

PROCONSULS OF AFRICA, 337–392

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DURING THE REIGNS of Diocletian and Constantine, and again between 392 and 415, the proconsulate of Africa was an annual office, renewable and not infrequently renewed, but with each tenure lasting in theory approximately a twelvemonth. Moreover, both under Constantine and at the very end of the fourth century, the proconsular year appears to have begun and ended in April.¹ The same pattern ought also to exist between 337 and 392, and a recent analysis of the careers of western senators in the later fourth century speaks of “the normal period of about a year” for the proconsulates of Africa, Asia, and Achaëa.² The present investigation seeks to demonstrate that, with a single deviation from the rule, the principle of strictly annual proconsulates beginning in April holds between the deaths of Constantine (22 May 337) and Valentinian II (15 May 392).

A preliminary question must be raised. If tenure is annual, then attestation on a single day implies a proconsul’s presence in Africa for a whole year. But does the issue of an imperial constitution to a named proconsul on a given day always entail that the man named was proconsul on that day? Not necessarily. Constitutions were issued at Milan on 17 March 397 (*CTh* 12.5.3) and at Ravenna on 5 March 405 (*CTh* 16.12.2) to the proconsuls of Africa for 397/8 and 405/6 before they left Italy—presumably instructions equivalent to the *mandata* which early imperial proconsuls received from the emperor before they set out for their province.³ The evidence for the younger Nicomachus Flavianus’ proconsulate of Asia is equally suggestive. Symmachus records Flavianus’ arrival in Rome on 28 February in preparation for his departure to Asia (*Epp.* 2.24), and Flavianus is attested as proconsul by imperial constitutions dated 27 February 383 (*CTh* 7.18.8 + 9.29.2, styling him praetorian prefect in error) and 10 May 383 (*CTh* 12.6.18). The date of Symmachus’ letter is surely not 382 (as has sometimes been assumed),⁴ but 383: Flavianus will have left Rome in March 383, with the constitution of 27 February being issued in anticipation of his journey to Asia.

¹*The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) 168 ff.; *Phoenix* 37 (1983) 256 ff.

²J. F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364–425* (Oxford 1975) 14.

³*Phoenix* 37 (1983) 257, 259. For *mandata*, see especially F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.–A.D. 337)* (London 1977) 313 ff.

⁴*PLRE* I.345. The beginning of Flavianus’ proconsulate is correctly dated to 383 by O. Seeck, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Auct. Ant. 6.1 (1883) cxxi; Matthews (above, n. 2) 114.

I

The proconsul of Africa in the last year of Constantine (336/7) was Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, the dedicatee of Firmicus Maternus' treatise on astrology (*Math.* 1 pr. 8, cf. *ILS* 1225; *AE* 1977.198), and Aurelius Celsinus is firmly lodged in 338/9 (*CTh* 10.10.4: 12 June 338; 12.1.27: 8 January 339, cf. *CIL* 8.12272; *ILT* 757). Space must also be found for Antonius Marcellinus (*CIL* 8.25524: Bulla Regia), who had become praetorian prefect by 29 April 340 (*CTh* 11.12.1): since the year of his proconsulate can hardly be 339/40, it must be either 337/8 or one of the three vacant years between 333 and 336.

The vacant triennium prompts a conjecture. Under Constantine, who became ruler of Africa in November 312, no fewer than four proconsuls held office for two years (viz. Aelianus in 313–315, Petronius Probianus in 315–317, Aco Catullinus in 317–319, and Sex. Anicius Paulinus, probably in 322–324), while Domitius Zenophilus was proconsul for no less than four years, from 328 to 332 (*IL Afr.* 456: Bulla Regia; *AE* 1981.878: Ain Rchine).⁵ In contrast, there is no hint that any proconsul stayed in Africa for more than one year in the available evidence (admittedly scrappy) for the two decades following the death of Constantine. Now Cezeus Largus Maternianus, who had been legate to the proconsul M. Ceionius Julianus in 327/8 (*ILS* 5518), was subsequently *tertio proconsul provinciae Africae* (*IL Alg.* 1.4012 = *AE* 1922.17: Madauros). On cautious inference, that undated attestation suffices only to assign Maternianus' proconsulate to "the middle of the fourth century."⁶ However, there is a strong temptation to assign Maternianus' triennium to 333–336 precisely, for that will complete, without space for any further names, the roster of Constantinian proconsuls of Africa. If that conjecture is correct, then the fasti of the proconsulate of Africa from 333 to 341 can be reconstituted as follows:

333–336	Cezeus Largus Maternianus
336/337	Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus
337/338	Antonius Marcellinus
338/339	Aurelius Celsinus
339/340	
340/341	Proculus (<i>CTh</i> 11.30.21: 28 November 340)

For 339/340 several possible candidates are available, but none whose claim can be rendered probable. Moreover, there is no precisely dated or precisely datable named proconsul of Africa for another dozen years. Even the order of discussion, therefore, must be in some degree arbitrary.

(1) Isidore of Seville describes Adelphius, the husband of the Christian

⁵On the attribution of the acephalous *IL Afr.* 456, see *New Empire* (above, n. 1) 170 f., cf. 106 f.

⁶*PLRE* 1.567.

poetess Proba, as proconsul (*De Vir. Ill.* 18 [*PL* 83.1093]: *Proba uxor Adelphii proconsulis*). That may be a mistake, since a manuscript heading to Proba's Virgilian cento styles her *Proba, uxor Adelphii ex praefecto urbis*,⁷ and the highest office which Clodius Celsinus *signo* Adelphius attained was the urban prefecture of Rome under the régime of Magnentius, from 7 June to 18 December 351 (*Chr. min.* 1.67; Ammianus 16.6.2; *CIL* 6.1717).⁸ However, Adelphius' only other attested post is as *corrector* of Apulia et Calabria before 333 (*ILS* 1239),⁹ and he could have been proconsul of Africa in 339/40.

(2) An inscription from Hippo reveals the career of M. Aurelius Consius Quartus the younger as far as the proconsulate of Africa, which was his fifth official appointment (*AE* 1955.150).¹⁰ Quartus had been *corrector* of Flaminia et Picenum, then of Venetia et Histria. Since the province of Flaminia et Picenum was governed by *correctores* under Constantine, but by a *consularis* under Magnentius (*AE* 1904.52; 1951.17), the first post must fall before 350. Quartus was next *consularis* of Belgica Prima, a post whose title entails a date during or after the reign of Constantine, who raised the rank of the governors of selected provinces from *corrector* to *consularis*. Finally before the proconsulate, Quartus was *vicarius Hispaniarum*. Now it seems that the official in charge of the diocese of Hispaniae bore the title of *comes*, rather than *vicarius*, in the last years of the reign of Constantine (from 332) and when Spain was ruled by Constantinus (337–340).¹¹ The emperor Constans, whose portion of the empire had included Italy and Africa from 335, while he was still a Caesar, only became ruler of Spain in the spring of 340, when Constantinus was killed. Quartus' proconsulate, therefore, belongs after 341 rather than in 339/40. An Albinus is attested as *vicarius Hispaniarum* on 7 April 341 (*CTh* 11.36.5 + *CJ* 7.62.20).

(3) L. Crepereius Madalianus was proconsul of Africa after being *vicarius Italiae* (*ILS* 1228: Calama). He is attested in the latter office in 341 (*CTh* 16.10.1) and may have become proconsul very shortly thereafter.

(4) Postumius Rufius Festus *signo* Avienius, a translator of Aratus and a poet in his own right, was proconsul of both Achaëa and Africa (*IG* 3.635; inscription from Bulla Regia [quoted at *PLRE* 1.336]; *ILS* 2944). The dedication of his poem *Ora Maritima* to Petronius Probus, the future consul of

⁷Palatinus 1753, f. 62^r, published by A. Reifferscheid, *Sb Wien*, Phil.-hist. klasse 56 (1867) 552. Montfaucon reported a note in a manuscript which he saw in a monastery near Modena attributing to Proba an account of Constantius' war against Magnentius (see K. Schenkl, *CSEL* 16 [1888] 513).

⁸*PLRE* 1.192 f.

⁹A. Chastagnol, *Latomus* 36 (1977) 801 ff.

¹⁰For discussion of Quartus' career, A. Chastagnol, *Libyca* 7 (1959) 191 ff.

¹¹*New Empire* (above, n. 1) 145.

371, while the latter was a youth (26 *parentis credidi officium fore*), implies indirectly that the proconsulate of Achaea at least falls before 350.¹²

(5) Flavius Dardanius was proconsul in the joint reign of Constantius and Constans, i.e., between spring 340 and late winter 350 (*AE* 1934.133 = *ILT* 622: near Furnos Maius). Nothing further is known about him.

(6) As proconsul, Virius Lupus made a dedication at Carpi to Constantius as Augustus, i.e., between autumn 337 and late 361 (*CIL* 8.994 + p. 928). He must be either identical with or related to the Virius Lupus *signo* Victorius, who was *consularis* of Campania at an unknown date (*CIL* 10.3858; *Epigraphica* 29 (1967) 107 fig. 2, 113; *CIL* 14.2928).

(7) Saturninius Secundus Salutius had been proconsul of Africa before Constantius sent him to Gaul in the winter of 355/6 as an adviser to Julian (*ILS* 1255, cf. Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 281D; Zosimus 3.2.2). Presumably, the proconsulate falls before the murder of Constans in January 350.

(8) A fragmentary inscription from Mustis records the construction of a forum on the orders of a proconsul, whose name is lost, with Egnatuleius Crescens, his *legatus Numidiae*, under Constantius, Magnentius, and Decentius, i.e., between early 350 and late 352 (*AE* 1933.105 = *ILT* 1557).

(9) Memmius Vitrasius Ortus, who became *praefectus urbi* on 8 December 353 (*Chr. min.* 1.67), was probably proconsul of Africa in 352/3: the place of the proconsulate in four Roman inscriptions which attest his career suggests that Constantius appointed Ortus proconsul of Africa when or shortly after he gained control of Italy in September 352 (*CIL* 6.1739–1742).¹³ He will have replaced a nominee of Magnentius.

(10) A letter which Constantius wrote from Sirmium to the Roman Senate on 22 May 359 refers to one Facundus *ex proconsule* (*CTh* 6.4.15). The man appears to be otherwise unknown—and need not be a proconsul of Africa.

II

Between early 357 and the proconsular year 392/3, more than twenty five different proconsuls of Africa are attested. About half pose no problems, at least for the constitution of the fasti of the province. Accordingly, those proconsuls between 357 and 392 who are unambiguously attested within a

¹²J. F. Matthews, *Historia* 16 (1967) 487 ff., R. Seagraves, "The Riddle of R. Festus," *Actes du VII^e Congrès International d'Épigraphie grecque et latine* (Bucarest and Paris 1979) 468–470, argues that the Flavianus Myrmeicus *v.c.* to whom Avienius addressed a poem requesting pomegranates to be sent from Africa (*Anthologia Latina*, ed. A. Riese, no. 876) is the proconsul of 357/8—and deduces a date of 355 for Avienius' own proconsulate there.

¹³A. Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1962) 142.

single proconsular year (from April to April), will simply be registered in the list which concludes the present investigation. The rest require discussion. The order is chronological.

Two laws of Constantius are addressed to a Flavianus as proconsul of Africa, who may be presumed identical with the proconsul -lius Flavianus of an inscription from Sicca (*CIL* 8.27571).¹⁴ Their dates are 3 August 357 (*CTh* 11.36.14: year emended from 361)¹⁵ and 27 October 357 (*CTh* 8.5.10). Recent scholars also identify Flavianus as the proconsul of Africa who received a constitution which the compilers of the Theodosian Code attributed to Constantine and dated to 319 or 320 (*CTh* 15.1.1, cf. 2, which has the transmitted date of 11 April 321).¹⁶ The subscription reads: *dat(a) IIII non. Feb. Med(iolano), acc(epta) VIII id. Iul. Constantino A. et Caes. cons.* To date the law to 357 requires the consular date to be emended to *Constantio A. VIIII et Iuliano C. II cons.*, which could be correct. Yet the year 353 (*Constantio A. VI et Constantio C. II cons.*) might have an equal claim on palaeographical and other grounds, since Constantius seems to have spent the winter of 352/3 in Milan. Nor can 356 be excluded, on the same criteria (*Constantio A. VIII et Iuliano C. cons.*).¹⁷ And there is a further peculiarity in this evidence: in the heading, the only manuscript has *pu. Afric(ae)* for *p(ro)c(onsulem)*. The prudent course, therefore, is to distrust both heading and subscription, while conceding the possibility that the problematical law may be potential evidence that -lius Flavianus was proconsul for the biennium 356–358 rather than for the single proconsular year 357/8, in which he is unequivocally attested.

The career of Sex. Claudius Petronius Probus, consul in 371 and four times praetorian prefect, is abundantly documented by varied epigraphic, legal, and literary evidence.¹⁸ Until very recently, his proconsulate of Africa seemed unproblematical, being firmly dated by an imperial constitution issued by Constantius at Sirmium on 23 June 358 (*CTh* 11.36.13). An inscription from Capua imports a difficulty, at least as restored and interpreted by its editor:

*Claudio Petronio Probo v. [c.
proconsuli Africae et s[imul
uno eodemque tempor(e) et fiam
4 praetorio prefectura pol[lenti
consuli ordinario . . .* (AE 1972.76)

¹⁴The name [Flavia]nus is also restored in *CIL* 8.24609 (Utica) by J.-P. Callu, *Antiquités africaines* 15 (1980) 273 ff. (whence *AE* 1980.903).

¹⁵O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1919) 76, 204.

¹⁶*PLRE* 1.344, following Seeck, *Regesten* 203—and misstating the transmitted date as 357.

¹⁷For Constantius' movements between 352 and 357, see Seeck, *Regesten* 198 ff.

¹⁸*PLRE* 1.736–740.

Publishing the new text, G. Barbieri argued that the famous Petronius Probus could not be the Probus attested as proconsul in 358: since the former was simultaneously proconsul of Africa and praetorian prefect, he must have been proconsul after 363 and should, therefore, be presumed identical with the Petronius Claudius attested as proconsul under Valentinian.¹⁹ That is highly anomalous (for L. Aradius Valerius Proculus under Constantine provides no real parallel),²⁰ and it seems surprising that none of the other inscriptions which summarise Probus' career (*ILS* 1265–1268) notes the unusual combination of proconsulate and prefecture. In line 2, therefore, read "s[ub]": the inscription may then emphasise the indisputable and well attested fact that Probus was ordinary consul in 371 during a praetorian prefecture of Illyricum, Italy, and Africa which lasted from 368 to 375.²¹

Proclianus is explicitly attested as proconsul of Africa by two fragments of what was clearly the same law, whose transmitted dates are 19 January 356 (*CTh* 4.13.4) and 18 January 354 (*CTh* 11.36.10): both concern the payment of taxes, both were issued at Constantinople, and one was also *acc(epta) X Kal. Aug. Karthagine* (*CTh* 11.36.10). Since Constantius cannot have been in Constantinople in the middle of January in any year between 342 and 360, the law belongs to January 360. Proclianus, therefore, was proconsul for 359/60 and also, unless another man received the law in Carthage, for the following year. To the proconsul Proclianus, and indeed to the same law, has also been attributed an extract in the Theodosian Code dealing with the tax-privileges of Eusebius, the consul of 347, Arsaces the king of Armenia, and the *patricius* Datianus, which has the transmitted date of 17 June 315 (*CTh* 11.1.1).²² But the heading to this extract has the bare *ad Proclianum* without title, while its content both suits a *comes sacrarum largitionum* and implies a date in 356 or 357.²³ If that is so, *dat(a) XV Kal. Iul. Constantinop(oli)* may be an error for *acc(epta)*. More important, if the proconsul of 359/60 had been *comes sacrarum largitionum* in the East, then he was a trusted servant of Constantius, whom that emperor, in contravention of his normal practice, continued in office for a second year—perhaps because of events in Gaul, where Julian was proclaimed Augustus in February 360.

Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius, *praefectus urbi* by 21 May 374 (*CTh*

¹⁹G. Barbieri, "Nuove iscrizioni di Capua," *Terza Miscellanea greca e romana (Studi pubblicati dall' Istituto italiano per la storia antica* 20 [1971]), 291–305.

²⁰As proconsul in 332/3, Proculus established the short-lived praetorian prefecture of Africa and served briefly as its first prefect (*New Empire* [above, n. 1] 133).

²¹At the end of line 3, both reading and restoration are uncertain: from the published photographs (*Terza miscellanea* [above, n. 19] Tav. IV–VI), it appears that the letter which Barbieri read as T could also be E, I or L.

²²Seeck, *Regesten* (above, n. 15) 44, 207; *PLRE* 1.741.

²³J. Rougé, *RHDFE* 52 (1974) 285 ff.

11.36.22, cf. Ammianus 27.3.2, 29.6.17 ff.), had earlier been proconsul of Africa (*CIL* 6.499 = *ILS* 4147). Of the years available between 357 and 374 (viz. 362/3 and 365/6), the later deserves preference.

Julius Festus Hymetius is attested as proconsul of Africa by eight inscriptions, two of which place his proconsulate in the joint reign of Valentinian and Valens, but before Gratian was proclaimed Augustus on 24 August 367 (*ILAlg* 1.2102: Madauros; *CIL* 8.15581 = *ILT* 1542 = *AE* 1932.14: Mustis, cf. *Chr. min.* 1.241; Socrates, *HE* 4.11.3).²⁴ Two laws offer precise dates, viz. 25 May 366 (*CJ* 3.16.1) and 9 June 367 (*CTh* 9.19.3). However, the second date can hardly be correct: in June 367, Valentinian was at Reims, not at Trier, where the law was issued. The date has, accordingly, been emended to 9 June 368,²⁵ which would imply (on the general hypothesis propounded here) that Hymetius was proconsul for three years from 366 to 369. But another proconsul is attested in the winter of 368/9 (*CTh* 12.12.6: 2 February 369). It should, therefore, be the month of the subscription, not the year, which is in error: in 367 Valentinian was in Trier on the ides of October, November, and December, and the transmitted *Iun.* should be emended to one of these months. Hymetius' proconsulate will thus have lasted two years only, from April 366 to April 368.

Hymetius' successor also held office for more than one year. Petronius Claudius is attested as proconsul, not only in inscriptions datable between 367 and 375 (*CIL* 8.27817 = *ILS* 5557: Sidi Ahmed el-Hacheni; *AE* 1955.52: Aradi; *AE* 1975.873: Abbir Maius), but also in five imperial constitutions. Two attestations in 369, on 2 February (*CTh* 12.12.6) and on 8 July (*CTh* 11.36.20, admittedly with *p(raefectum) u(rbi)* in error), are unproblematical and demonstrate a biennial tenure. Two other laws have the consular date *Valentiniano et Valente AA. cons.*, which could denote either 368, when Valentinian and Valens were consuls for the second time, or 370, when they were consuls for the third time (*CTh* 16.2.18: 17 February; 14.3.12: 1 December), while a fifth law unambiguously has the consular date of 26 April 370 (*CTh* 13.1.8). On this evidence it seems permissible to extend Claudius' proconsulate to a third year, from April 368 to April 371.

Sextius Rusticus Julianus, it was alleged, displayed a bestial desire for human blood even as proconsul of Africa (Ammianus 27.6.1). Yet his savagery did not preclude a proconsulate lasting for two years, from 371 to 373 (*CTh* 15.7.2: 6 September 371; 8.7.12: 30 May 372; 16.6.1: 20 February 373, cf. *CIL* 8.1447, 12455, 12537, 16400; *CJ* 11.11.2).

The proconsuls Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius (*CIL* 8.1219 = 14398, 14346, 25632, 25845, 26568; *ILAfr.* 275 = *AE* 1919.32; *IRT* 526) and Thalassius, the son and son-in-law of Ausonius, provide a demonstrable

²⁴For the other inscriptions attesting Hymetius as proconsul of Africa, *PLRE* 1.447.

²⁵Seeck, *Regesten* (above, n. 15) 232. The emendation is accepted in *PLRE* 1.447.

deviation from the practice of annual proconsulates—not the only administrative anomaly observable during the poet's brief political ascendancy.²⁶ Hesperius became proconsul of Africa in the spring of 376 (*CTh* 15.7.3: 10 March, presumably issued before he went to the province; 16.5.4: 22 April), is attested in 27 February 377 (*CTh* 8.5.34), and was still proconsul on 8 July 377 (*CTh* 1.32.2 + *CJ* 11.66.3). Yet, before the end of the proconsular year 377/8, Hesperius was appointed praetorian prefect as the colleague of his father (Ausonius, *Grat. Act.* 2.7; *CTh* 1.15.8: 21 January 378: year emended from 377). As proconsul, Hesperius was replaced by his brother-in-law Thalassius (Ausonius, *Epic. in patrem* 45), who held the post for eighteen months (Paulinus of Pella, *Euch.* 33 ff.). Thalassius, therefore, served as proconsul from October 377 to April 379, even though his only precisely dated attestation falls on 30 January 378 (*CTh* 11.30.7 + 11.36.23–25).

Helvius Vindicianus was proconsul under Theodosius (*AE* 1968.602: *Mus-tis*). Augustine commends his wisdom and skill in medicine (*Conf.* 7.6.8; *Epp.* 138.3) and records that as proconsul he had crowned him for his victory in a poetical contest (*Conf.* 4.3.5). Since Augustine left Carthage for Rome during 383,²⁷ the only vacant years for Vindicianus are 380/1 and 382/3, Fl. Afranius Syagrius being attested for 379/80, Herasius for 381/2, and Flavius Eusignius for 383/4. The later date seems too close to Augustine's departure from Carthage for Vindicianus' place in the *Confessions*.²⁸

Virius Audentius Aemilianus was proconsul of Africa when Gratian was the senior reigning emperor, i.e., between August 378 and August 383 (*CIL* 8.14728, cf. 1296 + 14798,²⁹ 24588, 24589 [undated]). Unless Vindicianus is to be lodged in 382/3, that must be Aemilianus' proconsular year. The proconsul in 383/4 was Flavius Eusignius (*AE* 1957.72; *ILAlg.* 1.260 = *AE* 1903.240), for whom two laws attest a precise date: one is unproblematical (*CTh* 1.3.1: 16 June 383), while the other was issued on 26 February 383 before Eusignius left Italy, unless the transmitted *IIII Kal. Mart.* is an error there. Only twice does she simply convey information, both times in short

²⁶On Ausonius' "collegiate prefecture," see A.H.M. Jones, *Roman Economy* (Oxford 1974) 375.

²⁷O. Perler, *Les voyages de Saint Augustin* (Paris 1969) 134 ff.

²⁸A date of 380 is adopted by P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London 1967) 16, 67. G. Guadagno, *Opuscula Romana* 7 (1969) 251 ff., not only assigns Vindicianus to 383/4, but also offers a list of proconsuls from 376 to 386 very different from that constituted here: he assumes a proconsular year beginning ca 1 July and takes *CTh* 10.20.9 to attest Flavius Eucherius as proconsul on 28 February 380. But *CTh* 10.20.9 states no office for its addressee (merely *ad Eucherium*), and it seems more likely that, though published in Carthage on 28 February 380, the law was issued in 379 to Eucherius as *comes sacrarum largitionum* (so *PLRE* 1.288).

²⁹On this fragmentary inscription, see G. Guadagno, *Opuscula Romana* 7 (1969) 246 ff.—who assigns Aemilianus to the proconsular year 380/1.

for *IIII Kal. Mai.* (*CTh* 12.1.95).

When Polybius returned from a proconsulate in Africa, he spent some days with Ambrose, the bishop of Milan (Ambrose *Epp.* 87 [*PL* 16.1339 f.], cf. *CIL* 8.24045). Few years between Ambrose's consecration in 374 and death in 397 are open for Polybius, and none (it seems) before 384/5 or after 390/1. Moreover, between 383 and 388, space must also be found for the proconsul V—adius, who held office while Africa recognised Valentinian, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Maximus as joint Augusti (*CIL* 8.23968 + 23969).

Felix Juniorinus Polemius was proconsul of Africa under Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius (*AE* 1949.28), but had become praetorian prefect of Italy and Illyricum by 16 January 390 (*CTh* 16.1.26). His proconsular year, therefore, must be 388/9, and he presumably replaced Maximus' original appointee for that year in the autumn of 388, after Maximus was defeated and killed.

Flavius Rhodinus Primus was proconsul between 383 and 392 (*CIL* 8.24044). The only vacant years are 390/1 and 391/2. A reference by Augustine to a lawsuit heard before Flavius Sacerdos, Primus' son and *legatus*, implies a date ca 392 (*Contra Cresconium* 4.3.3, 4.47.57, cf. *CIL* 8.1148 = 14279).³⁰

III

A list of proconsuls of Africa from 357 to 392 can now be offered. Evidence is adduced for those proconsuls who are unambiguously attested within a single, specific proconsular year: for all others, reference must be made to the preceding discussion.

357/358	-lius Flavianus
358/359	Sex. Claudius Petronius Probus
359–361	Proclianus
361/362	Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius ³¹
362/363	
363/364	Clodius Octavianus ³²
364/365	P. Ampelius ³³
365/366	?Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius

³⁰A. C. Pallu de Lessert, *BSNAF* 1917, 143 ff.—assuming a date in late 392 or early 393.

³¹*CTh* 2.19.4 + 20.1 (19 May 361); 8.5.7 (3 August 361: year emended from 354). Also ten inscriptions, none of which provides a precise date (listed in *PLRE* 1.640).

³²Ammianus 23.1.4 records his appointment by Julian in January 363, cf. *ILS* 756 (Thagora: under Jovian).

³³*CTh* 13.5.10 (8 March or May 364); *ILT* 1538b (Mustis); *ILAlg.* 1.2101 (Madauros: both between 364 and 367); 254 (Calama: between 364 and 375).

373/374	Q. Aurelius Symmachus ³⁴
374/375	Paulus Constantius ³⁵
375/376	Chilo ³⁶
376, April–	
377, October	Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius
377, October–	
379, April	Thalassius
379/380	Flavius Afranius Syagrius ³⁷
380/381	Helvius Vindicianus (possibly 382/3)
381/382	Herasius ³⁸
382/383	Virius Audentius Aemilianus (possibly 380/1)
383/384	Flavius Eusignius ³⁹
384/385	
385/386	Messianus ⁴⁰
386/387	
387/388	
388/389	Felix Juniorinus Polemius
389/390	Latinius Pacatus Drepanius ⁴¹
390/391	
391/392	Flavius Rhodinus Primus

Of the four vacant years between 384 and 391, one is occupied by Polybius, and another (no later than 387/8) by V—adius.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

³⁷*CTh* 1.15.10 (26 August 379).

³⁸*CTh* 15.7.9 (28 August 381). *PLRE* 1.837, 1074, registers Valerius Severus as a possible proconsul of Africa in autumn 381: it is more likely that the compilers of the Theodosian Code accidentally switched the subscriptions of *CTh* 12.12.8 and 9.

³⁹*CTh* 12.1.95 (26 February or 28 April 383); 1.3.1 (16 June 383), cf. *AE* 1957.72; *ILAlg.* 1.260.

⁴⁰*CTh* 10.1.13 (17 September 385); Augustine *Contra litteras Petilian* 3.25.30 (386).

⁴¹*CTh* 9.2.4 (4 February 390), cf. *ILT* 619 (Furnos Maius). Ausonius twice addresses Pacatus as a proconsul (*Technopaegnion* 1; *Ludus Septem Sapientium* 1).