

GUARD PREFECTS OF TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

By RONALD SYME

For a space of forty years, from 98 to 138, few *praefecti* occur on named attestation. In fact only six: two registered in isolation, four in collegiate pairs. Apart from seasons of disturbance, the holders of this useful and necessary office tend to evade notice in written history.

It was not until 2 B.C. that Caesar Augustus appointed commanders of the Praetorian cohorts, so Cassius Dio states. The occasion might excite curiosity: perhaps after the grave crisis in the autumn.¹ The historian adds no comment. He had previously put emphasis on the dangers inherent in a single prefect.² Not perhaps clear at first—and Scius Strabo was in sole charge when Augustus died. Named associate with his parent by Tiberius Caesar, Aelius Seianus managed almost at once to have him sent away to be governor of Egypt.³

In discourse on the office Dio refrained from adducing another reason. It was obvious. The Prefect stands 'in statione' beside his Emperor, he is 'ille sacri lateris custos'.⁴ When the ruler went abroad to provinces and armies, one prefect accompanied him. For Caligula, no record. Claudius Caesar duly took a prefect to Britain, honouring him with the *ornamenta triumphalia* as one among a numerous and peculiar collection.⁵ Even when not attested, account has to be taken of a second prefect through several tracts of time. Trajan's wars took him away from Rome during nearly the half of his reign; and Hadrian had two long absences (four years and six). The subject stands in need of a renewed investigation.⁶ It brings in other high equestrian dignitaries—and with them, known or missing names.⁷

I. The ephemeral ruler who followed Domitian inherited Norbanus and Petronius Secundus. The former fades out, his place being annexed by Casperius Aelianus. In October of 97 Casperius fomented the riot and the emergency that reduced Nerva to announce a virtual abdication by adopting as heir and partner Ulpius Traianus, the legate of Germania Superior. An armed proclamation was forestalled.

Casperius went to the Rhine, perhaps in hope of condonation or reward. He was put to death.⁸ Since Petronius Secundus had perished in the insurrection of the Guard, the cohorts at Rome required a prefect. Suitable or ambitious candidates would not be lacking. Moreover, another prefect abroad. Like Titus in Judaea, the new Caesar had proconsular *imperium*, also the right to a *praefectus praetorio*.⁹

Trajan's first prefect is the subject of an edifying anecdote. Pliny in his consular oration alludes to it, while Cassius Dio and Aurelius Victor report what Trajan said when handing to the prefect his sword of office.¹⁰ Only Victor has the name, Suburanus. That is, Sex. Attius Suburanus.

An inscription brings illumination, furnishing his full nomenclature and his career down to procuratorships in Judaea and in Gallia Belgica.¹¹ Suburanus made his début in the equestrian service during an earlier season of crisis, in 68 or 69, so it may be inferred. After being *praefectus fabrum* he proceeded at once and anomalously to the command of a cavalry regiment. It was the *ala Tauriana*, discovered in the company of the legion I Italica at

¹ Dio LV. 10. 10 (earlier than the disgrace of Julia). At least one item traverses chronology. Dio registers the title 'pater patriae' subsequent to August (ibid.). It was voted on February 5.

² Dio LII. 24. 2 (in the oration of Maecenas).

³ Dio LVII. 19. 6. Not in Tacitus: relevant to the sources he used for 15 and 16.

⁴ Martial VI. 76. 1 (Cornelius Fuscus).

⁵ Dio LX. 23. 2 (Rufrius Pollio).

⁶ Amendments are required for the list in A. Passerini, *Le Coorti Pretorie* (1939), 295 ff. It was adopted by W. Ensslin in *RE* xxii, 2423 f.

⁷ For Egypt in the period see the lists in A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten* (1950), 47 ff.; G. Bastiniani, *ZPE* 17 (1975), 278 ff. P. A. Brunt, *JRS* LXV (1975), 144 f. It is therefore not necessary to

supply references for various facts or precise dates of easy access and not in dispute.

⁸ Dio LVIII. 5. 4. For conjecture about the role of this equivocal character see *Tacitus* (1958), 35, n. 4. Casperius had previously held the Guard under Domitian (LVIII. 3. 3). That is, one of the pair put on trial in 95 (LVII. 14. 4).

⁹ *P. Hibeh 215* (Julius Alexander). Not also at Rome, as assumed by E. G. Turner, *JRS* XLIV (1954), 54 ff.

¹⁰ Pliny, *Pan.* 67. 8; Dio LXVIII. 16. 1²; Victor, *Caes.* 13. 9.

¹¹ *AE* 1969, 60 (Heliopolis), cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières procuratoriennes* (1960), 128 ff.; B. E. Thomasson, *Senatores Procuratoresque Romani Nonnulli* (1975), 16 f.

Lugdunum in the early spring of 69.¹² Suburanus carries the tribe ' Voltinia '. Hence to be assumed without discomfort one of the Narbonensian notables who came out on the side of the pretender Sulpicius Galba.

In the course of civilian employments Suburanus was *adiutor* to two men of high rank and influence: to Vibius Crispus (when he held the census in Tarraconensis) and to Julius Ursus, *praefectus annonae* and Prefect of Egypt. If in Gallia Belgica precisely in 97 (the conjecture is easy and attractive) Suburanus found himself in a posture of strategic value, being paymaster general to the armies of the Rhine. He mattered more than the governor of Belgica.¹³ In January of 69 the procurator stood loyal to Galba when Vitellius was proclaimed—and paid for it with his life.¹⁴ Attius Suburanus was more lucky.

The usurpers Galba and Vitellius for command of the Guard had recourse to persons of no rank or consequence. Galba's man was Cornelius Laco, a mere legal adviser.¹⁵ Vitellius, who appointed a pair, chose a cohort prefect and a legionary centurion.¹⁶ Trajan, however, took an imperial procurator from the vicinity; and the other procurator in Gaul (Lugdunensis and Aquitania), namely Minicius Italus, became *praefectus annonae*, proceeding to Egypt in 100 or 101.¹⁷

Chance or chronology might have offered Velius Rufus who began as a centurion and ended as the procurator governing Raetia with a large force of auxiliary troops.¹⁸ As was shown in 69, and again twenty years later, Raetia is a factor of some importance when legions on the Rhine make a proclamation.¹⁹ By a strange coincidence, both Velius Rufus and Attius Suburanus receive dedications of honour about the same time, and at the same city, namely Heliopolis in Syria.²⁰ Velius Rufus is not heard of in the sequel.

In 98 and 99 Trajan's prefect accompanied him on a tour of the Danubian provinces. The Emperor did not reach the capital before the autumn of 99. During that interval another *praefectus praetorio* held office at Rome, the successor of the unfortunate Casperius.

II. The *Panegyricus*, it will be recalled, carried a brief allusion to the nomination of a prefect (i.e. Suburanus). Another commander of the Guard, likewise anonymous, earns a whole episode, in copious discourse: perhaps one of the additions to the original speech.

Emperors and their friends, that is the general theme (*Pan.* 85. 1–8). No genuine amity hitherto, so the orator exclaims, only masters and slaves. With the new Princeps, a change: ' habes amicos quia amicus ipse es '. And indeed, ' praecipuum est principis opus amicos parare '. The prime example is subjoined (86. 1–6): ' o rem memoriae litterisque mandandam '. The Prefect craved release from his post, nor could the Princeps bear to grudge anyone the enjoyment of ' quietis gloria '. Although conceiving distress, ' invitus et tristis ', Trajan acquiesced. He went with his dear friend to the sea shore and bade him a touching farewell.

Suitably modest and reluctant, the man had been chosen ' non ex ingerentibus se, sed ex subtrahentibus ', and the Emperor was willing to relinquish him to private life: ' otio quod pertinaciter amet '. Therefore, when the oration was delivered (or rather revised for publication) this prefect cannot have come back to any public employment. Therefore not Attius Suburanus.²¹

III. If the retreat of the *Ignotus* left Suburanus in sole charge of the Praetorians, it was not for long. On Trajan, consul in 101, follows Sex. Attius Suburanus as *suffectus*, attested in the month of March; and Trajan set out on his first campaign against the Dacians. When one of the higher knights gets the *ornamenta* (praetorian or consular) he acquires ' dignitas senatoria '—and in a later epoch he is even styled ' vir clarissimus '. That change in social

¹² Tacitus, *Hist.* I. 59. 2; 64. 3. Another procurator who had this regiment as sole military post is Sex. Pompeius Sabinus (*CIL* III. 12299: in Epirus), perhaps in the same period. His tribe might be ' V]o[lt. '. Pflaum suggests ' P]o[ll. ' (op. cit., 123).

¹³ The legate was Glitius Agricola (*ILS* 1021), proceeding to a consulate in the course of 97—and to a second in 102.

¹⁴ *Hist.* I. 12. 1; 58. 1 (Pompeius Propinquus).

¹⁵ Suetonius, *Galba* 14. 2.

¹⁶ *Hist.* II. 92. 1.

¹⁷ *ILS* 1374.

¹⁸ *ILS* 9200, cf. Pflaum, *Carrières*, 114 ff.

¹⁹ *Hist.* I. 59. 2; 68. 1. In January of 89 the procurator was Norbanus (Martial IX. 84), later *praefectus praetorio*.

²⁰ *ILS* 9200; *AE* 1939, 60.

²¹ Perhaps somebody dug out from retirement by Trajan's allies at Rome—and now departing from Ostia to his ' patria '.

rank includes and entails the *latus clavus*, which in fact qualifies for access to the career of public honours, though that was not the original purpose when the *ornamenta* were granted. In the year 19 Aelius Seianus annexed the *ornamenta praetoria*: an honour without precedent according to Cassius Dio.²² That Seianus should enter the Senate was not intended or foreseen, still less a consulship. Seianus was abruptly elected in the course of the year 30. Among other things, the manner of his exemption from the *leges annales* finds no mention in any written record.

For the elevation of Attius Suburanus, a recent precedent offered, early in the reign of Domitian. A papyrus yields precious and multiple information.²³ To a governor of Egypt called Maximus, the Emperor announces promotion, to be colleague of Fuscus. As he amiably opines, '[la]teris mei non dubito cupidissimum [fore]'. That is, Laberius Maximus joining Cornelius Fuscus in command of the Guard. His promotion results, as the *codicillus* reveals, from the transference to the Senate of another person (i.e., a Guard Prefect): '[cum et] Iuliu[m] Ursum pre/cibus suis u]sum in amplissimum ordinem transtu[lissem iam diu id des]iderantem'.²⁴

L. Julius Ursus was already known as a prefect of Egypt;²⁵ and, as Ursus, further surmised as a prefect of the Guard because of incidents related by Cassius Dio.²⁶ He is to be held identical with Ursus, consul suffect in 84, perhaps in the month of May. Further, with L. Julius Ursus consul in 98 and for the third time in 100: again replacing Julius Frontinus, as a new fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses* reveals.²⁷ Julius Ursus, it follows, had acquired the *latus clavus*, and he was entitled to become a candidate for the consulate in 84: not adlected, since Domitian did not assume the powers of a censor until 85.

The precedent was close—and to be surpassed in the sequel. Julius Ursus was politely demoted by Domitian from power and influence, whereas Attius Suburanus, elevated to the consulate in 101, remained potent at Rome when Trajan departed for his war—and not unworthy to stand beside Julius Ursus, his former patron, and Julius Servianus (*suff.* 90), consul for the second time in 102.

When Pliny delivered his oration in September of the year 100, Suburanus was perhaps already a senator and designated for the consulship. The grant of a priesthood, as was normal, advertised his rank.²⁸ The audience may by now have been abating joy and relief from the arbitrary rule of the last Flavian. The more percipient saw the imperial authority increasing everywhere. Suburanus went on to hold the *fasces* again in 104, this time opening the year, with for colleague the aristocrat Asinius Marcellus.

iv. The Dacian War necessitated two commanders of the Guard. One of them earns name and mention, viz. Claudius Livianus, active in the second campaign, although not in the field. He was employed on a diplomatic mission.²⁹ And warfare resumed in 105.

Between 102 and 112, casual items confirm the existence of a collegiate pair. First, a soldier of the Guard, after earning decorations in a Dacian War, becomes a 'singularis praefectorum pr.'³⁰ Second, in a despatch to the governor of Bithynia Trajan ordains how a delinquent be dealt with: 'vinctus mitti ad praefectos praetorii mei debet'.³¹

²² Dio LVII. 19. 8. Not in Tacitus: perhaps postponed until Book v.

²³ *P. Berol.* 8334, as interpreted by A. Piganiol, *CRAI* 1947, 376 ff.: followed in *JRS* XLIV (1954), 117, and (briefly) in *Tacitus*, 635 f.

Some have raised dissent. Thus H.-G. Pflaum, *Latomus* x (1951), 474; *Carrières*, 130 f. But, for W. Eck, 'kaum ein Zweifel' (*RE Supp.* XIV, 212).

²⁴ The original text (that of Kortenbeutel, published in 1940) is reproduced by R. Cavenaile, *CPL* (1958), 238. He did not register the improvement 'precibus suis' due to E. Birley.

²⁵ The *praenomen* is certified on a Latin inscription in Egypt (*AE* 1956, 57) of which the date is not quite clear, cf. *Tacitus*, 635. For the prefecture of Ursus see further *PIR*², J 630 (which incautiously puts his tenure of the *annonia* after the accession of Domitian). Ursus occurs on Brunt's list 'between 73 and 82, perhaps in 79' (op. cit. (n. 7), 144). Bastiniani assigns him to 83/4, between Laberius Maximus and

Septimius Vegetus (op. cit. (n. 7), 276). That scholar rejected Piganiol's interpretation of *P. Berol.* 4334.

²⁶ Dio LXVII. 3. 1; 4. 2. Thus Groag, cited by Stein in *RE Supp.* VII, 1624.

²⁷ Reported by F. Zevi, *Akten des VI Int. Kongresses für gr. u. lat. Epigraphik* (München, 1973), 438. The third consulate of Vestricius Spurinna lapses.

²⁸ A *pontifex*, as deduced from Sex. Attius Justus, his 'calator' on the list of 102 (*CIL* VI. 30134), cf. *PIR*², A 1366.

²⁹ Dio LXVIII. 9. 2.

³⁰ *ILS* 2081.

³¹ Pliny, *Epp.* x. 72. 1. Like the *Ignotus* of *Pan.* 86, the two items were ignored by Passerini. As for Livianus, he is now attested in January of 108. See the peculiar bronze tablet published as 'Appendix' by M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977* (1978), 103.

In the autumn of 113 the Emperor went forth in pomp and pride, set upon warfare and conquest in the Orient. The *Historia Augusta* happens to register the friends of Aelius Hadrianus at the time of the 'expeditio Parthica'. For those of equestrian status, 'utebatur Hadrianus amicitia . . . Attiani tutoris quondam sui et Liviani et Turbonis' (*Hadr.* 4. 2).

If Claudius Livianus was still *praefectus praetorio* at this juncture (nothing forbids), colleague or colleagues since 100 or 101 elude ascertainment. Nor is there any means of knowing when P. Acilius Attianus (from Italica and once the guardian of Hadrian) secured appointment. Perhaps not until quite late in the reign. His previous career is a blank. As for Marcius Turbo, he was still commander of the Misenum fleet at this time, taking a portion of it to Syria.³²

Clarity arrives, at least in one particular, in August of 117. At the death bed of Trajan Acilius Attianus was present along with Plotina and Matidia. In their company he conveyed the ashes to Rome. The other prefect was Ser. Sulpicius Similis, a character of lesser relief, who finds no mention in any transaction before his demotion two years later.

So far Trajan's Guard Prefects: four names. The *Ignotus* accrues, whose early departure Pliny described. For the rest, for the greater part of the years 101-117, one or more have to be reckoned with. Claudius Livianus needs a colleague; and Sulpicius Similis did not become available until 112.³³

v. Acilius Attianus and Sulpicius Similis enjoyed no long duration in the next reign. While Hadrian was still absent (he did not reach Rome until July of 118) Attianus became involved in a mysterious affair, the execution of the four consulars. Conspiracy was the charge, ill authenticated, and a decree of the Senate enjoined or sanctioned their fate—against the wishes of Hadrian, so he asserted in his autobiography (*Hadr.* 7. 2). Action had been taken in haste or error, it was desirable to find a scapegoat.³⁴ The *HA* incriminates Attianus on a further count: he had sent a despatch to Hadrian suggesting action against Baebius Macer, the City Prefect, and against two political offenders confined to penal islands (5. 5).

Caution now intervenes—and sundry intricate problems. The *Vita Hadriani* is a messy product. The basic source was ruthlessly abridged and casually supplemented. Doublets and contradictions disclose two strands. Thus Hadrian comes twice to Rome (5. 10; 7. 3), and the Danubian command of Marcius Turbo is described twice (6. 7; 7. 3).³⁵ Inspection and dissection shows a source benevolent towards the ruler, or at least neutral. Very different the accretions. Four items of malicious annotation happen to cite Marius Maximus. The conclusion is easy and painless.³⁶

Relating the respect paid by the new ruler to the high assembly, the *Vita* notes the transference of Attianus to the Senate. It was Hadrian's compliment to both:

difficile faciens senatores ut, cum Attianum ex praefecto praetorii ornamentis consularibus praeditum faceret senatorem, nihil se amplius habere quod in eum conferre posset, ostenderet (8. 7).

A different version crops up a little lower down. Annoyed by the 'potentia' amassed by Attianus, Hadrian wanted to kill him but refrained, conscious of the scandal caused by the fate of the four consulars; and for that deed he laid the blame on Attianus (9. 3).

As in most ages, the convention obtained that a high official marked down for dismissal should make request and petition for release at last from a burdensome occupation. The

³² *CIL* XVI. 60.

³³ Being Prefect of Egypt until succeeded by Rutilius Lupus.

³⁴ The evidence is far from establishing a conspiracy, so most scholars conclude. Authenticity is suggested by M. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Army* (1978), 29 f. He points to C. Calventius Viator, in charge of the *singulares* of Avidius Nigrinus, one of the four, when he governed Dacia (*ILS* 2417: Sarmizegethusa). This officer was taken up by Hadrian, attested not only in 130 (*AE* 1915, 42: Gerasa) but in Africa two years previously as the 'Viator' of *ILS* 9134 (Lambaesis), as argued by

M. Le Glay, *Mélanges Seston* (1974), 277 f.

³⁵ Neglect of the structure presents Hadrian with two journeys to Moesia in B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* (1923), 45, cf. 282. Likewise the article of C. H. V. S. and M. H. in *OCD*² (1970), 485.

³⁶ As emphasized by G. Barbieri, *Riv. fil.* xxxii (1954), 39. For further specimens, *Emperors and Biography* (1971), 113 ff.; *HAC* 1970 (1972), 290 f. The argument that Maximus is not the basic source of the early biographies in the *HA* depends on the structure. It will be suitable to add that not all accept it.

language in which Domitian referred to Julius Ursus is instructive: 'suis precibus' and 'id desiderantem'. And the handsome treatment which Trajan accorded to *Ignotus* will occur suitably, not without some suspicion that the man was extruded for the benefit of another friend of the Emperor. Reluctance to take office may be followed by reluctance to lay it down. However, Pliny in the next section of the oration furnished the general and comforting maxim: 'dignus es, Caesar, qui officia mandes deponere optantibus, qui petentibus vacationem invitus quidem sed tamen tribuas' (87. 2).

For the supersession of Attianus, the author of the *HA* serves up an inept explanation. To quote it should be enough;

cui cum successorem dare non posset quia non petebat, id egit ut peteret, atque ubi primum petit, in Turbonem transtulit potestatem (9. 4).

The compiler (so it appears) is turning social usage into rule and rigour that might hamper an autocrat.

Along with Attianus the blameless Similis now went out (9. 5), to enjoy leisure at last, though not on the benches of the Senate. An anecdote in Dio reports his satisfaction.³⁷ As for the Emperor, 'summotis his a praefectura quibus debebat imperium, Campaniam petit' (9. 6). That journey is assigned (none dispute) to 119; and to that year belongs the funeral of Matidia, the mother of Vibia Sabina, reported soon after (9. 9). She was consecrated on December 23.³⁸

Whatever the true reason behind Hadrian's decision to drop Attianus in 119, it was covered by the simultaneous dismissal of Similis. Time and fatigue and even services of mutual benefit import estrangement between a ruler and his minister. Such is Tacitus' comment on the 'potentia' exercised by C. Maecenas and by Sallustius Crispus.³⁹ Hadrian was perhaps eager for change and liberation, waiting only for his trusted friend Turbo to finish the tasks for which he was left behind on the Danube frontier.

VI. As colleague to Q. Marcus Turbo the ruler chose C. Septicius Clarus (9. 5). This was a person of some cultivation, by a double sign and link. To him Pliny dedicated his letters (or at least the first instalment), Suetonius the books *De vita Caesarum*. As with Attianus, no previous employment is on record. Septicius might be a *praefectus vigilum*, like Titinius Capito, the notorious patron of polite letters in the early years of Trajan.⁴⁰ Or again, *praefectus annonae*. There is a vast lacuna after M. Rutilius Lupus, who held the post at some time between 103 and 111.⁴¹

Turbo had a prolonged tenancy of the Guard. His colleague lapsed after a triennium. According to the *HA*, the Emperor dismissed Septicius Clarus, Suetonius Tranquillus (the secretary *ab epistulis*) and many other persons. Their casual comportment towards Sabina transgressed against court etiquette,

quod apud Sabinam in usu eius familiaris se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat (11. 3).

The motive is peculiar—Hadrian set no store by forms and ceremony. Likewise the setting. The item introduces a section that interrupts the narrative of the imperial travels. It is inserted between Hadrian's sojourn in Britain (11. 2) and his crossing to Gaul (12. 1). The subjoined disquisitions exhibit a concordant character. First, Hadrian disliked Sabina, 'ut morosam et asperam' and he wanted ('ut ipse dicebat') to discard her. Next, his nasty practices of espionage on friends, and his adulteries.⁴²

Given the procedures of the compiler and the nature of the whole passage, a doubt became legitimate: perhaps he inserted it in the wrong context.⁴³

³⁷ Dio LXIX. 19. 2.

³⁸ *CIL* VI. 2080.

³⁹ Tacitus, *Ann.* III. 30. 4.

⁴⁰ *ILS* 1448.

⁴¹ *AE* 1940, 38. A tenure from 107 to 112 is assumed by H. Pavis d'Escurac, *La Préfecture de l'Annone* (1976), 336. Also Sulpicius Similis (*Frag.*

Vat. 233) as the immediate successor. A solitary prefect is on certain attestation under Hadrian, viz. Claudius Julianus (*Frag. Vat.* 235).

⁴² The malevolent source also alleged that Hadrian poisoned Sabina (23. 9).

⁴³ Tacitus, 779; *Emperors and Biography*, 113 f.

Further, a daring hypothesis has been promulgated.⁴⁴ Hadrian visited Britain in 122, coming from Germany; the year is beyond dispute.⁴⁵ But the transgression of prefect and secretary belongs later, no fewer than six years later. For 128 would speak the fact (or rather assumption) that the imperial consort acquired the title of 'Augusta' precisely then. Moreover, Hadrian went to Africa in that year, perhaps accompanied by Turbo, the other prefect. An inscription honours him at Utica; and the dedication to Suetonius, the *ab epistulis*, was set up at Hippo Regius.⁴⁶

On that showing both officials enjoyed a tenure that lasted for nine years—with consequences for the chronology of the Suetonian biographies. According to Johannes Lydus they were dedicated to Septicius Clarus during his prefecture.⁴⁷

No attempt to bring the *Vita Hadriani* under sharp scrutiny is to be deprecated, even though the results may be startling. None the less, reflection will suggest that the episode was inserted where it in fact belongs in time, for all that it is linked by the mention of Sabina to one of the 'bad passages'.⁴⁸ Therefore one may acquiesce in the year 122.

There are consequences of value and moment. Most accounts assume without question that the indiscretion which demoted the two officials had Rome and the palace for its scene, the Emperor being abroad.⁴⁹ The contrary can be maintained: Britain.⁵⁰

Hadrian departed from Rome in 121, making for the regions of the German frontier. His quaestor was Minicius Natalis: not needed, and left behind, to join as legate his parent, the proconsul of Africa.⁵¹ The secretary *ab epistulis*, however, must have gone with the Emperor on his peregrinations.⁵² Likewise a prefect of the Guard. In this instance therefore Septicius Clarus, the literary man. That was suitable. On the superior colleague Marcius Turbo reposed the care and supervision of the capital.

Of any familiarity with foreign countries, Suetonius Tranquillus betrays never a trace, so it seemed. A stray item in one of the later biographies should not be overlooked. It shows that either the author or an informant had seen the many statues and inscriptions honouring Titus both in Germany and in Britain, where he had served as military tribune: the phrase is 'sicut apparet'. It conveys autopsy.⁵³

Suetonius absent in 121 and 122 from the capital, from libraries and from the archives, that has manifest and powerful relevance to an engaging problem: the date of the biographies and the stages in their composition. On one theory the author, writing at Rome, had completed (and published) the first two when his dismissal cut him off from access to the imperial archives.⁵⁴ Sundry uncertainties now impinge. That makes another story.^{54a}

VII. So much for Septicius and his partner in error—and the sad termination of their journey. Documented by evidence in unusual variety, the occupations of Marcius Turbo are at the same time infested by numerous perplexities.⁵⁵ By good fortune an inscription discovered at Cyrrhus in northern Syria reveals a part of his early career.⁵⁶ After *primus*

⁴⁴ J. A. Crook, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1958, 18 ff.

⁴⁵ Although some opt for 121. Thus Pflaum, *Carrières*, 221; 224. Others hedge with 121/2.

⁴⁶ *IL Afr.* 421 (Utica); *AE* 1953, 73 (Hippo). As concerns the year 128, doubts should have been conceived about Sabina's title. Surely much earlier, cf. W. Eck, *RE Supp.* xv, 910 f.

⁴⁷ Joh. Lyd., *De mag.* II. 6.

⁴⁸ As firmly stated by G. B. Townend, *Historia* x (1961), 108 f., and briefly in *OCD*³ (1970), 1120. Each time, however, with '121/2'.

⁴⁹ Thus A. Stein, *RE* II A, 1557; A. Passerini, op. cit. (n. 6), 299.

⁵⁰ As suggested in *Tacitus*, 779—and assumed independently by Pflaum, *Carrières*, 220, cf. 224. See further 'The Travels of Suetonius Tranquillus' forthcoming.

⁵¹ *ILS* 1029; 1061.

⁵² Doubted by Townend, op. cit., 108. But see now F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 90 f.

⁵³ Suetonius, *Tit.* 4. 1. Compare the remarks about Augustus' furniture: his parsimony 'apparet etiam nunc residuis lectis atque mensis' (*Aug.* 73).

⁵⁴ See the attractive arguments of G. B. Townend, *CQ* ix (1959), 285 ff.; *Latin Biography* (ed. T. A. Dorey, 1967), 88, cf. 90.

^{54a} On which see a paper 'Biographers of the Caesars', forthcoming.

⁵⁵ For the *testimonia*, Pflaum, *Carrières*, 199 ff.; B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares* (1978), 226 ff. For a time confusion was caused through amalgamating Turbo with T. Flavius T. f. Pal. Priscus Gallonius Fronto Q. Marcius Turbo (*AE* 1946, 113; Caesarea). Against, *JRS* XLIV (1954), 118 (review of Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten*). For the full statement, *JRS* LII (1962), 89 ff. = *Roman Papers* (1970), 545 ff. This man was *procurator pro legato* of Dacia Inferior and of Mauretania Caesariensis early in the reign of Pius, as there argued. Pflaum prefers a later date (*Carrières* 378).

⁵⁶ Published by E. Frézouls, *Syria* xxx (1953), 247, whence *AE* 1955, 225; cf. Pflaum, *Carrières*, 211 ff. Also B. E. Thomasson, *Senatores Procuratoresque Romani Nonnulli*, 41 f. (who had doubted the attribution).

pilus, Turbo ran through five posts before the command of the 'classis praetoria Misenensis'. His fleet command was attested by the diploma of the year 114. Turbo went with ships to Syria at the time of the Parthian war; and he earned military decorations.⁵⁷ Turbo next dealt with Jewish rebels in Egypt and Cyrenaica.⁵⁸ Hadrian on his accession sent him to pacify Mauretania (*Hadr.* 5. 8), perhaps as governor of both Caesariensis and Tingitana. After which, Hadrian summoned him to the Danube, to a function like that of *praefectus praetorio*. The Emperor lacked a prefect after the departure to Rome of Acilius Attianus.

For reasons that will become apparent, the enquiry needs to start from that point. About the time of Trajan's decease (in August of 117), disturbances broke out on the borders of the new province of Dacia, vulnerable both from the west and from the south-east. The *HA* first names 'Sarmatae' (5. 2), then 'Sarmatae et Rhoxolani' (6. 6). If correct, the second notice includes the Sarmatae Jazyges, who lived in the Hungarian plain, between Dacia and Pannonia. As concerns the Rhoxolani, themselves Sarmatian, Hadrian came to Moesia and composed the disturbance by negotiation—the ruler of the Rhoxolani complained that his subsidy had recently been cut down (6. 8). The *HA* adds nothing about the Jazyges in war or peace.⁵⁹

An inscription reveals a relevant fact. Julius Quadratus Bassus (*suff.* 105), the governor of Dacia, had died while on campaign.⁶⁰ No consular legate took his place. When Hadrian departed for Rome in the early summer of 118, he left Marcus Turbo in charge. On the statement in the *HA*, 'Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit' (6. 7). The parallel passage describing Turbo's mandate has Dacia only (7. 3). Dacia combined with Pannonia Inferior is assumed—to curb the Sarmatae Jazyges lying in between.

Turbo's title and rank has been a cause of unnecessary debate. One passage is vague, being abridged: 'praefecturae infulis ornatum' (6. 7), the other explicit but misleading: 'titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato' (7. 3). There is no call to believe that Turbo bore the title of *praefectus Aegypti*.⁶¹ Only a rank and status equivalent thereto. Therefore *praefectus pro legato* would be adequate—if any were moved to make enquiry.

That the military situation was grave and alarming, there is no means of ascertainment (despite the decease of Quadratus Bassus). A Roman knight in the place of a senator falls short of proof.⁶² The new ruler was in trouble. Not merely suspicions current about the death-bed adoption, but four of Trajan's generals put to death; and he might distrust some of the other consular legates.

By the same token, inexpedient to prolong unduly an emergency solution, an anomalous command. Whereas Trajan's Dacia had for a time a garrison of three legions, a praetorian province now emerges: Dacia Superior with a single legion, while an equestrian procurator governs Dacia Inferior. The first legate of Dacia Superior is on attestation by the summer of 120.⁶³ Turbo had left to take over the Guard as colleague of Septicius Clarus the year before. His Danubian mandate may not have lasted for as much as a dozen months.

VIII. The next change in Dacia was the severance of the northern territory, namely Porolissensis. Until recently the first document to name Porolissensis and its governor was a diploma of the year 133.⁶⁴ An earlier origin for the province could be surmised, not without reason, perhaps in 124, the Emperor being again in those regions.

A fresh document now brings valuable information—and certain anomalies. The diploma in question carries the date of 10 August, 123 by the *suffecti* then in office (both new). It concerns soldiers serving in three regiments under a procurator of Dacia Porolis-

⁵⁷ *CIL* xiv. 4243 (Tibur).

⁵⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* iv. 2. 4, cf. A. Fuks, *JRS* LI (1961), 98 ff. Not, however, Prefect of Egypt, as assumed by that scholar and by A. Stein, *Die Präfecten*, 59. He is omitted from recent lists.

⁵⁹ Some wished to adduce (Caesennius) Sospes, legate of XIII Gemina with military decorations in an 'expedit. Suebic. et Sarm.' (*ILS* 1017: Pisidian Antioch). Against which, *JRS* LXVII (1977), 47 f.

⁶⁰ *Pergamum* VIII. 3. 21, cf. *PIR*², J 508.

⁶¹ For a discussion, *JRS* xxxvi (1946), 161 f. = *Danubian Papers* (1971), 164 f. But observe Pflaum, *Carrières*, 206: 'son titre de *praef. Aegypti*'.

⁶² The military aspect is accorded exclusive emphasis by W. Weber, *CAH* XI (1936), 303; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (1974), 100.

⁶³ *CIL* xvi. 68 (Sex. Julius Severus, *suff.* 127).

⁶⁴ Published in *JRS* LI (1961), 63 ff., whence *AE* 1962, 255. See now M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977* (1978), 35.

sensis whose name appears to be Livius Gratus.⁶⁵ So far a standard text. It goes on to add another unit, namely 'ala] I Britann. c. R.', described as ' quae est in Pannon. inferiore '. Soldiers in all four units had been ' dimissi honesta missione per Marcium Turbonem ' (no title specified).

An addition of this type is unusual but not without parallel. A diploma for the army of Germania Superior in 82 includes three regiments absent on service in Moesia (*CIL* XVI. 28). What matters is the name of Turbo on a document of the year 123.

Anomalies occur, with a discrepancy between the date by imperial titulature and the date by consuls.⁶⁶ Two diplomas of 93 were not issued until the next year, as the *suffecti* demonstrate (xvi. 38 f.). The delay might well arise from an accumulation of discharges when a period of warfare ended. Again, a fragment headed with Trajan's titulature of 116 registers as *suffect* consul Cn. Minicius Faustinus (xvi. 62). That year is complete on the *Fasti Ostienses*. Faustinus should be lodged in 117.⁶⁷

A different explanation holds for one of three Dacian diplomas issued in 110 (xvi. 160). It carries the names of the consuls holding office in August of 106. The document appertained to auxiliary soldiers (of a single cohort, so it happens) who by exception had already been released ' ante emerita stipendia '. That is, in the happy season of the final victory over the Dacians. For the bronze tablet that ratified their privileges they had to wait four years.

Similarly, it appears, the members of the three regiments in Porolissensis and of *ala I Britannica* at the time stationed in Pannonia Inferior.⁶⁸ They had all received ' honesta missio ' from Marcus Turbo. Here as elsewhere, it will cause no alarm to concede official inadvertence or bureaucratic delays. Reparation ensued economically by adding the *ala* in Pannonia to the document devised for Dacia Porolissensis. A small detail confirms a retardation, namely the formula ' cui praefuit ' attached to the name of the commanding officer. Like Turbo, he was no longer at his post.⁶⁹

Welcome and revealing on several counts, the new diploma has imported some perturbation. Marcus Turbo, so it was assumed, was still holding a Danubian command in 123, in the month of August. Therefore he cannot have become *praefectus praetorio* until some subsequent date, perhaps as late as 125.⁷⁰ Of this assumption the corollaries are vast and alarming.

First, implications of high policy when a state of emergency (' ad tempus ') is extended to cover five years, with no legate of Pannonia Inferior all that time.⁷¹

Second, the tenure of Hadrian's first prefects, inherited from Trajan, namely Acilius Attianus and Sulpicius Similis. Text and context in the *HA* shows them dismissed in the course of 119, while Hadrian was at Rome. That date has not so far been impugned. Hadrian went away to the western lands in 121, and he was not again at the capital until 125.

Third, to prolong that pair until 125 (or even to the end of 123) introduces yet another complication. They were replaced by Turbo and Septicius, as the *Vita* plainly states (9. 5), as none call into question—and the date (i.e. 119) is in fact inexpugnable.

⁶⁵ *AE* 1973, 459 (Gherla) = M. M. Roxan, *RMD*, 21; along with the small fragment (*ibid.* 22) from Cövdiu (60 km south-east from Viminacium) which helps to establish the name of the procurator.

⁶⁶ Examined, in reference to Dacian diplomas, in *JRS* xxxvi (1946), 159 f. = *Danubian Papers* (1971), 161.

⁶⁷ Thus Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari* (1952), 34 n. By aberration 115 was proposed in *JRS* xxxvi (1946), 160.

⁶⁸ On the inner side, introducing the name of the commander, appears ' alae Briton. c. R.'. Problems about the identity of regiments may be eschewed in this place.

⁶⁹ Thus M. M. Roxan, in cautious comment: ' the unusual form of the verb . . . may reflect the issuing of the *diploma* at least four years after *honesta missio* had been granted through Marcus Turbo, if it is accepted that he relinquished the joint command of Dacia and Pannonia in 119.'

For a thorough study of this diploma and others see G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 36 (1979), 233 ff.

⁷⁰ According to the editors in *AE* 1973, 459, ' le nouveau texte oblige à revoir la chronologie de la fin de sa carrière '. In pursuance therewith the proposal of H. G. Pflaum, *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* 1975/1976, 373 f. Accepted and developed by J. Gascoü, *Latomus* xxxvii (1978), 436 f. —to the point of having Septicius and Suetonius still in office in 128.

⁷¹ On the widely accepted view, a L. Neratius Priscus (the third of that name after the consuls of 87 and 97) was governor of Pannonia Inferior early in the reign of Hadrian: assumed from *ILS* 1034 (Saepinum). Thus *Historia* xiv (1965), 350 f. = *Danubian Papers* (1971), 233 f. For a drastic revision of problems about the Neratii see now G. Camodeca, *Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Morali e Politiche* LXXXVII (Napoli, 1976), 19 ff.

The accepted dates for the vicissitudes of these prefects resist attempts at subversion. Turbo's colleague, so it was argued above, accompanied Hadrian when he set out for Germany and Britain in 121, to incur disgrace in the next year. No later occasion seems admissible.

ix. Septicius now discarded, and the Emperor continuing on his travels for three more years, a replacement became requisite. He would normally be sought at a high level, in the first place among knights who had charge of *vigiles*, *annonae*, or Egypt. Rigid system is to be deprecated, patronage and accident intervene all through. None the less, a certain regularity had been taking shape. Statistics have even been adduced for the years 71–120.⁷² The lists of *praefecti vigilum* and *praefecti annonae* are sparse indeed (four and seven respectively), but Egypt declares seventeen names. All the known tenants of the *annonae* proceed to Egypt; and three of them in the sequel attain to the Guard.

Lists of officials demand care and vigilance. Claudius Athenodorus suffered neglect, holding the *annonae* fairly late in the reign of Domitian.⁷³ On the other hand, Mettius Rufus (a character of some importance), *praefectus annonae* towards 89 and then going to Egypt, was incautiously admitted among prefects of the Guard.⁷⁴ But by good fortune Norbanus was denied Egypt.⁷⁵

The literary evidence offers temptations and hazards. The Crispinus of Juvenal, styled 'iam princeps equitum', has found fanciers: why not the prefecture of the Guard? ⁷⁶ Better, a *praefectus annonae*, as fitting tribute to the rank of that post.

Again, the enigmatic Vibius Maximus. A short poem of Martial, composed in the festal season of the year 96, refers to him as 'et occupatus/et non es nimium laboriosus' (xi. 106. 2 f.). Perhaps a *praefectus vigilum*.⁷⁷ And yet again, the occupations of this person. Writing to Vibius Maximus, Pliny amiably requests that he devise an attractive job for a friend: something 'quod sit splendidum nec molestum' (iii. 2. 5). The passage has not failed to evoke the conjecture that Maximus had the *annonae* before Egypt, where he went in 103.⁷⁸

Allusion has already been made to missing Guard Prefects in the reign of Trajan. No clues offer. Coming from the *annonae*, Minicius Italus governed Egypt from 100 or 101 to 103.⁷⁹ He lapses from notice in the sequel. His successor, Vibius Maximus, suffered prosecution for maladministration.⁸⁰ On Vibius Maximus followed Sulpicius Similis in 107, after having been *praefectus annonae*.⁸¹ He remained until 112. Of Trajan's known commanders of the Guard, only Similis had been ruler of Egypt.

In the search for Turbo's new colleague in 122, speculation might make play with three names. In the first place, M. Rutilius Lupus. He followed Similis in Egypt in 112, like him previously in the charge of the *annonae*.⁸² Lupus, it is true, made a poor showing against rebels in Egypt in 116—and he might not have proved congenial to Turbo, who was called in to prosecute those operations. For all that, rehabilitations as well as setbacks attend upon the careers of knights as of senators. M. Rutilius Lupus survived until 123, for he is to be held identical with the homonymous owner of tile factories in the vicinity of Rome.⁸³

Next, Q. Rammius Martialis, *praefectus vigilum* in 111 and in 113.⁸⁴ Succeeding Lupus in Egypt, he is attested for the first time in August of 117, for the last on 4 August of 119. The brief occupancy, in sharp contrast to Similis and Lupus, excites curiosity. Perhaps demotion. Yet he might have died in office. As in other seasons, pestilence in the wake of

⁷² *Historia* vi (1957), 484 = *Roman Papers* (1979), 357 (discussing Vibius Maximus).

⁷³ *ILS* 1535. He was procurator of Syria under Domitian (*SEG* xvii. 755).

⁷⁴ As conjectured by Hirschfeld on the basis of *CIL* xii. 671 (Arelate). Noted as highly dubious by Passerini, op. cit. (n. 6), 296.

⁷⁵ His claims are discussed, and taken quite seriously, by Brunt, as no. 36a (op. cit. (n. 7), 144).

⁷⁶ Juvenal iv. 32. Stated as 'molto probabile' by Passerini (op. cit. (n. 6), 200), and admitted without hesitation to Ensslin's list (*RE* xxii, 2395). As Stein coolly observed, 'praefectum praetorio eum fuisse putant viri docti' (*PIR*², c 1586).

⁷⁷ *Historia* vi (1957), 483.

⁷⁸ *ibid.* 483 f. The conjecture was made independently by Pflaum, *Carrières*, 154. Followed by H. Pavis d'Escurac, op. cit. (n. 41), 333. Note, as firmly against, Sherwin-White in his commentary ad loc. (1966).

⁷⁹ *ILS* 1374.

⁸⁰ *P. Oxy.* 471 (with charges against his morals).

⁸¹ *Frag. Vat.* 283.

⁸² *AE* 1940, 38.

⁸³ Held distinct in *PIR*¹, R 173 f. But see A. Stein, *Die Präfecten*, 205.

⁸⁴ *ILS* 2160 f.

warfare will not be discounted. The successor of Rammius was there in the following month.

This is T. Haterius Nepos.⁸⁵ Procurator in 114 in the newly annexed Armenia Maior (under the governorship of Hadrian's friend Catilius Severus), he passed in swift succession through five posts, the last of them the command of the *vigiles*. Haterius remained in Egypt until 124, perhaps for a year or two longer. His successor, T. Flavius Titianus, enjoyed a tenure of at least seven years.

Instructive for the general theme in their diverse fashions, the three names fail to offer firm prospects. Haterius Nepos, the most promising, cannot have replaced Septicius Clarus in 122. He might have emerged as colleague to Turbo subsequently.⁸⁶ Returning to Rome in 125, the Emperor was soon on his travels again, to Africa in 128 and then in the same year to the provinces of the East, not coming back to the capital until 134.⁸⁷

x. About Marcus Turbo subsists a final problem, the manner and season of his exit. The structure and sources of the *Vita* again obtrude. Two passages illustrate Hadrian's comportment towards friends. The one is favourable in tone, and restricted to three names: the philosophers Epictetus and Heliodorus, the sophist Favorinus (16. 8–11). The other, occurring earlier in the *Vita*, expatiates on enmity or catastrophe provoked by the ruler's perverse and capricious nature: 'prope cunctos vel amicissimos vel eos quos summis honoribus evexit postea ut hostium loco habuit' (15. 2). A string of names follows, from Attianus to Favorinus, in a peculiar farrago to a total of thirteen (15. 2–12). The first specimens are 'Attianum et Nepotem et Septicium Clarum'.

The catalogue calls for close scrutiny, and it would require a lengthy exposition.⁸⁸ One name could not fail entry: Julius Servianus, the husband of Hadrian's sister, destroyed along with his young grandson to facilitate the ruler's plans for the succession.⁸⁹ The compiler by incompetence omits the grandson, Pedanius Fuscus, from this context.⁹⁰

Three notable names stand in conjunction,

Ummidium Quadratum et Catilium Severum et Turbonem graviter insecutus est (15. 7).

Like Servianus, the second name brings the item to the last years of Hadrian, to the intrigues and conflicts in the entourage of the moribund despot, sharpened when at the end of 136 he chose Ceionius Commodus, and barely abating when after the death of the Caesar he adopted Aurelius Fulvus (*cos.* 120), on 25 February of 138. Catilius Severus (*cos.* 11 in 120) had attached himself to a potent group through marriage to an heiress: he is styled the 'proavus' of the young M. Annius Verus, a puzzling term, but only to be explained on that hypothesis.⁹¹ When Fulvus was chosen, Catilius gave voice to angry discontent, whereupon Hadrian dismissed him from the urban prefecture, so the *Vita* relates (24. 6).

Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118) was suitably to be caught up somewhere in the imbroglio since he had recently acquired as bride for his son the sister of the young Marcus.⁹² Some may have rated Quadratus higher than Fulvus as 'capax imperii'. He had once governed a military province, Moesia Inferior.⁹³

How Marcus Turbo comes in, if indeed correctly adjoined to the two consulars, that is a question. Nor can it be taken as certain that Hadrian removed him from his post at any time: either at this juncture or some years earlier.⁹⁴ The malicious source of the list in the

⁸⁵ *ILS* 1338.

⁸⁶ For his brother or son (*suff.* 134) see *PIR*², H 30. He earned *ornamenta triumphalia* (*ILS* 1058), presumably as governor of Pannonia Superior under Aelius Caesar in 137, cf. *CIL* xvi. 84.

⁸⁷ Hadrian's two long journeys were not well treated by W. Weber in *CAH* xi (1936), 319. In *OCD*² (1970), 485, the Emperor returns to Rome in 127—and he is at Rome 'from 131 to 138'.

⁸⁸ See especially Pflaum, *HAC* 1968/69 (1970), 180–82. And, for quarrels with intellectuals, G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969), 50 ff.

⁸⁹ Dio *LXIX*. 1. 6; 17. 1.

⁹⁰ He is mentioned later, after Servianus, as 'Fuscus', with no sign of his identity (23. 3).

⁹¹ *HA, Marcus* 1. 9, cf. Marcus, *Ad se ipsum* 1. 4. For a conjecture about the identity of the lady, *Historia* xvii (1968), 95 f. = *Roman Papers* (1979), 682 f.

⁹² Deduced from *HA, Marcus* 7. 4 and from tiles (*CIL* xv. 731). Cf. *PIR*², A 708.

⁹³ Conjectured legate in 121–4, as successor to '[Se]r[torius]' (*CIL* iii. 7539), in *Historia* xvii (1968), 90. A new portion of the inscription now shows them identical. See further *Harvard Studies LXXXIII* (1979), 291 f.

⁹⁴ Demotion is the standard assumption. Thus A. Stein, *RE* xiv 1599.

Vita deters. Two items in the allegations about Hadrian's treatment of his friends encourage rational doubt—and one recalls the dubious story about Septicius Clarus (11. 3).

First, 'Eudaemonem, prius conscium imperii, ad egestatem perduxit' (15. 3). The man is identified as Valerius Eudaemon, who passed through a number of minor posts during the reign and was also *ab epistulis Graecis*.⁹⁵ If in fact Eudaemon fell out with the Emperor, he made a recovery from alleged impoverishment, to reappear as Prefect of Egypt under Pius, in 142.⁹⁶

Second, 'Heliodorum famosissimis litteris laccessivit' (15. 5). The philosopher Heliodorus (cf. 16. 10) is equated with C. Avidius Heliodorus, at some time the *ab epistulis*.⁹⁷ He is discovered as Prefect of Egypt before Hadrian's decease, attested on 28 January of 138, perhaps already there in September of the previous year. He followed M. Petronius Mamertinus, and he continued into 139.

Despite opprobrious missives, Hadrian inflicted no harm on Heliodorus. On Turbo the attack appears verbal: 'graviter insecutus est'. That need not amount to much. Of any mishap, Cassius Dio betrays no sign, who commends the virtues of Turbo, loyal, assiduous and vigilant.⁹⁸

In that excursus the historian spread himself on both Turbo and Similis. It belongs to the year 136 in his exposition. Turbo proclaimed that a prefect should die on his feet. No guarantee, however, that Dio is furnishing an obituary notice after the fashion of the Roman annalists. In resumptive discourse he professes to single out Turbo and Similis as laudable phenomena of the reign.

No other evidence avails. In the *Vita* of Aelius Caesar, Hadrian complains to his prefect about all the money wasted through his adoption of Ceionius—and dismisses that prefect for a breach of confidence (*Ael.* 6. 4 f.). The fiction need not detain.⁹⁹ A small fact impinges. A quaestor was assigned to Aelius Caesar, namely T. Flavius Longinus Marcius Turbo.¹⁰⁰ A relative of Turbo, perhaps a son, perhaps a nephew.

Doubts accumulate. There is no means of knowing how and when Turbo vacated the prefecture, whether through resignation or by a natural death. In any event it becomes unlikely that he was incriminated in the company of Catilius Severus and Ummidius Quadratus, as the *HA* appears to allege. The ruler may have changed his prefects several years earlier, when he returned to Rome in 134.¹⁰¹ Turbo had then been in office for fifteen years, most of the time during the ruler's absence.

XI. Marcius Turbo (one repeats) is the sole prefect known since the demotion of Septicius Clarus in 122. Once again, gaps in knowledge over a long period, or at important conjunctures. In 137 Hadrian despatched Aelius Caesar to Pannonia. The prince had a quaestor. He was also equipped with a secretary *ab epistulis*.¹⁰² His *praefectus praetorio* is missing.¹⁰³ Nor does any source reveal the vital fact, who was holding the Praetorian Guard when Hadrian passed away on 10 July of 138. For what it may be worth, the *Vita* in an anecdotal context describing his last days happens to mention two *praefecti* (24. 9).

The commanders under Antoninus Pius are not disclosed until the first day of March the year thereafter: M. Petronius Mamertinus and M. Gavius Maximus.¹⁰⁴ The former had been Prefect of Egypt, last heard of there on 26 May of 137.¹⁰⁵ Either or both might have been installed by Hadrian, in provision and support for his successor. The question remains open. Gavius Maximus, 'vir severissimus', had a long occupancy under Pius,

⁹⁵ *ILS* 1449; *IGR* III. 1077, cf. Pflaum, *Carrières*, 264 ff.

⁹⁶ By conjecture he is installed as *praefectus amonae* immediately before 142 by H. Pavis d'Escurac, op. cit. (n. 41), 341. Hesitation is permissible.

⁹⁷ Identical (cf. *PIR*², A 1405; H 51), but denied by Pflaum (*Carrières*, 253), because of the notice in the *HA*. Accepted, however, in *HAC* 1968/69 (1970), 181.

⁹⁸ Dio LXIX. 18 f.

⁹⁹ The item is registered among the *testimonia* for Turbo in *Carrières*, 201. It is also noted in the entry on Turbo in *OCD*², 1099—which omits the Cyrrhus inscription.

¹⁰⁰ *IGR* I. 662 (Tomis). Consul suffect c. 150,

rather than c. 145, as in *PIR*² F 305; and subsequently legate of Moesia Inferior, attested in 155.

¹⁰¹ The termination of Turbo's mandate in 135 appears to be presupposed by Pflaum's calculation of his age in *Carrières*, 205; and the tenure 119–35 is stated in *HAC* 1968/69 (1970), 196.

¹⁰² L. Domitius L. f. Quir. Rogatus (*ILS* 1450). The *cognomen* suggests an African origin.

¹⁰³ L. Verus (his son) had a prefect with him in the Parthian War, viz. Furius Victorinus (*ILS* 9002), who received the same military decorations as a consular legate.

¹⁰⁴ *ILS* 2182.

¹⁰⁵ His successor, Avidius Heliodorus, was there by September.

surpassing even Turbo: 'ad vicensimum annum sub eo pervenit'.¹⁰⁶ The statement does not preclude appointment before the death of Hadrian.

Emphasis has been put on uncertainties like the end of Turbo; and missing colleagues are postulated more than once. The lacuna in the last years of Hadrian is especially to be deplored. An equestrian magnate called C. Censorius Niger should not be lost to sight. Letters which Cornelius Fronto addressed to Pius, to Marcus and to Gavius Maximus, about the year 156, disclose a person of note in society and administration.¹⁰⁷

Censorius had recently died. In his testament he published a savage attack on Gavius Maximus. Rivalry can arise or rancour from parallel careers or tenure of the same post. A letter from Pliny to a man called Maximus alludes to his polemics with Planta: Vibius Maximus is surmised, attacking Pompeius Planta, an earlier Prefect of Egypt (at one remove).¹⁰⁸ Now both Gavius Maximus and Censorius Niger had been procurators governing Mauretania Tingitana, perhaps consecutive. Diplomas put the former in one of the years 129–32, the latter somewhere between 130 and 140.¹⁰⁹ The order is not certain, but there is a chance that Gavius was the younger man, that he outstripped his senior through modest alacrity or better patronage.¹¹⁰ More recent annoyances may have supervened when Gavius became *praefectus praetorio*.

A valuable fact emerges from Fronto's letter to the Emperor. Censorius had been on terms of close amity with Marcus Turbo and with Erucius Clarus. The latter person is the nephew of Septicius Clarus. The assiduous Pliny expressed some disquiet about his young friend's slow start in the career of honours.¹¹¹ Erucius reached a *suffect* consulate in 117—but when he died in 146 he was consul for the second time and *praefectus urbi*.

Potent friends therefore for Censorius Niger; and, as Fronto adds, 'strenua opera domi bellique'. No metropolitan occupations are on record, but Censorius reached the governorship of Noricum, the highest in esteem of those provincial posts.¹¹² As concerns prospects for the Guard, Gavius Maximus and a difficult temper may have either stood in the way or helped to curtail his tenure.

XII. To conclude. Prefects on the way out benefit from polite formulations, whatever be the reason of demotion or the next distinction. Julius Ursus and Attius Suburanus acceded at once to the *fasces*. That was not done by Hadrian for any prefect, so far as known. The next example might be M. Petronius Mamertinus, the colleague of Gavius Maximus. The *Fasti* register a man of that name as consul *suffect* in 150. Identical so some assume.¹¹³ Better, a son or a nephew.¹¹⁴

Hadrian's deference towards senate and senators is asserted by the *Vita* in various particulars, some of them more than dubious.¹¹⁵ His restraint in not producing a sudden consul may be held to deserve modest annotation.

Ornamenta consularia for knights, that was an old story, albeit far from creditable in some of the historic precedents.¹¹⁶ Normal during office for Guard Prefects by the time of

¹⁰⁶ *HA*, Pius 8. 7. The colleague faded out: when, it is not clear. On Gavius followed Tattius Maximus, *praefectus vigilum* in 154 (*ILS* 2161), replaced on his early decease by the pair Furius Victorinus and Cornelius Repentinus.

¹⁰⁷ Fronto, *Ad Antoninum Pium* 3; 7; 4 = Haines I, 254 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Pliny, *Epp.* ix. i. i. However, 'a doubtful assumption'. Thus Sherwin-White, ad loc.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* xvi. 173; 176. For the former, with the consulate of L. Aurelius Gallus and a Priscus in the month of August, the year 131 is conjectured by G. Alföldy, *Kaisertum und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977), 87. For fresh information about the career of Gavius (from *AE* 1971, 65: Ostia) see W. Eck, *RE* Supp. xv, 109 f.

From an unpublished inscription a procuratorship of Asia was adduced (*PIR*², G 104, cf. Pflaum, *Carrières*, 249). The inscription is stated to come from Hierapolis Castabala (in Cilicia).

¹¹⁰ As suggested by E. Birley, quoted in *Carrières*, 228. Gavius is generally catalogued anterior to Censorius in Tingitana. Thus in *Carrières*, 1108; B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der r. Provinzen Nordafrikas* II (1960), 296. It might not be so.

¹¹¹ Pliny, *Epp.* ii. 9.

¹¹² *CIL* III 5174; 5181 (Celeia). No close dating possible. But subsequent to Tingitana: not previous, as G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (1974), 244.

¹¹³ Thus, with no doubt, Passerini, op. cit. (n. 6), 300.

¹¹⁴ A. Stein, *Die Präfecten* 172; G. Alföldy, op. cit. 156; 324.

¹¹⁵ Thus *Hadr.* 8. 4: 'tertio consules, cum ipse ter fuisset, plurimos fecit, infinitos autem secundi consulatus honore cumulavit'.

¹¹⁶ Suetonius, *Cl.* 24. 1: 'etiam procuratoribus ducenariis'. Not stated in censure. But observe other *ornamenta* for imperial freedmen (ibid. 28). For lists of all recipients see now B. Rémy, *Rev. ét. anc.* LXXVIII/IX (1976/77), 160 ff.

Hadrian, such would be an easy assumption. The next ruler (no innovator of any kind) duly conceded the honour; and 'vir clarissimus' crops up as a title about the year 160.¹¹⁷

Hadrian is notoriously unpredictable. The *ornamenta* are not appended to the names of Claudius Livianus at Rome, of Acilius Attianus when he makes a dedication to Hercules on the island of Elba;¹¹⁸ and not to Turbo, when Sarmizegethusa and Utica pay him honour.¹¹⁹ That does not amount to a proof, be it conceded. Still, after Afranius Burrus the first epigraphic specimen is registered a century later with Gavius Maximus.¹²⁰

Hadrian's attitude towards decorations comes out on firm and heterogeneous evidence. For himself, the ruler did not go beyond a third consulship and a second imperatorial salutation. For others, *dona militaria* fell notably short of the standard awards. Equestrian officers suffered as well as men of senatorial rank.¹²¹

The *ornamenta consularia*, like other institutions of the early Empire, were liable to be misunderstood in the late age. That is, failure to observe the distinction between 'dignitas senatoria' (i.e. the *latus clavus*, hence membership of the 'amplissimus ordo') and a seat in the high assembly; and also the distinction between *ornamenta* accorded during tenure of office and on retirement.

Severus Alexander, so the *HA* alleges, made his praefects members of the Senate, so as to be 'viri clarissimi' in the full sense of the term. The virtuous and exemplary prince had a reason. He wanted to prevent non-senators from sitting in judgment on senators: 'idcirco senatores esse voluit' (*Alex.* 21. 5). The passage runs as follows:

praef. praetorii suis senatoriam addidit dignitatem, ut viri clarissimi et essent et dicerentur; quod antea vel raro fuerat vel omnino nondum fuerat, eo usque ut, si quis imperatorum successorem praef. praet. dare vellet, laticlaviam eidem per libertum summitteret, ut in multorum vita Marius Maximus dixit (21. 3 f.).

The item has evoked much discussion. More than needed, when the character of this *Vita* is soberly assessed. The allegation is an invention.¹²² In any case, brief inspection declares the exposition futile.

'Senatoriam addidit dignitatem', that is the phrase. But praefects in this late season normally had 'dignitas senatoria'. The *ornamenta* (not here named) gave senatorial status. Possession of the *ornamenta* is also ignored in the remarks subjoined about the practice of previous emperors. To send the 'laticlavia' to a praefect on supersession was superfluous—unless the praefect lacked it while in office.¹²³

Ignorance and confusion is patent. The passage makes one wonder about Hadrian's treatment of Acilius Attianus, 'cum Attianum ex praefecto praetorii ornamentis consularibus praeditum faceret senatorem' (*Hadr.* 8. 7). On one interpretation Attianus as praefect was already invested with the *ornamenta consularia*: when released from his post he was 'made a senator'.¹²⁴ On another, he first acquired the *ornamenta* at that juncture.¹²⁵

A doubt arises. Whatever stood in the source, the compiler may be equating the *ornamenta* with membership of the Senate, as is implied in the biography of Alexander. Hence for Attianus merely a grant on demotion, 'ut in multorum vita Marius Maximus dixit'.¹²⁶ If that is so, Attianus did not enter the Senate but shared the easeful retirement of his colleague Similis.

A seat in the Senate meant nothing to a knight whom power and prestige had put above

¹¹⁷ With Cornelius Repentinus, cf. *PIR*², C 1428.

¹¹⁸ *ILS* 1323; 8999.

¹¹⁹ *ILS* 1324; *IL Afr.* 421. Hadrian styled 'pater patriae' on the former document should date it to 128 or later.

¹²⁰ *ILS* 1321 (Burrus); 1325 (Gavius). If the *ornamenta* were normal under Hadrian, the biographer would not have needed to emphasize the practice followed by his successor (*Pius* 10. 6). But that is not a strong argument.

¹²¹ E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (1953), 24. For legates of praetorian rank, observe Lollius Urbicus (*ILS* 1065) and the *Ignotus* from Pisaurum (*CIL* xi. 6339).

¹²² A. Stein, *Der r. Ritterstand* (1927), 255 f. For an ample discussion, A. Chastagnol, *Recherches sur*

l'Histoire Auguste (1970), 39 ff; also in *HAC* 1975/6 (1978), 125 ff.

¹²³ The feminine form 'laticlavia' appears unique, cf. *TLL*. For 'laticlavium', Gaius in *Dig.* xxiv. 1. 42; *Schol. Iuv.* 1. 106; Orosius v. 18. 17 (in the plural).

¹²⁴ Thus A. Chastagnol, *op. cit.*, 62.

¹²⁵ That is presupposed by the translation of D. Magie (Loeb, 1930). Likewise A. Birley: 'he made Attianus a senator with honorary consular rank' (Penguin Classics, 1976).

¹²⁶ Not all references to Maximus are above suspicion. This reference implies that many praefects in the period 96–222 did not acquire 'dignitas senatoria' until they retired.

most of the ex-consuls. Rank in society appealed, its signs were visible and vestimentary. Precedence and ceremony mattered for both sexes. Ulpian (not yet perhaps in command of the Guard) was duly alert to the problem: 'vir praefectorius an consulari feminae praeferatur, videndum'.¹²⁷

EPILOGUE. Six prefects only in forty years. Though sparse and sporadic, the facts permit sundry conclusions about promotions. They discourage schematism.¹²⁸ Chance and personalities prevail when Caesar selects his deputy and companion. By the same token, fatigue or annoyance supervenes; and proud ladies in the dynasty may be a source of peril. Septicius Clarus got into trouble through Vibia Sabina, such is the story in the *HA*. Travel caused friction, and so did palace life. Better evidence shows Julius Ursus restraining Domitian's anger against his consort—and then himself incurring danger but rescued by Julia, the daughter of Titus, who secured him the consulship.¹²⁹

Seven topics will be treated in a summary fashion.

(1) Early posts. None known for Livianus, Attianus, Septicius. Suburanus effected a lucky and abrupt entrance to the equestrian service. Sulpicius Similis is first discovered as a centurion of the Praetorians early in the reign of Trajan.¹³⁰

There is a problem concerning Q. Marcius Turbo. A soldier of II Adiutrix buried at Aquincum had served under a centurion called 'M. Turbo'.¹³¹ Identity is assumed with Marcius Turbo. Now Aelius Hadrianus was tribune in that legion towards the end of Domitian's reign.¹³² The stations and movements of II Adiutrix are obscure—and Hadrian was later on the Danube during the Dacian Wars before governing Pannonia Inferior in 107/8. After the iterated primipilate Turbo became *praefectus vehiculorum* and held four more posts at Rome before assuming charge of the Misenum fleet.¹³³

(2) Accession to the Guard. Suburanus held an advantageous post in 97, procurator in Gallia Belgica; Similis came from the prefecture of Egypt; and Turbo acceded in 119 after an extraordinary command on the Danube.

About the other three there can only be conjecture. Some may have had the *vigiles*. There are large gaps. Only three *praefecti* are attested in the period, viz. Titinius Capito, Rammius Martialis and Haterius Nepos. Indeed, after Haterius (who proceeded to Egypt in 119), none until Tattius Maximus in 156, and Furius Victorinus soon after, when Tattius succeeded Gavius Maximus as *praefectus praetorio*.¹³⁴

Next, the *annona*, and again a dearth of names.¹³⁵ Under Trajan, three only: Minicius Italus, Sulpicius Similis, Rutilius Lupus. Under Hadrian, the solitary Claudius Julianus, and he not permitting a date. The *annona* by its functions is intimately linked to Egypt. By luck or favour the *vigiles* might sometimes open immediate access to the Guard.¹³⁶ But only one *praefectus vigilum* had hitherto gone on to the *annona*.¹³⁷

(3) Military posts. It will not be necessary to refer again to Marcius Turbo. Yet Suburanus had only the command of a cavalry regiment. A prefect of the Guard was seldom called to service in the field.

On computation of years, a senator selected to govern one of the consular provinces in the portion of Caesar had seldom much military experience behind him.¹³⁸ Not so the

¹²⁷ *Dig.* I. 9. 1 praef.

¹²⁸ For comparison or contrasts with Egypt, observe the searching and often salutary remarks of P. A. Brunt, *JRS* LXV (1975), 124 ff. He discusses the need for previous experience, earlier posts, legal or administrative competence.

¹²⁹ *Dio* LXVII. 3. 1; 4. 2.

¹³⁰ *Dio* LXIX. 19. 1.

¹³¹ *CIL* III. 14349³, cf. E. Ritterling, *RE* XII, 1445. The inscription is republished as *AE* 1933, 31; 1948, 202.

¹³² *HA*, *Hadr.* 2. 2, cf. *ILS* 312.

¹³³ *AE* 1955, 225 (Cyrrhus). See now B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares* (1978), 226 ff.

¹³⁴ *ILS* 2161; 9002. Perhaps to be inserted is T. Statilius Optatus (*ILS* 9061). Recourse to the original publication (*Not. Scav.* 1893, 197) permits 'p[raef. vig.]' at the end of l. 2.

¹³⁵ For the list (six names), H. Pavis d'Escurac, *op. cit.* (n. 41), 131 ff. Valerius Eudaemon is conjectural, and Baienus Blassianus must now be moved to the early years of Marcus. His prefecture of Egypt belongs in 167, cf. *P. Berol. inv.* 16036. Duly noted by Bastiniani, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 297; Brunt, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 145.

¹³⁶ For example, Ofonius Tigellinus—or Tattius Maximus.

¹³⁷ viz. Tettius Africanus (*CIL* XI. 5382), Prefect of Egypt early in the reign of Domitian. For conjectures about Vibius Maximus, above, p. 00.

¹³⁸ B. Campbell, *JRS* LXV (1975), 11 ff. That study embraces the years 70–235. Variations can, however, be established within certain periods, cf. below n. 142.

equestrians—and they might be put in charge of territories equipped with a large force of *auxilia*. At first sight a useful source for commanders of the city garrison. The facts refute. Few of these ‘presidial procurators’ attain to the Guard.¹³⁹ Under the Flavian emperors one only, Norbanus, procurator of Raetia in January of 89 when Antonius Saturninus made his proclamation at Moguntiacum.¹⁴⁰

In the present context, the exception is the exceptional Marcius Turbo, after Mauretania and the Danubian command. The next specimen is Gavius Maximus who had Tingitana about the year 130, with no parallel until the season of warfare in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. It is no surprise that procurators of this type can seldom make their way to any urban posts whatsoever. A change comes by paradox in the late years of Antoninus Pius.¹⁴¹

Civilian and even financial posts are the better option, with a long sojourn at the seat of affairs, in touch with Caesar and with influential personages.¹⁴² Evidence from the late years of Hadrian furnishes a demonstration and a pattern. When the financial secretaryship *a rationibus* had been taken from freedmen and allotted to knights, results of the upgrading became apparent.¹⁴³ Furthermore, the two finance procuratorships in Gaul retain or extend their potency.

From Belgica by way of *a rationibus* two men advance to the *annona*.¹⁴⁴ Two more follow the same path, from the other Gallic procuratorship.¹⁴⁵ The first pair govern Egypt in succession (the third and the fourth prefects under Pius). Hence several potential candidates for the Guard—which was monopolized for long years by Gavius Maximus and Petronius Mamertinus.

(4) Duration. Under Trajan and Hadrian eleven men held rule in Egypt. For the Guard, the six known names forbid any estimate of averages. Changes tend to occur soon after a reign begins—and some towards the end; and a single prolonged tenure may fall in between, as with Marcius Turbo.

(5) Quality and capacity. As emerges, service with the troops abroad is at a discount. At Rome the tribunates in the Guard have a social role, while *vigiles* and *annona* furnish some acquaintance with the routine of official business.

Trajan paraded a military façade. Diverse in character and tastes, his successor was prone to enhance the contrast. Hadrian needed congenial men about him. Not old soldiers or still duller bureaucrats but graceful adepts of the diplomatic arts and friends of polite letters. Authors and scholars might be credited with methodical habits or accuracy in money matters. Like the *praefectus vigilum* Titinius Capito, who had been secretary to three emperors in succession, Septicius Clarus acquired office through talents of that order. Office was not the source of influence, rather the contrary.¹⁴⁶

A doubt overhangs the nature and cause of Septicius’ fall from favour. Perhaps not a good choice to begin with. Would a lawyer have been better?

With the efflux of time the deputies of the Emperor acquired jurisdiction. In the mature epoch of legal science two eminent masters happen to occupy the prefecture: Papinian and Ulpian. The third luminary conformed, namely Julius Paulus—so long as credence was accorded to the *Historia Augusta*.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁹ As emphasized in *JRS* LII (1962), 93 f. = *Roman Papers* (1979), 552 f.

¹⁴⁰ Martial IX. 84.

¹⁴¹ Varius Clemens, after governing Caesariensis and Raetia, where he is attested in 157 (*CIL* XVI. 183), held the financial procuratorship in Belgica and the two Germanies, to end as *ab epistulis* to Marcus and Verus (*ILS* 1362).

Observe also Baienus Blassianus (*Inscr. It.* x. 4. 37; *AE* 1966, 161). After Tingitana, Raetia, the Ravenna fleet, he becomes procurator in Lugdunensis and Aquitania, then either secretary *a rationibus* or *praefectus vigilum*, to reach Egypt in 167 after the *annona*. Further, the career of his successor in Egypt, Bassaeus Rufus (*ILS* 1326).

¹⁴² The senatorial career exhibits a parallel phenomenon, from the middle of Hadrian’s reign for about forty years. A number of consular legates had been *praefecti aerarii Saturni* before their consulship,

and *curatores operum publicorum* immediately after. For statistics, see *Historia* XIV (1965), 358 = *Danubian Papers* (1971), 241 f.

¹⁴³ The earliest is under Trajan, viz. Vibius Lentulus (*AE* 1913, 143). Pompeius Homullus (*ILS* 1385) is also put there by Pflaum, *Carrières*, 189. Perhaps too early.

¹⁴⁴ *ILS* 1341 (Valerius Proculus); 1340 (Petronius Honoratus). For the former, the post *a rationibus* is dubious, being put in a lacuna of the text, it must be conceded (Pflaum, *Carrières*, 279).

¹⁴⁵ *ILS* 1339 (Staius Macedo); 1342 (Junius Flavianus). A third procurator is Pompeius Homullus, who died after becoming a *rationibus* (*ILS* 1385).

¹⁴⁶ F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 90.
¹⁴⁷ For some doubts, *PIR*², J 453. For a firm rejection, ‘Three Jurists’, *HAC* 1968/69 (1970), 309 ff. = *Roman Papers* (1979), 790 ff.

To assign the advancement of these men to proficiency in legal studies is premature or negligent. Rather influence with court and dynasty, a pliable character and zeal for centralized government. Papinian, so it is alleged, was a relative of Julia Domna.¹⁴⁸ Ulpian owed his rapid and fatal ascension to Julia Maesa and Julia Sohaemias.

(6) Patronage and kinship. Dearth of evidence abridges discourse on those valid presuppositions. The alertness of Suburanus deserves commendation, who at an early stage attached himself to the old consular Vibius Crispus, the master of intrigue, and to the mounting eminence of Julius Ursus. And posts at the capital (including the 'militia urbana') gave opportunity and support to the ambitions of Marcius Turbo, apart from acquaintance with Aelius Hadrianus.

In the past, senators and knights might issue from the same family; and matrimony either followed or created social parity. None of the six here under review avows senatorial extraction. And for none is a parent or a wife on direct attestation. As for Septicius Clarus, a sister is deduced from Pliny's notice. She married Erucius Clarus, an equestrian: 'vir sanctus antiquus disertus' (*Épp.* II. 9. 4).

(7) Local origins. A wide variety, as with senators who command success in this epoch.

(a) Sex. Attius L. f. Volt. Suburanus Aemilianus. He belongs to the better sort in Narbonensis. The *nomen*, very common there, indicates native origin. Thus Q. Attius Sex. f. Togiacus.¹⁴⁹ Likewise the *cognomen* 'Atticus', on splendid show with M. Vestinus Atticus from Vienna (*cos.* 65). The 'patria' of Suburanus is not beyond surmise. Observe a neglected inscription at Rome, bringing up a local worthy and *flamen* of the province: 'Sex. Attius Sex. fil. Volt. Atticus Vienn.¹⁵⁰ The city of Vienna was strong for Galba in 68.¹⁵¹

(b) Ti. Claudius Livianus. From Lycia, from Sidyma where his presumed parent made a dedication to Claudius Caesar.¹⁵² By his full style Trajan's prefect is 'Ti. Julius Aquilinus Castricius Saturninus Claudius Livianus'.¹⁵³ The first item recurs with the procurator governing Raetia in 107; the second with a procurator of Africa about the year 85.¹⁵⁴

(c) P. Acilius Attianus. Not only Hadrian's guardian but a citizen of Italica, the home of Ulpian and Aelius.¹⁵⁵

(d) Ser. Sulpicius Similis. He is named as Prefect of Egypt on a fragmentary inscription at Carthage.¹⁵⁶ An African 'patria' is not excluded.

(e) C. Septicius Clarus. The *nomen*, indistinctive but not very common, affords no clear sign.¹⁵⁷ In the Augustan period a Septicia married one of the Trachali (rare *cognomen*) from Ariminum.¹⁵⁸ That family rose to eminence with the eloquent P. Galerius Trachalus, holding the *fasces* in 68 with Ti. Cadius Asconius Silius Italicus.¹⁵⁹

A Transpadane origin is not implausible for Pliny's friend. The item 'Septicius Pica' occurs in the nomenclature of a high knight in the time of Claudius Caesar.¹⁶⁰

(f) Q. Marcius C. f. Trom. Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus. The Cyrrhus inscription makes a welcome disclosure: Epidaurum the 'patria', a *colonia* close to the coast in southern Dalmatia.

Narbonensis and Spain, neither is unexpected. But only one son of Italy, and he perhaps from Italia Transpadana. Africa was now beginning to come forward, with a consul in 80, a Pactumeius of immigrant stock from the colony of Cirra. For knights the region is not so far on high show, but education exhibited ripe products, as witness Suetonius

¹⁴⁸ *HA, Carac.* 8. 2: 'ut aliqui loquuntur'. Phrase and context raise a strong doubt.

¹⁴⁹ *CIL* XII. 4641 (Narbo).

¹⁵⁰ *CIL* VI. 29688.

¹⁵¹ Tacitus, *Hist.* I. 65. There is a fair chance, be it added, that Julius Ursus was likewise a Narbonensian.

¹⁵² *TAM* II. I. 184, cf. *PIR*², C 912.

¹⁵³ *AE* 1924, 15 (Rome).

¹⁵⁴ *CIL* XVI. 55; XII. 671 (Arelate).

¹⁵⁵ *Dio* LXIX. I. 2.

¹⁵⁶ *CIL* VIII. 24587. The second line shows him 'flamen P[]'. Presumably Pomonalis or Palatualis. The third has 'bello Ra[]', where the editor suggests 'Raetico'. To conjecture 'Pa[r]thico' would be

tempting and useful.

¹⁵⁷ Schulze, *LE* 229 is not informative. Nor are the data from the Italian volumes of *CIL*, viz. V (five), IX (six), X (one), XI (one).

¹⁵⁸ Val. Max. VII. 7. 4. She tried to defraud her sons by marrying an old man called Publicius. A Q. Septicius, senator in the time of Tiberius, can be deduced from *CIL* VI. 31765, cf. *PIR*², C 149; 152. Add now T. Manlius Sura Septicianus, quaestor of Crete and Cyrene, cf. W. Eck, *RE*, Supp. xv, 130.

¹⁵⁹ And previously perhaps C. Galerius the Prefect of Egypt (*PIR*², G 25), who avows no *cognomen*.

¹⁶⁰ *ILS* 1348 (near Verona).

Tranquillus from Hippo, Septimius Severus from Punic Lepcis.¹⁶¹ Dalmatia, despite Italian settlement along the littoral, lags behind, for various reasons.

The surprise is the Lycian Claudius Livianus. Cities of western Asia entered the lists with consuls in 92 and 94, and even with a prominent general, Julius Quadratus Bassus (*suff.* 105). Aristocratic and conservative, the Lycians enjoyed high esteem.¹⁶² Their first senator was a Claudianus from Xanthus, identified by a neat conjecture as Arruntius Claudianus, who constructed a public bath at that city.¹⁶³ An inscription now reveals M. Arruntius Claudianus, adlected to the Senate by Domitian after service in his last campaign on the Danube.¹⁶⁴ He went as far as the proconsulate of Macedonia.

It is normal that sons of the higher knights pass into the Senate, and they often become consuls. However, as in other ages, not all *novi homines* are able to perpetuate a family. Ti. Julius Aqui[linus], legate of Lycia-Pamphylia in 141 may be a son of Livianus—or rather of his kinsman, the procurator of Raetia.¹⁶⁵ For the rest, no descendants verifiable save for Turbo. Two polyonymous persons transmit his name, each prefixed with 'T. Flavius'¹⁶⁶. First, the procurator governing Dacia Inferior and Mauretania Caesariensis in the reign of Pius: T. Flavius T. f. Pal. Priscus Gallonius Fronto Q. Marcius Turbo.¹⁶⁷ Second, T. Flavius (? T. f.) Pal. Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo (*suff. c.* 150). He began in the equestrian service as a prefect of a cohort, but received the *latus clavus*, becoming quaestor to Aelius Caesar (in 137).¹⁶⁸

Hence various problems.¹⁶⁹ Among them, senators of that period showing 'Gallonius Fronto' and 'Q. Marcius Turbo', either separately or together—with complicated questions of identity. Inscriptions of the Guard Prefect register 'Fronto', but strangely omit the attendant *gentilicium*. His mother, it may be conjectured, was a Gallonia. The omission runs counter to a strong tendency in the habits of the upper orders. Maternal nomenclature is not only retained. It may extrude the father's name. The prime specimen is C. Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118), grandson of Ummidia Quadratilla, hence a disguised *polyonymus*. The progress of epigraphy now exhibits him as C. Ummidius Quadratus Sertorius Severus.¹⁷⁰

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¹⁶¹ See remarks in *CP* LXXIV (1979), 13 f. No reasons can be adduced for denying that 'patria' to Suetonius (*AE* 1953, 73).

¹⁶² Since πολιτικός καὶ σωφρόνως ζῶντες (Strabo XIV, p. 664). It may be Galba, not Nero, who restored their 'libertas'. For that notion, *Klio* xxx (1937), 231 = *Roman Papers* (1979), 45.

¹⁶³ *ILS* 8821. For Groag's conjecture, based on *TAM* II. 361, see *PIR*², C 753.

¹⁶⁴ *AE* 1972, 572 (Ephesus). On whom, cf. Chr. Habicht, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 1 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *PIR*², J 162.

¹⁶⁶ *PIR*², F 344; 305.

¹⁶⁷ *AE* 1911, 108 (Rapidum); 1946, 113 (Caesarea.)

For a time confused with the Guard Prefect, cf. above, n. 55.

¹⁶⁸ *IGR* I. 662 (Tomis). If he is a son by birth of Turbo (as assumed by Pflaum, *Carrières*, 211), it is remarkable that he began in equestrian service. Hence reinforcing a doubt whether Turbo had acquired 'dignitas senatoria' through *ornamenta consularia*.

¹⁶⁹ For this pair, and for the other Marcii Turbones, see remarks (inconclusive) in *JRS* LII (1962), 95 f. = *Roman Papers* (1979), 553 ff.

¹⁷⁰ *Harvard Studies* LXXXIII (1979), 291 f., cf. above, n. 93.