



<https://publications.dainst.org>

iDAI.publications

ELEKTRONISCHE PUBLIKATIONEN DES
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS

Dies ist ein digitaler Sonderdruck des Beitrags / This is a digital offprint of the article

Paul Jarvis

M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus: Adoption, Marriage, and the Manipulation of Imperial Propinquity

aus / from

Chiron

Ausgabe / Issue **47 • 2017**

Seiten / Pages **1–20**

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/chiron.v47i0.1001> • URN: <https://doi.org/10.34780/chiron.v47i0.1001>

Verantwortliche Redaktion / Publishing editor

Redaktion Chiron | Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Amalienstr. 73 b, 80799 München

Weitere Informationen unter / For further information see <https://publications.dainst.org/journals/index.php/chiron>

ISSN der Online-Ausgabe / ISSN of the online edition **2510-5396**

©2020 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0

Email: info@dainst.de / Web: <https://www.dainst.org>

Nutzungsbedingungen: Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die Nutzungsbedingungen (<https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use>) von iDAI.publications an. Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizenzierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeberinnen/Herausgeber der entsprechenden Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (info@dainst.de).

Terms of use: By downloading you accept the terms of use (<https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use>) of iDAI.publications. All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (info@dainst.de).

CHIRON

MITTEILUNGEN
DER KOMMISSION FÜR
ALTE GESCHICHTE UND
EPIGRAPHIK
DES DEUTSCHEN
ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN
INSTITUTS

Sonderdruck aus Band 47 · 2017



DE GRUYTER

Inhalt des 47. Bandes (2017)

- HÉLÈNE CUVIGNY, Τρισαυγούστιον et φραγέλλιον. Contrôle de qualité et mesurage du grain fiscal au IV^e s. apr. J.-C. à la lumière de P.Mich. XX 800 et de l'inscription tardive du grenier d'Andriakè (Grégoire, Recueil 290)
- FLORIAN RUDOLF FORSTER, Von Kaisern und Veteranen – Neue Inschriften aus Gadara/Umm Qays
- JASMIN HETTINGER, Neues zum Kataster von Lacimurga. Die Darstellung der *subseciva* entlang des Ana
- PAUL JARVIS, M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus: Adoption, Marriage, and the Manipulation of Imperial Propinquity
- ANDREA JÖRDENS, Entwurf und Reinschrift – oder: Wie bitte ich um Entlassung aus der Untersuchungshaft
- LUDWIG MEIER, Der sogenannte Piratenüberfall auf Teos und die Diadochen: Eine Neuedition der Inschrift SEG 44, 949
- HELMUT MÜLLER – GREGOR STAAB, Dion. Ein pergamenischer Politiker im Himmel
- JOHANNES NOLLÉ, Ein Brief des Kaisers Gallienus an Side. Herrscherliche Hilfe bei einer Versorgungskrise
- ANNE-VALÉRIE PONT, Dernières mentions des magistratures et des liturgies traditionnelles dans les cités d'Asie mineure: *habitus* épigraphique et vie institutionnelle locale à la fin du III^e et au début du IV^e siècle
- BEN RAYNOR, Alexander I of Molossia and the creation of Apeiros
- CHRISTIAN REITZENSTEIN-RONNING, *certa clara afferro?* Senecas Apocolocyntosis und die Zeichensprache des Principats
- PETER WEISS, Hadrians Rückkehr nach dem Partherkrieg. Das früheste Militärdiplom für die *equites singulares Augusti* und die Entlassungsweihung in Rom vom Jahr 118
- PETER WEISS, Die Zenoniden, Alexander Iannaios und die Zerstörung von Amathous. Zu den Schleuderbleien von Tulul adh-Dhahab (Jordanien)

PAUL JARVIS

M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus:
Adoption, Marriage, and the Manipulation
of Imperial Propinquity

Marcus Aurelius married his daughter Lucilla to his adoptive brother and co-emperor, Lucius Verus. Among his other sons-in-law was Lucius' nephew, M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus.¹ On the basis of Peducaeus' striking nomenclature, it has long been accepted that he was adopted by M. Peducaeus Stloga Priscinus.² This apparent adoption is worth re-examining. After laying out Peducaeus' family and connections (I), this article will examine the three possible explanations for his name: the hitherto accepted theory, that he was adopted by Peducaeus Stloga and therefore added «Peducaeus» to his nomenclature (II); that Plautius Quintillus, his father, *cos. ord.* 159, acquired the *nomen* «Peducaeus» upon adoption by Peducaeus Stloga, added the *nomen* to his full nomenclature, and thence passed it to his son (III); or that Peducaeus inherited his name through his paternal grandfather's family, and therefore neither he nor his father were adopted (IV).³ The final section (V) draws some of these threads together, and examines the context and chronology of Peducaeus' marriage to Fadilla, and the connected political implications. The dynastic significance of the marriage remains constant whether or not Peducaeus was adopted; however, the marriage takes on a more immediate significance if he simply inherited his distinctive *nomen*. In this case his links with Lucius would be directly through his mother, and not merely from

I am grateful to T. D. BARNES, A. R. BIRLEY, G. KELLY and the anonymous referees for their comments and criticisms. In addition, I should like to thank R. BURGESS, A. COX and D. JAMES for their assistance. Unless otherwise indicated, all dates are CE. The citation of passages from Dio throughout follows the numbering of the Loeb edition of CARY.

¹ PIR² P 474, esp. I.Ephesos 1423 = AE 1939, 127. Henceforth referred to as Peducaeus, or Peducaeus Quintillus, to distinguish him from his father, Plautius Quintillus, *cos. ord.* 159. Peducaeus was married to Marcus' daughter Fadilla: RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, no. 356, and stemmata 26, 29; PIR² F 96.

² RE 19.1, 53–5; PFLAUM 1961, 34–6; BIRLEY 1987, 247.

³ Throughout this article, *nomen* is used in accordance with SALOMIES' usage, which is identical to meaning 1c in the OLD, 1185: *nomen* is the gentile name. It will occasionally be used to indicate the maternal family name, with the qualifying adjective.

any cognate rights he retained after adoption.⁴ The timing and circumstances of the marriage, and the adoption if it did take place, can suggest or reveal political tensions. A prosopographical analysis of Peducaeus further serves as a case study on the links and connections of the intertwined imperial «cousinhood» that was still defined in 193 by the opposing lines of the Annii and Ceionii.⁵

I. Family and connections

Peducaeus was born into an eminent family. On the side of his (natural) mother, Ceionia Fabia, he was the nephew of Lucius Verus and the grandson, great-grandson and great-great-grandson of consuls.⁶ On his father's side his ancestry was scarcely less impressive: his (natural) father Plautius Quintillus was *cos. ord.* in 159; a paternal uncle in 162; his paternal grandfather, L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus, in 125; and his paternal grandmother's father, Avidius Nigrinus, in 110.⁷ There are also multiple links between the families of his parents. The maternal grandparents of his father – Plautia and Avidius Nigrinus – are the maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother of his mother. Thus Plautia, through different husbands, was grandmother to both the mother and father of Peducaeus. Her son, L. Aelius Caesar (the short-lived heir of Hadrian), by L. Ceionius Commodus, was the father of Ceionia Fabia by Avidia (a daughter of Avidius Nigrinus from a previous marriage), and her daughter Avidia Plautia by Avidius Nigrinus was the mother of Plautius Quintillus.⁸

Peducaeus' marriage to Fadilla meant that a nephew of Lucius by blood was marrying one of Lucius' adopted nieces – though Lucius was almost certainly dead when the

⁴ CORBIER 1991, 67–77; KUNST 2005, 15–21. Agnate rights were not retained after adoption, though *pietas* was expected between the son and his natural parents. In this article «adoption» is used to refer to the process of *adoptio*, since the possibilities considered fall into this category and not the less common *adrogatio*. By *adrogatio* the adoptee's *familia* was extinguished and the adoptee became part of a new *familia* under the *potestas* of the adopter. This was almost invariably when the adoptee was *sui iuris* and thus had already inherited his patrimony.

⁵ CHAMPLIN 1979, 306. CHAMPLIN uses «cousinhood» to describe the connected and competing families intriguing for the succession in the aftermath of the assassination of Commodus, but the term is just as applicable a generation earlier.

⁶ PIR² C 603–5 for his maternal forebears, who included L. Aelius Caesar; discussion in SYME 1957, 306–15. Ceionia Fabia: PIR² C 612; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, no. 204, stemmata 26, 29.

⁷ His father, Plautius Quintillus, PIR² P 473; his uncle, L. Plautius Aquilinus, PIR² P 460; Avidius Nigrinus, PIR² A 1408. See also SYME 1957, 306–15; SYME 1984, 31–60. On his grandfather L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus, see DEGRASSI 1952, 36; PIR² T 262; BIRLEY 1987, 247, and below.

⁸ See Stemma 1. Avidia Plautia: RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, no. 130; PIR² A 1412, esp. CIL 10. 6706 = ILS 8217. The maternal relationship to Plautius Quintillus and Plautius Aquilinus is not explicitly attested, but surely correct on onomastic grounds. On the elder Plautia see RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, no. 615.

marriage took place.⁹ Peducaeus himself was *cos. ord.* in 177 alongside Commodus, which surely provides a *terminus ante quem* for the marriage. Already a member of one side of the imperial family through his natural mother's family, his marriage to Fadilla emphasised the connection and brought him directly into the Antonine line.

II. Adoption by Peducaeus Stloga

That Peducaeus was adopted by M. Peducaeus Stloga Priscinus, *cos. ord.* 141, was first proposed by GROAG on the basis of the complete nomenclature provided by a single inscription: M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus.¹⁰ The inscription itself, I.Ephesos 1423, appears on the base of a statue dedicated to Peducaeus by one P. Claudius Tyrannos. He honours Peducaeus as the son-in-law of Marcus and the son of Ceionia Fabia, who is the sister of the divine Verus. GROAG's suggestion of adoption has been largely accepted since.¹¹ It is not, however, the only possible explanation for the nomenclature. Indeed, the PIR entry on Peducaeus (PIR² P 474) appears to err concerning the chronology of the supposed adoption, suggesting that it must have taken place between 169 and 180. It is true that the inscription can be securely dated to 169–80 by the mention of Lucius, but not Marcus, as divine, and that it is the only inscription that provides the full nomenclature of Peducaeus. However, there is no reason to suppose that he actually acquired the *nomen* «Peducaeus» between 169 and 180. All that should be deduced from the inscription is: i) that his full name was M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus; and ii) that any adoption that occurred can be dated not necessarily between 169–80, but simply before 180, which is the latest possible date for the inscription.¹²

⁹ Fadilla was born c. 159. See AMELING 1992, 150–2. The marriage strengthened Peducaeus' imperial connections. He was already both the nephew and the cousin of Lucius, through his mother and paternal grandmother respectively.

¹⁰ GROAG 1937, 53f.; I.Ephesos 1423; AE 1939, 127.

¹¹ GROAG's identification of the adoption was accepted by, among others, BIRLEY 1987, 247; PFLAUM 1961, 34, n. 59. It is also apposite to note that Xiphilinus' epitome of Dio actually refers to Peducaeus as Κύντιλλος Πλαυτιανός (77. 7. 3), which tantalisingly hints at an adoption through the adjectival ending *-ianos*. But this must be set against the attestation of Peducaeus' nomenclature in I.Ephesos 1423, which provides Πλαύτιος, as well as numerous Latin inscriptions which all record him as Plautius. In addition, the text of Xiphilinus' epitomes contains no fewer than forty-two mentions of the conspirator Plautianus in the epitomes of book 76 and 77. It is possible that the use of Πλαυτιανός at 77. 7. 3 is simply a transmission error, or a mistake by Dio for Πλαύτιος, caused by the frequency of the former name in the preceding narrative of Plautianus' rise and fall.

¹² PIR² P 474. The entry does note that it is incorrect to suppose that the *nomen* «Peducaeus» was acquired after his consulship in 177. Cf. KEIL 1938, 298: «Jetzt sehen wir, ... daß er nach seinem Konsulat, aber vor dem Tode des Marcus, durch Adoption in die bis in die Republik zurückreichende Gens der Peducaei übergegangen ist», and the commentary on AE 1939, 127 (= I.Ephesos 1423), which repeats KEIL's assumption on the date: «consul en 177 avec Commode, il fut adopté entre 177 et 180, période à laquelle appartient notre base, par un Peducaeus Stloga Priscianus.» However, SYME 1985a, 191–8 provides numerous examples of polyonymous

In his abbreviated nomenclature Peducaeus is known, as is his father, as Plautius Quintillus.¹³ If a man were adopted in adulthood after the beginning of his career, the abbreviated form of the nomenclature would be less likely to be altered.¹⁴ The accepted theory thus rests partially on the implicit assumption that Peducaeus was adopted in adulthood, as his abbreviated name remains identical to that of his natural father. Where his full name is exhibited the first *nomen* is that of his putative adoptive father, Peducaeus Stloga. However, since his natural father's full name is unknown, this cannot be taken as proof of an adoption that applied specifically to Peducaeus.

It is still of course possible that he was adopted. Even if alternatives may be offered, evidence such as I.Ephesos 1423 cannot be dismissed without discussion. The supposed adoptive family of M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus still requires examination. The only possible adopter, Peducaeus Stloga, scion of an ancient Italian family that could show three *consules ordinarii* in successive generations, was scarcely less august than Peducaeus' natural parents.¹⁵ If the date of the adoption were known, speculation could be advanced concerning possible motivations. A reasonable chronology may be constructed, allowing for the usual factors of adoption among the Roman elite: considerations of lineage, inheritance, and a lack of male heirs.¹⁶

First, the age of Peducaeus himself should be considered. Making due allowance for the status of his natural father and possible adoptive father, his connections to the dynasty, and his own imperial marriage, his consulship was surely *suo anno*. It was in 177, alongside Commodus: so a date of birth c. 144.¹⁷ For Ceionia Fabia a date of birth before 130 should be supposed: as Lucius himself was born in December 130, little room is left for a sister born after 130 to be married by c. 143.¹⁸ For Ceionia's birth,

consuls whose full nomenclatures contain details of ancestry and connections not glimpsed in their abbreviated consular names. In Peducaeus' case, it is not at all clear that «Peducaeus» was a recent addition.

¹³ CIL 9. 5823 (the father), and cf. 6. 631 = ILS 5084; CIL 14. 328 = ILS 7022; AE 1961, 142 = AE 971, 534 (the son).

¹⁴ SALOMIES 1999, 153.

¹⁵ PIR² P 227. He probably did not serve as proconsul of Asia in 155/6; see SYME 1983, 280. The *nomen* «Peducaeus» recalls an ancient house of praetorian rank in the Republic which showed its first consul in 35 BCE; see SYME 1939, 235, 498. The consul of 35 BCE had no known issue, thus the connection of this ancient family to the consuls who bore the same *nomen* through the reigns of the Flavians, Nerva and Trajan is not explicit. On «Stloga», the «auffallende Kognomen», MÜNZER suggests that the consular family of the second century descends from the Republican Peducaei, and makes the connection through Cicero's friend, the jurist Sex. (Peducaeus) Stloga, under whose father Cicero served in Sicily (Flac. 46. 4). See MÜNZER 1929; GROAG 1937; BROUGHTON 1952, 88–98, 77–5 BCE.

¹⁶ CORBIER 1991, 74–7.

¹⁷ PFLAUM 1961, 35.

¹⁸ Again, an early betrothal is possible, but marriage for a girl in her thirteenth year is unusual even by Antonine standards. It is also relevant that Ceionia Plautia, the other sister of Lucius, married Q. Servilius Pudens, who became *cos. ord.* in 166. Hence she should be considered the younger of the two sisters.

either 128 or 129 would fulfil these requirements. If *Peducaeus* was born c. 144, then he would be considered old enough for adoption by c. 154, when he was around ten years old.¹⁹ No other sons of *Ceionia Fabia* and *Plautius Quintillus* are recorded, but this is not proof that *Peducaeus* was their only son.²⁰ Perhaps they were unfortunate with their children. One might even point to the Antonine plague, which began in late 165.²¹ If the adoption is accepted as the explanation for *Peducaeus*' name, then the existence of at least one more son for *Ceionia Fabia* and *Plautius Quintillus* is required.²² Another healthy son would be needed before one could be given in adoption. It is not difficult to suppose that *Peducaeus Stloga* found himself lacking an heir by c. 154, when he would probably be in his mid-forties at least.

The timing is important. Throughout the latter half of the 150s and 160s, the relations of *Lucius* were in the ascendant. Consulships were frequent and prestigious.²³ The relatives of *Lucius* were numerous, and clearly had connections and influence in the aristocracy under *Antoninus Pius*. This is attested by their consulships, and the grudging favours *Antoninus* bestowed on *Lucius*, though he clearly remained *Antoninus*' second choice behind *Marcus*.²⁴ It is against this background that we must examine the possibility that a son of *Plautius Quintillus*, the brother-in-law of *Lucius*,

¹⁹ RAWSON 2003, 205, 233f. But an earlier adoption need not be ruled out; they could also potentially occur earlier in the life of the adoptee (or adopter). A stipulation seems to have existed that the adopter ought to be old enough to be the father of a potential adoptee; a gap of at least eighteen years was preferred. See GARDNER 1998, 145–8, who cites *Gai. Inst.* 1. 11. 4 and *Dig.* 1. 7. 42, and discusses the difficulties.

²⁰ The chances of a successful son leaving a record are relatively high, but for a son who died young there is only the slim hope of a chance inscription surviving. BURTON 1995, 227f., nn. 29f.

²¹ It is notoriously difficult to measure the mortality rate of the Antonine plague; for the present purpose it is enough to accept that it affected the capital. *Marc.* 13. 3–6, 17. 2, 21. 6–7; *Verus* 8. 1–4; cf. also *Med.* 9. 2. The laws mentioned at *Marc.* 13. 5 may refer to *Dig.* 47. 12. 3. 4; 11. 7. 39. For modern discussions of the full impact and mortality rates, see GILLIAM 1961, 225–51; DUNCAN-JONES 1996, 108–36; BRUUN 2007, 201–17.

²² *Ceionia* herself may have remarried after her marriage to *Plautius Quintillus*. CHAMPLIN 1979, 301–4, argues that she was the mother of the ill-fated *Sosius Falco* by a later marriage. Indeed, it is not necessary to insist that *Ceionia Fabia* and *Plautius Quintillus* were still married in 159 when *Plautius Quintillus* served his consulship. Again, it should be noted that the connection to *Lucius* was not dependent entirely on his marriage to *Lucius*' sister. They were both descendants of *Plautia*.

²³ *Lucius* and his connections reached the ordinary consulship in the years 154, 156, 157, 159, 161, 162, 166 and 167: *Lucius* himself in 154, 161, and 167; his relative *Ceionius Silvanus* in 156 (*PIR*² C 610); his uncle *Vettulenus* in 157 (*PIR*² C 602, in error); his brother-in-law and cousin *Plautius Quintillus* in 159 (*PIR*² P 473); his cousin *Plautius Aquilinus* in 162 (*PIR*² P 460); and his brother-in-law *Servilius Pudens* in 166 (*PIR*¹ S 424). See esp. the stemmata and associated notes set out by BIRLEY 1987, 232–48.

²⁴ The design of *Hadrian* was then suborned by *Antoninus* in favour of his wife's nephew, *Marcus*. BARNES 1967, 65–79 is convincing on *Hadrian*'s intention for *Lucius* to be his ultimate successor, but cf. BIRLEY 1987, 240f.

was adopted by M. Peducaeus Stloga, who had been consul as far back as 141. Around 154 Peducaeus would be old enough and his parents may have had alternative heirs.

It is possible also to attempt to reconstruct the purpose of the adoption. The adoption of a relative was preferred where possible, but this was not a prerequisite. The ties of *amicitia* could also suffice, and constitute an arrangement beneficial to both parties: the adopter ensured the continuation of his line, and the adoptee would gain the patrimony of an allied family and could also retain his cognate rights. In this case, this would keep Peducaeus connected to the Ceionii through his mother.²⁵

By the putative date of the adoption of Peducaeus (c. 154), it was already clear that Marcus, not Lucius, was the favourite of Antoninus. Lucius was not given the title of Caesar, which was reserved for Marcus alone.²⁶ His marriage was held back for dynastic reasons, to allow a daughter of Marcus to reach marriageable age. This would deny Lucius the opportunity to beget male heirs unless they were also the grandchildren of Marcus. Neither was he the only noble whose prospects were subordinated to those of Marcus.²⁷ In the case of young Peducaeus in the mid-150s, an adoption that moved a nephew of Lucius away from imperial propinquity could have similar dynastic motivations. Adoptions by a maternal uncle without heirs – in this case the still-unmarried Lucius – were not uncommon.²⁸ Perhaps the adoption of Peducaeus Quintillus by Peducaeus Stloga was intended to negate the possibility of Lucius adopting his sister's son. Peducaeus was at that time possibly Lucius' closest young male relative.²⁹

By the transfer of Peducaeus from the *gens Plautia* to the *gens Peducaea* – a transition encouraged, enforced, or engineered by Antoninus and Marcus – the imperial prospects of the Ceionii and their connections were to be reduced. Although in this reconstruction the adoption of the young Peducaeus would mean decreasing rather than increasing propinquity to the imperial family, one thing remains constant: the motivation of control. Such an adoption would leave Lucius with fewer potential male heirs, and the position of Marcus – which Antoninus had enhanced and promoted at Lucius' expense – would be protected and secured. Different rules seem to have applied to Marcus' own relations: it is likely that a son of Claudius Severus' previous marriage to an Ummidia (before his marriage to a daughter of Marcus) was adopted by a maternal uncle, M. Ummidius Quadratus.³⁰

²⁵ CORBIER 1991, 66–77.

²⁶ Verus 2. 11, 3. 5.

²⁷ C. Annianus Verus, the husband of Marcus' sister and also possibly his cousin, had not achieved the high honour of the ordinary consulship; see SYME 1979, 307f.

²⁸ CORBIER 1991, 69f.; SYME 1985a, 191f.

²⁹ However, Lucius' other sister Ceionia Plautia (PIR² C 614) was married to Q. Servilius Pudens, *cos. ord.* 166, probably around this time. Only a daughter from this marriage is known.

³⁰ Certainly Marcus was an interested party; the Ummidii were his cousins and through his younger sister had gained the fortune of his mother. A fusion of public and private objectives may be glimpsed here. If Severus' first wife were an Ummidia, then his son would already be the emperor's grand-nephew. In this case the adoption would represent a strengthening of ties

III. *Plautius Quintillus, father of Peducaeus, was the adoptee*

The second possibility is a variation on the accepted theory. Peducaeus Stloga, who remains the only known possible adopter, was *cos. ord.* in 141: eighteen years before Plautius Quintillus (159), and thirty-six years before Peducaeus (177). The first gap is significant, as it allows for either Plautius Quintillus or Peducaeus to be the adoptee.³¹ Peducaeus Stloga, himself the son and grandson of *consules ordinarii*, was born c. 109 if he served his consulship *suo anno*. This would be relatively late in the married life of his father, who was *cos. ord.* 110. Being thirty-two at the youngest at the time of his own consulship in 141, he would be at least fifty in 159, and at least sixty-eight in 177. The estimates are approximate but instructive. It is sufficient to note that adoptions occurring both in childhood and adulthood are possible. The question is when Peducaeus Stloga found himself in need of an heir, and was without the prospect of producing one of his own.³² A large enough chronology remains for Plautius Quintillus to be the adoptee.

There is, however, a connected issue of nomenclature and chronology. The *praenomen* of L. Titius Plautius Aquilinus, Plautius Quintillus' brother, is identical to that of their father, L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus. One might expect from this that he is the elder son, yet his consulship lags three years behind his brother.³³ Both brothers use the *nomen* «Plautius» and thus associate themselves directly with the nexus of relatives around Lucius. The explanation for the earlier consulship of Plautius Quintillus could well be his marriage to Ceionia Fabia. Lucius' connections were prominent in the late 150s, and his sister's husband was perhaps a beneficiary.³⁴ This in turn raises a final point. If L. Plautius is the elder son, then Avidia Plautia and L. Epidius had a younger son in Plautius Quintillus whom they could give in adoption.³⁵ Peducaeus Stloga, a

among the imperial family following the death (or divorce) of Ummidia: Ummidius was given an heir who was his nephew, and Severus was given another princess of the dynasty. Severus' future heirs would be the emperor's grandchildren, and his first son would inherit through adoption by a maternal uncle the fortune of Marcus' mother. On the fortune of Marcus' mother, see Plin. Ep. 8. 18; BIRLEY 1987, 29f., 41; SYME 1985b, 51–63. For Ummidia, see RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, no. 884.

³¹ GARDNER 1998, 145–8.

³² Both estimated ages, fifty or sixty-eight, would presumably mean that Peducaeus Stloga had lost any sons of his own, and their sons as well, or that he had only daughters during his married life. No daughters are known, however, and therefore no grandsons can be found who would be, through greater consanguinity, more likely candidates for adoption.

³³ A problem dealt with by SALOMIES 1987, 211–24. See also CHAUSSON 2013, 177, who points out, in the context of his discussion of the *praenomina* of the Pedanii, that the Domitii Ahenobarbi alternated their traditional *praenomina*.

³⁴ A probable parallel case is the nephew of Marcus, M. Ummidius Quadratus, possibly consul in his late twenties. SYME 1968, 97.

³⁵ Indeed, should the older thesis be followed – that L. Titius Aquilinus is the third son, younger than Plautius Quintillus, and endowed with the father's *praenomen* due to an elder son dying in childhood after the birth of Plautius Quintillus – the result remains the same. Avidia

member of the ancient Italian *gens Peducaea* would in turn gain an heir. The fact that Plautius Quintillus, in his abbreviated nomenclature, continued to prefer a *nomen* that was his by birth – that of his well-connected mother – does not negate the possibility that it was he, not his son Peducaeus, who was adopted into the *gens Peducaea*.

IV. *The nomen was inherited directly by Peducaeus*

The third possibility is that the distinctive *nomen* «Peducaeus» was transferred to Peducaeus from his father Plautius Quintillus, and that there was no adoption in either generation. The full nomenclature of Peducaeus' father is nowhere attested. An inscription provides *Plautius Quintil[i]us* during his consulship, but otherwise only *Quintillus* or *Quintilius*.³⁶ For this reason SALOMIES admits the «theoretical possibility» that Plautius Quintillus, the father of Peducaeus, already possessed the *nomen* «Peducaeus». ³⁷ However, it is probable that a certain Pedania Quintilla married Peducaeus Saenianus, *cos. suff.* 89, and such indeed is the hypothesis of RAEPSAET-CHARLIER, following WACHTEL in the PIR.³⁸ This marriage, as we shall see, cannot be established beyond doubt, but it seems that at least some link existed between the Peducaei and the Plautii Quintilli.³⁹ The existence of the marriage (or even the more cautious conclusion of CHAUSSON, a link between the families but no identifiable marriage) means that a connection between the *nomen* «Peducaeus» and the *cognomen* «Quintillus» precedes the son-in-law of Marcus.

Before examining in full the possible marriage of Pedania Quintilla and Peducaeus Saenianus, it is necessary to set out the onomastic framework. It is striking that both Plautius and Peducaeus used the same abbreviated nomenclature, containing

Plautia and her husband would still have two living sons, and could profitably give one up for adoption.

³⁶ CIL 9. 5823. M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, his son, uses the same abbreviated nomenclature, cf. 6. 631, 14. 328. He is named as Quintillus in P.Mich. 3240.

³⁷ SALOMIES 1992, 101.

³⁸ Pedania Quintilla, PIR² P 206; M. Peducaeus Saenianus, PIR² P 226; stemma in PIR² vol. 6, 85; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, no. 604, and stemmata nos. 9, 29. On the best estimate, Peducaeus Saenianus is the paternal great-uncle of Peducaeus Stloga. The marriage is discussed in full below, and a new stemma (Stemma 2) is provided. WACHTEL draws the link between the Pedanii and the Peducaei (based on the tiles of CIL 15. 642–4) but the connection postulated in his stemma between Peducaeus Saenianus (and his brother Peducaeus Priscinus, PIR² P 225, *cos. ord.* 93, who was almost certainly the grandfather of Peducaeus Stloga) and the procurators under Claudius is probably incorrect.

³⁹ CHAUSSON 2013, 180, 184f.; CHAUSSON 2007, 130, n. 18. CHAUSSON adduces no marriage between Peducaeus Saenianus and Pedania Quintilla. He suggests rather a certain (Pedanius?) Quintillus Saenianus in addition to Pedania Quintilla. But these names in combination indicate anyway a connection between the Peducaei and the Pedanii, since the *cognomen* «Saenianus» seems to only occur during this period in M. Peducaeus Saenianus, *cos. suff.* 89, the husband suggested here for Pedania Quintilla.

the *nomen* «Plautius».⁴⁰ Plautius Aquilinus, Peducaeus' uncle, also uses this *nomen*, transmitted by his mother and maternal grandmother. The incorporation of maternal *nomina* is not uncommon in this period, especially in families with imperial connections.⁴¹ No doubt in this case the motivation was to accentuate the connections to the ruling dynasty. Plautius Quintillus could claim by blood the same grandmother as his wife and Lucius.⁴²

There is an onomastic issue that requires a brief excursus. We know the full name of L. Titius Plautius Aquilinus, *cos. ord.* 162, the brother of Plautius Quintillus. Although he uses «Plautius», he does not carry «Peducaeus». His nomenclature is a variation on the more usual formula, in the terminology of SALOMIES, of P + N + N + C: the *praenomen* of the father, followed by two *nomina* (generally that of the father and then the mother), followed by a *cognomen* of the father.⁴³ Such formulae, furnished with numerous examples by SALOMIES, are also hedged about – by necessity – with acknowledged exceptions, and admissions that there are no firm rules that can be relied upon to predict the nomenclature of an upper-class Roman, particularly in the second century.⁴⁴ In Plautius Aquilinus' case, there is a slight variation: he uses his father's *nomen*, and a *cognomen* of his mother, Avidia Plautia. It was «Plautius» that pointed to his dynastic connections, and this is possibly the reason he and his brother used it in place of «Avidius». He also does not bear the *cognomen* «Quintillus» which is securely attested in the abbreviated nomenclature of his brother, the consul of 159 and father of Peducaeus.⁴⁵ Thus the names of the brothers are already differentiated by the *cognomen* «Quintillus»: perhaps then also by the *nomen* «Peducaeus».

A parallel case from the same period is at hand, which shows two brothers (whose full names are known) with different *cognomina* and the selective incorporation of maternal *nomina* from one or more previous generations. The consul of 144, L. Hedi-
 dius Rufus Lollianus Avitus, was the father of two sons: L. Hedi-
 dius Rufus Lollianus Avitus and Q. Hedi-
 dius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus. Both were suffect consuls sometime
 during the reign of Commodus.⁴⁶ The younger brother uses a maternal *cognomen*,
 «Gentianus», whereas the elder brother does not. Further, one of Gentianus' sons,
 Terentius Gentianus, uses two names from his paternal grandmother in his abbre-

⁴⁰ Cf. CIL 9. 5823, 6. 631, 14. 328.

⁴¹ See the examples in SALOMIES 1999, 149–51. One of these examples is T. Fundanius Vitrasius Pollio, the son of Marcus' cousin Annia Fundania Faustina and Vitrasius Pollio, *cos. II ord.* 176. Here, as in the case of the Plautii brothers, the motivation for placing the maternal *nomen* first is plainly to emphasise the dynastic connections. Note also «Annianus», discussed by SYME 1968, 98f., and the Hedii Lolliani, discussed below.

⁴² See Stemma 1.

⁴³ SALOMIES 1999, 147, 149. If the theory argued above is true, the nomenclature of M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, the *gener* of Marcus, fits the same pattern.

⁴⁴ SALOMIES 1999, 147f., 153–6.

⁴⁵ Plautius Aquilinus, PIR² P 460; Plautius Quintillus, PIR² P 473.

⁴⁶ L. Hedi-
 dius Rufus Lollianus Avitus, *cos. ord.* 144, PIR² H 40. His children: an eponymous son,
 PIR² H 41; and Q. Hedi-
 dius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, PIR² H 42.

viated nomenclature, including an alternative *nomen*. His complete nomenclature is unknown. Intriguingly, the other children of Gentianus, Q. Hedijs Lollianus Plautius Avitus, *cos. ord.* 209, and Lolliana Plautia Sestia Servilla, use the *nomen* Plautius, which must enter this family from either the maternal line or an adoption.⁴⁷

If the source of the *nomen* «Plautius» can be traced in the family of Peducaeus, the *cognomen* «Quintillus» is of less certain provenance. To discern how «Quintillus» may have come to Plautius Quintillus, and thence to his son, it is necessary to eliminate other possible sources. The ancestry of his mother Avidia Plautia provides «Plautius». The more enigmatic «Quintillus» must then be derived from the parentage of his father, L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus, *cos. ord.* 125.⁴⁸ This man is a cipher. He was married to the well-connected Avidia Plautia, daughter of Avidius Nigrinus and Plautia. The marriage is necessarily invoked to explain his consulship.⁴⁹ In inscriptions and on papyri, he is known as «Titius Aquilinus» or «Aquilinus».⁵⁰ Only once, to my knowledge, is «Epidius» recorded (IGR 1. 1019); «Titius» seems to be employed more regularly as his *nomen*.

However, there is another significant piece of evidence regarding his nomenclature. The Consularia Vindobonensia (henceforth CV) records him as «Quintillo», and manuscripts of Prosper as «Quintillo», «Quintilli», and «Quinto».⁵¹ These items are marked as errors in the PIR. «Quintillo» (in its various forms) is doubtless thought to be a corruption of «Aquilino», which is recorded for the consul of 125 in the Descriptio Consulum, the Chronicon Paschale, and the Chronograph of 354.⁵² The PIR regards the entries in the CV and Prosper as errors presumably because they derive from a common source (or sources) from which many similar errors are transmitted, whereas the Descriptio Consulum in this case aligns with the recorded epigraphic evidence for Epidius' nomenclature.⁵³ It is demonstrable, however, that the CV and Prosper occasionally provide different, authentic names to the names recorded in the

⁴⁷ Terentius Gentianus, *cos. ord.* 211, PIR² H 37; Q. Hedijs Lollianus Plautius Avitus, *cos. ord.* 209, PIR² H 36; Lolliana Plautia Sestia Servilla, PIR² H 43. It is likely that the entry into the family of «Plautius» involved Peducaeus Quintillus, PIR² 474.

⁴⁸ Avidia Plautia's parents were Avidius Nigrinus and Plautia. See Stemma 1.

⁴⁹ Cf. the remarks of BIRLEY 1987, 247.

⁵⁰ PIR² T 262.

⁵¹ CV 222 (= Fasti Vindobonenses *pr/post*): Quintillo; Prosper 594, ms M: Quintilli; ms A: Quintillo; ms C: Quinto; Cursus paschalis 654: Quinto; Cassiod. 775: Quintus. «Quinto» in Prosper ms C may be safely discarded as an error deriving from either of the other manuscripts of Prosper; this error recurs in Victorius (who used Prosper as a source) and in Cassiodorus (who used Victorius).

⁵² Descr. 125 (= Consularia Constantinopolitana): Aquilino; Chronicon Paschale 125: Ἀκυλίνου (from Descr.); Chron. 354 125: Aquilino.

⁵³ BURGESS 2000, 266f., esp. n. 28. BURGESS lists the errors shared by Prosper and the CV (included in this list are the corresponding entries in the CV and Prosper containing «Quintillo»), and establishes that they share a common source, which was a corrupted version of the source for the Descriptio Consulum.

Descriptio Consulum.⁵⁴ BURGESS notes that previous sources usually recorded two *cognomina*, or a *nomen* and *cognomen*, and that discrepancies between the texts arose when the compiler of the common source of the CV and Prosper chose the penultimate name, whilst the compiler of the Descriptio Consulum selected the final name.⁵⁵ The simplest explanation for the presence of the *cognomen* «Quintillo» in the CV and Prosper is not, then, that «Quintillo» is a corruption from «Aquilino» in the Descriptio Consulum, but rather that «Quintillo» indicates an instance where different, authentic names were recorded from sources originally containing more than one name for each consul. On this basis, Epidius' full nomenclature may have been L. Epidius Titius Quintillus Aquilinus.

Via this excursus we return to Peducaeus. It is worth examining how Epidius could have acquired the *cognomen* «Quintillus», and this brings us back to the possible marriage of Pedania Quintilla and Peducaeus Saenianus. On this reconstruction, one of Epidius' parents was the child of M. Peducaeus Saenianus and Pedania Quintilla (as we shall see, considering the chronology, it is more likely his mother). This would link Epidius to the Spanish Pedanii. Such a connection could explain his favourable marriage to Avidia Plautia and his consulship.⁵⁶ Pedanii are not lacking among Hadrian's beneficiaries, or indeed among his victims in his final years, when the fate of young Pedanius Fuscus serves as an unfortunate indication of their prominence.⁵⁷ If Peducaeus was connected through his paternal grandfather Epidius to the Pedanii this would make him, in addition to being both a nephew and cousin of Lucius, a distant connection of Hadrian.

To complete the analysis of Epidius' parents, it is necessary to examine the hypothetical marriage of Pedania Quintilla and Peducaeus Saenianus, *cos. suff.* 89. The marriage is inferred from three roof tiles.⁵⁸ On the identity of her husband, CIL 15. 644 provides *ex praed(iis) Quintill(ae) Saeniani (uxoris)*, but the editor soberly concludes with some misgivings.⁵⁹ In the PIR it is on this basis, together with CIL

⁵⁴ BURGESS 2000, 263f. Among other examples he cites the entries for the years 60 (Cornelius Lentulus, Prosper: Cornelio, Descr.: Lentulo); 69 (T. Vinus Rufinus, Prosper: Silvano, Descr.: Tito Rufino); and 137 (L. Aelius Caesar, Prosper: Laelio, Descr.: Caesare).

⁵⁵ BURGESS 2000, 263–5 notes the evolution from *fasti* containing multiple names to *fasti* using only a single *cognomen* to identify each consul, selected by the various chronicles from either the final or penultimate *cognomen*.

⁵⁶ The marriage would be, then, before the suppression of Avidius Nigrinus in 118.

⁵⁷ Hadrian's connections to the Spanish Pedanii, and his eventual disfavour of them, are well documented. Hadr. 15. 8, 23. 1–9; Dio 69. 17. 1–3; CHAMPLIN 1976, 79–89.

⁵⁸ CIL 15. 642–4.

⁵⁹ The problem is outlined in the final note: «dubitari potest utrum *ex pr(aedis) Quintill(ae) Saeniani* legendum sit an *ex pr(aedis) Quintill(ae) Saeniani(s)*. Figlinae Saenianae nominantur in tegula n. 475.» This second reading produces an adjective concerning the tile itself, which would be more problematic concerning the identity of Quintilla's husband. CIL 15. 475 does little to clear matters: *de figulinis Saenianis Caeli Iuliani*, read as *De figulinis Saenianis Caeli Iuliani c(larissimi) v(iri)*. *De figulinis Saenianis* is in curved script, whilst the rest is straight.

15. 642–3, that the marriage is suggested.⁶⁰ The chronology at least presents no difficulty. Pedania Quintilla would herself be either the sister or the aunt of Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, *cos. ord.* 118.⁶¹ Peducaeus Saenianus' possible age when he reached his consulship in 89 must also be considered. He was at least thirty-two. Considering the early marriage-age of upper-class Roman women in this period, this provides a large window of fertility. It is possible that he and Pedania Quintilla had children by as early as c. 70 (if he was consul older than thirty-two in 89), and probable that they did by c. 79.⁶² Significantly in this case, a daughter of Pedania Quintilla and Peducaeus Saenianus – a hypothetical Peducaea Quintilla – born 70–80 could have children of her own by 85–95. The unrecorded Peducaea Quintilla, on this reconstruction, married a certain Epidius Titius Aquilinus, likewise unrecorded. Both parties perhaps died relatively young, leaving no trace except in the nomenclature of their son, L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus, *cos. ord.* 125 (who perhaps also, as suggested above, bore the *cognomen* «Quintillus»). On the proposed chronology he was born between c. 85 and 95. A proposed date of 93 would make him thirty-two at the time of his consulship in 125; the suggestion of such an honour is made possible by his own prestigious marriage to Avidia Plautia, and his connections to the Pedanii through his mother.

In summary, the argument that Peducaeus inherited his distinctive *nomen* supposes that his father, Plautius Quintillus, *cos. ord.* 159, incorporated the *nomen* «Peducaeus» from his paternal grandmother, and then passed it on to his son. This is not so far-fetched, considering what we can see from his attested names. Plautius Quintillus, husband to the sister of the emperor Lucius, used his mother's *cognomen* for his abbreviated name in the place where we might expect a paternal *nomen*. He probably took «Quintillus» directly from his father. Since he took his «Plautius» from his mother, the nomenclature associated him directly and publicly with his maternal line, which

⁶⁰ PIR² P 206.

⁶¹ WACHTEL in the PIR suggests that Pedania Quintilla is the sister of Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, *cos. ord.* 118. This Pedanius, admired by Pliny (Plin. [Y] Ep. 6. 11, 6. 26), shared his consulship with Hadrian, and by 113 was the father of Hadrian's great nephew. He was married to Julia Paulina, Hadrian's niece (the daughter of the august and ill-fated thrice-consul L. Julius Ursus Servianus). These are excellent grounds for supposing that Pedanius obtained his consulship at the earliest possible age of thirty-two. He was thus born c. 85 (PIR² P 200; SYME 1953, 156f.). But Pedania's husband Peducaeus Saenianus was at least thirty-two at the time of his consulship in 89. If he obtained his consulship *suo anno*, his marriage is likely dated c. 79, in his early twenties. If he did not obtain his consulship at the earliest possible date, then his marriage too may be dated as long as a decade before 79. This, in turn, places the birth of his wife – Pedania Quintilla – in the range of c. 56–66. So, if Pedania Quintilla was the sister of the consul of 118, this chronology implies she was at least two decades older than her brother. This is not impossible, but it is better to consider Pedania Quintilla the sister, rather than the daughter, of that Pedanius who was suffect consul in 84 (PIR² P 199–200; he was granted patrician status probably by Vespasian in 73–4) and therefore the daughter of the suffect consul of 61.

⁶² A marriage c. 70 would place Pedania's birth c. 55; in the twenties or thirties of her putative father, Pedanius Fuscus, who reached the suffect consulship in 61, PIR² P 201.

included Plautia, a fulcrum of the imperial dynasty. On his paternal side the case can be made that there was perhaps a certain Peducaea Quintilla, his father's mother. It is possible that Plautius' complete nomenclature, which on this measure included the *nomina* «Plautius» and «Peducaeus», and the *cognomen* «Quintillus», reflected the full glory of Plautia's imperial connections, together with the three recent consulships of his paternal grandmother's family, connections of the Pedanii.⁶³ His son Peducaeus would inherit his names in the regular fashion, without an adoption in either generation.

It is not possible to state with finality which of the three possibilities is correct. But the accepted theory, that Peducaeus was the adoptee, is not without difficulties. Chronology permits Plautius Quintillus to be the adoptee, and onomastics and prosopography make the argument that the *nomen* «Peducaeus», along with the *cognomen* «Quintillus», were transmitted to Plautius Quintillus by his paternal grandmother and father respectively, and he simply passed them to his son, Peducaeus. The accepted theory of Peducaeus' adoption remains possible, but it relies on a single inscription, and the absence of any inscription that provides the full nomenclature of his father. Since we do not know the full nomenclature of Plautius Quintillus, an adoption in either generation or the inheritance of the *nomen* cannot be ruled out. A close investigation, following one thread amongst the skein of ties between prominent Antonine families, shows some of the problems that onomastics can illuminate.

V. Peducaeus' imperial marriage and its context

Connected to the family of Lucius through his mother, we have seen that it is possible that an adoption had already removed Peducaeus from the immediate orbit of the Ceionii. If this was the case it meant that, while Lucius was alive, his male heirs (his potential children with Lucilla) would also be Marcus' grandchildren. In the event, Lucius had no surviving sons, and died in 169. It is after this date that Peducaeus became a son-in-law of Marcus. Dynastic control was the motivation for this marriage: once again, the male heirs of Lucius would be the grandchildren of Marcus. This is not incompatible with the idea that Peducaeus was adopted. It indicates rather that Marcus employed the same strategy – co-option through marriage – first on Lucius, then after Lucius' death on a close male relative of Lucius. Perhaps a previous adoption to remove Peducaeus from the Ceionii no longer seemed sufficient in the difficult years after Lucius' death, as Marcus attempted to secure Commodus' position as his heir.

Adopted or not, Peducaeus' marriage into the imperial family indicates that Marcus still required the support of the families to which Peducaeus was connected by blood, or at least needed to neutralise their dynastic prospects. With Lucilla, Lucius' widow,

⁶³ Plautius Quintillus was born c. 127, and thus on this argument could harness the prestige of the recent consulships of M. Peducaeus Saenianus, *cos. suff.* 89, Q. Peducaeus Priscinus, *cos. ord.* 93, and M. Peducaeus Priscinus, *cos. ord.* 110, PIR² P 224–4, with stemma, 85.

married to the *novus homo* Claudius Pompeianus in 169 (to the possible chagrin of Pompeianus' fellow Syrian, the more aristocratic Avidius Cassius), the marriage of an imperial princess to a nephew of the deceased Lucius may have been expedient. The same factors that could have motivated an engineered adoption also provided the dynastic appeal. The date of Peducaeus' marriage to Fadilla is not known. Fadilla was born c. 159, making her old enough for marriage by c. 172, when she would be around thirteen.⁶⁴ But this is merely the earliest date. The marriage surely took place before the consulship of Peducaeus and Commodus in 177.⁶⁵

It is possible to refine this estimate to dates either before or after the rebellion of Cassius; that is, between 172 and early 175, and between 175 and January 177. Dynastic factors are present in both periods. Considering the period between 172–5, it is worth emphasising that the high mortality of the period had also touched the imperial family. Marcus had previously lost sons and a daughter: the twin of Commodus had died in 165, and five sons and one daughter before that.⁶⁶ His adult cousin Annius Libo died in Syria in 164, and his cousin M. Ummidius disappears from view after his consulship in 167.⁶⁷ Lucius died early in 169, and later in that year Marcus lost another son.⁶⁸ The plague was rampant in Rome. In the late 160s and early 170s Marcus was personally engaged in a dangerous war, not in the wealthy East, but along the Danube. It was a grim and thankless conflict, with no grand cities to sack. Some of his commanders perished in battle or from the plague.⁶⁹ The question of the succession surely loomed in such circumstances, if it ever really disappeared from view in an age of relatively high mortality. If Marcus had died around 172, Commodus would have been his heir. The practical implications of this possibility for contemporary parties should not be ignored. A boy of eleven could not supervise the Marcomannic Wars as anything more than a figurehead. The real power would reside with Marcus' trusted marshals – in 172 these were men like his son-in-law Pompeianus, his cousin's husband Vitrasius Pollio, Fronto's son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus, and (before 175) Avidius Cassius.

But what of the heirs of Lucius? There were no surviving male children from his marriage to Lucilla, and Lucius' relatives and connections seem to have faded from

⁶⁴ The usual age for marriage among aristocratic families was between fourteen and fifteen for women, and this average was lower during the Antonine period. LELIS et al. 2003, 63–5. On Fadilla's date of birth, see AMELING 1992, 152–66.

⁶⁵ Not enough is known of the ages of his two children by Fadilla to give a date for his marriage. See BIRLEY 1987, 182.

⁶⁶ BIRLEY 1987, 274.

⁶⁷ SYME 1979, 307.

⁶⁸ PIR² A 698.

⁶⁹ The fallen commanders in the initial years of the war included two praetorian prefects, T. Furius Victorinus and M. Claudius Fronto, and the experienced Macrinus Vindex. Furius Victorinus: CIL 6. 39440 = 41143 = ILS 9002; Claudius Fronto: CIL 6. 1377 = 31640 = ILS 1098; Macrinus Vindex: PIR² M 25.

prominence in the *fasti* after his death.⁷⁰ His nephew Peducaeus, however, would be twenty-six or twenty-seven in 172. This is around the same age Hadrian's nephew, Pedanius Fuscus, had been when Hadrian suppressed him. A marriage of Peducaeus to Fadilla occurring 172–5 must be viewed in the context of the uneasy circumstances of those years.⁷¹ It is true that by such a marriage Marcus risked creating a competitor to Commodus, but it was a calculated gamble. Leaving a male heir of Lucius independent of his own line perhaps seemed to Marcus a greater risk, even if Peducaeus had been adopted away from the imperial family. The only options available to him regarding this close relative of Lucius were co-option or suppression, and he seems to have lacked some of the more ruthless instincts of Hadrian.⁷² He perhaps wanted to avoid a situation where the subordinate branch of the imperial dynasty attempted to reclaim primacy.⁷³ He himself was arguably the beneficiary of such circumstances through Antoninus' manoeuvring.

The second range of possible dates, 175–7, involves the same factors present from 172–5, though they are more urgent in this period. In addition to the loss of many children and the dangers of a long, difficult war and the plague, Cassius' rebellion in 175, however downplayed by Dio (and Marcus), was a shock and exposed to Marcus the vulnerability of his dynastic plans.⁷⁴ He promoted Commodus rapidly to the position of virtual co-emperor and surrounded him with a solid bloc of *amici* drawn from his sons-in-law and trusted adherents.⁷⁵ These were men who had little connection to the Ceionii. Peducaeus is the exception to this trend, being himself closely related to Lucius. In the context of the aftermath of Cassius' rebellion, the marriage of Peducaeus and Fadilla, which brought Lucius' nephew directly into the imperial family,

⁷⁰ RIC 1738 depicts Lucilla with two small children and an infant. FITTSCHEN 1982, 150 places their births in 165, 166, and 167. Two of the children, a boy and a girl, seem to have died young, though exactly when is unclear. Her surviving daughter was betrothed to the young Claudius Pompeianus (PIR² C 975), who was killed along with Lucilla after the failed conspiracy of 182. He was perhaps a nephew of her husband Ti. Claudius Pompeianus.

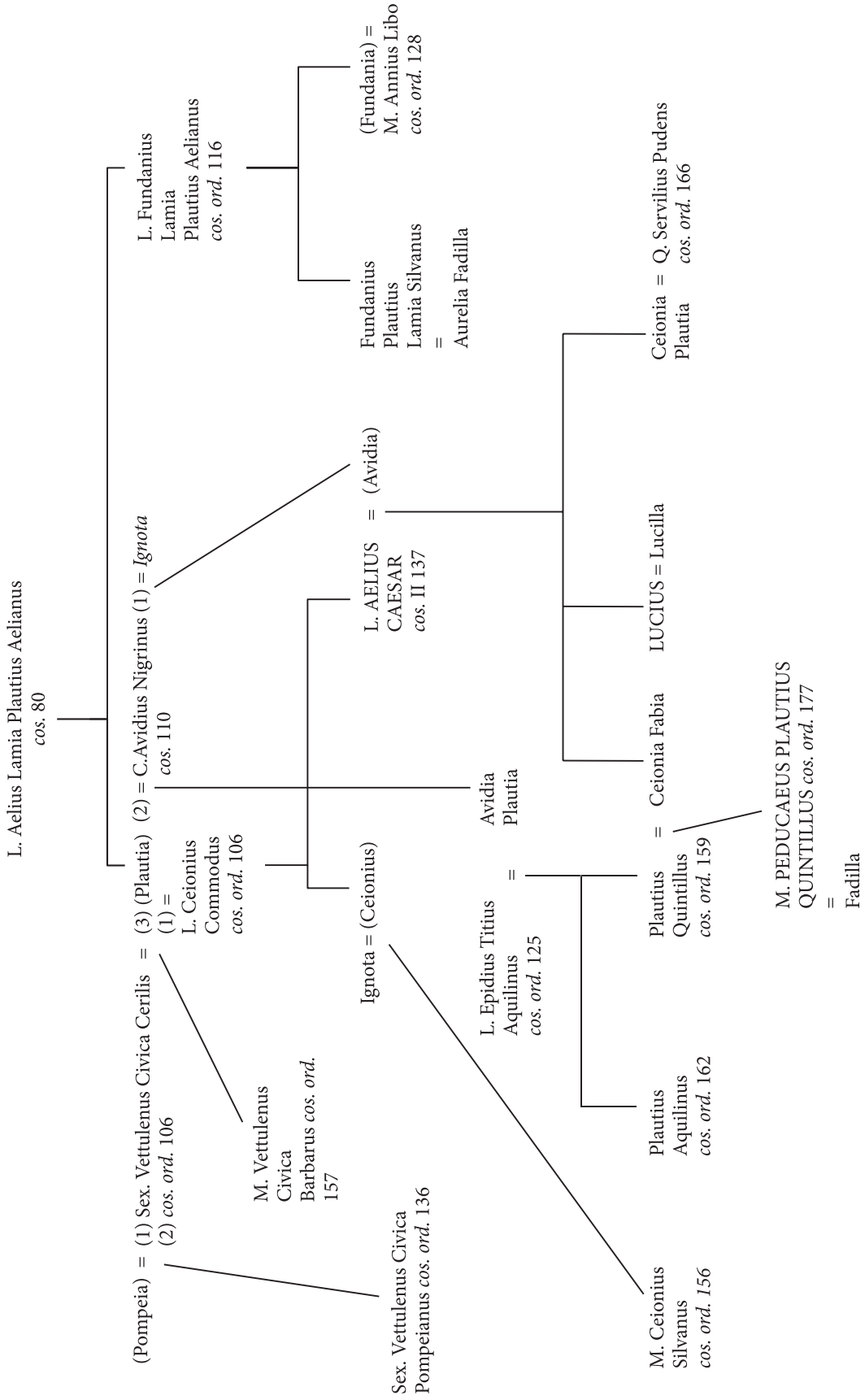
⁷¹ BIRLEY 1987, 182 regards the marriage as probably having taken place before 175.

⁷² Hadrian and the Severans were less scrupulous than Marcus. HEKSTER has noted how whenever imperial ambition or connections became pronounced by a connection of the Antonines, catastrophe soon followed. The spurious adoption of Septimius Severus would evidently not stand competition with genuine relations of the dynasty. HEKSTER 2001, 44–6, esp. nn. 44–8.

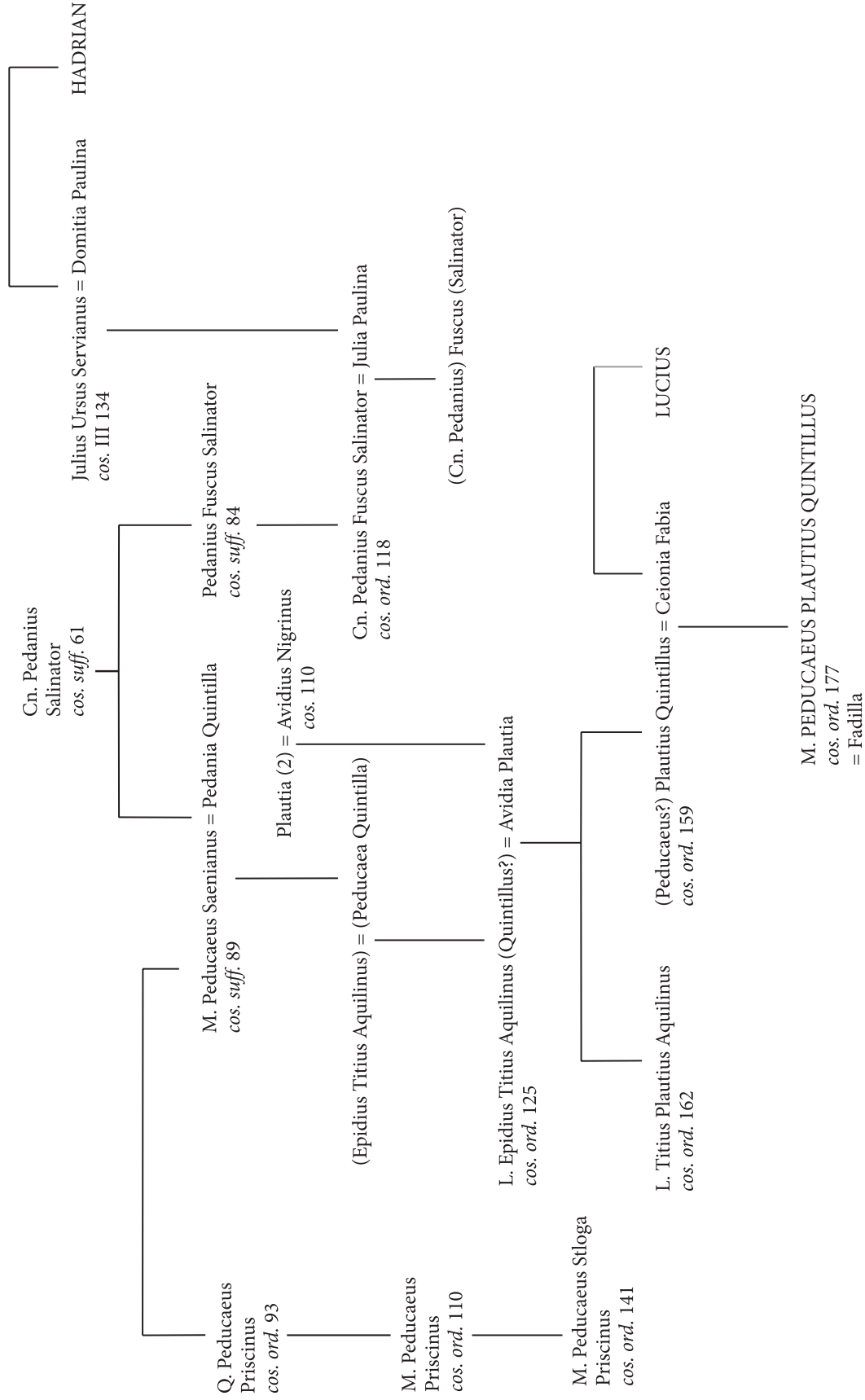
⁷³ Such a situation did in fact occur in 193 after the death of Commodus. See CHAMPLIN 1979, 305: «If ... Pertinax was indeed the interim candidate of Claudius Pompeianus and Acilius Glabrio, and if Sosius Falco was indeed the son of Ceionia Fabia, the intrigues of the reign of Pertinax could resolve themselves into a simple struggle between two branches of the Antonine dynasty, with the Ceionii, unsullied by the excesses of Commodus, seeking to fulfill the promise made to them by Hadrian sixty years before.»

⁷⁴ Dio 72. 17. 1, 72. 22. 2–3; Marc. 24. 6, 25. 1; JARVIS 2015, 666–76; HEKSTER 2002, 34–9; BIRLEY 1987, 184–98.

⁷⁵ Comm. 1. 11, 2. 2–3, 12. 3–5.



Stemma 1. After SYME 1957 and BIRLEY 1987



Stemma 2. Proposed ancestry of M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, showing acquisition of the nomen Peducaeus through his paternal grandfather

represents another aspect of Marcus' attempts to ensure the security of Commodus' succession.

Peducaeus' dynastic connections to both Marcus and Lucius no doubt played some part in his eventual fate. He appears to have remained active in the senate, remarking boldly to Didius Julianus, who desired to make peace with Severus, that a man who could not defeat his opponent by force of arms ought not to rule.⁷⁶ Dio records that Severus eventually ordered Peducaeus' death in 205. Severus removed thereby one of the last genuine connections to the previous dynasty.⁷⁷ Whatever Peducaeus' adoptive status, certainly Marcus, like Severus, was conscious of Peducaeus' ancestry and his connection to Lucius. These connections, together with circumstances throughout the 170s, suggest the reasons for Peducaeus' marriage to Fadilla.

VI. Conclusions

Peducaeus, adopted or not, was no doubt an important factor in the dynastic calculations of Marcus. This is particularly significant in the context of the 170s: the perilous Marcomannic wars, the lingering plague, and the rebellion of Avidius Cassius. At any point from 172–7, it was expedient for Marcus to form a connection to Lucius' nephew, to attempt to neutralise him as a rival for Commodus by co-opting him into the imperial family. If Peducaeus did indeed inherit his distinctive *nomen* and was not adopted by Peducaeus Stloga, then Marcus' motivation for a marriage that brought Peducaeus directly into the imperial family would be more immediate. If he were adopted, circumstances and context nonetheless make the argument that Marcus moved to ensure that any children of Peducaeus would be his own grandchildren, just as he had with Lucius. The lessons of dynastic planning, and the suppression or co-opting of rivals, were not lost on a different kind of emperor. Septimius Severus would reach the nadir of such dynastic manipulation through his use of Pertinax's name, and subsequently by his risible adoption into Marcus' family.

During a long, stable reign the manoeuvring of the inter-connected aristocracy is sometimes difficult to glimpse, but the reign of Marcus had its share of crises. An investigation into the possible adoption of Peducaeus, as well as his imperial marriage, demonstrates that prosopography can yet serve to expose Antonine dynastic machinations. The elucidation of these possibilities clarifies alternatives and demonstrates the methods an emperor used to maintain the delicate balance between his own house and the aristocracy from which he had emerged. Adoption and marriage, dynastic strategies long employed by the great houses of the Republic, were important political tools

⁷⁶ Did. Iul. 6. 6–7.

⁷⁷ Dio 77. 7. 3–5. A connection between the Pedanii and Peducaeus would add a grim, familial significance to Peducaeus' dying reference to the curse laid upon Hadrian by Servianus (Dio 69. 17. 2.), who was suppressed on Hadrian's orders alongside his grandson, Hadrian's grand-nephew Pedanius Fuscus.

in the hands of an emperor. Marcus had in his youth learned first-hand the subtleties of political adoption and marriage, and the importance of controlling propinquity to the imperial power.

School of History, Classics and Archaeology
University of Edinburgh
Paul.Jarvis@ed.ac.uk

Bibliography

- AMELING, W. (1992) Die Kinder des Marc Aurel und die Bildnistypen der Faustina Minor, ZPE 90, 147–66.
- BARNES, T. D. (1967) Hadrian and Lucius Verus, JRS 57, 65–79.
- BIRLEY, A. R. (1987²) Marcus Aurelius.
- BROUGHTON, TH. R. (1952) The magistrates of the Roman republic 2: 99 B.C. – 31 B.C.
- BRUUN, C. (2007) The Antonine Plague and the «third-century crisis», in: O. HEKSTER – G. DE KLEIJN – D. SLOOTJES (eds.) Crises and the Roman Empire, 201–18.
- BURGESS, R. (2000) «Non duo Antonini sed duo Augusti»: the consuls of 161 and the origins and traditions of the Latin consular fasti of the Roman Empire, ZPE 132, 259–90.
- BURTON, G. P. (1995) The Inheritance of the Consulate in the Antonine Period: A Problem Revisited, Phoenix 49, 218–31.
- CHAMPLIN, E. (1976) Hadrian's Heir, ZPE 21, 79–89.
- (1979) Notes on the Heirs of Commodus, AJP 100, 288–306.
- CHAUSSON, F. (2007) Variétés généalogiques. IV – Cohésion, collusions, collisions: une autre dynastie antonine, in: G. BONAMENTE – H. BRANDT (eds.) HAC Bambergense, 123–63.
- (2013) Le patriciat des *Pedanii*, Epigraphica 75, 167–86.
- CORBIER, M. (1991) Divorce and Adoption as Familial Strategies, in: B. RAWSON (ed.) Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome, 47–78.
- DEGRASSI, A. (1952) I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo.
- DUNCAN-JONES, R. P. (1996) The impact of the Antonine plague, JRA 9, 108–36.
- FITTSCHEN, K. (1982) Die Bildnistypen der Faustina minor und die *Fecunditas Augustae*.
- GARDNER, J. F. (1998) Family and *Familia* in Roman Law and Life.
- GILLIAM, J. F. (1961) The Plague under Marcus Aurelius, AJP 82, 225–51.
- GROAG, E. (1937) s. v. Peducaeus, RE 19. 1, 45–54.
- HEKSTER, O. J. (2001) All in the Family: The Appointment of Emperors Designate in the Second Century A.D., in: L. DE BLOIS (ed.) Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire, 35–49.
- (2002) Commodus: An Emperor at the Crossroads.
- JARVIS, P. (2015) Avidius Cassius and Maecianus in the *Historia Augusta*, Mnemosyne 68, 666–76.
- KEIL, J. (1938) Kaiser Marcus und die Thronfolge, Klio 31, 293–300.
- KUNST, C. (2005) Römische Adoption: zur Strategie einer Familienorganisation.
- LELIS, A. A. – PERCY, W. A. – VERSTRAETE, B. C. (2003) The Age of Marriage in Ancient Rome.
- MÜNZER, F. (1929) s. v. Sex. Stloga, RE 3A. 2, 2552.
- PFLAUM, H.-G. (1961) Les Gendres de Marc-Aurele, JSav 1, 28–41.
- RAEPSAET-CHARLIER, M.-T. (1987) Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre senatorial (I^{er}–II^e siècles).

RAWSON, B. (2003) *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*.

SALOMIES, O. (1987) *Die römischen Vornamen: Studien zur römischen Namengebung*.

– (1992) *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire*.

– (1999) *Names and Adoptions in Ancient Rome*, in: M. CORBIER (ed.) *Adoption et Fosterage*, 141–56.

SYME, R. (1939) *The Roman Revolution*.

– (1953) Review of A. DEGRASSI, *I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, *JRS* 43, 148–61 = RP 1, 231–59.

– (1957) *Vettuleni and Ceionii: Antonine Relatives*, *Athenaeum* 35, 306–15 = *Roman Papers* (RP) 1, 325–32.

– (1968) *The Ummidii*, *Historia* 17, 72–105 = RP 2, 659–93.

– (1979) *Ummidius Quadratus: Capax Imperii*, *HSCP* 83, 287–310 = RP 3, 1158–78.

– (1983) *The Proconsuls of Asia under Antoninus Pius*, *ZPE* 51, 271–90 = RP 4, 325–46.

– (1984) *Hadrian and the Senate*, *Athenaeum* 62, 31–60 = RP 4, 295–324.

– (1985a) *The Paternity of Polyonymous Consuls*, *ZPE* 61, 191–8 = RP 5, 639–47.

– (1985b) *The Testamentum Dasumii: Some Novelties*, *Chiron* 15, 41–63.

Der CHIRON wird jahrgangweise und in Leinen gebunden ausgeliefert.
Bestellungen nehmen alle Buchhandlungen entgegen.

Verlag: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston

Druck und buchbinderische Verarbeitung: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen

*Anschrift der Redaktion: Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des
Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Amalienstr. 73b, 80799 MÜNCHEN, DEUTSCHLAND
redaktion.chiron@dainst.de*