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PETER I. WILKINS

The African Anicii – a Neglected Text and a New Genealogy

In African epigraphy, Quintus Anicius Faustus has only emperors and gods as rivals in frequency of attestation.¹ Nevertheless, notwithstanding the veritable fanfare of documentation which heralds the appearance of Faustus as Numidian legate under Severus, and the illustrious record of achievement bequeathed by his descendants throughout the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, only the faintest echoes survive of his immediate family and descendants in the third century. Faustus' own career moreover, prior to his lengthy command of the third Augustan legion, is utterly mute. Silence too passes over his forebears. To Faustus then, as has been widely suspected, may fall the honour of first bearer of the *latus clavus* of the eminent Anician *gens*.² Adlection *inter praetorianos* from an equestrian military command, as surmised by NOVAK, seems the likeliest path to the *amplissimus ordo*.³

If Faustus' early *cursus honorum* is unknown to us, his place of origin is not. This we owe to the recent discovery of twin statue bases erected by his wife and sister-in-law at Ain Zouza in Tunisia (AE [1969–70] 647): (a) *Seia Maxima Sex. Anici Saturnini de suo posuit, d. d.* (b) *Vesia Rustica Q. Anici Fausti de suo posuit, d. d.* Ain Zouza lies eight kilometres north of Uzappa, where another text (CIL VIII 11933) erected by the *ordo*, mentions a certain Sex. Anicius Faustus Paulinianus, who is described as *c(larissimus) i(uvenis) patronus patroni f(ilius): Sex. Anicio Fausto Pauliniano c. i. patrono patroni f. ordo [c]ivita[t]is Uz[ap]pen[sis] s]tatuum [f]acere cu[ra]vit idemq. [d]edicavit.*

The Anician *praedia* were evidently established in the vicinity of Uzappa, north of Mactaris, in the gentle uplands near Djebel Bargou. Paulinianus' identification as son of Faustus' (presumed) grandson, Sex. Cocceius Anicius Faustus Paulinus, proconsul of Africa, between 260 and 268, has been accepted by (among others) CAGNAT, GROAG, BARBIERI, BESCHAOUGH, NOVAK and CORBIER.⁴ It is my conten-

¹ There are on my estimate, 52 texts, to which this paper proposes to add another (CIL VIII 11933).

² Cf. D. M. NOVAK, The Early History of the Anician family, in: C. DEROUX ed., Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History I, Coll. Latomus n. 164, Bruxelles (1979) 136–7.

³ Ibid. p. 139.

⁴ Commentary to CIL VIII 11933 (R. CAGNAT); PIR² A598 (E. GROAG); G. BARBIERI, L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino, Roma (1952) n. 1426–7 and p. 640; A. BESCHA-

tion that a little known text from Thamugadi in Algeria (BCTH [1893], 159 n. 36) has dramatic implications for the third century Anician *stemma*, obliging us to make Paulinianus son, and not great grandson, of the Numidian legate.

The text I refer to is dedicated by Q. Tegonius Latinus⁵ son of a local *flamen*, to his *patronus*, a certain *(larissimus) p(uer)* Paullinianus (his other names are lost in a lacuna): [-] *Paullin[i]ano c.p. Q. Tegonius Latinus Q. Tegoni Saturnini fl. pp. filius patrono.*

Latinus has reappeared in a recently discovered dedication to his parents (AE [1980] 957), but of more consequence to us, is that Latinus' father, the *flamen* Tegonius Saturninus, erected a statue base at Thamugadi similar to that erected by Latinus to Paullinianus, to his patron Q. Anicius Faustus, the Numidian legate (BCTH [1909], 109 n. 8): *Q. Anicio Fausto cos., Tegonius Saturninus fl. pp., qq. col. Thamug., patrono.* Dedications by staff officers and clients to the wives and children of Numidian legates have survived in some quantity.⁶ Three different client groups for example, two at Lambaesis and one at Thamugadi honoured the two sons of the legate M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus with a statue each,⁷ and the son of another legate was likewise honoured by his father's *speculatores* at Lambaesis.⁸ It must be admitted that, unlike our inscription, the legates' sons are in all of these instances described as such (legates' wives are similarly always so described). This objection to the identification of Paullinianus as Faustus' son can be circumvented, if we suppose that the statue bases erected by Saturninus and Latinus form a pair and were erected at the same time (as their similarity suggests).⁹ The juxtaposition of the statues would thereby render the need to describe Paullinianus as Faustus' son redundant.

Numerous Numidian legates (besides two of their children and two of their wives)¹⁰ are referred to as patrons by private clients. Although the dedications by

OUCH, Uzappa et le proconsul d'Afrique, Sex. Cocceius Anicius Faustus Paulinus, MEFR 81 (1969) 195–218; D. M. NOVAK, *op. cit.* 130 n. 57, 153 and n. 156; M. CORBIER, *Les familles clarissimes d'Afrique proconsulaire (I^{er}–III^e siècle)*, in: *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, Tituli 5 (1982), 740–1. M. T. W. ARNHEIM, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford (1972), omits Paulinianus both from his *stemma* of the Anicii and from his discussion of the family (p. 109–10).

⁵ For the Tegonii, see now J. MARCILLET-JAUBERT, *Sur des flamines perpétuels de Numidie*, ZPE 69 (1987) 218 n. XVI.

⁶ Excluding BCTH (1893) 159 n. 36, there are eight dedications to wives (CIL VIII 2739, 2746, 2748, AE [1917–18] 52, 75, AE [1933] 70, AE [1967] 577, CRAIBL [1954] 273 n. 2 and seven to children (see below for references).

⁷ CIL VIII 2730–1; AE (1915) 27 and (1917–18) 49; AE (1938) 143 and (1946) 164.

⁸ CIL VIII 18083.

⁹ Their similarity is noted by H. PAVIS D'ESCURAC, *Flaminat et société dans la colonie de Timgad*, *Ant. Afr.* 15 (1980) 193.

¹⁰ Legates – CIL VIII 2743, 2797, 4600, ILAlg II 658, AE (1917–18) 52 and 76, AE (1934) 26, BCTH (1909) 109 n. 8. Wives – AE (1917–18) 52, AE (1933) 70. Children – AE (1938) 143, AE (1946) 64.

the Tegonii are the first instances in Numidia, it takes no great leap of imagination to envisage the son of a legate's client having as his patron that legate's son. What in fact could be more natural than to strengthen the ties of clientship with the second generation, and to further secure one's son's hopes for protection and promotion in the future? The binding of two generations may in fact imply that Faustus had some connection with Thamugadi other than that deriving from his army command (which the text in fact omits to mention) and his position as patron of the town, a connection of a more permanent nature in the form of either family or property. NOVAK has suggested a Cirtan *origo* for Faustus' sister-in-law Seia Maxima,¹¹ and possibly either she or her family had holdings around Thamugadi also.

If Paullinianus is Faustus' son, as has recently (and solely) been conjectured by H. PAVIS D'ESCURAC,¹² he must surely be equated with the only other known senatorial bearer of the *cognomen*,¹³ Sex. Anicius Faustus Paulinianus of Uzappa. (We may disregard the different spelling of Paulinianus, such licence with *cognomina* being a common place.¹⁴) If this is accepted, the Uzappa text belongs not to the mid-third century, but to within a decade or so of Faustus' consulship (198–9) when Saturninus erected a statue to Faustus, since Paulinianus, whose statue was erected by Latinus at the same time, is described as *clarissimus puer* in this text, but as *clarissimus iuuenis* at Uzappa. The two patrons of Uzappa are in consequence not the proconsul of Africa Sex. Cocceius Anicius Faustus Paulinus and his son, but the legate of Numidia and his son. A further consequence, is that the Uzappa text must now be placed much closer in time to those of Ain Zouza and must be discarded as evidence that «the central importance of Africa in the family's basic living circumstances ... continued for several generations after Faustus.»¹⁵ This redating also dictates the demise of a pivotal piece of evidence for the otherwise attractive theory of BESCHAOUCH, that the Anician proconsul of Africa was the prime mover for the advancement of Uzappa from *civitas* to *municipium* during his term of office between 260 and 268.¹⁶ The earliest date for which municipal status can definitely be ascribed to Uzappa, known from a dedi-

¹¹ D. M. NOVAK, Cirta and the Anicii of Uzappa, A Note, *Klio* 58 (1976) 21–3.

¹² Loc. cit. n. 9.

¹³ There are two equestrian examples only – AE (1927) 34 and (1937) 87.

¹⁴ For example the consul of 66, C. Suetonius Paulinus, CIL XI 395, whose *cognomen* is given as [*Pa*]ullinus at H. PAIS, *Suppl. Italica* I, 417.

¹⁵ D. M. NOVAK, *The Early history*, 159.

¹⁶ A. BESCHAOUCH, op. cit. 209 ff. followed by D. M. NOVAK, *The Early History*, 154. Doubts have been raised by M. CHRISTOL, *Les règnes de Valérien et de Gallien (253–68): travaux d'ensemble, questions chronologiques*, ANRW II.2, 813 n. 51 and by J. GASCOU, *La politique municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord. II. Après la mort de Septime-Sévère*, ANRW X.2, 299–300. In this regard the latter passes an interesting observation: «pour vraisemblable qu'elle soit, la conjecture qui fait de Sex. Anicius Faustus Paulinianus le fils du proconsul d'Afrique n'est pas une certitude» (ibid.).

cation to Aurelian, is 274,¹⁷ while a dedication to Caracalla by the *c(ivitas) Uzappa* provides a *terminus post quem*.¹⁸ BESCHAOUCH, persuaded by the general consensus that Paulinianus was the son of Gallienus' proconsul of Africa, uses CIL VIII 11933 to push up the date at which Uzappa remained a *civitas*, since it is the *ordo [c]ivita[t]is Uz[ap]pen[sis]* which erects the dedication to the young patron. While one would be reluctant not to ascribe the promotion of Uzappa to a *municipium* to the good offices of one of the Anicii,¹⁹ it must now be acknowledged that this promotion may have been effected earlier. Responsibility may even accrue to Faustus himself, or to Anicius Faustus Paulinus, legate of Moesia in 230 and Faustus' presumed (but see below) son. A date under Severus Alexander would suit. The late dating of CIL VIII 11933 has been the crux too of a theory which would make Paulinianus the consul of 298, who is known variously as either Faustus or Anicius Faustus.²⁰ NOVAK's preferred candidate for this consulship, M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus, would now appear to have the field very much to himself.²¹

More reverberations ensue for the Anician *stemma*. It has been generally assumed that Faustus' presumed son (and hence Paulinianus' brother), Anicius Faustus Paulinus, bore the *praenomen* Sextus. In fact no text mentions a Sex. Anicius Faustus Paulinus. That which describes him as legate of Moesia omits the *praenomen* Sextus,²² which has been ascribed to him solely on the basis of a fragmentary dedication from Thamugadi (CIL VIII 17890) honouring a Sex. Anicius Faustus *Anici consularis filius*, whom it is assumed is the same man: *Sex. Anicio Fausto Anici consularis filio* [-]. If the *consularis* is the Numidian legate (and no other Anician consul is known from inscriptions of Thamugadi)²³ the *consularis filius* is at least as likely to be Paulinianus as Paulinus. Although *consularis filius* is a title perfectly consonant with either Paulinianus as *clarissimus puer*, or with Paulinus, who at this date (c. 198/201) was probably a child or in his teens, Paulinianus alone – if the evidence above be admitted – is known to have accompanied his father to Thamugadi, and to have borne the *praenomen* Sextus, whereas Paulinus cannot be said with certainty to meet either of these criteria. Evidence from elsewhere may also discredit the identification of the *consularis filius* with Paulinus. If Paulinus shared his brother's *praenomen* – as was possible at this date –²⁴ we must probably look elsewhere for the father of the Afri-

¹⁷ AE (1969–70) 646.

¹⁸ CIL VIII 11929.

¹⁹ Cf. J. GASCOU, *op. cit.* 300: «Il est vraisemblable que la famille des Cocceii Anicii Fausti Paulini a dû jouer un rôle dans la promotion d'Uzappa».

²⁰ G. BARBIERI, *op. cit.* p. 640 and PLRE, Faustus 6.

²¹ D. M. NOVAK, *The Early History*, 164–5.

²² CIL III 7473.

²³ Q. Anicius Faustus on the other hand appears on four texts from Thamugadi, CIL VIII 17870–71, 2437 and AE (1894) 44.

²⁴ H. THYLANDER, *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine*, Lund (1952) 66 f.

can proconsul Sex. Cocceius Anicius Faustus Paulinus and his presumed brother (and near contemporary) the consular *curator* of Cirta, M. Cocceius Anicius Faustus Flavianus, since the section of the text giving the latter's filiation, although now unfortunately eroded, has space for a *praenomen* abbreviated to just one letter, and Sextus while commonly shortened to Sex., is only rarely shortened to S.²⁵ (This argument would also of course put Paulinianus, as another Sextus, out of contention.)

It seems better therefore to regard Paulinus as either a brother or (less probably, given Saturninus' low profile) a cousin of Paulinianus, perhaps with the *praenomen* Quintus (derived from his father – he would in this case be Paulinianus' elder brother²⁶) or Marcus (bestowed on his putative son). Apart from the problem of Flavianus' filiation, the disadvantage of ascribing paternity of Flavianus and the proconsul Paulinus to Paulinianus, is that no text has yet recorded him living beyond his teens as *clarissimus iuuenis*. Paulinus, the Moesian legate, has at least this credential in his favour, although obviously one cannot press arguments *ex silentio* too hard.

ADDENDUM

Since the above was accepted for publication an important paper has been published by M. LEGLAY and S. TOURENC, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Timgad sur des legats de la troisième légion Auguste*, *Ant. Afr.* 21 (1985) 103–136. The authors (p. 135–6) have established that BCTH (1893) 159 is in fact the lower half of CIL VIII 17890. The joined texts therefore read: *Sex(to) Anicio Fausto Anici(i) consularis filio Pauliniano c(larissimo) p(ero), Q(uintus) Tegonius Latinus Q(uinti) Tegoni(i) Saturnini fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui) fil(ius) patrono*. All doubt concerning Paulinianus' filiation is thus dispelled. The authors do not however identify Paulinianus with his namesake in Uzappa and erroneously refer to his brother as *Sex. Anicius Faustus Paulinus, Anici(i) consularis f(ilius)* (p. 135).

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²⁵ NOVAK, *The Early History*, 135 n. 77, while admitting the possibility of an abbreviated S. for Sextus, seems less than happy with the notion.

²⁶ Faustus' legateship of Upper Moesia (CIL III 1685–6) may have been a factor in Paulinus becoming legate of Lower Moesia (CIL III 7473). If this were so, Paulinus will have been son rather than nephew of Faustus, and may well have accompanied his father while a youth, acquiring valuable first-hand experience of Moesian conditions and military life.

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