

THE PRODUCTION OF IDEOLOGY: HONORIFIC STATUARY FOR SENATORIAL ARISTOCRACY IN THE AGE OF TETRARCHY (293–324)

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A now lost base for a statue of Ceionius Rufius Albinus, consul and urban prefect, was set up by the decree of the Roman senate (*senatus ex consulto suo*) in Rome in 336–37. According to the fragmentary inscription, Albinus was honored as a son of C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, distinguished office-holder: twice ordinary consul, twice prefect of the city, and praetorian prefect.¹ If the restoration is correct, the dedication awarded by the senate to Volusianus' son in the last years of the reign of Constantine boasted praetorian and city prefectures as well as consulship received under the reign of Maxentius. In a new interpretation of this inscription, Fanny Del Chicca has suggested that the statue for Albinus was set up on the Capitoline Hill.² However, even with only one missing line of the inscription restored, without supplementing the praetorian and urban prefecture, Volusianus is still celebrated on account of his double consulship, normally a source of great pride. The second consulship received during the urban prefecture in 314 had been a timely occasion for dedications for Volusianus, yet the *cursus honorum* publicized in that year saw both his consulship and city prefecture held under the usurping emperor excluded.³

Examining the self-representation of the late imperial senatorial aristocracy, I look at honorific language and patterns of self-display in the inscriptions set up for the senatorial office-holders both in Rome and in provinces. Honorific statuary was the site in which the ideological self-representation of the ruling order was acted out and the field in which this representation was equally contested. I maintain that this type of evidence allows one to trace concurrently the public image of

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¹ CIL 6 1708=31906=ILS 1222=LSA-1416: *Rufi Volusiani, bis ordinarii cons(ulis), [bis praefecti urbi, praef(ecti) praetorio] / filium...* PLRE 1, 37 Ceionius Rufius Albinus 14; 976–78 Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 4 (praetorian prefect in 310, urban prefect in 310–11, and consul in 311).

² Fanny Del Chicca, “La presunta restituzione al senato dell’auctoritas di nominare i magistrati minori,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 204 (2017): 284: *Rufi Volusiani bis ordinarii cons. filium / senatus ex consulto suo, quod eius liberis / [postulantibus, statuae in Capitolio ponendae]...*

³ CIL 6 1707=41319=ILS 1213=AE 2003, 207=LSA-1415; AE 2003, 207=LSA-1573. Pierfrancesco Porena, *Le origini della prefettura del pretorio tardoantica* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2003), 265–67.

the senatorial aristocracy and of the emperor in the tetrarchic period. It will be argued that the honorific monuments erected for the senatorial aristocracy in the age of Tetrarchy articulated official expressions of imperial ideology internalized by the *ordo senatorius*. I will conclude with the account of the ideological role of public epigraphic monuments translating the official discourse as part of rituals of ideological recognition in the shaping of senatorial self-understanding.

About two dozen honorific cursus inscriptions for prominent senators erected throughout the empire in the tetrarchic period are preserved, recording their career over a long time span.⁴ Although the epigraphic record is rather sparse, the honorific statuary was still a common medium of self-representation for senatorial magistracies in Rome, where restrictions on aristocratic self-display remained in place as long as the city was the emperors' residence. However, after the withdrawal of emperors from the city,⁵ this representational field was deregulated and came to be the primary domain of senatorial self-display.

The consulship was the highest imperial honor. André Chastagnol and others have placed a reform of the suffect consulship, which differentiated it from the ordinary consulship, around 315, when the former was reduced in status to a minor office.⁶ Benet Salway has recently dated it to 313, when the ordinary consulship was uncoupled from the *cursus honorum* of the city of Rome, losing its status of urban magistracy and becoming a purely imperial honor. The suffect consulship continued as a minor magistracy at the beginning of the traditional senatorial career.⁷ Seldom explicitly mentioned, the suffect consulship can be inferred from the cursus inscriptions. Thus, the proconsulship of Africa held by the traditional

⁴ The full cursus is known of *PLRE* 1 T. Flavius Postumius Titianus 9, L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius 12, Attius Insteius Tertullus 6, C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 4, and C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus 15; and fragmentary cursus of L. Artorius Pius Maximus 43, Cassius Dio, M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus 14, Nummius Tuscus 1, C. Iunius Tiberianus 7, C. Annius Annulinus 3, and Aradius Rufinus 10. See Wolfgang Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie. Das römische Reich zwischen Krisenbewältigung und Neuaufbau (284-313 n. Chr.)* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2001), 403. Of twenty-one inscriptions, nineteen are Latin and two are Greek dedications; all are in prose, honoring seventeen different senators, including two women.

⁵ Besides Maxentius' short-term Roman rule, the capital saw only a few imperial visits, namely those of Maximian in 299, Diocletian and Maximian in 303, Maximian in the winter of 307 until April 308, and Constantine in 312 and 315.

⁶ André Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain à l'époque impériale: Recherches sur la composition de l'assemblée et le statut de ses membres* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1992), 247; Wolfgang Kuhoff, *Studien zur zivilen senatorischen Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: Ämter und Amtsinhaber in Clarissimat und Spektabilität* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1983), nos. 54 and 59.

⁷ Benet Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite in the Fourth Century AD," in *Elites in the Ancient World*, ed. Piotr Briks (Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 2015), 219.

senatorial aristocrats implies prior tenure of a suffect consulship. The honorific inscription to Volusianus mentions that he had held the proconsulship of Africa, which presupposes a suffect consulship.⁸ The division of the ordinary and suffect consulship may be linked to the proclamation of the ordinary consuls, one of whom was Volusianus, on 1 January 314.⁹ Constantine wanted to annul honors bestowed by the usurper – the ordinary consulship of 310 – and Volusianus' suffect consulship got discounted as an unintended consequence.¹⁰ By the early decades of the fourth century the suffect consulship was held by senatorial offspring in their twenties and rarely included in the *cursus* inscriptions.¹¹

Other scholars detected the Constantinian reform of the suffect consulship around 324, simultaneously with Constantine's upgrade of all senatorial governorships to the rank of *consularis*.¹² Although the dedicatory text of the statue erected to C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus by Campanian Atina omits all mention of the urban magistracies, the city prefect had most likely been consular for about twenty years.¹³ Also, the consulship of Egnatius Caecilius Antistius Lucerinus, a member of the Capuan elite co-opted into the senatorial order, must have been a suffect consulship, as it appears early in his *cursus*.¹⁴

The old republican offices of the quaestorship and the praetorship had been occasionally omitted from *cursus* inscriptions already by the last quarter of the third century but still recorded as the standard start of the senatorial career.¹⁵ T. Campanius Priscus Maximianus and L. Suanus Victor Vitellianus are documented as *omnibus honoribus functi*.¹⁶ To the period of the Tetrarchy are also dated the

⁸ *CIL* 6 1707=*LSA*-1415, *CIL* 41319=*LSA*-1573.

⁹ Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 204, points also to an equation of the ordinary consulship of Volusianus with that of Annianus, who held it as his first introduction to the senate.

¹⁰ *CIL* 41319=*LSA*-1573.

¹¹ Besides Volusianus, other suffect consuls were *PLRE* 1 C. Macrinus Sossianus 2, L. Artorius Pius Maximus 43, Pompeius Appius Faustinus 7, L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius 12, Iunius Tiberianus 7, Aur. Hermogenes 8, T. Flavius Postumius Titianus 9 (or *adlectus inter consulares*), Attius Insteius Tertullus 6, L. Volusius Bassus Cerealis, and Aradius Rufinus 10. Kuhoff, *Studien*, 29–37.

¹² M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 57; Kuhoff, *Studien*, 37–39, 43–46. The new title of *consularis* granted the rank of suffect consul, making posts in the provinces more desirable for senatorial elites.

¹³ *CIL* 10 5061=*ILS* 1217=*LSA*-1978.

¹⁴ *AE* 1973, 136=*AE* 1999, 459=*LSA*-401. *PLRE* 1, 515 Egnatius Caeci... Antistius Luce... *signo* Aeriis.

¹⁵ As in the case of Titianus, Priscillianus Maximus, Tertullus, and Lucerinus. Of those, Titianus, Tertullus, and perhaps Lucerinus received both offices as candidates of emperors.

¹⁶ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 21–22.

praetorships of M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus and Pompeius Appius Faustinus.¹⁷ Under the Tetrarchy the senatorial starter office of quaestor allowed the sons of senators to enroll formally in the senate, as it persisted after Constantine's reforms of the hierarchy of senatorial ranks.¹⁸ Senators by birth, who needed to hold specific magistracies to confirm their status, pursued the office of quaestor, which conferred actual participatory membership in the senate.¹⁹ In turn, serving in the qualifying post of praetor allowed one to seek a post in the provinces.

In the list of the *Notitia* amongst *curatores urbis Romae* one finds *curatores statuarum*, *curatores aedium sacrarum*, *curatores alvei Tiberis et cloacarum Sacrae Urbis*, *curatores operum publicorum*, *curatores aquarum et Miniciae*, and *curatores viarum*.²⁰ The public monuments, buildings, and streets were managed by a *curator operum maximorum* and a *curator operum publicorum*. The important curatorships in the city of Rome feature most prominently in epigraphy in the period when they were independent from the urban prefecture.²¹ The early tetrarchic period is rich in references to *curatores* of senatorial rank. Urban *curatela*e are recorded in the honorific inscriptions for T. Flavius Postumius Titianus, *consularis aquarum et Miniciae*,²² L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius, *curator operum publicorum* and *curator aquarum et Miniciae*,²³ Cossinius Rufinus, *curator viae Flaminiae* and *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum sacrae Urbis*,²⁴ and Lucerinus, either *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum sacrae Urbis* or, more likely, *curator sacrae Urbis regionis II*.²⁵

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 199–220 calls for a more nuanced understanding of the Constantinian reforms, including the reduction in the importance of the quaestorship and the upgrading of equestrian offices to senatorial rank, and points to the positive effects of these reforms on the senatorial aristocracy of Rome.

¹⁹ Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 243–244, wrongly maintains that entry was through the praetorship. See Garbarino, *Ricerche sulla procedura di ammissione al Senato*.

²⁰ *Notitia Utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique Caesarum Tempora*, ed. László Borhy (Budapest: Pytheas, 2016).

²¹ Most crucially, after the end of Constantine's reign very few dedications in Rome were set up by imperial officials other than the prefect of the city. On this office, see André Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960).

²² *CIL* 6 1418=ILS 2941; 6 1419b.

²³ *CIL* 6 1673; 6 773=ILS 626.

²⁴ *CIL* 10 5061=ILS 1217. Both offices were held by Rufinus under Maxentius.

²⁵ Lines 5–7 were restored as *cur(ator)i/ [sacr]ae Urbis/ [reg(ionis) II ?]* and generally accepted. If the latter is correct, the honorand was part of a group of *curatores* of the regions of Rome of consular rank attested epigraphically in the Diocletianic and Constantinian period.

Since the rank of an individual was defined by the state offices which he held,²⁶ it was indispensable even for the aristocrats from most noble families to serve in the imperial government.²⁷ The governor remained the most important representative of late Roman imperial administration in the province. Several office titles were in use: *consularis*, *corrector*, and *praeses*. All *consulares* were *clarissimi*.²⁸ *Correctores* were governors of the provinces in Italy. Already in the early fourth century one witnesses the alternation between *perfectissimi* and *clarissimi correctores* in the diocese Italiciana.²⁹ Statue honors are attested for a substantial number of senatorial *correctores* of the tetrarchic period.³⁰ The same vacillation is valid for *praesides*.³¹ With the division into approximately one hundred provinces in the early fourth century, provincial governors were the most numerous officials in the imperial administration. The holding of office by senatorial aristocrats was essential for maintaining their interests on distant properties. Overall, participation in the imperial government enabled senators holding offices in the provincial administration to accumulate more honor, connections, and wealth than ever before.

²⁶ On senatorial policies of the tetrarchs, see succinctly Wolfgang Kuhoff, "Die Bedeutung der Ämter in Clarissimat und Spektabilität für die zivile senatorische Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr.," *Tituli* 4 (1982): 273–74; Jean-Michel Carrié and Aline Rouselle, *L'empire romain en mutation des Sévères à Constantin 192–337* (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 655–657; and Inge Mennen, *Power and Status in the Roman Empire, AD 193–284* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

²⁷ See Paolo Garbarino, *Ricerche sulla procedura di ammissione al Senato nel tardo impero romano* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1988).

²⁸ A fragmentary honorific inscription from Mazara of an unknown *consularis* of Sicilia, *PLRE* 1, 1019 Anonymus 84, dates perhaps to the early fourth century, *CIL* 10 7209=LSA-2062. *PLRE* 1, 993 Domitius Zenophilus *signo* Curetius is recorded in the office of *consularis Numidiae* in 320, *AE* 1915, 30=AE 2003, 2022.

²⁹ Giovanni Alberto Cecconi, *Governo imperiale e élites dirigenti nell'Italia tardoantica: problemi di storia politico-amministrativa (270–476 d.C.)* (Como: New Press, 1994), 28 and 34 with table 4.

³⁰ Volusianus, *corrector Italiae (per annos octo)* in 281–283 and 289–291, Titianus, *corrector Italiae Transpadanae* presumably in 291/92 and (the earliest known) *corrector Campaniae* perhaps in 292/93, Tertullus, *corrector Venetiae et Histriae* in 286/305, Cossinius Rufinus, *corrector Venetiae et Histriae*, *corrector Tusciae et Umbriae*, and *corrector Campaniae*, all under Maxentius, Latronianus, *corrector Siciliae* before 314, Zenophilus, *corrector Siciliae* before 320, Gratus, *corrector Lucaniae et Bruttii* sometime between 280 and 330, Perpetuus, *corrector Siciliae* in 312/24. Also, Fulvia Augurina, of senatorial rank, a wife of the governor (*corrector*) of Campania, P. Helvius Aelius Dionysius, received an honorific statue in Formia in the early fourth century as part of the honors awarded to her husband, *CIL* 10 6084=LSA-2044. *PLRE* 1, 259 P. Helvius Aelius Dionysius 8; 125 Fulvia Augurina.

³¹ L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius was *corrector utriusque Italiae* perhaps c. 288–296 before serving as *praeses Syriae Coele(s)* and *iudex sacrarum cognitionum totius Orientis* presumably c. 289/97. The latter office was that of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, a post still held by senators. Compare *PLRE* 1, 522 Virius Lupus 5; 1024 Anonymus 126; 725 Latinus Primosus.

However, the splendor of high provincial governorships, such as proconsulships, whose holders are celebrated in the honorific inscriptions, accrued even more prestige and distinction from less successful competitors for imperial posts. After the reform of Diocletian, there were *proconsules* only in Africa Proconsularis and Asia. Proconsuls, appointed directly by the emperor, were representatives of the central offices at court in the provinces. The proconsulship of Africa was an ancient post of high prestige, as mostly members of already established senatorial families had access to it.³² Similarly, the proconsul of Asia with his seat in Ephesus was a supra-provincial agency. Thus, L. Artorius Pius Maximus, proconsul of Asia in 287/98, is celebrated in the honorific text from Ephesus.³³ Further, the cursus of Cossinius Rufinus is an exceptional case of the proconsulship of Achaea held before *curatela*e and provincial governorships.³⁴ *Legati* were usually recorded in inscriptions with reference to their superiors, the proconsuls.³⁵

The holding of the proconsulship led to the city prefecture, the summit of the senatorial cursus. The tenures of Tertullus (307–8), Volusianus (310–11, 313–15), and Cossinius Rufinus (315–16) are memorialized in the honorific inscriptions in Rome. Tertullus and Volusianus had successful careers during the Tetrarchy and the reign of Maxentius,³⁶ while all the lower-ranking urban and Italian offices of Rufinus were possibly held under the usurping emperor.³⁷ The honorific inscription for Volusianus omits the senator's first tenure of the city prefecture under Maxentius.³⁸

³² Honorific inscriptions celebrate the proconsulship of Aristobulus (290–94), Titianus (295–296), L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius (298), Volusianus (probably in or before 305/306), Latronianus (probably 312–324), and perhaps Tertullus.

³³ Franz Miltner, “22. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos,” *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 44 (1959): 349 believed that Maximus could have been governor of Asia after his prefecture of Rome. However, the city prefecture was the highest senatorial rank of the time, and the holding of a provincial governorship after this post would be unprecedented: Chastagnol, *La prefecture urbaine*, 391–395.

³⁴ He could not have held the post under Maxentius, but may have been designated to Achaea right before, in 306. Downgraded by Diocletian as part of the provincial reforms of the 290s, Achaea was re-elevated to a proconsular province under Constantine in 324.

³⁵ In the West, *legatus proconsulis provinciae Africae* in 290–94, Cerealis, and in the East, L. Artorius Pius Maximus, *legatus Syriae Coeles* after 286, were commemorated in the honorific inscriptions celebrating their office. Also, Iunius Priscillianus Maximus is recorded in his honorific dedication as elected for an embassy to the province of Asia (*electo ad legationem provinciae Asiae*), that is, as legate to Asia.

³⁶ *PLRE* 1, 883–84 Tertullus 6 was prefect of the city in 307–8, which is the most likely date for the statue dedication; however, Fritz Mitthof, in *CIL* 6, p. 4736, suggests 310.

³⁷ *CIL* 10 5061=*ILS* 1217=*LSA*-1978: *ordo populusque Atinas quod in correctura / eius quae s(a) evissimam tyran/nidem incurrerat nullam / iniuriam sustinuerit / patrono dulcissimo.*

³⁸ *CIL* 6 1707=*ILS* 1213=*LSA*-1415.

The number of competitors for medium-ranking posts, such as proconsulships, and high-ranking offices, namely, the urban prefecture, saw an increase.

Besides prestigious positions, epigraphic evidence equally attests to the religious activities of senatorial aristocrats in their official and non-official roles.³⁹ Resident aristocrats exercised religious authority in Rome as high-ranking *sacerdotes* of public cults. Senators by birth were included in exclusive fraternities in their teens or early twenties. The college of pontiffs, augurs, *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and *epulones* constituted the four senatorial priestly colleges. These prestigious state priesthoods were reserved for a narrow circle of traditional Roman aristocrats. Titianus was augur and *pontifex dei Solis* by 295. His office of *pontifex* must date after Titianus had been *corrector Italiae*, since he then built and dedicated a *templum dei Solis* at Comum, although the priesthood is not recorded in the inscription.⁴⁰ He subsequently acquired another priesthood as *duodecemvir Urbis Romae*.⁴¹ Religious offices are included in the senatorial cursus in the honorific inscriptions.⁴² Women of senatorial descent holding a religious office, like Vestals, continue, as in the previous period, to receive honorific statuary, restricted however to the Atrium Vestae in the Roman Forum. Terentia Rufilla, *virgo Vestalis Maxima* in 300–301, is known to have been honored by at least three statues in Rome. From the time of Constantine, however, the functions and status of pagan priests steadily changed.

Unlike other posts, the imperial *comes* was a pure dignity, part of a hierarchical system of honors associated with service to the emperor. The conferral of the *comitiva* depended entirely on the favor of the emperor. While both the senatorial and equestrian orders had their own historic institutions and rules of membership independent of the emperor, no such institution existed for *comites*. These honors were not coupled with other posts but are listed in the cursus inscriptions as held between regular offices in the imperial administration. The *comitiva Augusti*, which appeared much earlier than any other *comitiva*, was equal to none of them in rank. Volusianus is attested as *comes domini nostri*, that is, of Constantine, while Cossinius Rufinus was *comes Augustorum*, that is, of Constantine and Licinius.

³⁹ As for the religious affiliation, Titianus, Volusianus, Cossinius Rufinus, Priscillianus Maximus, Gratus, and Rufilla were certainly pagans as holders of the state priesthoods.

⁴⁰ *AE* 1919, 52. Holders of civil posts in the imperial administration were in charge of building works *ex officio*.

⁴¹ *CIL* 6 1419b.

⁴² They are attested for Volusianus, *XVvir sacris faciundis* and perhaps *VIIvir epulonum*, Priscillianus Maximus, *pontifex maior*, *pontifex dei Solis*, and *vatis primaries*, L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius, *pontifex dei Solis*, Gratus, *augur publicus populi Romani Quiritium*, and Cossinius Rufinus, *augur*, *pontifex dei Solis*, and *salius palatinus*. Rufinus is no longer mentioned as *salius palatinus* in 315–316, but still held the two other priesthoods, *CIL* 6 32040.

Gratus was perhaps *comes*, if the inscription for the patron of Rhegium refers to him. Constantine encouraged senators to join both administrative as well as court positions and to participate in the imperial rituals.

Regarding the provenance of the honorific inscriptions for senators, most of them come from the provincial cities, with less than one third documented from Rome. Even fewer are securely attested as public dedications. Franz Alto Bauer regards the fourth-century Forum Romanum as a scene of traditionalist reaction of the resident aristocrats, asserting the primacy of the city of Rome.⁴³ The Roman Forum was the most prestigious space for the setting up of statues, but none of the known honorific monuments for male senatorial office-holders is known to have come from this site until the latter half of Constantine's reign. Only two statues for Rufilla, chief Vestal Virgin, were set up at the House of the Vestals in the Forum Romanum in 300 and 301, respectively. One more statue for the same honorand is of unknown provenance from Rome but may have originated from the same location.

Instead, four senatorial statues may have been installed in a domestic context in Rome. The provenance of the bases for the statues to L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius and Tertullus is unknown, but the indication of guilds as awarders reinforces the hypothesis that these statues were set up in a domestic space.⁴⁴ The inscription for Betitius Perpetuus *signo* Arzygius, set up by clients to their patron in Rome with no reference to any authority of the *urbs Roma*, was almost certainly originally set up in the family house (*domus*) of the senator.⁴⁵ In the provinces, however, statues for senatorial officials were put up in the most prominent civic locations.⁴⁶

⁴³ Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike: Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos* (Mainz: von Zabern 1996), 140.

⁴⁴ *LTUR* 2, 163.

⁴⁵ *LTUR* 2, 154.

⁴⁶ In the Italian provinces, four statues were put up in the Campanian cities, such as Capua, Formia, Atina, and Lavinium. They are followed by three more in Sicily: Lilybaeum, Mazara, Panormus. The inscription to Latronianus was recorded in the praetorium of Panormus. One more comes from Regium Iulium in Lucania et Bruttii. In African cities, three statues were installed in Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania, while one originates from Maxula in Africa Proconsularis. An inscription to Aristobulus was found in the Severan forum of Lepcis, in front of the southern colonnade. A statue for Caerealis was probably located in or at the Basilica Ulpia, the restoration of which was the reason to set up this honor to governor, see *Leptis Magna. Una città e le sue iscrizioni in epoca tardoromana*, eds. Ignazio Tantillo and Francesca Bigi (Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2010), map I. The location of that basilica was probably outside the Severan Forum, perhaps in the Old Forum. It is unlikely that this inscription was set up next to the other inscription to Caerealis set up some year earlier in the Severan forum, *LSA*-2170. Lastly, one statue was erected in Ephesus, the seat of proconsul of Asia.

As for the awarders, no senatorial statues are known to have been dedicated by emperors or the senate. Of the abovementioned monuments erected in the city of Rome, three public statues were awarded by clients, and two private ones were dedicated by urban corporations, namely, a guild of carpenters (*collegium fabrorum tignuariorum*), and a corporation of wholesale dealers (*corpus magnariorum*). In the provinces, one statue was erected by the provincials of Sicily, but the most numerous ones are those decreed by provincial councils, such as the council and people (*ordo populusque*) of Atina and Regium, and (ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος) of Panormus and Ephesus, with the latter being the native city of the honorand. The identification of Lucerinus as *curator rei publicae*⁴⁷ of Capua is suggested by the fact that the base was dedicated in that city, but he might have occupied this position elsewhere, being later honored in his native town, where he was probably a patron. Following local conventions for statues in Africa, the awarder was the city, in the case of the *ordo* of Maxula and Lepcis Magna, without an indication of the *populus*, while the people of Lepcis (*Lepcitani*) feature as the awarder without an indication of the *ordo*. The people of Lepcis (*Lepcimagnenses*) also set up another statue, this time by decree of the council (*ordo*). The priests and the *populus* of Lavinium as well as the people of Formia (*Formiani*) were responsible for two dedications, respectively.

The catalog of virtues, as recorded in the honorific inscriptions, highlights benevolence (*benevolentia/εὐνοία*), uprightness (*χρησιότης*), mildness (*laenitas*), goodness (*bonitas*), diligence (*industria*), care (*cura*), munificence (*munificentia*), integrity (*integritas*), blamelessness (*innocentia*), moderation (*moderatio*), justice (*iustitia*), and fairness (*aequitas*). Governors' merits are frequently lauded in general terms, commemorated on account of their virtue and authority as administrator and judge. Thus, "having experienced his benevolence towards all men and participating in the unsurpassable mildness of Domitius Latronianus,"⁴⁸ the city honored its governor on account of his magnanimity, whereas Aristobulus was praised as "a man of all virtues, of blameless integrity, of vigorous mildness, of sublime moderation, and of laudable justice."⁴⁹ Domitius Zenophilus was celebrated "on account of [his] exceptional gentleness and the benign exercise of his office, to a vigorous and praiseworthy judge,"⁵⁰ while L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius

⁴⁷ Other senatorial city curators were Priscillianus Maximus, Lucerinus, and Cerealis.

⁴⁸ IG 14 296=CIL 3 5551=LSA-1514: [Τ]ῆς πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπων[ους] [ε]ὐνοίας πεπραθέντες [κα]ὶ τῆς ἀνυπερβ[λή]του χρη[στό]τητος μετασχόντες [Δ]ομτίου Λατρονιανοῦ...

⁴⁹ LSA-2168: ... *omnium virtutum viro, innocentis integritatis, vicoratae(!) lenitatis, sublimis moderationis, laudavilis(!) iustitiae*...

⁵⁰ CIL 10 7234=LSA-2065: ... *pro meritis eximiae laenitatis et benignae administrationis, [s]trēnuo [a] c̄ p̄vaedicabili iudici*...

received a statue honor as “friend” (*amator*) of the council of Maxulae, “grateful and compliant for his many merits towards them.”⁵¹ Gratus, if the inscription indeed refers to him, is called a man “of admirable goodness and ... kindness,” and is equally praised on account of his unspecified deeds (*ob merita eius*).⁵²

Other inscriptions celebrate specific benefactions of governors towards the provincial cities. The councils of the Sicilians and the people rewarded their benefactor, Perpetuus, with a statue, “after two years of his deeds” (μετὰ διέτιαν τῆς πράξεως), “who renewed all cities of Sicily, and who kept the councils well, who relieved the civic duties with his own insight and did benefactions in the entire province.”⁵³ After “decorating the fatherland with many and great works as well as refurbishing the imperial gymnasium,”⁵⁴ L. Artorius Pius Maximus is honored by the city of Ephesus as its own and the fatherland’s benefactor. The fellow citizen of the people of Leptis Magna, Cerealis, was extoled as “a man of complete integrity and fairness as well as comparable moderation” (*totius innocentiae et aequitatis et consimilis moderationis viro*), since “among other works that he renovated with industry and the greatest labor, he restored the Ulpian basilica ... to a better appearance, at public expense.”⁵⁵ Lastly, the city of Atina bestowed honors on Cossinius Rufinus, because during his term of *corrector* under the usurper it did not suffer any injustice.⁵⁶

In Rome, Titianus was honored as orator, great-grandson and attendant to the orator Marcus Postumius Festus.⁵⁷ Volusianus was styled the “most religious” (*religiosissimo*),⁵⁸ while Rufilla, “the most worthy” (*dignissim(ae)*), was lauded as “most blessed, most scrupulous, most chaste, most outstanding” and “of remarkable sanctity.”⁵⁹ Fashioned as “a distinguished man, who surpassed the diligence of

⁵¹ CIL 8 12459=LSA-2448: ... *ob multa erga se merita universus obsequens gratus ordo*.

⁵² AE 1923, 61=LSA-1807: [*Mi*]rae bonitati et [---] benivolentiae(!)...

⁵³ CIL 6 31961=ILS 8843=LSA-1536: ... τὸν ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις τῆς Σικελίας ἀνανεώσαντα καὶ τὰ βουλευτήρια καλῶς διοικήσαντα τὰς τε λιτουργίας ἰδίας ἐπινοίαις ἐπικουφίσαντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τὴν ἐπάρχιον(!) εὐεργετήσαντα...

⁵⁴ LSA-724: ... πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἔργοις κοσμήσαντα τὴν πατρίδα ἀνανεωσάμενόν τε καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον...

⁵⁵ LSA-2192: ... *inter cetera opera quae industria et labore maximo renovavit Ulpian basilicam cum ... in meliorem faciem publico sumptu restituit...*

⁵⁶ CIL 10 5061=ILS 1217=LSA-1978: ... *quae s(a)evissimam tyrannidem incurrerat nullam iniuriam sustinuerit...*

⁵⁷ CIL 6 1418=ILS 2941=LSA-1325: *oratori, pronepoti et sectatori M(arci) Postumi Festi orat(or)is*.

⁵⁸ CIL 6 1707=ILS 1213=LSA-1415.

⁵⁹ CIL 6 2141=LSA-1486: *sanctissimae, religiosissimae, pudicissimae, praestantissimae*; CIL 6 2143=LSA-1487: *mirae sanctitatis*.

all former prefects” (*[inlu]stri viro et omnium retro praefecto[rum i]ndustriam supergresso*), Tertullus was awarded a statue in Rome “on account of the care which he took, with attention to their misery and with incomparable diligence” by the corporation of wholesale dealers, freed “from fear and danger” (*metu et discrimine liberatum*), and “on account of his outstanding deeds and singular munificence towards it.”⁶⁰

In the tetrarchic period, senators remained the wealthiest landowners, most important office-holders, and most powerful brokers of imperial patronage. They were honored as patrons of cities,⁶¹ guilds and corporations,⁶² and individuals.⁶³ In the honorific inscriptions, senators were commonly remembered as patrons with honorific epithets: Titianus and perhaps Gratus are styled the “most outstanding patron” (*patrono praestantissimo*), just as Rufilla (*patronae praestantissimae*). Cossinius Rufinus is called “sweetest patron” (*patrono dulcissimo*), Tertullus, “deserving patron” (*digno patrono*), Cerealis, “perpetual patron” (*patrono perpetuo*), while Priscillianus Maximus and Perpetuus are merely honored as patrons (*patrono*). L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius is celebrated by the city of Maxula, having received the benefits of his patronage (*mutis in se patrociniis co[n]latis*).

As for the material and vestment of the statues, at least one was certainly in bronze and another in marble, with the latter wearing a himation, the second most common garment of late antique honorific sculptures after the toga. The himation statue was re-used for L. Artorius Pius Maximus⁶⁴ or Damocharis⁶⁵ in

⁶⁰ *CIL* 6 1696=LSA-1401: ...[ob curam quam egit, ut fortunae eorum] inopia ing[enti afflictiae sollicitudine eius] miseriae atque incomparabili [industria, cum in] apertum periculum proruebant, recreatae atque confotae redditis pristinis viribus, convalescerent et aeternum robur acciperent, atque (ob) eius aegregia(!) facta et in se munificentiam singularem...

⁶¹ Honorific inscriptions were dedicated to Cossinius Rufinus, patron of Atina, Priscillianus Maximus, patron and curator of Lavinium, Gratus, possibly patron of Regium Iulium, Cerealis and Aristobulus, patrons of Lepcis Magna, as well as Perpetuus, patron of Sicilian cities.

⁶² L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius was honored as patron by the guild of carpenters (*fabri tignuarii*), while Tertullus was honored by the corporation of wholesale dealers (*magnarii*) in Rome.

⁶³ L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius probably became their patron while he was *curator operum publicorum*. Titianus, *consularis aquarum et Miniciae*, likely secured the appointment of his client T. Aelius Poemenius as his assistant in this office and was honored by a statue. Rufilla was celebrated as patroness of Aelia Ianuaria with Leontia, otherwise unknown, as well as Aurelius Eutyches, a client.

⁶⁴ LSA-724.

⁶⁵ LSA-727.

Ephesus either in the late third or mid-fifth century, respectively.⁶⁶ A bronze statue (*statuam aere insignem*) of Tertullus, prefect of the city, was erected to its patron by the corporation of wholesale dealers in the house of the honorand in 307–10.⁶⁷ In addition, the public honorific statue of Cerealis, legate and patron of the city, set up in Lepcis Magna in 290–94, may have been a bronze one. On the top face of the base, there are two large and deep cylindrical holes, one at the front and one at the back edge, and the imprint of a foot at the front hole; these testify to a bronze statue that once stood on the base, facing the front, with its left leg set forward. There is no indication that the bronze statue was later replaced by a marble statue.⁶⁸

To conclude, the public image of Roman senators under the Tetrarchy as testified to by epigraphic evidence saw limited possibilities of representation. Despite remaining important office-holders in the capital and the empire, no public statues for senatorial office-holders are attested in the city of Rome, which can be seen as a continuation of third-century tendency. Only with the establishment of the sole rule of Constantine did a deregulation of senatorial representation in the Forum Romanum take place. In the provinces, however, the honorific monuments celebrated the unwavering loyalty of the senatorial administrators to the imperial government. The increase of honors for senators was a direct consequence of the Constantinian expansion of the senatorial administration as opposed to the allocation of many important posts to equestrians under the Tetrarchy.

During the first three centuries of the empire senators internalized imperial ideology, sharing the same notion of the social order they lived in. However, consistent with other types of ideological production such as panegyrics, the constellations of senatorial inscriptions urged their readers to share a similar complex of beliefs peculiar to the tetrarchic regime. The distribution of senatorial honorific imageries and texts throughout the empire ushered a symbolic communication that functioned across linguistic boundaries. Further changes in epigraphic practice allowing monumental public visibility for senators in Rome, and the development of an underlying idea of the senatorial nobility as office-

⁶⁶ *LSA*-728 (by Johanna Auinger). The over life-size statue was discovered near its accompanying base. It represents a man wearing a tunic and a himation and clad in sandals. The statue, dated to early high imperial time, was reused for the late-antique governor. Miltner, “22. Vorläufiger Bericht,” 348-349, figs. 187, 189, 190, who found the ensemble, the statue and the base, wrongly described the statue as contemporary with the inscription of Damocharis at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.

⁶⁷ *CIL* 6 1696=*LSA*-1401.

⁶⁸ *LSA*-2170.

holding aristocracy, correlate chronologically with its rise to power opened by the new possibilities of active service in the imperial government.

List of abbreviations:

- AE* *L'Année Épigraphique*, Paris, 1888–.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin, 1903–.
- ILS* Dessau, H. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1892–1916.
- LSA* *Last Statues of Antiquity*, <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>.
- LTUR* 2 Steinby, E. M., ed. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. 2: D–G. Rome, 1995.
- PLRE* 1 Jones, A. H. M. et al., eds. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1: AD 260–395. Cambridge, 1971.