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RONALD SYME

An Eccentric Patrician

I

Between the useful and the decorative, the front ranks of the Senate divide sharply. Employment in the provinces of Caesar brings clear and predictable reward to rising ambitions. For an illustrious minority, birth and rank sufficed. No need to strive, and the ruler had no right to refuse them consulships. At the peak of privilege stand patricians, even if recently enrolled in that order. The patrician senator never sees an army; he accedes to the *fasces* at the age of thirty two or soon after; and he may not bother to leave the shores of Italy until the sortition (discreetly managed) awards Asia or Africa fourteen or fifteen years later.

These are manifest phenomena in the age of the Antonine emperors, at the mature perfection of a steady evolution. Ample information permits a thorough analysis.¹ The lives of the senators conform to several patterns and regularities. Yet the anomalous crops up from time to time.

With the rapid extinction of families either ancient or ennobled by the Caesars of the first dynasty, the Acilii Glabrones acquired a unique eminence long since. They go back to the plebeian *nobilitas* of the Republic, their first consul in 191 B.C. No aristocrat could now compete with M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul in the year 152.

The inscription that discloses his career presents abnormal features. Before his consulship Glabrio had travelled to foreign parts no fewer than four times. The document deserves a proper enquiry.²

M'. Acilio M'. f. Gal. / Glabroni / Cn. Cornelio Severo / cos., / pontifici, IIIvir. a. a. a. f. f., / VIvir. turm. equit. Roman., / trib. mil. leg. XV Apollinaris, / salio Collino, leg. prov. / Cretae Cyrenar., leg. prov. / Africae, quaest. imp. Caesar. / T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug. Pii, / [pr]aetori, leg. Asiae, s. p. q. Tiburs / [pat]rono municipi, qq. designato.

¹ G. ALFÖLDY, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, 1977. The book deals with the reigns of Pius and Marcus. For governorships under Hadrian, see W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, 1970. Both excellent works will obviate citation of many facts and dates nowhere in dispute.

² CIL XIV 4237 = ILS 1072 (Tibur). Briefly discussed in REA 57, 1965, 345 f. = Roman Papers, 1979, 631 f. The study there announced was composed in the near sequel. It is now revised and equipped with annotation.

II

Glabrio in early youth was *triumvir monetalis*. Which is in order. No patrician in this epoch held any of the other three minor magistracies.³ Patricians are also selected to occupy the honorific post of *praefectus urbi* when the consuls depart to celebrate the Latin festival on the Alban Mount. If it falls to a non-patrician the occasion will excite favourable surmise – as notably with P. Aelius Hadrianus late in the reign of Domitian.⁴ This youth (becoming quaestor in 101) is the son of a new senator only praetorian in rank.

Glabrio was not a *praefectus urbi*: debarred perhaps by absence abroad on service in a legion. Since the accession of Trajan only one other patrician can be discovered as military tribune, namely P. Manilius Vopiscus, the consul of 114: *laticlavus* in *IV Scythica*, a legion of Syria.⁵ Now A. Julius Quadratus (*suff.* 94) held that province from 100 to 104.⁶ In the nomenclature of the polyonymous young aristocrat occurs the item <Julius Quadratus Bassus>. It reflects the consul *suffect* of 105. The military tribune, it follows, had acquired a link of some sort or other with the two magnates from Pergamum.⁷

One of Glabrio's coevals had a tribunate, it is true: Bruttius Praesens (*cos.* 153) with *III Gallica* in Syria.⁸ That was before Antoninus Pius admitted him to the patriciate, early in the reign. The father of Praesens (*suff.* 118 or 119) was legate of Syria for a brief space about the year 136, so it has been conjectured. The small fragment of an inscription at Palmyra refers to two consulars, viz. Bruttius Praesens and Julius M[aior].⁹ On the face of things, successive governors of Syria.¹⁰ Some disallow, deterred by the brief tenures thus entailed. They suppose a pair of special commissioners.¹¹ That function eludes precedent or explanation.

³ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 96 f. On the negative test, plebeians who begin as *monetales* are worth watching. Observe ILS 1017; 1028; 1057. For gradation in the minor magistracies (and predestination), E. BIRLEY, PBA 39, 1954, 202.

⁴ ILS 308. The post was omitted in HA, Hadr. 2, 2. The potent influence is M. Ulpius Traianus (*cos.* 91), his father's cousin. To a lesser degree, Ser. Julius Servianus (*suff.* 90), the husband of his sister.

⁵ ILS 1044 (Tibur). The grandson, or grand nephew, of M. Manilius Vopiscus (*suff.* 60).

⁶ Quadratus (*cos.* II 105), was not with the *Fratres Arvales* in May of 101 (CIL VI 2074).

⁷ PIR² J 507; 508.

⁸ ILS 1117.

⁹ AE 1938, 137 (dated to April of 138).

¹⁰ As suggested in *Historia* 9, 1960, 375 = *Roman Papers*, 1979, 490 f. Accepted for Julius Major (*suff.*? 126) in PIR² J 397.

¹¹ ECK, o. c. 232; ALFÖLDY, o. c. 241 f. In fact, there were three consulars. The word *καί* precedes Bruttius Praesens. The dating of these governors concerns Sex. Julius Severus (*suff.* 127), who, coming from Syria Palaestina, held Syria before the death of Hadrian (ILS 1056).

The tribunate of Glabrio is exceptional. It ought to have invited eager inspection. He served in *XV Apollinaris*, one of the two legions in the garrison of Cappadocia. Satala was the station, a place of strategic value commanding the roads in Armenia Minor. It is about 1500 metres above sea level.¹²

One at once asks who was the consular legate. If Glabrio went there in 137, it was still Flavius Arrianus.¹³ Before July of the next year he was succeeded by Burbuleius Ligarianus (*suff.* c. 135):¹⁴ as the name declares, a person devoid of social pretensions, and the early stages in his long career showed no promise.¹⁵

In 135 Arrian had marshalled his troops to confront an incursion of the Alani. He duly composed a treatise on that theme. Furthermore, his *‘Tactica’*, which carry an allusion to the *vicennalia* of Hadrian (i.e. 136/7). That piece was likewise designed to engage the benevolence of the ruler and perhaps insinuate further promotion for Flavius Arrianus.¹⁶

The interests of the *‘New Xenophon’* were not confined to military techniques – and Glabrio had cultivated propensities. That will emerge from his third post as legate to a proconsul: in Asia, shortly before he became consul.

Satala is a military station, on the far edge of the Roman dominion. Cappadocia was not rich in urban amenities, but it possessed two ancient cities situated on the great roads: Caesarea Mazaca, the provincial capital, and Tyana. Among the Cappadocians, education and sophistry rose to its portentous summit in the second half of the fourth century. The archegete in the intellectual life of the country was Apollonius, a migratory magician and prophet who quickly passed into legend and fiction. Tyana, so his biographer Philostratus duly affirms, was a Greek city – and Attic the speech of Apollonius, not debased by local habits.¹⁷

In the *‘vitae sophistarum’* the earliest Cappadocian performer to make an entrance is Pausanias from Caesarea, a pupil of the great Herodes Atticus (*cos.* 143): prompt and fluent in declamation, but the accent was coarse and heavy, in consonance with his origins.¹⁸ The next is Diodotus, whom death cut short in early manhood, provoking demonstrative grief from his teacher Hippodromus.¹⁹ The teacher had sat at the feet of Herodes.

Pergamum now confirms with a dedication the precocious fame of the young orator. It discloses his city, Caesarea, and his nomenclature: M. Acilius Diodotus.²⁰

¹² For Satala, T. B. MITFORD, *JRS* 64, 1974, 135 f.

¹³ Certified by ILS 8801 (Sebastopolis).

¹⁴ ILS 1066. To Cappadocia in 137 (ECK, o. c. 215), or in 138 (ALFÖLDY, o. c. 239).

¹⁵ For his origin from Africa, *Historia* 27, 1978, 597.

¹⁶ G. L. WHEELER, *GRBS* 19, 1978, 351 ff. Hadrian’s *vicennalia* are referred to in *Tactica* 44. 3. A governorship of Syria has been inferred from Lucian, *Peregr.* 14. GROAG was dubious (PIR² F 219), but ALFÖLDY accepts (o. c. 228 f.).

¹⁷ Philostratus, *vita Apollonii* 1, 7.

¹⁸ *Vit. Soph.* 593 f.

¹⁹ *Vit. Soph.* 617. Diodotus was missed by PIR.

²⁰ CHR. HABICHT, *Pergamum VIII* 3, 79, no. 35.

Acilii happen to be a rarity anywhere in Asia Minor. The editor points to Acilia Psyche at Tyana, the wife of an Aelius Diodotus, as presumed relatives of the sophist's family.²¹ One may add an Aelius Diodotus, praetor in the reign of Septimius Severus.²²

The invasion of the Roman Senate by the educated class from all the lands advertises and confirms the cosmopolitan empire. The western shores of Asia show consuls already under Domitian. From far Cappadocia the first is Ti. Claudius Gordianus, proclaimed a man from Tyana on his inscription.²³ Beginning as quaestor in Cyprus, he slipped into a military career (legate of a legion on the lower Danube and governor of Numidia) and he acceded to the consulate shortly before the death of Commodus. The next verifiable is M. Antonius Gordianus, born about the year 160. Philostratus dedicated his biographies to an Antonius Gordianus. Either the old consular, that figure of history and paradox, or his son. The person and the date, that is an engaging question but not for this excursus.²⁴

The Roman names taken by sophists, doctors and scholars became documents of social history. In some the derivation, although nowhere declared, is patent, as witness Stertinius Xenophon or Mestrius Plutarchus. Others arouse curiosity and encourage rational surmise.²⁵

To conclude therefore. The family of the sophist Acilius Diodotus owed name and citizenship to the brief sojourn of the military tribune; and the antecedents of the praetor Aelius Diodotus go back to the same season. An earlier Glabrio is too early, the consul of 67 B.C., who took over from Lucullus the command in Bithynia and Pontus.²⁶

III

Going to Satala and returning thence, the traveller passed through many cities and lands. He is next discovered as legate to the proconsul who governed Crete and Cyrene. Proconsuls of praetorian provinces, apart from Achaia and Macedonia, are often betrayed by that bare fact as deficient in any prospect of a brilliant

²¹ At Tyana, adduced from J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. ép.* 1958, no. 492 – with another Acilia from the vicinity. The volumes of IGR disclose only two Acilii: one being Acilius Theodorus, a doctor at Claudiopolis of Bithynia (IGR III 77).

²² PIR² A 168.

²³ AE 1954, 138 (Lambaesis). For the person, PIR² C 880; W. ECK, *RE Suppl.* 14, 100 f.

²⁴ For his origin from Cappadocia, A. R. BIRLEY, in: *Britain and Rome*, 1966, 56 ff.

²⁵ Thus P. Anteius Antiochus, the doctor from Aegeae in Cilicia (PIR² A 730), or C. Avidius Heliodorus, Epicurean philosopher and prefect of Egypt (A 1405, cf. H 51).

²⁶ Adduced by HABICHT, o. c. 80.

career.²⁷ By the same token, and more so, any who chose to be their legates.²⁸ Under the Republic it was not necessary to be a senator. In the imperial system several pre-quaestorian legates can be evoked without effort or surprise.²⁹

An aristocrat on the level of those nonentities calls for an explanation. Kinship or personal friends will be looked for. In the case of Glabrio, no proconsul offers. None is on attestation for some time subsequent to 135/6.³⁰

One casts a glance on the intellectual resources of the two countries. Cities of the Greek East that produce sophists, that is a familiar and attractive theme.³¹ Here as elsewhere negative phenomena arouse curiosity and may even furnish instruction.³² A standard catalogue of sophists registers none from either part of the dual province.³³ Philostratus contributed a name. In a truncated and peculiar exposition that makes a leap over the centuries from Aeschines to Nicetes of Smyrna and Isaeus the Assyrian, he brings up three performers whom he labels as mediocre.³⁴ All otherwise missing record. One of them is Peithagoras of Cyrene. Better evidence perhaps of gaps in knowledge than a fair estimate of life and letters in Crete and Cyrene.

IV

The consular provinces Asia and Africa are in a different case. Attachment as quaestor or legate to a senior ex-consul embellished the prospects of a young senator; and among the legates will be found men who go on later to govern the military provinces.³⁵ Asia exerted a potent appeal: the cities of ancient renown, of new opulence and intellectual endowment. Add to that the urban aristocrats and their allies, the descendants of kings and tetrarchs. As witness Julius Severus, with four cousins of consular rank.³⁶

²⁷ For the details, and for a number of exceptions, see W. ECK, *Epigraphische Studien* 9, 1972, 24 ff.; ANRW II, 1, 1974, 181 ff.; 202 f.

²⁸ Cornutus Tertullus (*suff.* 100), in his long and retarded career, had been legate in Crete and Cyrene (ILS 1024). The post is barely a «Staatsamt» according to ALFÖLDY, o. c. 34.

²⁹ REA 57, 1965, 346 = Roman Papers, 1979, 632 (discussing Glabrio). The topic has been accorded a lengthy study by M. DONDIN, *Latomus* 37, 1978, 148–172.

³⁰ Namely T. Salvius Carus (AE 1951, 122). The next is probably Q. Caecilius Marcellus who had been a legate there – and who however went on to command a legion and govern Aquitania (ILS 1096: Thibiuca). Hence in prospect of a consulship: possibly *suffectus* c. 150, according to ALFÖLDY, o. c. 202 f.

³¹ G. W. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 1969, 17 ff.

³² Phoenicia and the Decapolis on high parade, but not Antioch.

³³ GERTH, *RE Suppl.* 8, 779 ff.

³⁴ *Vit. Soph.* 511.

³⁵ For a list, ECK, *Epigraphische Studien* 9, 1972, 26 f.

³⁶ OGIS 544 (Ancyra).

Acilius Glabrio might have opted for ease and enlightenment in congenial Asia. He chose Africa. A reason offers, the identity of the governor. Hence a conjecture: Glabrio's father, consul in 124, was proconsul in 138/9.³⁷

This proconsulate encounters criticism. Why not? Young Glabrio's legateship in Africa is not a secure basis. He was born, it is suggested, in 119, acceding *suo anno* to the *fascēs* in 152. Therefore military tribune towards the year 140, and *quaestor Augusti* say 144, hence legate in Africa c. 142/3. Too late therefore to accord with a parental proconsulate in 138/9.³⁸

The objections must be squarely faced. Three points occur:

(1) The conjectural proconsulate. On revision, the date now advances by a year, to 139/40. A Minicius stood as proconsul on an African inscription dated to the year 139.³⁹ A new military diploma brings his full name and his consulship: T. Salvius Rufinus Minicius Opimianus, *suffectus* in 123.⁴⁰ A satisfactory sequence now emerges:⁴¹

- 136/7 P. Valerius Priscus (*suff.* ? 121)
- 137/8 L. Vitrasius Flamininus (122)
- 138/9 T. Salvius Rufinus Minicius Opimianus (123)
- 139/40 ? M'. Acilius Glabrio (*cos.* 124)
- 140/1 T. Prifernius Paetus (*suff.* ? 125)

(2) The age of Glabrio. Estimates based on the *suus annus* ought to admit a margin of a year or two. The existence of exact coevals might prevent an aristocrat from becoming *consul ordinarius* at the age of thirty-two.⁴² Observe, in an earlier epoch, the two Fabii, whose father died in December of 45 B.C. They became consuls in 11 and 10. And perhaps other factors. Thus Ser. Sulpicius Galba, born in 3 B.C., consul in A.D. 33 at the age of thirty-four.⁴³

(3) The military tribunate. It can be held soon after assumption of the *toga virilis*. According to Statius, Vettius Bolanus received appointment at the age of sixteen.⁴⁴ That was in or about the year 94. The poet contemplates his proceeding to one of the frontier zones. Warfare had in fact lapsed after Domitian's last campaign on

³⁷ REA 57, 1965, 346 = Roman Papers, 1979, 632. Duly noted by Eck, *Senatoren*, 216; B. E. THOMASSON, RE Suppl. 13, 6.

³⁸ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 210 f.

³⁹ CIL VIII 4643 (Thagora).

⁴⁰ AE 1973, 459 = M. M. ROXAN, *Roman Military Diplomas, 1954-1977*, 1978, 21.

⁴¹ Hadriatic Proconsuls of Africa, ZPE (forthcoming).

⁴² Similarly, delay in his quaestorship to the Emperor. And observe L. Ceionius Commodus, praetor in 130, consul in 136 (PIR² C 605).

⁴³ In discordant statements about his age, Suetonius should be accepted when he records the year by consuls along with the birthday (Galba 4, 1): elsewhere (23, 1), and in other authors, 5 B. C. is assumed. After his praetorship Galba governed a province. Abnormal in a patrician, but for an abnormally brief tenure: *Aquitaniae anno fere praefuit* (6, 1).

⁴⁴ Statius, *silvae* 5, 2, 11 ff.

the Danube in 92. The duties of *laticlavii* were not always exacting, the function of the office being largely social.⁴⁵ Some were negligent, dull or frivolous. As in other times, non-combatant posts have their appeal in the military hierarchy, from first to last. Bolanus was one of the neo-patricians, and he became consul in 111.

The question of age, it may be noted, also touches Bruttius Praesens (*cos.* 153), whose tribunate in a Syrian legion is put by conjecture c. 136, to accord with the presumed governorship of his father. As for Acilius Glabrio, the following schema emerges painlessly:

118 or 119	Birth
137	Tribune in XV <i>Apollinaris</i>
138/9	Legate in Crete and Cyrene
139/40	Legate in Africa
143 or 144	<i>quaestor Augusti</i>

For present purposes, little difference whether the father's proconsulate be accepted or rejected. One way or the other, an inscription may crop up to decide. What matters is the anomalous foreign occupations of the young nobleman, first a tribune and then twice a proconsular legate before he entered the Senate. On the lowest count, a taste for travel – which could have been amply indulged without conveying him to the frontier that faced Armenia.

Other factors may intervene: not the son's decision but the parent's. He might wish to protect a youth from the *illecebrae* and *delenimenta* of high society or low frequentations. Or a worse danger, if the tribunate is correctly dated to the year 137. The season at Rome was hazardous and unhealthy. Towards the end of 136 Hadrian, now sixty, made a momentous decision. He chose for son and successor Ceionius Commodus, passing over the next of kin. That action disappointed various ambitions. It sealed the fate of old Julius Severianus and his grandson Pedanius Fuscus, who is also the grand-nephew of Hadrian. Fuscus was aged eighteen when he perished.⁴⁶

A prudent father would do well if he removed his young son beyond the reach of intrigue and political involvements. A sojourn in Cappadocia benefited from the supervision of Fl. Arrianus, to be deemed salubrious and edifying.

⁴⁵ Tacitus, *Agr.* 5, 1: *nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt*, etc.

⁴⁶ According to Dio 69, 17, 1. The HA has the reverse order of events (*Hadr.* 23, 8, cf. 10). There is a notable imbroglio. The end of Fuscus is put subsequent to Hadrian's adoption of Aurelius Fulvus (February 25, 138) by T. D. BARNES, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta*, 1978, 45. A decision need not much modify one's estimate of life at Rome during the last two years of the reign.

V

So far a modicum of conjecture, not to be avoided if sense be made of Glabrio's peregrinations. He became *quaestor Augusti*, a post that no ruler could ever deny to a patrician.⁴⁷ The next episode conveys him to Asia – and into a nexus of problems concerning Aelius Aristides and the proconsuls.⁴⁸

The tenures 149/50 and 150/1 were occupied by Popillius Priscus (*suff.* ? 132) and Mummius Sisenna (*cos.* 133). The dates appear fixed, the reasons for the retardation defy ascertainment.⁴⁹ Neither proconsul is mentioned anywhere by Aristides, but Pollio and Severus occur in one of the discourses, an involved and untidy piece of composition that names a Glabrio in this vicinity.⁵⁰ All three had dealings with the *rhetor* in his anxious efforts to evade civic obligations.

Questions of identity arose. For a long time Pollio was supposed to be T. Vitrasius Pollio (*cos.* II 176).⁵¹ A better solution emerged, indeed convincing. It was possible to disentangle his father, commander of *VII Gemina* about the year 133, then legate of Lugdunensis, hence to be presumed consul *suffect* c. 137.⁵²

About Severus there could never be any hesitation. Aristides describes him as a proud nobleman, coming from «upper Phrygia». That is, C. Julius Severus, of the dynastic house at Ancyra. His consulship should go in 138. The proconsulates of Pollio and Severus thus stand as 151/2 and 152/3.⁵³ A gap of two years then intervenes – after which problems of a different order.⁵⁴

The terms in which Aristides referred to Glabrio's presence induced some scholars to fancy that he might be a proconsul. That notion earned a firm rebuttal.⁵⁵ Not

⁴⁷ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 38.

⁴⁸ For a brief clear statement, G. W. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 1969, 36 f.

⁴⁹ For the dates, W. HÜTTL, *Antoninus Pius*, 1933, II 49 f. (on the basis of IG XII 3, 325 = SIG³ 852: Thera). The perturbation (seventeen years from the consulate) is clear and certain for Sisenna (*cos.* 133) – but Priscus might have been *suffect* consul in 134, not in 132.

⁵⁰ Aristides L. 97 and 100.

⁵¹ As by LAMBERTZ, RE 21, 2347 (an article defective in more ways than one).

⁵² The legate of Lugdunensis who received a rescript from Hadrian (Dig. 27, 1, 15, 17) was adduced by A. STEIN, *Die Legaten von Moesien*, 1940, 74. The thesis was developed in JRS 43, 1953, 159 = *Roman Papers*, 1979, 251 f. R. HANSLIK failed to register this Pollio among the Vitrasii in RE 9 A (1961) 416 ff.

⁵³ Thus ALFÖLDY, o. c. 214. For Severus' proconsulate PIR² J 573 has: «anno 151/52 ut videtur».

⁵⁴ That is, the proconsul Quadratus and the martyrdom of Polycarp. For a brief statement, T. D. BARNES, *Journal of Theological Studies* 18, 1967, 434 ff. The proconsul is to be presumed L. Staius Quadratus (*cos.* 142), an Athenian.

⁵⁵ GROAG, PIR² A 73.

but that it has recently been accorded a revival.⁵⁶ That is, the Glabrio of Aristides is an otherwise unknown consular in the family, proconsul in 148/9. The legate (*cos.* 152) was then in Asia, suitably serving under a near relative, his uncle.

Brief reflection impels to doubt or denial.⁵⁷ There is no call or need to conjure up another Acilius Glabrio. A younger brother of the consul of 124 would likewise be an *ordinarius*. There was not much competition in the vicinity of 133.

As mentioned in Aristides, Glabrio appears antecedent to Pollio (151/2). Even so, he may have overlapped – and a legate might choose to prolong his stay. Again, tenures of two years are on record.⁵⁸ However, a verse inscription at Hierapolis discloses a Glabrio as consul designate.⁵⁹

Aristides refers to Glabrio as ὁ σοφιστής.⁶⁰ Some doubt the text and emend. That is not necessary. On the lips of the *rhetor* the appellation can count for praise, associating the Roman nobleman with the aristocracy of the intellect.⁶¹ They were hardly new acquaintances. In 143 or 144 Aristides delivered his panegyric on Rome in the presence of Caesar.⁶² About the time when Glabrio was quaestor of Antoninus Pius.

For fanciers of Hellenic eloquence, western Asia had now superseded Athens, despite the prestige of Herodes Atticus, consul precisely in 143. Travel for the benefit of education is a seductive topic in any age – especially when prosecuted into maturity. Some no doubt could still learn, welcomed with joyous and dishonest indulgence – or having to contend with the arrogance of professors. Their own comportment was not always a commendation. An aristocratic Cethegus, legate to his father, incurred derision and was called a nuisance.⁶³

VI

To assess Glabrio, eccentric in noteworthy features, it will be expedient to put him in a social and political setting. Eight coeval patricians can be adduced, born between 115 and 125.

⁵⁶ H. J. MASON, *CPh* 68, 1973, 121 ff.

⁵⁷ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 217 f.

⁵⁸ Thus Julius Quadratus (*suff.* 94), probably from 79 to 81 (ILS 8819). The proconsul in 79/80 was M. Ulpius Traianus (*suff.*? 70), cf. ECK, o. c. 83; 127.

⁵⁹ R. MERKELBACH, *ZPE* 7, 1971, 43 f., adducing: *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, 1898, 89, no. 46.

⁶⁰ Aristides L. 100.

⁶¹ MASON, o. c. 122.

⁶² The former year has the strong preference of J. H. OLIVER, *The Ruling Power* (Trans. Am. Phil. Soc. 43, 4), 1953, 886 f.

⁶³ Lucian, *Demonax* 30. Presumably in 164/5: the father is M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus (*cos.* 150).

- Q. Pompeius Sossius Priscus (*cos.* 149)
 Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidenus Orfitus (149)
 T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio (*cos. II* 176)
 C. Bruttius Praesens (153)
 T. Sextius Lateranus (154)
 M. Ceionius Silvanus (156)
 M. Vettulenus Civica Barbarus (157)
 M. Metilius Nepos (157)

The first of them in fact became consul at thirty one: precise age and date of decease are certified by one of his descendants.⁶⁴ An advantage will also be conceded to Ceionius and Vettulenus, both related to the dynasty. That is, cousins to L. Verus, the son of Hadrian's first choice for the succession.⁶⁵

As concerns standing in the patriciate, Bruttius and Metilius were certainly admitted by Pius at the outset of his reign.⁶⁶ The same may be assumed for Sossius Priscus; and the career of Vitrasius Pollio's father (legionary command and governorship thereafter of an imperial province) denies him that status.⁶⁷ It is worth noting that no adlection *inter patricios* can so far be firmly attributed to Hadrian.⁶⁸

Vitrasius Pollio carries several problems. He is one of the six ex-consuls who survived to have a second tenure of the *fascēs* in the period 168–176.⁶⁹ Of not one is the first consulate anywhere on direct attestation. Various criteria are invoked.⁷⁰ One estimate put Vitrasius (*cos. II* 176) consul suffect in 155.⁷¹ The latest investigation argues for 151.⁷²

The suffect consulates concern the men's ages. Also their proconsulates in Asia and Africa. Vitrasius, it is suggested, went to Asia in 167/8.⁷³

Something has to be said about Venuleius Apronianus (*cos. II* 168), the inscription of whose father (*cos.* 123) proves him patrician.⁷⁴ Estimates of his first consu-

⁶⁴ ILS 1106.

⁶⁵ For a revised stemma see *Athenaeum* 35, 1957, 314 = *Roman Papers*, 1979, 331. The nomenclature of Vettulenus, with his posts (*monetalis, quaestor Aug., praetor, consul*), was supplied by AE 1957, 125 (Argos). Ceionius Silvanus is only a name and a consul.

⁶⁶ For Metilius the letters *ad[* in the last line of the fragmentary inscription (CIL XIV 2501 = ILS 1075) have been held sufficient.

⁶⁷ Namely the postulated *suffectus* of 137, above, p. 434.

⁶⁸ To the group admitted by Pius one may add Q. Tineius Sacerdos (*cos.* 158), cf. IGR III 808 (Side); and a son became *salus Palatinus* in 170 (CIL VI 1978).

⁶⁹ For a complete list from 139 to 192 see ALFÖLDY, o. c. 108.

⁷⁰ Among them the fact that the *Fasti* are now complete for 146–8 and for 152–4.

⁷¹ *Dacia* 12, 1968, 336 f. = *Danubian Papers*, 1971, 220 (discussing legates of Moesia Inferior).

⁷² ALFÖLDY, o. c. 158 f.

⁷³ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 216.

⁷⁴ CIL XI 1525, cf. E. GROAG, *Wiener Studien* 49, 1931, 157 ff.

late have varied. One put him in the period 149–152.⁷⁵ He now recedes to 145.⁷⁶ That is a reasonable conjecture. One clue is absent. The document that registers his career was set up in or after 176. Although incomplete, it does not admit a proconsulate in Asia or in Africa.⁷⁷ There is a chance that Venuleius missed his year through the incidence of another consular employment, as could happen. By a startling exception, both Venuleius and Vitrasius governed military provinces.⁷⁸

For comparison of prospects and careers with the eight patricians, four senators offer from families of recent ennoblement.

Cn. Julius Verus (*suff.*? 151). ILS 1057, cf. 8974. Tribune in *X Fretensis* in Syria Palaestina c. 134. Sex. Julius Severus (*suff.* 127) was the governor, his presumed uncle.

L. Dasumius Tullius Tuscus (152). ILS 1081. Tribune in *IV Flavia* in Moesia Superior c. 134, under P. Tullius Varro (*suff.* 127), his uncle. His father was P. Dasumius Rusticus (*cos.* 119).

M. Nonius Macrinus (154). ILS 8830. Tribune in *XVI Flavia* in Syria c. 136. Presumed son or nephew to M. Nonius Mucianus (*suff.* 138).

C. Julius Severus (*cos.* 155). ILS 8829. Tribune in *IV Scythica* in Syria. His father (*suff.*? 138) was commander of the legion and acting governor when the consular departed to deal with the rebellion in Judaea (ILS 8826).

The four illustrate a favoured and predestined type of career, conducting them, with two posts only after the praetorship, to a consulate at the age of thirty-seven or thirty-eight: command of a legion and either a praetorian province or its equivalent.⁷⁹ There is an anomaly, or rather perhaps an omission in the inscription of Tullius Tuscus (ILS 1081): no legionary command. It may be the result of inadvertence.⁸⁰ All four proceed in the sequel to hold military provinces.

VII

Glabrio after his consulship in 152 had nothing to do, only wait for fourteen or fifteen years until the lot awarded Asia or Africa. In the sortition little was left

⁷⁵ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les sodales Antoniniani de l'époque de Marc-Aurèle*, 1966, 14 ff.

⁷⁶ ALFÖLDY, *o. c.* 150 f.

⁷⁷ CIL XI 1432. A missing line was produced by R. HANSLIK, *viz.* <*procos. / provinc. Asiae, leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Moesiae*> *cos. II.* (RE 8 A, 822: reproduced in AE 1955, 120). To be deprecated, cf. G. ALFÖLDY, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 1969, 29 f.

⁷⁸ Below, p. 440.

⁷⁹ For examples, W. ECK, in: ANRW II, 1, 1974, 184 f. Nonius Macrinus came to the consulate from Pannonia Inferior, Julius Verus and Tullius Tuscus from the charge of the *aerarium Saturni*; and Julius Severus had the *via Appia* (in this period combined with the supervision of the *alimenta*).

⁸⁰ As can happen. The post of legate in Crete and Cyrene held by Caecilius Marcellus (CIL VIII 14291: Thibiuca) was omitted by DESSAU from ILS 1096.

to chance, it can confidently be affirmed.⁸¹ Sundry phenomena imply selection. Of twelve certified proconsuls of Africa between 115/6 and 142/3 no fewer than six had previously governed a military province.⁸²

Asia exhibits a proper contrast. Various links or affinities appear to operate, and a hereditary trend, as with consulates and priesthoods. Like his parent (*suff.* ? 137), Vitrasius Pollio (? 151) secured Asia.⁸³ Sosius Priscus (*cos.* 149) followed his father (*suff.* 108). On the fragmentary inscription the name of his proconsulate is missing, it is true.⁸⁴ But none doubt. His son (*cos.* 169) was quaestorian legate there – and also designated by the lot for Asia, but death intervened.⁸⁵

Given the predilections of Glabrio, as evinced by his sojourn in Asia and by the remarks of Aelius Aristides, that province should have beckoned. He went to Africa, as an inscription shows, dated by the imperial titlature between 164 and 168.⁸⁶ The tenure 166/7 seemed both welcome and unavoidable: the next three proconsuls are dated each to the year.⁸⁷

As happens in these studies, a small fact intervenes and disturbs. Bruttius Praesens (*cos.* 153) had been assigned Asia, the only reason being <*cos. II, pr[occos.]*> on his inscription.⁸⁸ From the neat supplementing of a document at Sabratha it now becomes clear that (like his father) Bruttius was proconsul of Africa.⁸⁹ Therefore to go in 166/7. He displaces Acilius Glabrio, since the following years are blocked. Glabrio is thrown back a year.

A sequence of seven proconsuls was established, from 157/8 to 163/4.⁹⁰ After which, only one gap now remains (164/5) down to 169/70.⁹¹ There is another re-

⁸¹ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 119, cf. 122.

⁸² Hadrianic Proconsuls of Africa, ZPE (forthcoming).

⁸³ To be supplemented in ILS 1112, cf. 1113 f.

⁸⁴ CIL VI 31753.

⁸⁵ ILS 1104.

⁸⁶ IRT 21 (Sabratha). A dedication at Hippo Regius, *anno Acili Glabrilonis proconsulis c. v.* (AE 1961, 224) does not permit an attribution to any one Glabrio. For a probably later proconsul of the name, observe CIG 2979 (Ephesus), with the comment of GROAG, PIR² A 64.

⁸⁷ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 209 f.: P. Salvius Julianus (*cos.* 148), T. Sextius Lateranus (154), C. Serius Augurinus (156).

⁸⁸ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 379 ff. (putting him in 168/9). PFLAUM had suggested *pr[ae]f. urbi*].

⁸⁹ IRT 91 (Sabratha), restored by F. JACQUES, ZPE 22, 1976, 216: *Brutti Prae]sentis / [procos.] c. v.* (lines 5 and 6). The text names two ladies who occur in IRT 22, dated to 170.

⁹⁰ REA 61, 1959, 318 = Roman Papers, 1979, 468. From L. Hediuf Rufus Lollianus Avitus (*cos.* 144) to Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus (149). After Orfitus the next was assumed M. Antonius Zeno (*suff.* 149) because of CIL VIII 1480 (Thugga, undated), cf. PIR² A 883. The date is now shown 184/5, the proconsul therefore a homonymous son.

⁹¹ For comparison Asia now exhibits a run from 160/1 to 173/4, on ALFÖLDY's list (o. c. 215 ff.), with only one gap (that is, left by the expulsion of Bruttius Praesens) since D. Fonteius Fronto (*suff.* c. 150) now accrues, to go in 165/6 (o. c. 379).

sult – two proconsulates with an interval of only thirteen years from the consulship. Discomfort need only be momentary. A recent parallel existed. No effort or device, it appears, can dislodge Lollianus Avitus (*cos.* 144), from the tenure 157/8 which introduces the sequence of seven.⁹²

Glabrio therefore occupies 165/6. His legateship in Africa (it will be recalled) encouraged the conjecture that his father, the consul of 124, went to Africa in 139.

VIII

Second consulates had become a rarity. After the elder Bruttius Praesens (*cos.* II 139), only two before the year 168. An innovation now sets in, honouring six illustrious survivors.

168	L. Venuleius Apronianus	(<i>suff.</i> ? 145)
	L. Sergius Paullus	(? 151)
173	Cn. Claudius Severus	(? 167)
	Ti. Claudius Pompeianus	(? 167)
176	T. Vitrasius Pollio	(? 151)
	M. Flavius Aper	(? 155/60)

The pair in 173 were sons-in-law of Marcus Aurelius; and Vitrasius Pollio had married his cousin Annia Fundania Faustina many years previously.⁹³ Vitrasius and Venuleius will engage further attention. The other two remain not a little enigmatic.⁹⁴

Glabrio for all his distinction is not of the company. Nor did he end as *praefectus urbi*, a high post that went to Sergius Paullus, perhaps in 167 or 168.

In that season the plague that came out of Mesopotamia in the train of L. Verus was already raging. In due course it claimed many victims from the ranks of the illustrious. But not Glabrio. Twenty five years subsequent to his consulship he is discovered as member of the imperial *consilium* on July 6 of 177.⁹⁵ As protocol

⁹² J. GUEY, REL 29, 1951, 307 ff. (on IRT 372; 533 f.); followed by R. SYME, REA 61, 1959, 316 = Roman Papers, 1979, 466 f. The interval of thirteen years has a valuable repercussion. It will justify assigning L. Staius Quadratus (*cos.* 142) to Asia in 155/6.

⁹³ Daughter of M. Annius Libo (*cos.* 128). Her brother became consul early in 161, following on Marcus and Verus (AE 1972, 657 = ROXAN, Roman Military Diplomas, 1978, 55).

⁹⁴ The father of Flavius Aper was *ordinarius* in 130, the grandfather *suffectus* early in the reign of Trajan, as may be inferred from Pliny, ep. 5, 13, 5. On which, JRS 58, 1968, 139 f. = Roman Papers, 1979, 701 f. Sergius Paullus may well be patrician. For his first consulship (assigning it to 151) ALFÖLDY adduces the pair Torquatus Asprenas and L. Sergius Paullus (CIL VI 253). Better perhaps to go in 70. If the patrician L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas (*cos.* 94, *cos.* II 128) had a son or a grandson, it would not be easy to deny him an eponymous consulate.

⁹⁵ AE 1971, 534 (the Tabula Banasitana).

dictated, he stands below M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus (*cos.* 150) and above T. Sextius Lateranus (*cos.* 154).

Despite survival, not *consul iterum*. The fact promotes suspicion. Glabrio did not care; and like some aristocrats in earlier ages (under the first dynasty and also under the second), he held aloof from matrimonial alliance with the reigning house.

IX

The patrician path in life is marked by clear signposts, by a predictable tenor. The rare exceptions confirm the normal. Venuleius Apronianus had the command of a legion, *I Italica* in Moesia Inferior.⁹⁶ Unique, so far as known, during the reigns of Hadrian and Pius.

The epigraphic *cursus* of Vitrasius Pollio allows no space for that post, but he held Moesia Inferior (one of the four most important commands), where he is attested in 157.⁹⁷ Again, no precedent offers during the same period unless it be Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118), governing Moesia Inferior from about 120 to 124.⁹⁸ Ummidius was probably a patrician (not to be proven such), like his coeval Pedanius Fuscus (*cos.* 118). About the year 106 the youthful pair were matched for high promise by Pliny.⁹⁹

Then a further surprise. Vitrasius held a second consular post in the sixties. Both he and Venuleius proceeded to *Tarraconensis*, a province now acquiring more importance than previously and higher seniority in its governors. Another was the jurist Salvius Julianus, the consul of 148.¹⁰⁰ His tenure of *Tarraconensis* (it might be conjectured) retarded his African proconsulate, to which he did not accede until 167/8.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ CIL XI 1432.

⁹⁷ AE 1937, 247 (Callatis). Ignored in RE 21, 2344 ff.

⁹⁸ He was legate c. 121–4, as was argued on the basis of the inscription at Charax in the Crimea (Arch. Anzeiger 26, 1911, 236). Thus *Historia* 17, 1968, 88 f. = Roman Papers, 1979, 676 f. The missing half of the bilingual inscription attesting in 120 the legate [Se]rtorius (CIL III 7359 + 12493) has turned up at Tomis, certifying C. Ummidius Quadratus Sertorius Severus. It is registered by J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. ép. 1978, no. 326. See further HSPh 83, 1978, 291 ff.

⁹⁹ Pliny, ep. 6, 11 (for eloquence, to be sure). Fuscus was betrothed to Julia, the niece of P. Aelius Hadrianus (6, 26). Quadratus had recently married, at the age of twenty three (7, 24, 2). The identity of his bride excites curiosity – and may repay it.

¹⁰⁰ ILS 8973 (Pupput).

¹⁰¹ CIL VIII 24094. For the dating, ALFÖLDY, o. c. 209. For the three governorships in *Tarraconensis*, ALFÖLDY, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 1969, 28 ff. He proposed the order Venuleius Apronianus (between 155 and 161); Salvius Julianus (? 161–4); Vitrasius Pollio (? 164–7). Modification is not excluded. For Pollio (*suff.*? 151), the proconsulate in Asia is assigned to 167/8. Salvius Julianus in Africa is fixed in 167/8.

The long crisis of the Danubian wars brought rapid promotion to generals from new families, and some obscure. By paradox, the socially eminent found a role. Not indeed as provincial governors or as commanders of an army corps in the field. They accompany the ruler to the seat of war. Vitrasius went as *comes* of Marcus and Verus at the outset, in 168.¹⁰² So did Sosius Priscius (*cos.* 149).¹⁰³ Vitrasius was again a *comes* towards the end of the reign. In that season Bruttius Praesens saw service with Marcus and the young Commodus on an *expeditio Sarmatica*.¹⁰⁴ All three received ample military decorations.

X

Like consulates, the priesthoods declare birth or success. The two colleges of the *Salii* were restricted to patricians, with admission in early adolescence. As under the Republic, a youth may also enter one of the *quattuor amplissima collegia*. Venuleius had an augurate before becoming *quaestor Augusti*. Glabrio was a pontifex, perhaps co-opted in the same season of life.

Caesar Augustus revived from long intermission the *fratres Arvales*. He meant them to be a conspicuous congregation of nobles and consulars. After a time a decline set in. The recruitment of the fraternity under the rulers of the second dynasty presents a different picture and permits a surmise about their policy. The Flavian emperors intended membership to be a consolation for senators who about the age of thirty saw dim prospects of consulship or priesthood.¹⁰⁵

Three lists of the Twelve Brethren are extant for the period 145–155.¹⁰⁶ Among eighteen names it is not easy to discern sons of consular families.¹⁰⁷ A patrician in this epoch would not think of joining the obscure college or club.¹⁰⁸

Nor did he have to enhance his status through matrimony. The patrician was free to contract alliances in his own class and concentrate their resources. The wife of the elder Glabrio is not on record. The nomenclature of the son may furnish a

¹⁰² ILS 1112.

¹⁰³ CIL VI 31573.

¹⁰⁴ ILS 1117.

¹⁰⁵ As argued in: Some Arval Brethren (Oxford, forthcoming), Ch. XX.

¹⁰⁶ CIL VI 2084 = 32379 = ILS 5038 (of 145); 2086 (of 155). A new document (AE 1947, 59) was assigned by the editor to the period 120–140, to 155–160 in PIR² J 240. Comparison between the lists for 145 and 155, and argument from the consular names, fragmentary, counselled a date close to 150. Thus in JRS 43, 1953, 160 = Roman Papers, 1979, 254. The two *suffecti* should go in 149, according to ALFÖLDY, Konsulat und Senatorenstand 154.

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps only L. Antonius Albus, Ti. Julius Candidus Caecilius Simplex, Ti. Julius Candidus Capito (PIR² A 810; J 238; 240).

¹⁰⁸ That Venuleius Apronianus (*cos.* 123) could be assumed as *arvalis* since his father (*suff.* 92) had been a member was confidently asserted by R. HANSLIK, RE 8 A, 821.

clue, by his full style <M'. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus>. It reflects Cn. Pinnarius Cornelius Severus, consul suffect in 112 (and husband of Sergia L. f. Paullina).¹⁰⁹ Alternative explanations avail. Glabrio is either a Cornelius by birth, adopted by the consul of 124, or he took the name of his mother's family. That was a frequent practice. Indeed, it sometimes extrudes the paternal name. The prime example is Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118), the grandson of Ummidia Quadratilla.¹¹⁰ The item <Cornelius Severus> is indistinctive. It was dropped by Glabrio's consular descendants.

Glabrio's own marriage imports problems. The elder (or eldest) son is patently M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul for the second time in 186 as colleague of the Emperor Commodus. Senators normally take a wife when aged about twenty-two. From the Augustan epoch onwards the evidence is abundant and convincing. Princes in the first dynasty soon come to marry at an earlier age, and the same practice might emerge in the sons of the highest aristocracy. Glabrio's son was consul for the first time in 173, so it has been conjectured.¹¹¹ That would accord with marriage when Glabrio came back from Africa in 140. The son might have acceded to the *fasces* at thirty or thirty one.

The younger son is therefore M'. Acilius Vibius Faustinus. He was still one of the *Salii* in 170, when he left the fraternity on becoming a *flamen*, like four other young patricians in that same year.¹¹² His son in turn is M'. Acilius Faustinus, the consul of 210.

The nomenclature of son and grandson permits as conjecture: Glabrio had married the daughter of a Vibius Faustinus. About whom, conjecture is baffled.

Complications now intervene. A fragmentary inscription assigned to Glabrio, sepulchral, registers several members of his family, viz. a Faustina, another Faustina, a son <Glab]rio Cn. Cornelius Severus> who died at thirteen, finally [Pris]cilla Aciliana (likewise dying young, it is presumed). The document presents problems. As the editor in a supplementary note observed, «ceterum quomodo conceptus fuerit totus titulus, adhuc latet».¹¹³

A second marriage is inferred.¹¹⁴ Priscilla Aciliana leads towards the lady Arria L. f. Plaria Vera Priscilla to whom the city of Pisaurum paid honour: she is styled the wife of a consular Glabrio.¹¹⁵ Like <Vibius>, <Arrius> is one of the common and

¹⁰⁹ PIR² C 1453.

¹¹⁰ Pliny, ep. 7, 24. For his nomenclature see *Historia* 17, 1968, 82 f. = *Roman Papers*, 1979, 670 f.; *HSPH* 83, 1978, 288 f.; 291 f.

¹¹¹ ALFÖLDY, o. c. 187.

¹¹² CIL VI 1978 = ILS 5024. The vacancies illustrate the high peak of the plague.

¹¹³ CIL XIV 2484 (Tibur), cf. *Add.*, p. 492. The first two names stand in large lettering. The third name (in small letters, smaller than the fourth) was assumed by the editor (and by GROAG, PIR² A 73) to indicate the consul of 152.

¹¹⁴ For the reconstruction, GROAG, PIR² A 73, following DESSAU. His table on p. 12 carries the note «nonnulla in hoc stemmate incerta esse non est cur moneam».

¹¹⁵ ILS 1073 (Pisaurum): clearly related to the senator L. Arrius Plarianus Aufidius Turbo, *patronus* of that city (CIL XI 6332).

indistinctive Roman *gentilicia*. Nor are Plarii persons of much social consequence to begin with. They rose to prominence at Ostia with Plaria Q. f. Vera, who brought the *cognomen* <Plarianus> into the families of Egrilii and Acilii in that city, the first consul being her elder son A. Egrilius Plarianus (*suff.* 128).¹¹⁶ A Glabrio had in fact been patron of Ostia a century or so earlier.¹¹⁷

The selection of a wife is variously significant. Glabrio (it appears) was consistent each time. He eschewed a bride of resplendent birth, liable to bring with her ostentation and intrigue, annoyances or hazard. He got comfort and support from families of substance and repute in the towns of Italy.¹¹⁸ Some were of ancient pedigree, and opulent, but had not been eager to win entry or advancement in the Senate. For example, the Venuleii (of Pisae) go back quite a long way.¹¹⁹ The Vitrasii (of Cales) produced two prefects of Egypt under the first dynasty, but their first consul does not emerge until 122.¹²⁰

XI

So far so good. Two marriages for Glabrio, that is the standard hypothesis.¹²¹ More trouble follows. First of all, Arria L. f. Plaria Vera Priscilla. She may not be Glabrio's wife (it is argued), but the wife of either his father (*cos.* 124) or his grandfather (*cos.* 91).¹²²

Therefore only one marriage need be postulated for Glabrio and attention can go to <Vibius Faustinus> in the nomenclature of his second son. The *cognomen* signifies a close link with the Antonine dynasty through matrimony with a Faustina, such is a new thesis, argued with cogency.¹²³

In the first place, one might think of a daughter of M. Annii Libo (*cos.* 128), the uncle of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius: she would be sister to Annia Fundania Faustina, who married Vitrasius Pollio. Her age would in fact be suitable, to judge by that of her brother, who was consul suffect in 161.¹²⁴

¹¹⁶ For those families (identities and relationships have caused trouble), see now R. MEIGGS, *Roman Ostia*², 1973, 503 ff.; 583 f.

¹¹⁷ CIL XIV 4324. For the date, MEIGGS, o. c. 508.

¹¹⁸ The Glabrones also have ties with Allifae in Samnium – and so do the Acilii Aviolaie (PIR² A 49, cf. the evidence cited for both under A 62). There was no link between the two families, according to P. GALLIVAN, *Historia* 27, 1978, 621 ff. The aged Acilius in Juvenal 4, 94 (parent of M'. Glabrio, *cos.* 91) is not, he supposes, to be identified with M'. Acilius Aviola (*cos.* 54). Rather a Glabrio, hence an unattested Neronian consul.

¹¹⁹ H. GUNDEL, RE 8 A, 819 f.

¹²⁰ L. Vitrasius Flamininus (*suff.* 122).

¹²¹ That of GROAG, which will be adhered to in this paper.

¹²² MEIGGS, o. c. 505.

¹²³ E. CHAMPLIN, *The Heirs of Commodus*, AJPh 100, 1979, 288 ff.

¹²⁴ AE 1972, 657: only *suffectus* – but he followed Marcus and Verus.

A more seductive proposal is accorded preference – not a cousin (unverifiable) of Marcus but a niece, his only known niece. In the year 136 Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118) secured as bride for his son Annia Cornificia Faustina, the sister of Marcus.¹²⁵ She was younger than Marcus, who was born in April of 121. That match produced M. Ummidius Quadratus, the consul of 167, a youthful consul.¹²⁶ Also a daughter, Ummidia Cornificia Faustina. For this lady, no husband happens to be on attestation.¹²⁷ Glabrio will fit the bill, so it is proposed.¹²⁸

Moreover, a small item could help: <Vibius> in the name of Glabrio's second son. It cropped up in the dynasty. The youngest daughter of Marcus Aurelius was called <Vibia Aurelia Sabina>, recalling, albeit not an ancestress, Vibia Sabina, the consort of Hadrian.¹²⁹

On this showing Antoninus Pius selected Glabrio as husband to the niece of the heir apparent. That ruler himself, it may be observed, carefully avoided ancient lineage when making provision for his daughters.¹³⁰ Now Glabrio's son, consul for the second time in 186, emerges as the grand-nephew of Marcus Aurelius. Crisis or catastrophe in the dynasty brings that relationship into sharp prominence, with high promise and with hazard, as recent history demonstrated by the fate of the youthful Pedanius Fuscus.¹³¹

When Commodus was murdered on the last night of the year 192, the *bis consul* is at once on show. According to an edifying anecdote reported by an unreliable historian, Helvius Pertinax, duly protesting himself not worthy of the power, took Glabrio by the hand and seated him on the imperial throne. Glabrio, so the writer adds, was the noblest of the noble Romans.¹³²

Thus Herodian. Cassius Dio merely stated that Pertinax paid especial honour to Glabrio – and to Claudius Pompeianus.¹³³ The latter is singled out in the *Historia Augusta*: Pertinax invited him to assume the power.¹³⁴ The variant versions of the *recusatio imperii* called for careful analysis, and have received it.¹³⁵

¹²⁵ HA, Marcus 4, 7, cf. PIR² A 708. The husband may be identified as C. (Ummidius) Annianus Verus (*suff.* 146), cf. below, p. 446 n. 142.

¹²⁶ On whom, *Historia* 17, 1968, 99 ff. = Roman Papers, 1979, 686 ff. He was legate in Africa in 161/2, either before or after his quaestorship.

¹²⁷ PIR¹ V 605. She left a daughter, Annia Faustina, who married a kinsman, viz. Ti. Claudius Severus Proculus (*cos.* 200), a son of Cn. Claudius Severus (*cos.* II 173). Cf. PIR² A 709; C 1028.

¹²⁸ CHAMPLIN, *AJPh* 100, 1979, 293.

¹²⁹ Apart from that item only the name of an imperial freedman (CIL VI 28804) discloses Sabina's family name.

¹³⁰ J. KEIL, *Klio* 31, 1938, 293 ff.; H.-G. PFLAUM, *Journal des Savants* 1961, 28 ff.

¹³¹ Above, p. 433.

¹³² Herodian 2, 3, 4.

¹³³ Dio 73, 3, 3 f.

¹³⁴ HA, Pert. 4, 10.

¹³⁵ F. KOLB, *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta*, 1972, 47 ff.

The new reconstruction puts strong emphasis on members of the dynasty at this conjuncture, on their policy and designs. Speculation is legitimate. The aged Pompeianus, that notable figure, had a young son by the princess Lucilla: he was a close coeval with the son of Glabrio the *bis consul*.¹³⁶

So far the attractive thesis, on short statement. Given the nature of the evidence, there will be objections to face if Glabrio (*cos.* 152) is held to be the missing husband of Ummidia Cornificia Faustina, the niece of Marcus. First of all, the girl's age. Along with Quadratus (*cos.* 167), she issued from a marriage contracted in 136. Her presumed son was consul for the second time in 186. The difficulty is conceded – and turned by a conjecture. That son was younger than had been supposed, his first consulate to belong not in 173 but about 180.¹³⁷

A further corollary is entailed, namely a late marriage for the consul of 152. Most abnormal in the high aristocracy.¹³⁸ An earlier wife should therefore be postulated: Arria Plaria, or some other lady.

More important, his marriage to a Faustina, attested by the name of the second son, M. Acilius Vibius Faustinus, who was a *Salius* in 170. If Faustina belongs to the dynasty (whether the niece of Marcus, or better perhaps a cousin), there is no guarantee that she is also the mother of the *bis consul*. Young Vibius Faustinus, it appears, did not survive to reach the consulate. Therefore, on the hypothesis that Glabrio's sons are half-brothers, the family's attachment to the dynasty had become tenuous indeed on January 1, 193.

There is something else. If Glabrio had married a cousin or a niece of Marcus, it is strange that, surviving his consulate by a quarter of a century, he was able to avoid a second tenure of the *fasces*. Hesitation and doubt will therefore be conceived. The ancient prestige of the family may have been enough to put Glabrio's son on a level with Claudius Pompeianus in stories about the accession of Pertinax.

XII

The preceding pages document manifold gaps and hazards in the written evidence. Recourse to conjecture and construction cannot be avoided. None of the patricians there on show has an entry in the correspondence of Cornelius Fronto (*suff.* 143).¹³⁹ As elsewhere, missing persons sharpen insight and enrich history.¹⁴⁰ Benefit also

¹³⁶ Glabrio's son was consul in 210. Pompeianus, the consul of 209, is now certified as (? L.) Aurelius Commodus Pompeianus. See M. M. ROXAN, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954–1977*, 1978, 92.

¹³⁷ CHAMPLIN, *o. c.* 295.

¹³⁸ Paullus Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 11 B. C.), born in 46 or 45 B. C., should attract attention: apparently still a bachelor as late as 16 or 15, to judge by Horace, *Odes* 4, 1.

¹³⁹ For those persons see H.-G. PFLAUM, *Hommages Bayet*, 1964, 544 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Persons and groups absent from Pliny's collection are registered in: Tacitus, 1958, 87 f.

accrues from negative indications – and from anomalies. Glabrio is a text for both phenomena.

Glabrio was born into the tranquil prime of the Antonines. The aristocratic Caesars had brought to ruin the old families, their allies no less than their rivals. That was ancient history now, an epoch better forgotten when the upper order abode in concord and amity with the monarchy.

The core of the Antonine dynasty is a coalition of families from Spain and Narbonensis. It went on to aggregate Italian groups. Thus the Ceionii,¹⁴¹ through Hadrian's first choice of an heir. Further, Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118) may have married, as did Aurelius Fulvus (*cos.* 120), a daughter of Annii Verus (*cos.* III 126): it is inferred from the nomenclature of his son.¹⁴² In 136 that son married Annia Cornificia Faustina. Early in the reign of Pius, Vitrasius Pollio (*suff.* ? 151) received as his bride a cousin of Marcus. Again, Crispina, the daughter of Bruttius Praesens, was to marry Commodus (in 178).

The third dynasty went the way of its predecessors, the end heralded early in the reign of Commodus by palace intrigues, by rivalry between Lucilla, the widow of L. Verus, and the Empress Bruttia Crispina. Under impulsion from Lucilla, a young Ummidius Quadratus entered a conspiracy to assassinate Commodus.¹⁴³ Lucilla was consigned to exile and to death. Vitrasia Faustina also perished – and some years later Bruttia Crispina.

The smooth and sagacious Glabrio kept clear of entanglement with the dynasty and saw to the perpetuation of his line. Both of his marriages avoided splendour and sorrow.¹⁴⁴

Appendix: Glabrio in Asia

At Ephesus a friend paid honour to an Acilius Glabrio who had been proconsul of Africa: date and identity not clear.¹⁴⁵ An unpublished inscription sheds new

¹⁴¹ For the stemma, *Athenaeum* 35, 1957, 814 = *Roman Papers*, 1979, 331. It includes Vettuleni and Avidii, the key figure being the aristocratic Plautia (not named in any ancient source).

¹⁴² The son was generally supposed a consul suffect c. 140 and legate of Moesia Inferior (for that legate see above, p. 440 n. 98). He may well be C. Annianus Verus (*suff.* 146): that is, taking over maternal nomenclature. For this hypothesis, *Historia* 17, 1968, 98 f. = *Roman Papers*, 1979, 685 f. If accepted, it shows that Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118) and Aurelius Fulvus (*cos.* 120) stood at parity: husbands to aunts of the boy Marcus. See further *HSPh* 83, 1978, 308.

¹⁴³ For «la conjuration de Lucille» see J. AYMARD, *REA* 57, 1955, 85 ff. The youth is a son of Claudius Severus (*cos.* II 173), adopted by Ummidius Quadratus (*cos.* 167), as deduced from *IBM* III 559 (revised in *SEG* XIII 505) by E. GROAG, *Wiener Studien* 24, 1902, 261 ff.

¹⁴⁴ That is, until it can be proved that he married a niece or a cousin of Marcus Aurelius.

¹⁴⁵ *CIG* 2979 (set up by his friend Aemilius Latinianus). GROAG was cautious, refusing to adjudicate between Glabrones «saeculi p. C. secundi vel potius tertii».

light on the consul of 152.¹⁴⁶ His teacher L. Vibius Severus made the dedication. Glabrio carries the double nomenclature, as on the Tibur inscription (ILS 1072), and he is styled consular (ὑπατικός). On which follows (lines 4 and 5) <legate of Asia, *logistes* of the Ephesians>.

Mandatories of Caesar in provinces of the Senate, that is a topic of no small interest.¹⁴⁷ For example, Julius Severus (*suff.* ? 138) turns up about 130, legate of Asia appointed by express injunction.¹⁴⁸ Again, Ephesus honours L. Vibius Varus, entitled praetor and legate of Caesar. The date eludes precision.¹⁴⁹

Glabrio is not called imperial legate. The post of *logistes* (that is, *curator civitatis*) is another matter. Nor can it be taken that he exercised the functions subsequent to his consulship. The word ὑπατικός attached to his name merely indicates personal rank at the time when his friend and teacher set up the dedication – perhaps even during his consulship.

A consular mandate for Glabrio as legate and as *curator* imports trouble. When in 17 a legate was sent out to relieve the effects of the earthquake, a senator of praetorian rank was chosen, for a plain reason: *ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur*.¹⁵⁰

The anomalous or improper is not alien to the imperial administration. In this instance, an innocuous solution offers. It would be a manifest convenience if a legate in Asia stayed behind to superintend city finances. Thus Ti. Claudius Candidus legate about the year 190 goes on to become *logista civitatis splendidissimae Nicomedensium item Ephesiorum*.¹⁵¹

The post of *curator* is absent from the inscription at Tibur, set up by the local authorities. Not perhaps a serious impediment that they should fail to specify an adjunct or minor sequel to Glabrio's legateship in Asia. In Italy the post was a recent innovation, not invested with high distinction. Of the earliest known and named *curatores*, in the reign of Trajan, none can be proved a senator.¹⁵² The first is Burbuleius Ligarianus (*suff.* c. 135), who about 125 was *curator* in succession of Tarracina and Ancona. Inspection of his career declares it slow and unpromising in the early stages.¹⁵³

Now Glabrio was in Asia in the vicinity of 150, when he came into dealings with Aelius Aristides.¹⁵⁴ The conjecture is painless that the legate remained in Asia

¹⁴⁶ For the text I am grateful to Professor Eck. It will be published as *Inscripfen von Ephesus*, no. 611.

¹⁴⁷ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Hommages Grenier*, 1962, 1232 ff.

¹⁴⁸ ILS 8826, cf. MAMA V 60 (a boundary stone between the territories of Dorylaeum and Nicaea).

¹⁴⁹ AE 1968, 486.

¹⁵⁰ Ann. 2, 47, 4.

¹⁵¹ ILS 1140.

¹⁵² W. ECK, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, 1979, 190; 193.

¹⁵³ ILS 1066.

¹⁵⁴ Aristides, or. L. 97; 100. Cf. above p. 434 f.

with a special function, to investigate the finances of the Ephesians. A document plausibly assigned to the reign of Antoninus Pius happens to prescribe in detail the modus of the operation.¹⁵⁵ Ephesus caused that ruler much preoccupation. In a letter of the year 145 he administered a sharp and ironical rebuke.¹⁵⁶

Asia welcomed aristocratic tourists or adepts of eloquence. The new document shows that a Roman patrician might still be of use. It also renders a minor service on the flank. Glabrio's occupations in Asia after his praetorship, from 148 or 149 to 151, debarred him from becoming consul *suo anno* at the age of thirty two.¹⁵⁷ His birth year thus recedes to 116 or 117: a small advantage, although not necessary, when one postulates his military service under Flavius Arrianus the governor of Cappadocia.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ AE 1932, 50, cf. Eck, o. c. 216 f.

¹⁵⁶ SIG³, 850. For the language and manner of Pius, cf. W. WILLIAMS, JRS 66, 1976, 74.

¹⁵⁷ ALFÖLDY had operated with that assumption (o. c. 210).

¹⁵⁸ Above p. 429.