr[e]m castrum fecit a so(1o).

cf. C.E. Stevens, 'The British sections of the Notitia Dignitatum', Arch. Journ., XCVII, 1940, pp 125-54.

R.G. Goodchild, 'The Ravenscar Inscription', Antiq.Journ., XXXII, 1952, pp 185-8.

The above is Goodchild's reading, which seems preferable to that of Stevens. Altogether, five signal stations are known in this region, stretching from Huntcliff to Filey, though it seems probable that they are only part of a much wider system of coastal defence. They constitute one facet of the reorganisation of Britain's defences which was undertaken by the comes Theodosius, when he was sent to restore order in 369. Iustinianus was evidently the first praepositus in charge of this particular section of coastline. It is thought that the fort at Malton acted as the base from which these signal stations were operated, in which case, Iustinianus was probably commander of the unit stationed there. It has been suggested that Malton should be identified with the Derventio mentioned in the Notitia, which lists the numerus Supervenientium Petuariensium as being stationed there (cf. ND. Qc XL 31). It seems more probable, however, that this fort is Ebchester, since it is listed immediately below Lanchester. Stevens has suggested that Iustinianus's unit may have been a detachment of VI Victrix from York (cf. p 153). It seems unlikely that he is to be equated with the general of the same name who was sent to Gaul by Constantine III in 407 (cf. Zos. VI 2 2; Olymp., FHG IV p 59). Vindicianus was evidently a magister, or subordinate officer, serving under him. Other similar inscriptions from the Danube frontier mention this rank (cf. III 4668; 11376).

136. IUSTINUS

III p 282 = ILS 9481

Dalmatia

near Salona

ἐνθαδε κίτε ἰουστίνου τριβουνος βαλεντινιανηνοσιουμ
νεοφιωτιστος.

Iustinus, tribunus Valentinianensium, had been recently baptised.

Probably his unit is to be equated with the auxilium palatinum of the same name which the Notitia lists among the troops stationed in Illyricum (ND Oc V 190 = VII 61). The inscription cannot be earlier than 364, the date of Valentinian I's accession.

137. IUSTUS

VI 1110

Rome

256 - 8

[Corneliae Saloninae sanctissimae Augustae coniugi Imperatoris) P(ublil)
Lic(inii)] Gali[eni Aug(usti) matri P(ublil) Lic(inii) Corn(elii) Val]eriani
nobil[issimi Cae]saris [centuriones] deputati et supernume [rarii et
f]rumentari(i) cum [.....] et Iustø trib(unis duo) et Aurelio
[..... principe pe] regrinorum et Aurelio [... sub principe] peregrinorum
[n(umini) m(aiestatique) eius dica]tissimi [curante ...]do v(iro) e(gregio)
ex kanal(iclaro).

The castra peregrina was of key importance during the third century, since it acted as the headquarters for the frumentarii, centuriones supernumerarii and deputati. It is safe to assume that most of the officers destined for important commands would pass through it at some stage. This inscription shows that under Gallienus two praetorian tribunes were in charge, though owing to its fragmented state the name of only one, Iustus, is known. These tribunes probably corresponded to the comites domesticorum equitum and peditum in the fourth century.

138. ACESONIUS KALANDINUS

III 10509

Pannonia Inferior

Aquincum

D(is) M(anibus) Cl(audio) Agesonio Theodoro qui vix(it) ann(os) IIII
m(ensibus) III d(iebus) XX. Acesonius Kalandinus (centurio) prot(ector)
et Cerellia Th(e)odora fil(io) carissimo f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

This inscription seems late third century in style. Kalandinus was a centurion of the first cohort in the field army with the title of protector, probably serving in II Adiutrix, the legion garrisoned at Aquincum. It is probable that the name, Claudi~~us~~, was given to his son out of respect for the emperor, Claudius II (268 - 70). In this event, the inscription could have been set up in the reign of Aurelian, who campaigned on the Danube prior to his overthrow of the Palmyran empire (cf. SHA Aurel. XXII 2; IIS 8925, 272).

139. VARIUS KARUS

VI 32995

Rome

cf. Aemilius Iuncus & Aelius Claudianus

140. FLAVIUS L. P. CHEM

P. Gron. 10, 1. 28

Φλ(αυιος) Λ[.]π[.]χεμ απο πραιποσιτων παρημιν και
μαρτυρω.

cf. Flavius Abraam

141. LAIPSO

AM XVI 12 63 (357)

Laipso was one of the four tribunes who were killed at the Battle of Strasbourg in 357, when the Caesar Julian defeated the Alamanni. His name seems to indicate a Germanic origin.

142. LANIOGAISUS

AM XV 5 16 (355)

Laniogaisus was the sole witness to the death of the emperor Constans in 350. Ammianus states that he was then a candidatus, i.e. serving in a schola palatina. By 355 he had risen to the rank of tribune. He was a Frank, and evidently kept in touch with his own people, since he advised the magister peditum, Silvanus, not to seek refuge among his fellow countrymen.

143. CLODIUS LARGUS

VIII 9755

Mauretania Caesariensis

Portus Magnus

[....] Alexand[r]o [.....]culo convid[..... Cl]od(ius) Lar[g]us (centurio) pra[ep]osit(us) l[imitis] (?) ... laribus (?) vialibus Callimorphus, Liberalis Au[g]us[ti]disp(ensatoris) vi[k]arius)]

cf. C. Courtois, Les Vandales et l'Afrique, pp 86-7

Courtois believes that that part of the old province of Mauretania to the west of the Oued Riou and the lower Chétif was abandoned when the frontier defence system was reorganised under Diocletian. If this is so, the above inscription will date to the third century, since Portus Magnus is in that area. The earliest dated reference to a praepositus limitis occurs in an

inscription of 244-6 (cf. AE 1950 128). If the restoration is correct, it seems that Clodius Largus was a centurion, presumably a centurio ducenarius of the first cohort, acting as praepositus limitis.

144. LATINUS

a) AM XIV 10 8 (354)

b) Zos. II 48 5 (351)

RE XII 938 (Seeck)

Latinus is attested as comes domesticorum in 354 (a). He was of Alamannic stock, since Ammianus relates that he was one of those senior officers who were suspected of having given warning to their fellow countrymen of an impending Roman attack. He is evidently to be identified with the officer of the same name, who, though high in favour with Constantius, declined to attend a banquet which he provided in 351 before the Battle of Mursa, since he was anxious concerning the fate of his friend, Philip, the praetorian prefect, whom Magnentius had detained (b). He had probably been transferred from the west to the east under Constantine I.

145. LAXUS

P. Flor. I 36, 1. 21

Theadelphia

312

[.....]σα δανισαμεν[ος] παρα του εκισ[ε] διακιμενου
τριβ[ο]υνου Λαξου Μα[.]πεκατο[.] της λ[.].

In a petition to the prefect of Egypt, dated to 312, the tribune Laxus is mentioned. He was presumably the commander of an auxiliary cohort stationed in Egypt.

146. AEMILIUS LEO

IX 3921

Italy

Alba Fucens 362

C1(audio) Mamertino et Fl(avio) Nevitta cons(ulibus) Ianu(ari)as fecerunt
Ag(ileius) Modestus et Aemilius Leo p(rae)p(ositi ?).

cf. Aelius Claudianus.

If they were military praepositi, Aemilius Leo and Agileius Modestus may have been commanding a pair of legiones pseudocomitatenses, i.e. recent levies to the field army. In 362 the emperor Julian was doubtless preparing for his Persian campaign of the following year.

147. LEONTIUS

Julian, Ep. XXII (Loeb edit. III pp 29 - 30).

361

cf. Seeck, Briefe, p 196, ix.

In this letter of 361, Julian grants a commission as protector domesticus to a certain Leontius, and also armour suitable for an infantryman. In the preceding passage he states that he does this on the recommendation of a person who is incapable of speaking falsely. It is uncertain who this person was, or whether Leontius was already serving in the army. Seeck believed that he was probably identical with the praepositus commanding the Milites Auxiliares Lauriacenses in 370 (cf. ILS 774), but there is no proof of this.

148. LEONTIUS

III 5670a = ILS 774

Noricum

Fafiana

370

D(ominorum) n(ostorum) Valentiniani Valentis et Gratiani perennium Augustorum saluberrima iussione(m), hunc burgum a [f]undamentis ordinante viro clarissimo Equitio comite et utriusque militiae magistro insistente etiam Leontio p(rae)p(osito), Milites Auxiliares Lauriacenses cur(a)e eius commissi consulatus eorundem dominorum principumque nostrorum tertii, ad summam manum perduxerunt perfection[i]s.

Leontius was praepositus in command of the Milites Auxiliares Lauriacenses, who in 370 were employed to build a burgus near Fafiana. There is no mention of this unit in the Notitia, but it is probably the detachment of II Italica normally garrisoned at Lauriacum (cf. ND Oc XXXIV 39). The title, 'Auxiliares', at first sight suggests auxiliary troops, but Ammianus states that these normally disdained the task of building (cf. AM XVIII 2 6). Again, three units with the title, 'Auxilarii', are listed in the Notitia as legiones pseudocomitatenses (cf. ND Or VI 69; Or VII 51; Or IX 40). Thirdly, the title, 'Milites', normally suggests a legionary detachment. Finally, to judge from other inscriptions the bulk of the work of strengthening the frontier defences under Valentinian seems to have been done by detachments of the frontier legions.

149. LEUCADIUS

AE 1938 30

Hispania Tarraconensis

Tarragona

† Bon(a)e memoriae Leucadius † primicerius domesticorum qui vixit cum conparem suam Nonnitam † annis XXV depositus † pridie kalendas † Ianuarias vixit † autem omnibus diebus suis quibus vix annis † plus minus † sexaginta

This Christian inscription was set up to Leucadius, who died about the age of 60, having held the post of primicerius domesticorum, normally acquired by seniority (cf. CT. VI 24 II).

150. LIBINO

a) AM XXI 3 2-3 (361)

b) AM XXI 4 7

In the Spring of 361, the Caesar Julian received news that the Alamanni were attacking Raetia. Accordingly, he sent the comes Libino with the Celtae and Petulantes to repulse them. These units are probably to be equated with the Celtae and Petulantes Seniores, a pair of auxilia palatina in the western field army (ND Oc V 160, 161 = VII 11, 12). He made contact with the enemy near Seckingen. Although his force was outnumbered, he rashly ordered an immediate attack, and was himself the first to fall (a, b).

151. LICINIANUS

AE 1939 45

Thracia

Philippopolis

D(is) M(anibus) Viator filius Liciniani protectori(s) de scola Seniore(s) Peditum qui vixit annos quatt(u)or me(n)ses nove(m) hic est depositus

Χαιρε παρ[οδία].

Licinianus may have been named in honour of the emperor Licinius, who was finally defeated by Constantine I in 324. No unit called the Schola Seniorum Peditum is otherwise known. The guard scholae under the magister officiorum were all cavalry units. Perhaps this inscription was set up before the protectores serving on the emperor's staff had acquired the title of domestici. The protectores domestici are first attested in 346 (cf. CT XII I 38). According to the Notitia Dignitatum they were divided into two scholae, Equites and Pedites (cf. ND Or XV 6, 7; Oc XIII 6, 7). The formula, Dis Manibus, does not necessarily prove that the inscription is non-Christian, but appears to point in that direction.

152. LICINIUS LICINIANUS

IX 2111

Italy

Ager Beneventanus

Sacerdoti Iunoni reg(inae) Liciniae Licinianae Liciniani trib(uni) filiae
[Lic]inia Attiane mater.

Licinius Licinianus held the post of tribune, though the unit is unspecified.. Perhaps he was named in honour of the emperor Licinius (308 - 24).

153. LIMENIUS

AE 1937 96

Galatia

Ankara

[Υ]περ εὐχῆς Λιμενίου [π]ρωτικτορος κε τῆς συνβίου
αὐτοῦ Κοιραδίας κ[ε] τῶν τεκνῶν αὐτῶ[ν] Λιμενίας
κε Ἐπιφανί[ας] κε Λιμενίου κε πάντων τῶν
διαφερόντων αὐτῶ κε ὑπερ [...]ε [...]ς Δαφνοῦ.

This Christian inscription was set up by Limenius, protector, and his wife and family at their home at Ankara.

154. LUCIANUS

P. Oxy. I 43 Recto.col. II, ls. 12-13

Oxyrhynchus 295

Λικαβίω ὀπτιῶνι ὑπο Λουκιανόν
πρεποσιτ(ον) ἀκολουθ(ως) φρουμαρία Ρωμαϊκ(η)
λι(τραι) Ζτπ.

cf. Claudianus

This section of the papyrus contains the statement that Licabius, optio to the praepositus, Lucianus, has received 7,380 lb of fodder. The name of the unit commanded by Lucianus is unknown, but it seems probable that it was a vexillation drawn from a pair of legions garrisoned in the same province.

155. FLAVIUS LUCIANUS

AE 1959 196

Arabia

Umm-el-Djemat

337-61

Fl(avius) Lycianus p(rae)p(ositus) civis Filipop(o)lis Th(r)acensia[n]e
trib(unus) mil(itum) militante inter Scutarios d(omini) n(ostri) Constanti(i)
an(n)i(s) XXV s(emis)[.....].

cf. H. Vettters, 'Zu einer Inschrift aus Umm-el-Jemat', Ost. Jahresh. XLIV, 1959, Beibl., col. 380-4

On the whole the reading of Vettters seems preferable to that of Reynolds, though his restoration, 'p(rae)p(ositus) civi(tati)s Filipop(o)lis', in I. I does not seem to be correct. It is simpler to read 'civis Filipop(o)lis' as above. In this event, Flavius Lucianus was evidently born at Philippopolis in Thrace. The inscription is incomplete, but it is clear that he served for 25½ years in a schola of the Scutarii. After 20 years service he was probably appointed protector. It seems better to expand l. 2 as 'trib(unus) mil(itum)', rather than Vettters' reading, namely 'trib(unus) Mil(iarensium)'. Lucianus was probably tribunus in charge of one of the cohorts stationed in Arabia (cf. ND Or XXXVII 31-5). The term, praepositus, at the beginning of the inscription is a general reference to his post (cf. Flavius Abinnaeus, Salvitus).

156. LUCILLIANUS

- a) AM XXV 8 9
- b) Symmach. Or. I 4
- c) Zos. II 45 2 (350)
- d) Zos. III 8 2
- e) AM XIV II 14 (354)
- f) AM XVII 14 13; XVIII 6 17; 18 (358-9)
- g) AM XXI 9 5-10 (361)
- h) Liban. Or. XVIII III
- i) Zos. III 35 2
- j) AM XXV 10 6; 7 (363)

RE XIII 2 1647-8 (Seeck); W. Ensslin, 'Die Magistri Militum des viertes Jahrhunderts', Klio, XXIV, 1931, pp 102-47.

Lucillianus was evidently a Pannonian, since he was the father-in-law of Jovian (a, b), and he went into retirement at Sirmium (a). He is probably to be identified with the Lucillianus who successfully defended Nisibis when the city was besieged by the Persians in 350 (c, d). In Seeck's view, at this time he held the post of dux Mesopotamiae. However, Ensslin believes that he was acting as vicarius to the absent magister equitum per Orientem (p 106). A law of 414 shows that a comes domesticorum could act as vices agens Magistri militum (CT XV II I). Just before Gallus was summoned to Milan in 354, Constantius II ordered certain officials to visit him to make sure that he was not plotting any secret revolt. One of these officers was Lucillianus, acting as comes domesticorum, presumably to replace Barbatio, who had been recalled (e). It is uncertain whether

he is to be identified with the official of the same name who was sent as an envoy to the Persian court in 358, and was detained until 359 (f). In 361 he was acting as comes in charge of the troops of Illyricum, when he was surprised and captured by Julian's troops (g, h). As Ensslin states, he had probably not yet been given the status of regional magister, as in the case of Equitius later on (Ensslin, p 107). He was deprived of his post, and apparently went into retirement at Sirmium (a, i). In 363, following his accession, Jovian appointed him as magister equitum per Illyricum, and ordered him to go to Milan to secure his recognition by the army of the west (a). Doubtless Lucillianus was selected for this important task because he was related to Jovian, and therefore to be trusted, and also because, having had no previous contact with the army of Gaul, the unruly soldiers would not be tempted to proclaim him as emperor. However, on arrival at Rheims, he was murdered by the rebellious troops (b, i, j).

157. LUPICINUS

a) III 3767 = 10681 a-d Valeria near Vacz

Lupicini tr(i)b(uni)

b) III 10681 e

Lupicino tr(i)b(un)

These brick stamps mentioning the tribune Lupicinus were found near Vacz on the left bank of the Danube. They probably date to the reign of Valentinian I (cf. Caris).

158. FLAVIUS LUPPIO

V 4370

Italy

Brixia

Fl(avius) Luppio ex praep(osito) Aur(eliae) Severinae matr(i) dulcissimae
qui (sic) vixit ann(os) LXXV mensis VII dies decem novem. Vale mihi mater
pientissima.

cf. Ulpus Candidus

159. FLAVIUS MACARCUM

IRT 886 c

Tripolitana

Bir-ed-Dreder

[Fla]bius Mac[a]rcu[m] Macarcum tribunus

cf. Flavius Isiguar

160. MAC]ARIUS (?)

P. Gen. II 45 = Mitt. Wilck. I II, 464, ~~344~~ = P. Abinn. 2

344

cf. Flavius Abinnaeus.

This papyrus of 344 contains a letter ~~of Flavius~~ from the dux Aegypti,
Flavius Valacius, to Flavius Abinnaeus, signifying his dismissal from the
post of praefectus alae at Dionysias. Unfortunately, the first three
letters at the beginning of l. 2 are missing, so that the name of his
successor is uncertain. The most probable restoration is that of
[Mac]arius. Like Abinnaeus, he had presumably already served as protector
in the field army, since he holds the title, ex protectoribus. His
tenure of the prefecture was only short, since by May 1st 346 Abinnaeus had
been reinstated.

161. FLAVIUS MACARIUS

P. Gron. 10, 1. 32

(4)

Φλ(αυιος) Μακαριος απο τριβ(ουνων) μαρτυρω.

cf. Flavius Abraam & Flavius Heliodorus

162. MACEDONIUS

VI 32944

Rome

X D(is) M(anibus) Macedonio sag(it)t(ario) scol(a)e Dom(e)s(s)t(icorum)
Ped(i)t(um) vixit an(nis) pl(u)s m(inu)s XXX. Ser(vus ?) b(ene)m(erenti).

This Christian inscription was set up to Macedonius, who died while serving in the Schola Domesticorum Peditum. This is the only example of such an officer being classed as a sagittarius.

163. MACHAMEUS

AM XXV 1 2 (363)

During Julian's Persian campaign of 363, there was a skirmish near Corduena, in which Machameus, commander of a unit, was fatally wounded. His brother's name, Maurus, suggests that he may have been an African.

164. MACROBIUS

P. Grenf. & Hunt II 74

Thebais

Tentyra

302

Αύρηλιος [Ἡρ]ων Καστορος [σ]τρατιωτης ἰππευς
Προμωτων Σεκουτων ἀπο λεγεωνος β' Τραιανης
διακιμενης ἐν Τεντυρη, ὑπο Μακροβιον
[πρ]αιποσιτον Αύρηλιω Απια Νωβανου ἑξατυλι[τ]η
ἀπο κωμης Κυσιος του Ἰβιτου [ν]ομου Χαιρειν.

cf. E. Ritterling, 'Zum römische Heerwesen des ausgehenden dritten Jahrhunderts', Festschr. für O. Hirschfeld, 1903, pp 345-9.

This papyrus contains the details of a contract between Aurelius Heron, a cavalry soldier, and a certain Aurelius Apias, concerning the sale of a camel. Heron was serving in the Promoti Secundi of Legion II Traiana, which was stationed at Tentyrah, under the command of the praepositus, Macrobius. It is thought that Gallienus separated the legionary cavalry from the parent legions, when he created an independent cavalry army, and that the Promoti are the old legionary cavalry (cf. Ritterling, pp 348-9). The earliest reference to the Promoti occurs in a papyrus of 293 (cf. P. Grenf. & Hunt II 110). It seems likely that Diocletian re-established some of these units in their former provinces as part of his plan to strengthen the frontier defences. At all events, this papyrus shows that the Equites Promoti had not yet lost their connection with their parent

legions. The unit listed as stationed at Tentyra in the Notitia is the Equites Sagittarii Indigenae (cf. ND Or XXXI 25). A unit of Equites Promoti Indigenae is recorded, but its place of garrison is not mentioned (cf. ND Or XXXI 30).

165. MACROBIUS

a) AM XXV 6 3 (363)

b) Zos. III 30 4

cf. Iulianus

166. FLAVIUS MACTANS

III 3768 = 10682

Valeria

Vardomb

Fl(avius) Mactans trib(unus)

This brick stamp mentions Flavius Mactans, tribune of a unit employed in strengthening the frontier fortifications in Valeria. The most likely date is in the reign of Valentinian I, 364-75 (cf. Caris).

167. FLAVIUS MAGNUS MAGNENTIUS

a) Cohen ² VIII p 333, nr. 28

Mag(nus) Magnentius Aug(ustus).

b) Julian Or. I, Gloss in Codex Vossianus 77 III (= V) fol. 30

ὁ Μαγνεντιος ἐκ Γαλλων ὀρμωμενος πολέως
Ἀμβιανου της Κελτικης ἐπικαλουμενης λεξεως,
καὶ πατρος μεν Βρετανου, μητρος δε Φραγκης
τεχθεις.

c) Julian Or. I 34 B (ed. Loeb I p 86)

d) Julian Or. I 34 D (ed. Loeb I p 88)

e) Zos. II 54 1

f) Vict. Caes. XLI 25

g) Vict. Epit. XLII 7

h) Zonar. XIII 6 p 11 13 A

--- μαθων ταυτα Μαγνεντιος, ὅς ἐκ πατρος μεν
γεγενητο Βρετανου, ἐν τοις προτικτορσι
δ' ἐστρατευετο, εἶτα καὶ κομης ὠνομασθη
ταγματων δυο Ῥωμαικων, ---.

i) Zonar. XIII 5 p 11 12 A

j) Zos. II 42 2

---, και Μαγνεντιῶ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτετραμένῳ τῶν
Ἰοβιανῶν και Ἐρκουλιανῶν (τάγματα δε ταυτα ...
ἑπωνυμα) ---.

cf. RE XIV I 445 ff (Ensslin); Unterg. IV pp 89, 90, 423;

J. Bidez, 'Amiens, ville natale de l'empereur Magnence', Rev. des études
anciennes, XXVII, 1925, pp 312 ff.

Magnentius's full name was Flavius Magnus Magnentius (cf. a). The gloss in the Codex Vossianus MS of Julian's works, to which Bidez first drew attention, shows that he was born at Amiens, his father being British, as Zonaras also states (cf. h), and his mother a Frank (cf. b). She was a member of the Laeti (cf. e). This was the name given to the groups of Frankish prisoners settled by the Romans in eastern Gaul (cf. Grosse pp 207 -10). In the Notitia four groups of Laeti are attested in the province of Belgica II, to which Amiens belonged (cf. ND Qc XLII 39 - 42). Presumably his parents did not have the ius conubii, since he evidently had the status of his mother. Julian refers to him as a slave of Constans's ancestors, who had been captured in war (cf. c). He also states that the most enthusiastic of his supporters, following his revolt, were the Franks and Saxons, in virtue of their ties of kinship (cf. d). It may be that his father was in fact a Saxon, who had been settled on the south coast of Britain. Other sources testify to his barbarian origin (cf. f & g). While still a member of the Laeti, he learned to speak and read Latin (cf. e & g).

Magnentius probably began his military career in the ranks. He was then promoted to be protector (cf. h). Like the elder Gratian, it was probably his size and appearance which first attracted attention. In view of his later rank, it seems safe to assume that he served at court in this position. By 350 he had reached the key post of tribunus in command of the Ioviani and Herculiani, and held the title of comes (cf. h & j). These two units are listed in the Notitia Dignitatum as a pair among the legiones palatinae, at the head of the list of field army units under the magister peditum of the west (cf. Ioviani Seniores, ND Oc V 2 = 145 = VII 3; Herculiani Seniores, ND Oc V 3 = 146 = VII 4). At some stage in his career, Magnentius was threatened by a mutiny among some troops, who were about to stab him, when he was saved by the personal intervention of the emperor (cf. i). Perhaps this explains why, on gaining the throne, he was so indulgent towards the common soldiery, so that, according to Julian, their discipline became undermined (cf. Julian Or I 34 D = ed. Loeb I p 88). Marcellinus, the comes sacrarum largitionum, was apparently the main instigator of the conspiracy which brought about Constantine's overthrow (cf. RE XIV 2 1443). Magnentius was no doubt selected as emperor because of his important military position, and perhaps also his relationship with the Franks and Saxons. He assumed the purple on January 18th 350 at Augustodum (cf. RE XIV I 446).

168. FLAVIUS MAGNIANUS

III 8742

Dalmatia

Salona

Fl(avio) Magniano protectori conpari carissimo Sever(a) de proprio hunc sarcofagum comparabit eundem solidis XV tantum et se in eodem una cum filia sua condi permisit. Si quis vero tem(p)taverit in eodem sartofago ponere aliut corpus inferet fisci viribus auri pondo duo.

This Christian inscription was set up to Flavius Magnianus, protector.

Salona was presumably his home.

169. MAGNUS

a) AM XXIV 4 23 (363)

b) Zos. III 22 4

RE XIV I 491-3 (Laqueur); O. Seeck, Briefe p 200.

During his Persian campaign of 363, Julian besieged the city of Maiozamalcha, which was eventually captured by digging a mine under the walls. The second person to leap out was the tribune, Magnus (a, b). Since the first to emerge was Exsuperius, a soldier serving in the Victores, an auxilium palatinum (cf. ND Or V 63), it is possible that Magnus commanded this unit. Seeck identifies him with the historian, Magnus of Carrhae, who describes part of the campaign, but Laqueur points out that there is no evidence for this. But Laqueur's view that the identification is unlikely, in view of the fact that Magnus probably served on the general staff, and not in the front line, loses weight when one remembers that the third person to emerge was the notarius, Iovanus.

170. MALARICHUS

- a) AM XV 5 6-7 (355)
- b) AM XV 9-11
- c) AM XXV 8 II (363)
- d) AM XXV 10 6

Malarichus, a Frank, was tribune in command of the Gentiles, a schola palatina (ND Oc IX 7). He perhaps replaced Silvanus. In 355, when the latter, now magister peditum, was unjustly suspected of plotting a revolt, he offered to go as an envoy to persuade him to return to Constantius's court (a). A little later, he showed a forged letter to the emperor, allegedly sent by Silvanus and himself, which the tribunus fabricae at Cremona had received (b). After Silvanus's revolt, he was probably dismissed (cf. AM XV 6 1-4). In 363 he was living in retirement in Italy, when Jovian, following his accession, offered him the post of magister equitum per Gallias (c). Perhaps it was thought that, being a Frank, and having already served in the Gallic army, he would be able to secure its allegiance for the new emperor. However, he declined the post (d), either because of his age, or because he feared the restiveness of the Gallic soldiery.

171. MALLOBAUDES

- a) AM XIV II 21 (354)
 - b) AM XV 5 6 (355)
 - c) AM XXXI 10 6 (378)
 - d) AM XXX 3 7 (post 374)
- RE XIV I 913 (Ensslin)

A Frankish prince (c), Mallobaudes is first attested as tribunus Armaturarum in 354, when he was one of the three officials sent to interrogate Gallus, imprisoned at Pola (a). In the following year he was one of the Frankish officers who offered to go and mediate with the Frankish magister peditum, Silvanus, after the latter had been falsely accused of treason (b). He is probably to be equated with the Mallobaudes, who, as comes domesticorum, together with the comes Nannienus, was put in command of a force which defeated an invading band of Alamanni at Argentaria in 378 (c). The eagerness with which Mallobaudes pressed for an immediate attack is perhaps to be explained partly by his naturally warlike spirit, and also the traditional enmity between the Franks and Alamanni. Ensslin equates him with the Frankish king of the same name who ambushed and killed Macrianus, a prince of the Alamanni, who had invaded the territory of the Franks at some time after 374 (d). However, in my own view, it is not very likely that Mallobaudes returned to his own people. Silvanus, the Frankish magister peditum, contemplated this, but was advised not to do so, because the Franks would either betray or kill him (AM XV 5 15).

172. MANADUS

Zos. II 50 2 (351)

cf. Scudlo

173. FLAVIUS MARCARIDUS

V 8753

Italy

Concordia c. 400

F1(avius) Marcaridus tribunus Militum Ioviorum Iuniorum qui vixit annos XLV.
Si quis eam molistavirit, in fisco det auri libra I.

This inscription belongs to a series of late military dedications from Concordia, which Mommsen has dated to the close of the fourth century (CIL V p 1058). Flavius Marcaridus was tribune in command of the Milites Iovii Iuniores. He died aged 45, probably after about 25 years service. The unit is evidently to be equated with the auxilium palatinum of the same name which the Notitia lists as belonging to that part of the western field army garrisoned in Illyricum (ND Qc V 184 = VII 42).

174. MARCELLIANUS

Zos. II 9 3 (306)

cf. RE XIV 2 1439

Zosimus relates that the two officers, Marcellianus and Marcellus, together with Lucianus, the official in charge of the pork market, were the leading figures in the conspiracy which led to the proclamation of Maxentius as emperor in 306. Mommsen thought that the two former were urban tribunes (cf. note to VI 1156). However, it seems more likely that they were officers in the praetorian guard, which played a vital part in the revolt (cf. M. Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes, p 393, n. I).

175. MARCELLINUS

Passio Donati et Advocati 2 = Migne L. VIII 753

316 - 21

RE XIV 2 1442 (Ensslin); Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes Africaines* II, pp 174, 235-6.

Together with the comes Leontius, and the dux Ursacius, the tribune Marcellinus helped to organise the persecution of the Donatists at Carthage in the period 316 - 21. He is perhaps to be equated with the tribune who struck down one of the Donatists with his sword.

176. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

353 - 78

a) AM XIX 8 6 (359)

b) AM XIV 9 I (353)

c) AM XV 5 22 (355)

Post haec ita digesta protinus iubetur exire, tribunis et protectoribus domesticis decem, ut postularat, ad iuvandas necessitates publicas ei coniunctis, inter quos ego quoque eram cum Veriniano collega, residui omnes propinqui et familiares, - - -.

d) AM XVI 10 21 (357).

e) AM XVIII 6 10 (359)

f) XVIII 6 21 (359)

g) AM XIX 6 5

h) AM XIX 7 6

i) Liban. Ep. 233 (360)

j) AM XXIII 5 7 (363)

k) AM XXIII 4 20

cf. E.A. Thompson The Historical Works of Ammianus Marcellinus 1947,
pp 1 - 19.

The exact date of Ammianus's birth is unknown, but presuming that he was about 18 years old on entering the protectores domestici in 353, he was probably born c. 335. His birthplace was at Antioch in Syria, and several passages record his affection for this city (cf. XIV 8 8; XXIII 9 14, etc). He appears to have belonged to a noble family. When describing his flight from Amida in 359, he states that as a gentleman he was unaccustomed to walking (cf. a). He probably belonged to the curial class, since on numerous occasions he shows sympathy with the curiales (cf. AM XXV 9 3; XXVII 7 6 f; XXVIII 6 4; XXIX 2 27), and he was a friend of Libanius (cf. i). Thompson has stated that it was extremely rare for a person of good family to enter the army at this period. A law of 346 is directed against members of municipal councils obtaining the rank of protector domesticus (CT XII I 38). At the same time, staff officer duties would require a good education, such as Ammianus had received. It was at this stage that he formed a friendship with the future Satrap of Corduene (cf. AM XVIII 6 20 - 1). On entering the army in 353, he received a commission as protector domesticus, a fact which again points to his good birth, and was attached

by imperial command to the staff of Ursicinus, magister equitum per orientem (cf. b). Until Ursicinus's dismissal in 360, Ammianus's fortunes were closely linked with those of his superior, for whom he quickly developed a warm affection. He travelled with him when he was summoned to Milan in 354 (cf. AM XIV II 2 - 5), and together with his colleague, Verinianus, was among the 10 tribuni and protectores domestici who accompanied him, when he was ordered to suppress the revolt of Silvanus at Cologne in 355. The others were either his relatives or close friends (cf. c). Ursicinus remained with the Caesar Julian during his first campaign on the Rhine frontier, but was recalled to Constantius's court at Sirmium in 357 and sent back to the east, with his former post of magister equitum per orientem. The more senior protectores domestici on his staff were promoted to be tribuni in command of field army units, while the junior ones, among whom was Ammianus, still accompanied him (cf. d). Ursicinus was recalled from Samosata just before the Persians began their offensive in the Spring of 359 (cf. AM XVIII 5 5). On reaching the River Hebrus in Thrace, however, he received the command to return, though he was to serve under his successor, Sabinianus (cf. AM XVIII 6 5). On setting out from Nisibis, where they had set defence arrangements in motion, they met the eight year old son of a nobleman, who had been deserted by his parents in their haste to reach the security of the city. Ammianus was ordered by Ursicinus to take him back to Nisibis (cf. e). After successfully eluding the Persian pursuit, Ammianus rejoined Ursicinus at Amida, and was sent by him, together with a loyal centurion, to the Satrap of Corduene, who secretly favoured the Roman cause, in order to gain information concerning the strength of the Persian forces, and their plan of campaign (cf. f).

On his return, while journeying to Samosata, Ursicinus and his staff were surprised by a Persian ambush, and Ammianus was obliged to take refuge in the city of Amida. Here, his rank gave him a seat on the council of war during the resulting siege (cf. the use of the first person in g & h). When the city was finally captured, he managed to escape (cf. AM XIX 8 5). Ursicinus was made the scapegoat for the city's fall, owing to a court intrigue, and when his tactless reaction had been reported to the emperor, he was dismissed (cf. AM XX 2 5). Ammianus, however, presumably continued in the army. A letter of Libanius, dated to 360, probably refers to him (cf. i), although Seeck disagrees with this identification (cf. Briefe p 58). When describing Julian's campaign against the Persians in 363, Ammianus suddenly begins to use the first person, when narrating the army's departure from Cercusium (cf j), implying that he joined the expedition here. Thompson has pointed out that certain units had been ordered to assemble here while the emperor was still at Antioch (cf. p II, citing AM XXIII 3 2; 3). His detailed description of places and events during the campaign points to his having participated in it himself. Whether he served as an artillery officer is a moot point, though he does take special care to describe the ballista and scorpio (cf. AM XXIII 4 I - 14; J.W. Mackail, 'Ammianus Marcellinus', JRS X, 1920, p 104). Presumably he served the full period of time, as one passage seems to indicate (cf. k). He may have retired from active service in 378, the year that his narrative closes. One would expect him to have been promoted to the rank of tribunus in command of a field army unit at some stage in his career.

177. CLEMENTIUS VALERIUS MARCELLINUS

a) III 3424 = ILS 545 Pannonia Inferior Aquincum 267

Genio Imp(eratoris) P(ublii) [Lic(inii) Gall]ieni invicti Aug(usti) Clementius Silvinus v(ir) e(gregius) a(gens) v(ices) p(raesidis), et Val(erius) Marcellinus praef(ectus) leg(ionis) prot(ector) Aug(usti) n(ostri) a(gens) v(ices) l(egati), municipes ex provincia Raetia s(olverunt) l(aeti) l(ibentes) m(erito) Paterno et Archesilao co(n)s(ulibus).

b) IIA 609 Mauretania Tingitana Volubilis 277

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Genio et Bonae Fortunae Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii), Probi Invicti Aug(usti) n(ostri), Clementius Val(erius) Marcellinus v(ir) p(erfectissimus), praeses p(rovinciae) M(auretaniae) T(ingitanae), conloquio habito cum Iul(io) Nuffuzi filio Iul(ii) Matif regis g(entis) Baq(uatium) foederata paci aram statuit et dedicavit die VIII kal(endis) Novembr(is), d(omine) n(ostro) Probo Aug(usto) et Paulino co(n)s(ulibus).

c) IIA 610 Mauretania Tingitana Volubilis 280

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Diis Deabusq(ue) [Immor]talibus et Genio Imp(eratoris) Ca[es(aris)] M(arci) Aureli [Pr]o[bi] Aug(usti) n(ostri), ob diutina pace serva[ta cum] Iulio Nuffusi et nunc conloquio habito cum Iul(io) Nirzi fratre eiusdem Nuffusis r(egis) g(entis) Baquatim, Clement(ius) Val(erius) Marcellin[us] v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) M(auretaniae) T(ingitanae), confirmata pac(e) aram posuit et dedicavit idibus April[ibus] Messala et Grato co(n)s(ulibus).

d) IIA 621 Mauretania Tingitana Volubilis

Sutroniae Valentin(a)e coniugi Clementi Val(erii) Marcellini v(iri) p(erfectissimi) p(raesidis) et patroni nostri, respublica Vol(ubilis) ex decreto ordinis posuit.

cf. PIR² CII 1143

Dobson 163

A. Stein's identification of the praefectus legionis of 267 with the later praeses of Mauretania Caesariensis of 277 - 80 is clearly correct. The title of protector seems to have been normally held by field army officers. Hence it is difficult to explain why Marcellinus holds it while occupying the former post, which was essentially a frontier command. At the end of his reign, Gallienus was conducting a campaign against the Goths and Heruli.

on the Danube. This would account for the presence of the field army in 267. Early in the following year he heavily defeated the Goths at Naissus, but was obliged to return to Italy with the bulk of his forces on receiving news of Aureolus's revolt (cf. Syme p 717) SHA Gall.XIII 9; Zon. XII 24). Perhaps the command of II Adiutrix was given to a trusted officer of the field army during this period of crisis. It may be significant that the only other known legionary prefect with the title of protector commands the same legion (cf. Aelius Aelianus). A vexillation of II Adiutrix figured prominently in Gallienus's field army (cf. M. & S. V. pt. I, p 93, Leg(io) II Ad(iutrix) VII p(ia) VII f(idelis), 259. It may be that the whole of II Adiutrix was temporarily incorporated into the field army. Aurelius Frontinus, commander of II Adiutrix in the following year, did not hold the title (cf. AE 1944 85). But by this date, it was probably being granted to field army centurions (cf. ILS 569, 269).

As Dobson states, the fact that the phrase, agens vices legati, is included on the inscriptions of Marcellinus and Frontinus shows that by the end of Gallienus's reign it had become regular practice for equestrian officers to command legions. Comparison with the careers of Traianus Mucianus, and the anonymous officer of the Aicou Sbibia inscription, makes it seem probable that his previous post was that of primus pilus, though Dobson considers this unlikely. Nothing is known of Marcellinus's career during the next 10 years, until he is again attested as praeses of Mauretania Tingitana in the period 277 - 80. Dobson points out that in the second century promotion could have been direct from a ducenarian

legionary prefecture to a second echelon post, such as the governorship of Mauretania Tingitana. But the legionary prefecture seems to have sunk in importance during the latter part of the third century, probably because the best troops were being drafted into the field army vexillations. Marcellinius may have fallen out of favour following the murder of Gallienus. More probably he held a series of commands in the field army as a praepositus commanding pairs of vexillations (cf. Traianus Mucianus). Since he holds the nomen Clementius as praeses, it seems likely, as Dobson suggests, that Silvinus adopted him while he was prefect of II Adiutrix.

178. MARCELIUS

Zos. II 9 3 (306)

cf. Marcellianus.

179. MARCELLUS

a) AM XXVI 10 I (365)

b) Zos IV 6 4

cf. RE XIV 2, 1492 (Ensslin)

As a relative of Procopius (cf. a), who in turn was related to the Emperor Julian (cf. AM XXIII 3 2), Marcellus was presumably commissioned as

protector domesticus at about the age of 18. When Procopius revolted in 365, he gave Marcellus command of an army, perhaps raising him to the status of comes, and sent him to Cyzicus to capture Serenianus, the comes domesticorum (cf. b), whom Valens had sent to guard the treasure there (cf. AM XXVI 8 7). Marcellus captured the city, being superior in naval and land forces, (cf. b, & AM XXVI 8 10), and Serenianus was later taken prisoner. Marcellus was commanding the garrison at Nicaea when he heard of Procopius's execution, and after killing Serenianus (cf.a), he seized Chalcedon (cf. AM XXVI 10 3). He was then declared emperor by his troops (cf. AM XXVI 10 3; Zos.IV 8 4), and planned to join forces with the 3,000 Goths who had been sent to reinforce Procopius, but was captured by Equitius and executed (cf. AM XXVI 10 5).

180. MARCIANUS

III 6159 = 7494 = ILS 770

Moesia Inferior

Hassarlik 368

cf. Ursicinus

181. MARCIANUS

Symmach. Ref. XLI I & 6 (384)

cf. Seeck, Symmach, CCX; Briefe, p 203, XI.

RE XIV 2, 1512 - 3, (Ensslin).

In this letter of 384 to the Emperor Valentinian II, Symmachus in his capacity as Praefectus Urbis (cf. RE IV A I, 1148) opposes the claim of

Marcianus, ex protectoribus, to share in the estate of Aggarea.

Marcianus had tried by collusion with a rationalis patrimonii to prove that the estate was without heirs, in order that he might be granted a share of the property when it escheated to the emperor.

182. MARCUS

P. Aberdeen 21, l. 6-12

Ἀνουβιωνι βι(αρχῶ) μ[ο(δίου)] β
Μαρτινιαῶ ἐξ(αρχο)ντι
μετα ρ γ μο(δίου) β
Μαρκῶ προτη-
κτορι μο(δίου) κα
λειποσιν (?) μο(δίου) η εἰ γ
[.....] ι ρ [.....]

This papyrus is dated by the style of writing to the late third or fourth century, and contains an account of supplies received by various officers. In this instance, as distinct from P. Oxy I 43, Recto, the provisions appear to be for the personal use of the officers concerned. The modius was a dry measure, corresponding to one third of an amphora, or approximately two gallons (cf. RE XV 2, 2328). Anoubion in l. 6 seems to hold the post of biarchus. He receives two measures. It is

interesting to note that in the rescript addressed by Justinian to Belisarius in 534, the eight biarchi on the staff of a dux each received 2 annonae (cf. CI 1 27 2). The earliest mention of the post of biarchus is on an inscription of 324 (cf. AE 1922 72). Its Greek name, and the units in which it occurs seem to indicate that it was introduced by Constantine I (cf. Grosse, pp 114 - 5). It seems to have been a very low post (cf. CI XII 47 3; Hieron. 'Contra Iohannem Hierosol.', 19 = Migne L., XXIII p 386). Martinianus, exarcus of the third century, also receives two measures. This too seems to have been a comparatively low post, and only occurs in association with cavalry units (cf. Grosse, pp 109 -10). The protector, Marcus, received 21 measures, cf. ls. 9 - 10. This is approximately 10 times as much as each of the others obtained. Hence the protectores of the fourth century seem to have been paid at a similar rate to the primi ordines of the principate (cf. P.A. Brunt, BSR, XVIII, 1950, p 68). The phrase $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \epsilon^{\ast}\ \gamma'$ in l. 8 should probably be expanded as $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ (\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\rho\chi\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma)\ (\tau\rho\iota\tau\eta\varsigma)$. This implies that fourth century units were still divided into centuries. It seems probable that Marcus was ^a ~~the~~ centurion ~~in charge of the third century of~~ ⁱⁿ this cavalry unit, only by this time, the title of protector had become so firmly associated with the rank of centurio primi ordinis, that the latter was never actually mentioned.

183. FLAVIUS MARCUS

III 371 = ILS 2783

Asia

Cyzicus

Resta viator et lege: Fl(avius) Marcus protector, natus in Dacia provincia in vico Valentiniano, militavit in v[e]xillatione Fesianesa annis XXIII, unde factus protector, i[n]dequ[e] militavit in scola protectoru[m] annis [q]uin[que], qui petivit sibi memoriam fieri de proprio virum, qui que mandavit Marian-[e] coniugi suae et Thalarioni puerum su[u]m, qu[em] et liberum dimisit, et presentibus collegibus suis, id est Perulam et Frontinum, Superianum, Maxentium et Ursinum, astantibus qu[i]bus supr[a], mandavit d[i]i[g]entia fieri. Havete transitores, baletе transitores.

Flavius Marcus was born in the province of Dacia Ripensis, at the Vicus Valentinianus. This settlement was probably named after Valentinian I (363 - 75), and perhaps reflects his policy of strengthening the frontier defences (cf. AM XXX 9 I, 'oppidorum et limitum conditor tempestivus').

On entering the army, presumably about the age of 18, he served for 23 years in the Vexillatio Fesianesa. No such unit is attested in the Notitia, but it is presumably named after a place. Perhaps it was the Equites Stablesiani Iuniores, originally stationed at Pons Aeni in Raetia, and since transferred to the field army (cf. ND Oc XXXV 15, Equites Stablesiani Iuniores, Ponte Aoni, nunc Febians). Two vexillationes comitatenses with the name Stablesiani are attested in the eastern field army lists of the Notitia (cf. Secundi Stablesiani, ND Or VII 29; Tertii Stablesiani, ND Or VII 30).

Marcus served in the schola protectorum for five years. This is probably a reference to the protectores domestici. Perula, Frontinus, Superianus, Maxentius and Ursinus were probably also protectores.

184. MARGUS(?)

AE 1910 91

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

Marg(us ?) p(ræ)p(ositus) Eq(uitum) Mar(gensium ?)

cf. Italicus

If the above brick stamp has been correctly expanded, Margus was praepositus of a unit of Equites Margenses. No cavalry unit is recorded as stationed at Margum in the Notitia, though this unit seems to take its name from this fort.

185. MARINUS

a) AM XV 3 10 (355)

b) Julian, Ad Athen. 273 d

c) AM XV 3 II

Marinus was a tribunus vacans who had probably risen from the ranks, since at one stage he had held the rank of campidoctor (a). He was one of those accused of having indulged in treasonable talk during a dinner party at Sirmium, given by the governor of Pannonia Secunda in 355 (a,b). The suspects were arrested and conducted to Milan for interrogation. Marinus, however, managed to commit suicide when the party reached Aquileia. It was alleged that this happened with the connivance of the protectores domestici who were responsible for guarding the prisoners (c). Perhaps they did this as a favour to an old comrade, since Marinus himself would have held the rank of protector domesticus, and as tribunus vacans he was still serving as a staff officer.

186. FLAVIUS MARTIALIS

III 14594

Moesia Superior

Vratarnica

D(is) M(anibus) [S(acrum)] Fl(avius) Martialis ex protectoribus vixit annos centu(m). Ben[e] merito patrono suo posuit Maxentius generi Servius Si [...]

Flavius Martialis died aged 100 with the title, ex protectoribus.

187. Q. GARGILIUS MARTIALIS

a) VIII 20751

Mauretania Caesariensis

Auzia

Q(uinto) Gargilio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Q(uirina) Martiali vet(erano) fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) col(on)iae pat(rono) curatori et dispunctori rei p(ublicae) et Iuliae Primae eius, Q(uitus) Gargilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Q(uirina) Martialis eques Romanus militiae petitor col(on)iae pat(ronus) filiu[s] eorum parentibus dignissimis.

b) VIII 9047 = IIS 2767

Mauretania Caesariensis

Auzia 260

[Q(uito) G]argilio Q(uiti) i(ilio) Q(uirina) Martiali eq(uiti) R(omano), [pr]aef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Astyrum pr(ovinciae) Britta[n]iae, trib(uno) co(hortis) Hisp(anorum) pr(ovinciae) Maur(etaniae) Caes(ariensis), [a] mil(itis), praep(osito) coh(ortis) Sing(ularium) et vex(illationis) [E]q(uitum) Mauror(um) in territorio [A]uziensi praetendentium, dec(urioni) duarum col(oniarum) Auziensis et Rusguniensis et pat(rono) prov(inciae), ob insignem in cives amorem et singularem erga patriam adfectionem, et quod eius virtute ac vigilantia Faraxen rebellis cum satellitibus suis fuerit captus et interfectus, ordo col(on)iae Auziensis insidiis Bavarum decepto p(ecunia) p(ublica) f(ecit). D(e)d(icatum) VIII Kal(endis) [A]pr(ilis) [a(nno)] pr(ovinciae) CCKXI.

cf. PIR² IV I G 82.

Q. Gargilius Martialis, son of a veteran of the same name, was born at Auzia.

He followed a normal equestrian cursus, serving as prefect of cohors I

Asturum in Britain, and then as tribune of a military cohort of Hispani

in the province of his birth. He then retired from military service,

and became decurion of the two coloniae of Auzia and Rusgunia, and patron

of the province. During the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, however,

serious revolt broke out in Africa, which was not finally crushed until 262 (cf. R. Cagnat, *L'Arm. r. d'Afr.* , pp 62 - 5). Gargilius Martialis was called out of retirement, and given command as praepositus over a pair of cavalry detachments, operating in the territorium of Auzia. With this force, he captured Faraxes, one of the rebel leaders, and put him to death. Shortly afterwards, however, he himself was ambushed and killed by the Bavares. The cohors Singularium was no doubt the cavalry escort of the provincial governor (cf. RE III A I 237).

The other unit which he commanded was the vexillatio Equitum Maurorum. Professor Birley has pointed out to me that during the third century the term vexillatio, begins to be used to denote a permanent cavalry unit, levied on a tribal basis, and perhaps corresponding to the infantry numerus (cf. EE IX 1135, 238-44, VIII 9045 = IIS 2766, 255). Other inscriptions of Gallienus's reign mention praepositi commanding pairs of legionary vexillations, but this is the only known instance of a praepositus commanding a pair of cavalry detachments.

188. FLAVIUS MARTIDIUS

AE 1891 103

Italy

Concordia c.400

Fl(avio) Martidio p(rae)p(osito) Auxiliariorum Mil[li(ariensium)] Equitum qui militavit ann(os) XXXVIII, Fl(avius) Exu[per]ancius filius patri carissimo arcam compara[vit] et ordinavit [quod] si quis eam contrerivit (= contrectaverit), capitis periculum patiatur.

This inscription commemorates Flavius Martidius, praepositus commanding the Auxilarii Miliarienses Equites, having served for 38 years. It belongs to

a series from Concordia, which Mommsen has dated to the close of the fourth century (cf. CIL V p 1058). Most of the other units attested are all well known field army detachments, and were evidently commanded by tribuni (cf. V 8753). This unit is otherwise unknown. It seems likely that it constituted a recent addition to the field army. The only other praepositus attested in this series seems to have been commanding a legio pseudocomitatensis, recently withdrawn from the frontier (cf. Flavius Ziperger). No doubt it was necessary to reinforce the field army with drafts from the limitanei at this time, in view of the threatened invasion of Italy by the Goths. However, it does not seem possible to equate it with any unit among the limitanei attested in the Notitia. The Milites Miliarienses in Thebais, and the Auxilium Miliariensium in Dacia Ripensis were both infantry formations, while the Ala I Miliariensis in Arabia is listed in the minus laterculum, and hence is unlikely to have been drafted into the field army (cf. ND Or XXXI 35; XXXVIII 28; XLIII# 23).

189. MARTINIANUS

V 6244

Italy

Mediolanum

Lucifer et Sola. Antifer^o ~~o~~ ^A et Luna Perima. Vertutem ~~et~~ ^{et} gloriam felice Martiniano (h)eredes faoletatum vivo sibi fecet hoc. D(is) M(anibus) bonae memoriae et domi Martinian(us) ex protectoribus iternam securitatem germen Daeisqus, iustus, pientissimus, bene meretus in sequium an(n)us militavit XLV et vivet an(n)us n(umero) LX, et spero me vivere ad(h)uc an(n)us n(umero) LXXXVIII me(n)ses sex d(i)es III et inde III arcae hic. Si cis remove voloeret aut aperire aut velet alium qurpus, davit in fescu auri p(ondus) I.

Martinianus was born in the province of Dacia, and enlisted at the age of 15.

Having served for 45 years in the army, he was discharged with the title,

ex protectoribus.

190. FLAVIUS MARTINUS

AE 1931 82

Britannia Inferior

Birdoswald 296-305

[D(ominis)] n(ostris) Dio[cle]tiano et M[ax]imiano invictis Aug(ustis) et Constantio et Maximiano n(obilissimis) C(aesaribus) sub v(iro) p(erfectissimo) Aur(elio) Arpagio pr(aeside) praetor(ium) quod erat humo co(o)ptert(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(ohors) [I Ae(lia) D(acorum)].

After the defeat of Allectus in 296, Constantius Chlorus undertook a thorough overhaul of the defences of Britain. This inscription records the restoration of the praetorium, principia and bath house at Birdoswald, presumably by cohort I Aelia Dacorum (cf. ND Oc XL 44). This unit was commanded by the praepositus, Flavius Martinus, who held the rank of centurion. He had probably served as protector in Constantius's field force. During the principate, centurions are sometimes attested as commanding auxiliary units (cf. Rangford, p 108). By this date, however, all alae and cohorts seem to have been commanded by centurions (cf. Salvilius Aurelius Arpagius was presumably praeses of Britannia Inferior).

191. MASAUCIO

AM XXVI 5 14 (365)

RE XIV 2, 2058 (Ensslin).

Masaucio was the son of Cretio, who was comes Africae, probably throughout the period 350 - 61 (cf. Pallu de Lessert, II, p 247). In view of his father's rank, he was presumably commissioned as protector domesticus at about the age of 18. After the revolt of Procopius in 365 in the eastern half of the empire, Valentinian I sent Masaudio to Africa, together with

the notarius, Neeterius, and the scutarius, Gaudentius, to prevent any invasion of this province. Being the son of a former comes Africae, like Valentinian himself, he would have had considerable experience in the province, and would know all the places which needed guarding, the more so since similar measures had been taken by Constantius II in 361, when his father was Comes Africae, to ensure that Julian's revolt did not spread to this important grain province (cf. AM XXI 7 4).

192. MASIGAMA

IRT 886 d

Tripolitana

Bir-ed-Dreder

Masigama [...] tribunus

cf. Flavius Isiguar

193. FLAVIUS MASINTHAN

IRT 886 j

Tripolitana

Bir-ed-Dreder

Flavius Masin[th]an tribunus

cf. Flavius Isiguar

194. MAURICIUS

a) AM XXV 8 7 (363)

b) Zos. III 33 I

Jovian, while leading the army back from Persia after Julian's death, sent Cassianus, dux Mesopotamiae, and the tribune, Mauricius, to transfer

to Ur part of the food supplies which had been left with the reserve force under Procopius and Sebastianus.

195. MAXENTIUS

cf. Flavius Marcus

196. M.AURELIUS MAXIMIANUS

XI 835

Italy

Mutina

D(is) M(anibus) M(arco) Aurelio [Ma]ximiano ex prote[ctor(ibus)
..... a]nnis [.....c]arissim[o].....
..... cu[m] quo vixi[...]XX ma[ri]to incom[p]arabili.

The style of this inscription suggests a date in the latter part of the third century. Presumably Maximianus had been a centurion of the first cohort in the field army. The cognomen perhaps points to a Danubian origo (cf. Dean, p 220).

197. ULPIUS MAXIMINUS

AE 1919 74

Italy

Albano

[D(is) M(anibus) M(arcus)] Ulpus Maximinus [duc(enarius) pro]tector [ex cent(urione) leg(ionis) II P(arthicae)] militavit annis XXV, menses VI, (cohortis) VI [p]il(i) post(erioris). Aurelia Martana coniunx et Iuniu(s) Maximus [fili]us eiusdem b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).

The above is only a tentative reconstruction, based on the analogous inscriptions of Florus Baudilo and Aurelius Processanus. The inscription was found in the cemetery of Legion II Parthica at Albano. Ulpus Maximinus seems to have been a pilus posterior in the sixth cohort of this

legion. He was then promoted to be centurion in the first cohort, thereby gaining the right to the title of protector. It is possible that in the crisis of 260 Gallienus transferred the whole of II Parthica into the field army. On balance, the mention of a precise centurionate seems to date the inscription closer to the reign of Gallienus than to the end of the third century. Perhaps it was under Diocletian that II Parthica was transferred from Italy to Mesopotamia (cf. ND Or XXXVI 30).

198. MAXIMUS

a) AM XXV 6 3 (363)

b) Zos. III 30 4

cf. Iulianus

199. MAXUS

Euseb. Mart. Pal. IX = Migne Gr. XX 1493 (303)

In 303 the tribune Maxus was stationed at Caesarea in Palestine. Apparently he was brave and physically strong, but his speech betrayed his lack of education. During the persecution of the Christians of 303, he dragged a Christian woman naked through the streets of Caesarea, and burned her.

200. MEMORIDUS

a) AM XXV 8 8-9 (363)

b) AM XXV 10 6

In 363 the notarius, Procopius, and the military tribune, Memoridus, were sent to Illyricum and Gaul to announce Julian's death and Jovian's accession, and to hand over to Lucillianus his commission as magister equitum per Illyricum (a). They rejoined Jovian at Tyana in Cappadocia, informing him of the murder of Lucillianus and Seniauchus by the Gallic troops at Rheims (b).

201. FLAVIUS MEMORIUS

XII 673 = ILS 2788

Gallia Narbonensis

Arelate

Bene pausanti in pace, Fl(avio) Memorio v(iro) p(erfectissimo), qui milit(avit) int(er) Iovianos annos XXVIII, pro(tector) dom(esticus) an(nos) VI, prae(fuit ?) Lanciari(i)s Se[nioribus t]rib(unus ?) an(nos) III, Com(es) Rip(a)e an(num) I, Com(es) Mauret(aniae) Ting(itanae) an(nos) IIII, vix(it) an(nos) LXXV, Praesidia coni[unx] marito dulcissimo.

cf. RE XV I, 660 (Ensslin): Pallu de Lessert, II, p 367 f.

Flavius Memorius died aged 75, having served 42 years in the army. Assuming that he was discharged at the age of 60, as in the case of Martinianus, he probably enlisted at about the age of 18, and had been retired for 15 years prior to his death. He commenced service in the Iovani, presumably as a miles, though since he served in this unit for 28 years, it is to be presumed that he reached a higher grade during this time. Two units are attested with this name in the Notitia, both legiones palatinae, one belonging to the field army of the east, and the other to that of the west (cf. Ioviani Seniores, ND Oc V 2 = 145 = VII 3; Ioviani Iuniores, ND Or V 3 = 43). They were named after Diocletian in recognition of their

services (cf. Veget. I 17), and their position at the head of both field army lists of the Notitia shows that they were favoured regiments. This may explain why Memorius was commissioned as protector domesticus, a rank also given to senior officers' sons on entering the army. The inscription is damaged where it records the next part of his career, but there seems only sufficient spacing for one post, as commander of the Lanciarii Seniores, a position which he held for 3 years. In the Notitia this unit is listed as a legio palatina belonging to the eastern field army (cf. ND Or V 2 = 42). He was next appointed as comes Ripae, serving in this capacity for one year. The name implies the command of an area of river frontier, but whether this was on the Danube or Rhine is uncertain. Grosse believed that it was that of a subordinate comes, ranking between the tribunate and the command of a province as dux (cf. p 178). However, it seems better to regard it as equivalent in status to the command of a frontier province, though perhaps not as important as that of Mauretania Tingitana, his next post, which he held for the four years prior to his retirement. At the close of his career, he had the status of a vir perfectissimus. This provides some clue as to the dating of the inscription, since a dux Scythiae of 369 is termed vir clarissimus (cf. ILS 770), while a decree of 386 names all duces as clarissimi (cf. CT XII I 113). At the death of Constantius II in 361, the duces were still all viri perfectissimi (cf. AM XXI 16 2). His career therefore seems to date to the first half of the fourth century. The first dated reference to the protectores domestici is in 346 (cf. CT XII I 38). Since the Lanciarii Seniores were a unit serving in the eastern field army, whereas

Mauretania Tingitana belonged to the western section of the empire, a transference from east to west is implied in his career. Perhaps this took place after the Battle of Mursa in 351, when Constantius II gained control over the whole of the empire. It was the policy of this cautious emperor to choose his generals from experienced soldiers (cf. AM XXI 16 3) ' - - contraque non nisi pulvere bellico indurati, praeficiebantur armatis.').

202. MENE LAOS

a) Zos. II 51 4 (351)

b) Zos. II 52 1-2

Menelaos, a tribune serving under Constantius II, was killed at the Battle of Mursa in 351 (a). The unit of Armenian archers which he commanded is evidently to be equated with the Comites Sagittarii Armeni, a vexillatio palatina in the eastern field army (ND Or VI 31). He himself was a distinguished archer, and fatally wounded Romulus, one of Magnentius's generals, before meeting his own death at the latter's hand.

203. AGILEIUS MODESTUS

IX 3921

Italy

Alba Fucens 362

cf. Aemilius Leo

204. MUCATRA

III 6325² = 8275⁴ a & b Moesia Prima Viminacium
 Leg(ionis) VII Claudi(a)e s(ab) c(ura) Mucatr(a)e p(rae)p(osit)i.
 The name, Mucatra, indicates a Thracian origin. He was praepositus in
 command of a detachment of VII Claudia quartered at Viminacium.

205. MUCIANUS

P. Oxy. I 43 Recto col. II, ls. 9-11

295

Μουκ[ια]νω ὀπτιωνι ὑπο Μουκιανον
 πρεπ[ροσ]ιτ(ον) ἀκολουθ(ως) Ῥωμαικη αὐτου
 φρουμαρια λι(τραι) Ἄωι

cf. Claudianus

This extract from the papyrus contains the statement that Mucianus, optio
 to the praepositus, Mucianus, has received 1,810 lb of fodder. The name
 of the unit commanded by Mucianus is unknown, but it seems almost certain
 that it was a vexillation drawn from a pair of legions garrisoned in
 the same province. The cognomen, Mucianus, suggests a Thracian origin.

206. TRAIANUS MUCIANUS

a) Rangord. № p 185 f. = ILS 9479 = IGR I 1496 Thracia Traiana Augusta

1. Τραιανον Μουκιανον δουκ(ηναριον)
2. στρατευσαμενον εν χωρτη α' κον-
3. κορδ(ηνσιων) και εν λεγι(ωνι) β' Παρθ(ικη), ιππεα χωρτ(ης)
4. ζ' πραιτωρ(ιας), ηβοκατ(ον), (εκατονταρχον) προτηκτορα
5. λεγ(ιωνος) γι Γεμ(ινης), (εκατονταρχον) προτηκτορα βιγουλ(ων)
(εκατονταρχον) πρ[ο]-
6. τηκτορα Ουρβ(ανικιανον) και (εκατονταρχον) προτηκτορα
χωρτ(ης) ε' πρ[αι]τ(ωριας)
7. [κ]αι πριγκιπα προτηκτορα, πριμοπ[ειλ(α)] εκ των
8. [δουκ(ηναριων)?] διεξερχομενων π[ροτηκτο-]
9. [ρων επ]αρχ(ον) λεγ(ιωνος) δ' Φλαβ(ιας), σ[τρατηγον]
10. [λεγ(ιωνων) ζ' κ]λαυδ(ιας) και δ' Φλαβ(ιας) [.....]
11. [.....] τριβ(ουνον) λι[β]ουρ[ν(ων).....]
12. [.....] στρατευσ[μενων.....]
13. [.....] Οσροηνων κ[αι]
14. [.....]τ και Εξπλωρατ(ορων)
15. [.....] δουκηναρ(ιον) επα[ρχ(ον)]
16. [.....] π[ραξ]αντα εν Μεσο[ποτ]-
17. [αμια.....] Γεμ(ινης), στρατηγον
18. [.....] των παλιν στρατευσ[ο]-^{μη}
19. [μενων.....]εων Μαυρων και Ο[σ]-
20. [ροηνων.....]λεγ(ιωνος) β' Τραιαν(ης), στρ[ατ]-
21. [ηγον λεγ(ιωνων) ζ' κ]λαυδ(ιας) και δ' Φλαβ(ιας) και
β[.....]
22. [.....] π[ραξ]αντα εν Θερ[ακη]
23. [.....] και αρξαν[τα.....]
24. [.....] αυτου πα[λιν.....]
25. και παλιν λαβοντα[.....]
26. εις την υπηρεσιαν [.....]
27. πατρις ευτυ[χως.....]

b) Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique Bulgare, XIV, 1940 - 2, p 236, (fig. 331).

Thrace

~~(Fig. 331)~~

Traiana Augusta.

Ἀγαθὴ τυχὴ . τὸν ἐξοχωτάτου ἐπαρχὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ
πραιτωρίου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἡρακλῖανον Μουκῖανος
τὸν εὐεργετὴν . Εὐτυχῶς .

c) III 5785

Raetia

Augusta Vindelicum

[Her]culi statuan cum base Aurelius Mucianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus)
p(raeses) p(rovincias) R(aetiae) pro salute sua suorumque omnium
[po]suit curante [. . .] Gerontio [.]

cf. RE VI A 2, 2088 (A. Stein); Keves, pp 39 - 42; Babut, CXVI, p 245;

G.M. Bersanetti, Epigraphica, XX, 1942, pp 169 - 76; Dobson 522.

Inscription (a) is fundamental for an understanding of the normal officer cursus in the second half of the third century, since it is the only one where such a career is recorded in full, apart from the Aion Sbibas dedication. Unfortunately, both are incomplete, and restoration is difficult, since no other parallels exist. Traianus Mucianus was clearly a native of Traiana Augusta in Thrace. The cognomen is

typically Thracian, and presumably he took the name Traianus from the town of his birth. The career is set out in ascending order. He began as a miles in Cohors I Concordiensium. This unit perhaps derived its name from the town of Concordia in Italy. This was an important assembly point for field army troops at the close of the fourth century, and the same may be true of the third century (cf. V 8721 ff.). After being transferred to Legion II Parthica, normally garrisoned at Albano in Italy, he entered the praetorian guard as ^{an} equus in cohors VII. On receiving his evocatio, presumably after 16 years of service, he was commissioned as a centurion in XIII Gemina, and in virtue of this post gained the right to the title of protector for the first time. It is unlikely that centurions became eligible for this title until towards the end of Gallienus's reign. (cf. IIS 569 A.D. 269). It was associated with the status of ducenarius and was evidently only held by centurions of the first cohort, normally those serving in the field army. He was then successively centurion in the Vigiles, the Urban Cohorts, and finally Cohors V of the Praetorian Guard. In each of these posts he held the title of protector. It is interesting to note that the actual number of the cohort in which he was serving is only specified in the last instance. The Vigiles and Urban Cohorts probably remained at Rome, but the Praetorian Guard formed an important part of Gallienus's field army (cf. M. & S. V pt. I, pp 97; 131). Consequently, it is possible that, although he had the status of a centurion of the Vigiles and Urban Cohorts, in actual fact he was serving on the emperor's staff. Similarly, Iulius Placidianus held the

post of praefectus Vigilum while commanding a field army detachment at Gratianopolis in 269, blocking Victorinus's access to Italy (cf. IIS 569). Domaszewski thought his next post was princeps prot(ectorum), but princeps prot(ector) seems more likely (cf. 1. 7). In the three previous instances, these four letters have stood for prot(ector), and there is no indication that this should be altered here. Mucianus now had the status of a centurio princeps, though it is not known whether he was attached to any particular legion. Three letters appear to be missing after the next word, πρῆμοπ in 1. 7. Domaszewski restored καί, but since the post of princeps is written in full, one may suppose that the same is true of the post of primus pilus. The abbreviation primip. is comparatively rare. It is specifically stated in the inscription, that on becoming primus pilus, Mucianus ceased to hold the title of protector.

The next post seems to be that of legionary prefect, commanding IV Flavia, stationed at Singidunum in Moesia Superior (cf. 1. 9). Dobson points out that it is possible to restore the post of [Χιλι] αρχ(ov), i.e. tribunus, citing AE 1933 157, & XI 1836 as parallels. On the other hand it is odd that the Roman name τριβ(ουνον) should appear two lines below. Secondly, the careers of Valerius Thimpo and Aurelius Firminus show that it was normal practice for centurions of the first cohort in the field army to be appointed to command legions garrisoned on the frontier. Gallienus's creation of a permanent, mobile field army necessitated the constant transference of the cream of the frontier troops to reinforce it. Thus the frontier legions tended to decline in numbers

and quality. For the remainder of his career Mucianus seems to have been employed as a field army officer. Keyes has shown that in the principate senatorial officers in charge of vexillations had customarily served previously as legionary legates (cf. p 45). A detachment of IV Flavia was included in his next command, namely that of στρατηγός in charge of a vexillation of the two legions of Moesia Superior (cf. ls. 9 - 10). This term is normally used as the Greek equivalent for dux (cf. Grosse, p 154). Praepositus, however, is the usual name for the commander of a pair of legionary vexillations at this time (cf. Flavius Aper, Rufius Synforianus, 260 - 8). This particular unit probably survived into the fourth century as the Moesiaci Seniores, listed among the legiones palatinae in the Notitia Dignitatum (cf. ND Oc V 7 = 150 = VII 8).

From now on the inscription becomes so fragmented that any restorations can only be regarded as tentative. However, Domaszewski's proposed restorations of the tribunates of the Vigiles and praetorian guard are without any foundation whatsoever. After a gap, the next attested post seems to be that of tribunus Liburnariorum (cf. I. II). This is a command of a section of the fleet, perhaps stationed on the Danube, where Liburnarii are attested in the fourth century (cf. ND Oc XXXIV 26, 27, 37, 40, 41). Perhaps this could be compared with Bonosus's command of the Rhine fleet based on Cologne in Probus's reign (cf. SHA Firm. XIV). Next follow at least two commands as dux (cf. ls. 11 - 15). Perhaps, as Domaszewski suggested, he was in charge of the Mauri and Osrhoeni in the first instance, and the Britones and Exploratores in the second. The next post

was that of prefect of a legion operating in Mesopotamia (cf. ls. 15 - 17). The use of the term $\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ here seems to correspond to that of tendentes in IIS 569. The same term is used in l. 22 to indicate what appears to be a field army detachment operating in Thrace. Clearly, therefore, the legion was not a sedentary frontier unit. Vegetius states that in former times two Danubian legions, each numbering 6,000 men, had distinguished themselves in all the campaigns, before receiving new names under Diocletian (cf. Veget. I 17). This implies that in certain cases the bulk of the legion was drafted into the field army, and not merely a vexillation from it. Similarly, in the case of II Parthica, it is unlikely that only one vexillation would be removed when an important campaign was undertaken, since there would be little point in leaving the majority behind at Albano. It is uncertain why the status of ducenarius was specifically applied to this prefecture, and not to the preceding one. Perhaps the reason is that he was prefect of one of the Parthian legions, or II Traiana, posts with which ducenarian status had always been traditionally coupled (cf. IIS 2742; 2771). The next post seems to be that of prefect of a legion with the title Gemina (cf. l. 17). The absence of the term $\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ in this context may indicate that the legion was at the time operating in the province where it was regularly garrisoned. Following this, Mucianus seems to have been dux commanding the Equites Mauri and Osrhoeni (cf. ls. 17 - 20). After this he was prefect of II Traiana, presumably stationed in its normal province, Egypt (cf. l. 20). He then seems to have been dux in charge of two pairs

of units at once, namely the vexillations of VII Claudia and IV Flavia, and perhaps the Britones and Exploratores operating in Thrace (cf. ls. 20 - 22). The word ἀρξάντωα in l. 23 may refer to the governorship of a province. The word δοῦκ in l. 1 should probably be expanded as ducenarius. This term, at this stage of the third century seems merely to denote membership of a fairly wide section of the equestrian order. The expansion δοῦκ(α) is far less likely, since in any case the inscription seems to have been set up to Mucianus following his retirement.

It is difficult to hazard a precise date for this inscription, but the evidence seems to point to the Diocletianic period. It is very unlikely that centurions of the first cohort were granted the title of protector before the end of Gallienus's reign. Comparison with the Aion Sbiba inscription is interesting. The anonymous officer in this case only held one centurionate with the title of protector, as against the four of Mucianus. He also held the title of protector with the post of primus pilus of ~~the first cohort~~. These facts seem to indicate that Mucianus's career was slightly later in date, and more slow. A second inscription from Traiana Augusta may help to date his career (cf. b). It is set up by a certain Aurelius Mucianus to Aurelius Heraclianus, praetorian prefect, his benefactor. Bersanetti has shown that this can be none other than the Heraclianus attested as praetorian prefect at the end of Gallienus's reign (cf. PIR^I III 60). It is quite possible, as Bersanetti suggests, that Traianus Mucianus benefited from the patronage of Heraclianus, and this might explain his evocatio, and promotion to the rank of centurio protector. Perhaps Heraclianus continued as praetorian prefect under Claudius II, until

270, when Iulius Placidianus is attested in this position (cf. XII 1551). Mucianus cannot have held the post of primus pilus at a late date in the third century, since by 286 it had become a hereditary office in the civil administration (cf. Frag. Vat. 278). On the other hand, the position of legionary prefect, operating in Mesopotamia, is unlikely to have been held before 273, when the Palmyran Empire was overthrown by Aurelian. But it is very doubtful if Mucianus's promotion was rapid enough for him to reach this post by that date. It is more likely that he held it during Carus's campaign against Vahram II, ten years later. The appointment of so experienced an officer to be prefect of II Traiana may indicate unrest in Egypt, which is known to have been the case under Diocletian. In his next post, Mucianus appears to be promoted to the command of two pairs of field army units at once (cf. ls. 20 -22). Previously he had only commanded one pair at a time. No operations are known of in Thrace under Diocletian, though the Danubian frontier appears to have been frequently attacked by barbarian tribes during his reign. In 289 Diocletian seems to have gone to the aid of Maximian in Raetia, who was campaigning against the Chaibones and Heruli (cf. ^{Pa.}X 5 1; XI 7 2). It may be that the Aurelius Mucianus attested in c) as praeses of this province is to be identified as Traianus Mucianus. The word ἀρχαῖρα in l. 23 may refer to the governorship of a province. So far as one can see, the bulk of Mucianus's career was spent on the Danube frontier and in the east. Assuming that he enlisted at about the age of 20, and had had 16 years service prior to c. 270, he will have been born c. 235 if the above hypotheses are correct.

207. MUCINIANUS

a) P. Oxy. 1 43 Recto col. 1, ls. 24-6

295

[. οὐξ] ἰλατιωνος

[.] ὑπο Μουκινιανον

[.] λι(τραι) Ἀφξ

b) Ibid. col. II ls. 21-3

Ἰουλιῶ Οὐαλεριῶ τεσσαραλιῶ
λεγιωναις ἰα Κλαυδίας ὑπο Μουκι-
νιανον πρεποσιτον λι(τραι) Ἀτθ

cf. Claudianus

The second extract shows that Iulius Valerius, tesserarius of the vexillation of XI Claudia, commanded by the praepositus, Mucinianus, received 1,990 lb of fodder. Elsewhere in this document, it is normally an optio who performs this duty. The first passage shows that another vexillation, commanded by Mucinianus, received 1,560 lb of fodder. It is highly likely that this was a detachment from I Italica, which, together with XI Claudia, formed the garrison of Moesia Inferior. It is interesting to note that detachments from these legions form a pair among the legiones palatinae listed in the eastern section of the Notitia Dignitatum (cf. Primani & Undecimani, ND Or VI 5 & 6 = 45 & 46). It could be that these legiones palatinae are directly descended from the vexillation recorded in this papyrus. Ritterling assumed that the name, Mucinianus, was a corruption of Mucianus (cf. RE XII 2 1359). Ensslin, however, has pointed out that this is unlikely, since in col. 1, ls. 16 and 25, both names occur

in close proximity (cf. Aegyptus, XXXII, p 166). The cognomen, Mucinianus, also suggests Thracian origin.

208. IULIUS NASIF

IRT 886 f

Tripolitana

Bir-ed-Dreder

Iulius Nasif tribunus

cf. Flavius Isiguar

The nomen, Iulius, perhaps suggests a date in the period c. 340 - 50 (cf. Goodchild, p 137, n 1).

209. NEMOTA

AM XXV 7 13 (363)

cf. Bellovaedius

210. NESTICA

a) AM XVII 10 5 (358)

In 358, while campaigning against the Alamanni, the Caesar Julian ordered Charietto and Nestica, tribunus Scutariorum, to capture one of the enemy to act as a guide.

211. NEVITTA

- a) AM XXI 10 8
- b) AM XVII 6 3 (358)
- c) AM XXI 8 1 (361)
- d) AM XXI 8 3
- e) AM XXII 3 1
- f) AM XXIV 1 2 (363)
- g) AM XXIV 4 13
- h) Zos. III 21 4
- i) AM XXV 5 2

RE XVII 1 156-8 (Ensslin)

Nevitta's name suggests that he was a German. Ammianus describes him as boorish and cruel, and of barbarian origin (a). He is first attested in 358, when distinguished himself by his bravery in Barbatio's victory over the Iuthungi who had invaded Raetia. Ammianus terms him, 'equestris praepositus turmae', but he was evidently a tribune commanding a field army cavalry unit (b). Following this, he seems to have attracted the notice of the Caesar Julian, since when the latter was proclaimed Augustus in 361, he appointed Nevitta as magister militum to replace Gomoarius (c). Ensslin believes that he was appointed as magister equitum per Gallias, but it seems more likely to me that he was promoted to be magister equitum praesentalis, now that Julian was emperor. On Julian's march to the east, he commanded the main section of the army (d).

After Constantius's death, he was granted a consulship in 362 (Degrassi, p 82). He was appointed as one of the members of the tribunal which was set up at Chalcedon in September 361 to try former officials of Constantius II (e). In 363 he took part in Julian's Persian campaign as magister equitum praesentalis, and commanded the right wing of the army during its march down the Euphrates valley (f). Later, at the siege of Maiozamalcha, he, together with Dagalaifus, was put in charge of the sappers (g, h). After Julian's death, he and Dagalaifus were the leaders of the contingent of officers from the Gallic army during the dispute as to the choice of a successor (i). This may help to explain why Jovian appointed Victor to replace him. On the other hand, he still retained Dagalaifus.

212. NIGRINUS

a) AM XXI II 2 (361)

b) AM XXI 12 19-20

During his march eastwards in 361 to meet Constantius II, Julian arrived at Sirmium, where he found two legions and a unit of Sagittarii. Suspecting their loyalty, he sent them on to Gaul. Nigrinus, a native of Mesopotamia, who was tribune of a unit of cavalry, played on their fears, so that they seized Aquileia, and held it for Constantius (a). Efforts to capture the city proved vain, and it was not until after Constantius's death that Agilo, magister peditum, was able to persuade the rebels to

surrender. Nigrinus, as ringleader of the revolt, was burned alive (b). It seems not unlikely that the unit of archers and the troop of cavalry are in fact identical. In other words, Nigrinus probably commanded a vexillatio of Equites Sagittarii.

213. NUMERIUS

AM XXIX 2 17 (364 - 78)

During the reign of Valens, the tribune Numerius confessed that he had tried to find out by witchcraft who would succeed Valens as emperor. However, he was allowed to escape unpunished, and to retain his military rank.

214. FLAVIUS NUVEL

VIII 9255

Mauretania Caesariensis

Rusgunia

P

X (?) sancto ligno crucis Christi salvatoris adlato adq(ue) hic sito Flavius Nuvel ex praepositis Eq(u)itum Armigerorum [I]unior(um), filius Saturnini viri perfectissimi ex comitibus et Col[i]cia[e](?) honestissimae feminae, pr(on)jeps Eluri Laconiq(ue?) basilicam voto promissam adq(ue) oblatam cum coniuge Nonnica ac suis om̄ibus dedicavit.

Prior to retirement, Flavius Nuvel had been praepositus in command of the Equites Armigeri Iuniores. This unit is attested in the Notitia as a vexillatio comitatensis serving under the comes Africae (cf. ND Oc VI 37 = 80 = VII 198). Since Nuvel is termed praepositus, however, it seems that either the inscription dates to the early fourth century, or else the unit had not yet achieved the status of a vexillatio comitatensis. The name,

Nuvel, suggests that he was a Moor by birth (cf. AM XXIX 5 2: 'Nubel velut regulus per nationes Mauricas potentissimus - - -'). He was the son of Saturninus, a former vir perfectissimus comes, who had presumably served in the army also, and may have been comes et dux Africae. If this is so, the inscription must date to the period before c. 370, since most duces after this date had the status of viri clarissimi (cf. III 10596 = AE 1941 12; III 7494 = IIS 770).

215. OLYMPUS

P. Oxy I 43 Recto col. II, ls. 14-16

295

Βεϊτιω ὀπτιωνι ὑπ' Ολυμπον
πρεποσιτ(ον) ἀκολουθ(ως) φρουμαρια
αὐτου Ρωμαικῆ Θρπ.

cf. Claudianus

This extract from the document shows that Vitius, optio to the praepositus, Olympus, has received 9,180 lb of fodder. The name of the unit commanded by Olympus is unknown, but it is probable that it was a vexillation drawn from a pair of legions garrisoned in the same province.

216. SENNIU[S PATERNUS ?]

V 5833

Italy

Mediolanum

D(is) [I(n)feris ?] M(anibus) Senni[o Paterno ?] ducenario prot[ectori] qui
vixit annis [... menses] VII dies XXIIII, Veria Vi[.....] coniugi karissimo
et Pa[te]rnius Amicus et Patern[ius] Pacatus fratres patr[i] pientissimo.

Dr. Mann has suggested in private conversation that the name of this officer should be restored as Senniu[s Paternus], since it was customary practise among people of Germanic stock to form their nomen from the cognomen of their father. Moreover, Sennius is a nomen which suggests Celtic or Germanic origin (cf. Holder, II 1479). As a protector ducenarius he was presumably a centurion of the first cohort, probably serving in the field army. Since the titles are unabbreviated the inscription seems to belong to a period closer to the reign of Gallienus than to the end of the third century. Milan was an important centre of communications, and often acted as the headquarters for the field army.

217. PERULA

cf. Flavius Marcus

218. PETRONIUS

a) AM XXVI 6 7 (365)

b) CT VII 22 7 (April) 13th 365; cf. Regest. p 431)

RE XIX I 1194 (Ensslin)

Petronius was the father-in-law of the emperor Valens, and hence a Pannonian. Following his accession in 364, Valens promoted him to the rank of patricius, apparently as a special distinction (a). A decree was addressed to him in 365 (b). Before this, he had commanded a unit of Martenses (a). This unit is probably to be identified with the Martenses Seniores, listed by the Notitia as a legio comitatensis in the eastern field army (ND Or VII 40). Ammianus terms him praepositus in this post, though this may be an example of his imprecise use of terminology, since Dorotheus as commander of a vexillatio comitatensis in 359 had the rank of tribune. On the other hand, not all commanders of comitatensian units may have been accorded the tribunate. Again, the Martenses at this date may not as yet have gained comitatensian status.

219. FLAVIUS PONENTIUS

III 4186, cf. p 1751

Pannonia Superior

Savaria

Bene memorandae coniugi dulcissimae qu(a)e vix(it) an(nos) XX m(enses)
V: Fl(avius) Pomentius Aur(eliae) Iustinae maritus et lector nam et
protector contra votum memoriam posuit.

This inscription seems fourth century in style. Flavius Pomentius was a protector whose home was evidently at Savaria.

220. POTENTIUS

AM XXXI 13 18 (378)

Potentius, a tribune commanding a unit of Equites Promoti, was among those killed at the Battle of Hadrianople in 378. He was the son of Ursicinus, magister militum under Constantius II, and had probably been commissioned as protector domesticus on entering the army at the age of 19. He was still comparatively young when he met his death.

221. PROBIANUS

III 10686

Pannonia Secunda

Sirmium

[..... s(ub)] c(ura) Probiani p(rae)p(ositi). Vip[....]?

The name of the unit commanded by the praepositus, Probianus, was probably on the missing first part of the inscription. The last three letters are no doubt the beginning of the name of the subordinate officer serving under Probianus (cf. Victorinus, OstJahresh. VIII, 1905, Beibl., col. 8, n. 27). It is likely that this brick stamp belongs to a series of inscriptions from the Danubian provinces which reflect the endeavour of Valentinian and Valens to strengthen the frontier defences (cf. Foscanus, Leontius, Ursicinus, etc.). In 374, because of an invasion by the Quadi and Sarmatae, Probus, praetorian prefect of Illyricum, then resident at Sirmium, decided to repair the city's defences, which had fallen into ruin because of the long period of peace in this area (cf. AM XXIX 6 9-11).

The Notitia records three units as being stationed at Sirmium, the Milites Calcaresienses, the classis I Flavia Augusta, and the ala Sirmensis (cf. ND Oc XXXII 49; 50; 54). It is unlikely that Probianus commanded the ala, which was evidently an old auxiliary unit, and would not be used for rebuilding at this date. Probus summoned a detachment of Sagittarii from a nearby garrison to assist in the defence of the city, and it is possible that Probianus was in command of this (cf. AN XXIX 6 ll). The Notitia records units of Sagittarii in the neighbouring forts of Cuccium and Acuminum (cf. ND Oc XXXII 32; 35).

222. M. AURELIUS PROCESSANUS

XI 837 = IIS 2778

Italy

Mutina

D(is) M(anibus) M(arco) Aurelio Processano v(iro) e(gregio), ex cent(urione) praet(oriano) cohort(is) VI, prot(ectori) ducenario, Bononia Metrodora co(n)iugi karissimo, cum quo vixit ann(os) XI m(enses) XI dies, XV, b(ene) m(erenti).

In virtue of his post as centurion in the sixth cohort of the Praetorian Guard Processanus held the title of protector ducenarius, which was not granted to primi ordines until the close of Gallienus's reign.. The inclusion of the praenomen and a precise centurionate seem to date the inscription closer to this period than to the end of the third century. The cognomen probably indicates African origin, as in the case of Processus (cf. Dean, pp 253 - 4).

223. VALERIUS PROCLIANUS

AE 1946 127

Rome

D(is) M(anibus) Val(erius) Proclianus protector qui vixit an(n)is XLIIII et Val(erius) Nepotianus exarcus promotus domnicus qui vixit annis XXX fratres; Valeria Palladia coniugi carissimo bene merenti et cognato suo domum eterna(m) domus fabricavit.

The style of lettering on this inscription points to a late third century date, while the fact that all three have the nomen, Valerius, makes it probable that it belongs to Diocletian's reign. Proclianus was evidently a centurion of the first cohort serving in the field army, while his brother seems to have been an exarcus in the Equites Promoti, i.e. the old legionary cavalry (cf. P. Grenf. & Hunt II 74).

224. PUSAÆUS

a) AM XXIV I 9 (363)

b) Zos. III 14 4

When the fortress of Anatha on the Euphrates surrendered voluntarily to Julian during his Persian campaign of 363, Pusaæus, commander of the Persian garrison, was given the rank of tribune in the Roman army. Later on he rose to be dux Aegypti (a, b).

225. VALERIUS PUSINTULUS

III 3335

Valeria

Vetus Salina 310

D(is) M(anibus) Val(erius) Pusintulus protector qui vixit annos XXXVIII in quadragesimo fatis animam reddidit. Heredes bon[o] patri memoriam fecerunt, Andronico et Probo co(n)s(ulibus).

This inscription is dated to 310, when Galerius and Licinius controlled Illyricum. Pusintulus was evidently a centurion of the first cohort, probably serving in the field army.

226. VALERIUS CLAUDIUS QUINTUS

III 4855 = ILS 2772

Noricum

Herzendorf

c. 253 (?)

Memoriae Val(erii) Cl(audii) Quinti p(rimi)p(ili) leg(ionis) II Ital(icae), duce leg(ionis) III Ital(icae), duce et praep(osito) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), viro innocentissimo, Iul(ius) Eutyochianus et Iul(ius) Auxanon alumn(o).

cf. Pflaum 347; Dobson 157.

It is likely that Quintus was a Norican by birth, since he was buried in this province, and probably commenced service in II Italica. His first attested post was that of primus pilus of this legion. He was then appointed dux of III Italica, the legion stationed in Raetia. During the third century, the term, dux, which had hitherto been employed as a general title, was now used to designate an independent, extraordinary command (cf. Rangford. p 182). The last post recorded is that of dux et praepositus of III Augusta. In view of the last two posts, Pflaum has dated the inscription to the period c. 253. III Augusta was disbanded by Gordian III in 238, and the troops transferred to Raetia (cf. RE XII 2 1501).

In 253, Valerian was commanding a force assembled in Raetia, presumably intended for a campaign against the Alamanni (cf. Vict. Caes. XXXII). On being declared emperor, he was accepted by the Senate, following Aemilianus's murder. It has been argued that III Augusta was reconstituted as a reward for its loyalty to Valerian (cf. R. Cagnat, L'Armée romaine d'Afrique, p 160). In contrast, Van Berchem has argued that the reconstituted legion was eventually formed from a vexillation of III Augusta which had been withdrawn from Africa before 238 (cf. L'Armée de Dioclétien, et la réforme Constantinienne, p 42 n 2). However this may be, ^{a detachment of} ~~a vexillation of~~ the restored III Augusta is attested as having returned from Raetia to Gemellae on October 22nd 253 (cf. VIII 2482 = 17976). On the other hand, the return of the full legion to its old quarters at Lambaesis is not attested until 256-8 (cf. VIII 2634). It is interesting to note that III Augusta is not commemorated on the coins of Gallienus as supplying a vexillation for Gallienus's Rhine army in the period 253-60. It is known that there was severe fighting in Africa from 253 onwards, following a revolt of the Mauri (cf. Cagnat, ibid., p 160 f). Consequently, it seems likely that Quintus was appointed dux in charge of III Italica, the legion of Raetia, during operations against the Alamanni in this province. Then, following Valerian's successful bid for the throne, he was appointed praepositus in charge of a vexillation of III Augusta, and sent to Africa with the powers of a dux, to deal with the revolt of the Mauri.

227. RICHOMERES

- a) Ioh. Ant. Frg. 187 = FHG IV 609
- b) AM XXI 12 15 (378)
- c) Liban. Ep. 785; 891; 926; 944
- d) Symmach. Ep. III 54 - 69
- e) AM XXXI 7 4 ff. (377)
- f) AM XXXI 8 2
- g) AM XXXI 12 4 (378)
- h) AM XXXI 13 9
- i) Symmach. Ep. III 58 (382-3)
- j) Themist. Or. XVI 201 b
- k) Philost. X 8 = Migne Gr. LXV (388)
- l) CT VII 13 (May 27th 391)
- m) Zos. IV 55 2-3 (394)

RE I A I 796-7 (Seeck); W. Ensslin, 'Die Magistri Militum des viertes Jahrhunderts', Klio, XXIV, 1931, pp 102 - 47

As the uncle of Arbogastes (a), Richomeres was evidently a Frank, and seems to have been of noble birth (b). He remained a heathen throughout his life, as his correspondence with Libanius and Symmachus shows (c, d).

In 377, while holding the post of comes domesticorum, he was sent by Gratian to assist Valens in his campaign against the Goths, and was present at the Battle of Salices (e). It is worth noting that Franks seem to have occupied many of the key positions in Gratian's army at this time (cf. Arbogastes, Bauto, Merobaudes). He then returned to Gaul, in order to bring over further reserves to aid Valens (f). In 378 the advancing Gratian sent him on ahead with despatches informing Valens that he would soon join forces with him (g). He remained with Valens, and before the Battle of Hadrianople volunteered to act as a hostage in

peace negotiations, but the outbreak of fighting prevented this (b). He was among the survivors, following the disastrous defeat (h), and appears to have been promoted as magister militum under Theodosius, shortly after the latter's elevation, if not before (Ensslin, p 138). By 382-3 he was probably magister militum praesentalis, since he was at the court of the emperor at this time (i, j), and was consul in 384 (Degrassi, p 84). Philostorgius names him in second place after Timasius, when naming the generals who participated in the campaign against Magnus Maximus in 388 (k). On May 27th 391 an edict was addressed to him as comes et magister utriusque militiae (l), and he seems to have returned to Constantinople about this time (a). Together with Timasius, he should have commanded Theodosius's army in the war against Eugenius in 394, but he died before the beginning of the campaign (a, m).

228. ROMANUS

III 14406 a

Macedonia

Monastir

D(is) M(anibus) Aurelius Saza centenarius perlege (?). Hic iacio (q)ui vixi annis [q]uin[qu]aginta et militavi annis XXX et sum natus in provincia Dacia et militavi inter E[qu]ites Catafractarios Pictavensis suc (= sub) cura Romani pr[ae]positi Aurelia Piactu (?) coniux qui (sic) posit titulo bene merenti caro mar[i]t[o] suo. Resta viator et lege titulo nestro (sic), dunc (sic) leges et perausas.

Romanus was praepositus commanding the Equites Catafractarii Pictavenses.

This unit, as Nesselhauf has pointed out, must originally have been quartered at Poitiers in Aquitania Secunda (cf. 'Die spätrömische Verwaltung der gallisch-germanischen Länder', Abh. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1938, p 51).

It is not mentioned in the Notitia, but probably later became a verillatio

comitatensis, like the Equites Catafractarii Albigenses, and the Equites Catafractarii Biturigenses, attested in the eastern field army (cf. ND Or V 34; VIII 29). The unit may have been recruited originally from the Sarmatae et Traifali Gentiles, attested at Pictavi in the Notitia (cf. ND Oc XLII 65). The style of the inscription suggests a date in the earlier part of the fourth century. Probably, therefore, the unit was transferred to the east by Constantine I.

229. ROMANUS

AM XXII 2 (363)

While the emperor Julian was wintering at Antioch in 363, Romanus and Vincentius, tribunes commanding the scholae I and II Scutariorum in the eastern field army (ND Or XI 4, 5), were found guilty of conspiracy and sentenced to be exiled.

230. AURELIUS ROMANUS

XII 2576

Gallia Narbonensis

near Geneva

D(is) M(anibus) et memori(a)e aetern(a)e Tiberi(a)e Maxim(a)e : Aurelius Romanus protector ducenarius co(n)iugi incomparabili.

Romanus was probably a centurion of the first cohort serving in the field army during the latter part of the third century.

231. SUPERINIUS ROMANUS

XIII 8273

Germania Inferior

Colonia Agrippinensis

Superini Romani (centurionis) protect(oris) d(omini) n(ostri): Florentinia
Aeta coniugi karissimo [.....]

The mention of the centurionate with the title of protector, and also the nomina seem to date this inscription to the third century. The Gallic Empire was in existence from 260 - 74, and it is doubtful whether its officers bore the title of protector. The most likely time for a field army to be operating on the Rhine frontier is under Probus in 276 - 7, or under Diocletian. However, since only one emperor is referred to, it seems more likely that this inscription belongs to Probus's reign.

232. FLAVIUS ROMULIANUS

V 8662

Italy

Concordia c.400

Aur(eliae) Domnulae uxori dulcissimae Fl(avius) Romulianus ex p(rae)p(ositis)
de proprio suo arcam comparavit.

cf. Ulpus Candidus

233. M. AURELIUS RUFINUS

V 4320

Italy

Brixia 270-5

Imp(eratori) [Caes(ari)] L(ucio) Do[mitio] Aur(eliano] pio fe[l(ici)
invic]to Au[gusto] p(ontifici) m(aximo) tr(ibuno)] pot(estatis) p(atri)
p(atris) [.....] M(arcus) Au[relius] Rufi[nus ? ..] p(rae)p(ositus)
nec[.....] fort[issimo principi].

cf. Aelius Claudianus

234. RUMITALCA

AM XXVI 8 1-3 (365)

Rumitalca was a tribune who joined the usurper Procopius in 365, and was appointed tribunus cura palatii. In a decree of 413, this officer is classed with the tribunus stabuli being entitled to the same privileges as the tribuni scholarum (CT VI 13 1). He crossed over the straits with his troops, and with unexpected speed captured the city of Nicaea. Here he was besieged by Valens's troops, but he organised a sally, and burst through their lines. He then launched a surprise attack on the army which was besieging Chalcedon, and almost succeeded in capturing the emperor himself.

235. SABICAS

P. Abinn. 16, ls. 1-2.

Egypt

342-51

[κυριου μου ἀ]δελφῶ
[Ἀβιννεῶ] Σαβικας πραι(ποσιτος) χαιρεiv.

This papyrus is a letter to Abinnaeus, praefectus alae V. Praelectorum at Dionysias, from his comrade, Sabicas, who held the rank of praepositus. Mention is made in l. 9 of the vexillation Sabicas commanded. This unit was presumably the Equites Cataphractarii, which was stationed at Arsinoe during the period 319-59 (cf. Castinus).

236. SABINIANUS

AE 1910 171

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

Sabinianus pro(tec)tor ortus in provincia Dardania reg(ione) Ulpian(a)e [.....] Dasa qui vixit an(nis) L, qui donec superstaret vitam iucundam exegi sibi et amicis qui a me hodie exoptantur et optantur ibidem terra levis habeat sem[per ?] vosque iter carpite legite [.....] vos vitam iucundam ex[i]gatis post mortem nihil est nisi est vilis umbra vox(?) [bo]n(a)e memoriae castaequ(e) [.....] *Salpitrus posuit.*

Sabinianus

~~propterea~~ was a protector who was born in the fourth century province of Dardania, near the town of Ulpiana, which was situated on the road from Naissus to Serdica, (cf. CIL III p 268). He died aged 50.

237. AURELIUS SABINIANUS

III 8571

Dalmatia

Salona

Publico Balsamio Sabiniano c(larissimo) p(uero) trib(uno) laticl(avio) filio Aur(elii) Sabiniani v(iri) e(gregii) proc(uratoris) duc(enarii) prov(inciae) Dalmat(iae) trib(uni) protec[t(or)is] Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum duorum)]. Vigor, Concordius, Victorinianus patrono praestantissimo.

cf. PIR² I 1599; Pflaum 351; Dobson 102.

After protec in l. 6 of this inscription, there seems to be sufficient spacing for six letters, and one more at the beginning of l. 7. Pflaum restores this as protec[t(or)is] Aug(usti) n(ostri). But it is strange to find Augusti written in full, while nostri is abbreviated in this manner. It is more likely, allowing for the spacing between the words, that the inscription is to be restored as above. It was set up by Vigor, Concordius and Victorinianus to their patron, Balsamius Sabinianus, clarissimus puer and tribunus laticlavus. Since no senators are attested as holding military posts later than 260, it seems unlikely that

the inscription was set up after this date. On the other hand, his father, now ducenarian procurator of Dalmatia, had previously held the post of tribunus, presumably in the Praetorian Guard, with the title of protector. All the available evidence indicates that this title was introduced by Gallienus for officers of the new mobile field army, organised on a permanent footing, which he introduced in the period 253 - 6, when Gallienus and Valerian were joint Augusti. By the end of his reign, the title was being granted to centurions of the first cohort, and presumably praetorian tribunes had ceased to hold it. Two other praetorian tribunes are attested with the title, namely Petronius Volusianus, and the anonymous officer of III 3126. Like the former, it seems that Aurelius Sabinianus held the post of praetorian tribune in the period 253 - 6, when Gallienus and Valerian were joint Augusti. There would then be time for him to go on to be procurator of Dalmatia before 260, after which date no more senatorial officers are found in the army. Again, like Volusianus, it is also probable that, as Dobson suggests, Sabinianus had previously been a primus pilus ~~primipilaris~~, and tribune of the Vigiles and urban cohorts. Unlike Volusianus, however, he did not have a purely military career, but went on to hold the procuratorship of Dalmatia. As both Pflaum and Dobson point out, the identification of Aurelius Sabinianus with the person of the same name in IGR I 1071, proposed by A. Stein in PIR² I 1599, is unlikely, since the names are so common, and it is not very probable that a primipilaris would be appointed as assistant to the rationalis of Egypt.

238. SABINUS

V 8282

Italy

Aquileia

Sabinus decessit de seculo annorum quinquaginta ex [p]rot[ector]ib[us].

Perhaps Sabinianus obtained the title, ex protectoribus, having received an emerita missio, after about 25 years service.

239. FLAVIUS SAICHAM

AE 1951 11 = IRT 886 a

Tripolitana

Bir-ed-Dreder

Flabi(us) Saicham b n Masarcum sonmon tribunus bymuf tyriraban Machrus uzeb.
cf. Flavius Isiguar

240. SALLUSTIUS

AM XXIX 3 7 c. 366

cf. Claudius

241. SALVITIUS

Jan. 22nd 307

P. Theod. 4, ls. 1 - 5

Ὁμολ[ο]εῖ φ[λαυ]ί[ος] Σαβίνος] στρατιωτῆ[ς] ἀναφ[ε]ρ[ο]μ[ε]νός
[ἐν] καστροῖς Ναρ[μου]θεῶς ἀπο τῶν ὑπο Σαλουτιῶν
πρα[ι]ποσιτον
ἀπο π[ρο]δητῶρων. Ὁμολογῶ πεπρακεναὶ Αὐρηλ[ί]ω
Καπιτωνί
π[ρι]μιπ[ι]λαρίω [...] κωμῆς Διονυσιαδος τὴν [ἐ]παρχου[σ]αν
[μ]οι ἰ[π]π[α]δα].

This document, dated to January 22nd 307, contains the declaration of Flavius Sabinus, soldier of the camp of Narmouthis, of the unit of troops commanded by the praepositus, Salvitius, that he has sold to Aurelius Capito, primipilaris of Dionysias, a black mare of the age of the first teeth for the price agreed between them of 130 talents of silver. Salvitius has the title, ex protectoribus, indicating that he had previously served as centurion in the field army before his appointment as praepositus of the camp at Narmouthis, and presumably also, commander of the unit stationed there. According to the Notitia Dignitatum, in the chapter listing the units under the comes Limitis Aegypti, this was the Cohors IV Numidarum (cf. ND Or XXVIII 46). One might compare him with Flavius Abinnaeus, who occupied a similar position at Dionysias in the period 342 - 51. It is possible that he had previously served in the field force which Diocletian brought to Egypt c. 295 to quell the revolt of Achilleus.

242. VALERIUS SAMBARRA

III 5565, cf. ad. II77I = IIS 664 Noricum Bedaium June 27th 310

Victoriae Augustae [Sac]rum pro salutem [d(ominorum)] n(ostorum) Maximini et [Con]stantini et Licini [se]mper Aug(ustorum) Aur(elius) Senecio [v(ir) p(erfectissimus)] dux templum numini [ei]us ex voto a novo fieri iussit per instantiam Val(erii) Sambarrae, p(rae)p(ositi) Eq(uitibus) Dalm(atie) Aquesianis Comit(ibus) l(aetus) l(ibens) M(erito) ob victoria facta V k(alendas) Iulias Andronico et Probo co(n)s(ulibus).

Valerius Sambarra was praepositus in command of the Equites Dalmatae Aquesiani Comites, stationed at Bedaium in 310. The cognomen perhaps

suggests a Gallic origo (cf. RE I A 2 2110 ff; 2123). The unit is evidently named after its original place of garrison, but the location of Aquesia is uncertain (cf. A. Mayer, Die Sprache der alten Illyrier, 1957, pp 53-4). It is possible that it may take its name from the town of Aequum in Dalmatia. It seems to me, however, that 'Aquesianis' should be expanded to 'Aqu(il)esianis'. Aquileia was an important strategic centre, and field army detachments would often be stationed there. No unit of this name is listed in the Notitia, and it may have passed out of existence during the wars between Constantine and Licinius. Although it was used to build a temple to Victoria Augusta, it is probably to be considered as belonging to a field force placed under the command of the dux, Aurelius Senecio (cf. W. Ensslin, Deut. Lit. LXXV, 1954, p 593). The campaign referred to is otherwise unknown.

243. FLAVIUS SANCTUS

III 10232 = IIS 9205

Pannonia Secunda

Sirmium

[A] [X]ω [ego Aur]elia Aminia po[sui] titulum viro meo [F]l(avio) Sancto ex n(umero) Iov(iorum, ianorum ?) pr(o)tec(tori), benemeritus qui vixit ann(is) pl(us) m(inus) L, qui est defunctus civit(ate) Aquileia, titulum posuit ad beatu(m) Synerot[e(m)] marture(m) et infan[t]e(m) filiam suam nomine Ursicina qui vixit annis n(umero) III.

Flavius Sanctus, whose home was at Sirmium, died aged 50 while serving at Aquileia. He held the rank of protector, but the inscription does not make it clear whether he served in the Ioviani, a legio palatina, or the Iovi, an auxilium palatinum.

244. SCUDILO

a) Zos. II 50 2 (351)

b) AM XIV 10 8 (354)

c) AM XVI II II

d) AM XIV II 24

RE II A I 909 (Seeck)

Scudilo was of Alamannic stock, since in 354 he was one of the three officers who was suspected of having warned their fellow countrymen of an impending attack by Constantius's army (b). He had probably originally enlisted under Constantine I, and been transferred to the eastern field army by him. In 351 he and another tribune, Manadus, distinguished themselves at the Battle of Mursa, when they blockaded the gates of the city with picked men from their units, and prevented four detachments of Celtae from launching a surprise attack on Constantius's army (a).

Zosimus states that they were commanding units of archers and heavy armed cavalry, and these may have been two scholae palatinae. In 354 Scudilo was tribune in command of a unit of Scutarii, evidently a schola palatina, and Ammianus states that he had great influence with the emperor (b). Later in the same year he was sent by Constantius to Antioch to persuade the Caesar Gallus to come to Milan (c). Some time afterwards he died of a haemorrhage of the liver (d).

245. SENIAUCHUS

a) AM XV 4 10 (355)

b) AM XXV 10 6-7 (363)

RE II A 2 1461 (Seeck)

When the Lentienses attacked the force commanded by Arbetio, magister equitum, near Lake Constance in 355, Seniauchus was one of the three tribunes who led a successful counter-attack (a). It is uncertain whether the cavalry unit of Comites which he commanded was a vexillatio palatina or comitatensis. In 363 he accompanied Lucillianus on his mission to secure the western field army's recognition of Jovian as emperor, but he was killed when the troops at Rheims revolted (b). His name suggests a Germanic origin, which may help to explain why he was selected for this mission (cf. AM_x XXV 8 10).

246. FLAVIUS SENILIS

VII 137

Britain

Lydney Park

D(eo) M(arti) T(itus) Flavius Senilis, pr(ae)positus rel(iquationi classis), ex stipibus possuit; o[pus cur]ante Victorino inter[pret]e.

cf. Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire, R. E. M. & T. V. Wheeler, 1932, pp 103-4

The above is the reading proposed by R.G. Collingwood, except for the second letter, which, as Professor Birley has suggested, ought to be M rather than N. The local god, Nodens, was sometimes equated with Mars (cf. VII 138). The post of praepositus reliquationi classis is attested on other inscriptions (cf. VIII 1322 = ILS 2764; X 3345; ILS 9221).

Flavius Senilis was evidently praepositus in charge of a naval supply depot at Lydney on the Severn estuary. The inscription records that he laid a mosaic pavement, paid for out of money offerings. The actual work was supervised by Victorinus, who held the post of interpreter, a military rank (cf. Rangord. p 37). The inscription dates to the late fourth century, since the temple in which the pavement was found belongs to this period.

247. SERENIANUS

- a) AM XXVI 5 3 (364)
- b) AM XXVI 10 2
- c) AM XIV 7 7 ff. (354)
- d) AM XIV II 23
- e) AM XXVI 8 7 ff. (365-6)
- f) AM XXVI 8 II
- g) AM XXVI 10 I (366)
- h) Zos. IV 6 4-5

RE II A 1674 (Seeck)

A Pannonian by birth (a, b), Serenianus had been dux Phoenices prior to 354, in which year he was brought to trial and acquitted on a charge of having consulted an oracle as to whether he should become emperor (c). At the end of 354, he was one of the three officials sent by Constantius to supervise the execution of Gallus at Pola, but it is not known in what

capacity he was acting on this occasion (d). Afterwards, he seems to have retired, but in 364 he was appointed comes domesticorum by Valens (a), with whom he was on very friendly terms, since both were Pannonians, and were similar in temperament (b). In the winter of 365-6 he was sent to Cyzicus to guard the treasure there, and superintended the defence of the city against Procopius's troops (e). Following its capture, he was imprisoned at Nicaea (f), and later executed when Marcellus, commander of the rebel garrison, received news of Procopius's death (g). Zosimus's account varies slightly from that of Ammianus, but obviously the latter is more reliable (h).

248. SERVANTUS

P. Oxy I 43 Recto col. IV, ls 18 - 23

February 295

Σερουαντῶ πρωτηκτορι των Σεβαστων λι(τραι) Α'ΗϕΞ
της δε βρουμαριας το ἀντιγραφον). Σερουαντος
πρωδηταρ των Σεβαστων ἔλαβον
παρα Σαρματου ἐπιμελητου Ὁξ(υρυχιτου) ἡμερ(ων) δ
ἀχυρ(ου) κοφινους ἑννακοσious εἴκοσι ὀκτω
μονους.

cf. W. Esselin, 'Zu Pap. Oxyrhynchus I 43 Recto', Regyptus, XXXII, 1952,
pp 163 - 78.

This is an extract from a document dated to February, 295, which provides an account of the quantities of supplies, chiefly of fodder, furnished to various units of the field army garrisoned at Oxyrhynchus, together with copies of the receipts in each instance. The protector, Servantus, received 928 baskets, as provisions for 4 days, i.e. 232 baskets per day. Terentius, the only other protector attested in this document, received 4640 lb for 1 day. This is the same amount as that of Servantus, since one basket apparently held 20 lb. Two points are worthy of note. Firstly, elsewhere in this papyrus it is an optio or, less frequently, a tesserarius, who is attested as receiving the supplies on behalf of the unit concerned. Secondly, in contrast to the other sections of the document, neither protector states the name of the commander of the unit to which he was attached. It seems likely, therefore, that both were staff officers, and in consequence not attached to any particular unit.

249. SEVERIANUS

P. Oxy. X 1261, ls 7 - 9

--- και εις ευθειαν των εν βαβυλωνι ³²⁵
[δ]ιακιμενων γ[εν]νεωτατων στρατιωτων υπο
Σεουηριανου πρ[α]ιπ(οσιτου)
λι(τρων) μυριαδα α Δσλε, ---.

This document is a letter from Aurelius Heraclides, senator of Oxyrhynchus, to Flavius Sarapion, centurion on the staff of the catholicus, acknowledging

the receipt of 24,235 lb of produce, of which 14,235 lb is to be used for provisioning the soldiers quartered at Babylon under the praepositus Severianus. The Notitia records that a detachment of Legion XIII Gemina was stationed at Babylon, and Severianus was evidently commander of this unit (cf. ND Or XXVIII 15).

250. SEVERIANUS

a) AM XXVII 1 2-4 (366)

b) CT V 7 1 = CI VIII 50 19 (June 14th 366)

RE II A 2 1930 (Seeck)

In January 366 Charietto, comes per utramque Germaniam, decided to attack one of the bands of Alamanni which had invaded Gaul. He took with him the comes Severianus, who commanded the Divitenses and Tungrecani, then stationed at Châlons-sur-Saône (a). These units are probably to be equated with the Divitenses and Tungrecani Seniores, a pair of legiones palatinae in the western field army (ND Oc V 147, 148 = VII 5, 6).

Severianus was apparently an old man in weak health (a). The Roman force was defeated, and Severianus was thrown from his horse and wounded. However, Ammianus does not state specifically that he was killed. It is possible therefore that he may be the dux of that name to whom a decree was addressed on June 14th of the same year (b). Perhaps he replaced the dead Charietto.

251. SEVERINUS

III 14184⁹

Cappadocia

Tyana

Or(iunda) Dacia, qu[er] separ[ata] est p[er] (assum)] myriades [q]uinqua[er]inta [t]res hoc (loco), Aur(eliae) Cez(a)e vixit annis XV, et pos(t) ducto vixit dies XV.

Βεϊταλείανος κερκεϊτωρ Σεουρα Σευρεινου προποσειτου
γενηθεντα ἐ[ν] Δακεία τον νατλειαν κυβην
παραλαβοντα μου κοιβηνωνειαν ἐς ἡμερας
δεκαπενται αὐτην ἀπωλεσα Βεϊταλσιανος κυβη. μου
σωζου.

Vitalianus, circitor, was born in Dacia. He was the son of the praepositus, Severinus, who probably commanded a cavalry unit, since a law of 326 states that the son of a cavalry veteran is entitled to the rank of circitor on entering the army, provided that he possess two horses, or one horse and a slave (of. CI VII 22 2).

252. MACIUS SEVERINUS

XII 1356

Gallia Narbonensis

Vasio

Maciae <Seve> Severin(a)e memoriae aetern(a)e Aurelius Valerianus se vivo co(n)iugi et sebe civis <Ver> Vergelleses, Maci Severini soror(i) trebuni legionis Secundae Italices.

The style of this inscription suggests a fourth century date. Macius Severinus was tribune in command of a detachment of II Italica. Perhaps this unit is to be identified as the Secundani Italiciani, a legio comitatensis in the army of Africa (ND Oc V 235 = VII 144). Severinus was probably a native of Vasio in Gallia Narbonensis.

253. SEVERUS

- a) CT VI 24 2; 3 (Aug. 19th 365; cf. Regest. p 71)
- b) AM XXVII 8 2 (367)
- c) AM XXVII 6 3
- d) CT VIII 7 II (April 24th 372)
- e) AM XXVII 10 6 (368); AM XXVIII 5 2 (370); AM XXIX 4 3 (372)

RE II A 2 2005 (Seeck); W. Ensslin, 'Die Magistri Militum des viertes Jahrhunderts', Klio, XXIV, 1931, pp 102-47

Severus is first attested as comes domesticorum in a decree of August 19th 365 (a). Late in 367 he was sent to Britain to repulse an invasion of Picts, Attacotti and Scots, but soon afterwards was recalled to Gaul (b), and must have been promoted to the rank of magister peditum in the same year (c). Ensslin (p 124) does not believe that he was promoted to be magister peditum directly, but it seems best to accept the text of Ammianus as it stands. He is last attested in this post on April 24th 372 (d). As a person, he was strict and feared, and was evidently even considered as a possible candidate for the throne when Valentinian I was taken seriously ill in 367 (c). He is often mentioned by Ammianus when describing Valentinian's campaigns in Gaul (e).

254. SERTORIUS SILANUS

XI 9 = IIS 699

Italy

Ravenna

312-37

Propagatori Romani imperii, f[u]ndato [ri] quiesis publicae, d(omino) [n(ostro)] Fl(avio) Constantino maximo victori semper Aug(usto), divi Claudi nepoti, divi Constanti filio, Sertorius Silanus v(ir) p(erfectissimus), praepositus fabricae, devotus n(umini) m(aiestati)-q(ue)s(e)ius).

Sertorius Silanus was praepositus fabricae in charge of the arms factory at Ravenna, having the status of vir perfectissimus (cf. Laurentius, XI 285).

255. SILVANUS

- a) AM XV 5 33 (351)
- b) Vict. Caes. XLII 15
- c) AM XV 5 31
- d) Vict. Epit. XLII 10; 11
- e) Zonar. XIII 8
- f) Julian Or. I 48; II 97
- g) CT VII I 2; VII I 3 (May 27th 352; cf. Regest. pp 93: 120)
- h) AM XV 5 2: 4
- i) AM XV 5 9-14
- j) AM XV 6 3

RE III A I 125-6 (Seeck)

Silvanus was a Frank, the son of Bonitus, who had distinguished himself under Constantine I in the wars against Licinius (a). He was born in Gaul, and his mother also seems to have been of barbarian stock (b). He was evidently a Christian (c), and was educated in the Roman manner (d). He presumably enlisted as protector domesticus at the age of 19, and under Magnentius he held the rank of tribunus (e), commanding the Armaturae, a sbhola palatina (a; ND Oc IX 6). However, at the Battle of Mursa in 351 he deserted together with his unit to Constantius II (a, b, e, f), and in return he was promoted while still comparatively young to the rank of magister peditum (a, b). A decree was addressed to him in 352 (g). At first he remained at the emperor's court, but at the beginning of 355, on the pressure of the magister equitum, Arbetio, who was jealous of this rival for the emperor's favour, he was sent to Gaul, where he distinguished

himself in repelling barbarian incursions (h). However, in his absence, a forged letter was produced which seemed to indicate that he was aiming at the throne (i), and he had no other choice but to proclaim himself as emperor on August 11th 355 (cf. Seeck). Ammianus shows that he did this unwillingly, since only five days beforehand, on the occasion of the emperor's birthday, he had distributed a donative to the troops in Constantius's name (j). He was assassinated at Cologne 28 days after his proclamation by troops bribed by Ursicinus (cf. Seeck).

256. GINTONIUS SINTULA

- a) AM XX 4 3 (360)
- b) Julian Ep. ad Athen. 282 d
- c) AM XX 5 I

RE III A I 259 (Seeck)

Sintula was tribunus stabuli of the Caesar Julian in 360 (a). Julian names him Gintonius, and this was probably his nomen (b). He was commissioned by Constantius II to conduct the best troops selected from Julian's scholae palatinae to Constantinople in readiness for a campaign against the Persians (a). Having set out, however, he received the news that Julian had been proclaimed as Augustus, and returned to Paris (c).

257. SOL

- a) III 10684 a Valeria Marot
Inllc Sol tr(ibunus)
- b) III 10684 c Valeria near Szobb
[d]ux Sol trib(unus)

These brick stamps were found at Marot, on the right bank of the Danube not far from Castra, ^{ad} ~~and~~ Herculem, and near Szobb, on the left bank.

Sol (if that is his full name) was tribune of a unit employed in strengthening the frontier fortifications. The most likely date is in the reign of Valentinian I (cf. Caris).

258. FLAVIUS STILICHO

- a) Hieron. Ep. 123 17 = Miene L. XXII 1058
- b) Oros. VII 38 1
- c) Claud. De cons. Stil. 1 35 - 6
- d) Ibid. 51 ff. (383)
- e) VI 1730 = ILS 1277 Rome 398-9

Fl(avio) Stilichoni v(iro) c(larissimo) Flavio Stilichoni inlustrissimo viro magistro equitum peditumque, comiti domesticorum, tribuno praetoriano et ab ineunte aetate per gradus clarissimae militiae ad columnen gloriae sempiternae et regiae adfinitatis evecto, progenero divi Theodosi, comiti divi Theodosi Augusti in omnibus bellis adque victoriis et ab eo in adfinitatem regiam cooptato itemque socero d(omini) n(ostri) Honori Augusti, Africa consiliis eius et provisione liberata, ex s(enatus) c(onsulto).

- f. VI 1731 = ILS 1278 Rome 405 - 8

[Fl(avio) Stilichoni inlustrissimo] viro, bis consuli ordinario, magistro utriusque militiae, comiti domesticorum et stabuli sacri adque ab ineunte aetate per gradus clarissimae militiae ad columnen regiae adfinitatis evecto, socio bellorum omnium et victoriarum adfinitati etiam divi Theodosi Augusti itemque socero domni nostri Honori Augusti, populus Romanus pro singulari eius circa se amore adque providentia statuum ex aere argentoque in rostris ad memoriam gloriae sempiternae conlocandam decrevit, exeunte Fl(avio) Pisidio Romulo v(iro) c(larissimo) praef(ecto) urb(is).

- g) Zos. IV 57 2 (384); V 4 I; Claud. De cons. Stil. 1 69 ff.; Laus. Ser. 179 ff.; Olymp. Frg. 2 = FHG IV 58
- h) Claud. Laus. Ser. 227-232
- i) Ibid. 190-201
- j) Philost. X 8
- k) CT VII 4 18; VII 9 3 (393)
- l) Zos. V 34 6 (408)
- cf. RE III A 2 2523-4 (Seeck); Unterg. V pp 269-71; 546-8,
T. Mommsen, 'Stilicho und Alarich', Ges. Schr. IV pp 516-30
W. Ensslin, 'Die Magistri Militum des viertes Jahrhunderts', Klio, XXIV,
1931, pp 102-47.

The date of Stilicho's birth is uncertain. However, Claudian, when referring to his being sent on an embassy to the Persian court in 383, describes him as 'vix primaevus' (d). Since the normal age for enlistment was 19, it seems probable that he was born about 360. His father was a Vandal (b), who had commanded a unit of German cavalry under Valens (c). Jerome describes him as a 'semibarbarus', and it is possible therefore that his mother was a Roman citizen (a). In view of his father's rank, and his own appearance and physique (c), he was presumably commissioned as a protector domesticus on enlistment. Inscriptions relating to him state that he served, 'ab ineunte aetate per gradus clarissimae militiae' (e & f), but so far as is known protectores domestici were not granted the clarissimate until 416 (CT VI 24 8). It is probable that his name was enrolled on the official register of the scholae before he formally enlisted (CT VI 24 2, 365). The normal period of service in the protectores domestici was about five years, and promotion was according to seniority. In 383, presumably while still protector, Stilicho was selected to accompany Sporacius on his mission to the Persian court (d).

On his return in 384 he married Serena, the favourite niece of the emperor Theodosius (g). It is at this point that he began to receive rapid promotion, due to Serena's influence at court (h), and the desire of the emperor that Stilicho should be an effective safeguard for his sons' position after his death. Soon afterwards Stilicho was appointed tribunis stabuli, a key post, which fourth century emperors frequently bestowed on their relatives (e, f, i). It is obvious that the post of tribunus praetorianus should be equated with that of comes stabuli (e, f), which proves that the latter office developed from a praetorian tribuneship. It was probably in 385-6 that he received his next appointment, the office of comes domesticorum, or chief of staff (e, f). Zosimus states that at his death in 408 he had served as a general for 23 years (l). However, in 388 he had still not been appointed to the rank of magister militum, since Philostorgius does not mention him among the generals who commanded Theodosius's army during the campaign against Magnus Maximus (j). Ensslin believes that Stilicho did not become magister utriusque militiae until after the death of Promotus in 393, when he is first attested in this post (k); Ensslin, p 141). In Mommsen's view, Stilicho was more of a statesman and diplomatist than a field general, since other commanders were in charge of the armies which defeated Radagaisus and Gildo (Mommsen, p 528). This is explained if one examines his prior career, since all his previous experience had been that of an officer on the emperor's staff.

259. SUPERIANUS

of. Flavius Marcus.

260. C. RUFIVS SYNFORIANVS

AE 1934 193

Macedonia

Lychnidus

260 - 8

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) pro salute et incolunitate Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)
P(ublii) Licini Egnati Gallieni Aug(usti), vexill(ationes) leg(ionis) II
Parth(icae), III Aug(ustae) sub cura Aur(elli) Augustiani ducis iustissimi et
C(aii) [R]ufi Synforian[i] praep(ositi) vexillatio[num]

This inscription records the presence of a field army detachment at Lychnidus in Macedonia in the period 260-8. It is likely that it dates to the end of Gallienus's reign, when he was engaged in repelling an invasion of the Goths (cf. CAH XII p 149). There does not seem to be sufficient room in the last line of the inscription (16 spaces) to justify restoring the name of another vexillation. In consequence, it would appear that the praepositus, Rufius Synforianus, was in command of the pair of legionary vexillations from II Parthica and III Augusta responsible for setting up the inscription. In this respect, one might compare him with Flavius Aper, praepositus in charge of a vexillation from the two Dacian legions under Gallienus. It is interesting to note that the practice of pairing legions to form a vexillation still operated when the parent unit in each case formed the only one garrisoned in a particular province. III Augusta at this time was at Lambaesis in Numidia, and II Parthica at Alba near Rome. The dux, Aurelius Augustianus, was presumably the overall commander of the field force, of which this particular pair of vexillations formed part. As such, he had precedence over Synforianus, and is therefore mentioned first.

261. FLAVIUS SYRUS

P. Gron. 10. 1. 31

(4)

φλ(αυιος) Συρος ἀπο τριβουνων μαρτυρω.

cf. Flavius Abraam & Flavius Heliodorus

262. TARA

a) III 1700 ⁴

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

S(ub) c(ura) Tar(a)e p(rae)p(ositi) r(i)p(ae) l(egionis) VII Cl(audiae).

b) Ost. Jahresh. VI, 1903, Beibl., col. 53, n. 68

Leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) s(ub) c(ura) Tat(a)e p(rae)positi ?

The first brick stamp shows that Tara was praepositus ripae legionis VII

Claudiae. Ritterling has suggested that he should be equated with Tata,

recorded as praepositus in command of a detachment of IV Flavia in b

(cf. RE XII 2 1546). The Notitia shows that sometimes a pair of legionary

detachments was quartered on the frontier in the same place (cf. ND Or

XXXIV 27; cf. also Or XLI 32 & III 13815a). On the other hand, these two

commanders may not necessarily be identical, and even if they are, the two

posts need not have been held simultaneously. The names Tara and Tata

are Celtic (cf. Holder II 1726; 1753).

263. TAURISCUS

cf. Aquilinus

264. TAURUS

PSI IX 1077, ls. 1-11

Thebais

354

[Ἰπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου] Αὐ[γουστο]υ
το ζ' καὶ Κωνστ[α]ντίου [τοῦ ἐπιφανέστατου] Καίσαρος
το γ' Μεχέρ 18. Φλαουιοὶ Τερεντίος καὶ Συπλικίς
ἀμφότεροι φηλίκος ἀπὸ πραιποσιτῶν στρατιῶται ἕκτης
λεγιῶνος τῶν ἐν Λυκῶν διακιμένων ὑπὸ Ταυρον
πραιποσιτον Φλαουίῳ Κρονίῳ ὀφφικιαλίῳ ταξέως
ἐπαρχοῦ Αἰγυπτου καὶ Ἀφρούτος Σεουήρῳ καὶ
Διοσκορῳ ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρῶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
ὀξύρυχέιτων πολεῶς χαιρεῖν.

This document contains a receipt of money for certain buildings. It is a letter from Terentius and Suplicis, sons of Felix, ex praepositis, who are soldiers serving in a frontier detachment of Legion VI, under the command of the praepositus, Taurus. This unit was quartered at Lyconopolis, a town in the Thebaid (cf. RE XIII 2 2310). In the Notitia, a cuneus Equitum Maurorum Scutariorum is recorded as stationed there (cf. ND Or XXXI 23). However, there is no mention of a sixth legion in the garrison of either the Thebaid or Egypt. It could have been a detachment of VI Ferrata, VI Herculia or VI Parthica. If it was the latter, it may have been transferred at a later

stage to the field army, since a detachment of VI Parthica is listed as a legio pseudocomitatensis under the magister militum per Orientem (cf. ND Or VII 55).

265. TERENTIANUS

P. Oxy. I 43 Recto col. V, ls. 1-8

295

Εὐσεβίω ὀπτι[ωνι των ὑπο Τερ]εν-
 τIANON Πρε[ποσιτον ...] λι(τραί) Δυμ.
 της δε φρουμα[ρίας ἐστίν ἀντιγραφόν].
 Αὐρηλιος Εὐσεβί[ος ὀπιων ὑπο]
 Τερεντιανον Πρε[ποσιτον Πτολεμίνω]
 τω και Σαρματη ἐπιμελητη Ὀξυρυχιτου). ἔσχον ^{παι[ρ]}
 σου κοφίν[ους] ἑκατὼν εἴκοσι τεσσαρ]ας. Μεχειρ κ.
 σεσημῶμαι ἔμη χ[εiri].

cf. Claudianus

This section of the papyrus shows that Aurelius Eusebius, optio to the praepositus, Terentianus, has received 4,440 lb of fodder from the epimeletes of Oxyrhynchus, Ptoleminus and Sarmates. It is accompanied by a copy of the receipt. Terentianus's unit is unknown, but it was probably a vexillation drawn from a pair of units garrisoned in the same province.

268. TEUTOMERES

a) AM XV 3 10 (335)

b) AM XV 3 II

c) Liban. Ep. 1288 (363)

cf. RE V A I, 1172 (Ensslin); Seeck, Briefe, pp 288-9.

In 355 Constantius II received a report concerning a treasonable conversation alleged to have taken place at a dinner party given by Africanus, praeses of Pannonia Secunda (cf. AM XV 3 7 - 9). He sent Teutomeres, protector domesticus, together with a colleague, to arrest those suspected (cf. a). On the journey back to the emperor's court at Milan, one of the prisoners, Marinus, tribunus vacans, committed suicide in an inn at Aquileia. In consequence, Teutomeres and his colleague were condemned to exile, because it was alleged that Marinus had been allowed to commit suicide with their connivance. However, thanks to the intercession of Arbitio, magister peditum, they were reprieved (cf. b). The Teutomeres to whom Libanius addressed a letter in 363 is probably the same person, though whether he still held the rank of protector domesticus or had since been promoted to be tribunus, is uncertain. Seeck wished to equate him with the Tautomedes, attested as dux Daciae Ripensis in the reign of Valentinian I (cf. CI XV I 13). But as Ensslin points out, there is no proof of this.

269. THEODORUS

P. Amh. II 137, 1s - 1-2

Ashmunên 288 - 9

[.....κ]ρ(ατιστω) ἐπιστρ(ατηγω) Ἑπτανομίας και Οὔασιως
Μικρας παρα του Δημ[οσιου.....]
[.....] ὑπομνηματογράφους κ[....] δια Θεοδωρου
πρωτηκτορ[ος].

This papyrus contains copies of two official letters. Both are concerned with the embarkation of corn to Alexandria. Unfortunately, the document has been cut down, so that it is impossible to obtain any connected sense. The first letter (1s. 1 - 14) is addressed to the epistrategus of the Heptanomia and the Small Oasis, and was presumably sent by the praefectus Aegypti, Valerius Pompeianus, mentioned in I. 16. The second half of the third century seems to have been a period of general unrest in Egypt. The burden of taxation and the increasing inflation led to frequent revolts, while the Blennytes' attacks in the south do not seem to have been halted until the reign of Diocletian. Hence it is not surprising that an officer with the title of protector, presumably a field army centurion, should be attested in Egypt in 288 - 9.

270. THEODORUS

Symmach. Rel. XXXII I

cf. RE V A 2, 1902 (Lippold)

Theodorus had become procurator of the estate of a certain Anniana, and had entered suit against a man called Flavianus, while Eupraxius was praefectus urbis in 374 (cf. RE VI 11237). However, the case was not settled within the legal limit, and Symmachus as praefectus urbis in 384 (cf. RE IV A I,

1148) advises the emperor not to reopen the case. Theodorus held the title, ex protectoribus, but whether he obtained it as a veteran is uncertain.

271. VALERIUS THIUMPO

III 6194 = ILS 2781

Scythia

Troesmis

D(is) M(anibus) Val(erius) Thiumpo, qui militavit in leg(ione) XI Cl(audia), lectus in sacro comit(atu) lanciarius; deinde protexit annis V, missus pr(a)ef(ectus) leg(ionis) II Hercul(iae), [e] git ann(is) II semise, et decessit; vixit ann(is) XXXV m(enses) III d(ies) XI. Aurel[.....] aspi[.....]

Valerius Thiumpo began his career as a miles in XI Claudia, which was stationed at Durostorum in Moesia Inferior. In view of the policy of local recruitment, it is likely that he was a native of this province. Following this, he was selected for service in the emperor's comitatus, and was transferred to the Lanciarii, a unit which was in existence by 300 at the latest. Both the other soldiers attested as serving in the Lanciarii at this time, had previously belonged to Moesian legions (cf. Valerius Tertius, VI 2759 = ILS 2045; Martinus, VI 32943). At the age of 38 he was commissioned as a centurion in the first cohort, and became qualified to hold the title of protector. The term, protexit, may imply that he was serving on the emperor's staff. Five years later, he was transferred to a frontier command, and became prefect of II Herculia, stationed at Troesmis in Scythia. This post corresponds to Mucianus's command of IV Flavia, though Thiumpo would not hold the intervening grade of primus pilus, which was a purely civil office by this date. In the Notitia

Dignitatum, II Herculia is attested as forming part of the garrison of Scythia (cf. ND Or XXXIX 29 - 31). The nomen, Valerius, and the name of this legion, point to a Diocletianic date. The phrase, 'missus pr(a)ef(ectus) leg(ionis) II Hercul(iae)', seems to imply that he had been discharged from the field army, with the status of ex protectoribus, and sent to take up a frontier command. It is similar to the phrase used in the second century inscription, recording the career of Valerius Maximianus, who after being praepositus in charge of vexillations operating against brigands in Macedonia, was ' -- ab Imp(eratore) misso proc(uratori) Moesiae Super(ioris) -- ' (cf. AE 1956 124). The province of Scythia was formed from the eastern section of Moesia Inferior, presumably under Diocletian. Thiumpo was therefore appointed to a command in an area of the Danube frontier with which he was already familiar. He died aged 45, after commanding the legion for two and a half years.

272. THOMAS

V 304

Italy

Pola

Thomas tribunus pro voto dedit.

This inscription gives the name of the tribune, Thomas. It cannot be earlier than the fourth century.

273. AELIUS TITUS

III 9861 = ILS 2760a

Dalmatia

Gradina

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Ael(ius) Titus ex protectore v(otum) l(ibens)
s(olvit).

The style of this inscription suggests a date in the second half of the third century. Aelius Titus was probably a retired centurion of the first cohort who had served in the field army.

274. FLAVIUS TRAIANUS

AE 1909 108

Thebais

Syene 367-75

Salvis d(omints) n(ostris) Valentiniano Valente et Gratiano semper Augustos
(sic). Fl(avius) Mauricius v(ir) c(larissimus com(es) et dux renovari iussit
huac locum Fl(avius) Traianus p(rae)p(ositus) cum Theb(anis) mil(itibus)
reparavit.

In the Notitia two units are listed as being garrisoned at Syene, the Milites Miliarenses, and the cohors V Suentium (cf. ND Or XXXI 35; 65). Flavius Traianus was evidently praepositus in command of the former unit. He was apparently repairing the fort on the orders of the dux, Flavius Mauricius. This inscription dates to the joint reign of Valentinian and Valens, who went to great pains to strengthen the frontier defences. During their reign three new units seem to have been sent to reinforce the garrison of the Thebaid, one of which was later withdrawn to reinforce the field army (cf. ND Or XXXI 36; 39; Or VII 46).

275. AURELIUS URANIUS

P. Gen. 49 = P. Abinn. 57, ls. 1-5

342-51

Φλ[αου]ειω Αβινναιω ἐπαρχῶ εἰλησ στρατιωτων καστρων
Διονυσιαδος παρα Αὐρηλιου Οὐρ[α]νιου υἱου Δαλματιου
ἀπο πρεποσιτων - - -

This papyrus is a letter from Aurelius Uranius, ex praepositis, son of Dalmatius, to Flavius Abinnaeus, praefectus alae V Praelectorum at Dionysias. Uranius was presumably the retired commander of a unit of limitanei in Egypt.

276. URSICINUS

III 6159 = 7494 = IIS 770

Scythia

Hassarlik 369

[D(ominus) n(oster) invictissimus princeps Fl(avius) V]alens victor maximus triumphator [semper Aug(ustus), in solo barb]erico victis superatisque Gothis, [ingruente in victorias illa]s tempore feliciter quinquennialiorum, [hunc burgum a fundamentis] ob defensionem rei publicae extruxit [manu devotissi] morum militum suorum Primanorum [et ... commissor]um cur(a)e Marciani trib(uni) et Ursicini p(rae)p(ositi) semp(er) vestri, [adiuvante Fl(avio) Ste]rcoario viro cla-rissimo duce.

cf. T. Mommsen, 'Die Inschrift von Hissarlik und die römische Samtherrschaft in ihrem titularen Ausdruck', Ges. Schrift. VI pp. 303-23
C. Patsch, 'Die Völkerbewegung an der unteren Donau in der Zeit von Diokletian bis Heraklius', Teil I, Sitzungsb. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, CCVIII, Bd. 2, 1928, pp 3-68.

The above is Patsch's reading of this inscription (cf. p 49). It seems to have been set up in 369, following the celebration of Valens's quinquennalia, and his victory over the West Goths under Athanarich (cf. RE VII A 2 2110).

The site of the fort is between Carsum and Troesmis, and Patsch quotes Moltke as stating that it is only in this region that the Danube valley narrows to make a crossing possible (cf. p 48). The Primani were a

field army legion which had been drafted by Valens to assist in the construction of this fortification (cf. the phrase, 'devotissimorum militum suorum'). Several units bear this title in the Notitia (cf. ND Or VI 45; Oc VII 155). Mommsen has pointed out that it seems likely that a second unit was named on the missing section which follows (cf. p 307). Marcianus, the tribunus, is named before Ursicinus, the praepositus. This is normally the case in fourth century rescripts (cf. CT VII I 2; VII 1 10; VII 4 I; VII 4 36, etc). Another building inscription, found in Egypt and dating to Byzantine times, shows the same order of precedence (cf. Sammelbuch IV 7425). This is also true of another Byzantine inscription from Jerusalem (cf. AE 1895 178). Evidently Marcianus was tribunus in command of the Primani, the field army detachment. Ursicinus was probably praepositus in charge of the frontier unit regularly stationed at this fort. According to the Notitia it was the Cuneus Equitum Stablesianorum (cf. ND Or XXXIX 14). Marcianus appears to be an Illyrian name (cf. Dean, p 37 & pp 222-3). The name, Ursicinus, suggests that this officer was of Alamannic stock (cf. AM XVI 12 1). Mommsen points out that the two officers are termed 'semper vestri', although there is no mention of Valentinian I, the ruler in the west (cf. p 319).

277. URSINUS

cf. Flavius Marcus

278. VAHALUS

III 88 = IIS 773

Arabia

Umm-el-Djema1 371

Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) Valentiniano Valente et Gratiano victoriosissimis semper Aug(ustis), dispositione Iuli (v(iri) c(larissimi) com(itis) magistri equitum et peditum, fabricatus est burgus ex fundamento mano devotissimorum Equitum VIIIII Dalm(atarum), s(ub) c(ura) Vahali trib(uni), in consueta d(omini) n(ostri) Gratiani perpetui Aug(usti) iterum et Probi v(iri) c(larissimi).

Vahalus was tribune in command of the Equites IX Dalmatae, a vexillatio comitatensis in the eastern field army (ND Or V 37). In 371 this unit was employed to build a burgus at Umm-el-Djema1 in the province of Arabia, under the overall supervision of Iulius, magister equitum et peditum per Orientem. This inscription reflects the policy of strengthening the frontier defences under Valentinian and Valens.

279. VALENS

a) AE 1903 300

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

Tric(ornii). Val(ens) p(rae)p(ositus).

b) AE 1934 184b

Moesia Prima

Tricornium

Tric(ornii). Val(ens) p(rae)p(ositus).

cf. Bonio

Like Bonio, Valens seems to have been praepositus in command of a unit of frontier troops stationed at Tricornium.

280. AURELIUS VALENS

AE 1935 171

Scythia

Uncertain origin

[De]o s[a]nc[to] Herrone Aur(elius) Valens pr(a)e(positus) E[q(uitum)]
Scut(ariorum) pro s(alute) su[a] et vexillat(ionis) [C]apidabe(n)[si]jum
ara(m) [p]osuit.

Aurelius Valens was evidently praepositus vexillationis Equitum Scutariorum Capidabensium. This unit is probably identical with that listed as stationed at Capidava in the Notitia, namely the cuneus Equitum Solensium (cf. ND Or XXXIX 13).

281. FLAVIUS VALENS

III 410

Asia

Durgudly-Kassaba

[F]l(avius) Valens ex praepositus superstens hoc memorium ex fundamentis
fabrica[v]i mihi uxoriq[ue] meae Eustorgiae et filiae meae dulcissimae
Severae.

cf. Ulpus Candidus.

282. FLAVIUS VALENS

VI 32941

Rome

D(is) P(arentibus) (?) Fl(avii) Valentis protector(is) pr(idie) idus [...] Aug(usti) vixit annos XLVII civis Conco[rdiensis] Fl(avius) Constantius filius patri fecit ben[emerenti].

Flavius Valens, a native of Concordia, died at Rome aged 47, holding the rank of protector. It is interesting to note that a large body of field army troops was stationed at Concordia at the end of the fourth century (cf. CIL V p 1059).

283. FLAVIUS VALENS

a) AM XXXI 14 1 (378)

b) Socrat. IV 1 8 (361 - 3)

c) AM XXVI 4 2 (364)

cf. RE^{VII}A 2, 2097 ff (Nagl).

Flavius Valens was probably born c. 328 (cf. a). His birthplace was at Cibalae in Pannonia Secunda, where his father, the elder Gratian, had his estates, and where his brother, Valentinian I, was also born (cf. Liban. Or. XX 25; ἀδελφοῖν οἱς πόλις ἡ Κιβάλις).

He is mentioned as holding the rank of protector domesticus under Julian (cf. b). It is likely that he was appointed to a higher rank before his brother's accession, though it is evident that his ability was not rated very highly (cf. AM XXVI 4 1). Valentinian I was proclaimed emperor on February 26th 364, and on March 1st he appointed Valens to be tribunus stabuli (cf. c). He was thus accorded the status of a high ranking officer since this post was of key importance (cf. AM XIV 10 8). The appointment was undoubtedly intended to facilitate his accession to the throne, which took place on March 28th (cf. AM XXVI 4 3).

284. VALERIUS VALENS

III 9835 = IIS 2776

Dalmatia

Promona

D(is) M(anibus) Val(erio) Va[1]enti [p]rotectori defu[ncto] bello civile in [It]alia, ann(is) L [.....]

Valens was presumably a centurion of the first cohort with the title of protector, serving in the field army. The nomen, Valerius, is

characteristic of the Diocletianic period, and the reference to a civil war in Italy probably dates the inscription to 312, when Constantine overthrew Maxentius. Valens's home was in Dalmatia.

285. VALENTINIANUS

Symmach. II 74 (383 or 389 - 94)

cf. RE VII A 2, 2260, (Ensslin).

In this letter, dated to 383 or 389 - 94, Symmachus requests the elder Flavianus, praefectus praetorio, to grant to Valentinianus, protector, some assignment in the suburban provinces, or else leave, so that he will not become liable to the charge of being absent without permission. The fact that Symmachus should apply to the praefectus praetorio, rather than to a magister militum, makes one suspect that Valentinianus was a civil official, rather than a military officer.

286. FLAVIUS VALENTINIANUS

- a) AM XXX 7 2
- b) Symmach. Or. I 1-3
- c) Zos. III 36 2
- d) Zonar. XIII 15
- e) Philost. VII 7 = Mime Gr. LXV 544-5.
- f) AM XXX 6 6 (375)
- g) AM XXX 9 6
- h) Symmach. Or. 1 4; 7

11

i) AM XVI, 6 - 7 (357)

j) AM XXV 10 8

k) AM XXV 10 9

RE VII A 2 2158 ff. (Assunta Nagl)

Valentinian was born at his father's estate at Cibalae in Pannonia Secunda (a, b, c, d, e, etc). Ammianus states that at his death in 375 he was aged 55 (f), and thus he was born c. 320. He was the eldest son of the comes Gratianus, and, like his father, was a man of powerful physique (g). He obtained some military training under his father while the latter was comes Africae (h). At the age of 19 he was presumably commissioned as protector domesticus, and by 357 was tribune in command of a cavalry unit probably the Cornuti, a vexillatio palatina (i. of. Bainobaudes). However, when Julian ordered him and Bainobaudes to cut off the retreat of some Alamanni who had attacked Lugdunum, they were forbidden to do this on the orders of Barbatio, magister peditum, who reported to Constantius that they had been tampering with his troops, so that they were later cashiered, and returned to their homes. It seems unlikely that Valentinian was recalled c. 359 by Constantius, as Philostorgius states (e). He was probably reinstated as tribune following Julian's accession in 361, perhaps as commander of a unit of Cornuti (e). Two units of this name are listed by the Notitia as vexillationes palatinae (ND Oc VI 48, 49; VII 162, 168). Ammianus is silent on the issue of his persecution and exile under Julian which is mentioned by several Christian sources (c, d, etc.), and it seems best to disregard this tradition, especially since he was apparently promoted under this emperor. He took part in Julian's Persian campaign,

and, following Jovian's accession, he was sent to Gaul together with Lucillianus and Seniauchus in order to secure the recognition of the new emperor by the Gallic army. His two companions were murdered in a revolt of the troops at Rheims, but Valentinian himself escaped with the help of his friend, Primitivus (j). Doubtless he was selected for this mission because, like Jovian, he was a Pannonian, and also because he had served in the Gallic army under the Caesar Julian. On his return to the east, Valentinian was promoted by Jovian to be tribunus scholae II Scutariorum (k). A few months later, Jovian died at Dadastana in Bithynia on February 17th 364. The main army proceeded to Nicaea, where the important military and civil officials assembled to choose a successor. After a long debate, Valentinian was chosen, perhaps as a compromise choice between the Roman and barbarian, Christian and heathen factions. On being summoned from Ancyra, he was hailed as emperor on February 26th 364 (Unterg. V p 4).

287. VALENTINUS

AM XVIII 3 5 (359)

Among the innocent who suffered as a result of the investigations which followed the execution of Barbatio and his wife in 359 was Valentinus. Previously he had been primicerius domesticorum. This post was evidently reached through seniority of service (cf. CT VI 24 10), and after holding it one could expect to be appointed tribunus of a field army unit (cf. CT VI 24 11). This was the post which Valentinus held when arrested. Barbatio had been comes domesticorum in 354 ~~AD~~, before becoming magister peditum.

in the following year. (cf. RE III 1, 1 f). Perhaps Valentinus's connection with him began then. He survived being tortured several times, and when his innocence was proved, he received the post of dux in charge of a frontier province in Illyricum as compensation for his injuries.

288. VALENTINUS

AE 1953 8

Valeria

Aquincum 374-8

a) Ap(paratu) Valentini tri(buni)

b) Frigeridus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) dux ap(paratu) Valen(tini).

These brick stamps from Aquincum give the name of the tribune Valentinus, who commanded a unit employed on strengthening the frontier fortifications of Valeria under the supervision of the dux Frigeridus. The second inscription is dated to the period 374 - 78, since Marcellianus was dux Valeriae in 374 (cf. RE XIV 2 1439), and Frigeridus is attested in this post in the period 377-8, retiring in the latter year (cf. RE VII 1 102). Both Valentinian I and Valens took special care to restore the Danubian frontier defences (cf. RE VII A 2 2106 ff; 2182 ff).

289. VALERIANUS

P. Oxy. I 43 Recto col. V, ls. 16-22

295

Σεουηρω λειβλαριω υπο Ού(μ)λε(ρι)ανον
 λι(τραι) ΕΧΗ
 πρεποσιτον
 της δε φρουμαριας εστιν αντιγραφον).
 Σεουηρος λειβλαρεις υπο Ού(μ)λε(ρι)ανον πρεπο-
 σιτον ελαβον παρα Σαρματου επιμελητου Οξ(υρυ)χιτου
 ημερων τριων κοφινους αχυρου εκατον
 ογδοηκοντα μονους.

cf. Claudianus

This section of the papyrus shows that Severus, liblarius to the praepositus, Valerianus, has received 5,640 lb of fodder. It is accompanied by a copy of the receipt. Normally, in this document, it is the optio who acts as the receiving officer, though it is a tesserarius who acts in this capacity in the case of the praepositus Mucinianus. The unit commanded by Valerianus is unknown, but was probably a vexillation drawn from a pair of legions garrisoned in the same province.

290. VALERIANUS

AM XXVII 10 16 (368)

In 368 Valentinian I crossed the Rhine at Worms, and heavily defeated the Alamanni in the vicinity of Heidelberg (cf. Unterg. V p 24 = 433). One of those killed in the battle was Valerianus, primicerius domesticorum.

291. VALERIANUS

AM XXXI 13 18 (378)

Valerianus, tribunus stabuli under Valens, was among those killed at the Battle of Hadrianople in 378.

292. VALERIUS

VIII 8490 = IIS 2794

Mauretania Sitifensis

Sitifis

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) Valerius Marcellinus eques de sub cura Valeri [p]rae[posito] Equitum Sta[bl]esianorum, Valerius Valerianus memoriam fecit parentis bene meriti.

The nomen, Valerius, and the use of the formula, Dis Manibus Sacrum, make it likely that this inscription dates to the early fourth century.

Valerius was praepositus in command of the Equites Stablesiani. This unit is probably identical with that attested in the Notitia as a verillatio comitatensis, serving under the comes Africae. (cf. ND Oc VI 21 = 64 = VII 182).

293. M. AURELIUS VALERIUS

III 1805 = IIS 5695; cf. III p 2328¹¹⁹

Dalmatia

Narona 280

Thermas rei p(ublicae) h[i]ema[les rog]a[nte] populo in ruinam [de]lap[sas] M(arcus) Aur(elius) Valerius v(ir) e(gregius) duce[n]ari] us ex protectorib(us) lateri[s] divini, de frugalitate sua il[.....]istorum sa[.....]aedifi]cavit et lavantes rei p(ublicae) tradidit, epulum quoque c[i]vibus suis ea die praebu[i]t Messala et Grato co(n)s(ulibus), dedicante M(arco) Aur(elio) Tiberiano v(iro) p(erfectissimo) praes(ide) prov(inciae) Del(matiae).

This inscription is dated by the consulship to 280. Marcus Aurelius

Valerius held the title ducenarius ex protectoribus lateris divini and

had presumably therefore held the position of centurion of the first cohort. It is possible that Narona was his native city, which would explain why he had retired there, and, on public request, financed the rebuilding of the city baths and provided a feast for his fellow citizens. The inscription recording the career of Aelius Aelianus (IIS 9478) shows that it was possible for persons to hold the status, ducenarius ex protectoribus, while occupying further posts which were not necessarily military. On balance it seems unlikely that Valerius amassed enough money as a centurion of the first cohort, to afford such generosity.

294. VARIUS

BGU I 316

359

of. Dorotheus

295. VARRONIANUS

a) AM XXV 5 4

b) Zos. III 30 1

c) Vict. Epit. XLIV I

d) Zonar. XIII 14

e) Themist. Or. V 65

f) Eutrop. X 17 1

RE VIII A I 416 (Ensslin)

Varronianus was the father of Jovian, and therefore a Pannonian (a-e). He had already retired at some date prior to 363 (a, d), but had earlier been tribunus in command of a unit of Ioviani (a), and had risen to the rank of comes domesticorum (b). The memory of his services was largely instrumental in securing his son's elevation as emperor in 363 (a, e, f). He was designated as consul by Jovian in 364, but died before the end of 363 (e).

296. VERACUS

AE 1903 297

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

Eq(uites) Dal(matae) A(u)r(eomontenses ?) s(ub) c(ura) Verac(i)
p(rae)p(ositi). F(ecit) Mucianu(s).

cf. Italicus

This brick stamp shows that Veracus was praepositus in command of a unit of Equites Dalmatae. In the Notitia, three detachments of Dalmatian cavalry are recorded under the command of the dux Moesiae Primae. One of these is quartered at Aureus Mons (cf. ND Or XLI 15), which is a place in Moesia between Viminacium and Singidunum (cf. RE II 2 2457). Mucianus was presumably a subordinate officer with the post of magister (cf. III 4668; 11376).

297. VERIANUS

VI 2855 = 32610

Rome

Au[relii] Dizala sac(erdos), Verianus protect(or)

Verianus was probably a protector serving as a staff officer at the emperor's court.

298. VERINIANUS

a) AM XV 5 22 (355)

b) AM XVIII 8 II (359)

When the news of Silvanus's revolt reached Constantius II at Milan in 355, he sent Ursicinus, magister equitum per orientem, to Cologne to bring about the pretender's assassination. A staff of 10 tribuni and protectores domestici accompanied Ursicinus on this dangerous mission, at his request (cf. a). They were all friends or relatives of Ursicinus, apart from the two protectores domestici, Ammianus and Verinianus. Like Ammianus (cf. AM XIV 9 I), Verinianus probably had only been recently assigned to Ursicinus's staff. In 359 he was still serving in this capacity when they were ambushed by the Persians (cf. b). Verinianus was wounded by an arrow, and he was presumably either killed or captured, since no more is heard of him.

299. VETRANIO

a) AM XXV 1 19 (363)

b) Zos. III 28 2

Vetranio, tribune in command of the Zianni, was killed during the campaign of Julian against the Persians in 363 (a, b). The unit is evidently to be identified with the Tzanni, a legio comitatensis in the army of Thrace (ND Or VIII 49). The name Vetranio perhaps suggests an Illyrican origin (cf. Vict. Caes. XLI 27).

300. VIATOR

CI IX 9 19

287

Imp. Diocletianus ex Maximianus AA. ad Pompeianum. Quamvis indubitati iuris sit, quotiens adulterii crimen intenditur, praesentiam accusatoris procedere oportere, tamen quoniam ex litteris tuis cognovimus Materiam praepositi Viatoris uxorem habitis quaestionibus cum Iuliano quondam adulterium commisisse detectam sub ipsa prolatione sententiae Viatoris ipsius praesentiam postulasse, non putavimus confecto paene in iudicio facinore et iam agitata quaestione convicto praepositum ab excubiis limitis revocandum. D. s. non. Dec. AA. cons.

cf. RE VIII A 2 1940 (Ensslin).

In Ensslin's view, Viator was a praepositus limitis, though this is not altogether certain. The person to whom the rescript is addressed is perhaps identical with Flavius Valerius Pompeianus, who was praefectus Aegypti in the period 287-9 (of. RE XXI 2 1997). There was considerable unrest in Egypt at this time, and the Blemmyes made frequent attacks on the southern frontier. This may explain why Viator was not allowed to absent himself from his duties in order to attend the trial at which he was the plaintiff in divorce proceedings against his wife, Materia.

301. FLAVIUS VIATOR

VI 1595

Rome

D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elio) Claudiano eq(uite) R(omano) qui vix(it) annis IIII m(enses) X d(ies) XXVIII: Fla(vius) Viator protector pater filio dulcissimo b(ene) m(erenti) fecit.

The style of this inscription suggests a date in the latter part of the third century. Flavius Viator held the title of protector, and presumably was a centurion of the first cohort, perhaps serving on the emperor's staff. His son, Aurelius Claudianus, may have been named in honour of the emperor

Claudius II. Although only four years old, he already had equestrian status, presumably as a result of his father's rank.

302. VIATORINUS

XIII 8274 = IIS 2784

Germania Inferior Colonia Agrippinensium

Viatorinus protector mi(li)tavit an(n)os triginta, occissus in barbarico iuxta Divitia a Franco, vicarius (tribuni) Divite(n)sium.

of. Mommsen, 'Das römischen Militärwesen seit Diokletian', Ges.Schrift.

VI p 276. Babut, CXIV, 1913, p 260, n 3.

Viatorinus, protector, was killed in barbarian territory near Deutz by a Frank, having served for 30 years in the army. Mommsen believed that the inscription was set up to him by the vicarius tribuni Divitensium, but it seems far more likely that Viatorinus was himself serving in this capacity. The primicerius was the second in command to the tribunus (cf. Hieron. Contra Iohannem Hierosol. 19), and officers holding the post were often appointed tribuni (cf. Valentinus; CT VI 24 II). Since the post of primicerius was normally reached according to seniority (cf. CT VI 24 10), and Viatorinus had served for 30 years, it seems likely that he held the post of primicerius, with the title of protector, and was acting as deputy commander of the Divitenses. Babut cites the example of Vitalianus in VI 32970 : - - - Vitaliani primicerii et autenta numeri [Felicum] Theodosiac(orum) - - -. Here the term, autenta, corresponds to the Greek word, ἀβεντης, i.e. commander. Thus Vitalianus was a primicerius acting as commander of the numerus. The Divitenses took their

name from Divitia, the modern Deutz, opposite Cologne. A dedication to Constantine I by legion XXII Primigenia commemorates his defeat of the Franks, and the building of a fort, 'in eorum terris' (cf. XIII 8502 = IIS 8937). Three field army units seem to have originated from this fort (cf. Divitenses Seniores, ND Oc V 4 = 147 = VII 5; Divitenses Gallicani, Or VIII II = 43; Divitenses Iuniores, AM XXVI 6 12).

303. VICTOR

AM XXV 7 13 (363)

cf. Bellovaedius.

304. AURELIUS VICTOR

cf. Aurelius Baia

305. M. AURELIUS VICTOR

a) AE 1920 108

Mauretania Caesariensis

Miliana 263

Diis p[at]riis deabusque Fortunae Reduci pro salute atque incolumitate d(omini) n(ostri) Imperatoris) Caes(aris) P(ublii) Licini Gallieni invic[t]i pii fel(icis) Aug(usti), M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Victor v(ir) e(gregius) pr(a)eses pro(vinciae) Mauretaniae Caesariensis protector eius (anno) prov(inciae) CCXXIIII k(alendis) I(anuariis ?).

b) VI 1106

Rome

260 - 8

Gallieno clementissimo principi cuius invicta virtus sola pietate superata est et Saloninae sanctissimae Aug(ustae) Aurelius Victor v(ir) e(gregius) dicatissimus numini maiestatique.

c) III 7596

Moesia Inferior

Meara Domneaska

Aur(elius) Vict(or v(ir) e(gregius) ex p(rotectore ?) ex v[oto] pos(uit)].

cf. PIR² I A 1634 (A. Stein)

J. Carcopino, 'L'insurrection de 253, d'après une inscription de Miliana.'
R. Af., 1919, pp 368 - 83.

H. Pavis d'Escurac - Doissy, 'M. Cornelius Octavianus et les revoltes
indigènes du troisième siècle d'après une inscription de Caesarea,'
Libya I, 1953, pp 181 - 7.

Inscription (a) was set up by Aurelius Victor, praeses of Mauretania
Caesariensis, in 263, probably in the month of January. It is known
that the period 253 - 62 was a time of great disturbance in Africa, to
such an extent that before 260 a special command of dux per Africanam,
Numidiam, Mauretaniamque was created for Cornelius Octavianus, who had
himself previously been praeses of Mauretania Caesariensis at some stage
during the period 253 - 60. He was presumably given the supreme command
of all the troops of these provinces in order to crush the revolt. This
seems to have been accomplished by the end of 262, and this inscription
was no doubt set up to commemorate the return of peace. Carcopino has
argued that the term, protector eius, in this inscription refers to Victor
as protector of the province, and this view is also adopted by Pavis
d'Escurac - Doissy. But this use of the term, protector, is otherwise
unknown, and it seems more probable that the eius refers to the emperor
Gallienus. It was on behalf of his security and safety that the
inscription was set up. Presumably, Victor was a trusted officer sent
to Africa to serve under the supreme command of the dux, Octavianus.
It is doubtful if Gallienus himself visited Africa during this period,
but the title of protector shows that Victor was a field army officer.

It is the sole inscription where a praeses is attested with the title. It is interesting to note that it was not held by Clementius Silvinus, praeses of Pannonia Inferior in 267, though it was held by Valerius Marcellinus, the praefectus legionis mentioned on the same stone. This indicates that between 263 and 267 the title had depreciated in status. The identification of the Aurelius Victor of (a) with the person of the same name in (b) is not unlikely, despite the fact that the names are so common. This inscription is dated to the period 260 - 8, and stresses his loyalty to the emperor, as one would expect of a protector. The identification with the Aurelius Victor of (c) is far more dubious, since the inscription is undated. The abbreviation, ex (protectore), is otherwise unattested, and one would not expect the title to be abbreviated to such an extent as early as the reign of Gallienus, when it was still in its infancy.

306. VICTORINUS

a) ILS 8882

Egypt

Coptos 315-6

Ὑπερ εὐχῆς τῶν ἀγγελῶν Ἑρεσηνοὶ ἀνεθῆκαν, νοοῖς
τον ἀρχιερεα Διονυσιν ἐν τῇ καλῇ ἡμέρᾳ μνησθη
Ἀραβία, Βασος ἐγράψεν. μεγάλη τυχὴ τῶν
ἀγγελῶν. ὕπερ σωτηρίας τῆς οὐξ Ἰλλατιωνος
λεγ(ιωνων) γ' Γαλλικῆς καὶ α' Ἰλλ[υ]ρικῆς
τῶν ὑπο Οὐικτωρινον πραιποσιτον ἔτους 5κχ
μηνος Λωου ει.

b) AE 1900 29

Egypt

Syene 323

Μεγάλη Τύχη [.....]ων ἀγγελων της ἐρε[.....]
νέωθῃ και ἔκοσμηθῃ [.....]πι Οὐικτορινου
π(ραι)π(οσιτου) λεγ(ιωνων) γ' Γαλλικης και α'
Ἰλλυρικ[ης] Σαγιτταριων τη προ[.....]ιω
Σαρος ἀρχιερεως και Χαυ[.....]ερεως λεγ(ιωνος)
γ' Γαλλ(ικης) και Γατανου ιε[ρ]εως λεγ(ιωνος) α'
Ἰλλυρικης και Ἀξιζου ιερεως ἐν ὑπατια
Λικι[ν]ιου Σεβ(αστου) το ς και Λικινιου
ἐπιφ(ανεστ(α)του) Καισαρ[ος] το β [.....μ]ηνος
λωου α και εν[.]νι[..... και].

Inscription (a) shows that in 315-6 a vexillation, formed from the two legions of Phoenicea, namely III Gallica and I Illyricorum (cf. ND Or XXXII 30, 31), was stationed at Coptos in the province of Thebais.

Its commander was the praepositus, Victorinus. This vexillation is also recorded in a similar inscription at Syene (cf. b) in 323. It is still under the same commander. This time, however, the force seems to be acting in co-operation with a troop of Sagittarii. Each unit apparently had its own priest, Sarus in the case of the Sagittarii, and Chau[...] and Gatanus in that of the two legionary detachments. Their presence is perhaps to be connected with Licinius's enforcement of measures against the Christians after 320-1 (cf. CAH XXI p 694). It is interesting to note that such a vexillation could remain relatively immobile in the same province and under the same commander for so long a period. This was the very time when civil war was raging between Constantine and

Licinius. The latter's field army had suffered successive defeats, and no doubt stood in need of reinforcements. On the other hand it is not improbable that this vexillation was brought to Egypt in the reign of Diocletian. There is a parallel instance in the case of the detachments from V Macedonica and XIII Gemina which constituted part of the regular garrison of Egypt throughout the fourth century (cf. ND Or XXVIII 14, 15). It seems probable that they originally belonged to the field army with which Diocletian suppressed the revolt of Domitius Domitianus. Afterwards, they were left in Egypt in order to strengthen the province's defences (cf. RE XII 2 1356, 1581). It is also known that Diocletian strengthened the southern frontier of Thebais against the attacks of the Blemmyes (cf. RE III I 567², citing Procop. Bell. Pers. I. 19). The movement of this vexillation southwards from Coptos to Syene probably resulted from increased pressure by this desert tribe against the frontier. There is no mention of this particular vexillation among the units listed under the command of the dux Thebaidos in the Notitia Dignitatum (cf. ND Or XXXI). It is likely therefore that it was withdrawn at some stage in the fourth century to reinforce the field army. Probably the occasion was Licinius's final campaign against Constantine in 324.

307. VICTORINUS

- a) Ost. Jahresh. VI, 1903, Beibl., col. 54, n. 74
Moesia Prima

Viminacium

[Leg(io) VII] Cl(audia) s(ub) c(ura) Victorini p(rae)p(ositi).

- b) Ibid. n. 75

[Leg(io) V]II Cl(audia) s(ub) c(ura) Victorini p(rae)p(ositi) [...]

- c) ~~Ibid.~~ n. 76

VII C(laudia) s(ub cura) Vic(t)orini p(rae)[p(ositi)]. Fl(avius)
Vitalianus.

- d) Ibid. VIII, 1905, Beibl., col. 8, n. 24

Leg(io) VII Cl(audia) su(b) c(ura) Victori(ni) p(rae)p(ositi).

- e) Ibid. n. 25

[Leg(io) VII Cl(audia)] s(ub) c(ura) Victorini p(rae)p(ositi).

- f) Ibid. n. 27

Leg(io) VII C(laudia) s(ub cura) Vic(t)orini p(rae)p(ositi). F(lavius)
Vi[tali]anus.

Victorinus was praepositus in charge of a detachment of VII Claudia stationed at Viminacium (cf. ND Or XLI 31). Flavius Vitalianus, who is mentioned in c & f was probably the magister responsible for the manufacture of these bricks (cf. III 4668; 11376).

308. M. PIAVONIUS VICTORINUS

a) SHA Trig. Tyr. V 3

b) XIII 3679 = ILS 563 Gallia Belgica Treveri 260 - 8

M(arcus) Pia(v)onius Victorinus tribunus pr(a)eto[ria]norum d[....]
r]estituit.

RE VIII A 2 2074-9 (Hanslik)

Victorinus's full name is provided by the above inscription and coin evidence (M. & S. V pt. 2, pp 387-98). The nomen, Piavonius, is of Celtic origin (Holder II p 985 f.). His date of birth is uncertain, but coin portraits show a man aged about 45, so that it seems likely that he was born in the period 220-30. Following his accession in 268, his mother, Victoria (a), took the title, 'mater castrorum', like Mamaea, the mother of Severus Alexander (RE VIII A 2 2071 - 2). There seems little justification for Hanslik's view that she came of a rich Gaulish family, apart from a statement in the Augustan History that she may have been related to Tetricus (SHA Trig. Tyr. XXIV I). It seems safer to assume that, like Postumus and Marius, he rose from the ranks. A mosaic inscription from a villa at Trier, Postumus's capital, shows that he occupied the post of tribunus praetorianorum at some stage prior to his elevation (b). Towards the close of Postumus's reign he may have become praetorian prefect, since he is joint consul with Postumus in 267 (II 5736).

309. VINCENTIUS

AE 1948 136

Syria

near Mafraq 334

Cum pervidisset Vincentius protector agens Basie plurimos ex agrariensibus dum aquas (s)ibi in uso transfer<e>rent insidiatos a Saracenos perisse, receptaculum aquar(um) ex fundamentis fecit, Optato et Paulino v(iris) c(larissimis) cons(ulibus).

This inscription was found 30 miles to the east of Mafraq in Transjordan.

It commemorates the building of a cistern in 334 by the protector,

Vincentius, who had observed that many of the peasants were being ambushed and killed by the Saracens while transporting water for their use.

One of the duties assigned to protectores in the fourth century was the supervision of frontier districts, and their defences (cf. CT VII 4 27; AM XVIII 76), and the phrase, agens Basie, probably refers to that part of the outer Syrian lines under Vincentius's control. This may have been Basan or Batania an area in East Jordan. (cf. RE III I, 115 f).

310. VINCENTIUS

AM XXII II 2 (363)

of. Romanus

311. VINCENTIUS

AM XXIX 5 19 (373)

When the comes Theodosius reached Caesarea during his campaign against the usurper Firmus in 373, the tribune Vincentius was one of the officials who came out of hiding and informed him of Firmus's most recent movements. It

is unlikely that this tribune is to be identified with the second-in-command of Romanus, comes Africae, since Theodosius had earlier given orders for this man's arrest. (AM XXIX 5 6).

312. AURELIUS VINCENTIUS

XI 1016

Italy

Canossa

D(is) M(anibus) Aurelia Iustina, coniugis (sic) Flavi Antoniani cum quo vixit annos XXVI m(enses) III, soror Aureli Vincenti ex praepositis viri ornati (sic) legionis X Geminae quae vixit annos XXXVII m(enses) VIII, civ[is] Poetavionensis o(bita ?). Flavius Antonianus coniugi memoriam faciendam curavit.

Aurelius Vincentius was evidently a native of Poetovio in Pannonia Superior, since his sister came from this city. Prior to retirement, he had commanded X Gemina, one of the legions of this province, with the rank of praepositus. This fact probably dates the inscription to the early fourth century. No praefecti are attested in command of frontier legions after the reign of Diocletian. On the other hand, the legionary vexillations commanded by praepositi in the latter half of the third century tend to occur in pairs. The mention of the nomen, Flavius, also points to a fourth century date. The precise meaning of the phrase, vir ornatus, is unknown.

313. VALERIUS VINCENTIUS

III 6059 = 6988 = IIS 2779

Bithynia

Nicomedia

Valerio Vincentio actuario protectorum, Antia marito dulcissimo, cum quo convixi annis sex.

The nomen, Valerius, suggests that Vincentius was named after Diocletian. Hence it is likely that this inscription belongs to the early part of the fourth century. Grosse submitted that the actuarii were synonymous with the optiones (cf. pp 192 - 5, citing CT VII 4 24, ' - - ac si quid amplius actuarios vel optiones accepisse constiterit, - - '). The task of the actuarius was to receive the annonae of the unit to which he was attached, and provide a receipt (cf. CT VII 4 13; 16). The term, actuarius protectorum, in this inscription makes it more likely that Vincentius was attached to the protectores, rather than a protector himself, although the issue of a receipt for the annonae was one of the duties which protectores sometimes performed (cf. Servantus & Terentius). Inscriptions relating to the actuarii normally state the unit to which they were attached (cf. XI 6168 = IIS 9075; CIG 4004; Tebas Waddington III 2037.) The staff officers serving at the emperor's court are first attested by the name of protectores domestici in 346 (cf. CT XII 1 38). In the first two decades of the fourth century it seems likely that they were still known as protectores (cf. Licinianus). An inscription from Bostra in Arabia mentions ' - - optiones (centurionum) leg(ionis) III Kur(enaiceae) Valerianae Gallienae --- (cf. III 89 = IIS 1193). Nicomedia, where this inscription was found, acted as one of the empire's capitals under the Tetrarchy. It seems likely, therefore, that Vincentius was an actuarius attached to the staff officers resident at the emperor's court, who, in the early part of the fourth century, were still known simply as protectores.

314. VITALIANUS

III 3228 = ILS 546, cf. III p 2328¹⁸² Pannonia Inferior Sirmium 260-8

Io[vi] monitori [p]ro salute adque incolumitate d(omini) n(ostri) Gallieni Aug(usti) et militum vexill(ationum) leg(ionum) [G]ermanicia [r(um) e]t Britannic(in)arum [cu]m auxili(i)s [e]arum [Ael(ius) ? V]italianus [pro]tect(or) Aug(usti) n(ostri), [praepo]situs p(osuit).

This inscription was set up during Gallienus's sole reign by the praepositus, Vitalianus. The original reading in the last line of p(osuit) seems preferable to the later reading of [v(ir)] p(erfectissimus). The letter p seems to be placed in the exact centre of the line, and other praepositi of this period, such as Flavius Aper, were evidently viri egregii. The inscription commemorates vexillations drawn from the legions of Germany and Britain, together with auxiliary troops from these provinces. Vexillations of all the legions garrisoned in the provinces of Germania Superior and Inferior were commemorated on coins minted at Milan, the latest dating to 259 (cf. M. & S. V pt. I, pp 93, 95, 97). They belonged to the new permanent field army which Gallienus created while campaigning on the Rhine in the early part of his reign. A vexillation of XX Valeria Victrix was sent to reinforce the Rhine frontier at this time, since an inscription records its presence at Mainz in 255 (cf. XIII 6780). It was also commemorated on coins (cf. M. & S. V pt. I, p 96, dated to 258). It is probable that the coin with the legend, 'Leg(10) I Aug(usta) VI p(ia) VI f(idelis)', in fact refers to II Augusta, the other legion of Britannia Superior (cf. ibid. p 93). It seems likely that Vitalianus was commanding a pair of legionary vexillations from the Germanies or Britannia Superior. Alternatively he

could have been in charge of a detachment of auxiliaries from one of these provinces. Since the inscription dates to Gallienus's sole reign, and was found at Sirmium, it seems likely that Vitalianus was commanding a detachment in the field army which Gallienus sent to crush the revolts of Ingenuus and Regalianus in 260, or perhaps the inscription dates to the following year, when Aureolus defeated Macrianus on his advance westwards through Pannonia. By the end of Gallienus's reign, praepositi commanding field army detachments had ceased to hold the title of protector (cf. Flavius Aper & XII 2228 = IIS 569).

315. VITALIANUS

a) AM XXV 10 9 (363)

b) Zos. IV 34 I (380)

Vitalianus, then serving in the Heruli, was one of the envoys sent by Jovian in 363 to secure the Gallic army's allegiance. The mission was ultimately successful, and on its return Vitalianus was promoted to the rank of protector domesticus (cf. a). The Heruli Seniores are attested in the Notitia as an auxilium palatinum in the western field army (cf. ND Oc V 18 = 162 = VII 13). They were highly regarded, being one of the units specifically named by Constantius II in 360, when he ordered the Caesar Julian to send reinforcements to the east (cf. AM XX 4 2). They were evidently recruited from the section of the tribe of that name settled on the lower Rhine by Maximian (cf. Schmidt I², p 558). Probably, Vitalianus was selected for this mission because he had served in the Gallic field army

under Julian. After serving as protector domesticus, he was presumably appointed as tribunus of a field army unit, since in 380 he is again attested as a comes appointed by the Emperor Gratian to command the units stationed in Illyricum (cf. a & b). Probably this post was similar to that held by Equitius in 365 (cf. AM XXVI 5 3). Early in 380, the Goths broke into Lower Moesia, this time not in scattered groups, but in two great armies. The West Goths under Fritigern attacked Macedonia and Thessaly, while the East Goths and Alans, under Alatheus and Saphrax, drove westwards into Upper Moesia and Pannonia. Theodosius was defeated in Thessaly, while the Comes Vitalianus proved incapable of resisting the invasion. The situation was not remedied until Gratian sent a fresh army, under Arbogastes and Bauto, eventually himself arriving in Illyricum in August (cf. Schmidt I² pp 259 - 60).

316. L. PETRONIUS TAURUS VOLUSIANUS

a) XI 1836 = IIS 1332 Italy Arretium

L(ucio) Petronio L(ucii) f(ilio) Sab(atina) Tauro Volusiano, v(iro) cons(ulari) ordinario, praef(ecto) praet(orio), em(inentissimo) v(iro), praef(ecto) vigul(um), p(erfectissimo) v(iro), trib(unus) coh(ortis) primae praet(oriae) protector(i) Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum duorum), item trib(unus) coh(ortis) IIII praet(oriae), trib(unus) coh(ortis) XI urb(anae), trib(unus) coh(ortis) III vig(ulum), leg(ionis) X et XIII Gem(inae) prov(inciae) Pannoniae Superisri(s) itim (sic) leg(ionis) Daciae, praeposito equitum singularior(um) Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum duorum), p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) XXX Ulpiae, centurioni deputato, eq(uo) pub(lico), ex V decur(iis), Laurenti) Lavin(ati), ordo Arretinorum patrono optimo.

b) XI 5749, = IIS 7221 Italy Sentinum

c) SHA Gall. 1 2.

d) Chronographus anni CCCLIII ed. Mommsen. Mon. Germ. Hist. IX p 59, Fasti Consulares : a. 261 Gallicano IIII et Volusiano.

e) Ibid, p 65, Praefecti urbis Romae a. 267 et 268 : Paterno et Harcesilao, Petronius Volusianus praefectus urbis ; Paterno II et Mariniano, Petronius Volusianus praefectus urbis.

cf. PIR^I III p 231 ; RE XIX I, 1225 f (Groag); Pflaum 347; Dobson 351.

The chief source of Volusianus's career is inscription (a). He was probably a town councillor who, after holding the priesthood of Laurens Lavinas (cf. RE XII I, 1008), was selected to serve on the V decuriae at Rome, where he would be likely to come under the emperor's notice. He was then granted the equus publicus by the emperor, and so accorded formal equestrian status, and commissioned as centurio deputatus. The centuriones deputati were officers serving on the emperor's staff, and attached to the castra peregrina (cf. Mommsen, EE IV p 240; VI IIII). Dobson has pointed out that most of the third century principilares who eventually attained the praetorian prefecture passed through the castra peregrina at some stage during their careers. He was then appointed primus pilus of Legion XXX Ulpia, garrisoned at Xanten in Germania Inferior. Following this he became praepositus of a detachment of the Equites Singulares. There were evidently two numeri of Equites Singulares, each commanded by a praetorian tribune (cf. Rangford, p 137 & n 5). Thus it is unlikely that he commanded a whole numerus. In view of the evidence from other inscriptions from this period, it seems best to assume that his next post was that of praepositus of a vexillation of the two legions of Dacia, rather than tribunus, which Dobson suggests. There seems no room on the inscription

for an extra g after the letters 'leg!', and there seems no need to insert one. A parallel can be drawn with the inscription recording the career of Valerius Tertius (cf. VI 2759 = IIS 2045, 'milita(v)it in legione M(o)esiaca'). He was next transferred to the command of the vexillations of the two legions of Pannonia Superior, and in succession became tribune of cohors IV Vigilum, XI Urbanae, and IV Praetoriae. He then held a second praetorian tribunate, commanding the first cohort, and distinguished from the rest by the title of protector. His next post of praefectus Vigilum constituted a huge step in the ladder of promotion, since it was customary to hold a series of procuratorships inbetween. Finally, he became praetorian prefect, and is attested as consul ordinarius in 261 with Gallienus (cf. b, c, d). In 267 - 8 he is attested as praefectus urbis (cf. e).

Prior to Gallienus's reign, there is no evidence for the existence of the title of protector, apart from the case of two very minor officials (cf. IIS 2208; IGR I 1481). No centurion, let alone praetorian tribune, is attested with the title. Hence it seems almost certain that Volusianus held the post of tribunus cohortis I praetoriae in the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, who seem to be the two emperors referred to. This post will date to the period 253 - 6, since the younger Valerian was appointed Caesar in 256 (cf. CAH XII p 181), and three emperors would then be mentioned (cf. IIS 2296; III 3126). One must also allow time for him to be promoted as praefectus Vigilum, before being appointed praetorian prefect c. 260. It was in the early years of his reign, while campaigning on the Rhine frontier, that Gallienus created the new mobile field army, organised on a permanent footing. Volusianus's rapid career shows that he was in high favour with Gallienus, and also reflects the

background of military crisis. The fact that this trusted equestrian officer was selected to be consul ordinarius with the emperor in 261 may well reflect the disappearance of senators from military posts after 260. Henceforth the officer cursus was to become the exclusive preserve of experienced specialists, who had risen from the centurionate. Volusianus was the precursor of these, having never held a single procuratorship in the whole of his career.

In his two praetorian commands, it is almost certain that Volusianus was serving in the new field army of Gallienus, operating on the Rhine. The praetorian cohorts are commemorated on coins during this period as belonging to the field army (cf. M. & S. V pt. I, pp 97, 101). In regard to the dating of the earlier posts there is little that can be said. Dobson states that he can hardly have been primus pilus earlier than c. 241. Perhaps there is a clue in his possession of the extra coanomen, Volusianus. Trebonius Gallus, the governor of Moesia Inferior, who became emperor in 251, had a son called Volusianus, who was appointed co-Augustus after his father's accession. The latter may have acted as patron of Petronius Taurus, especially since his commands of the vexillations of the legions of Upper Pannonia and Dacia are likely to have been held on the Danube front. Grøag's view, that he was related to Valerian and Gallienus, does not seem likely, but it may well be that, coming from the same region, Valerian may have acted as patron to Volusianus in his early career. Certainly his rapid promotion shows influence in high places as well as inherent ability, and Valerian's position prior to his accession would qualify him for this role. It is possible that Volusianus remained

as praetorian prefect until 267, when he was appointed as praefectus urbis, and Heraclianus is attested in the former post. If this is so, this long tenure of office may have led to thwarted ambitions among the higher officer caste, composed chiefly of Illyrians, ultimately finding vent in the conspiracy which resulted in Gallienus's murder.

317. FLAVIUS ZIPERGA

AE. 1891 102

Italy

Concordia c. 400

Fl(avius) Ziperga p(rae)[p(ositus)] de n(umero) prim(a)e Marti(a)e Vic(tricis) annis vixit XXVII milita(res) stipe(ndias) VIII. Fl(avii) Vitalis q(uaestor ?) et Maximianus amat(ura) convicani fecerunt de pro(ris). Si quis arcam adu[l]terare (?) voluerit, inferat fisco auri li[b]ras octo iuxta et poena capitis.

Flavius Ziperga evidently entered the army at the age of 19, and served 8 years, during which time he obtained the post of praepositus in command of the numerus, I Martia Victrix. There is only one other praepositus commanding a unit attested in this series of late military inscriptions from Concordia, which Mommsen has dated to the period c. 400, when the Goths were threatening to invade Italy (cf. Flavius Martidius). It is likely that I Martia Victrix was a legio pseudocomitatensis, recently drafted from the limitanei to reinforce the field army. Its original place of garrison cannot be determined with certainty, but it is not unlikely that it was formerly stationed on the Rhine frontier. Epigraphic evidence attests the presence of a legion, I Martia, in the neighbourhood of Basel during the fourth century (cf. RE XII 2 1418-9). Again, units of Martenses are listed among the limitanei under the dux Tractus.

Armorici and the dux Mogontiacensis in the Notitia (cf. ND Oc XXXVII 19; XLI 19). Nesselhauf has identified the former of these with the legio pseudocomitatensis under the Magister Equitum per Gallias (cf. 'Die spätrömische Verwaltung der gallisch-germanischen Länder', Abh. d. Preuss Akad. d. Wiss., 1938, p 40, citing ND Oc V 265 = VII 91). On the other hand, a detachment of I Martia is recorded among the limitanei in Valeria in 371 (cf. III 3653 = ILS 775).

318. ANON.

III 3126, cf. p 2172 & III 10125 Dalmatia Curictae 256-60

[.....] trib(uno) coh(ortis) XI urb(anae), trib(uno) coh(ortis) VI praet(oriae) et protector(i) Aug(ustorum trium) n(ostorum), patroni splendidissimae civitatis Curictarum ob insignem eius benevolentiam statuum poni sanxerunt feliciter).

cf. Dobson 525

The final post held by the anonymous officer of this inscription was that of tribunus cohortis VI praetoriae. It was this position which gave him the right to the title of protector. This fact dates the inscription to the earlier part of Gallienus's reign, since towards its end the title depreciates, being given to legionary prefects, and finally even to centurions of the first cohort. Furthermore the inscription is dated to the period 256 - 60, since he is termed protector Augustorum trium.

The three emperors were Gallienus and the elder Valerian, who were joint Augusti up to Valerian's capture in 260, and either the younger Valerian, appointed as Caesar in 256, or Saloninus, who replaced him on his death in 258 (cf. CAH XII p 181). This officer did not hold the title of

protector as urban tribune, probably because the urban cohorts were stationed permanently at Rome, and never became drafted into the field army. In contrast, the praetorian cohorts figured prominently in Gallienus's field army, and are frequently attested on coins (cf. M. & S. V pt. 1, pp 97 & 101, 258 - 9). Owing to the fragmented condition of this inscription, nothing is known of the officer's earlier career. However, his cursus is almost contemporary with that of Petronius Taurus Volusianus, and it seems fair to suppose that he also will have risen through the centurionate and primipilate to hold the post of tribune of a cohort of the vigiles, followed by the two posts recorded on this inscription. The fact that he was patron of the civitas of Curictae, perhaps indicates that he was a native of this town

319. ANON.

III 10488

Pannonia Inferior

Aquincum 279

[..... p]rote[ct(or)] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) d(omino)
n(ostro) Prob[o] Aug(usto) III et Paterno it(erum) co(n)s(ulibus).

By 279, the date of this fragmentary inscription, it seems fairly certain that the title of protector was restricted to centurions of the first cohort, normally serving in the field army. It is interesting to note that at this very time the emperor Probus was campaigning on the Danube frontier against the Burgundians and Vandals (cf. Zos. I 68 1 - 3).

320. ANON.

V 8721

Italy

Concordia c.400

[.....] p(rae)p(ositus) fab(ricae) sagitt(ar)iae ? facto a d(omino)
n(ostro) Non]orio memor[iam fecerunt fili]a et Ahet]a uxor. Si quis
p]ostea [.. praeter (?) n(ostro)]s alicuius [corpus in hanc arcam i]nferturus
[erit, inferet rei public]ae [.....]

The above dedication belongs to a series of late military inscriptions from Concordia, which Mommsen has dated to the close of the fourth century (cf. CIL V p 1058). This anonymous officer held the post of praepositus fabricae sagittariae, being in charge of the arms factory manufacturing arrows at Concordia (cf. ND Oc IX 24). Three other dedications mention a veteran and two biarchi who were employed there (cf. V 8721; 8754; 8757). Two units of Sagittarii were apparently quartered at Concordia at this time (cf. V 8758; 8762).

321. ANON.

VI 1110

Rome

256-8

cf. Iustus

322. ANON.

VI 32945

Rome

[.....] tivo ex protectoribu[s](centurioni) classis Rabennatium [.....
vixit annis ..] mensibus VII diebus [.. benem]erenti coniugi du[lcissimo]
depositus IIII non [.....]ro puero qui vixit [.....].

The general style of this inscription seems to indicate a date in the latter half of the third century. The anonymous officer to whom it was set up had served as a centurion in the Ravenna fleet and retired with the rank of

ex protectoribus.

323. ANON.

VI 32947

Rome

[.... requie[ss]quente in[pace] prot(ectori) do[m(estic) mil(itavit) an(nos)]
plus minu[s ... vix(it)] a(nnos) XL d(e)p(ositus) VI k(a)l(endis)
N[ov(embri) i] duum Dec[embr(is)]cit[....] an [.....]

This anonymous protector domesticus died aged forty, and was probably serving in a schola at the emperor's court. The protectores domestici are first attested in 346.

324. ANON.

VI 37279 = ILS 9212

Rome

[.....no]na[s... di] e Mercuris [qui vix(it) ann]us XXXVII me[n]ses
di]es V tribunus [Equitum] Promotorum.

Owing to the fragmented state of this inscription, the name of the tribune who commanded this unit of Equites Promoti is not known. He died aged 37. Since the inscription was found at Rome, it is likely that the unit is to be equated with the Equites Promoti Seniores, a vexillatio palatina of the western field army stationed in Italy (ND Oc VI 44 = VII 160).

325. ANON.

XIII 8740 = IIS 790 = AE 1953 271

Germania Secunda

Colonia Agrippinensium c.394

[B(ona) F(ortuna) domini]s et Imperatoribus nost[ri]s Fl(avi) Theodo[sio],
Fl(avi) Arcadio et Fl(avi) Eugenio [aram vetusta]te conl[ab]sam iussu viri
cl[ar]issimi [et inl(ustris) Fl(avi) Arboga]stis comitis et instantia
v(iri) c[lar]issimi [.....] co[m]m[un]is domesticorum et [a fundam]entis
ex integro opere facim-[dam] curav[it] magister pr[im]us Aelius.

W. Ensslin, 'Die Magistri Militum des viertes Jahrhunderts', Klio, XXIV, 1931, pp 102-47

This inscription was no doubt set up in 394, when Arbogastes led a large army across the Rhine to ravage the territory of the Franks (Greg. Tur. II 9). Owing to the fragmented state of the inscription, the name of the comes domesticorum is missing. It has been suggested that he should be equated with Flavius Syrus, who, together with Charietto, campaigned against the Franks in 389 (Greg. Tur. II 9). Since these commanders replaced Nannienus, however, it seems better to regard them as magistri militum (Ensslin, p 136).

326. ANON.

XIII 11538

Germania Prima

Etzgen in Aargau 371

[S]alvis d(ominis) n(ostri) tribus) Valentiniano [V]alente et Gratiano
[victo]r(issimis) semp(er) Aug(ustis) burgum [.....] iaco confine leg(ion)
octava Augustanensium fecit sub cur(a) [.....] ri p(rae)p(ositi)
consu(libus) d(omino) n(ostro) Gratiano II [et Fl(avi) P]robo v(iro)
c[lar]issimo).

The unknown praepositus was in command of a detachment of Legion VIII Augusta, whose third century headquarters were at Strasbourg. The unit had built a burgus, or watch tower, on a particular stretch of the limes of Germania Prima. These burgi, which lie between the main forts, seem

to have been constructed in the reign of Valentinian I (cf. also XIII 11537). He is known to have taken especial pains to fortify the Rhine frontier. (cf. AM XXVIII 2 I; XXX 7 6). Mommsen's restoration, 'leg(io octa[va August]anensium' seems the most feasible one. This perhaps does not refer to the old title of the legion, but rather to the name of the fort where this particular detachment was stationed. The nearest large fort is that of Augusta Raurica, some distance downstream. In this event, one might restore the name of this particular stretch of the limes as 'Augustiaco confine'.

327. ANON.

IGR III 10

Bithynia

Nicomedia

[...]ου πρωτηκτορος.

It is perhaps worth remarking that Nicomedia was always an important centre of communications, and was the capital of the eastern section of the empire under Diocletian.

328. ANON.

ILS 8940

Scythia

Salsovia 317-324

Dei sancti Soli simulacrum consecr(atum) die XIII kal(endas) Decem(bres) debet singulis annis iussu sacro d(ominorum) n(ostorum duorum) Licini Aug(usti) et Licini Caes(aris) ture cereis et profusionibus eodem die a praep(osito) et vexillat(ionibus) in castr(is) Salsioviensib(us) agentib(us) exorari Val(erius) Romulus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) dux secutus iussionem describit.

At some stage during the period 317-24, the vexillations stationed at Salsovia in the province of Scythia, together with their praepositus, set

up an inscription. This commemorated their annual consecration of a statue of the Sun, on November 18th, under the supervision of the dux Valerius Romulus, according to the emperor's instructions. Seston believes that Licinius, after his break with Constantine, perhaps in 322, on the fifteenth anniversary of his accession, decided to commemorate this event, using a religious ceremony which was reminiscent of the Tetrarchy (cf. W. Seston, 'La Conférence de Carnuntum et le "Dies Imperii" de Licinius', Carnuntina III, 1956, pp 175-86. According to the Notitia Dignitatum, the unit stationed at Salsovia was the Milites Quinti Constantiani (cf. ND Or XXXIX 36). Under Licinius, however, it seems that it was a pair of legionary vexillations. These may have been drawn from I Iovia and II Herculia, which formed the regular garrison of Scythia (cf. Ibid. 29-35).

329. ANON.

AE 1924 131

Syria

Beisan

D(is) M(anibus) [.....] us protec[t(or) ducenariu ?]s vicsit annis [.....] Marcianus [et cons]obrino [memoriam p]osuerun[t].

The formula, Dia Manibus, suggests a third century, rather than a fourth century date, though it is still sometimes used in Christian inscriptions. The term, ducenarius, is quite common on the inscriptions of protectores in the latter part of the third century, but appears on only one fourth century inscription (cf. Flavius Gaudentius). The protectores domestici are not attested until 346 (cf. CT XII I 138). Thus the restoration ducenarius seems more likely than that of domesticus. The anonymous officer was probably a centurion of the first cohort serving in the field army.

330. ANON.

AE 1951 196a

Rome

[.....] sous [e]x p(rae)p(osito) vir ducenarius coniug[i].

cf. Ulpus Candidus.

331. ANON.

Libyca I, 1953, pp 177-8 = AE 1954 135 Mauretania Caesariensis Aion Sbiba

[.... praef(ecto) leg(ionis) ...ex ... ?] protec[toribus ?] item
primip[i]la[ri] protectori item centurio(ni) IIII Fl(aviae) ex protectori
item ce[nturi]o(ni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) item [dec(urioni)] alae
Parthoru[m] I item [....]

cf. Dobson 568

Dobson seems to be correct in restoring decurio in l.6, rather than praepositus, as proposed in Année Epigraphique. On the other hand, his restoration of the nominative case seems to be without foundation. The spacing of the letters makes it fairly certain that the last recorded post was that of primipilaris protector. The career itself is in descending order. He presumably commenced service in the ranks, held some position recorded on a missing part of the inscription, and then held his first recorded post, namely that of decurion in the Ala I Parthorum (cf. IIS 305; 2765). This unit formed part of the regular garrison of Mauretania Caesariensis, and is frequently attested on inscriptions (cf. VIII 9371; 9827; 9828; 9838; 21629). He was then commissioned as centurion in III Augusta, and, following this, transferred to IV Flavia, where he held the title of protector for the first time. The explanation is probably that while serving in III Augusta he held the position of a centurio

ordinarius, but on being transferred to IV Flavia he was promoted to the first cohort, and selected to serve in a field army vexillation from this legion. He then went on to hold at least two further posts. He retained the title of protector in the first of these, namely that of primus pilus, ~~primipilaris~~, and was probably still serving in the field army. After PROTEC in l. I there seems sufficient spacing for at least 6 letters. Hence, the most likely restoration seems to be protec|toribus]. This would then conform to the inscription recording the career of Traianus Mucianus, who, after holding a series of centurionates in the field army, discarded the title of protector on becoming praefectus legionis IV Flaviae.

This inscription seems to belong to a transitional stage in the development of the title of protector. Owing to the continued unrest in Africa from the beginning of Gallienus's reign up to the end of 262, it seems unlikely that an able officer would be transferred elsewhere during this period. Thus no vexillation of III Augusta is commemorated on the coins which Gallienus issued in the first part of his reign celebrating the legionary detachments in his field army on the Rhine. On the other hand, a field army vexillation of III Augusta, linked with one of II Parthica is recorded at Lychnidus in Macedonia during the period of Gallienus's sole rule (cf. AE 1934 193). It seems that it was only towards the end of Gallienus's reign that centurions of the first cohort became eligible for the title of protector. No legionary prefect is recorded as holding it after Gallienus's reign. Conversely, by 286 the ~~post-of~~ primipilaris

had become a hereditary ^{officials} ~~office~~ in the civil administration (cf. Frag. Vat. 278). On balance, therefore, it seems best to date the setting up of this inscription to the period after 268, but not long after. In view of this officer's first attested post, perhaps it is worth noting that the cavalry arm was especially important in the field army of this period.

532. ANON.

P. Amh. 142, l. 16:

Egypt

[.....] ὑπογραφῆς κλευσα[ι τ]ῶν προπαισιτῶν τ[ω]ν
καστρῶν ἰππων(ων) τῆς ἐγγιστῆς περατουρας
ἐπανδραστῆς τοὺς ἐγγεγραμμένους.

This fourth century document is a petition addressed to the prefect of Augustamnica by a certain Aurelius Germanus, regarding an attack made by certain persons on his land. In l. 16, reference is made to an unknown praepositus castrorum at Hipponon. According to the Notitia, the unit stationed here was the ala Apriana (cf. ND Or XXVIII 32).

333. ANON.

BGU I 21 col. 2, l. 19

Thebaid

Hermopolis 340

τῶν προπαι(οσιτῶ) των Μαυρων ὑπερ τιμῆς χορτοῦ ψβγ.

This unnamed praepositus was the commander of a unit of Moorish cavalry.

This is to be equated with the cuneus Equitum Scutariorum which is listed

as stationed at Hermopolis in the Notitia (cf. ND Or XXXI 24, & Alaesianus).

334. ANON.

BGU I 21 col. 3, ls. 12-14

Thebaid

340

[...το]ν μερισμον των τ[ι]ρ[ο]νων τα ἀπαιτη-
θεντα ὑπο του πραιποσιτου της λεγεωνος ψιε [··]
τω στρατιωτη της λεγεωνος, ψυ [··]

The unknown praepositus was in charge of a legionary detachment stationed in the Thebaid. In l. 20 reference is made to the town of Hermopolis. The only legion in this area was II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum, stationed at Cusae (cf. ND Or XXXI 32). It is probable that this was the unit he commanded.

335. ANON.

Sammelbuch V 7624

Egypt

Karanis 298

[----] οὐκ ἐγκαλεσομεν σοι [.....] οὐδε οἱ παρ' ἡμων
περι του θ (ἔτους) και ἡ (ἔτους) και ἄ (ἔτους) ||
δια τον προτηκτ[ο]ρα παρειληφεναι παρα σου το
ἐκφοριο(ν) πληρης και ἐπερωτηθεν τες ὠμολογησαμεν
[----].

This receipt of 298 mentions an unnamed protector.

336. ANON.

AM XV 5 9 (355)

The tribune in charge of the arms factory at Cremona received a forged letter, purporting to come from Silvanus, magister peditum, and Malarichus, tribunus scholae Gentilium. It referred vaguely to preparations for a revolt. The tribune returned the letter to Malarichus, asking for an explanation, and the forgery was then discovered. It is not unlikely that this tribune was a Frank, like Silvanus and Malarichus (cf. AM XV 5 11). An arms factory is listed at Cremona in the Notitia (cf. ND Oc IX 27). Normally these officers are termed praepositi, but there is no reason to suppose that they could not be granted the status of tribune.

337. ANON.

AM XVI 12 39 (357)

At a crucial stage in the Battle of Strasbourg in 357, the cavalry on the right wing of the Roman army began to waver. Julian galloped up to rally them, and a tribune who recognised his standard halted, and rode back to rejoin the fighting.

338. ANON.

AM XVI 12 63 (357)

Among the Roman casualties at the Battle of Strasbourg in 357 was a tribunus vacans, whose name is not given by Ammianus.

339. ANON.

AM XXIV 3 1 (363)

During Julian's Persian campaign of 363, the Persians launched a surprise attack on three squadrons of scouting cavalry, killing a few men, including one of the tribunes.

340. ANON.

AM XXIV 5 8 (363)

During his Persian campaign of 363, Julian besieged a fortress on the Euphrates near Ctesiphon. The garrison launched a surprise counter-attack at night. Many of the troops in one unit were killed, including the tribune, who had tried to avert the danger.

341. ANON.

AM XXV 1 8 (363)

During Julian's campaign against the Persians in 363, a cavalry unit, the Tertiaci, withdrew from one engagement, thereby discouraging the other troops. Julian ordered that their standards should be taken from them, and their lances broken, and that they should be forced to march with the baggage and prisoners. Their tribune, however, who alone had fought bravely, was given command of another detachment whose commander had been dismissed for cowardly behaviour. The Tertiaci are perhaps to be identified with the Equites III Dalmatae, which the Notitia lists as a vexillatio comitatensis in the eastern field army (ND Or VII 27).

342. ANON.

AM XXV 1 9 (363)

During his Persian campaign of 363, Julian dismissed four tribunes of cavalry units for cowardice.

343. ANON.

AM XXV 7 13 (363)

cf. Bellovaedius

344: ANON.
AM XXVII 2 9 (366).

When Iovinus, magister equitum, defeated a force of Alamanni near Châlons-sur-Marne in 366, he sent a unit of Ascarii on ahead to plunder their camp. They captured one of the princes of the Alamanni, together with some of his followers, and gibbeted him. If there had not been convincing evidence that the soldiers were out of control at the time, Iovinus would have condemned the tribune in command to death, in that he had taken this action without first consulting a higher authority. Several units of Ascarii appear as auxilia palatina in the field army lists of the Notitia.

345. ANON.

AM XXIX 3 4 (364-75)

~~364-75~~

As an instance of Valentinian's cruelty, Ammianus relates how a certain praepositus fabricae brought a decorated breastplate to the emperor, hoping to receive a reward. Instead, however, he was executed, since the breastplate weighed less than had been stipulated. Two arms factories manufacturing breastplates are listed in the western section of the Notitia, at Mantua and Augustodunum, though this officer need not necessarily have been in charge of either (cf. ND Oc IX 26; 33).

346. ANON.

AM XXIX 5 20 (373)

Ammianus relates that the Constantiani, infantry soldiers, were among those troops who supported the usurper Firmus. One of their tribunes had placed his neck-chain on Firmus's head in lieu of a diadem. The magister equitum Theodosius was sent to suppress the revolt in 373. These troops surrendered to him, and he ordered part of them to go to Tigaviae, where they were massacred. They are evidently to be equated with the Constantiniani and Constantiani, a pair of legiones comitatenses belonging to the army of Africa (cf. ND Oc V 103, 104 = 252, 253 = VII 149, 150).

347. ANON.

AM XXX 1 7 (373)

When Papa, the Armenian King, escaped from his confinement at Tarsus in Cilicia, together with 300 companions, a legion was sent in pursuit. However, when Papa and his bravest men charged, firing volleys of arrows, the troops, together with their tribune, were terrified and put to flight.

348. ANON.

Sulpicius Severus, Vit. St. Martini, II = Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat. I,
pp 111 - 12.

The father of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours 372-97, was a tribune who had risen from the ranks. St. Martin was born at Savaria in Pannonia Prima, but this does not necessarily prove that his father was a Pannonian.

349. ANON.

a) Oros. VII 38 I

b) Claud. De cons. Stil. I 35-46

The father of Stilicho was a Vandal (a), who had commanded a unit of German cavalry under Valens (b).

DOUBTFUL OR REJECTED PROTECTORES.

350. CALLISTUS

a) Scorat. III 21 14 (363)

b) Liban. Ep. 1233 (364)

cf. Seeck, 'Briefe', p 103

Callistus was a poet who celebrated Julian's deeds in heroic verse (cf. a). The phrase, *ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ βασιλέως στρατευόμενος* could mean that he was serving as a protector domesticus. It is probable, however, that he was identical with the Callistio to whom Libanius sent a letter in 364 (cf. b). He held the rank of assessor to the praefectus praetorio, Sallustius, though he may have gained the title of protector (cf. CT VIII 7 2; 3).

351. HATENA

III 6439

Pannonia Inferior

Sirmium

Deo Sil[v]ano domest[i]co : Au[r(elius) ?] Hatena pro(ctor ?) duc(enarius).

Mommsen includes Hatena in his list of protectores (cf. EE V p 124, n. 39), and if he did hold this rank the inscription probably belongs to the latter half of the third century, since after this period the title, ducenarius, tends to be omitted. However, 'pro(urator ?) duc(enarius)' could also be restored.

352. HERODES

E. Kalinka, 'Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien', 1906, pp 94 - 5 = IGR I 1481
l. 19.

Thrace

Philippopolis

1. [...τον] λαμ[προτατον ηγεμονα της Θρα]κης και πρ[εσβετην Σεβαστου,
2. ηγεμονω λεγιωνων .. και.... δικαιοδο]την Απουλιω[ς επιμελητην οδων
3. Αύρηλιας] Κορνηλιας τ[ριουμφαλις, ταμιαν Λυκιας Π]αμφυλιας
4. Ίσαυριας (?), χειλιαρχον] πλατυσημον λεγιωνος, σοδαλιν ^{Πεισιδιδας}
5. Ούρηριανον, και την γυναικα αυτου κ[αι] και ^{Αντωνεινιανον}
6. ν τους κρατιστους) υια[ς πατρωνας] και ευεργετας.

7. Αύρηλιος Σιλβεινος Αύρηλιος Σεβαστιανος
- 8 [. η(?)]ς Βλανδισ Αιτερναλις Αύρηλιος Αρριανος
9. [.]ος Αύρηλιος Ατταλος Πομπωνις Φι[. . .]
10. [.]σις Αύρηλιος Λουκις
11. [. .]ππος [ε]κ βοηθ(ου) Φλαβιος Σαβεινος
12. [Ουα(?)]λ(εριος) Μαρκιανος φλαβιος Αλεξ[ε]ανδρος
13. [. Η]ρακλιανος Αύρηλιος Διονυσωδωρος
14. [.] Μουκιανος Αύρηλιος Ασκληπιοδοτιανος
15. [Αιλ(ιος) ?] Ηρκουλανος Αύρηλιος Ρομιταλκης
16. [Αύ]ρηλιος Νεικοστρατος Ίουλ(ιος) Κλαδ[ε]ιος
17. [Ου]αλ(εριος) Αλκιμος Αύρηλιος Μουκιανος
18. [Αύ]ρηλιος Αρριανος Περιθ(ος) Αύρηλιος Αλεξ[ε]ανδρος βουκινάτωρ Μενσο[...]
Σωσθεν[...]
19. [Σοσ(ιος) ?] Ηρωδης εξ ^{πρωτηκτωρος} Ίουλ(ιος) Κλαυδιανος
20. [Αύρηλιος ?] Σεβαστιανος Ούλπιος Ίουλιανος
Πολυκρα(τους)

This inscription seems to date to the period before Gallienus's reign, since no senators are attested as holding commands in the army after the period c. 260 and the first part of the inscription records the career of a senatorial governor of Thrace, who had previously held the posts of legatus legionis and tribunus laticlavus. There follows a list of 30 names, minor posts being attested in the case of three, i.e. bucinator, ex adiutore, and ex protector. Dr. Mann has suggested that they may have been members of a turma of Equites Singulares, acting as the governor's escort. If so the post held by Herodes may have been similar to that occupied by Aurelius Severus (cf. IIS 2208). These protectores should not be confused with the protectores from the reign of Gallienus onwards, who were officers of high rank.

353. MARTINUS

VI 32943 = IIS 2782

Rome

Marcella Martino co(n)iugi bene merenti fecit, qui vixit ann(is) XXXVIII, in prima Minerbes (sic) mil(itavit) ann(is) V, in Und(ecima) ann(is) IIII, in Lanciaria ann(is) V, in pr(aetorianis, otectoribus ?) ann(is) V, fecit cum co(n) [iug]e sua an(nis) IIII, bene mer(enti) in pace.

Martinus died aged 38, having had 19 years service in the army. He enlisted at the age of 19 in Legion I Minervia, and since this legion was stationed at Bonn in Lower Germany, the likelihood is that he was a native of this province. After 5 years service, he was transferred to XI Claudia, where he served for four years. This legion was stationed at Durostorum in Lower Moesia, and therefore it seems likely that by this stage

Martinus had been promoted to the field army, and was serving in a vexillation. He was next transferred to the Lanciarii, a unit which was certainly in existence by 300, and where he served for 5 years. Martinus's next post poses a problem. The letters 'pr' could be expanded to mean pr(otectoribus) or pr(aetorianis) (cf. IIS 2045; 2781). However, there is no known instance where the letters pr stand for protector, whereas they frequently are used as an abbreviation for praetoriani (cf. IIS 2010; 2019; 2040; 4057; 4633 etc). Furthermore, it was in his last five years of service that he settled down at Rome and was married. His residence at Rome would be better explained if he was a member of the praetorian guard, rather than a protector serving in the mobile field army. If this is so, the inscription cannot be later than 312, since Constantine finally abolished the praetorian guard in this year.

354. SEVERUS

AE 1897 94

Syria

Raifa

Σευρος Ουαβιελου προ(ηκτωρ?) [κ]ωμ(ης)
Καπασραζιζ[ω]ν κεκτημενος εν τη μετρ(ο)κ(ωμια)
Ρογα (?)

Severus, son of Vabielus, apparently owned property in the central village of Roga. It is uncertain, however, whether he was a protector, or a chief citizen of the village of Kapasraziza, the modern Kefr-Aziz. If in fact he was a protector, it is to be presumed that, like Vincentius, he was engaged in strengthening the frontier defences in that area.

355. AURELIUS SEVERUS

VI 3238 = IIS 2208

Rome

D(is) M(anibus) Aurel(ius) Vital(is) t(ribuni ?) b(eneficiarius) Equitum
Sing(ularium) turm(ae) Lupionis nat(ione) Dacus Ala Campacon(um), vix(it)
ann(is) XXX me(n)s(es) II, die(s) V, mil(itavit) ann(is) XII. Aurel(ius)
Severus protect(or) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

The style of this inscription suggests a date in the early third century.

The Equites Singulares are last attested in 250 (cf. IIS 2190), and were probably amalgamated into the new, mobile, cavalry force established by Gallienus at the beginning of his reign. The inscription suggests that the praetorian prefects at one time had a bodyguard composed of members of the Equites Singulares. Perhaps this served as a model for the protectores of Gallienus's reign (cf. Herodes, IGR I, 1481). The latter, however, were clearly all high ranking officers.

356. IULIUS SPECTATUS

XIII 7535a

Germania Superior

Kreuznach

Clau(d)iae Acceptae socre Iulius Spectatus eq(ues) leg(ionis) XXII prot. p.p.
[.....] et Sollemnia Severa filia [con]diderunt.

A photograph of this inscription has shown that the above reading is without foundation.

357. VALENS(?)

VI 32946

Rome

306 - 12

Miravili benignitate [uxoris ?] adque innocentiae cum [patri ?] M(arco) Aur(elio) Val(enti) Surul(a)e Antonin[ae] Iulius Iason maritus et Val[ens] prot(ector) ?] d(omini) n(ostri) Maxenti Aug(usti) et Val(erius) Antoni(nus).

This inscription is difficult to restore and interpret, but it seems possible that Valens was a protector serving under the emperor Maxentius, who reigned from 306 - 12.

358. FLAVIUS VITALIS

XI 830

Italy

Mutina

Brutt(iae) Aurelianae c(larissimae) f(eminae), filiae Musolami patron(i) et Asteriae c(larissimae) f(eminae), nep(o)ti Marcellin(i) ex comit(e) et Marinae et Gallicani cons(ulis) ordinari, quae vixit ann(os) XXVII, mens(es) X, dies XVIII, ob merita honestatis et concordiae coniugalis, Fl(avius) Vitalis v(ir) c(larissimus) protec(tor) et notarius uxori amantissimae et sibi.

This inscription was set up by Flavius Vitalis, protector et notarius, to his wife, Bruttia Aureliana. The notarii were civil officials, divided into three classes, primicerius, tribuni et notarii, and protectores et notarii (cf. RE VI A 2, 2453 - 4). The office of tribunus et notarius seems to have developed from a praetorian tribunate, while that of protector et notarius seems to correspond to a praetorian centurionate. Praetorian centurions had held the title of protector during the latter part of the third century (cf. Traianus Mucianus and Aurelius Processanus). This inscription was set up in the early fifth century, since Bruttia Aureliana was the granddaughter of Gallicanus, consul ordinarius in 330 (cf. RE VII I, 668). It cannot be earlier than 414, since it was not until this date that protectores were granted the status of virj clarissimi (cf. CT VI 24 7).

359. VOTEPORIX

EE IX 1030

Britain

Carmarthen

Memoria Voteporigis protectoris.

cf. V.E. Nash-Williams, "The Early Christian Monuments of Wales", 1950,
pp 107-8

~~pp 107-8~~ This inscription is dated by the style of sculpture to
the sixth century.

360. ANON.

EE VIII 218

Italy

Asculum

No interpretation of this inscription can be given since it is too damaged.

361. ANON.

Glasnik. XXXIX, 1927, p 260

Dalmatia

Kamen

[.....] princeps) m[unicipi(i), omni]bus honori[bus f]unctus, ex
pro[ctore, procurator m]etallorum, equo (publico)

This is the reading proposed in the above journal, but the restoration

'ex pro[ctore m]etallorum' seems far more probable.

DOUBTFUL OR REJECTED PRAEPOSITI

362. BONUS

III p 2328⁴³

Pannonia Prima

Klosterneuburg

Of(ficina) Ar(elapensis) N(ova) Bono p(raepositus?) V [n(umerorum)
Nori(corum)?].

cf. R. Egger, 'Eine Militärziegelei Valentinianischer Zeit', Anz. d. Phil-
Hist. Klasse der Ost. Akad. d. Wiss., XCI, 1954, pp 101-12.

Egger bases the above restoration on two analogous inscriptions (cf. III
15209; Ost Jahresh. XL, 1953, Beibl., col. 202). However, it seems
unlikely that Bonus was a praepositus, since on all other brick stamps
the customary abbreviation seems to be pp. It is more probable that
Bonus is to be equated with the magister of the same name who is attested
on other bricks manufactured at Arlapa (cf. III 11376 a-g).

363. AURELIUS CERVIANUS

Chester Archaeological Journal, Old Series, III = RBRA, dust cover

This is a bronze roundel, which was apparently the badge of an officer
commanding a pair of vexillations from the two legions of Britannia
Superior, namely II Augusta and XX Valeria Victrix, at some stage during
the third century. Probably, he had the rank of praepositus.

364. LAURENTIUS

XI 285

Italy

Ravenna

Salvo d(omino) n(ostro) Papa n(ostro) Petro Laurentius v(ir) r(everendus) subdiac(onus) s(anctae) R(avennatis) e(cclesiae) praepositus fabricae huius votum solvit.

This inscription seems to date to the sixth century, since reference is apparently made to the fourth Pope Peter (570-8). As well as being sub-deacon of the church at Ravenna, Laurentius was also praepositus fabricae in charge of the arms factory there (cf. Sertorius Silanus).

365. C. IULIUS MAXIMUS

VIII 9790 = IIS 3251

Mauretania Caesariensis

Regiae

Dianae Vitrici C(aius) Iul(ius) Maximus proc(urator) Aug(usti) praepositus limitis.

Iulius Maximus was presumably procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis, and as such praepositus in charge of the defence of the entire limites of this province. The inscription seems to date to the period before the reign of Gallienus, since the province was governed by a praeses from the mid-third century onwards (cf. VIII 20827; 254; AE 1920 108, 263).

366. Q. MAXIMUS

VIII 9791

Mauretania Caesariensis

Regiae

Dianae Aug(ustae) Sac(rum), Q(uitus) Maximus praep(ositus) lim(itis).

As in the case of C. Iulius Maximus, this inscription was found at Regiae, and is a dedication to Diana Augusta. It seems likely therefore that the two inscriptions date to the same period, and that Quintus Maximus was governor of the province as well as being praepositus in charge of its frontier defence system. Since the above inscription does not mention the office of procurator, and the post of praepositus limitis is abbreviated, it would seem to be a little later in date.

367. ANON.

XI 3104 = IIS 2765

Italy

Falerii

[.....]um, [p]ra[eposito]] ianor(um), praeposit[o Sagittar]is Orrhoensis; praepos[ito E]xplorationis Seiopensis [et] numeri Aurelianensis, praeposito numeri Britonum, praeposito ann[o]nae expeditionis [Ger]manicae, [.....]

It is difficult to date this inscription precisely. Domaszewski stated that it was probably set up under Severus Alexander or Maximinus Thrax (cf. Rangford, pp 108; 249).

367 a. ANON.

P. Abinn. IO, ls. 9-15

This document is a letter from a certain Iovinus to Abinnaeus, asking him to consult with the praepositus, princeps and actuarius, together with other responsible officials, with a view to providing IO artabas of vegetable seed for 'the orphan.' It is uncertain who the praepositus was. The editor suggests he may have been Abinnaeus's successor at Dionysias.

DOUBTFUL OR REJECTED TRIBUNI

368. AELIANUS

AM XVIII 9 3 (359)

cf. No. 5

369. ALIGILDUS

a) AM XXI 15 4 (361)

b) AM XXII 2 1

It is uncertain whether Aligildus or Theolaiphus were military or civil officials.

370. ARBITIO

Orog. VII 35 16 (394)

The comes Arbitio was ordered by Arbogastes to attack Theodosius's army in the rear at the Battle of the Frigidus in 394. However, he deserted to Theodosius. He probably held the post of tribune.

371. ASCLEPIODOTUS

AM XV 6 4 (355)

Asclepiodotus, Lutto, and Maudio were Frankish officers who were executed for supporting the usurper Silvanus. They were comites, and probably

held the post of tribune.

372. FRUMENTINUS

Acta S. Basilii Ancyraei presbyteri: Ruinart pp 585-6

362

According to this document, in 362 the emperor Julian ordered the comes Frumentinus, commander of the Soutarii, a schola palatina, to torture and kill Basil, Bishop of Ancyra. However, other sources show that Basil was banished to Illyricum in 360, where he subsequently died in exile. (RE III I 51 - 2).

373. FLAVIUS GEMELLUS

AE 1902 155

Macedonia

Berhoea

Bonae memoriae Maccusae Muceri ann(is) XXII et Victoriae sive Valeriosae ann(is) XIII quae ob desiderium avunculi eorum Fl(avii) Gemelli v(iri) p(erfectissimi) comitis ab ultima Gallia per diversa loca provinciarum ad provinciam Macedoniam verunt ibidemq(ue) post amplexum eius et completa cupiditate amoris in civitati Idissensi (i.e. Edessensi) fati munus compleverunt quibus memoratus vir laudabilis ut cognosceretur iussit eis memoriam fieri.

It is uncertain whether Flavius Gemellus, comes, was a military or civil official.

374. GERONTIUS

AM XIV 5 I (353)

Gerontius, a comes who had supported Magnentius, was tortured and sentenced to exile by Constantius II in 353. It seems likely that he was an officer in the army, in which case he probably held the post of tribune.

375. GERONTIUS

Zos. IV 40 1-6 (c. 384)

Gerontius, a man of great physical strength, commanded a unit garrisoned at Tomi in Scythia. Barbarian levies were quartered outside the town. These received more annonae and rewards than the other troops, whom they despised. Gerontius, angered by their insolence and wanton plundering, attacked them and put them to flight. The emperor Theodosius, however, was angry at the slaughter of the barbarian troops, probably Goths, whom he had honoured, and Gerontius was arrested. He was probably a tribune in command of a unit of field army troops.

376. IMMO

AM XXI 12 3 (361)

In 361 the comes Immo was ordered by Julian to take over the command of the troops besieging Aquileia. It is uncertain whether he held the post of tribune.

377. LUCILLIANUS

AM XXIII 3 9 (363)

The comes Lucillianus was apparently a military officer. Together with the tribune, Constantianus, he commanded the fleet on Julian's Persian campaign. He may have held the post of tribune.

378. LUTTO

AM XV 6 4 (355)

cf. Asclepiodotus

379. MAUDIO

AM XV 6 4 (355)

cf. Asclepiodotus

380. SALONIUS MAURICUS

AE 1909 51

Italy

Vicenza

Salonius Mauricus vir laudavilis ex comete vixit annos quinquaginta duos recess(e)t VII kalendas Aprilis.

It is uncertain whether Mauricus had been a military officer.

381. LIBERALINIUS PROBINUS

XIII 8267 b

Germania Inferior

Colonia Agrippinensium

D(is) N(anibus) Liberalinio Probino tribuno praetoriano et
Liberalinae Probinae filiae eius Barbarina Accepta marito et filiae
obitis.

Dobson 283

Dobson has shown that this inscription is very probably to be dated to the third century in view of its style, and that since the number of the cohort is not specified it is not improbable that Probinus served as praetorian tribune under one of the Gallic emperors. Evidently his home was at Cologne, or in the vicinity of this city, at which the Gallic emperors frequently resided.

382. SATURNINUS

VIII 9255

Mauretania Caesariensis

Rusguniae

cf. Flavius Nuvel

Saturninus, vir perfectissimus comes, probably served in the army, since his son became an officer. He may have held the post of tribune.

383. THALASSIUS

Zos. II 48 5 (351)

Thalassius was an officer in high favour with Constantius II.

Together with Latinus, he declined to attend a banquet given by the emperor in 351, owing to anxiety about his friend Philip, the praetorian prefect, whom Magnentius had detained.

384. THEOLAIPHUS

AM XXI 15 4 (361)

cf. Aligildus

385. FLAVIUS URSACI~~US~~

VI 1156 = IIS 722

Rome

317 - 37

Domino nostro Fl(avio) Claudio Constantino fortissimo hac beatissimo Caesari, Fl(avio) Ursacius v(ir) p(erfectissimus), tribunus cohortium urbanarum X, XI et XII et fori suari.

Flavius Ursacius was tribunus cohortium urbanarum X, XI et XII, and also in charge of the pork market, at some stage in the period 317-37.

It is clear that by this time tribunes of urban cohorts were civil rather than military officials.

386. URSICINUS

CT. VII 4 12 (364)

This decree of 364 mentions that a report has been received from the comes Ursicinus that the soldiers have been demanding extra food supplies. It is uncertain whether Ursicinus was a civil or a military official.

387. VALERIANUS (?)

AE 1903 302

Moesia Prima

Viminacium

[F(avius)] Valer[ianus ? tri]bunus [Sagittario ?] rum Hem(esenorum] fabrica [.....?] ordina(vit).

This inscription is so fragmented that no satisfactory commentary can be given.

388. C. PETILIUS VENUSTUS

a) V 748 = IIS 4871

Italy

Aquileia

Apollinā Beleno Aug(usto) sac(ro) C(aius) Petilius Venustus trib(unus) praetorian(orum) v(otum) s(olvit).

b) SHA Claud. XVII

Dobson 347

Venustus is termed tribunus praetorianorum, and the lack of mention of a specific cohort seems to indicate a date during the third century, when Aquileia frequently acted as a base for field army detachments (a). It may be that he is to be identified with the officer of the same name who was in charge of the frumentarii under Gallienus (b) (cf. Iustus).

389. VERISSIMUS

AM XVI 6 1-3 (356)

The comes Verissimus in 356 accused Arbitio, magister equitum, of aiming at the throne. It is uncertain whether he was a civil or a military official.

390. FLAVIUS VICTORINUS

V 1658

Italy

Aquileia

P

X B(ene) m(erenti) Flavio Victorino v(iro) p(erfectissimo) comiti et Perelliae Romanae natione Itali cives Aquileienses Flavii Victorinus Romana et Celsus patribus dulcissimis fecerunt corpora deposita die III idus Iulias X.

It is uncertain whether Flavius Victorinus, vir perfectissimus comes, was a civil or military official.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Herodian III 8 5
2. SHA Sev. Alex. LVIII 4
3. M.R. Alföldi, 'Zu den Militärreformen des Kaisers Gallienus', Vorträge des 3 Internationalen Limes-Kongresses in Rheinfelden, 1959, pp 13-18
4. E. Ritterling, 'Zum römischen Heerwesen des ausgehenden dritten Jahrhunderts', Festschr. zu O. Hirschfeld, 1903, pp 345-9
5. However, a statement in the Augustan History leads one to suspect that Probus towards the close of his reign attempted to settle some field army troops in the frontier provinces (SHA Probus XX).
6. Vict. Caes. XXXIII 33-35; XXXVII 5-7
7. Vituladius Laetianus, VII 107 - ILS 537. The last tribunus laticlavus to be mentioned appears to be Publius Balsomius Sabinianus, clarrissimus puer (III 8571).
8. C.W. Keyes, The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire, 1915, pp 34-36
9. M.G. Jarrett, 'An inscription relating to Roman Kirkby Thore', CW₂, LX, 1960, pp 32-36. In this article the author refers to the evidence from Africa. Professor Birley has shown that during the principate some equestrian officers, though only a small proportion of the total number, were younger men in their twenties, being the sons of centurions (RBRA pp 133-53).
10. CI X 32 4-13 (285-94). Under Constantine I decurions were specifically forbidden to enter the army (CI X 32 17, 326). In this light it is significant that the status of primipilaris had also become compulsorily hereditary by 286 (Frag. Vat. 278). Both decurions and primipilares were concerned with the annona militaris during the fourth century.
11. Flavius Martinus, AE 1931 82 (296-305); Salvitius, P. Theod. 4, ls. 1-5 (Jan. 22nd 307)
12. XI 1836 - ILS 1332

13. During the principate, many members of the equestrian class had in fact preferred to seek commissions as centurions, rather than to undertake the normal equestrian militia (RBRA, p 122 & n 65, citing:- IX 951; ILS 2656; 4664; VIII 15872; III 750; ILS 2655; 1332; 2654; 9192: cf. also SHA Pertinax I 5-6). The reason for this is that equestrian officers were 'technically civilians, except when holding specific establishment posts', and if found to be inefficient, could be retired without compensation (RBRA, p 153). The centurionate in contrast offered a permanent career as a professional officer.
14. It seems not unlikely that the post of tribunus angusticlauius disappeared at the same time, since his duties had been primarily administrative. When this did occur, the second equestrian militia will have ceased to exist. In this connection it is interesting to note that no praefecti are listed as commanding cohorts in the Notitia. All such officers are cited as tribuni. There are two possible explanations. It may be that all auxiliary cohorts were now 1,000 strong, which seems unlikely in view of the size of forts such as Carvoran and Castlesteads on Hadrian's Wall (ND Oc XL 44; 49). A more probable explanation is that with the disappearance of the post normally held as the 2nd militia, commanders of auxiliary cohorts 500 strong were now granted brevet tribunates.
15. III 1646; 3469; 6196; 6747; 10406; VIII 2572; XIII 8019
16. Thus a unit of Equites Promoti legionis II Traianae is attested at Tentyra in the Thebaid in 302 under its own commander, the praepositus Macrobius (P. Grenf. & Hunt II 74). It is highly probable that the detachments of V Macedonica and XIII Gemina listed by the Notitia as garrisoned in Egypt were originally brought to this province under Diocletian (ND Or XXVIII 14; 15). The same could also be true of the vexillations of III Gallica and I Illyricorum attested as quartered in Egypt during the period 315-23 (ILS 8882; AE 1900 29).
17. H. Petersen has shown that frontier provinces in which legions were stationed could still receive senatorial governors up to the end of the third century. He cites examples from Syria Coele, Syria Phoenice, Moesia Inferior, Pannonia Inferior and Numidia ('Senatorial and Equestrian Governors in the Third Century AD', JRS, XLV, 1955, pp 47-57). In this event it seems that the troops quartered in these provinces will have had a separate commander, who perhaps was in charge of the garrisons of a number of provinces. Thus Probus, immediately prior to his accession in 276, controlled the troops stationed in Egypt and Syria (Zos. I 54 I). In contrast, it seems probable that the equestrian praesides were in charge of the troops quartered within their provinces, since their names are often recorded on building inscriptions from forts.

18. 303 Aurelius Ianuarius Pannonia Secunda Savia (?) III 10981
303-5 Antiochus Augusta Euphratensis Anal. Boll.,
XIV, 1895,
p.376
293-305 Aurelius Firminianus Scythia III 764

However, J.F. Gilliam has recently drawn attention to two duces attested in Egypt during the period 240-242 (cf. J.F. Gilliam, 'Egyptian "duces" under Gordian', Chronique d'Egypte, XXVI, 1961, pp 386-92). These were military officials who held the high status of viri perfectissimi. Their appearance in Egypt, whose administration was always more developed and elaborate than that of other provinces should be interpreted as symptomatic of a growing tendency to multiply the number of officials, thereby reducing their powers.

19. Zos. II 33 3; Lydus, De. Mag. II 10. It is likely that posts as regional magistri, e.g. in Gaul, Illyricum, & the east, developed from regional praetorian prefectures.
20. It is worth noting that during the fourth century in Mauretania, Isauria and sometimes in Tripolitana, the civil and military powers were united in the hands of one governor. It is significant that few troops were quartered in these provinces, and they do not seem to have been of the mobile type which could be drafted into the field army (ND Or XXIX; Oc XXX; XXXI).
21. AE 1922 72.
22. It is noticeable that all the units of barbarian auxilia are listed as palatini in the Notitia. There are no auxilia comitatensia. This is because barbarian troops were highly prized, and hence granted a higher status. In addition, they probably needed to feel a closer, more personal attachment to the emperor. Hence it is significant that the first recruitment of barbarians on a large scale into the field army should coincide with the earliest reference to the palatini.

THE PROTECTORES

1. CAH XII pp 266f; 724-5. The aureus under Antoninus Pius was worth 25 denarii. In 244-5 it was worth 60 denarii, and was itself smaller in weight. Legionary pay was 375 denarii under Commodus, and 750 under Caracalla. The depreciation of the coinage was only accelerated as the third century progressed. Prices in Egypt after 280 mounted from 14 to 20 times their original level.
2. Hieron. 'Contra Iohannem Hierosol.' XIX - Migne L. XXIII, p. 386: Finge aliquem tribuniciae potestatis suo vitio regradatum per singula militiae equestris officia ad tironis vocabulum devolutum, numquid ex tribuno statim fit tiro? Non, sed ante primicerius, deinde senator, ducenarius, centenarius, biarchus, circitor, eques, deinde tiro.
3. CT VII 21 1: Ferri non potest, in titulo militaris laudis inreperere eos qui nec aciem viderint, nec signa perspexerint, nec arma tractaverint. Ideoque si qui ex protectoribus, vel^{ex praepositis} vel[^] ex tribunis epistulas reportaverint, non habebant privilegium, quod merentur qui ordine militiae sub armorum labore decurso ad hunc honorem pervenerint.
4. CT VI 24 9: Devotissimos protectores, qui armatam militiam subeuntes non solum defendendi corporis sui, verum etiam protegendi lateris nostri sollicitudinem patiuntur (unde etiam protectorum nomen sortiti sunt) - - .
5. SHA Caracall. V 8: Inde cum in Asiam traiceret, naufragii periculum adiit antemna fracta, ita ut in scapham cum protectoribus descenderet.
Ibid. VII 1: Occisus est autem in medio itinere inter Carrhas et Edessam, cum levandae vesicae gratia ex equo descendisset atque inter protectores suos, coniuratos caedis, ageret.
Ibid. Maximin. XIV 4: (following the proclamation of the elder Gordian) Inde propere Carthaginem venit cum pompa regali et protectoribus et fascibus laureatis.
6. Vitalianus, 260-8; Aurelius Victor, 263; Valerius Marcellinus, 267.
7. XIV 5334, Italy, Ostia, 262: Invicto Gallieno exsuperan[tissimo] Augusto protectori Imperii Romani omniumque salu[tis auctori ?] universi cives Ostienses decenni voti compot[es].
VI 31378 = ILS 549, Rome: [.....] domini n(ostri) Gallieni Invicti Aug(usti) qua universum orbem suum defendit ac protegit.
EE VIII 759, Italy, Rotili Pioni, (very fragmented): 1.8, prot[ectori ?].

8. e.g. Caracalla, Severus Alexander, Maximinus, Gordian III, Aemilianus, Probus, Carinus, Numerian.
9. Vict. Caes, XXIX 2
10. M. & S. V pt. I, pp 91, 102, 103, 114, 115; pt. II p 339.
11. XIII 3679; RBRA pp 58-63
12. M. & S. V pt. I, pp 69, 80, 85, 88, 89 etc.
13. M.R. Alföldi, 'Zu den Militärreformen des Kaisers Gallienus', Vorträge des 3 Internationalen Limes-Kongresses in Rheinfelden, 1959, pp 13 - 18. M. & S. V pt. I, p 39: 'Gallienus cum exer(citu) suo', c. 256.
14. M. & S. V pt. I, pp 136-8, 141, 162.
15. Flavius Concordius; Aurelius Faustus; Flavius Gaudentius; Aurelius Valerius.
16. Const. Porphy. De Cerem. I 86 - Migne Gr. CXII 705
17. Aurelius Severus, VI 3238 - ILS 2208; Herodes, IGR I 1481
18. A. von Domaszewski, Die Religion des römischen Heeres, 1895, pp 91-4. According to Domaszewski, the hastilarii of the Equites Singulares and the speculatores of the praetorian guard, each an elite cavalry force, were re-named tectores about the mid-third century. He points out that the number of hastilarii in a turma of Equites Singulares recorded on an inscription of 197 is three (cf. VI 224). This is the same as the number of tectores recorded on a dedication of 250 (cf. VI 31156 - ILS 2190). This, however, does not in itself afford conclusive proof. Again, although tectores are attested in connection with the praetorian cohorts (cf. VI 2256 - ILS 2090; VI 2773), as well as the Equites Singulares, they apparently existed in other units also (cf. Milites Mattiaci, XIII 11803 - ILS 9183).
19. A. Alföldi, CAH, XII, p 219.
20. CAH Plates, V, p 197a; PIR² II 1499; cf. A. Alföldi, 'Die Vorherrschaft der Pannonier im Römerreiche und die Reaktion des Hellenentums unter Gallienus', 25 Jahre, Röm.-Germ. Komm., 1930, pp 11 - 51.
21. Lact. De Mort. Pers. XXI; Eutrop. IX 26; Vict. Caes. XXIX 2-4; AM XV 5 18.
22. Tac. Germania, XIV: Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse: illum defendere,

- tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est: principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe.
23. AM XV 12 60: -- comitesque eius ducenti numero et tres amici iunctissimi, flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere, vel pro rege non mori, si ita tulerit casus, tradidere se vincendos.
 24. Tac. Annals, XII 30: Ceterum ad classem in Danuvio opperientem perfugit; secuti mox clientes et acceptis agris in Pannonia locati sunt.
 25. M. Bang, Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantins I, 1906, pp 63 - 75, citing VI 4337; 4339; 4341-5; 8803; 8808; 8810; 8811: & Suetonius, VI 34 1; VII 12 2.
 26. SHA Caracall. VI 7
 27. Herodian, VIII 8 7
 28. Vict. Epit. XXXIII I: Gallienus quidem in loco Cornelii filii sui Salonianum, alterum filium, subrogavit, amori diverso pellicum deditus Saloninae coniugis et concubinae, quam per pactionem concessa parte Superioris Pannoniae a patre, Marcomannorum rege, matrimonii specie susceperat Pipam nomine. cf. Vict. Caes. XXXIII 6; SHA Gall. XXI 3
 29. ND OC XXXIV 24. D. Van Berchem, 'Les Marcomans au service de l'empire', Carnuntina III, 1956, pp 12-16.
 30. Syncellus, ed. Bonn, p 717.
 31. Petr. Patr. in Dio, ed. Boiss., III p 745, no 171.
 32. Hieron. Chron. 2289.
 33. Dio, LXXI II; SHA Marcus, XXII 2; XXIV 3.
 34. SHA Gall. VII 2: Erat in Gallieno subitae virtutis audacia, nam aliquando iniuriis graviter movebatus.
 35. SHA Gall. IV 4; Trig. Tyr. III 5; Zonar. XII 24
 36. Petr. Patr. in Dio, ed. Boissevain, p 743, no 165.
 37. Vict. Caes. XXXIII 28; Vict. Epit. XXXIV 2; SHA Gall. XV I.
 38. M. & S. V pt.I, pp 97, 131, 133, 172 & 181.
 39. Aurelius Sabinianus; Anon, III 3126.
 40. AE 1936 53, 54, 57; AE 1934 193.

41. XII 2228 = ILS 569.
42. R. Cagnat, L'Armée romaine d'Afrique, 1912, pp 62-5.
43. Libyca, I, 1953, pp 181-7.
44. M. & S. V pt. I, p 93.
45. AE 1944 85, June 30th 268 AD: Aurelius Frontinus, praefectus legionis II Adiutricis Claudianae.
46. Dobson I, pp 75-6.
47. OGIS 612.
48. PSI V 461, l. 32.
49. Frag. Vat. 278 (286): Idem Aurelio Zoilo. [Cum] adfirmes patrem tuum donationes perfectas in te contulisse et supref[er]mis iudiciis eas non revocasse, poteris iure constituto, praesertim cum honor[is] primipilari sis adstrictus, securo animo ea quae donata sunt possidere.
cf. Dobson I, p 77, where the legal evidence for the development of the primipilate during the third and fourth centuries is listed.
50. XII 2228 = ILS 569 Gallia Narbonensis Gratianopolis 269
Imp(eratori) Caesar[is] M(arco) Aur(elio) Claudio pio felici
invicto Aug(usto) Germanico Max(imo) p(ontifici) m(aximo)
trib(un)o potestatis II co(n)s(uli) patri patriae proc(onsuli)
vexillationes adque equites itemque praepositi et ducenar(ii)
protect(ores) tendentes in Narb(onensi) prov(incia) sub cura
Iul(ii) Placidiani v(iri) p(erfectissimi) praefect(i) vigil(um)
devoti numini maiestatiq(ue) eius.
51. III 10492 = AE 1944 85.
52. Ges. Schr. VI p 276, n 4.
53. Unterg. II pp 30-2; Grosse, pp 116-7.
54. Discipline in the fourth century army was often harsh, cf. Grosse, pp 236-7.
55. Veget. II 8: Erant etiam centuriones, qui singulas centurias curabant; qui nunc centenarii nominantur.
II 13: Centuriones insuper, qui nunc centenarii vocantur, - - .
56. Annibertus, XIII 960; Emeterius, XIII 8331; Flavius Sebentius, IRT 875.

57. Flavius Messius, AE 1890 150.
58. Saturninus, V 8771; Therius, P. Oxy. X 1253; cf. CI I 27 2.
59. L. Leschi, 'Le Centenarium d'Aqua Viva près de M'Doukal', Rev. Afr. LXXXVII, 1943, pp 5-22.
60. A. Passerini, Le Coorti Pretorie, 1939, pp 89 ff; Dobson I, pp 323-5.
61. Veget. II 8.
62. T. Wegeleben, Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen, Berlin dissertation, 1913, pp 23-36.
63. Ibid. pp 36-50.
64. Veget. II 8: Item primus hastatus duas centurias, id est CC homines, ducebat in acie securda, quem nunc ducenarium vocant.
65. cf. n. 50.
66. Vegetius's account of how many men each centurion of the first cohort commanded seems rather confusing (cf. II 8). According to this, the primus pilus commanded 400, the hastatus prior 200, the princeps posterior 150, the hastatus posterior 150, and the triarius prior 100. How many men the princeps prior commanded is not stated. This account seems to be anachronistic, since the post of triarius in the first cohort is not attested during the principate (cf. VIII 18072: I.A. Richmond, 'The Agricolaean legionary fortress at Inchtuthil', Vorträge des 3 Internationalen Limes-Kongresses in Rheinfelden, 1959, pp 152-5). It would be simpler to understand, if there were five centurions in the first cohort of a legion under the principate, each in command of 200 men.
- It is possible that Vegetius may have confused the number of legionaries under each centurion of the first cohort with the capita which the equivalent grades were accustomed to receive in the later empire. cf. CI I 27 2, 22; 25; 28; 31; 34 (534)
- Adessori uno annonae VIII capita IIII
Primicerio uno annonae V capita II
Numerario uno annonae IIII capita II
Ducenariis quattuor ad annonas IIIS, fiunt annonae XIII, et ad capitum IS, fiunt capita VI
Centenariis sex ad annonas IIS, fiunt annonae XV, et ad capitum I, fiunt capita VI.
67. Dobson I, pp 183, 287, 297.

68. A. Stein, Der römische Ritterstand, 1927, p 137.
69. A. Stein, op. cit., p 141, citing XI 5992; X 5064 = ILS 2667
70. VI 3558 = ILS 2669.
71. Herodian III 8 5.
72. A. Stein, op. cit., pp 46-7.
73. VIII 21039.
74. VI 1110 cf. n 114.
75. Aurelius Processanus; Flavius Viator.
76. Corp. Pap. Rain. 39, 1. 3.
77. AE 1931 82; P. Lond. 447.
78. VIII 20996 = ILS 1356.
79. Dobson 533.
80. P. Oxy. XVII 2130, ls. 15-17; Corp. Pap. Herm. 119, Verso, nos. 3 & 5.
81. cf. n 49.
82. III 10406 (287); III 1646 (284-92); VIII 2572 (289-93).
83. P.A. Brunt, 'Pay and Superannuation in the Roman Army', BSR, XVIII, 1950, pp 50-71.
84. Brunt op. cit. pp 36-50.
85. V 1721, ls. 10-11: -- Hic ducenae dignitate inter lectos meruerat viros Huic contubernales sui id contra votum posuerunt --.
- A
86. Flavius Abinnaeus; Flavius Gaudentius.
87. Ruinart, pp 302-4.
88. Aelius Aelianus, ducenarius ex protectoribus.
89. cf. Section (xi), The status of protectores.
90. Grosse, pp 120-4.
91. cf. n 2.

92. Laitila, ducenarius primicerius, 306, AE 1933 185; Flavius Victor, ducenarius princeps stabuli dominici, V 1880.
93. cf. n 2.
94. Grosse pp 119-20.
95. III 7494 = ILS 770
96. Bacchus, Anal. Boll., XIV, 1895, p 376.
97. In my view it is likely that the post of senator is to be equated with that of decemprimus in the scholae of protectores domestici (cf. CT VI 24 8; 9). Thus the clarissimate was conferred on primicerii and decemprimi serving in the scholae domesticorum, and then on the primicerii and decemprimi in the protectores (cf. n 186 and 187). The post of senator ranked after that of primicerius in the normal unit (cf. n 2). The title probably originated as a nickname for the most senior officer next to the primicerius.
98. Babes; Bennafer; Besas; Conon; Flavius Fandigilus; Marcus; Flavius Sanctus.
99. Q. Aemilius Pudens, AE 1949 38: adlecto in comitatu Imp(eratoris) Comodi.
100. cf. n 5.
101. M. Durry, Les Cohortes prétoriennes, 1938, p 26.
102. Dobson I, pp 317-19, citing --
- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| M. Oclatinus Adventus | praetorian prefect | <u>PIR</u> ^I II 9 |
| Ulpus Iulianus | " " | " III 155 |
| Iulianus Nestor | " " | " I 66 |
| Petronius Taurus Volusianus | " " | <u>ILS</u> 1332 |
| M. Aquilius Felix | 3rd echelon <u>duc. proc.</u> | " 1387 |
| P. Vibius Marianus | 2nd " " " | " 1361 |
| C. Titius Similis | 1st " " " | " 1372 |
| Ti. Claudius Demetrius | centenarian proc. | " 6762 |
| Aurelius Flavones Rufinus | urban tribune | " 8871 |
| P. Aelius Marcellus | legionary prefect | III 7795 |
| C. Sulgius Caecilianus | " " | <u>ILS</u> 2764 |
| M. Aurelius Priscus | <u>primus pilus</u> | " 9074 |
| Q. Geminus Sabinus | " " | <u>AE</u> 1923 28 |
| L. Trebonius Sossianus | " " | <u>ILS</u> 4287 |
103. Rangord. pp 104-5.
104. Dio, LXXIX 14, 15

105. Vict. Caes. XXXIX 44-5; ND Or XI II; Oc IX 9.
106. Veget. II 19. In Professor Birley's view, Severus towards the close of his reign reduced the number of centurions on the establishment of each legion, in order to provide a larger reserve of centuriones supernumerarii and deputati (cf. E. Birley, 'The Epigraphy of the Roman Army', Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine, 1952, p. 234).
107. Gothofredus's note to CT VI 30 15, citing VI 30 17 & VI 32 2.
108. VI 1110 cf. n 114.
109. V 8278 = ILS 2333 Italy Aquileia
Iulius centurio supernumerarius leg(ionis) XI Claudia
stip(endiorum) XXIIII, annor(um) circiter XXXX; tiro probitus
ann(orum) XVI, postea profecit disce(n)s equitum ordine factus
mag(ister) equitum positus hic.
110. Rangord. p 49.
111. E. Ritterling, 'Zum römischen Heerwesen des ausgehenden dritten Jahrhunderts', Festschrift für O. Hirschfeld, 1903, pp 348-9.
112. EE IV p 240
113. Mucianus may have set up this inscription (III 7326) at Thessalonica, an important road junction and port, while on a mission.
114. VI 1110 Rome 256-8
[Corneliae Saloninae sanctissimae Augustae coniugi Imp(eratoris)
P(ublilii) Lic(inii)] Galli[eni Aug(usti) matri P(ublilii) Lic(inii)
Corn(elii) Val]eriani nobil[issimi Cae]saris [centuriones]
deputati et supernume[rarii et f]rumentari(i) cum [.....]
et Iusto trib(unis) (duo) et Aurelio [..... principe pe]regrinorum
et Aurelio [... sub principe] peregrinorum [n(umini) m(aiestatique)
eius dica]tissimi [curante]do v(iro) e(gregio) ex kanal(iclaro).
115. Rangord. p 137, n 6; Durry, op. cit. p 144.
116. ND Or XV 6; 7; Oc XIII 6; 7.
117. ND Or XI 4-10; Oc IX 4-8.
118. ND Or XI 11; IX 9; Or XVIII 6.
119. AM XXV 5 4: -- domesticorum ordinis primus --
" " 10 9; -- et Vitalianus domesticorum consortio iungitur, --
CT XII 1 38: -- domesticorum seu protectorum se consortio copularunt, --
cf. consortium Senatus, CT XII 1 73; 74; consortium comitum,
AM XXVI 6 1.

- 120. ND OR XV 5; Oc XIII 5.
- 121. AM XIV 10 8.
- 122. Addeus, Barbatio, Dagalaifus, Lucillianus, Richomeres, Stilicho.
- 123. Iovianus, ^uLecadius, Valentinus, Valerianus.
- 124. CI XII 20 3.
- 125. CT VI 24 1 (362): Scias senum capitum domesticis per singulas guasguas scholas, quinquagenis iussis in praesenti esse, iuxta morem debere praestari, --
- 126. ND Or XV 8: et deputati eorum; Oc XIII 8: deputati eorum.
- 127. CT VII 8 4; VIII 7 8.
- 128. M. Aurelius Decimus, praeses provinciae Numidiae 283-4: VIII 2529 = ILS 2291; 2530; 2678; 4578 = ILS 3091; 7002 = ILS 607; 18288.
- 129. Vict. Caes. XXXIX 1: -- ducum consilio tribunorumque Valerius Diocletianus domesticos regens ob sapientiam deligitur, --
SHA Car. XIII 1: -- domesticos tunc regens, --
Zonar. XII 31: ἄλλοι δὲ κομῆτα δομεστικῶν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασί. δομεστικούς δὲ τινὲς τοὺς ἱππεῖς νομιζοῦσι.
- 130. CT XII 1 38.
- 131. Zos. I 40 1; SHA Aurelian XVIII 1.
- 132. cf. n 114.
- 133. Vict. Caes. XXXIX 47.
- 134. VI 2759 = ILS 2045; VI 32943 = ILS 2782.
- 135. Lact. De Mort. Pers. XIX; Anal. Boll. XIV, 1895, p 376.
- 136. CT XII 1 38.
- 137. AM XV 6 1; XIV 9 1; Vict. Caes. XLI 26. cf. Ursicinus would obviously have required educated staff officers to help him interpret the cryptic message which he received at Amida regarding the direction of Sapor's attack (cf. AM XVIII 6 17-19).
- 138. AM XV 5 22.

139. CT VI 24 2.
140. CT VI 24 6.
141. CT VI 24 7; 8.
142. CT VI 24 5.
143. Flavius Marcus, Flavius Memorius, Valerius Thiumpo. Others, however, may have served longer, cf. Flavius Gabso, Flavius Valens.
144. Flavius Iovianus.
145. Eareter, Hariulfus.
146. Flavius Marcus, Flavius Memorius.
147. CT VI 24 11: -- ut primicerius guidem, post acceptum tribunatum, --
" VI 25 1: Qui ex devotissimis domesticorum scholis praepositi
labarum, nostro iudicio, et stipendiorum sudoribus,
promoventur, -- .
148. AM XVI 10 21: -- Ursicinum ad se venire praecepit. -- in
orientem cum magisterii remittitur potestate,
profectis e consortio nostro ad regendos milites
natu maioribus, adolescentes eum sequi iubemur,
quicquid pro re publica mandaverit impleturi.
149. Flavius Gabso, the elder Gratian, Flavius Memorius, Flavius Valens, Flavius Magnus Magnentius.
150. Traianus Mucianus, Valerius Thiumpo, Aurelius Firminus.
151. ND Or XV 3; 4; Oc XIII 3; 4. H.P. L'Orange & A. von Gerkan,
Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens, 1939,
Tafel 12 a.
152. CT VI 24 5; AM XV 5 22.
153. CT VI 24 6.
154. CT VI 24 8.
155. AM XIV 7 9: -- adiumenta paulatim illi subtraxit, sollicitari
se simulans ne, uti est militare otium fere
tumultuosum, in eius perniciem conspiraret,
solisque scholis iussit esse contentum palatinis
et protectorum, -- .
156. AM XXI 16 20.

157. CT VII 4 27: Nullus protectorum vel domesticorum cui aut tuitio locorum, aut quaedam longior est commissa necessitas, aut certe iudicium nostrorum praeceptis iussus obtemperat, - - .
158. AM XIV 10 2.
159. AM XXVI 5 14.
160. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the task of arresting and escorting prisoners of note was frequently assigned to centurions during the principate. cf. Tac. Ann. VI 14: Sane is repertus apud fretum Siciliae retractusque per centurionem nullas probabilis causas longinquae peregrinationis adferebat: - - .
Ibid. XI 32: Ceteris passim dilabentibus adfuere centuriones, inditaeque sunt vincla, ut quis reperiebatur in publico aut per latebras.
Acts of the Apostles, XXXIII 17; 23; XXXIV 23; XXXVII 1: - -
the conduct of St. Paul from Jerusalem to Caesarea, and thence to Rome.
Chonodomarius, an Alamannic prince captured by the Caesar Julian in 357, was taken to the castra peregrina at Rome, where he later died of old age (cf. AM XVI 12 66). The protectores domestici were normally assigned the duty of arresting and escorting state prisoners in the fourth century, and this is an additional reason for thinking that they developed from the centuriones deputati, whose headquarters were at the castra peregrina (cf. VI 1110).
161. AM XXIX 3 8: In hoc negotio protectores, ad exhibendas missi personas, - - .
162. AM XIV 7 12: - - praefecti custodiam protectoribus mandaverat fidis.
163. AM XIV 7 19: - exindeque per protectores retractum, artissime tenebatur.
164. AM XIV 11 19: - - et Barbatio repente apparuit comes, qui sub eo domesticis praefuit, cum Apodemio agente in rebus, milites ducens, quos beneficiis suis oppigneratos elegerat Imperator, certus nec praemiis nec miseratione ulla posse deflecti.
165. AM XV 3 10.
166. CT IX 27 3.
167. AM XXIX 5 7.

168. Historia Monachorum, XXI 9; cf. C. Jullian, De protectoribus et domesticis Augustorum, 1883, p 28, ns. 2, 3 & 8.
169. AM XVIII 7 6: - - tribuni cum protectoribus missi, citerioris ripae Euphratis castellis et praeacutis sudibus omnique praesidiorum genere communibant, tormenta, qua parum erat voraginosum, locis opportunis aptantes.
170. CT VII 4 27.
171. AE 1948 136.
172. CT VII 18 10.
173. CT VIII 5 30.
174. CT VII 16 3.
175. CT IV 13 2.
176. CT VII 4 10.
177. Servantus, Terentius, Aquilinus & Tauriscus.
178. CT VIII 7 4.
179. III 6155.
180. ILS 544.
181. CT VIII 4 3: Primpilaribus, post emeritam militiam, perfectissimatus, vel ducenae, vel centenae, vel egregiatus dari dignitas potest.
cf. also CT X 7 1.
182. Aelius Aelianus, Aurelius Processanus, Aurelius Valerius, M. Aurelius Victor.
183. Flavius Abinnaeus, Flavius Gaudentius.
184. Flavius Concordius, Flavius Dalmatius.
185. AM XXI 16 2; ILS 770.
186. CT VI 24 7 (414); VI 24 8 (416); VI 24 10 (427).
187. Flavius Vitalis, XI 830; CT VI 24 9, 416.
188. Lact. De Mort. Pers. XXI; Eutrop. IX 26; Vict. Caes. XXXIX 2-4; AM XV 5 18.

189. CT VIII 7 16.
190. Const. Porphy. De Cerem. 1 86.
191. Grosse, p 143 n 1.
192. CT VI 24 3.
193. CT VII 1 7; VII 20 12; VII 21 1; 3; 4; VIII 7 3.
194. Aelius Aelianus, Aurelius Firminus, M. Aurelius Valerius.
195. CL X 48 2 (286-305).
196. Brigetio Table, AE 1937 323 (311).
197. CT VII 20 4.
198. CT VII 20 8.
199. CT VII 20 5.
200. Florius Baudio, Claudius Herculanus, Valerius Proclianus, Valerius Pusintulus, Aurelius Victor.
201. Symmach. III 67: Huiusmodi quippe veteranis praerogativa debetur, ut illis protectorum tamquam pretium longi laboris accedat.
CT VII 1 7: Plures de diversis numeris ante impleta stipendia, ad indebitos honores suffragiorum ambitione perveniunt. Sive igitur eos purpuram adorasse constabit, sive excepisse aliquas dignitates, eo quem ceperint honore solvantur, - - -
CT VII 20 5: Providendum est, ne veterani protectoria dignitate cumulati, - - .
CT XIII 1 7: Qui in sudore bellandi stipendiorum gradus usque ad protectores meruerunt, - - .
CT XIII 1 14: Eos quos peractae militiae labor decurso stipendiorum ordine, vel protectoris honore cumulavit, - - .
202. CT VII 21 1.
203. CT VIII 7 4.
204. This is especially characteristic of the Danubian ducates: cf. Or XXXIX 37; XL 38; XLI 41; XLII 45; Oc XXXII 61; XXXIII 67; XXXIV 48.
205. e.g. Oc XXXV 36; XXXVI 7; XXXVII 31; XL 58; XLI 27.

206. e.g. Or XXXIX 37: Principem de eodem officio, qui completa militia, adorat protector.
Or XXVIII 48: Principem, qui de scola agentum in rebus ducenarius adorata clementia principali cum insignibus exit.
207. e.g. ND Or XXXI 6; XXV 7.
208. CT X 22 3.
209. CT VI 35 3; 14.
210. CT VIII 7 8; 9.
211. CT VIII 1 13.
212. CT VIII 7 16.
213. Flavius Vitalis, XI 830.
214. CI X 48 2, 286-305.
215. Paulinus of Nola, Ep. XXV 8: Deinde in hac militia soletis in votis habere hanc officii promotionem, ut protectores efficiamini.
Symmach. Ep. III 67 (cf. n 201).
216. CT VII 21 2; cf. also CT VI 24 6, 395.
217. CT VI 24 4 - CI XII 17 1, 387.
218. CT VI 24 9.
219. CT VII 20 4.
220. CT VII 4 10.
221. CT VII 4 27.
222. CI X 48 2, 286-305: Certis dignitatibus data a nobis indulgentia est munerum civilium et personalium, id est his, qui aut ex protectoribus sunt aut ex praepositis. Ii ergo ad munera personalia aut civilia non vocabuntur.
223. CT VII 21 2.
224. CT VII 22 5.
225. CT VII 21 3.
226. CT. VII 20 5.
227. CT VII 20 8.

- 228. CT XIII 1 7.
- 229. CT XIII 1 14.
- 230. CT VI 24 3.
- 231. CT VII 1 7.
- 232. CT VIII 1 13.
- 233. CT VII 20 12.
- 234. CT VIII 7 2.
- 235. CT VIII 7 3.
- 236. CT VIII 7 4.
- 237. CT XII 1 38.
- 238. CT XII 1 153.
- 239. CT VI 24 8.
- 240. CT VI 24 9.
- 241. CT VI 24 11.
- 242. CT VI 24 1.
- 243. CT VI 24 2.

THE PRAEPOSITI

1. a) praepositus cohortis: cf. Rangord. p 108, citing III 1918; 8484; 14370; VII 371; XII 6472; 6475.
- b) praepositus numeri: cf. ibid. p 108, citing VIII 2494; 2496; 9962; 18007; 18008.
- c) praepositus kampi: cf. ibid. p 53, citing III 5938.
2. III 1919; XI 1836.
3. Rangord. p 108, citing numerous examples.
4. III 14387; VI 1408; VIII 7978 - ILS 1147; X 5398; XIII 1802.
5. VI 1638; VI 31856; ILS 2158; ILS 8851; AE 1956 124.
6. Rangord. p 117, citing II 484; X 5829; X 6657; AE 1903 368.
7. XII 2228 - ILS 569.
8. Dio III 22 4.
9. E. Birley, 'Noricum, Britain & the Roman Army', Festschr. f. R. Egger, 1952, I, p 184.
10. cf. AM XXIX 6 13.
11. J.R. Hepworth, *The infantry units of the fourth century field army*, unpublished Durham University B.A. dissertation, 1957, pp 37 ff.
12. E. Birley, loc. cit., citing II 3272.
13. e.g. ILS 2287; 2480; 9115; 9117.
14. VIII 7978 - ILS 1147.
15. E. Birley, loc. cit., citing VII 212, cf. BE IX p 558.
16. ibid., citing VII 964.
17. RBRA dust cover
18. VI 1645 - ILS 2773
19. XI 1836 - ILS 1332.

20. M. & S. V pt. I pp 69; 80; 85; 88; 89; 98; 101.
21. ibid. pp 91-7.
22. P. Oxy. I 43 Recto.
23. X 5829 = ILS 2726.
- ~~24. VIII 2482 = 17976 = ILS 571.~~
25. RBRA loc. cit.
26. VIII 8440 = ILS 4195.
27. Sometimes the Seniores and Iuniores of a unit are paired in the field army lists of the Notitia, cf. ND Oc V 164-7; 171-2; 179-80; 198-9; 201-4; 215-6; 221-2.
28. Veget. II 12: Reliquae cohortes, prout principi placuisset, a tribunis vel a praepositis regebantur.
CT VII 20 10 (369): - - identidem si praepositus Rom(anae) legionis, vel cohortis gesserit tribunatum, - - -
29. Flavius Aper, AE 1936 53; 57; cf. also Valerius Statilius Castus, ILS 8870.
30. Vitalianus.
31. III 1895 & p 2328¹¹⁹; V 3329 = ILS 544; P. Oxy. XVII 2130; PIR III S 350.
32. AE 1936 53; 57.
33. VI 1645 = ILS 2773; XI 1836 = ILS 1332.
34. C.W. Keyes, The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire, 1915, p 46.
35. Frag. Vat. 278.
36. Rangord. p 183, citing II 1120; VI 1377; AE 1903 368.
37. ILS 9200; III 1919 = ILS 2770; cf. Pflaum 196
38. Rangord. p 183, citing II 2634; 4114; III 10471; VI 1408; 1450; VIII 9365.
39. AE 1929 158.
40. VI 1645 = ILS 2773; XIII 8272; ILS 9203.

41. III 99 = ILS 2771.
42. J.F. Gilliam, 'The Dux Ripae at Dura', Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, LXXII, 1941, pp 157-75.
43. Aurelius Augustianus 260-8 AE 1934 193
Aurelius Marcellinus 265 V 3329 = ILS 544
M. Cornelius Octavianus 260 PIR² II C 1408
44. Antiochus 303-5 Augusta Euphratensis Anal. Boll.
XIV, 1895,
p 376
Aurelius Ianuarius 303 Pannonia Secunda Savia III 10981
Aurelius Firminianus 293-305 Scythia III 764
Aurelius Maximinus 324-37 Aegypt. Thebaid. utr. Lib. AE 1934 7; 8
Valerius Rometalca " " " " " " III 12073
Aurelius Senecio 310 Scythia III 5565 = ILS
664
Ursacius 316-20 Africa St. Optatus,
edit. Dupin,
p 191
Valens 317 - Anon. Vales.
1 5 17; Petr.
Patr. Frg. 13
45. T. Clementius Silvinus, III 3424; Iunius Olympus, IGR III 1286;
cf. Keyes, op. cit. p 8; RE Suppl. VIII 602-5 (Ensslin)
46. XII 2228 = ILS 569.
47. E. Ritterling, 'Zum römischen Heerwesen des ausgehenden dritten
Jahrhunderts', Festschr. für O. Hirschfeld, 1903, pp 345-9.
48. EE IX 1135, 238-44; VIII 9045 = ILS 2766, 255; VIII 9047 = ILS
2767, 260.
49. P. Grenf. & Hunt II 110.
50. Zonar. XII 24; SHA Trig. Tyr. XI 2; XII 13; Gall. II 4.
51. M. & S. V pt. I, pp 133, 167, 169, 172, 179.
52. Zos. I 43 2; I 52 3; SHA Claud. XI 9.
53. E. Ritterling, op. cit.
54. A. Alföldi, 'Zur Kenntnis der Zeit der römischen Soldatenkaiser',
Festschr. f. Numismatik, XXXVII, 1927, pp 197-212.
55. SHA Probus XX. Constantine I, however, should not be discounted
in this respect. The names of many of the cavalry units in the
frontier provinces show that they were raised by him, and Lydus

states that he transferred many Danubian units to the east (cf. Lyd. De Mag. III 31).

56. ND Oc XXVIII 16; 17. Three commanders of cavalry units under the dux Britanniarum are called praefecti, but this is clearly an anachronism (cf. ND Oc XL 19-21).
57. BGU I 316.
58. C.W. Keyes, op. cit. pp 34-7.
59. Aurelius Firminus; Valerius Thiumpo.
60. ND Or XL 30-5.
61. H. Lehner, 'Zu den römischen Zollstationen im Rheinlande', Germania, XVI, 1932, pp 104-8.
62. J.F. Gilliam, op. cit. pp 174-5.
63. R.G. Goodchild & J.B. Ward Perkins, 'The Limes Tripolitanus in the light of recent discoveries', JRS XXXIX, 1949, pp 81-95.
64. VIII 20996 = ILS 1356 (cf. Pflaum 316); ND Oc XXX 14.
65. AE 1926 145; VIII 9381 = 11343.
66. SHA Sev. Alex. LVIII 4.
67. ND Or XL 36; Oc XXXIV 26; 27; 37; 40; 41; Oc XXXV 21; 22. A detachment of I Scythica was apparently encamped on an island in the Danube, cf. AE 1950 106.
68. ND Or XXXIX 28; XL 29.
69. ND Oc XXVIII 13-15; 20; 21. Units of Fortenses and Tungrecani are attested among the field army legions of the Notitia, while the Abulci and Exploratores were later drafted into the field army as legiones pseudocomitatenses (cf. ND Or V 45; Oc V 225 = VII 130; V 255 = VII 152; V 148 = VII 6; VII 109; 110).
70. CT VIII 1 10.
71. CT VII 1 8 = CT XII 35 14.
72. ND Oc XXV 21-36; Oc XXX 12-19; Oc XXXI 18-28; 31.
73. C. Courtois, Les Vandales et l'Afrique, 1955, pp 68-91.
74. AE 1950 128.

75. ND Oc XXXI 19.
76. RE XII 2 1501.
77. R.G. Goodchild & J.B. Ward Perkins, op. cit. p 92.
78. J.F. Gilliam, op. cit., p 174.
79. ND Oc XXX 15.
80. ND Oc XXXI 29.
81. ND Oc XXX 19.
82. VIII 9755.
83. L. Leschi, Études d'Épigraphie, d'Archéologie, et d'Histoire Africaines, 1957, p 52; R.G. Goodchild & J.B. Ward Perkins, op. cit. p 89.
84. A number of inscriptions mention centurions commanding numeri; cf. Rangord. p 108, citing III 1149; VIII 9368; 9381; 11343.
85. IRT 886.
86. R.G. Goodchild & J.B. Ward Perkins, op. cit., p 95, citing AM XXVIII 6.
87. The following inscriptions are of interest in this connection: XIII 960; 4139; 4140; 5190. In 269 a burgus was built on the Rhine near Koblenz by the praefectus, Supullinius Amminus (cf. XIII 11975/6).
88. ND Oc XXXIII 62, cf. Grosse p 117, n 9.
89. K. Stehlin, Die spätrömischen Wachttürme am Rhein von Basel bis zum Bodensee, 1957.
90. cf. Iustinianus.
91. cf. Castinus.
92. cf. Flavius Abinnaeus & Salvitius.
93. CT VIII 7 11.
94. Nov. Theod. XXIV - CI I 46 4.
95. CI XII 59 8.
96. Rangord. p 108.

97. ND Or XXXIX 35; XLI 38; 39; XLII 42; 43; Oc XXXII 50-2; 55; 56; etc.
98. CT VII 20 10; cf. Constantianus, AM XXIII 3 9.
99. Unterg. I, pp 591-2; CAH XII, pp 211-12.
100. Grosse pp 207-10.
101. ND Oc XLII 33-44.
102. CT VII 20 10.
103. RE VI 2 1925 ff.
104. Veget. II II.
105. Grosse p 99.
106. ND Or XI 18-39; Oc IX 16-39. It seems doubtful to me that the senator, Attius Insteius Tertullus, attested at the beginning of the fourth century, was in charge of an arms factory (cf. VI 1696).
107. CT VII 20 10; cf. AM XIV 7 18; XV 5 9.
108. AM XXIX 3 4.
109. Grosse, p 107, n 3.
110. CT VI 13 1.
111. CT VI 25 1.
112. CT VII 1 2; VII 1 10; VII 4 1; VII 4 36; VII 9 2; VII 13 18; VII 20 13; XI 18 1; XII 1 113.
113. III 6159 = 7494 = ILS 770; Sammelbuch IV 7425.
114. CT VII 12 1 = CI XII 42 1.
115. CT VII 9 1 (340).
116. CT VII 21 2 (366).
117. CT VII 22 5 (333).

THE TRIBUNI

1. Rangord. p 130, citing VIII 18078.
2. Ibid.
3. RBRA p 144. In Domaszewski's view, the tribunus semestris commanded the legionary cavalry (Rangord. p 48). But municipal worthies were normally appointed direct to this office, without holding a further military post, and in Professor Birley's opinion it seems best to regard this officer merely as holder of a short-service commission.
4. Rangord. p 130 & n 7.
5. Ibid. p 130 & n 5, citing VII 759; AE 1888 173. It is strange that commanders of coh. I and II Tungrorum, both military, should always be termed praefecti.
6. Ibid. p 108.
7. Ibid., citing VIII 9381; 11343 - ILS 2763: cf. also VII 1037 - ILS 2631. Equestrian praefecti also commanded numeri during the third century, cf. ibid., citing III 1149; VIII 9368.
8. Ibid. p 115.
9. L.L. Howe, The Pretorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian, 1942, p 59 n 60, citing the examples of Ulpian, Timesitheus & Ballista acting as regents for young rulers.
10. A. Passerini, Le Coorti Pretorie, 1939, pp 350-6.
11. Howe pp 55-6 & n 56.
12. Ibid. p 56.
13. Ibid. p 58, citing Silvanus and Volusianus under Gallienus, and Successianus and Ballista under Valerian.
14. Ibid. p 61, for a discussion of this problem.
15. Passerini, op. cit.
16. Valerius Alexander, AE 1942-3 81. The Acta S. Marcelli mentions a vice-prefect in Africa in 298 (cf. Ruinart, pp 302-4).
17. Zos. II 32 1.

18. RE VI § 318-9 (Liebenam), citing VI 224; 226; 228.
19. VI 1110, cf. Rangord. p 137.
20. M. & S. V pt. I, p 97: Coh(ortes) praet(oriae) VI p(iae)
VI f(ideles).
" " " " " : Coh(ortes) praet(oriae) VII p(iae)
VII f(ideles).
" " " pp 133; 172; 181: Fidei praet(orianorum)
" " " p 131: C(o)hors tertia praetoria
21. XI 1836 = ILS 1332.
22. III 3126; cf. p 2192 & III 10125; III 8571.
23. XIII 3679 = ILS 563.
24. a. V 748 = ILS 4871. Gallienus is supposed to have written a letter to a certain Venustus, who appears to have been in charge of the frumentarii, cf. SHA Claud. XVII.
b. XIII 8267 b; Dobson 283. The inscription is third century in style and it would appear that Probinus's home was at Cologne, or in that vicinity. Dobson in his discussion points out that the phrase ex tribuno praetoriano is typical of the third century.
25. XII 2228 = ILS 569.
26. Zos. I 50 3.
27. M. Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes, 1938, p 49.
28. VIII 21021.
29. VI 2739 = ILS 2045; VI 2759 = ILS 2782; VI 2787.
30. Vict. Caes. XXXIX 47.
31. Lact. De Mort. Pers. XXIII 2; XXVI 1-3; Vict. Caes. XL 5;
Vict. Epit. XL 2; Eutrop. X 2-3; Zos. II 9 2.
32. Pan. XII 17 1.
33. Durry, op. cit., p 394.
34. Zos. II 9 3.
35. AE 1934 157; cf. M. Durry, op. cit., p 393, n 3.
36. AE 1922 72.
37. VI 1730 = ILS 1277; VI 1731 = ILS 1278.

38. CT VI 13 1.
39. Passio Acaunensium, Anal. Boll. XIV, 1895, p 376.
40. As emperor Diocletian seems to assign the command of important campaigns to subordinates, e.g. Galerius commanded the army which defeated Sapor in 296.
41. CT XVI 10 1; XI 9 1.
42. CT.IX 9 1.
43. CT VI 10 3.
44. VI 32035. The post of primicerius notariorum is of the type which one would expect to have developed from a post on the staff of the praetorian prefect, in that its holder was responsible for the notitia omnium dignitatum et administrationum tam civilium quam militarium (cf. ND Or XVIII; Oc XVI). There were three grades of notarii, firstly the tribunus et notarius serving directly under the primicerius, secondly the other tribuni, and finally the domestici et notarii (cf. CT VI 10 2). Domesticus is an alternative term for princeps during the fourth century (cf. Grosse pp 120 ff.). It appears that the office of domesticus et notarius had developed from that of praetorian centurion. Babut has pointed out that their duties as described by Ammianus are similar to those performed by centurions under the principate (Rev. hist., CXVI, 1914, pp 256 ff.). This explains why Flavius Vitalis could be termed protector et notarius (XI 830). Praetorian centurions had the right to the title of protector during the latter half of the third century (cf. Traianus Mucianus, ILS 9479; Aurelius Processanus, ILS 2778).
45. Lact. De Mort. Pers. XVIII
46. RE IV I 635.
47. Syncell. ed. Bonn., p 725; Chron. Min. I p 229.
48. IGR III 481 = ILS 8870. Seeck believed that the title of comes was not granted to officials after the reign of Severus Alexander, and that it was reintroduced under Constantine (RE IV I 628-30). However, it is unlikely that third century emperors would abandon the institution of the comites when they were regularly leading armies on campaign, and there are a number of fragmentary or undated inscriptions mentioning comites which could well belong to this period (cf. J.A. Crook, Consilium Principis, 1955, p 96 & n 3, citing V 5811; VI 37057; VIII 11810; 16809). In addition an inscription from Rome describes Pomponius Bassus, consul ordinarius in 258 and 271, as comes Augusti (IG XIV 1076).

49. CT VI 10 2. Assuming that the post of primicerius notariorum developed from a praetorian tribunate, there were three grades, the primicerius, the tribune directly under him, and finally the other tribuni et notarii.
50. CI XII 8 2.
51. The Augustan History frequently terms third century officers tribuni (e.g. Aurelian, Aurel. VI 2; Celsus, Trig. Tyr. XXIX 2; Claudius, Claud. XIV 2; Macrianus junior and Quietus, Trig. Tyr. XII 10; Maximinus, Max. V 1; 4-5). This, however, appears to be yet another instance of the Augustan History's use of anachronistic terminology, though it is quite possible that some of these officers held the post of praetorian tribune at some stage in their careers. It seems unlikely that Traianus Mucianus was holding a praetorian tribunate while tribunus Liburnariorum (ILS 9479).
52. Veget. II 7.
53. cf. Epigonus & Eusebius, AM XIV 7 18; XIV 9 4.
54. BGU I 316.
55. CT VII 20 10.
56. Veget. II 12.
57. e.g. VII I 2; VII 1 10; VII 4 1; VII 4 36; VII 13 1; VII 13 18; VII 20 13; XI 18 1; XII 1 113.
58. ND Or XV; Oc XIII.
59. Sozom. IX 8; CI XII 17 3.
60. Zos. II 33 3; Lydus, De Mag. II 10 - III 40.
61. cf. Barbatio.
62. Addeus; Bacurius; Barbatio; Dagalaifus; Excubitor; Latinus; Lucillianus; Mallobaudes; Richomeres; Serenianus; Severus; Flavius Stilicho; Varronianus; Anon, ILS 790 - AE 1953 271.
63. AM XIV 10 8: ' - - ut dextris suis gestantes rem publicam.'
64. CT VI 24 2; 3.
65. CT VI 24 5; XII 1 38.
66. CT XVI 5 42.

67. CI XII 17 3.
68. CT XV II 1. Lucillianus may also have been acting in this capacity, if he is to be identified with the commander of the same name who defended Nisibis in 350.
69. cf. RE IV 1 649, where Seeck cites the examples of Bonifatius, Castinus and Maioranus in the fifth century.
70. AM XX 2 5: ' --, Agilone ad eius locum immodico saltu promotu, --.'
71. Bacurius, dux Palaestinae; Serenianus, dux Phoenices; Mallobaudes, tribunus Armaturarum; Varronianus, tribunus Iovianorum.
72. Bacurius was a prince of the Hiberi, and Mallobaudes and Richomeres were Frankish princes. Latinus was of Alamannic stock, and Stilicho's father was a Vandal. The names Barbatio and Dagalaifus suggest Germanic birth. Lucillianus, Serenianus and Varronianus, however, were Pannonians.
73. CT XII 1 38; ILS 790 = AE 1953 271.
74. CI XII 16 1; cf. ND Or XV; Oc XIII.
75. CT XI 18 1.
76. Agilo; Cerealis; Constantianus; Gintonius Sintula; Stilicho; Valens; Valerianus.
77. AM XIV 10 8.
78. Cerealis; Constantianus; Stilicho; Valens.
79. CT XI 1 29; XI 17 3.
80. CT VIII 5 1-66; VIII 6 1-2.
81. CT VI 13 1 (413).
82. RE IV 1 677-8.
83. CT XI 17 3.
84. CT VI 13 1.
85. CT XI 18 1.
86. CT XI 1 29.

87. V 1880.
88. CT VI 13 1.
89. Passio Acaunensium Martyrum, Anal. Boll., XIV, 1895, p 376. It is recorded that Caracalla (211-17) formed the Equites Extraordinarii, a bodyguard composed of Germans, who retained their national dress and arms. Similarly, Balbinus (238) had a German bodyguard. cf. M. Bang, Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantius I, 1906, pp 75-7.
90. ND Or XI 4-10; Oc IX 4-8.
91. AM XX 8 13; XXXI 10 3.
92. RE II A I, 622, citing Procop. Hist. Arc. XXIV 16; CT XI 18 1; NT XXI; CI XII 29 2
93. CT VII 4 34.
94. CI XII 33 5, 4; Grosse p 96.
95. Grosse p 94, n 10, citing CI IV 65 35, I; Procop. Hist. Arc. XXIV 15; 18-20. cf. also AM XXX I 11.
96. AM XIV 10 8.
97. CT VI 13 1.
98. AM XXI 16 2.
99. CT XI 29 1.
100. Only three definitely attested tribuni vacantes are known, namely Hariobaudes, Marinus and Anon (AM XVI 12 63). However, Abdigildus, Aiadalthes, Mauricius and Memoridus may also have held this rank.
101. AM XIX 11 5.
102. AM XVIII 7 6.
103. AM XV 5 22.
104. SHA Sev. Alex. XV 3; Trig. Tyr. XVIII 11.
105. Veget. III 17. Ammianus on two occasions mentions tribuni vacantes who were killed in battle (cf. AM XVI 12 63; XXXI 13 18).
106. CI XII 8 2.

107. CT VI 18 1.
108. ND Or VI-IX; Oc V-VII.
109. J.R. Hepworth, The infantry units of the fourth century field army, unpublished Durham University B.A. dissertation, 1957, pp 37-47.
110. e.g. Dardano; Flavius Florianus; Gratian; Laniogaisus; Magnentius; Flavius Memorius.
111. Gratian; Magnentius; Flavius Memorius.
112. e.g. Flavius Marcaridus; Valentinian; Anon, VI 37279.
113. Veget. III 12.
114. e.g. Libano, AM XXI 3 3; Lupicinus, AM XXXI 5 9; Bacurius and Cassio, AM XXXI 12 16. Ammianus's disparaging reference to Barbatio, however, shows that he thought a general should be bold in deeds as well as words. cf. AM XVII 6 2: - - 'ignavus sed verbis effusior, alacritate militum vehementer erecta.'
115. AM XXIV 3 2; XXV 1 8; 9; Zos. III 19 2.
116. Veget. III 17.
117. CT VII 1 12.
118. Veget. III 4 6. How disturbances might arise is shown by a law of 391 which orders tribunes to ensure that their men water their horses downstream rather than upstream, cf. CT VII 1 13.
119. AM XXVII 2 9.
120. AM XIX 6 3.
121. CT VII 13 1.
122. CT XII 1 113.
123. CT VII 1 10.
124. CT VII 18 17.
125. CT VII 4 1.
126. CT VII 4 23.

127. CT VII 4 28.
128. CT VII 4 29.
129. Nov. Theod. XXIV.
130. CT VII 13 18; XI 18 1.
131. CT VIII 5 49.
132. AM XXV 5 1.
133. AM XXI 6 2.
134. AM XXII 3 2. These two units head the list of legiones palatinae in the western section of the Notitia, and only yield precedence to the Lanciarri Seniores in the eastern section (cf. ND Oc V 145, 146 - VII 3, 4; Or V 43, 44). Perhaps their officers were chosen to represent the rest of the army.
135. AM XXV 2 1.
136. CT VII 20 10.
137. CT VII 20 13; cf. VII 21 1.
138. Liban. Or. XLVII 31; 32.
139. CT VII 4 36.
140. CI XII 37 19, 4.
141. CT VII 9 1; 2.
142. CT VII 11 1.
143. CT VII 18 17.
144. CT VII 1 2.
145. CI III 13 5.
146. ND Oc XXXV 32; XL 47. The Notitia lists other numeri in Britain, cf. Oc XXVIII 13; 15; 20; 21; Oc XL 22-31. But it is clear that these are comparatively mobile troops, probably first stationed at these forts under Diocletian or Constantine. The Abulci and Exploratores were drafted into the field army as legiones pseudocomitatenses at the close of the fourth century, cf. Oc XXVIII 20; 21 - Oc VII 109; 110.

147. R.G. Goodchild, 'The Latino-Libyan Inscriptions of Tripolitania', Antiq. Journ., XXX, 1950, pp 135-44.
148. ND Or XLII 40-1; Oc XXVII 14-20; Oc XXVIII 18; Oc XXXIII 59-64; Oc XXXIV 29-30; 44-6; Oc XXXV 24; 25; 27-30; 34; Oc XXXVII 14; Oc XL 33; 34; 36; 39-44; 48-53; 56; Oc XLII 17; 19; 27-30; 32.
149. CT VII 12 1; VII 20 10.
150. cf. n 5.
151. Veget. II 7.
152. CT VII 12 1.
153. CT VII 20 10.
154. Epigonus; Eusebius; Anon, AM XV 5 9-10.
155. ND Oc XXXIV 24; XXXV 31.
156. Rangord. p 136.
157. D. Van Berchem, 'Les Marcomans au service de l'empire, Carnuntina, III, 1956, pp 12-16.
158. ND Oc XXXVIII 9.
159. ND Or XL 36; XLI 33-37; XLII 29; Oc XXXII 49; XXXV 20; XXXVII 15-23; XLI 15-25; XLII 6; 16. There is also an instance of a praepositus in command of a unit of Milites Tungricani at Dover on the Saxon Shore, cf. ND Oc XXVIII 14.
160. Babut, CXIV, 1913, p 260, n 3, citing VI 32970; - - -
Vitaliani primicerii et autentae numeri Felicium Theodosiacorum
- - -. The word 'autentae' evidently corresponds to the Greek
αὐθεντης, i.e. commander.
161. Grosse p 149, n 15, citing P. Byz. Caire 67009, Recto, ls.
20-21: - - στρατηλατης) του αριθμου των γενναιωτ(ατων)
σκυθων), βικαριος ων (των) εν τη πολει αγρα(ο)ε(ω)οντων.
162. Grosse p 149, n 16, citing P. Byz. Caire 67002, ll 12: - - βικαριος
των στρατιωτων σκυθων και των μακεδωνων.
163. CI III 13 5; XII 37 19, 4; XII 42 1; Veget. III 4; 6.
164. Veget. III 17.
165. CT VII 20 10; VII 21 1.

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