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RONALD SYME

## The Testamentum Dasumii: Some Novelties

I. *Si quis piorum manibus locus*. Avowing slight faith in a survival even shadowy, Romans of the upper order found solace in posthumous fame. That ambition combined suitably with testamentary dispositions. The most ample advertisement is the Testamentum Dasumii, which stood inscribed on a large marble monument beside the Via Appia.

Two pieces came to light, continuous downwards but very slender, showing a text of more than 130 lines. Those lines, it is computed, covered a space of about 80 letters each. In all, only one seventh of the document is extant.<sup>1</sup>

The will was drawn up in the summer of the year 108. Not content with several inheritors and substitutes, and with a long string of legatees, the testator added a codicil, with bequests to the Emperor Trajan and to Sosius Senecio, consul for the second time the year before.

II. The fragments presented numerous items of value to adepts of legal studies. The founder of a different science was alert, as ever. BORGHESI divined a Dasumius: the document disclosed a Da[sumia among the heirs, and also the nurse Dasumia Syche. The testator enjoined that a friend, his *amicus rarissimus*, should surrender a son, *nomen meum laturum* (l. 4).

Guidance to the identity of both friend and testator came from inscriptions of a Tarquinian family, the Tullii Varrones, namely

- 1) P. Tullius P. f. Varro (now ILS 1047)
- 2) L. Dasumius P. f. Tullius Tuscus (ILS 1081)
- 3) M. Dasumius L. f. Tullius Varro (CIL VI.1400).

On that showing the testator acquired the nomenclature <L. Dasumius Tuscus.> It was commended by MOMMSEN, and it persisted for a long time.<sup>2</sup> Now P. Tullius Varro had been assumed consul suffect in the reign of Trajan.<sup>3</sup> In the sequel the

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<sup>1</sup> CIL VI.10229 (1882); BRUNS, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> (1909), no. 117; ARANGIO-RUIZ, *FIRA III* (1943), no. 48.

<sup>2</sup> PIR<sup>1</sup>, D 9 (1897), cf. T 284; BRUNS, *Fontes*<sup>7</sup> (1909), no. 117. Long ago the sagacious BORGHESI distrusted the name <L. Dasumius Tuscus.>

<sup>3</sup> Thus GROAG, *RE* 7A (1939), 1326: shortly before 109.

Fasti Ostienses revealed Varro as consul suffect in 127, and the presumed son of Dasumius Tuscus (L. Dasumius Tullius Tuscus) in 152.<sup>4</sup>

Hesitations duly arose. They were ultimately confirmed when an inscription found at Stobi brought up P. Dasumius Rusticus, who shared the fasces with Hadrian in 119.<sup>5</sup> Hence patently the man whom the testament of L. Dasumius took in adoption, and father to L. Dasumius P. f. Tullius Tuscus (*suff.* 152).<sup>6</sup>

A question remained: who was his natural parent? One goes back a generation, to the homonymous father of P. Tullius Varro (*suff.* 127). This Varro, quaestor in 69, ended his public life as proconsul of Macedonia under Vespasian.<sup>7</sup>

In consequence, two sons for the first Tullius Varro (the friend of L. Dasumius). They were perhaps close in age, born c. 85. To Rusticus fell more rapid access to the fasces since he had been adopted by a consular who had links with the dynastic group. There is no sign that their father reached the consulate. He died, it was held, either during his governorship of Macedonia or soon after.<sup>8</sup> The notion appears premature, for more reasons than one.<sup>9</sup> The matter called for close attention, since the identity of his wife will crop up later on.

III. So far the Tullii Varrones, instructive for vicissitudes in the process of ascertainment – and also, whatever the name and identity of the testator, firm evidence for an adoption. More significant the Dasumii. The proconsul of Asia L. Dasumius had been on register for more years than many needed to recall.<sup>10</sup> His governorship was put in the late epoch of Trajan's reign.<sup>11</sup> Another Trajanic proconsul with the name <Hadrianus> was certified by a coin of Thyatira.<sup>12</sup> He long escaped notice in this context, through the obsession with <L. Dasumius Tuscus.> In the end it was seen that the two proconsuls amalgamate to advantage.<sup>13</sup> On a final clarification, L. Dasumius Hadrianus gets 93 for his consulship, the tenure 106/7 for the proconsulate.<sup>14</sup>

Firm lineaments thus defined Dasumius, but not much substance. His main utility resides in his kinsfolk, among them persons of wealth and influence in the entourage of the Caesars. The enquiry takes in a notable nexus, first forming in their

<sup>4</sup> For the latter, a fragment first published in 1934, for the former in 1941.

<sup>5</sup> AE 1931, 72.

<sup>6</sup> In RE 7A (1939), 1328, GROAG was not quite conclusive.

<sup>7</sup> ILS 1002 (Viterbo), ending with <P. Tullius Varro optimo patri.>

<sup>8</sup> Thus GROAG, RE 7A, 1330.

<sup>9</sup> Survival until about 85 is entailed by the presumed birth dates of the two sons. Moreover, Varro was still alive in 90 if he is the Varro (not a common name in this epoch) who occurs in Martial V.30. See further JRS 68 (1978), 17 = Roman Papers III (1984), 1078.

<sup>10</sup> CIG 2870 (Miletus), cf. PIR<sup>1</sup>, D 9.

<sup>11</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup>, D 14.

<sup>12</sup> PIR<sup>1</sup>, H 2 a.

<sup>13</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup>, D 14, Add.

<sup>14</sup> JRS 43 (1953), 156 = Roman Papers I (1979), 245. See now PIR<sup>2</sup>, H 5.

towns and countries of origin. It brings up decisive phases in the life of a senator. Not so much ages and stages in the career of honours as the season for matrimony (normally about twenty two), iterated marriages, the value of uncles and aunts, the hazards of parentage and survival.

Before all, a dearth of sons and the necessity to perpetuate the name. Hence frequent recourse to <testamentary adoption.> That expedient was disdained and ignored by the Roman jurists. For a clear reason. It is merely the *condicio nominis ferendi* – not that it appealed either. Nor does the phenomenon engross much attention from jurists in the recent time.<sup>15</sup> Some social historians compensate, with whom Dasumius survives in grateful memory.

The device issued in polyonymous nomenclature, with perplexities inherent in the search for a senator's <real name> (i. e., the paternal). Negative criteria help. No private action could either change a man's tribe or alter his status (patrician or plebeian).<sup>16</sup> Further, the original filiation is normally retained, and sometimes the praenomen, as occurs in the epigraphic record of the Tullii Varrones.

Otherwise, almost anything can happen. A woman can transfer her name; and without adoption by testament, a man will prefer the nomenclature of his mother or grandmother, especially if socially superior to the father.<sup>17</sup> However, names in literature and names abridged on consular Fasti often offer guidance and declare certitudes.

IV. Proper scrutiny of Dasumius involves a large company, with wide ramifications. It remains valid, if (and especially if) the identity of the notorious testator came under doubt or even denial. To achieve clarity and economy of exposition will not be easy. It exacts a recurrence of names and persons all through.

The first items bring in successful families of the province Baetica. They proceed from that ancient Italian emigration which conveys proof through rare and distinctive nomina such as <Annaeus>, <Aponius>, <Platorius>, <Ulpus>.

(1) L. Dasumius Hadrianus (*suff.* 93). The cognomen suggests kinship with Hadrian. His father P. Aelius Hadrianus, a senator of praetorian rank who died in 85 or 86, had for wife a Domitia Paulina from Gades. One might suppose that an Aelia had married a Dasumius.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Neither item earns an entry to the Index of M. KASER, *Das römische Privatrecht* I (1971), or to that of Vol. II (1975).

<sup>16</sup> As emphasized in <Clues to Testamentary Adoption,> *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* I (1982), 397 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Thus Ummidius Quadratus, already so styled before the decease of his maternal grandmother Ummidia Quadratilla (Pliny, *Epp.* VI.11.1). Assumed polyonymous, his nomenclature now turns up as <C. Ummidius Quadratus Sertorius Severus> (AE 1977, 745: Tomis). Sertorius Severus (*Epp.* V.1.1) was thus either the father or an uncle. For the problems, HSPh 83 (1979), 291 f. = *Roman Papers* III (1984), 1162 f.

<sup>18</sup> Not of necessity Hadrianus himself. The cognomen of P. Dasumius Rusticus (*cos.* 119) probably derives from either the wife or the mother of Hadrianus. With binary nomenclature

Baetica yields Dasumii on six inscriptions, no others in the Peninsula. They range from the extremity of Gades with Quinta Dasumia, a young girl who died (CIL II.1801), to Corduba, with Q. Dasumius Solex (2273). In between, Hispalis with three persons, one of them a P. Dasumius (5391 f.). That city lay close to Italica, almost in symbiosis. As did Ilipa; and the two inscriptions may well belong there.<sup>19</sup> Ilipa itself delivers a Q. Dasumius (1096). Also, and neglected in scholarly enquiries, a lady of the better sort who was accorded a public funeral and a laudation: Dasumia L. f. Turpiliana (1089).

Turpilius are infrequent in all Spain. They afford no comfort. Only the legionary soldier T. Turpilius T. f., of early date (1442: Ostippo), and a Turpilia of no consequence (348: Collipo). Their sole senator and consul is L. Turpilius Dexter (*suff.* c. 83).

Dasumius the testator has been accorded Corduba for *patria*, with never a doubt anywhere. The prepollent reason lay in the will, which enjoined that a monument dedicated to his memory should be set up at Corduba (see below). Epigraphy fails to bring corroboration. On the contrary, Dasumia L. f. Turpiliana imports perturbation. This lady indicates Ilipa, or even perhaps Italica: in the near vicinity, and enjoying higher prestige. She might be a sister or aunt of L. Dasumius Hadrianus.

(2) The Aelii of Italica. Allusion has been made to a relationship with Dasumii. Anii also come in. Given Afer, the cognomen of Hadrian's father, observe M. Annius Afrinus, consul *suffect* c. 67. Further, Anii from Ucubi – or Anii from Gades, as witness L. Cornelius Pusio Annius Messalla (*suff.* 90).

(3) The Anii Veri of Ucubi. Especial favour from the ruler is manifest in the person of M. Annius Verus (*suff.* 97), consul again in 121 and Prefect of the City, consul for the third time in 126, thereby getting well ahead of Julius Servianus, the brother-in-law of Hadrian. A steady tranquil man of Epicurean tastes, Annius Verus was no doubt highly congenial.

When discussing Hadrian's predilection for the grandson, Cassius Dio adduces a term which means either kinship or kinsfolk.<sup>20</sup> Either way, Dasumii may be the answer.

Support comes from a notice in the *Historia Augusta*, vouched for by the consular biographer Marius Maximus, an author who was addicted to fable as well as scandal. The grandson of Annius Verus had for ancestor Dasummus, a prince of the Messapians, who founded the city of Lupiae.<sup>21</sup>

So far as recorded, the paternal ancestry of Marcus Aurelius offers no clue. His grandfather married Rupilia Faustina, recently acquiring identity as a daughter of

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the consul might have stood as <P. Dasumius P. f. Rusticus Tullius Tuscus.> Hence the two sons of the praetorian senator come out as P. Tullius Tuscus and P. Tullius Varro.

<sup>19</sup> As the editor HÜBNER suspected.

<sup>20</sup> Dio LXIX.17.2: διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ.

<sup>21</sup> HA, Marcus 1.6, cf. presumably from the same ultimate source, Eutropius VIII.9.1. Dasimii are attested as magistrates in Apulia (CIL IX.415: Canusium; 689: Herdoniae).

the aristocratic Libo Rupilius Frugi, consul suffect in 88.<sup>22</sup> A solution has to be looked for elsewhere. That is, in the person of the maternal grandfather, P. Calvius Tullus Ruso, the consul of 109. No other remedy satisfies. Therefore rational conjecture assigns him for mother a Dasumia.<sup>23</sup>

(4) Ser. Julius Servianus (*suff.* 90, *cos.* II 102, *cos.* III 134). This man stands on high prominence in the Testamentum, and he earns mention more than once. Servianus took for wife Domitia Paulina, the sister of young Hadrian. The match should belong in the vicinity of Servianus' consulship. They had a daughter whom in 106 or 107 they betrothed to Pedanius Fuscus.<sup>24</sup> The age of the young patrician was suitable (he acceded to the fasces as colleague of his uncle in 118).

The novus homo Servianus was born in or about the year 47, being in his ninth year when he met his end, Hadrian turning against his kinsfolk, with Ceionius Commodus as the designated successor.<sup>25</sup> Given the age of Servianus, a wife anterior to Domitia Paulina can be postulated without effort or disquiet. Perhaps a Dasumia.<sup>26</sup>

The provenance of Julius Servianus remains elusive. Many opt for Baetica, and the name of Italica has been pronounced with conviction.<sup>27</sup> When Servianus selected a husband for Julia, his choice fell upon a Pedanius, of a family from Barcino that had already exhibited three consuls. That fact does not in itself speak for Tarracoenensis.

As ever in appeal to local origins, caution is prescribed. When the notables enter the governing order and reside at the metropolis or in the suburban vicinity (as at Tibur or at Lanuvium), their alliances often transcend city or region. The shining examples are Annaeus Seneca and Ulpian Traianus, their consorts being Pompeia Paulina from Arelate, Pompeia L. f. Plotina from Nemausus.

In this period it is not easy to conjure up a senator called 'Julius' emanating from the Spanish peninsula. The same holds for Transpadana.<sup>28</sup> And in any case 'Servii Julii' are rarities. In fact, so rare to be useless.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup>, L 166. For the implausible 'Rupili Boni' of the HA (Marcus 1.4) the palmary emendation of A. R. BIRLEY supplied 'Rupili [Li]boni[s]' (Historia 15 [1966], 249 f.).

<sup>23</sup> Thus Tacitus (1958), 793.

<sup>24</sup> Pliny, Epp. VI.26.

<sup>25</sup> Dio LXIX.17.1.

<sup>26</sup> As conjectured in Tacitus (1958), 794.

<sup>27</sup> Thus, *inter alios*, R. ETIENNE, in: Les Empereurs romains d'Espagne (1965), 74. In his catalogue of Spanish senators covering the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian that scholar amassed nine senators for Italica out of eighteen for the whole province. The list takes in L. Licinius Sura.

<sup>28</sup> Tacitus (1958), 801.

<sup>29</sup> Out of thousands at Rome, only Ser. Julius Paederos (VI.2185 = 31 034). None in Spain or Narbonensis, but in Transpadana Ser. Julius Pardalas at Concordia (V.8699). The same town offers Pedania L. f. Secunda (1822). Her name evokes L. Pedanius Secundus (*suff.* 43), from Barcino. Hence evidence for property belonging to allied families. As concerns Ser. Julius Servianus, an ancestor might have acquired citizenship from a Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

For Julius Servianus, Narbonensis is far from excluded. During his second consulship in 102 he happens to be registered as <Ursus Servianus.><sup>30</sup> He had already taken the name of the great Ursus, consul for the third time in 100 as the Emperor's colleague, succeeding Sex. Julius Frontinus. L. Julius Ursus, Prefect of the Guard, entered the Senate as consul in 84, with honorific demotion in the sequel to discord and intrigue in the Palace.<sup>31</sup>

That Servianus and Ursus were close relatives is a painless assumption. Painless also the conjecture of a Narbonensian origin.<sup>32</sup> And likewise for P. Julius Lupus (*suff.* 98).<sup>33</sup> He took over Arria Fadilla, daughter of old Arrius Antoninus when Aurelius Fulvus died, the consul of 89, the second consul of that line. Each from Nemausus.<sup>34</sup>

No son of Julius Servianus is on attestation, despite the hypothesis of iterated matrimony. He might have had other issue, apart from Hadrian's niece, the daughter of Domitia Paulina.

(5) P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso (*cos.* 109). By his marriage to Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla, niece and then adoptive daughter of Cn. Domitius Tullus (*suff.* II 98), this man entered the Antonine stemma, being the maternal grandfather of Marcus, on double attestation.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, he furnishes without effort the Dasumian ancestry of Marcus, if it be supposed that his mother was a Dasumia.

His daughter, Domitia P. f. Lucilla may have been born about 104.<sup>36</sup> She married the elder son of Annius Verus (*suff.* 97). Marcus saw the light of day in April of 121, shortly after his grandfather had vacated his second consulship.

V. Tullus Ruso and his father present a problem of recent controversy that cannot evade brief mention. P. Calvisius Ruso was known as consul suffect in 79, proconsul of Asia in 92/3, legate governing the province Cappadocia-Galatia c. 106.<sup>37</sup> In 1913 an inscription emerging at Pisidian Antioch disclosed his full cursus, with the nomenclature <P. Calvisius Ruso Iulius Frontinus.><sup>38</sup>

In a long efflux of time, no disquiet attended upon the identity of the suffect of

<sup>30</sup> ILS 4965.

<sup>31</sup> Dio LXVII.3.1; 4.2. For this noteworthy imbroglia see briefly JRS 70 (1980), 66 = Roman Papers III (1984), 1279 f.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. JRS 70 (1980), 76 n. 152 = Roman Papers III (1984), 1300 n. 152.

<sup>33</sup> Presumed son of Ti. Julius Lupus, Prefect of Egypt in the early years of Vespasian. For three brothers, Ursus, Lupus, and Aper, observe CIL XI.1777 (Volaterrae).

<sup>34</sup> Generally assumed for Arrius Antoninus, but not directly attested.

<sup>35</sup> Fronto (Loeb, Vol. I), 60 HAINES: *avi mei P. Calvisii*; HA, Marcus 1.3.

<sup>36</sup> Lucilla died between 155 and 161, cf. PIR<sup>2</sup>, D 183. Still young, according to Marcus, Ad se ipsum I.17.7 High standards of longevity obtained in that nexus of families.

<sup>37</sup> W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970), 143; 163; Chiron 13 (1983), 320; 340.

<sup>38</sup> JRS 3 (1913), 302, whence AE 1914, 247.

79 with the polyonymous governor of Cappadocia.<sup>39</sup> For all that, a scholar who had conceived the strongest of doubts has now published his conclusions.<sup>40</sup> The prime reason can be stated curtly. The polyonymous consular had been adlected to the patriciate by Vespasian in his censorship, in 73/4. He then became quaestor. In spite of privilege for patricians, the narrow interval before a consulship in 79 defies parallel.<sup>41</sup>

Therefore a son of that consul. However, the author of the thesis had to avow that he could not discover suitable years for lodging either the consulship or the proconsulate.<sup>42</sup> None the less, a remedy can be ventured: a younger brother, probably by a different mother. Further, if that notion be conceded, to be consul *suffectus* in 84, proconsul of Asia in 97/8 (a tenure that happens to be providentially vacant).<sup>43</sup>

Finally, identity. Since <P. Calvisius Ruso> is evidently the man's <real name>, the adjunct represents maternal ascendance. Therefore his homonymous father (i. e., the *suffectus* of 53) had married a Julia Frontina: to be conjectured sister to Sex. Julius Frontinus (*suff.* 73). The nomenclature of the polyonymus, when abridged on consular Fasti, could have stood as <P. Calvisius Frontinus,> conveniently distinguishing him from his brother P. Calvisius Ruso (*suff.* 79).<sup>44</sup>

Julius Frontinus (who rose to be *consul tertio*) is sometimes rated Narbonensian, perhaps from Vienna.<sup>45</sup> Narbonensis might also be the provenance of these Calvisii. The province yielded nine in CIL XII, six of them with *praenomina*, but no <Publius.> Add P. Calvisius Trophimus at Dea Vocontiorum.<sup>46</sup> Not much to go on, but on the lowest count nothing impedes. Local attachments are congenial to a family in the early epoch of its ascension; and Julius Frontinus probably began as an equestrian officer.<sup>47</sup>

VI. Prolegomena of some length became requisite for elucidating an engaging problem now to be unveiled. As author of the Testamentum, L. Dasumius Hadrianus held the field, no rival conceivable, the heir who took his name being P. Dasumius Rusticus (*cos.* 119), further certified by L. Dasumius P. f. Tullius Tuscus (*suff.*

<sup>39</sup> Cf. PIR<sup>2</sup>, C 285 (1936). See now the paper of B. RÉMY, MÉFRA 95 (1983), 163–82.

<sup>40</sup> E. BIRLEY, ZPE 51 (1983), 263 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Some adduce P. Glitius Gallus (ILS 999: Falerii). It is assumed in PIR<sup>2</sup>, H 185 that Glitius was adlected by Vespasian and consul not later than 79. Neither correct; and, despite the common cognomen, he may well be Gallus, *suffectus* in 84.

<sup>42</sup> E. BIRLEY, o. c. 267.

<sup>43</sup> For a full exposition, see <P. Calvisius Ruso. One Person or Two>, ZPE 56 (1984), 173 ff. For proconsuls of Asia in this season, W. ECK, Chiron 13 (1983), 214. No need to add that a single inscription could overthrow the construction.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the brothers P. Tullius Varro and P. Tullius (? Tuscus).

<sup>45</sup> Observe the senator Q. Valerius Lupercus Julius Frontinus (CIL XII.1859f.: Vienna): not cited in PIR<sup>2</sup>, J 322. Cf. however, A. R. BIRLEY, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981), 70.

<sup>46</sup> I. I. de Gaule 236.

<sup>47</sup> As argued in Tacitus (1958), 790, with appeal to Frontinus, Strat. II.9.5 (an episode at the capture of Tigranocerta).



152), hence one of the Tullii Varrones of Tarquinii. Enough surely to satisfy the most exigent.

In operations of this kind a construction built up on the known elements is under risk of collapsing under the impact of a new discovery. A single item can issue in manifold and momentous consequences.<sup>48</sup>

A new piece of the Testamentum recently came to light. Once again a slender portion. It fits onto the right side of the existing document, and it continues the first nineteen lines.<sup>49</sup> As follows:

*test]amentuM FE[ci]t ille  
con]fectum praesti]TIT ET MEI  
3 amicus rarissim VS SI INTRA T...  
nome]n meum laturum po]STERISQVE  
fortu]narum ex uncia, DASVMIA  
6 pro]ximis quibus scie[ri]NT POTERINT que (sic)  
p]ientissima mihi HERES NON  
f]ilia Serviani ex SEXCVNCIA D...  
9 ... us meus mihi heres NON ERIT IV ...  
m]ibi heredes sunt. SI DOMITIA  
m]ibi heres esto. si daSVMIA POLLA  
12 e]sto iique cernunt IN DIEBVS LX Proximis  
creverit, tunc syNEROS SERVOS  
infra scriptis quOD CVIQVE HOC  
15 singul]is auri p. libras. iuliAE PAVLINAES ...  
... no Volusio Iuliano FABIAE BALBINae  
Secundo Cornelio PVSIONI ATILI ...  
18 A]uspicato singulis AVRI P II. AEM  
Mi]nicio Iusto Fabul[.]AE ASIATICI TE ...*

With this supplement to the vital passage, a careful investigation by WERNER ECK brings up a whole collection and sequence of novelties.<sup>50</sup> His results can thus be summed up on short statement: –

1) The first of four inheritors is the daughter, who <ad]fectum praestitit> (l.2). She is referred to later as <p[.]ientissima> (l.7).

<sup>48</sup> For example, ILS 1034 (Saepinum), as revised by G. CAMODECA, *Atti Acc. Napoli* 87 (1976), whence *AE* 1976, 195. For L. Neratius Priscus (*suff.* 97) emerges the governorship of Germania Inferior: of sharp relevance to the army commander Priscus solicited by Pliny (*Epp.* II.13).

<sup>49</sup> Published by A. FERRUA, *Riv. arch. crist.* 52 (1976) 211 f., with photograph (p.112). Whence *AE* 1976, 77.

<sup>50</sup> W. ECK, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 277 ff., with his reconstruction of lines 1–19 (p.286).

2) The *amicus rarissimus* with the injunction *nome]n meum laturum* (l. 3).

3) Domitia (l. 10), perhaps owing to a second name. She may be the wife of the testator, either (according to her age) an aunt of Hadrian or a sister: there might be another sister, apart from Domitia Paulina, the wife of Julius Servianus.<sup>51</sup>

That hypothesis accords well with iterated mentions of Servianus – who is directed to superintend the obsequies (l. 111), with his freedmen to carry the bier (l. 112).

4) Dasumia (l. 5), now certified later on as Dasumia Polla (l. 10). To be supposed the mother.<sup>52</sup>

That is not all. The document went on to register seven heirs by default. Only one is extant, viz. the *filia Serviani* (l. 8). She recurs further on, at the head of the long list of legatees, as *Iuliae Paulinae* (l. 15). That is doubly welcome. Hitherto anonymous, and on record only as the bride of Pedanius Fuscus, this girl had been denied an entry to PIR. The new fact will lend support (if useful or needed) to the supposition that Servianus had another daughter, who might (like her mother) have been called *Domitia Paulina*.

VII. The testator, so Eck concluded, is an Ignotus. Various reasons moved him to reject L. Dasumius Hadrianus, previously deemed inexpugnable.

First of all, the nurse Dasumia Syche. She is nowhere labelled as a *liberta* of the testator. Therefore a freedwoman of his mother, so it is inferred.<sup>53</sup>

Second, a monument to be erected in honour of the testator, precisely at Corduba (l. 31). Since that city appeared beyond doubt to be his *patria*, previous enquirers drew confidence. They had failed to take into account the formulation *Cordubae it[em]*. The phrase indicates that the text had already named some other city, probably likewise in Baetica.<sup>54</sup>

A small dubitation intervenes. It touches the interpretation of *Cordubae it[em]*. If two cities had been registered in succession, ought not the words to be *item Cordubae*? On that notion, a city other than Corduba lapses.

One might note in passing a further complication. Corduba, as has been shown, offers no Dasumii of consequence. By contrast Ilipa, hard by Italica. Ilipa paid especial honour to Dasumia L. f. Turpiliana.<sup>55</sup>

VIII. For Eck, L. Dasumius Hadrianus (*suff.* 93) is debarred from authorship of the Testamentum. Brief and prudent, he is resigned to an Ignotus: perhaps, because of Dasumia Polla, the son of a man who had married a Dasumia. The thesis has not so far evoked much in the way of response.

<sup>51</sup> For Hadrian's having at least two sisters Eck cites (p. 284 n. 16) Pseudo-Dositheus, *Divi Hadriani sententiae et epistulae* 15 (CGL III.37).

<sup>52</sup> Eck, o. c. 282.

<sup>53</sup> Eck, o. c. 281 f.

<sup>54</sup> Eck, o. c. 283.

<sup>55</sup> CIL II.1089, adduced above.

A firm case was argued. Nevertheless, one is impelled to wonder whether L. Dasumius Hadrianus might not still be reckoned with – not from any prepossession in favour of cherished beliefs. Experiment helps, and error can clarify. Thus, purely <exempli gratia,> the principal heirs would come out as follows: –

- 1) Dasumia, the daughter, with Julia Paulina as substitute.
- 2) The friend who takes the name: P. Dasumius Rusticus (*cos.* 119), the brother of P. Tullius Varro (*suff.* 127).
- 3) Domitia, from Gades. Perhaps Domitia Paulina, the wife of Julius Servianus.
- 4) Dasumia Polla. Perhaps an aunt (paternal), perhaps some other member of the family.

IX. However that may be, when Dasumius is discarded, a wide field opens. A personage of wealth and station is required who passed away between the summer of 108 and the closing years of Trajan's reign. The codicil happens to mention Sosius Senecio (*cos.* II 107), who may not have prolonged his existence much beyond 113.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, somebody in fairly close proximity to Julius Servianus and to Dasumii; and, even if not in the first rank of Antonine ancestors, attached in some way to the family tree. Finally perhaps, on one interpretation of the reference to Corduba, a senator from another city. Narbonensis would then not be excluded, with a city such as Nemausus, abnormally prolific in senators.

Brief thought might go to Arrius Antoninus (*suff.* II 97), still among the living in 105.<sup>57</sup> His wife is on record (Boionia Procilla), but no son. Only the daughter Arria Fadilla, who married the second Aurelius Fulvus (the consul of 89).<sup>58</sup>

To the son of Fulvus, Arrius Antoninus in fact transmitted his name. In his consulship he is styled T. Aurelius Fulvus Arrius Antoninus; and on tiles dated to 134 he is <Arrius Antoninus.><sup>59</sup> Predilection for nomenclature taken from the maternal side (in this instance the grandfather) could hardly find a more clear manifestation.

Attachment to Julius Servianus or to Dasumii does not appear plausible, although Antoninus in a long life might have taken a second wife. One turns to P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso (*cos.* 109), the husband of Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla. As has been with conviction argued, the assumption that his father married a Dasumia vouchsafes the sole admissible explanation for the Dasumian ancestry of Marcus Aurelius.

Tullus Ruso may have enjoyed no long survival subsequent to 109. On the standard acceptance he went on to a second consulship. That has been dispelled.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> The latest trace is HA, Hadr. 4.2: *qua quidem tempestate utebatur Hadrianus amicitia Sosi (Senecionis et Aemili) Papi et Platoris Nepotis.*

<sup>57</sup> Pliny, Epp. V.15.

<sup>58</sup> HA, Pius 1.4, cf. 9.

<sup>59</sup> CIL VIII.8939; XV.32, etc. On XV.95 he is <Antoninus> only.

<sup>60</sup> In HA, Marcus 1.3 one should read *mater Domitia Lucilla Calvisii Tulli (filia, avia materna Lucilla Domiti Tulli) bis consulis filia.* For which, JRS 43 (1953), 156 = Roman Papers I (1979), 246. The *bis consul* is Cn. Domitius Tullus, that is the <Cn. Domiti[us]> shown on the Fasti Ostienses, replacing Nerva as colleague of Trajan.

If Tullus Ruso was the testator, the heiress is his daughter, the mother of Marcus; and Dasumia Polla is an aunt or cousin. And a further advantage. So far as known, Tullus Ruso had no son. The man he chose to transmit the Calvisian name leaves no trace – unless it be his son-in-law, the son of old Annii Verus.

Persons of consequence lapse from memory, names only or not even that, as witness two brothers of the third Aurelius Fulvus (*cos.* 120).<sup>61</sup> A salutary admonition is pertinent, to emphasize the caprice of evidence. Without the prefaces that introduce two biographies in the *Historia Augusta*, precious little would be known about sundry ancestors of Pius and Marcus – and notably their local origins. Epigraphy fails so far to attest Nemausus for Aurelii Fulvi, Ucubi for Annii Veri; and the *patria* of the Calvisii Rusones admits only a faint surmise.<sup>62</sup>

IX. Anguish and perplexity will at last abate if a new hypothesis about the testator be deemed acceptable. Between Caesar the Dictator (or Marcus Antonius) and the Testamentum Porcelli in the late age, the most famous will in the literature of the Latins is that devised by Cn. Domitius Tullus, consul for the second time in 98, replacing the Emperor Nerva and followed in turn by Sex. Julius Frontinus and L. Julius Ursus.<sup>63</sup>

The will is amply expounded in a letter of Pliny (VIII.18) that is generally assigned to 107 or 108. On the lowest count, it serves to illustrate the present document – and reciprocally.<sup>64</sup>

The terms of the will at once excited lively and various comment: *nam sunt omnes fabulae Tullus*. Domitius Tullus and his elder brother Lucanus inherited the fortune amassed by Domitius Afer, the great orator from Nemausus. The story went back a long way, to the will which Afer drew up in the year 41, naming as his heirs the infant sons of Sex. Curvius Tullus, also one of the Narbonensians.<sup>65</sup> Of which Afer repented. He broke with the parent, but forgot to change the will, having gone into a decline before he succumbed to gluttony in 59.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> HA, Pius 5.2.

<sup>62</sup> Not necessarily Dea Vocontiorum (I. l. de Gaule 236).

<sup>63</sup> Jerome refers to the will of Grunnius Corocotta as liked by schoolboys (Comm. in Isaïam, praef.). Registered in OCD<sup>2</sup> (1970) – which omitted both Dasumius and Domitius Tullus.

<sup>64</sup> The Testamentum missed citation in the Historical Commentary of SHERWIN-WHITE (1965 on VIII.18); and neither Dasumius nor Tullus earns more than a brief mention from J. A. CROOK, *Law and Life of Rome* (1967), 130.

<sup>65</sup> Their father is discovered in Sex. Curvius Sex. f. Volt. Tullus (CIL VI.16671), cf. PIR<sup>2</sup>, C 1623. Add Sex. Curvius Silvinus, quaestor in Baetica (AE 1962, 287: Munigua). The nomen is not common: four specimens in Italian towns, cf. TLL Onom. In the province, only Curvia Scamni f. Urbana (CIL XII.4756: Narbo).

<sup>66</sup> Jerome, Chron. 179 H: *ex cibi redundantia in cena*. Also, so it happens, the sole evidence for the *patria*. Tacitus registered his decease on detrimental comparison with Servilius Nonianus, historian as well as orator (Ann. XIV.19), with anticipatory comment on his decline long before: *dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatentiam* (IV.52.4).

In due course Lucanus married the daughter of the wealthy T. Curtilius Mancianus (*suff.* 55), who owned a wide estate in Africa.<sup>67</sup> Mancianus came to hate him (*perosus* is the word) and wanted to transfer the inheritance to his daughter. The brothers fooled him by a clever trick of legal sophistry.<sup>68</sup>

As models of concord and parallel in their careers, Lucanus and Tullus administered the fortune in common, with much augmentation.<sup>69</sup> When Lucanus died about the year 94, not long after his proconsulate in Africa, Tullus was left in sole enjoyment.

The opulent and childless had to face constant siege. An episode of the year 61 offers manifold instruction, with for victim the senator Domitius Balbus, *simul longa senecta, simul orbitate et pecunia obnoxius*.<sup>70</sup> Impatient and rapacious, a group formed and forged the will. His young kinsman Valerius Fabianus initiated the plot, and a senator of quaestorian rank, Pompeius Aelianus, got involved. He came from Spain.<sup>71</sup>

The names look provincial, they evoke Baetica – and old Balbus might be one of the Gaditane Domitii. A nascent suspicion need not be suppressed: the historian was alert, as ever, to families high on show in his own time.<sup>72</sup>

Crafty and perverse, Domitius Tullus led on and deluded a whole pack of *captatores*. In the event, retaining unlike Afer his keen business sense, Tullus made the proper dispositions: that is, an *honestissimum testamentum*, comparable to that of the aged Ummidia Quadratilla a year or two previously.<sup>73</sup> Hence Pliny's introductory remark: *cum Domitius Tullus longe melior adparuerit morte quam vita*. The daughter inherited, Domitia Lucilla (originally his niece). Tullus also left hand-

<sup>67</sup> Deduced from the <lex Manciana> (CIL VIII. 25 902; 25 943). If he was a proconsul (admitted as possible in PIR<sup>2</sup>, C 1666), he did not there bequeath his name: one specimen only (CIL VIII.2420).

The vulgar name happens to be extremely rare, cf. TLL Onom. In Narbonensis only T. Curtilius Aesopus at Narbo (CIL XII.4754), which city by coincidence (but not with safety to be exploited) provides the sole Curvius (4756). Apart from Mancianus (*suff.* 55), no other senator. The cognomen is visibly uncommon (SCHULZE, Lateinische Eigennamen 360).

<sup>68</sup> Neatly elucidated by SHERWIN-WHITE ad loc.

<sup>69</sup> Their careers are given by ILS 990 f. (Fulginiae). For problems in their early charges under Vespasian and in dating their consulships, see W. ECK, Chiron 12 (1982), 289. He concludes <daß zumindest der Konsulat des Domitius Tullus spätestens ins Jahr 73 fallen muß.> Surely too early.

Only Lucanus' nomenclature is preserved, viz. <Cn. Domitius Sex. f. Volt. Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus> (ILS 990). Lucanus did not take over the name of his father-in-law; and his daughter would not care to be known as a Curtilia.

<sup>70</sup> Tacitus, Ann. XIV.40.1.

<sup>71</sup> Ann. XIV.41.1.

<sup>72</sup> Thus, relevant to the now illustrious Pedanii, the assassination by his slaves of L. Pedanius Secundus (*suff.* 43), the *praefectus urbi*, narrated without compunction for the victim (XIV.42).

<sup>73</sup> Pliny, Epp. VII.24.2.

some bequests to Lucilla's sons, and to her grand-daughter.<sup>74</sup> No names in Pliny, but a precious item for students of matrimony. In the year 108, Lucilla could look back to one husband, if not to two. Her birth should fall not later than 70, hence several years older than her present husband, viz. P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso, the consul of 109. They may have married quite recently: the age of the daughter, Domitia P. f. Lucilla, is relevant.<sup>75</sup>

Tullus also made provision for his relict, described as *mulier natalibus clara, moribus proba, aetate declivis, diu vidua, mater olim*. By her marriage to an opulent and decrepit old man she earned no approbation: *parum decore secuta matrimonium videbatur*. However, she redeemed her fame by loving care and assiduity. Female fortune hunters are seldom put on show.

More important for present purposes, the identity of the lady, and that of her former husband: perhaps a victim of the insalubrious years from 89 to 93.<sup>76</sup> Likewise the wife (or wives) of Domitius Tullus, who was born about the year 40. Further, it will not escape the percipient that no sons of either Lucanus or Tullus are discoverable.

X. The drift, or rather the wilful tendency, of a long disquisition will by now become apparent. Dasumius discounted, a recent hypothesis adduces none other than Domitius Tullus.<sup>77</sup> The author is not convinced that Dasumius has been ruled out.<sup>78</sup> However, on the stemma appears a Dasumia as the mother of P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso,<sup>79</sup> and Dasumia Polla, it is suggested, may well be the widow of Domitius Tullus.<sup>80</sup>

At first glance, the novelty attracts and seduces. It will be useful to pursue the corollaries.<sup>81</sup> With a double purpose. On a sombre view, to develop a theory entails uncovering its weak elements. Therefore, as follows: –

1) The heiress is Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla, the daughter.

2) The son by adoption is P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso (*cos.* 109). The item <Tullus> in his nomenclature had been taken to indicate gratitude from an inheritor only, not

<sup>74</sup> Epp. VIII.18.2: *prosecutus est nepotes plurimis incundissimisque legatis, prosecutus etiam proneptem*.

<sup>75</sup> Above, n. 36.

<sup>76</sup> Like the first Aurelius Fulvus, consul (with Domitian) for the second time in 85. Of his grandson, born in 86, it is reported that *pueritiam egit cum avo paterno, mox cum materno* (HA, Pius 1.9).

<sup>77</sup> CARMEN CASTILLO GARCÍA, «El famoso testamento del Cordobes «Dasumio,»» *Actas del I Congreso Andaluz de Estudios Clásicos* (Jaén, 1982), 159 ff.

<sup>78</sup> O. c. 160: la postura de Eck no llega a demostrar la imposibilidad de que nuestro testador se llamara Dasumio.

<sup>79</sup> O. c. 163.

<sup>80</sup> Not on the stemma, but in n. 2.

<sup>81</sup> For inspiration in this enterprise I am much in debt and gratitude towards CARMEN CASTILLO GARCÍA.

a <testamentary adoption> under the express *condicio nominis ferendi*.<sup>82</sup> When consul he stands on the Fasti Ostienses as P. Calvisius Tullus. Elsewhere, since the name of an adopting parent is generally prefixed, he might for a time at least have been <Cn. Domitius P. f. Tullus Ruso.> The new name thus accruing was liable to be abbreviated – or even dropped. Many senators are concealed *polyonymi*.

3) Domitia Lucilla was endowed with sons – and with a granddaughter, who might suitably inherit Lucilla's family name. The identity of the girl's father (and of her uncle) lies beyond the reach of guesswork; and Lucilla might have run through two husbands before annexed by P. Calvisius Ruso.

4) Dasumia Polla, now to be recognised as the elderly relict of Domitius Tullus, herself previously *diu vidua*. Ages and generations point to a sister of L. Dasumius Hadrianus, who may be assumed coeval with Julius Servianus.

Preoccupation with the Testamentum Dasumii engenders a plethora of Dasumiae, viz.

1) A Dasumia, to be conjectured wife of the praetorian senator P. Tullius Varro, one of whose two sons became P. Dasumius Rusticus (*cos.* 119). Adoptions generally occur among close kin, a sister's son being often taken. Hence a Dasumia, surviving Varro who may have died c. 90. If so, she can be painlessly and usefully amalgamated with the lady *diu vidua* and with Dasumia Polla.

2) Dasumia, supposed the first wife of Julius Servianus. That notion was mooted in order to support a link between Servianus and the family of Hadrian.<sup>83</sup> It could also have been used to encourage the assumption that Servianus' origin lay in the same province. However, as will soon be discovered, this Dasumia may no longer be a necessary postulate.

3) Dasumia Polla. Since she is equipped with an identity, the temptation arises to ask what happened to her. Her destiny leads toward a vexatious problem. Catilius Severus (*suff.* 110, *cos.* II 120) carried for label *proavvus maternus* to Marcus Aurelius, who for a time bore his name.<sup>84</sup> Recourse has been had to Domitia Cn. f. Lucilla, supposing her to have married Catilius.<sup>85</sup> That does not work. Catilius would be only the *avvus* of Marcus – not to be rescued by the hypothesis that the word *proavvus* could cover a <substitute grandfather.><sup>86</sup>

Therefore, a different way out. If Catilius annexed another heiress, the relict of Domitius Tullus, he thereby became, albeit in a remote or spurious fashion, great-grandfather to Marcus.<sup>87</sup> Matrimony and money elucidate the ascension of this

<sup>82</sup> Thus in HSPh 82 (1978), 294 = Roman Papers III (1983), 1165. Compare P. Clodius Thrasea, taking <Paetus> from Caecina Paetus, his wife's father. Sundry instances of ostentatious polyonymy are thus to be explained, e.g. ILS 1104; 1117.

<sup>83</sup> Viz., in Tacitus (1958), 794.

<sup>84</sup> HA, Marcus I.4; 9, etc. Further, the πρόπαπλος of Marcus, Ad se ipsum I.4.9.

<sup>85</sup> Thus, avowing great hesitation, GROAG in PIR<sup>2</sup>, D 182.

<sup>86</sup> For the desperate hypothesis, Tacitus (1958), 793 n. 3.

<sup>87</sup> Thus Historia 17 (1968), 95 f. = Roman Papers II (1979), 683.

unpromising *novus homo*.<sup>88</sup> Catilius Severus might have been nearly a decade younger than Dasumia Polla (if she is a sister of Hadrianus). No issue therefore to be expected.

4) Dasumia, earlier wife to Ruso Frontinus (*suff.*? 84) and mother of Tullus Ruso (*cos.* 109).<sup>89</sup> This Dasumia has to stand. No other device subsists for explaining the Dasumian ancestry of Marcus Aurelius, as has already been affirmed. The Dasumiae reduce to two.

XI. P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso, the consul of 109, establishes the clear and solid basis for the new hypothesis that installs Domitius Tullus as the author of the Testamentum. Tullus chose his son-in-law to take his name. That transference is a phenomenon on show in aristocracies of diverse ages and climes. Likewise in a family business. That term applies in due propriety to the estate of the Domitii, which the brothers managed in common.

A surprise remains, the prominence of Julius Servianus. On the earlier assumption, they claimed him for Baetica. How does this person fit into a Narbonensian nexus?

A ready answer avails. As has been pointed out, Julius Ursus is significant. Clearly close kin (perhaps an uncle); and provenance from Narbonensis is rendered plausible for both. Baetica now recedes along with the previous identification of the testator. By the same token, a Dasumia goes out. She is no longer needed to supply an earlier wife for Julius Servianus. On an assumption manifest in these pages, the first wife of that *novus homo* might avow Narbonensis.

And something more. The senator to whom Domitius Tullus consigned his daughter and ultimately his name was the son of P. Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus, in whom rational conjecture discovers a nephew of Julius Frontinus.<sup>90</sup> In the present enquiry, Baetica forfeits primacy – apart from Dasumii.

XII. The new fragment of the Testamentum disclosed Julia Paulina, the daughter of Servianus. The list of legatees imports other information, and some surprises. Previously one read <Plinio] Secundo Cornelio [Tacito] (l. 17). With full and triumphant warrant. As the junior orator was happy to proclaim, their names often stand together in testaments: *eadem legata et quidem pariter accipimus*.<sup>91</sup>

That now lapses. The other name is <Cornelio Pusioni.> That is to say, L. Cornelius Pusio, consul suffect following Domitian in 90. Then succeed L. Antistius

<sup>88</sup> For his career, ILS 1041 (Antium). Catilius became *praefectus aerarii Saturni*, a post which led straight to a consulship. The tenure might have been abridged or continued into the consulate.

<sup>89</sup> When Ruso Frontinus was legate of Cappadocia, his wife was an Eggia Ambibula (AE 1914, 247).

<sup>90</sup> As argued in ZPE 56 (1984), 176 f.

<sup>91</sup> Epp. VII.20.6.



Rusticus and Ser. Julius Servianus. Like the Corduban Antistius Rusticus, Pusio hails from Baetica, from Gades: his father was consul under Vespasian, with the jurist Pegasus for colleague, c. 73. By his full style Pusio is revealed as <L. Cornelius Pusio Annii Messalla.><sup>92</sup> The list for 83 carries an Annii Messalla. Once again, maternal nomenclature, so it appears. These people cannot with safety be enlisted as close kin to the Annii Veri. The name is indistinctive, and deplorably frequent in Baetican towns.<sup>93</sup>

As now augmented, this portion (lines 15–19) exhibits the names of seven legatees, some of them fragmentary. The last is Fabulla, the spouse of a high aristocrat: a descendant of Valerius Asiaticus, the magnate of Vienna and first consul from Narbonensis.<sup>94</sup>

The list continued a long way. That is, taking it as far as *Joro, adfini meo* (l. 29).<sup>95</sup> If *Iulio Fl]oro* be ventured, a name emerges that recalls a famous Gallic orator: *Iulius Florus, in eloquentia Galliarum, quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam, princeps*.<sup>96</sup>

The relative of the testator, being an *adfinis* (not a kinsman by blood), points elsewhere. Towards the family of his maternal aunt Septima (l. 79), where instead of <Septimae Secundin[i]> one should read <Septimae Secundin[ae]>. Otherwise towards Domitius Afer, so far as known deficient in wives. A matrimonial alliance need not in itself reflect previous affinities between a citizen of Nemausus and Tres Galliae. Rather a congeniality that developed in the schools of the capital. On that showing, the Florus of the Testamentum might be claimed nephew to Domitius Afer.

Due caution attends upon search for the regional origins of the testator. The names as extant make up an extremely miscellaneous congregation. The curious will observe in passing Minicius Justus, an elderly equestrian friend of Pliny (l. 19), or a Tullius Varro (l. 22), i. e. the consul suffect of 127, now aged about twenty two. Also Fabius Rusticus the annalist, long since on show as a friend of Seneca (l. 24). Rather perhaps a son, although historians of Rome evince a tendency to longevity.

XIII. It would be a relief to leave out Septima Secundina, the maternal aunt of the testator. If he is Domitius Tullus, her sister was wife to Sex. Curvius Tullus, the fa-

<sup>92</sup> AE 1915, 60 (nr. Tibur), showing him a proconsul (i. e., of Africa since Asia is full). In PIR<sup>2</sup>, C 1425 this Pusio was assumed the Vespasianic consul.

The same spot (Castelmadama) yielded the military tribune M. Annjii M. f. Faustus (Not. Scav. 1914, 102).

<sup>93</sup> CARMEN CASTILLO GARCÍA, ANRW II.3 (1975), 634 f.

<sup>94</sup> Viz. <Fabulla Asiatici>. The husband is M. Lollius Paullinus D. Valerius Asiaticus (*suff.* 94); and a Fabulla was wife to a proconsul of Asia (Philostratus, Epp. 58). Cf. W. Eck, o. c. 292 f.

<sup>95</sup> Following BRUNS, ARANGIO-RUIZ (in 1943) chose to omit lines 20–26: with them, names of historic value.

<sup>96</sup> Quintilian X.3.13.

ther of the Curvii brothers.<sup>97</sup> On this line, for what it may be worth (not much), the father-in-law of Curvius Tullus is discoverable in <Titius Marcellus,> an item preserved in the nomenclature of Domitius Lucanus.<sup>98</sup> Therefore <Titia Septima> for the *matertera* of Domitius Tullus.

Titii lead nowhere. Nor is Secundina the aunt, classy. Quite the reverse. A cognomen thus formed from a cognomen is vulgar, and typical in the first place of the Celtic lands. <Secundinus> is appropriate for Narbonensis or for Tres Galliae.<sup>99</sup> No senator with that appellation is likely to turn up in the early epoch.<sup>100</sup>

Commended for *pietas*, the aunt benefits from a lengthy rubric. In the first place, she gets *pateram meam auream maxima* [m (l. 67), then all the *signa* and *imagines* of gold and silver (l. 74). Above all, a large and diverse company of slaves, each of them specified by his type of occupation.<sup>101</sup>

Several duties were entrusted to this elderly matron. One item should engage attention. The testator instructs Septima to put on public display *signa / deorum imperatorumque* quae ubique habeo, in amp[liorem nominis mei honorem (75 f.).

For instruction, but not for proof, will be adduced the mass of statuary which Domitius Tullus stored in his magazines, available in superfluity when he purchased a park.<sup>102</sup>

XIV. So far the family of the eminent consular, down to the obscure sister of his mother. An extraneous name on the Testamentum commands especial value: young Junius Avitus (l. 20). Pliny recounted the will of Domitius Tullus in letter 18 of Book VIII. Four epistles follow, and the next announces the decease of Junius Avitus. A decade earlier, Avitus when military tribune had passed in the company of the legate Julius Servianus from Germania Superior to Pannonia.<sup>103</sup>

Pliny's last two books (VIII–IX) carry few indications of date. In these letters

<sup>97</sup> Above, n. 65.

<sup>98</sup> ILS 990, cf. above, n. 69.

<sup>99</sup> The Index to CIL XII yields over 70 Secundini. Compare about 85 each in V and XIII, only 11 in II. The whole Roman world has about 380, cf. I. KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965), 292.

It need not be added that arguments based on the frequency of common names are illustrative rather than probatory; and impressionism beats statistics. However, a Florus being an *ad-finis* of the testator, a small fact should not be omitted. Julius Secundus (PIR<sup>2</sup>, J 559) was a nephew of the orator Julius Florus (Quintilian X.3.112).

<sup>100</sup> The urban praetor T. Catius Catullinus Sestius Secundinus (VI.760 = ILS 3772) might be Trajanic, cf. ILS 3618 ff. Otherwise, P. Aelius Secundinus (PIR<sup>2</sup>, A 254), a consul of the Severan epoch. The consul L. Licinius L. f. Pal. Secundinus (CIL VI.1443) defies close dating.

<sup>101</sup> E. g., Stephanus the *dropacator* (l. 69): unique, for *dropacista*, cf. TLL.

<sup>102</sup> Epp. VIII.18.11: *tantum illi pulcherrimorum operum in horreis quae neglegebat*.

<sup>103</sup> Epp. VIII.23.6. No clue to origin in nomenclature of this sort. <Avitus,> like <Maternus> and <Paternus,> is abnormally frequent in the Gallic and Spanish provinces, cf. *Historia* 27 (1978), 585 = *Roman Papers* III (1984), 1105.

the author, it is clear, was not keeping fairly closely to an order in time.<sup>104</sup> The latest sign is the autumn of 108, if the missive to Pompeius Falco was indited during his consulship.<sup>105</sup> He took office on the first day of September.

Otherwise, the letter about Avitus (VIII.23) would hold the field, since he occurs in the Testamentum, which was drawn up at some time in the summer of 108 during the consulship of P. Aelius Hadrianus and M. Trebatius Priscus (May to August inclusive).

Tullus may have passed away quite soon after the redaction of that document, late in the year, or early in the next. A hint can be surmised in the letter that preceded the account of his will. Pliny there describes torrential rains and a vast inundation of the Tiber. That looks like November or December – of 108.<sup>106</sup>

Minor adjustments to the chronology of the latest letters need not detain in this place.<sup>107</sup> Let it however be added that December is a suitable season for publication – for Pliny no less than for Martial.<sup>108</sup>

XV. Men who inspected the notorious Testamentum, either before or after it was inscribed on the monument, would look first for the principal inheritors, next for any notable omissions that betrayed discord or scandal. Few in the upper order would bother about the slaves or notice that this testator chose to consign anger and rancour to the diuturnity of enduring marble.

Righteous blame attaches to a whole group: *quoniam n]ullo merito meo tam valde [offenderunt* (I.83). Firm instructions are imparted to the aunt. They shall abide in bondage to the end of their days. For a separate group further down manumission remains permissible, even before the decease of the testator. But not for the delinquent Hymnus: *prae[t]erquam Hymno, pess[ime de me merito* (I.92).

As Pliny declared at the end, the will of Domitius Tullus was not only a marvelous piece of news, but highly instructive as a lesson: *ad rationem vitae exemplis erudimur*. He had introduced his exposition by rebutting a common belief, namely

<sup>104</sup> SHERWIN-WHITE, o. c. 51.

<sup>105</sup> Epp. IX.15.3: *tu consuetudinem serva, nobisque sic rusticis urbana acta perscribe*. That inference is not conceded by SHERWIN-WHITE.

<sup>106</sup> SHERWIN-WHITE seems to indicate 107 (o. c. 467, cf. 446); and elsewhere he speaks of Book VIII as <extending into 108> (p. 39), with the latest <book-date> being <mid-108> (p. 41). Further, only one letter in VIII or IX is certainly later than 107 (p. 80).

<sup>107</sup> If Tullus is accepted as the author of the Testamentum, there is a valuable consequence. The letter VIII.18 finds its date confirmed for readers in that age by a notable event, the Tiber floods (VIII.17). In the period 1870–1930 the frequencies are registered by J. LE GALL, *Le Tiber dans l'Antiquité* (1953), 15: namely, October, 1; November, 10; December, 12; January, 8; February, 5; March, 4.

<sup>108</sup> Yet 109 is not excluded for the publication of Books VIII and IX (or perhaps VII–IX). It might even be argued that IX.28 falls late in 109. Addressed to Voconius Romanus, the letter is subsequent to the vintage at Saguntum. See further <The Dating of Pliny's Latest Letters,> CQ 35 (1985), forthcoming.

*testamenta hominum speculum esse morum*. In this instance the odious remarks about slaves in the Testamentum lend confirmation to that belief – if it is assigned to Domitius Tullus.

Tullus had incurred envy and dislike, for good reasons. On a charitable estimate, given voice by Pliny, both Tullus and the widow now earned redemption. Little comfort for those whose expectations had been frustrated, no doubt among them some estranged friends or unimpeachable Narbonensians.

XVI. Gratifying the Roman love of pomp and ceremony, the funeral would congregate the most eminent in state and society. Of the *ter consules* Julius Ursus had quickly succumbed, and Julius Frontinus (about five years previously). But there was an imposing and varied group of *bis consules*, most of them like Sosius Senecio with military decorations. Arrius Antoninus may no longer have been among the living, but his grandson would be there, the third Aurelius Fulvus, along with Pedanius Fuscus his coeval, who had recently acquired the daughter of Julius Servianus.<sup>109</sup>

The personage who stood next to the Emperor in station and repute was Licinius Sura, elevated to a third consulate the year before, the rival who thus outdistanced Servianus. There is a chance that his death falls in this season. The latest testimony to his survival occurs in a curious anecdote transmitted by the *Historia Augusta*. When Hadrian was consul he received from Sura a felicitous revelation: Trajan was going to adopt him.<sup>110</sup> The fable implies friendship. Another story alleges hostility of Servianus exhibited towards his brother-in-law when military tribune in 98.<sup>111</sup> That reflects Hadrian's attitude and decisions nearly thirty years later. The common factor is apologia.<sup>112</sup>

Servianus conducted the obsequies. According to the standard texts of the Testamentum, the bier was to be carried, *per Serviani mei li[beros]* (l. 112). Not conceivable, even if Servianus had three other children to supplement young Julia Paulina. The spectacle boggles. Read *li[bertos]*.<sup>113</sup>

For an official laudation, masters of eloquence were available, namely Cornelius Tacitus and Plinius Secundus. Better a consul, as when Tacitus pronounced the oration on Verginius Rufus in the autumn of 97. If Domitius Tullus died before the first day of September, P. Aelius Hadrianus was appropriate. If later, Pompeius Falco, a person of high cultivation and potent kinships. Son-in-law to Sosius Senecio, Falco became a grandson of Julius Frontinus.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Epp. VI.26.1. To this happy group belonged Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118), who had recently taken a wife when aged twenty three (VII.24.3). As aspirants to eloquence Quadratus and Fuscus formed an *egregium par* (VI.11.1).

<sup>110</sup> HA, Hadr. 3.10.

<sup>111</sup> Hadr. 2.6.

<sup>112</sup> I. e., the Autobiography (cf. also 7.1).

<sup>113</sup> Jurists inhabit a world of their own.

<sup>114</sup> Senecio being husband to the daughter of Frontinus. Euryclid elements in Falco's nomenclature (ILS 1035) may derive from Senecio.

When funerals of the Caesars are celebrated, intelligent bystanders add alert or malicious comment. What the *prudentes* said about Domitius Tullus imposes no strain on the imagination. Pliny offers enough.

XVII. In copious disquisition on the will, Pliny refrained from equipping with names the daughter and her adult sons; and no hint that she had a husband. The revelations about the sordid antecedents in the record of a prominent family stand in sharp contrast to the normal manner of this amiable commentator on life and letters. The widow earns a cool appraisal; and the extreme physical decrepitude of Tullus is certified without restraint.<sup>115</sup>

Pliny's groups of friends admit and reward definition on negative criteria as well as positive. Alert to rank or birth, he was not prone to epistolary solicitation of the illustrious. Pliny had friends among senior consulars, but neither Domitius Tullus nor Julius Frontinus gets a missive.<sup>116</sup> Again, not Annius Verus (*suff.* 97).

Julius Servianus was an early correspondent, it is true.<sup>117</sup> In due course Pliny noted the daughter's betrothal to Pedanius Fuscus, and he commented in ecstasy on the young man's promise in eloquence, based as it was on the best model. In that context and vicinity, no sign of Hadrian, the uncle of Julia Paulina. Coeval to Fuscus, Aurelius Fulvus is also absent from the list.

Caprice of evidence and gaps in the recording of historical personages, that is a seductive theme. A missing wife often withholds a significant item in a nexus of families, such as that under inspection in these pages. For example, no spouse is on attestation for Domitius Tullus through a fairly long span of his life. Again, iteration in matrimony, as when an earlier wife is desiderated for Julius Servianus.

A phenomenon of a different order is the dearth of known or surviving sons, recalling the Republican aristocracy in its latest epoch – and then to be ascribed not to infertility but to voluntary restriction in the size of families and to a high rate of mortality in the insalubrious capital, augmented by the recurrence of pestilence not always recorded in the annals of literature.

Rome under Titus in the year 80 endured the visitation of a plague, duly termed the like of none before. A pestilence, or a sequence of epidemics, can be detected between 89 and 93. The presumed product of Domitian's Danubian wars was repeated under Trajan in 107 and 108 – not to mention a decade later the failed invasion of Mesopotamia. Children or the elderly, that is normal in any season: young men of promise or recent consuls, that is another matter.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Tullus was *omnibus membris distortus*. They often heard him complain *digitos se servorum suorum cotidie lingere* (18.9). For the striking resemblance in a passage of Juvenal (X.228 f.), see AJP 100 (1979), 253 f. = Roman Papers III (1984), 1137 f.

<sup>116</sup> As concerns Frontinus, perhaps because deceased when Books I–III were published (?105).

<sup>117</sup> Epp. III.17.

<sup>118</sup> Some Arval Brethren (1980), 20 ff. Historians of Roman society have not always been on the alert.

No sons, for example, for Trajan and Hadrian, for Julius Frontinus, Julius Ser-  
 vianus, Arrius Antoninus, Domitius Lucanus, Domitius Tullus, P. Calvisius Tullus  
 Ruso; or for many other consulars of lesser renown, such as L. Dasumius Hadria-  
 nus.

Whereas so many new families lapsed after one consul or two, Aurelii Fulvi and  
 Annii Veri went on and prospered all the time with male issue to supply and adver-  
 tise the Hispano-Narbonensian kernel of the Antonine dynasty, absorbing alimen-  
 t and much enrichment from strategic matrimony. Annius Verus calls for signal re-  
 cognition, the prime operator in that science, having himself acquired a bride from  
 the high aristocracy, namely the daughter of Libo Rupilius Frugi.<sup>119</sup> One son,  
 M. Annius Libo (*cos.* 128), married a sister of L. Lamia Aelianus (*cos.* 116).<sup>120</sup> For  
 the other, old Verus pounced upon the heiress Domitia P. f. Lucilla. His daughter,  
 Annia Galeria Faustina, went to the third Aurelius Fulvus.<sup>121</sup>

Epilogue. Evoked by the Testamentum Dasumii, the investigation led to Antonine  
 ancestors, with Narbonensis winning precedence before Baetica. It entailed elabo-  
 rations, and sundry conjectures. By good fortune, they accommodate on a pair of  
 stemmata.<sup>122</sup>

Disallowing Dasumius Hadrianus, the new hypothesis declares Domitius Tul-  
 lus, without violence done to any facts so far ascertained, although under the nor-  
 mal hazards of subversion. Candour and the aspiration to clarity enjoin a modest  
 avowal. The line of discourse was disposed in such a manner that the case for Tul-  
 lus should grow in strength, gently and gradually. To that end, items that in them-  
 selves appeared inconsequential gained entrance, such as the obscure identity of  
 the testator's elderly maternal aunt, put by him to good employ.<sup>123</sup>

By way of conclusion to all the labour, a paradox or admonition occurs. If the  
 Testamentum did not exist (or were adjudged to another author), if there were no  
 Plinian letter, it is legitimate, or rather inevitable, to maintain that the maternal  
 grandfather of Marcus Aurelius (doubly attested) is the male heir of Domitius Tul-  
 lus. To reiterate: when consul, Ruso is on register as <P. Calvisius Tullus.>

<sup>119</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup>, L 166.

<sup>120</sup> Not a daughter, as conjectured in HSPH 82 (1979), 306 = Roman Papers III (1984),  
 1175.

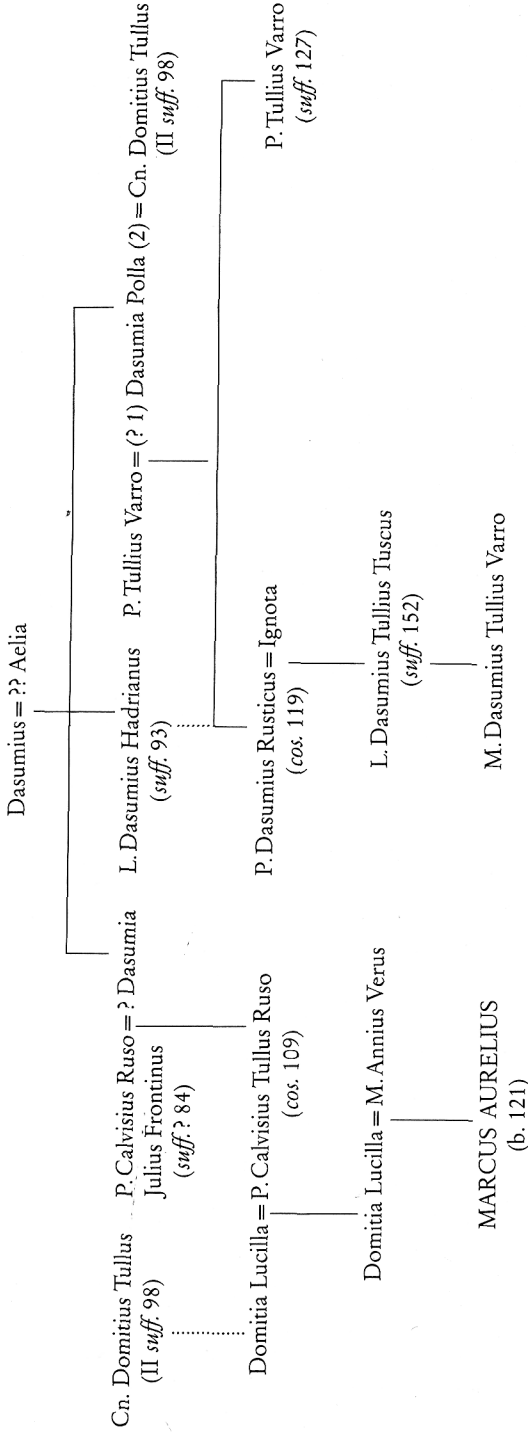
<sup>121</sup> A second daughter has been surmised, as wife to Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118),  
 whose son married Cornificia, the sister of Marcus Aurelius (PIR<sup>2</sup>, A 708).

<sup>122</sup> Viz., I. the Dasumii; II. Domitius Tullus.

<sup>123</sup> And even his *adfinis* (l. 29), conjectured to be a Julius Florus, from an eloquent family in  
 Tres Galliae. If the thesis is proved erroneous, what subsists will be a compilation of material  
 for the benefit of social historians, if not for the instruction of sociologists.

The present paper was composed in December of 1983. For corrections, and for the reading  
 <Septimae Secundin[ae] in l. 79, I am indebted to the sagacity of T. D. BARNES.

I. THE DASUMII



II. DOMITIUS TULLUS

