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Za vrijeme Trajanove i Hadrijanove vladavine *Quintus Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus*, rodom iz Epidaura, napreduje do položaja prefekta pretorija zahvaljujući adoptiranju od strane nekog Publicija i dugogodišnjem prijateljstvu s carem Hadrijanom. Marcijev *cursus honorum* dopunjen je i korigiran.

During the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, *Quintus Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus*, born in Epidaurum, advanced to the post of praetorian prefect thanks to his adoption by a certain Publicius and his long friendship with Emperor Hadrian. The *cursus honorum* of Marcius is supplemented and corrected.

Ključne riječi: *Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus, cursus honorum, praefectus vehiculorum, praefectus praetorio, adoptiranje*

Key words: *Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus, cursus honorum, praefectus vehiculorum, praefectus praetorio, adoption*

Za vrijeme Trajanove (97.–117.) i Hadrijanove vladavine (117.–138.) *Quintus Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus* bilježi strahovit napredak u obnašanju vojničkih, a potom i viteških službi.¹ Rekonstrukcija Marcijeve karijere temelji se na isprepletanju njegova životnog puta s Hadrijanovim. Izbor Marcija za prefekta pretorija novog cara Hadrijana nije bio dirigitiran sa strane, nego je to nesumnjivi Hadrijanov odabir osobe u koju je morao imati golemo povjerenje, utemeljeno na dobrom poznavanju i dugotrajnom prijateljstvu. Da to prijateljstvo nije fiktivno i da je njegovu povijest djelomice moguće rekonstruirati vidimo iz navoda u *Vita Hadriani* IV, 1-2 da je “u to vrijeme” (u doba Trajanova partskog rata, kada je Hadrijan bio legat), tj. oko 113., “Hadrijan prijateljevaio sa Sozijem Papom i Platorijem Nepotom iz senatorskog reda, te sa svojim nekadašnjim tutorom Atijanom, Livijanom i Turbonom, pripadnicima ekvestarskog reda”.² Kronologiju Marcijeve karijere temeljimo i na poznavanju ključnih političkih i vojnih zbivanja u vrijeme Trajana i Hadrijana, jer je razvoj karijere pojedinaca umnogome ovisio o turbulentnim događajima. Dok kroz julijevsko-klaudijevsko razdoblje nije postojao uobičajeni postupni put kroz prokuratele do pretorijanske prefekture, nego je on više ovisio o povremenim potrebama i o naklonosti pri izboru, u kasnijim razdobljima, pa tako i tijekom trajanskog i hadrijanskog doba, uspon vitezova i napredak karijera bivših primipila dobio je čvršći administrativni okvir, s nizom položaja koji se u pravilu moraju proći.³ Zahvaljujući poznavanju te strukture, kronologiju Marcijeva uspona rekonstruirali smo povezujući je s dva fiksna datuma u njegovu životu: sudjelovanju u partskom ratu i postizanju pretorijanske prefekture.

Quintus Marcius Cai filius Tromentina (tribu) Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus podrijetlom je pouzdan iz Epidaura (*domo Epidauru*) kako se to navodi na natpisu iz Kira (*Cyrrhus*).⁴ Da se navod odnosi na grad u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, svjedoči na istome natpisu Marcijeva *tribus Tromentina*, kojem pripadaju svi građani Epidaura.⁵ Frézoules, Pflaum, Piso, Syme i Glavičić slažu se kako je riječ o Epidauru u

During the reigns of Trajan (97-117) and Hadrian (117-138), Quintus Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus experienced incredibly rapid advancement in the military and later equestrian (knightly) services.¹ The reconstruction of Marcius' career is based on the crossing of his life's path with that of Hadrian. The selection of Marcius as praetorian prefect (*praefectus praetorio*) of the newly enthroned Emperor Hadrian was not arranged from the sidelines, rather he was undoubtedly Hadrian's own choice of a person in whom the latter had enormous confidence based on long acquaintance and long-term friendship. That this friendship was not fictitious and that its history may be partially reconstructed may be seen in citations from the *Vita Hadriani* IV, 1-2, that “[a]t this same time” (the time of Trajan's Parthian war, when Hadrian was a legate), i.e., around the year 113, “he enjoyed, besides, the friendship of Sosius Papius and Platorius Nepos, both of the senatorial order, and also of Attianus, his former guardian, of Livianus, and of Turbo, all of equestrian rank.”² The chronology of Marcius' career is further based on knowledge of crucial political and military events during the time of Trajan and Hadrian, because the development of the careers of individuals was largely contingent upon turbulent events. While there was no customary gradual path through the procuracy to the praetorian prefecture during the Julio-Claudian period, rather it depended upon occasional needs and favouritism during selection, later – and this included the periods of Trajan and Hadrian – the ascent of knights and the career advancement of former *primipilarii* acquired a firmer administrative framework with a series of posts that they generally had to pass through.³ Thanks to knowledge of this structure, the chronology of Marcius' ascent has been reconstructed by tying it to two fixed dates in his life: his participation in the Parthian War and the time when he entered the praetorian prefecture.

It is known with certainty that Quintus Marcius Cai filius Tromentina (*tribu*) Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus was originally from Epidaurum (*domo Epidauru*) as stated in the inscription from Cyrrhus.⁴ The name of the tribe of Marcius, Tromentina, in that same inscription also testifies to the fact that this refers to the city in the Roman province of Dalmatia, as all

1 PIR V, 2, 188-190, s. v. Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus.

2 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, IV.1-2: *Qua quidem tempestate utebatur Hadrianus amicitia Sosii Papi et Platorii Nepotis ex senatorio ordine, ex equestri autem Attiani, tutoris quondam sui, et Liviani et Turbonis.*

3 Millar 2001, str. 125.

4 AE, 1955, 225.

5 Kubitschek 1889, str. 234.

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4 AE, 1955, 225.

rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, današnjem Cavtatu.⁶ Za dva istoimena grada u Grčkoj (u Argolidi i na istočnoj obali Lakonije), koja pripadaju rimskoj provinciji Ahaji, ne navodi se *tribus*.⁷ Svakako treba uzeti u obzir činjenicu da ni jedan imenski element Turbona nije grčkog podrijetla, te da u Epidauru i susjednoj Naroni postoje epigrafske potvrde o Marcijima. Iz Epidaura potječe počasni natpis pronađen u vrtu Franjevačkog samostana u Cavtatu, sekundarno upotrijebljen kao noga menze. Danas se čuva u zbirci Baltazara Bogišića u Cavtatu.⁸ Iz natpisa doznajemo da nasljednik *Varius Festus* prema obvezi oporuke postavlja spomenik P. Marciju Mesijanu, sinu Publijevu, upisanom u *tribus Tromentina*, za koji je odlukom gradskog vijeća dano mjesto za postavljanje. Alföldy datira natpis u rani principat, a s takvom datacijom slaže se i Glavičić.⁹ Ne postoji nijedan element na natpisu koji bi omogućio preciznije datiranje od navedenoga. Za nas je taj natpis od osobite važnosti, jer nesumnjivo ukazuje da su Marciji zaista živjeli u Epidauru i pripadali vrhu gradske elite.

Iz Narone potječu četiri natpisa sa spomenom gentilicija *Marcius*. Kronološki najstariji natpis je onaj o fortifikacijama Narone, koji dokazuje rani dolazak obitelji Marcija u provinciju.¹⁰ Zanimljiv je zbog pojave arhaičnih oblika latinskog jezika (*coiravere*) i pojave magistrata koje ne nalazimo na kasnijim natpisima u ostalim municipijima i kolonijama. Prema Cambijevu mišljenju to bi bilo oko sredine 1. st. pr. Kr.¹¹ Budući da uz ime Kvinta Marcija stoji da je sin Kvinta, jasno je da je rođen kao slobodan čovjek od slobodnih roditelja (*ingenuus*), a obnašao je dužnost kvestora. Na drugom, fragmentiranom natpisu spominje se vojnik Marcije koji je primio sedam vojničkih plaća.¹² Na trećem se navodi *Marcia Maxima*, supruga veterana Lucija Rikcija rodnom iz Pesinunta, njihovo troje djece i Rikcijev nećak Lucije Atilije, veteran VII. legije.¹³ Natpis je nastao najkasnije sredinom 1. st. Na zadnjem natpisu sačuvana su samo slova *MAR*,

citizens of Epidaurum belonged to that tribe.⁵ Frézouls, Pflaum, Piso, Syme and Glavičić all agree that this refers to Epidaurum in the Roman province of Dalmatia, today's Cavtat.⁶ In the case of the two cities of the same name in Greece (in Argolis and on the eastern coast of Laconia), which belonged to the Roman province of Achaëa, the *tribus* was not specified.⁷ One must take into account that not one of Turbo's name elements is of Greek origin, and that there are epigraphic confirmations of the Marcii in Epidaurum and neighbouring Naron. An honorary inscription found in the garden of the Franciscan monastery in Cavtat, in secondary use as the leg of an altar, originated in Epidaurum. Today it is held in the collection of Baltazar Bogišić in Cavtat.⁸ From the inscription, we learn that the heir Varius Festus, based on an obligation from a testament, installed a monument to P. Marcius Messianus, son of Publius, enrolled in *tribus Tromentina*, for which a site for installation was granted by decision of the municipal council. Alföldy dated the inscription to the early Principate, and Glavičić agreed with this dating.⁹ There is not a single element in the inscription that would allow more precise dating than this. The inscription is important to this work, as it unambiguously shows that the Marcii truly lived in Epidaurum and belonged to the upper echelons of the city's elite.

Four inscriptions mentioning the gentilicium *Marcius* are originally from Naron. Chronologically the oldest inscription is one from the fortifications of Naron, which proves the early arrival of the *Marcius* family in the province.¹⁰ It is interesting because of the appearance of archaic forms of the Latin language (*coiravere*) and the appearance of the magistrate which is not seen in later inscriptions in other municipalities and colonies. According to Cambi, this would have been around the mid-first century BC.¹¹ Since its states next to the name *Quintus Marcius* that he was the son of *Quintus*, it is clear that he was a free man born to free parents (*ingenuus*), and that he held the post of quaestor. The second, fragmentary inscription mentions the soldier *Marcius* who received seven military salaries.¹² The third mentions *Marcia*

6 Frézouls 1953, str. 250; AE 1955, 225; Pflaum 1960, str. 212; Syme 1962, str. 90; Syme 1980, str. 79; Piso, 2004, str. 270; Glavičić 2008, str. 52.

7 Kubitschek 1889, str. 244-246.

8 CIL III, 1755; Novak 1972, str. 31; Šegvić 1998, str. 10, 16; *CI* 8; Glavičić 2008, str. 51.

9 Alföldy 1969, str. 246; Glavičić 2008, str. 52.

10 CIL III, 1820; Glavičić 2003, str. 222; AE 2004, 1096.

11 Cambi 1980, str. 130.

12 CIL III, 1817.

13 CIL III, 1818; Tončinić 2011, str. 82, br. 52, donosi i stariju literaturu.

5 Kubitschek 1889, p. 234.

6 Frézouls 1953, p. 250; AE 1955, 225; Pflaum 1960, p. 212; Syme 1962, p. 90; Syme 1980, p. 79; Piso, 2004, p. 270; Glavičić 2008, p. 52.

7 Kubitschek 1889, pp. 244-246.

8 CIL III, 1755; Novak 1972, p. 31; Šegvić 1998, pp. 10, 16; *CI* 8; Glavičić 2008, p. 51.

9 Alföldy 1969, p. 246; Glavičić 2008, p. 52.

10 CIL III, 1820; Glavičić 2003, p. 222; AE 2004, 1096.

11 Cambi 1980, p. 130.

12 CIL III, 1817.

pa se ne može sa sigurnošću reći radi li se o gentiliciju *Marcus*. Dotični je bio *signifer*.¹⁴

U rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji *nomen Marcus* potvrđen je još u Dokleji, Saloni, Tiluriju i Ekvu. Na nadgrobnom natpisu iz Dokleje zabilježen je kod dekurliona Gaja(?) Marcija Cilicija iz Kalabrije i njegova oca Gaja Marcija Firma.¹⁵ Na natpisu iz Tilurija navodi se Kvint Marcije Bas iz Beneventa, koji je bio vojnik VII. legije i primio 17 vojničkih plaća.¹⁶ *Sevir Marcus Marcus* [-]anthus navodi se na natpisu iz Ekva.¹⁷ Na natpisu iz Klisa navodi se Publije Marcije Vital, koji podiže spomen ocu čije ime nije sačuvano.¹⁸ Navedeni natpisi također se kronološki mogu smjestiti u isto vrijeme kao i natpisi iz Narone i Epidaura. Iz Salone potječu tri natpisa koja se datiraju od druge polovice drugog stoljeća, a odnose se na Marcija Murika,¹⁹ Marcija Primitiva²⁰ i Marcija Artemizija i njegovu ženu Marciju Fortunatu.²¹

Marcii u Dalmaciju dolaze kao naseljenici (neki su veterani) i vojnici, dok su neki dio njih nositelji tog gentilicija postali oslobađanjem. Jako je važan rani natpis iz Narone na kojem se spominje gradski magistrat Kvint Marcije, čija je obitelj mogla doći iz Italije, te se teoretski mogla proširiti i u Epidaur. Isto tako *Marcii* su u Epidaur mogli doći izravnom kolonizacijom iz Italije, pa čak i na neki drugi, manje vjerojatan način. Teško je dokazati jesu li P. Marcije Mesijan i naš Turbon u rodu.

Marcijeva imenska formulacija sastoji se od dvostrukog imena. Prvo je: *Quintus Marcus Cai f. Turbo Fronto*, a drugo *Publicius Severus*. I. Piso udvostručuje imena objašnjavaju dvjema mogućnostima. Prva je da je očevu gentiliciju pridružen i majčin, a druga da je *Publicius Severus* adoptiran od strane nekog Q. Marcija Turbona.²² Dakle, Piso smatra da je njegovo rođeno ime *Publicius Severus*, a nakon adopcije njegovo puno, dvostruko, ime je *Quintus Marcus Cai f. Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus*. Držimo da je adopcija išla u obrnutom smjeru, to jest da je po rođenju bio *Quintus Marcus Cai filius Tromentina (tribus) Turbo Fronto*. Za vrijeme trajansko-hadrijanskog razdoblja, u kojem on gradi svoju karijeru, sustav

Maxima, the spouse of veteran Lucius Riccius, originally from Pessinus, their three children and Riccius' nephew Lucius Atilius, a veteran of the Legio VII.¹³ The inscription appeared not later than the mid-first century. On the last inscription, only the letters *MAR* have been preserved, so it cannot be said with certainty whether this is in fact the *gentilicium Marcus*. He was a *signifer*.¹⁴

In the Roman province of Dalmatia, the *nomen Marcus* has also been confirmed in Doclea, Salona, Tilurium and Aequum. In a gravestone inscription from Doclea, it was recorded for the decurion Gaius(?) Marcus Cilicius from Calabria and his father Gaius Marcus Firmus.¹⁵ The inscription from Tilurium mentions Quintus Marcus Bassus from Beneventum, who was a soldier of Legio VII and who received seventeen military salaries.¹⁶ The *sevir Marcus Marcus* [-]anthus is mentioned on the inscription from Aequum.¹⁷ The inscription from Klis mentions Publius Marcus Vitalis, who raised a monument to his father, whose name was not preserved.¹⁸ These inscriptions can also be chronologically placed at the same time as the inscriptions from Narona and Epidaurum. Three inscriptions dated to the latter half of the second century are from Salona, and they mention Marcus Muricus,¹⁹ Marcus Primitivus²⁰ and Marcus Artemisius and his wife Marcia Fortunata.²¹

The *Marcii* came to Dalmatia as settlers (some were veterans) and soldiers, while some of them acquired this *gentilicium* as freed slaves. Quite important is an early inscription from Narona that mentions the urban magistrate Quintus Marcus, whose family may have come from Italy, and could have theoretically expanded to Epidaurum. By the same token, the *Marcii* may have arrived in Epidaurum by direct colonization from Italy, and even in some other, less likely, manner. It is difficult to prove whether P. Marcus Messianus and Turbo were related.

The name formula of Marcus consisted of a double name. The first is: *Quintus Marcus Cai f. Turbo Fronto*, and the second is *Publicius Severus*. I. Piso explained the two possibilities for the doubling of names. The first is that the mother's *gentilicium* was

14 CIL III, 8436.

15 ILJug, 1834.

16 CIL III, 14932; Tončinić 2011, str. 67, br. 39, donosi i stariju literaturu.

17 CIL III, 9765.

18 ILJug, 2018.

19 ILJug, 2235.

20 ILJug, 2707.

21 CIL III, 2427.

22 Piso 2004, str. 270, 271.

13 CIL III, 1818; Tončinić 2011, p. 82, no. 52, also cites the older sources.

14 CIL III, 8436.

15 ILJug, 1834.

16 CIL III, 14932; Tončinić 2011, p. 67, no. 39, also cites the older sources.

17 CIL III, 9765.

18 ILJug, 2018.

19 ILJug, 2235.

20 ILJug, 2707.

21 CIL III, 2427.

adopcije i umnožavanja imena, kao i isticanje višestrukih kognomina bili su uobičajena pojava, osobito među pripadnicima višeg sloja.

Na prvi pogled teško je zaključiti koje je od dva navedena imena starije, odnosno tko je adoptirao našeg viteza, neki Marcije ili neki Publicije. Rekonstruirani Marcijev *cursus honorum* jasno pokazuje da on nije podrijetlom iz viteške ili senatorske obitelji, već je građanin trećeg reda, koji se morao dokazati kao vrtni vojnik kako bi se probio u viteški građanski *ordo*. Marcije se spominje kao centurion u II. legiji *Adiutrix* u Akvinku na steli aktivnog vojnika Gaja Kastričija:²³

C(aius) Castriciu/s C(ai) O<ff=II>(entina tribu) Vict/or Como mil(es) / leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) / (centuria) M(arci) / Turbonis an(norum) / XXXVI-II stip(endiorum) XIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) L(ucius) Lucilius fr(ater) / et he(res) posuit p(ro) p(ietate).

Ovdje je navedeno rođeno Marcijevo ime, jer se čini iznimno neobičnim da bi on mogao biti usvojen još kao običan vojnik ili centurion. Osim toga, polinimija ukazuje na Marcijev ulazak u visoku društvenu klasu, tj. da ga je u nekom trenutku adoptirao vitez, neki Publicije Sever, što se vjerojatno zbilo nakon drugog primipilata.

Legio II. u Akvink dolazi godine 89., a u prethodnom razdoblju sudjelovala je u Domicijanovim Dačkim ratovima (od 86. do 88.), tijekom kojih je bila stacionirana u Akvinku ili Sirmiju.²⁴ Izgradnja logora *Aquincum* potvrđena je građevinskim natpisom CIL III 14347² iz Domicijanova vremena.²⁵ H. G. Pflaum predlaže, prihvaćajući prijedlog Ritterlinga, kao vrijeme obnašanja Turbonove centurionske službe godine 94./95., jer je tada latiklavni tribun u legiji bio budući car Hadrijan,²⁶ koji je zatim kao tribun premješten u Meziju, pred kraj Domicijanova vremena, tj. 96. godine.²⁷ I. Piso smatra da je u devedesetim godinama 1. stoljeća Turbon bio centurion i da je njegovo poznanstvo s Hadrijanom bilo odlučujuće za njegovo napredovanje u karijeri, no drži da je centurion postao s nekih dvadeset godina starosti (primipil sa 35

added to the father's, while the other is that Publicius Severus was adopted by a certain Quintus Marcius Turbo.²² Thus, Piso believed that his birth name was Publicius Severus, and after adoption his full, double name was Quintus Marcius Cai f. Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus. We believe that the adoption went in the other direction, that is, he was Quintus Marcius Cai filius Tromentina (tribu) Turbo Fronto. During the Trajanic/Hadrianic era, in which his career advanced, the system of adoption and multiplication of names, as well as the emphasis on several *cognomina*, was a customary phenomenon, particularly among members of the upper classes.

At first glance, it is difficult to ascertain which of the two names is older, i.e., who adopted this knight, a certain Marcius or a certain Publicius. The reconstructed *cursus honorum* of Marcius clearly shows that he was not originally from an equestrian or senatorial family, but rather a citizen of third order who had to prove himself as an exemplary soldier in order to advance to the civic *ordo equester*. Marcius was mentioned as a centurion in *Legio II Adiutrix* in Aquincum on a stele of the active soldier Gaius Castritius:²³

C(aius) Castriciu/s C(ai) O<ff=II>(entina tribu) Vict/or Como mil(es) / leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) / (centuria) M(arci) / Turbonis an(norum) / XXXVIII stip(endiorum) XIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) L(ucius) Lucilius fr(ater) / et he(res) posuit p(ro) p(ietate).

Here the birth name of Marcius is cited, because it would seem rather odd if he had been adopted while still an ordinary soldier or centurion. Additionally, the polyonymy indicates that Marcius had arrived into the high social class, i.e., that he had been adopted as some point by a knight, a certain Publicius Severus, which probably occurred after his second primipilate.

Legio II arrived in Aquincum in the 89 AD, while in the preceding period it had participated in Domitian's Dacian Wars (from 86 to 88 AD) during which it was stationed in Aquincum or Sirmium.²⁴ Construction of the camp at Aquincum has been confirmed by the architectural inscription, CIL III 14347², from Domitian's time.²⁵ Accepting Ritterling's suggestion, H. G. Pflaum proposed the years 94/95 for Turbo's

23 CIL III, 14349; EDH 023694; AE 1933, 31; AE 1948, 202; PIR V, 2, 188. U svim uglednim zbirnkama natpisa sigla *M* ne razrješava se kao pokraćeni *praenomen Marcus*, nego kao gentilicij *Martius*.

24 Visy 1988, str. 81, smatra da je prvi, drveno-zemljani legijski tabor u Akvinku godine 89. sagradila *legio II Adiutrix*, koja ondje boravi na izmaku 1. st. i početkom 2. st.

25 Ritterling 1925, str. 1446.

26 CIL III, 550. Usporedi kod Leschi 1945, str. 151, bilj. 4.

27 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, II.3.

22 Piso 2004, pp. 270, 271.

23 CIL III, 14349; EDH 023694; AE 1933, 31; AE 1948, 202; PIR V, 2, 188. In all reputable collections of inscriptions, the sigla *M* is not rendered as the abbreviated *praenomen Marcus* but rather as the *gentilicium Martius*.

24 Visy 1988, p. 81, believed that the first, mud-and-timber legionary camp in Aquincum was built in 89 AD by *Legio II Adiutrix*, which was stationed there at the close of the first and onset of the second century.

25 Ritterling 1925, p. 1446.

godina, oko godine 105.),²⁸ što ne dolazi u obzir, jer to ne odgovara ritmu napredovanja centuriona. Svaka-ko, taj centurionat postignut je do godine 101., jer je *legio II Adiutrix* od 101. do 106. angažirana u Dačkim ratovima gdje sudjeluje u osvajanju Sarmizegetuse. Iz *Vita Hadriani* III, 1 saznajemo da je Hadrijan obnašao kvesturu godine 101., nakon čega kao prijatelj prati Trajana u prvi rat s Dačanima. Turbon je svoju centurijsku karijeru mogao nastaviti u II. legiji *Adiutrix*, premda je to mogao i drugdje. Izgledno je da on sudjeluje u Prvom dačkom ratu, te da je njegov prvi primipilat rezultat napredovanja zbog iskazanih vrlina na bojnopolju 102. i 103. godine. U slučaju da prihvatimo rekonstrukciju natpisa CIL XIV, 4243 iz Tibura (podignutog u nekom razdoblju nakon Trajanova Partskog rata), kako je predložena u epigrafičkoj bazi Clauss Slaby, Marcije Turbon bio bi dvaput odlikovan za ratne uspjehe, prvi put u Dačkom ratu, a drugi put u Partskom, Trajanovom.²⁹ Postoji i Pflaumov prijedlog rekonstrukcije, prema kojemu je Turbon isto tako dvaput odlikovan, prvi put u Partskom ratu, dok bi iduće odlikovanje bilo vezano uz neku Hadrijanovu ratnu operaciju.³⁰ Marcijev sirijski natpis AE 1955, 225³¹ dokazuje da se riječ *[bi]s* s natpisa CIL XIV, 4243 odnosi na dva Turbonova primipilata, ne na dva odlikovanja, te da je Turbon pouzdano odlikovan u partskom ratu, dok o nekim drugim hipotetskim odličjima možemo samo nagađati. Bez obzira na broj odlikovanja kojima je Turbon nagrađen u svojoj karijeri, sigurno je da se navod s Kastričijeve stele ne odnosi na Dačke ratove, jer ako je u njima Turbon još običan centurion, na crti vremena u njegovu životu ne bi bilo prostora za sve buduće položaje. Isto tako nema razloga spekulirati da bi stela Kastričija, koji umire kao aktivni vojnik u Turbonovoj centuriji u II. legiji, bila podignuta u Akvinku, a legija je u to vrijeme u Dačkim ratovima. Slijed daljnjih službi i uobičajena dužina mandata ranih

service as a centurion, because at the time the legion's "broad-striped" tribune (*tribunus laticlavus*) at the time was the future emperor, Hadrian,²⁶ who was then transferred as tribune to Moesia, near the end of Domitian's reign, i.e., in 96 AD.²⁷ Piso believed that in the last decade of the first century, Turbo was a centurion and that his acquaintance with Hadrian proved decisive to his career advancement. However, he held that was promoted to the rank of centurion at about the age of twenty (*primipilaris* at 35 years of age at about the year 105 AD),²⁸ which cannot be taken seriously, because it does not correspond to the rhythm of a centurion's promotion. Certainly, this centurionate was achieved by the year 101, because from 101 to 106 Legio II *Adiutrix* was involved in the Dacian Wars, where it participated in the conquest of Sarmizegetusa. According to the *Vita Hadriani* III, 1, Hadrian held the quaestorship in 101 AD, after which he accompanied Trajan as a friend in the first war against the Dacians. Turbo could have continued his centurion career in Legio II *Adiutrix*, although he also could have done so elsewhere. It is likely that he participated in the First Dacian War, and that his first primipilate was the result of a promotion based on battlefield merit in the years 102 and 103. Insofar as we accept the reconstruction of the inscription CIL XIV 4243 from Tibur (raised in a period after Trajan's Parthian War) as proposed in the epigraphic base by Clauss Slaby, Marcus Turbo received medals twice for wartime successes, the first time in the Dacian War, and the second time in Trajan's Parthian War.²⁹ There is also Pflaum's proposed reconstruction, according to which Turbo was similarly honoured twice, the first time in the Parthian War, while his second medal would have been linked to one of Hadrian's military operations.³⁰ The Syrian inscription of Marcus, AE 1955, 225,³¹ proves that the word *[bi]s* from inscription CIL XIV, 4243 refers to Turbo's primipilates, and not two

28 Piso 2004, str. 271.

29 EDCS-05802226: *[Q(uito)] Marcio [C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina)] / Turb[oni / Fro]ntoni Pub[licio Severo] / [p(rimo) p(ilo) bi]s donis do[nato bello Daci]/[co et Part]hico [*

30 Pflaum 1960, str. 216.

31 EDCS-12200393: *[Q(uito) Marcio] / C(ai) fil(io) Tro(mentina) Fron/toni Turboni / Publicio Severo / domo Epidauro / p(rimo) p(ilo) bis praef(ecto) vehic(ulorum) trib(uno) / coh(ortis) VII vigil(um) trib(uno) equ(itum) sin[g(ularium)] / Aug(usti) trib(uno) pr[ae]t(orianus) proc(uratori) / ludi magni praef(ecto) / class[is] pr(aetoriae) Misenensis / P(ublius) Va[le]rius P(ubli) f(ilius) / Qui[r(ina) Va]lens / o[bi] m[er]itis.*

26 CIL III, 550. Cf. Leschi 1945, p. 151, note 4.

27 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, II.3.

28 Piso 2004, p. 271.

29 EDCS-05802226: *[Q(uito)] Marcio [C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina)] / Turb[oni / Fro]ntoni Pub[licio Severo] / [p(rimo) p(ilo) bi]s donis do[nato bello Daci]/[co et Part]hico [*

30 Pflaum 1960, p. 216.

31 EDCS-12200393: *[Q(uito) Marcio] / C(ai) fil(io) Tro(mentina) Fron/toni Turboni / Publicio Severo / domo Epidauro / p(rimo) p(ilo) bis praef(ecto) vehic(ulorum) trib(uno) / coh(ortis) VII vigil(um) trib(uno) equ(itum) sin[g(ularium)] / Aug(usti) trib(uno) pr[ae]t(orianus) proc(uratori) / ludi magni praef(ecto) / class[is] pr(aetoriae) Misenensis / P(ublius) Va[le]rius P(ubli) f(ilius) / Qui[r(ina) Va]lens / o[bi] m[er]itis.*

Marcijevih dužnosti odlično odgovaraju vremenu postizanja primipilata u Daciji.

Hadrijan se vraća u Rim i godine 105. postaje plebejski tribun. To je vrijeme kad je i Turbon vjerojatno bio u Rimu, oko 103.-105. godine, i kada je obnašao dužnosti tri gradska tribunata. Naime, na sirijskom natpisu u slijedu Marcijevih dužnosti kaže se da je on bio *primus pilus bis*, a potom slijedi dužnost *praefectus vehiculorum*. Taj položaj *praefectus vehiculorum* na natpisu se donosi prije položaja tri tribunata u Rimu. Držimo, međutim, da je on kronološki bio obnašan nakon ta tri tribunata. Kako je moglo doći do takve «pogreške» na natpisu? Rješenje je u tome što su dva primipilata (*primum* i *iterum*) kontrahirana u jednom naslovu *primus pilus bis*, a ta dva primipilata u stvarnosti nikako nisu mogla biti kronološki združena u slijedu jedan iza drugoga. Položaj prvog primipila vrhunac je karijere centuriona u legiji. Nakon prvog primipilata Marcijeva karijera krenula je privilegiranim smjerom na položaje tribuna u kohortama u Rimu:³² *tribunus cohortis VII vigilum, tribunus equitum singularium Augusti, tribunus praetorianus*. Uobičajeno je bilo da druga pozicija u rimskim tribunatima bude *tribunus cohortis urbanae*. Međutim, tijekom II. stoljeća tribun u *equites singulares* bio je položaj posebnog značenja, koji je mogao zamijeniti drugi ili treći gradski tribunat, i čini se da je navještavao sjajan napredak u budućoj karijeri.³³ Te dužnosti prethode položaju *primus pilus iterum*, s kojeg se moglo krenuti na prokuratele u viteškoj carskoj administraciji.³⁴ Nakon tri sukcesivna tribunska naslova Turbon se morao vratiti u neku legiju, jer je samo odatle mogao ponoviti položaj primipila, tj. postići ga drugi put. Kako se to zbilo? Pretorijanske kohorte pratile su Trajana u Daciju, one su prikazane u nizu epizoda na kolumni, te je vrlo vjerojatno i Turbon kao pretorijanski tribun krenuo u Daciju godine 105. Te ili iduće godine tijekom Drugoga dačkog rata iz redova pretorijanaca mogao je biti postavljen u neku legiju za primipila. U tom ratu sudjeluje i Hadrijan, kao legat I. legije *Minerva*,³⁵ pa zato mislimo da je drugi primipilat Turbon postigao upravo u Dačkim ratovima. Može se spekulirati da je Turbon drugi primipilat postigao u

medals, and that Turbo certainly received a medal in the Parthian War, while any other hypothetical medals may only be the subject of speculation. Regardless of the number of medals conferred to Turbo in his career, it is certain that the citation on the stele of Castricius does not refer to the Dacian Wars, because in them Turbo was still an ordinary centurion, and in the timeline of his life there would not have been room for all of his future functions. Similarly, there is no reason to speculate that the stele of Castricius, who died as an active soldier in Turbo's century in Legio II, was raised in Aquincum, while the legion was in the Dacian Wars at the time. The sequence of further service and the customary term of the early duties of Marcius correspond perfectly to the time of his achievement of the primipilate in Dacia.

Hadrian returned to Rome in 105 AD and became the plebeian tribune. This was a time when Turbo also probably had to have been in Rome, around the years 103-105, and when he held the post of three city tribuneships. For in the Syrian inscription concerning the sequence of Marcius' duties, he was *primus pilus bis*, followed by the function *praefectus vehiculorum*. This post, *praefectus vehiculorum*, is listed on the inscription before the three tribuneships in Rome. However, we maintain that it was held chronologically after the three tribuneships. How could this "error" on the inscription have occurred? The solution lies in the fact that the two primipilates (*primum* and *iterum*) were contracted into a single title, *primus pilus bis*, and two primipilates could not actually have been chronologically joined in sequence one after the other. The primipilate was the peak of a centurion's career in a legion. After his first primipilate, Marcius' career set off in a privileged direction to the tribuneship in the cohorts in Rome:³² *tribunus cohortis VII vigilum, tribunus equitum singularium Augusti, tribunus praetorianus*. It was customary that the second place in the Roman tribuneships would have been *tribunus cohortis urbanae*. However, during the second century, a tribune in the *equites singulares* was a post of special significance which could have replaced a second or third tribuneship and it would appear that it heralded superb progress in a future career.³³ These duties preceded the post of *primus pilus iterum*, whence one could move on to the procuracy in the equestrian imperial administration.³⁴ After three

32 Dobson 1974, str. 402.

33 Dobson 1974, str. 412-420.

34 Drugi način napredovanja, čak i uobičajeniji, bivšeg primipila bio je položaj *praefectus castrorum* u legiji, koji je obično bio i posljednji položaj, s kojeg se nije dalje napredovalo.

35 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 3,6.

32 Dobson 1974, p. 402.

33 Dobson 1974, pp. 412-420.

34 The other manner of advancement, indeed the more customary, for a former *primipilaris* was to the post of *praefectus castrorum* in a legion, which was also normally his last post, from which he was not promoted.

nekom drugom dijelu Carstva. Ipak, ratovi su pozornica na kojoj se postizalo napredovanje u karijeri.

Hadrijan je godine 108. postao konzul (*suffectus*), tako da jedine dvije godine u koje možemo smjestiti njegovu preturu, a zatim i odlazak u Donju Panoniju za namjesnika propretorskog ranga jesu godine 106. i 107., kada se u tabor u Akvinku vraća i II. legija *Adiutrix*.³⁶

Ovo drugo Turbonovo imenovanje na položaj primipila (*primus pilus iterum*) odgovara rangom činu *praefectus castrorum*, što je najčešći položaj na koji se bivši primipili postavljaju, položaj koji nedvojbeno Turbona prikazuje kao novog člana ekvestarskog staleža.³⁷ Smatramo da je tek nakon ovog drugog primipilata Turbon postao *praefectus vehiculorum* i zato je u slijedu časti na natpisu iz Kira (*Cyrrhus*) stavljen odmah iza navoda *primus pilus bis*. Zašto onda položaj *praefectus vehiculorum* nije stavljen iza rimskih tribunata? Zato što bi se u tom slučaju pojavila druga epigrafička nelogičnost, da drugi primipilat (objedinjen u natpisu s prvim primipilatom pomoću riječi *bis*) stoji na "pogrešnome" mjestu. Drugi bi primipilat, naime, trebao stajati iza tribunskih položaja, a ne stoji jer na natpisu čini cjelinu s prvim primipilatom. Problem poremećenog slijeda položaja vjerojatno je rezultat želje za lapidarnošću natpisa i spajanjem dvaju kronološki razdvojenih primipilata.

Većina autora obnašanje službe *praefectus vehiculorum* stavlja približno u isto vrijeme, ali slijed službi u tom razdoblju Turbonova života treba, međutim, postaviti sasvim drugačije nego što to oni čine. Piso smatra da je do Turbonovog postavljanja na položaj došlo 106./107. godine.³⁸ Frézouls kaže da je to bilo nakon prvog primipilata godine 104./105., tj. prije godine 108., a prije tribunata u Rimu koje stavlja u razdoblje od 107./108. do 110./111.³⁹ U AE se navodi da je Turbon *praefectus vehiculorum* postao prije 108., a nakon toga u razdoblju od 107./108. do 110./112. bio bi tri puta tribun.⁴⁰ Pflaum smatra da je godine 106. u Akvinku Turbon postao *princeps prior* (!), a s imenovanjem Hadrijana za guvernera provincije Donje Panonije postaje *primus pilus*, i tek nakon toga ide na tribunat i na drugi primipilat.⁴¹ Pflaum ističe kako je neobično da jedan *homo militaris* ide u

successive tribuneships, Turbo had to have returned to a legion, for only there could he have once more served as a *primipilaris*, i.e., served a second time. How did this happen? The praetorian cohorts accompanied Trajan into Dacia, they were shown in a series of scenes on his column, and it is highly likely that Turbo, as a praetorian tribune, set off for Dacia in 105. In that or the next year during the Second Dacian War, he could have been appointed from among the ranks of the praetorians to the primipilate in one of the legions. Hadrian also participated in this war, as the legate of Legio I *Minerva*,³⁵ so we believe that Turbo served his second primipilate precisely during the Dacian Wars. One may speculate that Turbo served his second primipilate in some other part of the Empire. Even so, wars were the stage upon which careers advanced.

Hadrian become consul (*suffectus*) in 108, so that the only two years in which his praetorship may be placed, and then his departure for Pannonia Inferior to serve as consul of propraetorian rank, are 106 and 107, when Legio II *Adiutrix* also returned to the camp in Aquincum.³⁶

This second appointment of Turbo to the primipilate (*primus pilus iterum*) corresponded to the rank of *praefectus castrorum*, which was the most common post to which former *primipilarii* were appointed, a post which doubtlessly portrayed Turbo as a new member of the equestrian class.³⁷ We believe that only after his second primipilate Turbo became *praefectus vehiculorum* and this is why in the list of honours on the inscription from Cyrrhus it was placed immediately after *primus pilus bis*. Why then was the post of *praefectus vehiculorum* not placed after the Roman tribuneships? Because in this case another epigraphic illogicality would appear, whereby the second primipilate (unified in the inscription with the first term with the help of the word *bis*) would be in the "wrong" place. The second primipilate, namely, should be after the tribuneships, but it is not, because on the inscription it forms a whole with the first term. The problem of the disordered sequence is most likely a result of the desire to achieve lapidarian ease for the inscription and to link the two chronologically separate primipilates.

Most scholars place the performance of the service of *praefectus vehiculorum* at roughly the same time, but the sequence of services in this period of Turbo's life should, however, be entirely differently ordered that what was stated. Piso believed that Turbo

36 Pflaum 1960, str. 199, 202; Ritterling 1925, str. 1445; Piso 2004, str. 271.

37 Dobson 1974, str. 420, 421.

38 Piso 2004, str. 271.

39 Frézouls 1953, str. 263, 264.

40 AE 1955, 225, datum na str. 71.

41 Pflaum 1960, str. 204.

35 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 3,6.

36 Pflaum 1960, pp. 199, 202; Ritterling 1925, p. 1445; Piso 2004, p. 271.

37 Dobson 1974, pp. 420, 421.

administrativnu službu *praefectus vehiculorum*, nigdje ne spominjući kad je obnašao tu službu u slijedu svojih dužnosti, premda se daje naslutiti da je to bilo tijekom njegova boravka u Rimu.⁴² I. Piso kaže da je riječ o centenarijskoj prefekturi, na koju je nastupio nakon primipilata koji je postigao 105./106. za vrijeme Drugoga dačkog rata.⁴³ Nadalje, kaže da je njegova karijera iznenada promijenila tijek, jer bi nakon viteške prefekture bio postavljen na tribunska mjesta u Rimu, koja bi držao jako kratko, od 108.-109./110.⁴⁴ Smatramo međutim da je položaj *praefectus vehiculorum* jedna od prokuratorskih službi koje je on obnašao nakon drugog primipilata. Ne uvažimo li ovakav slijed funkcija, odnosno prihvatimo li da je Turbon najprije bio *praefectus vehiculorum*, a zatim tribun po kohortama, pojavljuje se problem iznimno kratkog vremena u kojem je preko niza položaja napredovao sve do angažmana u Mauretaniji. Taj problem Blommaert je sažeo ovako: “All this, from the first primipilate on, took no more than 8 years. The cursus may followed the usual route, but the speed and efficiency make it quite special.”⁴⁵ Problem otpada prihvatimo li da je Turbon bio tribun u rimskim kohortama između dva primipilata, te da je *praefectus vehiculorum* postao nakon drugog primipilata, odmah nakon 105./106. godine. To je logičan hijerarhijski slijed položaja, a ujedno ostavlja dostatan broj godina za ispunjenje narednih dužnosti.

Problem vremena utemeljenja službe *praefectus vehiculorum* nije sasvim riješen. Na temelju navoda u *Vita Pii* 12. 3: *vehicularium cursum summa diligentia sublevavit*, kao i navoda u *Vita Hadriani* 7. 5, da je Hadrijan “*Statim cursum fiscalem instituit, ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur*”, uobičajeno se drži da ured kojem je na čelu *praefectus vehiculorum* kao fiskalnu službu ustanovljava Hadrijan i daje ju vitezovima.⁴⁶ Iz nove evidencije na natpisnoj građi razvidno je, međutim, da u vrijeme Trajana postoji središnji ured državnih pošta, u kojem su oslobođenici činovnici *ab vehiculis*, a *commentariis vehiculorum* i *tabularius a vehiculis*. Štoviše, postojanje tih oslobođeničkih položaja ide još barem od Domicijana.⁴⁷ Postavljenje Turbona na položaj *praefectus vehiculorum* vjerojatno označava bitnu promjenu u Trajanovoj carskoj administraciji

was appointed to his post in 106/107 AD.³⁸ Frézouls said that it was after the first primipilate in 104/105, i.e., before 108, and prior to the tribuneship in Rome which has been placed in the period from 107/108 to 110/111.³⁹ In AE it states that Turbo become *praefectus vehiculorum* before 108, and thereafter, in the period from 107/108 to 110/112 he was tribune three times.⁴⁰ Pflaum believed that in Aquincum in 106, Turbo became *princeps prior* (!), and with Hadrian’s appointment as provincial governor of Pannonia Inferior he became *primus pilus*, and only after this was he appointed to the tribuneship and then his second primipilate.⁴¹ Pflaum stressed that it was unusual that a *homo militaris* moved to the administrative service of *praefectus vehiculorum*, nowhere mentioning that he joined this service in a sequence of functions, although one may infer that this was during his stay in Rome.⁴² Piso stated that this was a centenarian prefecture, to which he ascended after his primipilate which he had achieved in 105/106 during the Second Dacian War.⁴³ Furthermore, he noted his career suddenly changed course, because after the equestrian prefecture he was posted to the tribuneship in Rome, which he held very briefly from 108 to 109/110.⁴⁴ However, we believe that the post of *praefectus vehiculorum* was one of his procuracy service which he performed after his second primipilate. If this sequence of functions is not considered, i.e., if one accepts that Turbo was first *praefectus vehiculorum*, and then a tribune in the cohorts, then a problem that arises is the strikingly brief time in which he advanced through a series of posts until his engagement in Mauretania. This problem was summarized by Blommaert: “All this, from the first primipilate on, took no more than 8 years. The cursus may have followed the usual route, but the speed and efficiency make it quite special.”⁴⁵ This problem disappears if we accept that Turbo was tribune in the Roman cohorts between his two primipilates, and that he became *praefectus vehiculorum* after his second primipilate, immediately after 105/106. This is the logical hierarchical sequence of functions, and it also leaves a sufficient number of years to fulfil the subsequent duties.

The problem surrounding the time of establishment of the *praefectus vehiculorum* has not been entirely

42 Pflaum 1960, str. 212.

43 Piso 2004, str. 271.

44 Piso 2004, str. 271, 272.

45 Blommaert 1989, str. 297.

46 Lacey 1917, str. 43.

47 Frézouls 1953, str. 271-273.

38 Piso 2004, p. 271.

39 Frézouls 1953, pp. 263, 264.

40 AE 1955, 225, date on p. 71.

41 Pflaum 1960, p. 204.

42 Pflaum 1960, p. 212.

43 Piso 2004, p. 271.

44 Piso 2004, pp. 271, 272.

45 Blommaert 1989, p. 297.

državnih pošta, kada se oslobođenici zamjenjuju s ljudima iz viteškog staleža. Od Hadrijanova vremena ta je administrativna reforma potpuno provedena i položaj *praefectus vehiculorum* očito više nije novi, eksperimentalni položaj, nego standardni dio viteških prokuratela. Položaj prefekta državnih pošta Trajanova je inovacija, koju je Hadrijan fiksirao u sustavu prokuratela. Svi spomenuti autori pogrešno drže da je Turbon taj položaj obnašao nakon prvog primipilata, do kojeg je tumačenja došlo zbog već spomenutog spajanja dvaju primipilata na natpisu. Teško je reći je li *praefectus vehiculorum* centenarijski platni razred u doba Trajana, ali kasnije, tijekom drugoga stoljeća, on je ducenarijski prokurator, što je najviši platni razred prije reformi Marka Aurelija. Nezamislivo je da bi nakon te službe Turbon bio degradiran na položaje koji su inicijacijski, tj. prethode viteškim prokuratorima. Zaključimo da je on postao drugi put *primus pilus* 105. ili 106., a odmah zatim, 106. ili 107., *praefectus vehiculorum*.

U *Vita Hadriani* 3.8 navodi se da je Hadrijan postao pretor i da mu je car Trajan dao dva milijuna sestercija za organiziranje igara.⁴⁸ Taj je novac bez ikakve dvojbe bio dio blaga koje je Trajan stekao pljačkom Decebalove riznice godine 106., a zatim i prodajom dijela od 500 tisuća zarobljenih Dačana.⁴⁹ Niz spektakala, *lusiones* i *naumachia*, organizirano je od godine 107. do 24. studenog 109., i u njima je sudjelovalo nevjerojatnih nekoliko desetaka tisuća ljudi i životinja.⁵⁰ Kako nakon službe šefa državnih pošta u Marcijevoj karijeri slijedi položaj *procurator ludi magni*, ne sumnjamo da je on postignut upravo u vrijeme Trajanovih igara. Igre su bile glavni zamašnjak goleme carske propagande, pa su središnje osobe vezane uz njihovu organizaciju sam car, zatim Hadrijan kao Trajanova osoba od povjerenja kojoj je već navijestio adopciju (spomen Nervinog prstena u *Vita Hadriani* 3,7), konačno Turbon, Hadrijanov čovjek od povjerenja koji je upravitelj gladijatorske škole. Stoga bi njegov mandat trajao dok je Trajan priređivao spektakle, tj. od oko godine 107. do godine 109. Kad opisuje vrijednosti koje mora imati prokurator gladijatorske škole, Pflaum neizravno povezuje taj Turbonov položaj s igrama koje organizira Trajan od 107. do 109. i 113. godine.⁵¹ Frézouls ga fiksira u 112. godinu,⁵² u AE pretpostavljaju da je do postavljanja došlo krajem

resolved. Based on the statements in the *Vita Pii* 12. 3, *vehicularium cursum summa diligentia sublevavit*, as well as those in the *Vita Hadriani* 7. 5, that Hadrian “*Statim cursum fiscalem instituit, ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur*” is normally understood that the office headed by the *praefectus vehiculorum* was a fiscal service established by Hadrian and conferred to the knights.⁴⁶ However, from the new records on epigraphic materials, it is evident that in the time of Trajan there was a central state post office, in which freedmen were clerks *ab vehiculis*, *a commentariis vehiculorum* and *tabularius a vehiculis*. Moreover, these freedmen posts existed at least since the time of Domitian.⁴⁷ The appointment of Turbo to the post of *praefectus vehiculorum* probably indicated an essential change in Trajan’s imperial administration of the state post office, when freedmen were replaced by persons from the equestrian class. From Hadrian’s time, this administrative reform was completely implemented and the post of *praefectus vehiculorum* was evidently no longer a new, experimental position, but rather a standard equestrian procuracy. The prefect of the state post office was Trajan’s innovation, which Hadrian fixed into the system of the procuracy. All of the aforementioned scholars erroneously held that Turbo held this post after his first primipilate, and came to this interpretation because of the aforementioned merger of the primipilates in the inscription. It is difficult to say whether the *praefectus vehiculorum* was in the centenarian pay class in Trajan’s time, but later, through the second century he was a ducenarian procurator, which was the highest payment class prior to the reforms of Marcus Aurelius. It is unthinkable that after this service, Turbo would be degraded to posts that preceded the equestrian procuracy. We conclude that he became *primus pilus* for the second time in 105 or 106, and immediately thereafter, in 106 or 107, *praefectus vehiculorum*.

In *Vita Hadriani* 3.8, it states that Hadrian became praetor and that Emperor Trajan gave him two million sestertii to organize games.⁴⁸ This money was without any doubt a part of the wealth that Trajan acquired by looting the treasury of Decebalus in 106, and then also through the sale of some of the 500,000 Dacian captives.⁴⁹ A series of spectacles, *lusiones* and *naumachia*, were organized from 107 to 24 November 109, with a virtually unbelievable number of tens of thousands of people and animals participated in them.⁵⁰

48 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 3.8. Bennet 2005, str. 104.

49 Bennet 2005, str. 103, 104.

50 Bennet 2005, str. 105.

51 Pflaum 1960, str. 215.

52 Frézouls 1953, str. 255.

46 Lacey 1917, p. 43.

47 Frézouls 1953, pp. 271-273.

48 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 3.8. Bennet 2005, p. 104.

49 Bennet 2005, pp. 103, 104.

50 Bennet 2005, p. 105.

godine 111. ili početkom godine 112. Piso smatra da se to zbilo u razdoblju od godine 110./111. do 113., nakon čega bi “najkasnije u ljeto” godine 113. otišao u Partski rat kao prefekt Mizenatske flote.⁵³ Svi ovi datumi službe prokuratora gladijatorske škole jako su kasno postavljeni zbog prethodne zabune oko slijeda službi, za koju smo već pojasnili kako je do nje došlo. Prebacivanje datuma obnašanja tribunskih položaja u Rimu prisililo je autore da Turbonovu službu postave oko 3 godine kasnije nego što bi trebalo. Prije nastava rasprave o kronologiji dužnosti treba napomenuti da položaj zapovjednika Mizenatske flote samo na prvi pogled odudara od karaktera dužnosti prokuratora gladijatorske škole. Naime, u Rimu su stacionirane *cohortes classicae*, izdvojene iz ostatka pretorijanske flote u Mizenu, a koje su imale sličnu ulogu kao i pretorijanske kohorte.⁵⁴ Stoga držimo da do postavljanja na mjesto zapovjednika Mizenatske flote nije došlo na samome početku partskog rata, kao nekakav *ad hoc* odgovor na tu situaciju, nego da je Turbon bio njezin zapovjednik već nekoliko godina, najranije od godine 110. Ipak, glavna zadaća te i Ravenatske flote bila je strateška, vezana uz ratne operacije na moru i transport trupa, a osobito cara i njegove pratnje na ratna poprišta, pa je Turbon bio na čelu ekspedicijske flote koja je zaplovila prema Siriji. U floti je bio i car Trajan za kojeg Frézouls smatra da je u oktobru 113. najprije zaplovio prema Ateni.⁵⁵

Turbonov položaj *praefectus classis praetoriae Misensis*, koji bi počeo godine 110., zabilježen je na dvama natpisima: na diplomi iz Terranove iz provincije Sardinije i Korzike⁵⁶ i na spomenutom natpisu iz Sirije. Prema carskoj titulaciji diploma je vjerojatno izdana 114. godine, kada se na Trajanovim natpisima javlja titula *Optimus*.⁵⁷ Diploma pripada mornaru

Since the next step in Marcius' career after serving as head of the state post office was the post of *procurator ludi magni*, we do not doubt that it was achieved precisely during Trajan's games. The games were the main pillar of an enormous imperial propaganda campaign, so the central persons tied to its organization were the emperor himself, followed by Hadrian as a man with Trajan's confidence, to whom adoption had already been indicated (the mention of Nerva's ring in *Vita Hadriani* 3,7), and finally Turbo, Hadrian's own trusted individual who was the head of the gladiatorial school. Thus his term would have lasted while Trajan was organizing the spectacle, i.e., from roughly 107 to 109 AD. When describing the virtues that the procurator of the gladiatorial school had to have, Pflaum indirectly linked Turbo's post with the games organized by Trajan in 107-109 and 113.⁵¹ Frézouls pinpointed it in 112 AD,⁵² while in the AE it is assumed that this came at the end of 111 or the beginning of 112. Piso believed that this occurred in the period from 110/111-113, after which “not later than the summer” of 113 he would have departed for the Parthian War as prefect of the Misenum fleet.⁵³ All of these dates for his service as the gladiatorial school's procurator were set rather late because of the previous confusion over the sequence of his posts, which we have now clarified. Moving the dates for his tribuneship in Rome forced scholars to set Turbo's service roughly three years later than was necessary. Prior to a discussion of the chronology of his posts, it would be worthwhile noting that the commander of the Misenum fleet only diverges from the character of the duties of the gladiatorial school's procurator. For the *cohortes classicae*, separate from the remainder of the praetorian fleet in Misenum, were stationed in Rome, and they played a role similar to the praetorian cohorts.⁵⁴ We therefore maintain that appointment to the post of commander of the Misenum fleet did not come at the very beginning of the Parthian War, as some sort of *ad hoc* response to this situation, rather Turbo had already been its commander for several years, since 110 AD at the earliest. Nonetheless, the main task of this and the Ravenna fleet was strategic, linked to military operations at sea and transportation of troops, and especially the emperor and his entourage, to the theatres of war, so Turbo was at the head of the expeditionary fleet which set sail for Syria. Trajan was also

53 Piso 2004, str. 272.

54 Saddington 2007, str. 209, 210.

55 Frézouls 1953, str. 253.

56 CIL 16, 60; AE 1927, 3; EDCS-12300264: *Imp(erator) Caesar divi N[ervae f(ilius) Nerva] / Traianus Optimu[s] Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Da[cic(us) pontif(ex) ma[ximus] tribunic(ia)] / [p]otestat(e) X[VIII] / [imp(erator)] VI co(n)[s(ul)] VI // Imp(erator) Caesar divi N[ervae f(ilius) Nerva] / Traianus Optimu[s] Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus)] / Dacicus pontif(ex) ma[xim(us) tribu]nic(ia) potestat(e) X[VIII] / imp(erator) VI co(n)[s(ul)] VI p(ater) p(atriciae)] / iis qui naviga[verunt in qua]dri[er]e Ope et [militaverunt in] / classe praetor[ia Misensis] / sub Q(uinto) Marcio Tu[rbone] quorum] / nomina subsc[ri]pta sunt ipsis] / liberi[s] posterisque eorum civitatem dedit.*

57 <http://homepage.uibk.ac.at/~c61404/KAISER/k300-aaa.html> (4. 3. 2013). Trajan je šesti put postao

51 Pflaum 1960, p. 215.

52 Frézouls 1953, p. 255.

53 Piso 2004, p. 272.

54 Saddington 2007, pp. 209, 210.

nepoznatog imena koji je plovio na kvadriremi *Ops* koja nosi isto ime kao i golema heksarema, admiral-ski brod Mizenatske flote.⁵⁸ Otpušteni su oni koji su “*naviga[verunt in qua]driere Ope et [militaverunt in] classe praetoria*” pod Marcijevim zapovjedništvom. Zbog lakune u ovom dijelu teksta teško je reći odnose li se izrazi o plovljenju i, eventualno «vojnikanju» (što je samo prijedlog nadopune teksta) tih ljudi na opći karakter mornaričke službe ili se možda aludira i na neke određene ratne operacije, odnosno Partski rat. Tijekom svog boravka na Istoku Turbon je spomenut u *Vita Hadriani* IV, 1-2, kao osoba iz najužeg kruga Hadrijanovih prijatelja. Ako je Turbon *praefectus* od godine 110., njegov *triennium* istekao bi upravo u godini u kojoj je započeo rat. Kako sustav prokuratela ne trpi razdoblja bez određenog položaja, njegova uloga u ratu bila je aktivna, bez obzira nosi li još uvijek naslov prefekta flote. Dokaz tomu je odlikovanje koje je primio za zasluge u Partskom ratu, a koje se spominje na njegovu natpisu CIL XIV, 4243 iz Tibura, podignutom, s obzirom na spomen Partskog rata i mjesto pronalaska, u vrijeme cara Hadrijana.⁵⁹ Frézoules smatra da se Turbon istaknuo na terenu organizirajući izgradnju malih riječnih flota i riječni transport, za što je iskustvo stekao kao *praefectus vehiculorum*.⁶⁰ Vjerojatnije je da te poslove organiziraju legijski prefekti, a izvode inženjerske postrojbe i legijski arhitekti. Možda se odlikovanje odnosi na zasebnu epizodu koja se odvijala usporedno s Partskim ratom i djelomice na istom prostoru, kada je Turbonu dodijeljena uloga važnog vojnog zapovjednika. Naime, zbog židovskih nemira u Cirenaici, Aleksandriji i Egiptu (*tumultu Iudaico*) koji su izbili u 18. godini Trajanove vlasti, Turbon je s pješačkim, konjaničkim i mornaričkim snagama poslan na pobunjena područja.⁶¹ Židovi iz Cirene povlače se u Egipat krajem 115. ili 116. godine (kad je prefekt Egipta *Marcus Rutilius Lupus*), a rat je zahvatio i Cipar i Mezopotamiju.

imperator godine 106. (sedmi put 114.), šesti (zadnji) konzulat Trajan je dobio početkom siječnja 112., a titula *Optimus* na natpisima se javlja 114. godine. To znači da je diploma iz 114. godine. Kienast 2004, str. 122-124.

58 Saddington 2007, str. 202. Za navod o heksaremi: CIL X, 3611.

59 Zbog fragmentarnosti natpisa može se dvojiti je li grafem *S* zadnje slovo iz riječi koja bi bila u sintagmi s navodom o odlikovanju ili dio sintagme *primus pilus bis*, što se čini vjerojatnim jer analognu situaciju nalazimo na njegovu natpisu iz Sirije.

60 Frézoules 1953, str. 274.

61 Eusebius, *HE* IV, 2. 1-3.

in the fleet, and Frézoules believed that in October 113 he first sailed toward Athens.⁵⁵

Turbo's service as *praefectus classis praetoriae Misensis*, which began in 110 AD, was recorded in two inscriptions: on a diploma from Terranova in the province of Sardinia and Corsica,⁵⁶ and in the aforementioned inscription from Syria. Based on the imperial titulature, the diploma was probably issued in 114 AD, when the title *Optimus* began to appear in Trajan's inscriptions.⁵⁷ The diploma belonged to an unidentified seaman who sailed on the quadrireme *Ops*, which bore the same names as the huge hexereme, the admiral's ship of the Misenum fleet.⁵⁸ Those who were “*naviga[verunt in qua]driere Ope et [militaverunt in] classe praetoria*” under the command of Marcius were released. Due to the lacunae in this part of the text, it is difficult to state whether the expressions on the sailing and, possibly, “soldiering” (which is only a suggestion to fill in the text) of these people refer to the general character of the naval service or perhaps allude to certain specific military operations, i.e., the Parthian War. During his stay in the Orient, Turbo was mentioned in *Vita Hadriani* IV, 1-2, as a person in the narrowest circle of Hadrian's friends. If Turbo was *praefectus* from 110 AD, his *triennium* would have expired precisely in the year in which the war began. Since the procuracy system did not tolerate periods without a specific post, his role in the war was active, regardless of whether or not he still bore the title of fleet commander. Proof of this is the medal which he received for merits in the Parthian War, and

55 Frézoules 1953, p. 253.

56 CIL 16, 60; AE 1927, 3; EDCS-12300264: *Imp(erator) Caesar divi N[ervae f(ilius) Nerva] / Traianus Optimu[s Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Da] / cic(us) pontif(ex) ma[ximus tribunic(ia)] / [p] otestat(e) X[VIII] / [imp(erator)] VI co(n)[s(ul) VI // Imp(erator) Caesar divi N[ervae f(ilius) Nerva] / Traianus Optimu[s Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus)] / Dacicus pontif(ex) ma[xim(us) tribu] / nic(ia) potestat(e) X[VIII] / imp(erator) VI co(n)[s(ul) VI p(ater) p(atriciae)] / iis qui naviga[verunt in qua]driere Ope et [militaverunt in] / classe praetoria Misensi] / sub Q(uinto) Marcio Tu[rbone quorum] / nomina subsc[ripta sunt ipsis] / liberi[s] posterisque eorum civitatem dedit.*

57 <http://homepage.uibk.ac.at/~c61404/KAISER/k300-aaa.html> (accessed 4 March 2013), Trajan became emperor the sixth time in 106 (and the seventh time in 114), and he received his sixth (final) consulate at the beginning of January 112, while the title of *Optimus* appeared on inscriptions in 114 AD. This means that the diploma was from 114 AD. Kienast 2004, pp. 122-124.

58 Saddington 2007, p. 202. For the citation on the hexereme: CIL X, 3611.

Rimske linije prema partskom području sad su bile ranjive pa Trajan naređuje da maursko konjaništvo Luzija Kvijeta (*Lusius Quietus*) postavljenog za guvernera u Judeji (117.-118.) uništi pobunjenike u Siriji i Mezopotamiji, a vjerojatno i u samoj Judeji,⁶² dok je Turbon masakrirao Židove na Cipru, u Cireni i Egiptu.⁶³ Evidentno smirivanje cjelokupne situacije potaknulo je Trajana na povratak u Rim. On umire na putu, 9. augusta 117. godine.⁶⁴ Opseg operacija s dvije rimske vojne grupacije, dugotrajnost tzv. Kitova rata i veliki broj pobunjenika koji su sudjelovali u njemu, upućuje nas da je Turbon kao zapovjednik združenih veksilacija u Egipat vjerojatno išao s titulom ranga *praepositus*, *praefectus* ili *tribunus vexillationum*.⁶⁵ Na natpisima sa spomenom Marcijeva imena podignutima nakon rata s Partima i Židovima donosi se samo njegov posljednji, najviši položaj Hadrijanova prefekta pretorija, nema cjelovitog slijeda časti na tim natpisima, pa za razdoblje od nekoliko godina između funkcija prefekta Mizenatske flote do postavljanja na položaj prefekta pretorija ne znamo koje je titule točno obnašao, premda ima nešto vijesti iz literarnih izvora o njegovim aktivnostima i situacijama u kojima se u tom razdoblju nalazio. Specifičan status Egipta, kao neke vrste prokuratorske provincije pod carskim dominijem, morao je biti glavni razlog što Trajan kao zapovjednika tih ratnih operacija imenuje viteza Marcija Turbona. Ubrzo, na samom početku Hadrijanove vlasti, to vojno iskustvo koristit će mu u Mauretaniji i na podunavskom prostoru. Zaključimo da Turbonov položaj u Siriji, odnosno na ciparsko-egipatskom ratištu nije više bio onaj prefekta Mizenatske flote, nego zapovjednika veksilacija koje su ugušile židovski revolt na Cipru i u Egiptu.

Sličan položaj morao je Turbon uživati nedugo nakon toga. Naime, po dolasku Hadrijana na vlast izbilo je nekoliko pobuna, u Mauretaniji, zatim među

which is mentioned in his inscription CIL XIV, 4243 from Tibur, raised – given the mention of the Parthian War and the find site – while the emperor was Hadrian.⁵⁹ Frézouls believed that Turbo distinguished himself in the field by organizing the construction of small riverine fleets and riverine transport for which he acquired experience as *praefectus vehiculorum*.⁶⁰ It is more likely that these tasks were organized by the legionary prefects, and carried out by the engineering units and legionary architects. Perhaps the medal pertained to a separate episode that occurred parallel to the Parthian War and partially in the same territory, when Turbo was granted the role of a major military commander. Namely, due to the Jewish revolt in Cyrene, Alexandria and Egypt (*tumultu Iudaico*) that broke out in the eighteenth year of Trajan's reign, Turbo was deployed with infantry, cavalry and naval forces to the rebellious areas.⁶¹ The Jews from Cyrene withdrew to Egypt at the end of 115 or 116 (while the prefect of Egypt was Marcus Rutilius Lupus), and the war spread to Cyprus and Mesopotamia. The Roman lines facing Parthian territory were now vulnerable, so Trajan ordered the Berber cavalry of Lusius Quietus, appointed governor in Judea (117-118), to annihilate the rebels in Syria and Mesopotamia, and probably in Judea itself,⁶² while Turbo massacred the Jews on Cyprus, and in Cyrene and Egypt.⁶³ Evidently the pacification of the overall situation prompted Trajan to return to Rome. He died on the way, on 9 August 117.⁶⁴ The extent of the operation with two Roman military groups, the long duration of the so-called Kitos War and the high number of insurgents who participated in it indicate that as commander of the consolidated vexillations in Egypt, Turbo probably bore the rank title of *praepositus*, *praefectus* or

62 Pucci Ben-Zeev 2000, str. 256-258; Bloom 2010, str. 199, smatraju da se spomen *expeditio Judaeae* kod nevojnika L. Tetija Krescenta (koji za života sudjeluje u dva rata s Dačanima i ratu u Armeniji, Partiji i Judeji), odnosi na hipotetsku pobunu Židova u samoj Judeji, kao dio pobune židovske dijaspore na kraju Trajanove vlasti.

63 Eusebius, *HE* 4, 2, 5; Dio Cassius, 68, 32; Bloom 2010, str. 194-196.

64 Dio Cassius, 68, 33.

65 Saxer 1967, str. 122, sumira raspravu o veksilacijama i njihovim zapovjednicima prije Markomanskog rata. Sva tri naslova mogu biti dodijeljena vitezovima, s time da za naslov *tribunus vexillationum* imamo potvrdu da su ga nosili i senatori i vitezovi.

59 Due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, it may be doubted whether the grapheme S of the last letter from the word that was in a syntagma with the statement on the medal or part of the syntagma *primus pilus bis*, which seems more likely, because an analogy can be found on his inscription from Syria.

60 Frézouls 1953, p. 274.

61 Eusebius, *HE* IV, 2. 1-3.

62 Pucci Ben-Zeev 2000, pp. 256-258; Bloom 2010, p. 199, believe that the mention of the *expeditio Judaeae* by the non-soldier L. Tettius Crescens (who during his life participated in the two Dacian Wars and in wars in Armenia, Parthia and Judea) refers to the hypothetical Jewish revolt only in Judea, as part of the rebellion of the Jewish Diaspora at the end of Trajan's reign.

63 Eusebius, *HE* 4, 2, 5; Dio Cassius, 68, 32; Bloom 2010, pp. 194-196.

64 Dio Cassius, 68, 33.

Sarmatima na Dunavu, u Britaniji, u Libiji, Egiptu i Palestini.⁶⁶ Nakon smirivanja židovske pobune Turbon je odmah potom sredio nemire u Mauretanijskoj, koji su po svoj prilici nastali kao reakcija na propast Luzija Kvijeta, njegovog slavnog kolege iz židovskog rata, kojem je Hadrijan oduzeo zapovjedništvo nad maurskim postrojbama u Judeji i razoružao ga.⁶⁷ Čini se izvjesnim da je Turbon godine 118. došao u Mauretanijsku kao zapovjednik veksilacija, te da je imenovan namjesnikom prokuratorske provincije. Govoreći u *Vita Hadriani* 6.7 o privremenom postavljanju Marcija u Daciji i Panoniji, navodi se da je to bilo nakon što je stekao *infulae praefecturae* u Mauretanijskoj. Teško je reći odnose li se ove *infulae* isključivo na njegov vojnički položaj ili na prezidijalnu prokuratelu u cjelini.

Nakon što je Luziju Kvijetu oduzeto zapovjedništvo bio je s još trojicom konzulara pogubljen zbog navodne pobune protiv cara.⁶⁸ Ta su se smaknuća dogodila sinkronizirano na nekoliko mjesta u Italiji i izazvala su negodovanja, zbog kojih se car vratio iz Mezije, s Dunava, gdje je vodio vojsku protiv Jaziga i Roksolana. Na dva mjesta u *Vita Hadriani* (6.7: *Marcium Turbonem post Mauretanium praefecturae infulis ornatum Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit*; 7.3: *Unde statim Hadrianus ad refellendam tristissimam de se opinionem, quod occidi passus esset uno tempore quattuor consulares, Romam venit Dacia Turboni credita, titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato(s), ...*) kaže se da je Hadrijan Marciju Turbonu privremeno povjerio zapovijedanje nad Panonijom i Dacijom, odnosno Dacijom. Kako bi ovaj imao veći autoritet, dodijeljen mu je naslov *praefectus Aegypti*. Ne znamo je li riječ o prethodno obnašanoj prokurateli, položaju koji bi Marcije mogao teoretski držati u kratkom razdoblju u vrijeme kada guši nerede u Egiptu, ili mu je naslov, vjerojatnije, bio dodijeljen *ad hoc* na Dunavu, jer je egipatska prefektura spomenuta u tom kontekstu i još je naglašeno da je s njom «Marcije imao veći autoritet». Na temelju tih navoda Syme drži nedvojbenim da je Marcije nosio titulu *praefectus Aegypti*.⁶⁹ Čini nam se vjerojatnim da Turbon iz egipatsko-ciparskog prostora, gdje je ugušio židovsku pobunu još za života cara Trajana, odlazi u Mauretanijsku, pa u Donje

tribunus vexillationum.⁶⁵ In the inscriptions that mention Marcus which were raised after the wars with the Parthians and the Jews, only his final, highest post as Hadrian's praetorian prefect is cited; there is no comprehensive list of honours in these inscriptions, so we know nothing of the titles he bore during the period of several years between the function of prefect of the Misenum fleet until his appointment to the post of praetorian prefect, although there is some information in the literary sources about his activities and the situations in which he found himself during this time. The specific status of Egypt, as some sort of procuratorial province under the emperor's dominion, had to have been the primary reason why Trajan appointed the knight Marcus Turbo to command these military operations. Very soon afterward, at the very beginning of Hadrian's reign, this military experience would serve him in good stead in Mauretania and in the Danubian zone. We may conclude that Turbo's post in Syria and in the Cypriot-Egyptian battlefields was no longer prefect of the Misenum fleet, but rather commander of the vexillations that crushed the Jewish rebellion in Cyprus and Egypt.

A similar post had to have been enjoyed by Turbo immediately afterward. For upon Hadrian's ascension to the imperial throne, several revolts broke out, in Mauretania and then among the Sarmatians on the Danube, and in Britannia, Libya, Egypt and Palestine.⁶⁶ After the quelling of the Jewish revolt, Turbo immediately settled the unrest in Mauretania, which was provoked in response to the fall of Lusius Quietus, his famed colleague in the Jewish wars, whom Hadrian deprived of his command of the Moorish detachments in Judea and dismissed from the army.⁶⁷ It would appear certain that in 118 AD Turbo arrived in Mauretania as vexillation commander, and that he was appointed consul of the procuratorial province. Speaking of the temporary command of Marcus in Dacia and Pannonia, the *Vita Hadriani* 6.7 states that this occurred after he had been conferred the *infulae praefecturae* in Mauretania. It is difficult to say whether this *infulae* pertained solely to his military position or to the presidential procuracy as a whole.

66 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 5.2

67 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 5.8: *Lusium Quietium sublatis gentibus Mauris, quos regebat, quia suspectus imperia fuerat, exarmavit Marcio Turbone Iudaeis compressis ad deprimentum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato.*

68 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 7.1, 2.

69 Syme, 1980, str. 70.

65 Saxer 1967, p. 122, summarized the discussion of vexillations and their commanders prior to the Marcomannic Wars. All three titles could have been conferred to knights, although there are confirmations that senators and knights bore the title *tribunus vexillationum*.

66 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 5.2

67 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 5.8: *Lusium Quietium sublatis gentibus Mauris, quos regebat, quia suspectus imperia fuerat, exarmavit Marcio Turbone Iudaeis compressis ad deprimentum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato.*

Podunavlje, gdje mu je titula mogla biti dodijeljena na dislociranom položaju, zbog prethodnih vojnih uspjeha u Egiptu. Ovakav slijed funkcija i hijerarhijski je logičan, jer je egipatska prefektura najugledniji ekvestarski položaj uz zapovjedništvo nad pretorijancima.⁷⁰ Hadrijan se žurno vratio u Rim kako bi se opravdao zbog smrti četiriju senatora. Tada je car prisegnuo da nikad neće kazniti senatora bez senatske odluke.⁷¹ Situacija je za Hadrijana bila osjetljiva i očito nije htio *exercitus* na Dunavu povjeriti nekom senatoru, već zapovjedništvo ostavlja Marciju Turbonu, svom čovjeku od povjerenja. Takav postupak djelomice je proveden nešto ranije, na samome kraju godine 117. ili 118., u provinciji Mauretaniji, koja je, doduše, bila viteškog, prokuratorskog ranga. Čini se da je naslov prefekta Egipta osnažio Turbonov vojnički i upravni ugled, jer je Egipat još od Augusta bio pod prokuratorskom upravom, te su vojni zapovjednik provincije kao i zapovjednik legije stacionirane u Egiptu bili iz ekvestarskog staleža. S titulom prefekta Egipta dan je određen legalitet odluci da zapovjednik panonsko-dačke vojne oblasti privremeno bude vitez, a ne senator, što bi očekivali u imperijalnim provincijama. Stvarni Marcijev položaj vjerojatno je bio onaj zapovjednika veksilacija (*praepositus, praefectus* ili *tribunus vexillationum*) kao i u Mauretaniji. Hadrijan je zagladio političku situaciju, na Dunavu nisu nastali problemi koje bi provocirala senatska oporba, pa je car vlast konačno učvrstio smjenjivanjem prefekata pretorija Atijana i Simila. Marcije Turbon evidentno je bio glavna uzdanica novog cara, u vrijeme dok je on učvršćivao tek stečenu vlast, pa je nagrađen položajem prefekta pretorija, u paru sa Septicijem Klarom.⁷²

Vrijeme postizanja prefektore određivalo se prema navodima u *Historia Augusta* i prema podacima kod Svetonija koji je bio na položaju *ab epistulis* u vrijeme objavljivanja svojega djela *De vita Caesarum* posvećenog Septiciju Klaru. Nove kronološke podatke dao je natpis iz Hipo Regija,⁷³ kao i diploma iz Gherle u Daciji i manji ulomak diplome iz Čovdina datirane 10. kolovoza 123.⁷⁴ Na diplomama se navodi da su vojnici iz Porolisenske Dacije i Donje Panonije otpušteni pod zapovjedništvom Marcija Turbona, na temelju čega su J. Gascou i I. I. Russu zaključili da Marcije Turbon i Septicije Klar nisu mogli biti

After Lusius Quietus lost his command, he was executed together with three consuls due to an alleged plot against the emperor.⁶⁸ These executions took place simultaneously at several locations in Italy and they provoked outrage, which prompted the emperor to return from Moesia, on the Danube, where he was leading the army against the Iazyges and Roxolani. At two places in the *Vita Hadriani* (6.7: *Marcium Turbonem post Mauretanium praefecturae infulis ornatum Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit*; 7.3: *Unde statim Hadrianus ad refellendam tristissimam de se opinionem, quod occidi passus esset uno tempore quattuor consulares, Romam venit Dacia Turboni credita, titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato(s), ...*) it says that Hadrian temporarily entrusted command of Pannonia and Dacia and then just Dacia to Marcius Turbo. In order to increase Turbo's authority, he dignified him with the title *praefectus Aegypti*. We do not know if this was a previously held procuracy, a post that Marcius could have theoretically held in the brief period when he was quelling the disorder in Egypt, or if the title, more likely, was conferred to him *ad hoc* on the Danube, because the Egyptian prefecture was mentioned in this context and it was additionally stressed that with it the authority of Marcius was increased. Based on these statements, Syme held it incontrovertible that Marcius bore the title *praefectus Aegypti*.⁶⁹ It seems likely that Turbo departed from Egyptian-Cypriot territory, where he crushed the Jewish revolt when Trajan was still alive, for Mauretania, and then the Lower Danube, where the title may have been conferred to him remotely, with reference to previous military successes in Egypt. This succession of functions was also hierarchically logical, because the Egyptian prefecture was the most respected equestrian post alongside command of the praetorians.⁷⁰ Hadrian hastened back to Rome in order to justify the deaths of four senators, which put him in an unpleasant political position. At the time, the emperor pledged never to inflict punishment on a senator until after a vote of the Senate.⁷¹ The situation was sensitive for Hadrian, and he obviously did not wish to entrust the *exercitus* on the Danube to a senator, rather he left command in the hands of Marcius Turbo, a man whom he could trust. This procedure had already been partially implemented even earlier, in Mauretania at the very end of 117 or in 118, only in a province which only had equestrian, procuratorial rank. It would appear that the title

70 Pflaum 1960, str. 205.

71 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 7.4.

72 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 9. 3-5.

73 AE 1953, 73 (*Hippo Regius*); Gascou 1978, str. 439.

74 Russu 1974, str. 155. Alföldy 1979, str. 233-234.

68 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 7. 1, 2.

69 Syme, 1980, p. 70.

70 Pflaum 1960, p. 205.

71 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 7.4.

postavljeni za prefekte pretorija već godine 119., kako se uobičajeno držalo u literaturi, nego nakon datuma izdavanja diplome; isto je tako i Svetonijevo djelo *Životi dvanaest careva* moralo biti izdano nakon godine 123. (do 128.), a ne između 119. i 123., kako se uobičajeno držalo.⁷⁵ Slijedom toga autori su utvrdili da su i smjene Marcijeva kolege prefekta C. Septicija Klara, kao i Svetonija s položaja *ab epistulis*,⁷⁶ uslijedile koju godinu kasnije. S. Dušanić je smatrao da se podaci o Turbonovom zapovjedništvu odnose još na Trajanov Partski rat, ispravno tvrdeći da *honesta missio* nije morala neposredno slijediti rat na temelju kojeg su stekli taj privilegij.⁷⁷ Međutim, naglašavamo da je razmak od tog rata do otpusta jako velik, čak deset godina. Kako je karpatski bazen bio poprište rata sa Sarmatima (*bellum contra Sarmatas*) godine 118., u doba cara Hadrijana, koji je zapovjedništvo predao Marciju, te se otpuštaju ljudi iz postrojbi koje u vrijeme izdavanja diploma stacioniraju u Porolisenskoj Daciji i u Donjoj Panoniji, čini se nelogičnim da nije taj suvremeni rat povod časnom otpustu, nego neki koji se vodio desetak godina prije. H. Wolff je zauzeo sasvim drugo stajalište, da je Turbon već kao prefekt pretorija vodio postrojbe u karpatski bazen.⁷⁸ Alföldy je, međutim, uvjerljivo dokazao, analizom teksta diploma i usporedbom s onim diplomama koje sadrže analogne anakronične situacije, da se podatak o Marcijevu zapovjedništvu na podunavskom prostoru odnosi na stanje nekoliko godina starije od datuma izdavanja diploma, da su otpušteni vojnici koji su sudjelovali u Hadrijanovoj ekspediciji na donjem Dunavu, te da predloženu tradicionalnu kronologiju Marcijeve karijere ne treba mijenjati.⁷⁹ Dakle, Marcije Turbon postao bi prefekt pretorija godine 119., nakon Sarmatskog rata.⁸⁰ Alföldyevi zaključci su konzistentni i slažemo se s njima. Drugačija kronologija izazvala bi i velike teškoće u interpretaciji Hadrijanovih aktivnosti u Britaniji 122.⁸¹ Dodajemo da bi pomicanje te dužnosti četiri godine ili nekoliko godina kasnije stvorilo veliki hijat u slijedu Marcijevih časti, koji bi bilo teško objasniti za visoko pozicioniranog carskog

of Egyptian prefect added weight to Turbo's military and administrative qualities, because Egypt had been under procuratorial administration since the time of Augustus, and the province's military commander and the commander of the legion stationed in Egypt were of equestrian class. The title of Egyptian prefect accorded a certain legality to the decision for the commander of the Pannonian-Dacian military district to temporarily be a knight rather than a senator, which would have otherwise been expected in the imperial provinces. The actual post of Marcius was probably vexillation commander (*praepositus, praefectus or tribunus vexillationum*) as it was in Mauretania. Hadrian smoothed out the entire political situation, so no problems emerged on the Danube that could have been provoked by senatorial opposition, and the emperor finally reinforced his authority by dismissing the praetorian prefects Attianus and Similis. Marcius Turbo was evidently the new emperor's principal support, and at a time when the latter was bolstering his newly acquired authority, he was awarded the post of praetorian prefect, on par with Septicius Clarus.⁷²

The time when he ascended to the prefecture has been determined according to the statements in the *Historia Augusta* and according to the data provided by Suetonius, who was posted *ab epistulis* at the time of publication of his work *De vita Caesarum* dedicated to Septicius Clarus. New chronological data was provided by the inscription from Hippo Regius,⁷³ as well as the diploma from Gherla in Dacia and the small diploma fragment from Čovdin dated 10 August 123.⁷⁴ In the diplomas, it says that the troops from Porolissum Dacia and Pannonia Inferior were released under the command of Marcius Turbo, on which basis J. Gasco and I. I. Russu concluded that Marcius Turbo and Septicius Clarus could not have been appointed praetorian prefects already in 119 AD, as usually maintained in the relevant literature, but rather after the date of issue of the diplomas, while *The Twelve Caesars* by Suetonius had to have been published after 123 (to 128) and not between 119 and 123 as normally maintained.⁷⁵ In line with this conclusion, these scholars ascertained that the dismissal of Marcius' fellow prefect C. Septicius Clarus, as well as Suetonius from his post *ab epistulis*,⁷⁶ followed a

75 Russu 1974, str. 155 i d.; Gasco 1978, str. 441-444.

76 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 9. 5; 11. 3. C. *Septicius Clarus* bio je osoba velikog kulturnog ugleda kojem svoja djela posvećuju Plinije i Svetonije. Nešto je stariji od Turba. Syme 1980, str. 68.

77 Dušanić 1977, str. 182.

78 Wolff 1975, str. 153.

79 Alföldy 1979, str. 238-250.

80 Alföldy 1979, str. 250.

81 CIL X, 5829.

72 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 9. 3-5.

73 AE 1953, 73 (*Hippo Regius*); Gasco 1978, p. 439.

74 Russu 1974, p. 155; Alföldy 1979, pp. 233, 234.

75 Russu 1974, pp. 155 ff.; Gasco 1978, pp. 441-444.

76 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 9. 5; 11. 3. C. *Septicius Clarus* was a person of great cultural reputation to whom Pliny and Suetonius dedicated their works. He was somewhat older than Turbo. Syme 1980, p. 68.

prefekta, visoke životne dobi, u administrativnom sustavu u kojem se položaji nižu u slijedu.

Jedan od natpisa koji spominje Marcija kao prefekta pretorija uklesan je na bazi njegova počasnog spomenika *AE* 1913, 164 iz Utike: *Q(uinto) M[a]rcio / Turbon[i] / praefecto / praetorii / d(creto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*.

On je mogao biti podignut bilo kada u razdoblju od godine 119. do kraja Hadrijanove vladavine. Kako je spomenik podiglo gradsko vijeće javnim novcem, očito je Turbon nečim zadužio taj grad u prokonzularnoj Africi. Možemo nagađati da bi se taj čin mogao dovesti u vezu s nastojanjima stanovnika Utike da postignu žudeni status kolonije (još od godine 36. pr. Kr. su u statusu municipija), što su uspjeli tek za Hadrijana i postali *colonia Iulia Aelia Hadriana Augusta*, kada i Zama i Bula Regija.⁸² Bez ikakve dvojbe oni su prema carskoj palači poduzeli niz akcija kako bi unaprijedili status grada. Vrhunac takvog nastojanja cijelog niza afričkih gradova postignut je za vrijeme Hadrijanova putovanja u Afriku 128.⁸³ Caru, a lako je pretpostaviti, i njegovoj kliki moćnika među kojima osobit ugled uživa prefekt pretorija Turbon, dodvoravali su se podizanjem spomenika.⁸⁴

Na natpisu *CIL* III, 1462, koji mu kolonija Sarmizegetusa podiže kad je već bio prefekt pretorija čitamo:

Q(uinto) Marcio Turboni / Frontoni Publicio / Severo praef(ecto) praet(orio) / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Traiani / Hadriani Augusti p(atris) p(atriciae) / colon(ia) Ulp(ia) Traian(a) Aug(usta) / [Da]cica Sarmizegetus(a).

Titulu *pater patriae* Hadrijan dobiva u prvoj polovici godine 128. pa je spomenik podignut između te godine i kraja Hadrijanova života. Ostale carske titule nisu navedene pa ne možemo suziti datum.⁸⁵ Natpis je stanovnicima Sarmizegetuse vjerojatno evocirao Turbonovu ulogu vojnog zapovjednika na dačko-panonskom prostoru. Kako nemamo vijesti o Marciju u drugom dijelu Hadrijanove vladavine, ne znamo kad je prestao biti prefekt pretorija, je li pao u carsku nemilost i je li ubijen ili je umro prirodnom smrću. Među desetak poimence spomenutih imena Hadrijanovih prijatelja koji su na neki način pretrpjeli posljedice

year or so later. S. Dušanić believed that the data on Turbo's command also referred to Trajan's Parthian War, correctly asserting that the *honesta missio* did not need to immediately follow the war on which basis this privilege was conferred.⁷⁷ However, we should stress that the period between this war until discharge was considerably long, a full ten years. Since the Carpathian Basin was the scene of the war with the Sarmatians (*bellum contra Sarmatas*) in 118 during the reign of Hadrian, who transferred command to Marcius, and the discharge of persons from units that, at the time of issue of the diplomas, were stationed in Dacian Porolissum and Pannonia Inferior, it would appear illogical that this ongoing war was not the cause for the honourable discharge, but rather some war roughly ten years earlier. H. Wolff adopted an entirely different standpoint, that Turbo was already leading troops in the Carpathian Basin as praetorian prefect.⁷⁸ However, in an analysis of the text of the diplomas and a comparison with those diplomas which contain analogous anachronous situations, Alföldy convincingly proved that the data on the command of Marcius in the Danubian zone pertained to the situation several years older than the date of use of the diplomas, that the discharged soldiers were those who had participated in Hadrian's expedition on the Lower Danube, and that the proposed traditional trajectory of Marcius' career need not be altered.⁷⁹ Thus, Marcius Turbo would have become praetorian prefect in 119, after the Sarmatian War.⁸⁰ Alföldy's conclusions are consistent and we agree with them. A different chronology would have caused great difficulties in the interpretation of Hadrian's activities in Britannia in 122.⁸¹ It should be added that moving these duties four or more years forward would create a considerable hiatus in Marcius' honours that would be difficult to explain for a high-ranking imperial prefect in an advanced age in an administrative system in which postings followed one another consecutively.

One of the inscriptions mentioning by Marcius as praetorian was carved on the base of his honorary monument, *AE* 1913, 164, from Utica: *Q(uinto) M[a]rcio / Turbon[i] / praefecto / praetorii / d(creto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*.

It may have been raised any time in the period from 119 to the end of Hadrian's reign. Since the monument was raised by the city council using public funds, it is obvious that Turbo had done something to the benefit

82 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 13, 4; *CIL* VIII, 1181; Ville 1962, str. 1889.

83 Syme 1988, str. 162

84 Popis skulptura, sakralnih zdanja, slavoluka, javnih gradnji i drugih spomenika podignutih u afričkim provincijama u čast careva, pa tako i Hadrijana, v. u: Kuhoff 1990, str. 946-949.

85 <http://homepage.uibk.ac.at/~c61404/KAISER/k300-aaa.html>; Kienast, 2004, str. 128-130.

77 Dušanić 1977, p. 182.

78 Wolff 1975, p. 153.

79 Alföldy 1979, pp. 238-250.

80 Alföldy 1979, p. 250.

81 *CIL* X, 5829.

careve hirovite naravi spominje se i Turbon koji je bio žestoko progonjen.⁸⁶ U posljednjim godinama svojeg života bolesni Hadrijan dao je mnoge pogubiti, ali ih je spasio njegov adoptivni sin, budući car Antonin Pio.⁸⁷ Kako nije izrijekom navedeno da je Marcije Turbon ubijen, moguće je da je njegova nenasilna smrt bila povod podizanju spomenika, što bi značilo da je poticaj za to došao preko carske administracije.

Tri su adoptivna sina Kvinta Marcija Turbona:⁸⁸ *T. Flavius, Palatina (tribu), Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo*,⁸⁹ *T. Flavius, T. f., Palatina (tribu), Priscus Gallonius Fronto, Q. Marcius Turbo*;⁹⁰ *C. Gallonius C. f. Fronto, Q. Marcius Turbo*.⁹¹ Piso pogrešno dokazuje da su to rođeni Marcijevi sinovi i da ih adoptiraju neke druge osobe.⁹² On kaže da se to zbilo pri kraju Hadrijanove vladavine i to stoga što je to bilo dobro rješenje za sinove (uz privolu samog cara) jer im je otac pao u nemilost. Međutim, Piso zaboravlja da je Marcije tada imao oko osamdeset godina i da bi ta njegova tri sina po svoj prilici tada bili već zreli ljudi, u dobi između četrdeset i šezdeset godina). Kako se spominju na natpisima iz pedesetih godina 2. st., kad obnašaju visoke senatorske (i viteške) magistrature, znači još dvadeset do trideset godina kasnije, čini se da bi tada bili stari više od šezdeset, a možda i do osamdeset godina. Još je važniji argument protiv te hipoteze vezan uz raspored članova u imenskoj formulaciji, kako smo to već pokazali na primjeru adoptivne Kvinta Marcija Turbona. Syme, premda oprezno, smatra, kao i Piso, da su te osobe Marcijevi sinovi i da ih je (barem dvojicu, one koji nose *tribus Palatina*) usvojio neki oslobođenik flavijevske dinastije ili sin tog oslobođenika. Da bi dokazao takvu mogućnost, premda uviđa da nije sasvim uobičajena, Syme daje jedan primjer Klaudijeva oslobođenika na položaju *a rationibus*, koji se oženio ženom čiji je brat postao konzul.⁹³ Međutim, u doba Klaudija oslobođenici su držali takve visoke položaje, dok u vrijeme o kojem

of this city in Africa Proconsularis. We may speculate that this act may have been linked to the efforts of Utica's residents to achieve the much-desired status of colony (it had had the status of municipium since 36 BC), which they succeeded in doing only during Hadrian's reign, becoming *colonia Iulia Aelia Hadriana Augusta*, at the same time as Zama and Bulla Regia.⁸² There is no doubt that they undertook a series of activities aimed at the imperial palace to improve their city's status. The culmination of these efforts by an entire series of African cities was achieved during Hadrian's journey to Africa in 128.⁸³ They curried favour with the emperor and – it may be easily assumed – with the members of his powerful clique, among whom praetorian prefect Turbo was particularly notable, by raising monuments.⁸⁴

In inscription *CIL* III, 1462, which the colony of Sarmizegetusa raised when he was already prefect, we may read:

Q(uinto) Marcio Turboni / Frontoni Publicio / Severo praef(ecto) praet(orio) / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Traiani / Hadriani Augusti p(atris) p(atriciae) / colon(ia) Ulp(ia) Traian(a) Aug(usta) / [Da]cica Sarmizegetus(a).

Hadrian obtained the title *pater patriae* in the first half of 128, so a monument was raised between that year and the end of Hadrian's life. The remaining imperial titles are not specified, so the date cannot be more closely ascertained.⁸⁵ For the residents of Sarmizegetusa, the inscription probably evoked Turbo's role as military commander in the Dacian-Pannonian region. Since there is no information on Marcius in the second part of Hadrian's reign, we do not know when he ceased by praetorian prefect, whether he fell into the emperor's disfavour and was executed, or died of natural causes. Among the roughly ten specifically named friends of Hadrian who suffered the consequences of the emperor's capricious nature, Turbo is also mentioned as being fiercely persecuted.⁸⁶ In the last years of his life, the ill Hadrian had many executed, but many were also saved by his adoptive son, the future emperor Antoninus Pius.⁸⁷ Since it is nowhere explicitly stated that Marcius Turbo

86 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 15. 1-9.

87 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 25. 8.

88 O sinovima v. Piso 2004, str. 273-278; Syme 1962, str. 89-96.

89 EDH 011507; EDH 044417; AE 2005, 1337; Piso 2004, str. 273, 274.

90 EDH 008709; AE 1980, 970; EDH 022558; AE 1949, 12; EDH 028863; AE 1911, 108; Piso 2004, str. 274, 275.

91 EDH 017519; AE 1957, 279; AE 2000, 1291; EDH 034620; AE 2000, 1268; Piso 2004, str. 276-278.

92 Piso 2004, str. 277.

93 Syme 1962, str. 96.

82 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 13. 4; *CIL* VIII, 1181; Ville 1962, p. 1889.

83 Syme 1988, p. 162

84 For a list of sculptures, sacral structures, triumphal arches, public buildings and other monuments raised in the African provinces in honour of the emperors, including Hadrian, see Kuhoff 1990, pp. 946-949.

85 <http://homepage.uibk.ac.at/~c61404/KAISER/k300-aaa.html>; Kienast, 2004, pp. 128-130.

86 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 15. 1-9.

87 SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 25. 8.

je ovdje riječ takve položaje drže isključivo vitezovi. Zaključimo da je situacija točno obrnuta, tj. da Turbon adoptira tri osobe iz dvije obitelji (*Flavii* i *Gallonii*) za koje se daje naslutiti (iz upotrebe kognomena) da su u međusobnoj rodbinskoj vezi ili su tazbina. Dva adoptivna sina navode ime rođenog oca, Tit, odnosno Gaj. Napomenimo, da je upravo u doba Antonina Pija uobičajeno da adoptirani zadržavaju u filijaciji pre-nomen starog (rođenog) oca. Kad su budući carevi Hadrijan i Antonin Pio bili adoptirani, zadržali su *praenomen* svojih očeva, kao što su učinila i njihova adoptivna djeca – suvladari. Jedan od sinova, T. Flavije Prisko Galonije Fronton, prošao je vitešku karijeru i uspeo se do položaja prefekta pretorija Antonina Pija.⁹⁴ Evidentno je svog prefekta pretorija Antonin Pio izabrao jer mu je adoptivni otac Kvint Marcije Turbon. Upravo taj položaj čovjeka od najvišeg carevog povjerenja mogao je biti glavni razlog zašto su Priskova adoptivna braća T. Flavije Longin i Gaj Galonije Fronton mehanizmom adleksije iz viteškog statusa koji su dobili adopcijom (ako ga nisu već ranije posjedovali) ušli u Senat i prošli dio senatske karijere.⁹⁵

Idealna kronologija Marcijevih funkcija

<i>centurio legionis II Adiutrix</i>	do I. dačkog rata
<i>primus pilus</i>	tijekom I. dačkog rata
<i>tribunus cohortis VII vigilum,</i> <i>tribunus equitum singularium Augusti,</i> <i>tribunus praetorianus</i>	103.-105.
<i>primus pilus iterum</i>	105./106.
<i>praefectus vehicularum</i>	106.-107.
<i>procurator ludi magni</i>	107.-109.
<i>praefectus classis praetoriae Misensis</i>	110.-113.
<i>praepositus-, praefectus-, tribunus- vexillationum</i>	114.-116.
<i>praepositus-, praefectus-, tribunus- vexillationum</i> (<i>praefectus Aegypti</i>)	kraj 117./118.
<i>praefectus praetorio</i>	od 119.

94 AE 1946, 113.

95 Evidencija o njihovoj karijeri v. Piso 2004, str. 273, 274, 276, 277. Piso je dobro uočio da je *Titus Flavius, Palatina (tribu), Longinus Q Marcius Turbo* karijeru počeo kao vitez, a već 137. je *quaestor L. Caesaris*, odnosno upisan je u senatski album.

was killed, it is possible that his non-violent death prompted the raising of monuments, which would mean that the impetus for them came through the imperial administration.

Quintus Marcius Turbo had three adopted sons:⁸⁸ T. Flavius, Palatina (tribu), Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo;⁸⁹ T. Flavius, T. f., Palatina (tribu), Priscus Gallonius Fronto, Q. Marcius Turbo;⁹⁰ and C. Gallonius C. f. Fronto, Q. Marcius Turbo.⁹¹ Piso mistakenly stated that these were the sons of Marcius by birth and that another person had adopted them.⁹² He said that this happened near the end of Hadrian's reign, because this was a good solution for the sons (with the consent of the emperor himself) as their father had fallen into disfavour. However, Piso forgot that at the time Marcius was about eighty years old and that his three sons at the time would have been mature men between the ages of forty and sixty. Since they are mentioned in inscriptions in the sixth decade of the second century, when they held senatorial (and equestrian) magistratures, meaning an additional twenty to thirty years later, it would mean that they were over sixty, and perhaps even up to eighty, years of age at the time. An even more important argument against this hypothesis is tied to the arrangement of the members in the name formula, as already shown in the example of the adoption of Quintus Marcius Turbo. Syme, albeit cautiously, believed, like Piso, that these persons were the sons of Marcius and that they (at least two, who bore the *tribus Palatina*) were adopted by a freedman of the Flavian dynasty or the son of this freedman. In order to prove this possibility, although he saw that it was not entirely customary, Syme cited the example of a freedman of Claudius at the post *a rationibus*, who married a woman whose brother became consul.⁹³ However, during the Claudian era, freedmen held such posts, while during the period being considered herein, such posts were held exclusively by knights. We may conclude that the situation was entirely opposite, i.e., that Turbo adopted three persons from two families (Flavii and Gallonii) for whom it may be hypothesized (based on use of the *cognomina*) that they were mutually related by blood or

88 On the sons, see Piso 2004, pp. 273-278; Syme 1962, pp. 89-96.

89 EDH 011507; EDH 044417; AE 2005, 1337; Piso 2004, pp. 273, 274.

90 EDH 008709, AE 1980, 970; EDH 022558, AE 1949, 12; EDH 028863, AE 1911, 108; Piso 2004, pp. 274-275.

91 EDH 017519; AE 1957, 279; AE 2000, 1291; EDH 034620; AE 2000, 1268; Piso 2004, pp. 276-278.

92 Piso 2004, p. 277.

93 Syme 1962, p. 96.

marriage. The two adopted sons specified the names of their birth fathers, Titus and Gaius. It should be noted that it was precisely during the time of Antoninus Pius that it became customary for the adopted to retain the praenomen of their old (birth) father in their filiation. When the future emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius were adopted, they retained the praenomina of their fathers, as their own adopted children/co-rulers did. One of the sons, T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto, had a career as a knight and ascended to the post of praetorian prefect of Antoninus Pius.⁹⁴ The latter evidently chose his praetorian prefect because his adoptive father was Quintus Marcius Turbo. It is precisely this post of the emperor's highest confidence which may have served as the primary reason why the adoptive brothers of Priscus, T. Flavius Longinus and Gaius Gallonius Fronto, moved from knightly status via the *adlecti* mechanism which they obtained by adoption (if they did not already have it earlier) and entered the Senate and had senatorial careers.⁹⁵

Suggested chronology of the functions of Marcius

<i>centurio legionis II Adiutrix</i>	up to First Dacian War
<i>primus pilus</i>	promoted in First Dacian War
<i>tribunus cohortis VII vigilum, tribunus equitum singularium Augusti, tribunus praetorianus</i>	103-105
<i>primus pilus iterum</i>	105/106
<i>praefectus vehiculorum</i>	106-107
<i>procurator ludi magni</i>	107-109
<i>praefectus classis praetoriae Misenensis</i>	110-113
<i>praepositus-, praefectus-, tribunus- vexillationum</i>	114-116
<i>praepositus-, praefectus-, tribunus- vexillationum (praefectus Aegypti)</i>	end of 117/118
<i>praefectus praetorio</i>	since 119

94 AE 1946, 113.

95 For evidence on their careers, see Piso 2004, pp. 273, 274, 276, 277. Piso astutely observed that Titus Flavius, Palatina (tribu), Longinus Q Marcius Turbo began his career as a knight, while already in 137 he was *quaestor L. Caesaris*, i.e., entered in the senatorial album.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

- AA – Archaeologia Adriatica, Zadar
AE – L'année épigraphique, Villejuif
ANRW – Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, Berlin – New York
CIL – Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Theodor Mommsen et al., Berlin
EDCS – Epigrapfik – Datenbank Clauss – Slaby, Hennef/Sieg
EDH – Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, Heidelberg
HE – Historia ecclesiastica
ILJug – Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos ... et ... repertae et editae sunt, Ljubljana
Izdanja HAD – Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, Zagreb i drugdje
JRS – The Journal of Roman Studies, Cambridge
PIR – Prosopographia imperii Romani
PRWE – Pauli-Wissowa Real-enciklopädie der classichen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
SHA – Scriptorum historiae augustae
ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Köln
ŽA – Živa antika, Skopje

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