

EMPEROR, ARMY, AND SOCIETY

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EMPEROR, ARMY, AND SOCIETY

Studies in Roman Imperial History
for Anthony R. Birley

edited by

WERNER ECK, FEDERICO SANTANGELO, AND
KONRAD VÖSSING



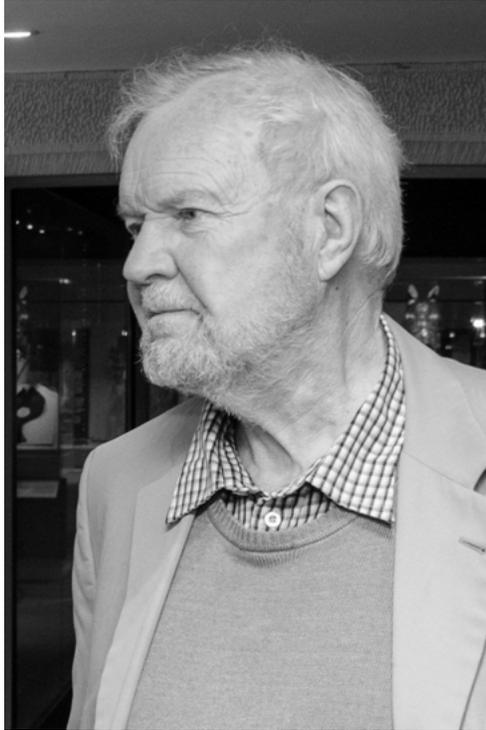
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ANTHONY R. BIRLEY
(1937 - 2020)

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A BOOK FOR TONY BIRLEY

Anthony R. Birley died in Newcastle upon Tyne on 19 December 2020. His bond with the history of Rome and its provinces went back to his childhood. He was born on 8 October 1937 in Chesterholm, Northumberland, the ancient auxiliary fort of Vindolanda, just 34 miles to the west. His father Eric had bought the house where the Vindolanda Museum now is. Tony grew up there together with his older brother Robin. That ancient place was to shape both their lives.

At Clifton College in Bristol, where his father had been educated decades earlier, Tony's interest in, and talent for the classical languages soon became apparent, and he absorbed them with an energy and depth almost unimaginable today. Anyone who came into contact with him later could feel the self-evident familiarity with which he approached the lived historical experience of the Greek and Roman world. He then went up to Oxford, where he studied Classics from 1956 onwards, in the years 1960-1962 as a Craven Fellow; during that time, he not only completed his MA, but also had the chance to study for several months in Paris with Hans-Georg Pflaum at the *École des Hautes Études*. Pflaum had been in close contact with Tony's father Eric since the end of the Second World War, just like Sir Ronald Syme. Those three great scholars were bound by many common interests, including their efforts to revive the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* at the Berlin Academy in 1952. In light of that family and intellectual background, the topic Tony worked on in his dissertation (begun in 1963) was not such a surprise: 'The Roman High Command from the Death of Hadrian to the Death of Caracalla, with Particular Attention to the Danubian Wars of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus'. His supervisor was Ronald Syme, with whom he retained a very close connection throughout his life; his last major publication was an edition of Syme's select correspondence.

After holding positions at Birmingham and Leeds and a visiting professorship at Duke University in North Carolina, he was appointed Professor of Ancient History at Manchester University (1974-1990). He was later elected to the Ancient History Chair at the Heinrich Heine University in Düsseldorf, succeeding Dietmar Kienast (1990-2002). After his retirement he was Visiting Professor at Newcastle and Durham. His integration into the German academic world was considerably facilitated by his longstanding and close connection with several colleagues, such as the archaeologist and director of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, Harald von Petrikovits, an old friend of his father's, Géza Alföldy, who worked first in Bonn and Bochum and later in Heidelberg, and Johannes Straub, the Bonn ancient historian, in whose *Historia Augusta* Colloquia Tony took part early on. His second wife, Heide Birley (1938-2022), was a Roman archaeologist, with a strong expertise in the material

culture of the Rhine limes, and is mentioned in the acknowledgments of many of his publications; she also took care of the German translation of *Hadrian*.

The centre of Tony Birley's scholarly life, however, always remained Britain, not least because of his early involvement in the excavations at Vindolanda, which were led by his brother Robin. When a large number of wooden tablets began to be discovered in the Roman auxiliary fort, shedding light on the lives of its military and civilian inhabitants, he took an early interest in the task of deciphering and interpreting them, and in what they could reveal about Roman life in Britain. Birley had dealt with the Roman province of Britannia in its many aspects at an early stage of his career, not least in a book intended for the general public, first published as early as 1964: *Life in Roman Britain*, a subject that he later developed – with partly different aims – in *The People of Roman Britain* (1979) and *Garrison Life at Vindolanda. A Band of Brothers* (2002).

In his DPhil dissertation Britain had only played a minor role. However, the topic of the Roman High Command from the death of Hadrian to the death of Caracalla gave rise to several monograph projects, which soon made him known beyond the narrow circle of his peers. That was especially the case with the biography of the Roman emperor who had played a central role in his doctoral work: Marcus Aurelius. First published in 1966 (second edition in 1987), the work was translated into German as early as in 1968, and later into Italian and Spanish. The most fascinating aspect of his portrayal was the choice to place the emperor within a wide-ranging account of Roman ruling class: he was not shown as a lonely ruler, but as part of the elite with whom and through whom the empire was governed. Birley achieved this through his profound knowledge of imperial prosopography, expertly putting to fruition what his father Eric, Syme, and Pflaum, among others, had worked out. By carefully combining a large body of epigraphic and numismatic evidence with the relatively many literary sources of the period, an in-depth picture of a time of transition emerged, with an emperor who could appear so different from many of his predecessors and his successors. This first impressive imperial biography was followed by *Septimius Severus* in 1971 and finally by *Hadrian. The Restless Emperor* in 1997. In a unique synthesis of the evidence, a vivid picture of such a distinctive and complicated ruler emerged, along with a fascinating portrait of the ruling class of the empire since Trajan's reign, including the intellectuals who came into contact with Hadrian. It is especially remarkable to see how Birley includes the *Vita* of Hadrian from the *Historia Augusta* in his account of Hadrian's life: a feat that was made possible by decades of engagement with that important and problematic work.

In all these studies, the province of Britannia was represented in one form or another, especially since the island had the largest army contingent in the whole empire since the time of Hadrian, and its governor had a weight commensurate to the

importance of that brief. However, the province of Britannia only became the focus of Birley's scholarly work through the detailed analysis of the governors, their careers and their actions, as well as the other high officials who worked there. That seemed an urgent and indeed necessary task, because the senatorial and equestrian officeholders of this province, despite their extraordinary importance in the fabric of the empire, had not yet received a full-scale discussion, unlike those of other regions, whose importance was not fully comparable to that of Britannia.

Birley had already presented a first very brief attempt in 1967 in the fourth volume of *Epigraphische Studien: The Roman Governors of Britain*. But the extensive, masterly treatment of the topic followed only in 1981 under the title *The Fasti of Roman Britain*. In contrast to all other discussions of the governors (and other officials) of a province, he did not confine himself to the first three centuries (pp. 37-309), but included all those who were active there after Diocletian's reform (pp. 309-353). Nevertheless, the period from AD 43 to the first Tetrarchy dominated the study: the choice was dictated by the nature of the evidence base. That was also evident in the special examination and description of the senatorial career which precedes the actual prosopographical analysis. In just under 32 pages, building on the body of work on the senatorial *cursus honorum* that had appeared in German in the previous years, he succeeds in presenting a solid and balanced description of the many aspects that no one else had worked out so expertly and so comprehensively. But Birley turned again to the officeholders of the province after almost a quarter of a century, this time under the title *The Roman Government of Britain* (2005). Although he refrained from producing a new analysis of the *cursus honorum*, he included the same group of people as in the 1981 work; wherever possible, he gave considerably greater weight to individual trajectories. In many respects the prosopographical discussions almost give rise to something approaching a new account of the history of the province as a whole, which goes far beyond the individual histories of the various officeholders. One of these governors, Cn. Iulius Agricola, who took up a great deal of space in both books, separately received his fair share of interest, not surprisingly, in a series of articles, but above all in a translation of and extensive commentary on the biography by Tacitus, together with the *Germania* (1999).

This steady stream of volumes effectively gives the measure of Tony Birley's scholarship. Yet he also published a large number of articles in journals, edited collections, and Festschriften, which further reveal the extent of his learning: studies on new documents from Vindolanda, on individual emperors, especially Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, on the problems of the Roman external borders, especially in the north of the island, on the *Historia Augusta* and Marius Maximus, and on deities of the Roman world, often embedded in daily life in Britain. They are a treasure trove for any student of the Roman Empire, and cannot be fairly summarised in a few lines;

yet they are especially significant to the appreciation of his trajectory as a scholar of the imperial period.

Along with his great work as an historian who could produce authoritative accounts and insightful analysis, a further achievement is worth mentioning, both because of its distinctive importance and for the spirit with which Birley took it upon himself: his work as editor of many contributions of his most influential teacher, Sir Ronald Syme. The first two volumes of the *Roman Papers* were published in 1979, but the wealth of those complex, mostly prosopographical articles was difficult to access and make proper use of without an index. Things changed radically when Birley took over the editing of the subsequent volumes, from *Roman Papers* III in 1984 to *Roman Papers* VI-VII in 1991, two years after Syme's death. Volume III contained the index to the first three volumes, and the following ones were equipped with their own sets. Those who had often dealt with Syme's immense oeuvre readily appreciated what a gift Birley had made to the scholarly world. It was a comprehensive and time-consuming work, which he carried out to the point of self-denial. But other tasks were to follow.

Fergus Millar, Syme's literary executor, asked Birley to take care of almost all the manuscripts that Syme had partially written in the 1930s and during the Second World War, but had never published. He took on that task too: *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo* (1995) and *The Provincial at Rome and Rome and the Balkans 80 BC-AD 14* (1999) were the results. In the process, Birley added literature where possible, and supplemented both works with later shorter manuscripts by Syme that had not yet been published. In the course of this time-consuming work, he also came across numerous letters written to Syme by other scholars, including Münzer, Groag, and Stein, whom Syme held in high esteem as masters of prosopographical research, as well as many other colleagues with whom he had corresponded. Birley transcribed those manuscripts and published them in April 2020 as his final tribute to this outstanding figure: *Select Correspondence of Ronald Syme, 1927-1939*. Its introduction offers characteristically rich insights into Syme's personality and work, and is a powerful testimony to the place that the history of scholarship had to Birley's approach to his subject and his craft. His deeply generous work on the towering figure that Syme was, however, reveals a characteristic trait that distinguished Tony's personality: his openness to others, young and old alike, and his willingness to share what he knew and mastered, in conversation and in correspondence. Many have benefited from his helpfulness; both his stature as an historian of imperial Rome, and his open and unfailingly friendly personality left a deep impression on those with whom he came into contact.

Birley had a very distinguished standing in the field. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and an Ordinary Member of the Deutsches

Archäologisches Institut and of the Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Künste. He had also served as a member of the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik in Munich, had been a Member of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton, and sat on the advisory boards of *L'Antiquité Classique* and *Ancient Society*, as well as of the *Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien* (Steiner Verlag). He remained closely connected with Vindolanda since the early 1970s, serving as Chair of the Vindolanda Trust for two decades (1996-2016), and lately as its Patron.

This volume gathers thirty-four contributions from a number of friends and colleagues of Tony Birley. They are devoted to topics that we think he would have found of interest, and often engage directly with aspects of his work. The four sections into which they are organised – *Roman Britain, Emperors and Empresses, Administrative and Military History of the Roman Empire*, and *Ancient and Modern Historiography* – may fairly be seen as the key headings around which Tony's own work focused: readers are warmly invited to pursue their own itineraries through the collection. These studies are intended to serve, first and foremost, as a sign of the breadth of Tony Birley's interests and of the range and quality of his intellectual and scholarly impact on the field. They are also testimony to the range of connections that he built, across countries, specialisms, and generations. They revolve around the discussion of specific pieces of evidence, old and new, and on the interplay between the elucidation of matters of detail and the exploration of big-picture problems. They are offered to the memory of a great scholar, mentor, and friend, in gratitude and admiration.

Werner Eck
 Federico Santangelo
 Konrad Vössing

We are very grateful to the editors of the *Antiquitas* series, Frank Kolb and Winfried Schmitz, for giving this project favourable consideration. We should like to warmly thank Julius Schwarz for the invaluable work he has been doing on the typesetting of the volume. Manfredi Zanin has offered crucial assistance in compiling Tony Birley's bibliography, and Susanne Biegert at Habelt-Verlag has given helpful advice on various editorial matters.

ROMAN GOVERNORS AND GOVERNMENT OF ASIA MINOR IN THE THIRD CENTURY AD: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

BENET SALWAY

In the Severan period the government of the provinces of the Anatolian region remained uniformly entrusted to members of the Roman senatorial order according to the categories of appointment established under Augustus. By the time of the Diocletian's retirement, not only had these administrative units undergone considerable reorganisation but in all, save a truncated proconsular Asia, senatorial governors had been displaced by equestrian *praesides*. In tribute to Tony Birley's mastery of Roman administrative structures, offered here is a synthesis of recent epigraphic discoveries relating to the personnel of government and provincial arrangements in the obscure middle decades of the third century AD.

C. Aradius Rufinus in Galatia (and Britain?)

In 2016 Burak Takmer published a relatively well-preserved milestone (*AE* 2016, 1665) seen in the centre of Havza, which, as its ancient name (Thermae Phazemoniton) suggests, lay in the territory of Phazemon-Neapolis, known in the imperial period as Neoclaudiopolis-Andrapa (modern Veziköprü), a member of the Paphlagonian *koinon*, which had been united with Galatia in 3 BC. The inscription, which names the emperor Maximinus Thrax, celebrated the restoration of the road (or simply the road markers) through the agency of a certain C. Aradius Rufinus, a previously unknown, imperial *legatus*:

*Imp(eratori) Caesari C. | Iulio Vero Maxi|min{i}o Pio Fe(lici) In[[u]icto
Aug(usto), p(ontifici) m(aximo), tri[b(unicia)] |⁵ pote(state), p(atri) p(atriciae),
co(n)s(uli) resti|tuit per C. Aradium | Rufinum leg(atum) Au[g(usti)] | p(ro)
p(raetore). Mil(ia) IV, μιλ(ια) | δ'.*

Maximinus' consulship, combined with the absence of Maximus Caesar dates the text to the first five months of AD 236. Its grammatical awkwardness may have arisen from splicing a dedication to Maximinus onto a text that originally had his predecessor, Severus Alexander, whom he had toppled in early 235, as subject of the

verb *restituit*.¹ Since Aradius Rufinus is identified as an imperial legate this milestone confirms that Neoclaudiopolis still lay within the province of Galatia in 236, rather than in the separate province of Pontus, created c. AD 230 and governed by a series of equestrian *praesides*.² Rather Paphlagonia was not transferred to the province of Pontus until after the governorship of the *legatus Augusti* M. Iunius Valerius Nepotianus, who controlled a combined province of Galatia-Pontus-Paphlagonia in AD 250.³

Although this Aradius Rufinus was previously unknown, he clearly belongs to the same senatorial family of Aradii from Bulla Regia in Africa Proconsularis that had already provided two governors of Anatolian provinces under Severus Alexander: Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus, *leg. Aug. pro pr. prou. Galatiae* c. 225-228 (*PIR*² A 1016-1017) and P. Aradius Paternus Rufinianus Aelianus, *leg. Aug. praes(es) prou(inciae)* in Cappadocia in 231 (*AE* 1964, 5 = *I.Tyana* 133 = French, *Roman Roads* 3.3, 168). C. Aradius Rufinus was probably a younger brother or cousin of Optatus Aelianus and/or of Rufinianus Aelianus.

Furthermore, our new Aradius Rufinus is perhaps a better candidate for the consular governor of Britannia Superior whose name survives only as [---]r[---] Rufinus (*PIR*² R 153) and whose identity has been the subject of a long-standing debate. His name is transmitted on a fragmentary building dedication from the shorefort of Regulbium (Reculver) in Kent, first published by Ian Richmond:

*Aedem p[rincipi]piorum | cu[m b]asilica, | su[b ---]r[---]io Rufino, | co(n)s(ulari),
|⁵ [--- Fo]rtunatus, | [---]it.*

Richmond discerned the remains of a serified foot in the centre of line 3, following the surviving two feet of the letter R. Accordingly, in his drawing of the plaque, he restored *su[b A. T]r[i]a[r]io Rufino*, identifying the governor with the ordinary consul of AD 210 (*PIR*² T 342) and placing his governorship of Britain some time under Caracalla (AD 211-217).⁴ This was awkward in two ways. First, because in order to accommodate the *nomen* of Triarius, Richmond had to suppose that the first I was smaller than the other letters and inserted above the line, between the surviving R and the A. Second, it is less likely that a former *consul ordinarius* would have governed a

¹ The same phenomenon is found in a milestone erected by Licinius Serenianus, governor of neighbouring Cappadocia (*AE* 1985, 813 = French, *Roman Roads* 3, 2, 57), who had also erected milestones for Alexander in which the opening of the text was recarved as a dedication to Maximinus (*CIL* III, 1651-1652 = *Roman Roads* 3.3, 79b and 85b).

² Gerhardt / Hartmann 2008, 1170-1171, Pont. 1-5.

³ *PIR*² I 844; *AE* 1991, 1494 = French, *Roman Roads* 3.4, 48b (*leg. pr. pr.*); *CIL* III, 14184,25 = *AE* 1900, 150 = *Roman Roads* 3.4, 56 (*praeses prouvinciae Galatiae Po[nt]i <P>a[flagoniae]*).

⁴ Followed by Wright 1961, 191-192; whence *AE* 1962, 258.

military province at this period. Tony Birley favoured restoring the name of L. Prosius Rufinus, praetorian legate of Thrace in 222 (*PIR*² P 1014),⁵ putting his consular governorship in Britain in the mid or late 220s. However, as the commentary to the latest edition of the inscription (*RIB* III, 3027) points out, the supplement [P]r[os]io is incompatible with the serified foot seen after the R. Instead, as Birley observed, ‘the restoration *su[b A]r[ad]io Rufino* would certainly fit easily’ (see figure 1).⁶

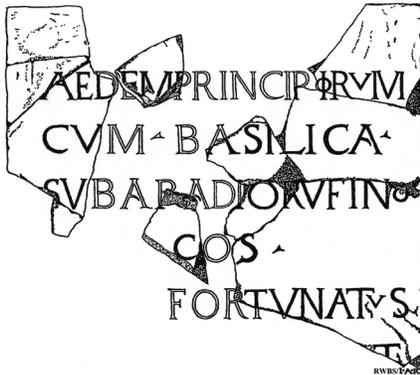


Figure 1. Drawing of building dedication from Reculver (adapted from Richmond 1961, 225, fig. 1).

This reprises the reading originally suggested by Richard Harper in identifying the *consularis* as Optatus Aelianus.⁷ Although it would not preclude him from being called upon subsequently to govern Britain, it may be observed that Optatus Aelianus had already given service as consular governor of a two-legion province as *legatus Augusti* of Syria Coele and was perhaps already enjoying well-earned *otium* when called upon to serve as interim proconsul of Africa (*AE* 1971, 490), plausibly in 238, after the murder of Gordian I.⁸ The British post could equally well, then, have been filled by the newly revealed C. Aradius Rufinus, assuming he continued to climb the career ladder, at some stage in the decade following 236. In that event, his consular governorship of Britannia Superior and the building dedication at Reculver might be placed under Gordian III (AD 238-244). So, adopting the supplement for the last line suggested in the commentary to *RIB* III 3027, we may read:

⁵ Birley 2005, 353: *su[b L. P]r[os]io Rufino*.

⁶ Birley 2005, 353.

⁷ Harper 1964, 166.

⁸ Birley 2005, 354; Gerhardt / Hartmann 2008, 1093, *Afr.* 15; Hächler 2019, 279-283, n° 30.

*Aedem p[rinci]piorum | cu[m b]asilica | su[b A]rç[d]io Rufino | co(n)s(ulari)
| [--- For]tunatus |⁵ [praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Ba]et(asiorum).*

‘Fortunatus, prefect of the First Cohort of Baetasii, (dedicated) the shrine of the headquarters building with its cross-hall, under the consular governor, Aradius Rufinus.’

The Roman Bridge over the Sabrina

Amongst the texts recorded by Timothy Mitford during five decades of research tracing Rome’s eastern frontier in Anatolia was a rock-cut inscription beside the remains of a Roman bridge over the Kara Budak river, just north of its confluence with the Euphrates.⁹ The text, framed by a *tabula ansata*, commemorates the restoration under the emperor Decius (AD 249-251) of a bridge over the river (called Sabrina in the Latin). It was known from a copy made in 1894 by the scholars David George Hogarth and Vincent Yorke, which Hogarth communicated to the editors of the *CIL* and which Yorke himself published a few years later.¹⁰ Although Mitford’s text essentially reproduces the earlier editions, the photograph and squeeze he made on his visit to the area in July 1966 permit some improvement in the transmitted reading.

Mitford’s evidence confirms Yorke’s generally poor impression of the drafting and/or carving of the inscription. The emperor’s name is garbled in several respects. In terms of spelling we find L. Moesius for C. Messius in line 1, Desius for Decius in line 2; and part of his titles are inadvertently repeated (Pius Felix on lines 3 and 4). The grammar is also faulty (the emperor’s name slipping from nominative to dative and back again). In the very worn area before the first interpunct of line 3, where Yorke suspected an attempt to correct *LIVS* to *LIC*, it seems more plausible to restore *INV*. More significantly, where Hogarth and Yorke had read the *cognomen* of the governor of Cappadocia in the last line as [*Te*]rtullum (so *CIL* III, 13644) or [*Te*]rtullianum (so *AE* 1899, 83), Mitford reports that his squeeze shows OATVLMN and observes that ‘the last two letters are perhaps multiple ligatures producing -tullianum or -tullinum’.

⁹ Mitford 2018, 525, n° 32. Just south-east of the village of Dostal, on the old road from Divriği, Sivas province, to Kemah in Erzincan.

¹⁰ Hogarth 1894, 73, col. 2 = *CIL* III, 13644; Yorke 1898, 320, n° 34 (with drawing) = *AE* 1899, 83 = *CIL* III, 14184, 15.



Figure 2. Rock-cut inscription commemorating repairs on the Cappadocian *limes* (CIL III, 13644). Photograph: T. B. Mitford.

Thanks to his photograph (figure 2), it seems clear that what appears rather like MM was intended to represent the sequence NVM in ligature and that we should recognise here an attempt to render the *cognomen* Catullinus:

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L. Moes(sius) | Traianus [D]esio Pio Fe(lici) | Inū(ictus)
Aug(ustus) Pius F(elix) pont(i)|fex maximus pontem s⁵u[p(er)] flumini Sabr(i)na
| rēstituit per C. Val(erium) | Çatullinum l(egatum) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).*

‘The emperor Caesar C. Messius Traianus Decius Pius Felix Invictus Augustus, pontifex maximus, has restored the bridge over the river Sabrina, through (the agency of) C. Valerius Catullinus, pro-praetorian legate of the emperor.’

Although this Catullinus is just as unknown as the previously supposed Tertullus (PIR² V 205), he has the advantage that he can be provided with some antecedents. A grandfather may be the imperial procurator of Dacia Porolissensis, Valerius Catullinus, who dedicated an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Napoca (Cluj) some time in the second century and who is named on a brick stamp from a villa in the vicinity at Chinteni/Chintau (PIR² V 52).¹¹ The *praenomen* Gaius provided for the governor of Cappadocia increases the probability that it is correct to identify the procurator of Porolissensis with tile stamps marked C(ai) V(---) C(---) pr(ocuratoris) Au(gusti) found at Sarmizegetusa in Dacia Apulensis (CIL III, 8075,5 = IDR III.2, 567

¹¹ CIL III, 857: I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Valerius | Catulli|nus |⁵ proc(urator) Aug(usti); tile fragments from Chinteni signalled in commentary to IDR III.2, 567. His tenure as procurator is dated some time after AD 170 by Ciongradi 2014, p. 167-168, n° 4, whereas Piso 2013, 273-274, n° 120/1 canvassed a wider range of possibilities (AD 169-170; soon after 180; the early years of Septimius Severus; or even the third century).

= *AE* 1996, 1282).¹² The identification of a mid third-century senatorial descendant for the procurator also encourages faith in the veracity of a couple of passages of the *Historia Augusta* relating to events of AD 193. According to these a certain *uir consularis* named Valerius Catullinus (*PIR*² V 51) was sent by the newly elevated Didius Iulianus to succeed Septimius Severus as governor of Pannonia (Superior) (*Vita Didii Iuliani* 5.7) but ended up being killed by him (*Vita Severi* 13.7). This Catullinus may be the same man as the procurator, if he had subsequently benefitted from adlection to the senatorial ranks, or a son.¹³ Whether or not the second-century procurator and *consularis* are one and the same person or representatives of successive generations, these Valerii Catullini are plausibly ancestors of the newly identified consular governor of the two-legion province of Cappadocia in the mid third century.

The Province of Phrygia-Caria

There is general consensus that under the emperor Decius the procuratorial *eparchia* of Phrygia-Caria, representing about half the great proconsular province of Asia, was separated off as an imperial province with its headquarters at Laodicea on the Lycus (figure 3), its first known governor being a consular legate, Q. Clodius Fabius Agrippianus Celsinus (*PIR*² C 1161; *PLRE* I, Celsinus 5).¹⁴ The recent discovery of a statue base erected to him by the city of Nysa in the Maeander valley (*AE* 2016, 1634 = *I.Nysa* 457) provides new insight into the formation of the joint province and re-reading of a milestone from the Aegean coast provides new evidence on a successor who fell from grace in the mid 250s.

¹² Catullinus may thus have progressed from the centenarian procuratorship in Dacia Apulensis to the ducentarian one in Porolissensis. Cf. the doubts of Piso 2013, 179 and 273-275, n° 91.

¹³ Stein 1944, 83-84, who dated the procuratorship under Commodus (followed by Pflaum 1960-1961, III, 1067). Piso 2013, 274 prefers to see the procurator as a scion of the well-established senatorial family of Valerii Catulli.

¹⁴ Dmitriev 2001; *I.Aphrodisias Late Ant.*², Fasti I; Gerhardt / Hartmann 2008, 1164; Christol 2015; Hächler 2019, 684.



Fig. 3. Sketch map of the province of Phrygia-Caria c. AD 250 (Ancient World Mapping Center, adapted).

The similarity of the new base for Celsinus to another honouring the equestrian *procurator Augusti* Iulius Iulianus, as λογιστής (*curator ciuitatis*) of Nysa (*SEG* 52, 1098 = *I.Nysa* 454), prompted Ebru N. Akdoğu-Arca to reassess the dating and significance of a boundary settlement stone from the region of Cotiaecum erected on the orders of Iulius Iulianus as procurator of plural emperors, ‘caretaking in the stead of the governorship of both Phrygia and Caria’ (*AE* 1982, 896: διέπων κὲ τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας μέρη Φρυγίας τε κὲ Καρίας).¹⁵ This mirrors the description of the post of the procurator Aelius Aglaus as ‘caretaking in the stead of the proconsulship’ in an inscription from the environs of Philadelphia (*TAM* V.3, 1418 = *AE* 2011, 1305: διέπων ... τὰ τῆς ἀνθυπατείας μέρη), which had generally been dated to the Severan period (*PIR*² A 133). Akdoğu-Arca proposed that this pair of interim posts belong to the phase of separation of Phrygia-Caria from proconsular Asia. The reference in Iulianus’ title to multiple Augusti puts the initiation of the division already in the joint reign of the Philips father and son as Augusti (July/August 247-September/October 249). The honouring of Celsinus at Nysa also incidentally suggests that, in the initial partition of proconsular Asia, this city north of the Maeander was treated as part of the new imperial province, though subsequently the river formed the border between the late antique provinces of Caria and Asia.¹⁶

¹⁵ Akdoğu-Arca 2016, 60-68.

¹⁶ The adjustment seems to have been effected by AD 325, given that the bishop of Miletus is assigned to Caria in the list of signatories to the Council of Nicaea (*Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* XI.173, p. lxiii).

In 2014 Raymond Descat reported that he had been able to read the name of a provincial governor on a milestone fragment from the territory of Bargylia in Caria that had eluded decipherment when first published in 2007.¹⁷ He discerned a dedication to the emperors Trebonianus Gallus and Vibius Volusianus (AD 251-253) by a governor whose name was deliberately erased but which is still just about legible as P. Petronius Polianus. Descat proposed that Petronius Polianus' name should then also be restored as the governor of Phrygia-Caria whose name has been more efficiently erased in honorific texts at Hierapolis (*IGR* IV, 814) and Laodicea (*I.Laodikeia Lykos* 39).¹⁸ These erasures suggest that Polianus fell victim to the rapidly changing political situation of AD 253. Most importantly Polianus' governorship of Phrygia-Caria can be put in the wider context of his career, as he is already known from inscriptions elsewhere (*PIR*² P 296). He is named as legate of the legion XIII Gemina Gordiana at Apulum in Dacia, in an inscription that celebrates his promotion to praetorian *legatus Augusti* of Gallia Belgica (*CIL* III, 1017 = *IDR* III.5, 81). Under Philip the Arab, in 246/247 or 248/249 he was consular legate (ὕπατικός) of the two-legion province of Cappadocia (*AE* 1909, 19).

This shows that Phrygia-Caria was treated in this period as an assignment for relatively senior and experienced senators. Assuming two- or three-year periods of tenure, it seems likely that we can now reconstruct the complete sequence of governors from the creation of the province until the mid 250s:

248-249 (beside Aelius Aglaus in Asia): Iulius Iulianus, ὁ κράτιστος (i.e. *uir egregius*) ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν, διέπων κὲ τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας μέρη Φρυγίας τε κὲ Καρίας (*AE* 1982, 896).

249-251: Q. Fabius Clodius Agrippianus Celsinus (*PIR*² C 1161; *PLRE* I, Celsinus 5), ὁ λαμπρότατος πρεσβευτῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡγεμὼν Φρυγίας καὶ Καρίας (*AE* 2016, 1634 = *I.Nysa* 457); ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός ἡγεμὼν Φρυγίας καὶ Καρίας (*AE* 1991, 1513); ὁ κράτιστος (i.e. *uir clarissimus*) πρεσβευτῆς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος (*AE* 1991, 1508-1509a, 1511 = French, *Roman Roads* 3.5, 118a-118b, 118d); ἡγεμονεύων ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός (*AE* 1986, 678 = *Roman Roads* 3.5, 85a); ἡγεμονεύων ὁ κράτιστος (*AE* 1890, 108 = *I.Iasos* I, 18 = *Roman Roads* 3.5, 122).

252-253: P. Petronius Polianus (*PIR*² P 296), ὁ λαμπρότατος διὰ παντὸς γένους ὑπατικός ἡγεμὼν Φρυγίας καὶ Καρίας (*IGR* IV, 814); ἡγεμὼν Φρυγίας κὲ Καρίας

¹⁷ Descat 2014, 122-123, re-reading Záh 2007, 419 n. 2 (cf. 428, Foto 3), who had tentatively transcribed (----- | [---]+ΑΥΤΟΚΠΑΙ[---] | ---]ΟΥΟΛΟΥΣΠ[---] | ---]ΣΕΒΒΗΡΔΗ+[---] +---] +ΩΙΝΟΛΗ++[---] |⁵ ---]+GONEΨΟΝ[---] | -----) and suggested mention of Septimius Severus.

¹⁸ As noted by Hostein / Mairat, 2016, 174.

πρεσβευτής κἄ ἀντιστράτηγος τῶν Σεβαστῶν ὑπάτος (*AE* 1932, 56 = *I.Laodikeia Lykos* 39).

253/256: P. Aelius Septimius Mannus (*PIR*² S 466), ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμῶν ὑπατικός (*AE* 1996, 1481 = *I.Aphrodisias Late Ant.*² 253); ἡγεμῶν, (*IGR* IV, 853 = *I.Laodikeia Lykos* 46).

255/256: M. Aurelius Diogenes, πρεσβευτής Σεβαστῶν ἀντιστράτηγος (*AE* 1981, 768 = *I.Aphrodisias* 2007, 12.644), πρεσβευτής καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος τῶν Σεβαστῶν (*AE* 1991, 1509b = French, *Roman Roads* 3.5, 118b), ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμῶν (*AE* 1981, 769 = *I.Aphrodisias* 2007, 12.645), ἡγεμονεύων τῆς ἐπαρχείας ὁ λαμπρότατος (*AE*, 1997, 1447a = *I.Sultan Dağ* 46 = *Roman Roads* 3.5, 93b).

Thereafter, if we abandon the identification of T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus (*PIR*² O 115), ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός ἡγεμῶν Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας of uncertain date (*AE* 1981, 770 = *I.Aphrodisias Late Ant.*² 7), with Asclepiodotus, a *praeses* of equestrian rank (ἡγεμονεύων ὁ διασημώτατος) in AD 283 (*SEG* 31, 1101 = French, *Roman Roads* 3.5, 39.4),¹⁹ the epigraphic evidence falls into a pattern familiar from elsewhere. After further consular legates,²⁰ government of the joint province passed to senior equestrian *praesides* (*uir*i *perfectissimi*) by the 280s,²¹ before division, some time between late 301 and Diocletian's abdication (May 305), into separate provinces of Phrygia and Caria, each under its own equestrian *praeses*.²²

¹⁹ See Hächler 2019, 527. Asclepiodotus is not rare as a *cognomen*; e.g. a Domitius Asclepiodotus, was *praeses Phrygiae* in 311-313 (*AE* 2013, 1548 and 2018, 1611). Iulius Asclepiodotus (*PLRE* I, Asclepiodotus 3) is another (better) candidate for the *praeses* of AD 283.

²⁰ The uncertainly dated L. Castrius Constans (*PLRE* I, Constans 1), ἡγεμῶν (*IGR* IV, 731), ὑπατικός ἡγεμῶν (*MAMA* VI, 94 = French, *Roman Roads* 3.5, 95a) ought to be dated before 260 and Anicius Asper (*PIR*² A 593), ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός (*IGR* IV, 852 = *AE* 1973, 531 = *I.Laodikeia Lykos* 40), dated, along with Aelianus Asclepiodotus, to the 260s or 270s.

²¹ Aurelius Maximus ἡγεμονεύων (*AE* 1986, 677 = French, *Roman Roads* 3.5, 39), a predecessor of Asclepiodotus of AD 283, may be the earliest known equestrian *praeses*, if identical with M. Aurelius Maximus *u. p. a(gens) u(ice) p(raesidis)* of Pannonia Superior (*CIL* III, 4564); see Gerhardt / Hartmann 2008, 1163.

²² Fulvius Asticus, known from milestones in Caria (French, *Roman Roads* 3.5, 111b, 115a, 116, 118c), issued an edict accompanying publication of the Prices Edict at Aezani in Phrygia (*AE* 1975, 805) in late 301. The earliest known *praeses Phrygiae* is Septimius Dionysius c. AD 303 (*AE* 2018, 1605-1610).

The Late Roman Walls of Ancyra

In the second volume of *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara* (2019), Stephen Mitchell and the late David French were able to include a fragmentary Greek text recently brought to their attention by the architectural historian Sedat Bornovalı but recorded as long ago as 1897, when a young Italian architect, Giulio Mongeri, had himself photographed in front of it.²³ The photograph shows a substantial fragment (approx. 3 metres long) of a massive entablature block comprising a three-fascia architrave crowned by a frieze decorated with fluted tongues ('Pfeifenfries'), which had been reused as the lintel of the main entrance of an Ottoman building. The style of this entablature is appropriate to a grand public building of the second or early third century AD but, as Mitchell discerned, the inscription in large letters across the uppermost band of the architrave preserves the latter part of the titulature of an emperor in the year of his fifteenth tribunician power, who had been hailed *imperator* thirteen times, and had held the consulship no less than seven times (*I.Ancyra* II, 315 =AE 2019, 1638) :

[--- δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τ]ὸ ἐ', αὐτοκράτορι τὸ γι', ὑπάτωι τὸ ἀ, π(ατρι)
π(ατρίδος) [---]

This combination points precisely to Gallienus, *cos. VII* in AD 266, hailed *imperator XII* in 265 (*AE* 1950, 208 = *IRT* 456) and *imperator XV* by 268 (*AE* 1959, 271 and 2014, 1481), and whose fifteenth year of tribunician power ran from 10 December 266 to 9 December 267. As the editors of *I.Ancyra* observe, the inscribing of this dedication on the earlier architrave is almost certainly to be associated with its reuse, probably over a gateway, in the late Roman city walls of Ancyra. These walls, which encompassed a large area of the lower city, had not until now been very precisely datable, though the circumstances of their entire construction from the ground up during a period of grain shortage and barbarian invasions (σύμπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἐν σειτοδείᾳ κὲ βαρβαρικά[ις] ἐφόδοις ἐκ θεμελίων) have long been known from an accephalous honorific text erected by the council and people of the splendid metropolis of Ancyra to 'their own benefactor and the saviour of the province' (*CIG* III, 4015 = *IGR* III, 206 = Bosch, *Ankara* 289 = *I.Ancyra* I, 120). In light of the new dating, the barbarian incursions referred to are not then the Persian campaigns into south-east Anatolia of AD 252 or 260 or the Gothic raids of c. 262 into Bithynia and Asia (so *I.Ancyra* II, p. 42-43) but the landing by Scythians (i.e. Goths) on the southern shore

²³ Mongeri 1898, 202; Bornovalı 2016, 135, 149-150, who provides high quality scans of Mongeri's photograph (135, fig. 2, 149, fig. 15), available Open Access at: <https://doi.org/10.5505/jas.2016.50469>.

of the Black Sea around Heraclea Pontica (Karadeniz Ereğlisi) in 267, for the expulsion of which Gallienus had to rely on a campaign mounted by Odaenathus of Palmyra.²⁴ As emphasised by Mitchell and French, this new dating for the initial construction of the walled circuit also has implications for our understanding of a series of other texts associated with rampart construction (*I.Ancyra* II, 316-317) or reinforcement (*I.Ancyra* II, 318-322).

First are two more reused architraves that might also have adorned city gates and that originally probably both named the same senatorial governor (λαμπρ. ἡγέμων) responsible for the initiation, completion, and dedication of the walls of the metropolis: in the first case (*CIG* III, 4053 = *SEG* 6, 65 = Bosch, *Ankara* 290 = *I.Ancyra* II, 316), although the stone is complete, the governor's name has been deliberately erased; in the second, more fragmentary, example (*SEG* 6, 15 = *I.Ancyra* II, 317), the relevant section is missing.²⁵ The remaining texts are all blocks that appear to commemorate discrete enhancement works, probably the addition of towers to the basic defensive circuit. Two of these (*CIG* III, 4051 = Bosch, *Ankara*, 292 = *I.Ancyra* II, 318; Bosch, *Ankara* 293 = *I.Ancyra* II, 319) bear copies of the same text attributing the initiation and completion of an unspecified work to a certain Aurelius Dionysius Argaeinus, ὁ λαμπρότατος, but without any office specified:



Figure 4. Building inscription of Aurelius Dionysius Argaeinus (*I.Ancyra* II, 318). Photograph: S. Mitchell.

²⁴ *PIR*² O 72; Gerhardt / Hartmann 2008, 1059.

²⁵ *I.Ancyra* II, 316: [- c. 20 letters -] τοῦ λαμπρ(στάτου) ἡγεμόνος, ἀρξαμένου συμπληρώσαντος καὶ ἀφιερῶσαντος τῆ μητροπόλ<ε>ι τὸ τεῖχος.; and 317: [---] καὶ συμπληρώσαντι(ος) καὶ ἀφιερῶσ[αντι(ος) ---].

Ἐπὶ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Δι[ονυ]σίου Ἀργαεῖν[ου τοῦ] | λαμπροτάτο[υ ἀρξα]μένου κὲ
 συνπ[ληρώ]σαντος.

‘Under Aurel(ius) Dionysius Argaeinus, *uir clarissimus*, who started and completed (this work).’²⁶

The latest editors want to identify this senator with the addressee of the honorific text *I.Ancyra* I, 120 and governor of AD 267 whose name was deleted elsewhere (*I.Ancyra* II, 316), though the elongated letter forms and use of S-shaped abbreviation mark seen in the surviving text naming Dionysius Argaeinus (*I.Ancyra* II, 318; figure 4) would more comfortably suit a later date. In any event, as dedications from the third-century walls of Nicaea (*I.Mus. Iznik* I, 11-12) and Lamos (*SEG* 20, 90) show, the activity and status of Argaeinus are equally consistent with him being a *curator* (λογιστής) of the city of Ancyra. The derivation of Argaeinus’ apparently unique *cognomen* from Mount Argaeus, which overlooks Caesarea-Mazaca, strongly favours an origin in the neighbouring province of Cappadocia,²⁷ which in turn might favour identification of him as a regional magnate of the kind regularly appointed to serve as *curatores*. Whether or not Argaeinus is a *curator* or the provincial governor of 267, the combined evidence of the two architrave inscriptions demonstrates that Galatia was still being confided to a governor of senatorial status at a time when several neighbouring provinces (Cilicia, Pontus, and perhaps Bithynia) seem already to have been placed under governors of equestrian status.²⁸

The remaining two fortification texts, one long known and the other published for the first time in 2019, are more certainly attributable to provincial governors, though their dating is very uncertain. Although executed in quite different scripts, the texts appear to be identical in formulation and carved onto blocks of very similar size and shape and each framed by a moulded *tabula ansata* of the same design (see figures 5 and 6). The long-known text (*CIG* 4050 = Bosch, *Ankara* 291 = *I.Ancyra* II, 320), which is inscribed in a regular squared script employing lunate epsilon and sigma, an angular form of cursive omega, and the S-form abbreviation mark, commemorates work undertaken under a certain Minicius Florentius, a senator of consular status.

²⁶ Cf. *I.Ancyra* II, 319: Ἐπὶ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Δι[ο]νυσίου | Ἀργαεῖ[νου τοῦ] | λαμπροτ[ά]τ[ου] | ἀρξαμένου κὲ
 [συν]πληρώσα[ν]τος. Argaeinus is registered by neither *PIR*² nor *PLRE* I.

²⁷ See the commentary on *I.Ancyra* II, 318-319, p. 49.

²⁸ Gerhardt / Hartmann 2008, 1113, 1168-1171.



Figure 5. Building inscription of Minicius Florentius (*I.Ancyra* II, 320). Photograph: S. Mitchell.

Ἀγαθ[ῆ Τύχη] | ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) ὑπα|τικοῦ Μινικ(ίου) Φλωρεν|τίου τὸ
 χρησιμώτα|τον ἔργον τῆ πόλ<ε>ι |⁵ γέγονεν.

‘To Good Fortune! This most useful work for the city has taken place under the
 consular, Minicius Florentius, *uir clarissimus*.’

The more recently published but fragmentary text (*I.Ancyra* II, 321), although demarcated by heavy guidelines, is inscribed in a much less regular script, similarly employing lunate epsilon and sigma, along with curvilinear mu and cursive form of omega (figure 6). It commemorates work undertaken under another senator, whose name may plausibly be restored as Florus Hel[iodorus] and who was, on the analogy of the otherwise identically worded text for Florentius, also very likely a *consularis*.



Figure 6. Building inscription of Florus Heliodorus (*I.Ancyra* II, 321). Photograph: S. Mitchell.

Ἀγαθ[ῆ Τύχη:] | ἐπὶ τοῦ λα[μπρ(οτάτου) ὑπατικοῦ] | Φλώρου Ἡλ[ιοδώρου ? τὸ] |
 χρησιμώτ[ατον ἔργον] |⁵ τῆ πόλ<ε>ι γ[έγονεν].

‘To Good Fortune! This most useful work for the city has taken place under the consular, Florus Hel[iodorus ?], *uir clarissimus*.’

There is, of course, nothing to preclude dating both these texts to the fourth century, after the revival of senatorial governors of imperial provinces with the title *consularis* by Constantine.²⁹ In that case, Florus Heliodorus might be identified with the Corinthian advocate and former fishmonger Heliodorus, mocked by Libanius (*Or.* 62.46-49), who rose eventually to exercise gubernatorial office (ὁ δὲ καὶ ἤρχεν) at some time in the mid fourth century.³⁰ Furthermore, the later Roman style of Minicius Florentius’ *cognomen* might also be considered to favour a later dating. The assumption of a fourth-century dating may help explain Florentius’ omission from the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, with its cut-off at the end of Diocletian’s reign (AD 305),³¹ though there seems to have been a general consensus more recently, following Emin Bosch,³² to identify Florentius as a governor of Galatia at some point in the second half of the third century, combined with a widespread tendency to emend his *cognomen* to the more conventionally classical ‘Florentinus’.³³ The photograph of the inscription (figure 5) confirms that this tempting emendation should, however, be resisted.

If the governorships of Florentius and Heliodorus do belong to the later third century, then not only was Galatia still confided to senatorial legates but, if ὑπατικός (*consularis*) does here indicate former consuls rather than simply meaning ‘governor’, the province had, moreover, been promoted to government by consulars, as in neighbouring Phrygia-Caria, before similarly passing to equestrian *praesides* by the tetrarchic period.³⁴

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²⁹ Moser 2018, 21-24, with App. A, 333-336.

³⁰ *PLRE* I, Heliodorus 2: ‘? Praeses (East?) M IV’.

³¹ Conversely, Florentius was also omitted from *PLRE* I.

³² Bosch, *Ankara*, p. 354-355, n° 291.

³³ Sherk 1979, 173 n° 29; Rémy 1989, 170, n° 133; Gerhardt / Hartmann 2008, 1122, Gal. 3; Hächler 2019, 509, n° 191.

³⁴ If Aurelius Aurelianus ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμών (*I.Mus. Konya* 2) is correctly attributed to the late third century; see Gerhardt / Hartmann 2008, 1122, Gal. 8.

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Abbreviations

*PIR*²: *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III, editio altera*, ed. E. Groag, A. Stein et al., Berlin & Leipzig, 1933-2015.

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