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HERODIAN

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HERODIAN

BOOKS I-IV

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
C. R. WHITTAKER



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PREFACE

Although there have been many editions of Herodian's *History*, few have seriously treated the author as a historian. Yet ironically the selection of fortune has preserved Herodian as one of only two historians who were contemporary writers of the turbulent period in the Roman empire following the death of Marcus Aurelius and whose work has survived to the present day. And even Cassius Dio, the other historian, can only be read in the distorted form of the later epitomes of his history. So by any account Herodian's *History* is an important document, for all its defects.

The first aim of this edition (other than the translation) has been to remedy the deficiency by providing an historical commentary on the text and an assessment of the value of Herodian's evidence. Inevitably much has been left unsaid, sometimes because of the exigencies of space, but often because the data are too sparse to admit of precise answers. Consequently, the second aim has been to collate the main evidence that exists and to provide a bibliographic guide for those who would go further. The problem has been to avoid, on the one hand, the oversimplified and confident statement of fact where only hypothesis exists, and on the other hand, overlengthy notes on all the *cruces*.

There has been little attempt to discuss questions

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of style and language, not because they are unimportant but because they have received attention fairly frequently in the past. Similarly, there are few novelties in the text or translation.

I am deeply grateful to John Graham for the valuable comments and corrections he has made and the time he has given up to restrain some of the wilder flights of my imagination; it is not his fault that some errors remain. Moses Finley and John Crook have both given me encouragement and Anthony Bulloch has generously assisted me in checking references. Above all, I must acknowledge my debt to the Provost and Fellows of King's College, Cambridge, who made it possible for me to write this book under such ideal conditions.

C. R. WHITTAKER

*University of Ghana,
1967*

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE OF HERODIAN

Facts about Herodian's life are few; therefore theories are many. Nothing is known for certain about the historian except what he himself says in his writings. And since he is given to imprecision, much of that is inadequate or obscured by linguistic ambiguities. The date of composition and exact dates when he lived, his social status and position, his nationality, even his name are matters for debate. The answers are bound to be speculative.

Date of life and composition

The *History* of Herodian extends from the death of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 180) to the accession of Gordian III (A.D. 238), a period of fifty-eight years which the historian claims fell within his own lifetime: "I have written a history of the events following the death of Marcus which I heard and saw in my lifetime" (1.2.5). In two places he adds to this statement. In the first he says, "In a period of sixty years the Roman empire was shared by more rulers than the years warranted" (1.1.5); and in the second, "My aim is to write a systematic account of the events within a period of seventy years, covering the reigns of several emperors, of which I have personal experience" (2.15.7). Hence arises the

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first ambiguity. If one assumes that the terminal dates of his life are at least 180 to 238,¹ how far either way must they be extended? Many editors have concluded that one of the figures of 60 or 70 in the MSS must be corrupt,² a hazard that one has to admit is of notorious incidence with respect to numerals.³ If both figures were in fact 60, they would roughly correspond to the period of fifty-eight years actually covered by the *History*.

It is possible that the inconsistency of the numerals is simply an error of Herodian; and if so, instructive, because it is not the only sign of hastily produced and carelessly checked work.⁴ By this argument Herodian wrote c. 250 (i.e. seventy years after 180), intending to bring the *History* right up to the date of writing. For one reason or another, perhaps simply because he was a very old man on the threshold of death, he decided, after starting, to terminate the *History* at 238; before final publication, while writing the *prooemium* to Book I, he failed to notice the inconsistency with what he had earlier written in Book II.⁵ The theory is not unattractive; but is there really any inconsistency?

¹ Not necessarily true if H. is being less than literal; but unless some credence is given to his words, there is no starting-point for study.

² E.g. L. Mendelssohn, edit., Leipzig, 1883, in *app. critic.* to 2.15.7 ἐξήκοντα, *volebant homines docti plures*; cf. R. Sievers, *Philol.* 26 (1867) 31.

³ Therefore the temptation to emend rather than explain is strong; e.g. 5.8.10n.

⁴ See p. 418 n. 1.

⁵ This is the argument of, among others, J. Blaufuss, *Observationes ad Herod. rerum Romanarum scriptores libros V et VI* (Erlangen, 1893) 4 ff.; cf. F. Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1951) 217.

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A closer examination of the two passages in question shows that they are reconcilable. In the first Herodian speaks of sixty years of social and political revolution covered by his *History*. In the second he states that this period fell *within* his own lifetime of seventy years. But by clutching at straws one sometimes crushes them. The ages of sixty and seventy are conventional, round figures to describe old age,¹ and the historian may mean no more than this. Certainly the exact dates of his life are made no more precise by the figures.

There are, however, other references in the *History* which help to date the author, since they refer to events that Herodian himself witnessed. The first of these is the games of Commodus in 192 (1.15.4) and the second the Secular Games of Severus in 204 (3.8.10). It has often been noticed that the first book in particular is much concerned with occasions in the theatres or festivals²—often with attendant riots—just the very events most likely to impress a young

¹ E.g. the ages given by Philostratus (almost exactly contemporary with H.) of the sophist Alexander "Peloplaton" and Aelius Aristides at the time of their deaths; "some say that he reached the age of sixty, others that he was seventy"; Philos. *VS* 2.6.576 (Olearius), 2.6.570(01); cf. Diog. Laert. 1.60, Lucian, *Alex.* 34, etc.

² By, for example, Wolf and Poblöcki (quoted on p. xii, n. 2). But Kreutzer's argument (see p. lxxvi) that H. is following the order and selection of events in Dio's history of Commodus's reign, while not necessarily inconsistent with Poblöcki's view, could also mean that H. did not witness most of these events personally. One should also note the remarks of H. Nesselhauf, *H.-A. Colloquium Bonn 1964/5* (Bonn, 1966) 134, who quotes SHA, *Comm.* 15.4, to the effect that many of the circus and theatre appearances of the emperor were recorded in the *acta urbis*, where H. could have read of them.

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boy. If Herodian witnessed the games of 192, he probably wore the *toga virilis* by that date, since younger children were not normally admitted. That is to say, in 192 Herodian must have been in his fourteenth year at least and have been born before 178. Perhaps these were the first big games that he had attended.¹

Many commentators have favoured a date of composition of about 240, just after the last events described in Book VIII. The argument is that, if Herodian was seventy at the time of composition and if one accepts his word that he personally witnessed the events of his *History*, then he must have been about ten years old in 180 when the *History* begins, since he could hardly claim to remember anything if he were only two or three at that date.² But this really does strain the meaning of Herodian's words—even if he had claimed to have witnessed every incident, which in fact he does not. If that had been the case, how could he have written of activities in Africa, Pannonia, North Italy and Rome, all within the year 238? There are furthermore some quite strong arguments against a date of composition in the reign of Gordian III (238–44), certainly as far as Books VII and VIII are concerned.³ For instance, the portrait of Gordian's grandfather, Gordian I, is far from

¹ The point is made by F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo* (Torino, 1964) 31.

² The argument of J. v. Pablocki, *De Herodiani vita, ingenio, scriptis* (Monasterium, 1864) 5, quoting similar views held by F. A. Wolf; cf. E. Volkmann, *De Herodiani vita, scriptis fideque* (Königsberg, 1859) 11.

³ See Blaufuss 9, Cassola 218.

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flattering; a mild but weak man (7.5.4 ff.) whose *refus de pouvoir* is treated with scepticism (7.5.7), and about whose death a most unfavourable story is repeated (7.9.4). Neither is the accession of the young boy in 238 regarded with any great enthusiasm by the historian. The youthful emperor, aged only thirteen, followed in a line of *principes pueri* whom the whole *optimus princeps*—ideology of the *History* discredits (e.g. 1.1.6, 1.3.1–5, 2.1.3, 2.10.3, etc.). Gordian attained power first with the aid of the urban mob (7.10.5) and then of the praetorian guard (8.8.7), both of whom are systematically represented in an unfavourable light throughout the *History* (e.g. *plebs infima*—1.12.1, 7.7.1; praetorians—2.6.2, 4.5.1, etc.). The faction of the Gordiani used the strained relations between the senate and praetorians and senate and urban plebs in a cynical bid for power that nullified the senatorial revolution. Gordian III became emperor against the wishes of the majority of the senate.¹ If the *vita Gordianorum* is to be trusted for a period of frustrating obscurity, the early years of the boy-emperor were ones of internal graft and corruption and external revolt and secession, in which the freedmen at court and the empress mother played some part.² So Herodian's remarks about

¹ L. Homo, *Rev. Hist.* 131 (1919) 251–2; “L'avènement de Gordien III se fait en opposition complète à la politique du sénat”; although a group of senators supported Gordian. The rest acquiesced in the inevitable after the murder of Pupienus and Balbinus, and a compromise lasted until Timesitheus' rise to power in 241.

² SHA, *Gord.* 23.7; P. W. Townsend, *YCS* 4 (1934) 61 ff., makes a spirited attempt to whitewash the early years, largely on the basis of rescripts and petitions from provincials,

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imperial freedmen at court (1.6.8), or about an empress that dominates her young son (6.1.10, etc.) might have been dangerous to publish between 238 and 241 at least. After that date Timesitheus, the praetorian prefect and father-in-law of Gordian, dominated the reign until his death in 244. Though he was an efficient administrator in dealing with the problems of the frontier, the prefect's regime represented a counter-revolution and a return to the anti-senatorial appointments initiated by Perennis (unsuccessfully) and continued by the Severi.¹ Herodian's unfavourable comments on Perennis and more especially on another prefect who was also father-in-law to a young Augustus—Plautian, the prefect of Severus—might have suggested comparison with Timesitheus. It is easier to believe that the date of composition was subsequent to 244.²

such as that contained in the Scaptopare inscription (*IGRR* 1.674). But Severus had passed measures against delation and Commodus had received petitions from the *coloni* of Africa, yet both dealt viciously with senatorial opposition.

¹ E.g. the appointment of an unknown centurion of the praetorians as *dux legionum Daciae* (*ILS* 2773), much as Perennis had appointed L. Artorius Castus over the British legions; H. G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (Paris, 1960) no. 334, A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des röm. Heeres* (reissue B. Dobson, Köln, 1967) 187 and 229.

² I believe that H.'s remark in 6.6.6 about renewed Persian activity refers to the period immediately preceding the expedition of 241, and was therefore written after that date. It is usually assumed that a Persian invasion on N. Mesopotamia took place in the reign of Maximinus on the basis of Zon. 12.18, Syncellus 1.681 (Bonn) and SHA, *Max. and Balb.* 13.5. But in 7.8.4 the speech of Maximinus explicitly denies this—surely better evidence, especially if H. were living in the East (see p. xxvi). The absence of coinage from Mesopotamian

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If not writing during the reign of Gordian, it is likely that Herodian composed the *History* in the reign of Gordian's successor, M. Julius Philippus (244–9), for he was seventy years old by the time Philip's rule ended.¹ But apart from the argument of age, there are some circumstances of Philip's life (however little is known of this period) which are aptly paralleled by the subject matter of the *History*. For instance, Philip rose to the purple from being an equestrian and a praetorian prefect, very much like the first equestrian emperor, Macrinus. Herodian, in marked contrast to Dio, finds nothing objectionable in an equestrian emperor as such. It was only Macrinus' failures that he criticized. Instead of defeating the Parthians, he bought them off with a subsidy (4.15.8); though he should have hastened to return to Rome, he led a life of luxury and ease in Antioch; he neither employed the soldiers in war nor satisfied them enough to control them (5.2.3–7). But Philip fought and concluded an advantageous peace with the Persians;² he then wasted no time in getting

cities from 235 to 238 and the independence of Edessa, which is used as an argument (e.g. A. R. Bellinger, *The excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VI* (New Haven, 1949) 208 and *YCS* 5 (1935) 144–6), could be explained if Alexander had never recovered Nisibis and Carrhae (see 6.5.2n).

¹ R. L. Burrows, *Prolegomena to Herodian* (Diss. Ann Arbor, 1956) 13, suggests the reign of Decius (c. A.D. 251), but only on the basis of an entirely hypothetical ninth book which H. supposedly projected to imitate Herodotus. Apart from the unexplained reason why a ninth book should run from 244 to 251, H.'s model was, if anyone, Thucydides—and he wrote eight books.

² Details and refs. to Philip are in E. Stein, *RE* (Philippus 386) 755–70, *PIR*J 461. The famous Kaaba inscription of

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to Rome (before 20th July 244) to establish his claim to the principate. His military qualities are shown by the fact that before the next year he was on the Danube, where he remained until 247 winning victories, restoring the province of Dacia and Moesia Inferior and assuming titles from wars against the Germans (Quadi?) and Carpi. In 247 he returned to Rome to make his son co-emperor on terms of equality such as had only been known before in the reign of Pupienus and Balbinus.¹ In April 248 the millennial games celebrating the founding of Rome were held with great pomp. "Das war die Höhepunkt in Philipps Regierung," says Stein, before the storm broke in the following year. Herodian approved of the double principate (e.g. 4.3.9, 8.7.6); he was opposed to subsidies for the barbarians (e.g. 1.3.5, 1.6.5, 2.2.8, 6.3.7); and he praised emperors of low status whose *virtus* was worth more than *nobilitas*. The stereotype of the *optimus princeps*, so often formulated by the sophists and philosophers in the post-Flavian empire, and thematic in Herodian's *History* (e.g. 1.5.6, 2.3.2-5, 5.1.6-8), was particularly relevant to Philip. When Macrinus says, "No one

the so-called history or *res gestae divi Saporis* alleges a crushing defeat of Philip and the payment of a large subsidy by him; if there is any truth in the words, the agreement was immediately abrogated, as Zon. 12.19 suggests; quotations and discussions are in A. T. Olmstead, *CP* 37 (1942) 255 ff., who points out the territorial gains of Philip. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Berytus* 8 (1943) 31, denies even the loss of Armenia and says (p. 44), "Shapurh certainly respected Philip."

¹ The title of *pontifex maximus*, normally reserved for the senior partner, was taken by both; cf. 8.8.4n for possibly one instance of the elder Gordiani holding the title together.

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should think I am unworthy or consider it a mistake of fortune that I have risen from the equestrian order to this position" (5.1.5), it might have been Philip speaking. Immediately before these words the letter of Macrinus says, "As long as I hold power everyone shall live free from fear and bloodshed, and this shall be a rule of the aristocracy rather than a tyranny." Philip's rule, too, was an attempt to return to the days of partnership between emperor and senate that had prevailed under Severus Alexander.¹

The centennial games of 248—actually the millennial games to celebrate the thousandth year of Rome²—was not only the occasion for reinforcing the dynastic claims of Philip but probably regarded by writers as an opportunity for winning imperial favour by publicizing the new dawn.³ One Greek historian, Asinius Quadratus, wrote a work called the *Χιλιετηρίς* (*Millennium*), a history from earliest times to Severus Alexander, to coincide with the event.⁴ This may

¹ Stein, *loc. cit.* 765, Pflaum, *Carrières* 847; cf. also Pflaum, p. 876, for the conservatism of Philip's appointments; *CAH* XII. 89 (Ensslin).

² That was by one reckoning. There were two interpretations of the *magnum annus*, one of 110 years followed by Augustus, Domitian and Severus in the celebration of their Secular Games; the other of 100 years followed by Claudius and Antoninus Pius before Philip.

³ Cf. Vergil *A.* 6.792, *Augustus Caesar divi genus aurea condet Saecula*; and, of course, the official *carmen saeculare* of Horace.

⁴ The *Suda* "Κοδρᾶρος"; Schwartz, *RE* (Asinius 31) 1603-4, rightly believes the work to have been written for the occasion, even though it terminated with Severus Alexander; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.* (München,

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have been the occasion too when the Athenian author and sophist, Nicagoras, led a delegation to Philip to deliver a congratulatory address.¹ So Herodian may have thought the Secular Games a useful occasion to produce his *History*, though there is no need to assume it was written specially for the event. Indeed one would guess that the collection of material and writing had taken two or three years and had been begun perhaps on the death of Gordian.² The announcement of the Secular Games, probably on Philip's return to Rome in 247, may account for the signs of haste in the *History*, hurriedly completed for the event. An ill-assimilated and unchronological reference to the Secular Games of Severus in 204 (3.8.10) may be accountable to the same cause, written after the main passage had been drafted. But the later written *prooemium* at the beginning of Book I has an air of *fin de siècle* about it. "A comparative survey of the period of about two

1924) 2.2.801, suppose that a quotation of Quadratus in Dio (Xiph.) 73.3.3 must derive from Dio, thereby proving an earlier date of composition; but the quotation was probably added by Xiphilinus, F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford, 1964) 62. Quadratus was probably the senator, C. Asinius Protinus Quadratus, a benefactor of Ephesus, *PIR*²A 1244-6.

¹ The *Suda* "Νικαγόρας" does not give a date, but the other possible date of 244 must have seemed less auspicious for Philip, troubled by frontier crises; in 247/8 he had returned to Rome in triumph after securing the provinces of Macedonia, Thrace and Moesia Inferior—a matter of concern to the Athenians.

² Cassius Dio had taken ten years of preparation and twelve years of writing to produce his much longer work; Dio (Xiph.) 72.23.5.

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hundred years from Augustus . . . to the age of Marcus" (1.1.4) is compared to the recently by-gone period. Year 1 of the reign of Marcus was 148, the first year of the new *saeculum*. Like Asinius Quadratus, however, Herodian did not venture into the reign of Gordian III, which would have involved embarrassing circumlocutions to describe Philip's accession to power, over the heads of Timesitheus, who had shown him and his brother favours, and of Gordian, his newly acquired protégé. Whether or not Philip had murdered them both, there were ugly rumours about the incidents.¹ Philip officially claimed legal succession to Gordian, who was duly deified.

The position and status of Herodian

Herodian makes two statements about his personal position in relation to the events he narrates. In 1.2.5 he says, "I have written a history of the events following the death of Marcus which I saw and heard in my lifetime. I had a personal share in some of these events during my imperial and public service." The second passage in 2.15.7 has already been quoted, repeating the claim of a personal knowledge of the events he relates. The words "imperial and public service" have caused the historian to be described as a senator, an equestrian procurator or an imperial freedman. Few would follow Volckmann² in attribu-

¹ S. J. Oost, *CP* 53 (1958) 106-7, believes that Porphyry's account of the "escape" of Plotinus and the Sibylline oracle's so-called prophecy of the betrayal of Gordian, prove Philip's guilt, but the case is still non-proven; Walser-Pekáry, *Die Krise des röm. Reiches* (Berlin, 1962) 20.

² Volckmann, *de Herod. vita*, 6.

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ting senatorial status to Herodian because of his knowledge of a so-called *senatus consultum tacitum*—a secret resolution of the senate when they selected Pupienus and Balbinus as emperors (7.10.3). News of this particular meeting was deliberately leaked by certain senators, but it is unlikely that any resolution would have stayed secret for ten years. Herodian does not show the same interest in nor possess the same information about senatorial affairs as his contemporary Cassius Dio (e.g. 2.3.11, 2.6.13). He displays none of Dio's anger at some of the less conventional behaviour of the equestrian emperor, Macrinus¹ (5.2.6). As far as Herodian was concerned the sins of Macrinus were those of morals, not etiquette.

On the other hand, it is indisputable that the main developments of Roman historiography lay rooted in a tradition of writers who, if not senators themselves, were tied to senatorial patronage. Nor does Dio necessarily represent the views of all senators, particularly not the views of the new Severan élite who were recently promoted to the senate. In the third century social mobility between senatorial and equestrian orders was increasing and there was no general senatorial outlook (if there ever had been). One must therefore concede the possibility of Herodian being a senator in the same category as Aelius Antipater, Severus' Phrygian *ab epistulis*, who was adlected *inter consulares*; or as Herodian's contemporary, the

¹ See Millar, *Cassius Dio* 161 ff. Note especially the offence caused by Macrinus in not awaiting the formal vote of the senate to confirm his titles, Dio 78.16.2, of which H. says nothing.

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sophist, Apsines of Gadara, honoured with *ornamenta consularia*.¹ But by the same token Herodian could equally well have been an equestrian *procurator*.² In that case the term "public" could, as Cassola suggests, refer to local government service as a municipal magistrate. This was perfectly feasible for a budding equestrian provincial on his way to imperial service in Rome.³

Strong advocacy of lower class status for the historian came originally from F. A. Wolf in the preface to his edition of 1791; his grounds were chiefly that he could not imagine Herodian possessing any technical expertise—*suspicio quidvis illum potius quam vel senatorem vel iure consultum vel militem fuisse*. On more positive grounds Herodian has been identified as a freedman by Domaszewski, Pflaum and (most recently) Grosso; the last-named presents the most detailed arguments for his thesis.⁴ They are, that the historian is typical of a freedman in his lack of concern for wider political issues, concentrating chiefly on court personalities and intrigues; his knowledge of events in the palace is such as could only have been

¹ *PIR*²A 137, 978.

² Favoured by Sievers-Sommerfeldt, *Philol.* 73 (1918) 568 ff.

³ Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 216; A. Stein, *Der röm. Ritterstand* (München, reprint 1963) 129 ff.

⁴ Other imperial freedmen who were historians are C. Julius Hyginus, freedman of Augustus, Phlegon of Tralles, freedman of Hadrian and Chryserus, freedman of M. Aurelius; the history of the latter terminated in 180, where Herodian's began. Cf. A. v. Domaszewski in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* 11 (1908) 237 n. 1 (only a brief note) and H. G. Pflaum, *REL* 32 (1954) 450, who translates the phrase in 1.2.5 as *in Caesareis et publicis officiis*; Grosso, *Lotta politica* 34-5, 42.

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known by someone inside (e.g. 1.13.1 and especially 4.1.5); the "mentalità fiscale"¹ which has been noted by Cassola (e.g. 7.3.4-5, 1.14.2-3, 7.12.6) was again typical of his class, the entrepreneurs of Rome. Furthermore there is no contrast between imperial and public service in Herodian's words, where the Greek ἦ has the force of Latin *vel*. The word ὑπηρεσίαι is usually used to mean low office as contrasted with ἀρχαί, used to describe senatorial posts.

These arguments are attractive but too circumscribed. D. Magie in his collection of Greek and Latin equivalent technical usages, *de Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis*, shows ὑπηρετής and ὑπηρεσία employed in a variety of senses from *legatus* (p. 89) to *licitor* (p. 115). Herodian himself uses the word of military service (3.15.5, 3.12.12), court employees (2.5.3, 5.8.5) lictors (7.8.5) and private servants of senators (7.3.4).² Nevertheless, quite the commonest usage in Magie is to translate and virtually transliterate the Latin *apparitor*. The term *apparitores* was used to cover a range of minor civil servants, including both attendants of the emperor and the various *scribae* who kept the treasury books for magistrates in Rome³ and in some provinces. Service for the state *aerarium* (translated by Dio as τὸ δημόσιον⁴) could well have been described as ὑπηρεσία δημοσία, while ὑπηρεσία

¹ Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 221-2.

² Conveniently collected by Blaufuss, *Observationes* 9-10, J. Kreutzer, *de Herod. rerum Romanorum scriptore* (Diss. Bonn, 1887) 13.

³ E.g. Plut. *Cat. Min.* 16.

⁴ Magie, *op. cit.* 61 and Herod. 2.4.7, 2.11.7. The imperial *fiscus* was staffed by imperial slaves and freedmen who never took part in the public services.

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βασιλική exactly translates the service of an *apparitor Caesaris*. The function and status of these *scribae* also suit what has already been said about Herodian's outlook. They were concerned primarily with fiscal affairs, for which the historian shows a special concern, if no very deep understanding.¹ They were also employed as keepers of the senatorial archives and travelled to the provinces with their superior magistrates (not, of course, confined to quaestors).² Their status was sometimes that of freedmen, but more commonly equestrian,³ and they sometimes passed into the higher grades of equestrian service.⁴

To a certain extent however it is unreal to interpret Herodian's opinions from a specific class angle; not only was there a good deal of interchange between the equestrian and senatorial order, but even lower class equestrian passed to the higher grades.⁴ But above all were the conditions of patronage, whereby minor officials were dependent on the favour of powerful superiors and inevitably tied to their

¹ He omits, for instance, the information about Caracalla's new taxation and says little of the broad economic problems of the principate; but a bank clerk is not expected to be an economist.

² Dar.-Sag. (scriba) 1123, Kornemann, *RE* (scriba) 850 ff., Mommsen, *StR* (3) 1.346 ff.

³ Mommsen, *op. cit.* 1.353 n. 4; out of forty examined only five were freedmen.

⁴ Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 174, T. Julius Saturninus served the emperor Antoninus Pius as *apparitor*, then became a *scriba tribunicius* before going on to high procuratorial service; cf. *ibid.* no. 352, M. Aurelius Hermogenes in the reign of Commodus, from a third generation equestrian family, who moved from being a *scriba quaestorius* to become a *procurator a studiis*.

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interests.¹ As an *apparitor* Herodian could have had access to senatorial documents, travelled in the provinces, experienced the life of the palace and shared the middle-class interests of the senatorial and equestrian families of the capital.

Nationality and country of retirement

Like other questions about the historian, this is also shrouded in doubt. It has been assumed, probably correctly, that Herodian retired to his country of origin. That this was not Italy is made clear by 2.11.8 (the Alps are bigger than anything "in our part of the world") and by several references to the Greeks for whom he was writing.

Arguments for Alexandria² as the author's native city are based almost entirely on his description of Caracalla's massacre of the inhabitants of that city (4.8.6-4.9.8). Such is the vividness of the narrative, it is argued, that he must have been personally concerned and was probably an eye-witness. But vivid descriptions were part of the stock-in-trade of the sophists. Some of Herodian's comments about the Alexandrian character were conventional (4.8.7, 4.9.2) and part of the description uses clichés (4.9.4). There are signs that some of the narrative was

¹ E.g. Fronto's advocacy of the *scriba* from Concordia, Volumnius Serenus, who was seeking service with the senator, M. Arrius Antoninus; Fronto says, "He has been brought to my notice by learned men and close friends of my own," *ad am.* 2.6 and 7 = 2.174-86 (Haines); cf. Stein, *Ritterstand* 132.

² Advocated by A. Stahr, *Herodians Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1858) introduction, E. Volckmann, *de Herod. vita* 20; G. R. Sievers, *Philol.* 31 (1872) 636-7, thinks H. was an eye-witness.

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derivative (4.8.6). But the main objection must be that Herodian completely fails to give any adequate reason for this extraordinary event. The fact that Alexandria is said to be the second city of the empire (4.3.7, 7.6.1) is neither here nor there, since the same is said of Antioch (4.3.7) and Carthage (7.6.1). It is an enticing proposition to suppose that Herodian was the son of the Alexandrian grammarian, Aelius Herodian,¹ who came to Rome in the reign of M. Aurelius and enjoyed the emperor's friendship and favour; chronologically this suits the facts of the historian's life, but there is not a scrap of real proof to support the theory.

The commonest view is that the historian was a native of Antioch in Syria, the city which vied with Alexandria and Carthage as second city of the empire, and where so many of the events of the *History* took place (s.v. index). The character of the Syrians is described three times (2.7.9, 2.10.7, 3.11.8), though only in the last instance is there a semblance of approval, when the author says the Syrian tribune, Saturninus, was quick-witted. To counterbalance this, there are serious errors in Herodian's knowledge of Syrian and eastern affairs.² He confuses the Parthian kings, Vologaeses IV and Artabanus V (his son) (3.9.10); he does not seem to know that Macrinus' son, Diadumenianus, was made Augustus before his death (5.4.2); his chronology and geography of Severus' Parthian campaign in 197-8 are

¹ Wolf, *praef.* 35, Stahr, *praef.* 13, Poblocki, *de Herod. vita* 2-3.

² Provided by Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 167, to which I have added some examples.

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thoroughly confused, including an error over the sieges of Hatra and the misnaming of Arabia Scenite as Arabia Felix (3.9.3 ff.). Though these lapses might be attributable to Herodian's deficiencies as a historian or to his absence in other parts of the empire at the time of the events, one would have supposed some of the information was available from inhabitants of Antioch. For whose benefit was the description of the cult of Elagabalus at Emesa (5.3.3), a city about 100 miles away? When the author speaks of Easterners (3.11.8), as opposed to Greeks and Romans (5.3.3), or when he describes the Taurus range as the great divide between East and West (3.1.4), he seems to associate himself with the latter.¹ Can one imagine the writer saying there were no mountains like the "barrier-wall" of the Alps in his part of the world when not 100 miles to the North lay the massive Taurus mountains, described by a modern author as "a long and lofty wall."²

By an unsatisfactory process of elimination either Greece or Asia Minor present themselves for consideration. Greece itself is mentioned (3.2.7-9), but in the context of the inter-city rivalries of Bithynia. Similarly, a comparison between Maximinus and Greek athletes (7.1.12) has a wider cultural relevance than to the Greeks of Greece alone. Herodian did not admire Caracalla's enrolment of Spartan military units, nor his imitation of Achilles (4.8.3-5). But his interest in Asia Minor is explicit. The only reference in the *History* to autopsy (outside Rome) is to the city

¹ Cf. Kreutzer, *de Herod. scriptore* 7 ff.

² D. G. Hogarth, *The Nearer East* (London, 1902) 31.

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of Byzantium,¹ which "even when one sees the ruins of the walls as they are today" excited admiration (3.1.7). The historian also had some special information about Macrinus' ill-fated capture at Chalcedon, the mainland Bithynian city.² Nicomedia in Bithynia is mentioned twice (3.2.9, 5.5.3), Nicaea once (3.2.9), Cyzicus once (3.2.1 ff.), Byzantium four times (3.1.5 ff., 3.6.9, 4.3.6, 5.4.11) Chalcedon twice (4.3.6, 5.4.11) and Ilium three times (1.14.4, 4.8.3 ff., 5.6.3; cf. Iliu the Phrygian, 1.11.2). Admittedly all the references are perfectly naturally introduced in the context of the historical events that took place in that area of the empire, but the cities of N.W. Anatolia are mentioned by name more than any other comparable region except Antioch. Cassola has suggested that Herodian's use of the term *σύστημα* as a political organization in contrast to *ἔθνος* (*provincia*) (4.3.10) is reminiscent of the word used to describe the political organizations of W. Anatolia; but the word also had a more general meaning of "clan" or "society" in later writers.³

In the end there is nothing that will positively identify the historian's place of origin, unless some chance inscription turns up. A historian, said Lucian,

¹ Administratively part of Bithynia; Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 43.

² Dio 78.39.5 does not say that Macrinus had actually set off for Europe and was forced by a storm to turn back, though he has detailed information not contained in H. about the emperor's embarkation at Eribolon (Nicomedia), from where he sailed to Chalcedon. The two stories are not mutually exclusive.

³ Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 215-16; cf. Max. Tyr. (second century) 119.29; E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Period*, q.v.

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must be "an impartial judge, well disposed to all men up to the point of not giving one side more than its due, in his books a stranger and a man without a country" (*ξένος ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ ἄπολις*).¹ Herodian's declared aim not to give praise "to an emperor or a city or a private individual" (1.1.2) has successfully concealed his own identity.²

Herodian's audience

There are many references in the *History* purporting to show that the work was composed for a non-Roman audience (it probably was read aloud before publication). "Those unfamiliar with Roman history" (1.11.5) who are called "Greeks" (1.11.1) are given frequent explanations of what "the Romans" do (e.g. 1.9.2, 1.14.4, etc.). A particular institution or locality is often described as "in Rome" (e.g. 2.4.4, 2.9.5, 2.12.4, etc.). In some cases a specifically explanatory formula is omitted, but descriptions of the Vestal Virgins (5.6.2) or the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (7.10.2) come under the same category. So also do etymological explanations for non-Latin speakers (e.g. 1.12.2, 1.16.2) or even special notes to give Latin equivalents for Greek terms (e.g. 5.4.8, the Greek and Latin for "praetorian guard," though in 8.8.5 the Latinized form is used without explanation).³

¹ *How to write history* 41; cf. *ibid.* 7, on the need to avoid bias, with which one might compare H.'s own aims in 1.1.2 and 2.15.7. G. Avenarius, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung* (Meisenheim, 1956) 13-15.

² Further suggestions that Bithynia is the country of the historian appear on pp. xxxvi and lxxx.

³ The use of the Attic *drachma* instead of the Roman *denarius* (4.4.7) is a special case; although this was a normal

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But there are geographic descriptions of other parts of the empire too—the Rhine and Danube (6.7.6), the farming conditions of N. Africa (7.4.4), the Taurus mountains (3.1.4) and the site of Issus (3.4.2). Therefore some of the descriptions at least must be accepted as the normal background to the narrative, regardless of the immediate audience.

It is noticeable that the majority of the special-notes-for-foreigners occur in connection with religious festivals and religious institutions—Jupiter Capitolinus, Magna Mater, the Vestal Virgins, the Saturnalia, the deification of emperors. It is also noteworthy that by far the longest digressions and the most overt references to an audience appear in Book I.¹ But it is almost impossible to imagine that most of the institutions so described were unfamiliar to any but the most illiterate. The Saturnalia, for instance, was

equivalent demanded by Attic purists (Dio 55.12.4-5) and may have been used for the clearer understanding of an audience used to Asia Minor coinage, it was also probably a coinage standard when the value of the *denarius* was fluctuating; cf. Pekáry, *Hist.* 8 (1959) 481, Millar, *Cassius Dio* 41. Another case of Greek terminology for Latin is perhaps in the phrase *basileis* and *satrapes* for *reges et duces* (1.6.6).

¹ A complete list of such references would be too long and in any case somewhat arbitrary; the most obvious passages intended to explain Roman affairs to foreigners are 1.9.2, 1.10.5, 1.11.1, 1.11.5, 1.12.1, 1.14.4, 1.15.9, 1.16.1, 2.4.4, 2.9.5, 2.12.4, 4.1.2, 4.2.1, 5.4.8, 5.6.2, 6.1.4, 6.7.4, 7.6.2, 7.7.1, 7.10.2. Cf. E. Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus et auctoritate* (Diss, Brandenburg, 1909) 13, though he erroneously says that all mythographic references fall in Book I, whereas some (e.g. 5.6.2, 5.6.3-4) are later; the later references, however, are undeveloped in one or two cases, almost to the point of obscurity (e.g. the *thyrsa* in 5.6.4). It is as though these were working notes intended for later expansion.

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celebrated by the Greeks,¹ the Magna Mater legends originated in Asia Minor; and three of the most popular religious festivals recorded on the soldiers' calendar at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates were the cults of the *divi* emperors, the Saturnalia and the Vestalia (the last of which underwent a revival in the third century).² As the veterans scattered all over the world in retirement they must have taken their cult practices with them. Finally there is hardly a digression or explanatory passage in Herodian that cannot be paralleled in the writings of earlier authors, both Greek and Roman.³ For instance, Cassius Dio (74.4) wrote a lengthy passage on the ceremony of deification of emperors which was published less than twenty years earlier. Descriptions of the frozen River Danube were repeated by writers from Ovid to Rutilius.

The greater incidence of such passages in the earlier books suggests that the main purpose of the digressions was not to convey instruction. A parallel is provided by the speeches in the *History*, the majority of which also fall in the earlier books.⁴ They served

¹ Aulus Gellius, *NA* 18.2.1, 18.13.1; a table in *YCS* 7 (1940) 168 indicates the popularity of the festival; cf. *Insc. Ital.* 13.2.538 ff., for literary and other references over a wide area.

² There is a discussion of these military *feriae publicae* in Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 165 ff.; although some of the seven *feriae* on the *Feriale Duranum* had a specifically military character, the Saturnalia and the Vestalia were included because of their widespread popularity.

³ References are provided in the footnotes to the relevant passages of the text.

⁴ See pp. lviii-lxi. It is also possible that at the refurbishing stage additions were made from Dio (pp. lxvi-lxviii). Lucian's

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the same purpose, that of embellishing the narrative for the entertainment of a sophisticated public. Like the contemporary sophists and litterateurs, whose art was displayed by a novel treatment of old themes, the historian deliberately reworked well-known passages (*loci communes*) into his new history. Therefore one cannot infer too much about Herodian's audience from his apparently didactic passages. If there was some provincial public whom he had in mind, they were not the real audience he intended to impress.

Visual and oral reports

If one accepts the author's word that he was reporting events between 180 and 238 about which he had either direct experience or first-hand information (*ἄ . . . εἰδὸν τε καὶ ἤκουσα*), the comments he makes throughout the work could conceivably provide a rough guide to his personal experience. Naturally it is frequently impossible to detect whether a reference to a sight or a sound indicates personal experience or hear-say. A good example is when he says (1.7.2) that the crowds of the Italian cities enthusiastically welcomed the young emperor Commodus "when they saw him." Did the writer mean that he too saw Commodus? Did he rely on informants who did see

advice on the technique of composition is instructive: "When the historian has gathered together all, or almost all, his facts, he should first put them together into a series of notes (*ὑπομνήματα*) and create a complete framework (*σῶμα*) without ornamentation or continuity. Then, after putting it in order (*τάξις*) he should give it beauty and touch it up with vocabulary and figures and rhythm"; *How to write history* 48.

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the event? Or was this simply gossip or even invention? It happens that one can be sure at the date of this event (180) that Herodian was too young to have remembered much; and immediately after the above passage he refers to informants in the common formula of "some say . . . others say" (1.7.5). Therefore a collection of this kind of material is far from being an accurate guide and even the identification and selection of such passages is bound to be somewhat arbitrary. The list is here presented for what it is worth: (1) between 180 and *c.* 187 there are no references other than the one mentioned above; (2) from *c.* 187 to 193 there are sixteen occasions¹ when Herodian refers to the sights and spectacles in Rome, including one explicit claim to have been present at the games of 192 (1.15.4); (3) from *c.* 194 to 211 there are four such references,² one in 197 and three in 204-5, including another specific allusion to the author's presence at the games of 204 (3.8.10); (4) from 211 to 217 there are three references³ to sights in Rome, though two are to a painting, which might have been seen at any date, and one to a date in 212 (4.4.4); (5) from 217 to 235 there are only two fairly clear references to sights,⁴ both in the reign of Elagabalus, one of which is to a painting, though in addition the occasion when there was shouting in the circus in 217 (5.2.4) and a public announcement in 231 (6.4.1) might be signs of valid personal experience;

¹ 1.11.5, 1.12.5, 1.13.4, 1.14.4, 1.14.9, 1.15.4, 1.15.7, 2.2.3-8, 2.2.9, 2.4.1, 2.6.4, 2.6.13, 2.7.2, 2.7.3, 2.12.2, 2.14.2.

² 3.8.1, 3.8.10, 3.9.12, 3.11.2.

³ 4.4.4, 4.8.1-2, 4.8.5.

⁴ 5.5.7, 5.6.10.

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(6) from 235 to 238 there are nine references,¹ all but two of which fall in 238; the odd ones describe a painting of Maximinus' battles some time after 236 and the same emperor's general appearance.

It so happens then that, for all the limitations on the value of this kind of evidence, the general impression created by the narrative is that Herodian was in Rome at two periods—in 188-93 and in 238. This happens to be exactly what one would have expected at the beginning and end of his career. For if he was born *c.* 178,² he would have entered government service about 195 during the reign of Severus³ and have retired at about the age of sixty in 238. Of course, the public riots and disorders of 193 and 238 may be the reason for so many visual references in those years, but the historian says nothing of the street fighting in 223 that led up to the fall of Ulpian—from which one may legitimately guess that he was absent from Rome at the time. There may also have been other periods during his service, when he was in Rome, that are indicated by the references; that is, in 204-5, in 211-12 and in 217-22. In which provinces he served can only be surmised. As a Greek-speaking provincial, he would probably have served in one of the eastern provinces. While there he would have heard tales of, but not necessarily have experienced, some of the many eastern campaigns of the period.

¹ 7.1.12, 7.2.8, 7.3.3, 7.3.6, 7.6.9, 7.10.1, 7.10.5, 7.11.5, 8.6.7.

² For this date, see pp. xi-xii.

³ Technically a youth had to be seventeen before qualifying as an equestrian for service, though there are plenty of exceptions to this; Mommsen, *StR* (3) 3.1.469n.

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Some of the information he picked up was probably old and inaccurate, long after the event (e.g. 3.2.6, 3.2.10); some of it would have been distorted by local gossip (3.4.3) or grown in the telling (3.9.5).

At Rome, as a minor official, he would have had access to some documents. There are many references to letters in the *History*,¹ some deriving from the imperial office *ab epistulis*, some preserved in the senatorial archives and some probably invented or inferred by the author. Proceedings of the senate are less frequently noted.² There are at least twenty possible references to information that came from the imperial palace;³ some of it would have originated from the men like the palace attendants after the murder of Geta, who "broadcast the story of the murder" (4.4.8); in other cases the palace guards would have had their own story to tell (2.5.2, 8.8.3). Information was not hard to come by, though Herodian somewhat naively assumes that all was bound to be revealed in the end (4.11.9). A secret session of the senate was immediately divulged to their clients by certain intriguing senators (7.10.5). The proceedings of the senate could even be viewed by the public through open doors (7.11.1-3). Communications between the families of the Roman garrison and the urban soldiers (8.5.8) or even direct acquaintance with one of the soldiers himself might

¹ 1.9.9, 2.10.1, 2.12.3, 3.1.1, 3.5.4, 3.9.12, 4.10.1, 5.1.1, 6.2.1, 6.2.4, 6.7.2, 7.6.3, 7.7.5. The list is not exhaustive.

² 2.3.3, 2.12.2-4, 2.12.6, 2.14.3-4, 5.2.1, 7.10.1, etc.

³ E.g. 1.12.6, 1.13.1-4, 1.16.1, 2.5.2, 2.7.1, 2.11.8, 2.12.5, 2.13.1, 3.10.4, 3.10.8, 3.12.1, 3.15.2, 4.1.1-5, 4.4.2, 4.4.8, 5.7.5, 5.8.2, 6.1.5, 7.1.4, 8.8.3 ff.

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have provided Herodian's source of information about the emotions of the troops at Aquileia (8.3.8-9, 8.7.3). The practice of displaying pictures in the capital must have been another source of information and descriptive detail (e.g. the battles of Maximinus, 7.2.8). Finally, if the author were closely bound by ties of patronage to important senatorial families, they would also have been sources of information for him.¹

External references and inscriptions

Attempts to find the key inscription that will unlock the mystery of Herodian's life have failed. The following might be regarded as possible: (1) *ILS* 2938 = *CIL* X.7286, a senator Ti. Claudius Herodianus² who was governor of Sicily. Apart from the unlikelihood that the historian was a senator, there are specific objections: the historian shows no special knowledge of Sicily and in the two references to the island (3.13.3, 4.6.3) as the place of exile of Fulvia Plautilla, he is contradicted by Dio (*Xiph*) 76.6.3, who more plausibly assigns Lipara as the place of exile. The man in the inscription is probably a descendant of Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, the celebrated Athenian sophist and millionaire.³ Herodes was associated with a literary school that found favour in the reign of Commodus with the appointment of such men as Adrian of Tyre and Julius Pollux. The family

¹ See p. lxxi.

² Discussed and rejected by E. Sommerfeldt, *Philol.* 73 (1914-18) 568-70.

³ Groag in *PIR*²C 887.

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was related to that of the Gordiani.¹ The historian's unsympathetic treatment of Commodus and his neutrality or hostility to the Gordiani make it improbable that he was connected with Herodes Atticus. (2) The only Roman inscription in *CIL* VI which looks at all possible is no. 13126, a sepulchral record of Aurelius Herodianus Ptolemaeus; the man was probably an Egyptian freedman, but, unlike the historian, he died in Rome.² (4) *IGRR* IV. 1613 from Coloae in Bithynia-Pontus records an Aurelius Herodianus, son of Herodes, and is dated A.D. 256. From the date this could not refer to the historian, but geographically it is attractive and may well record a relative. (5) A number of Herodiani appear in the *Codex* of Justinian, but either relate to a praetor in the reign of Severus and Caracalla³—probably the same man as the later governor of Sicily—or to a praetor in the reign of Gordian III,⁴ perhaps the son of the latter.

THE HISTORY

Judgements of the worth of Herodian's *History* have varied wildly. The earliest extant critic, Photius, the ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople, praised

¹ Philos. *VS* praef. 479 (Olearius). The relationship is discussed by A. R. Birley, *Britain and Rome* (Kendal, 1966) 58–9.

² *CIL*, VI. 32624b, 16, M. Aurelius Herodianus is a praetorian guard and for obvious reasons unlikely to be connected with the author.

³ *Cod. Just.* 5.66.1, etc.; see *PIR*²C 887 for full references.

⁴ *Cod. Just.* 9.41.6.

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the historian's style for its lucidity and his sentiments for their impartiality and moderation; "he neither exaggerates with hyperbole nor omits anything essential; in short, in all the virtues of historiography there are few men who are his superior."¹ Soon after his death the historian was quoted as an authority by other ancient writers,² but both praised and criticized. For instance, one of the authors of the *Augustan History* (fourth century) censured him (quite unjustly as it happens) for bias,³ though the same writer quoted him extensively and almost verbatim throughout his work on the life of Maximinus. Zosimus (fifth century) drew either directly or at second-hand from the *History*, but clearly Herodian was not his first choice and, like the author of the *vitae Gordianorum* and *Maximi et Balbini*, often preferred the authority of the Athenian Dexippus (fl. 253–76) for the events of the year 238. John of Antioch (seventh century) quoted extensively and verbatim from Herodian in his *World Chronicle*. But John Zonaras (twelfth century) preferred to use Cassius Dio as the chief authority for his *Epitome of History* and only brought in Herodian after the termination of Dio's history.

¹ Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 99.

² A useful list of authors who quote Herodian or make use of him is provided by Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus* 65 ff., Dopp, *RE* (Herodianus) 959.

³ SHA, *Max.* 13.4; but cf. SHA, *Alb.* 12.14, *quae qui diligentius scire velit, legat Marium Maximum de Latinis scriptoribus, de Graecis scriptoribus Herodianum, qui ad fidem pleraque dixerunt*. I can see no sign that H. was used directly by Victor or Eutropius, but he was used by Ammianus Marcellinus; cf. Baaz, *loc. cit.*

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The rediscovery of Herodian in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries produced similarly conflicting evaluations of the historian's merits. For example, an English translator of the *History* in 1705, who called himself "A Gentleman of Oxford" says of Herodian that "he still preserves a Majesty suitable to the Greatness of the Subject which he treats, and has something in him so pleasing and so comely, as perhaps all the Art and Labour of other Men can never reach." But in 1791 F. A. Wolf was less enthusiastic; *videri mihi solet fuisse homo . . . nec iudicio promptus nec acumine pollens*. Though Wolf commends Herodian's lack of bias and superstition, this faint praise is nullified when he accuses the historian of a total lack of critical faculty—*denique parum eruditus et talis a quo facilius, quid de rebus vulgus senserit, quam quid ipse iudicaverit, et num quid iudicaverit, discernere liceat*.

Modern opinion has been equally divided.¹ Altheim praised Herodian's wider vision of the period,² but Hohl, in his several useful monographs on the author,³ consistently discredited the *History*

¹ For a summary of many modern opinions, see Dopp, *RE* (Herodianus 3) 958, F. Cassola, "Sulla attendabilità dello storico Erodiano," *Atti Accad. Pont.* n.s. 6 (1956/7) 199.

² F. Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft in ausgehenden Altertum* (Halle, 1948) 165.

³ E. Hohl, "Die Ermordung des Commodus," *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* 52 (1932) 1135-44; "Kaiser Commodus und Herodian," *SDAW Philol.-Gesch.* (1954) 1; "Kaiser Pertinax und die Thronbesteigung, etc.," *SDAW Philol.-Gesch.* (1956) 1, "Das Ende Caracallas," *Misc. Acad. Berol.* (1950) 276-93. See comments in the footnotes to the text at 1.16.3, 2.1.1, 3.11.1 ff.

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as "ein Geschichtroman" of very limited value because of its "rhetorisch-belletristische Moment." Recent studies, outstanding among which is that of Cassola,¹ have tended to reinstate the credibility of the historian. For all the deficiencies of Herodian, he is not automatically to be dismissed in favour of Cassius Dio, much less the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

By modern (and therefore anachronistic) standards it is not hard to see the faults. The weaknesses of Herodian are often those endemic in ancient historiography, exaggerated perhaps by the influence of the so-called Second Sophistic literary movement. The second-century critic, Lucian, who wrote a monograph attacking the standards set by these sophistic historians, comments on the number of bad histories turned out by those who "think it is absolutely simple and easy to write history, the sort of thing anyone can do if he can describe an event."² Though Herodian too attacked contemporary writers who were preoccupied with style at the expense of accuracy, he could not dissociate himself totally from his environment.

Chronology

In spite of the author's claim of detailed and accurate research (*μετὰ πάσης . . . ἀκριβείας*) he

¹ Cassola's works are quoted throughout, which should make it obvious how much I am indebted to him. A good summary of the positive values of Herodian is made by F. Grosso, *Lotta politica* 45-7.

² Lucian, *How to write history* 5; cf. Herodian 1.1.1.

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did not feel the necessity for chronological precision.¹ Instead of dates, he uses vague phrases such as "for a few years" (1.8.1) or "soon after this" (1.9.7, 1.10.1) or "just at this time" (1.12.1, 1.14.1). When a figure is provided, it is often with such casual unconcern that one is suspicious of its accuracy—e.g. "after one or two days" (2.6.3), "for three or four years" (6.6.6). The result is that one is hesitant to accept even more precise dates such as "after one day" (7.4.6, 7.8.9) or "after one or two days . . . on the third day" (4.15.4, 7.8.1–4, 8.7.3; cf. 4.14.1, 8.4.4). Many of the numerals to record the age of an emperor or the length of his reign are either incorrect or corrupt (1.17.12, etc.),² though commentators have been readier to assume an error than to seek an explanation for some of the more curious examples (e.g. 5.8.10).

This chronological vagueness leads to inexactitudes which, even if not intended by the historian, are misleading to his readers. Thus, in 1.6.1 he says that Commodus followed the guidance of his father's *amici* "for a short time," but in 1.8.1 Commodus is said to have obeyed the *amici* "for a few years." Both statements could be reconciled if one had a complete understanding of the factional intrigues surrounding

¹ Cf. K. Fuchs, *Wien. Stud.* 17 (1895) 248 ff. and 18 (1896) 229 ff., for a vigorous attack on H.; "H. ist auch in Zeit- und Ortsangaben überall der ungenaue Erzähler der nach der Erinnerung oder nach Gerüchten schreibt."

² Further examples are discussed in the footnotes to 2.4.5, 3.15.3, 4.13.8, 5.3.3 (5.7.4), 5.8.10, 6.2.1, 6.9.8. Fuchs gives a large number of examples (*loc. cit.*) but one is not entitled to disprove H. on the unconfirmed word of the SHA.

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Commodus' withdrawal from the Marcomannian Wars—but this is something not provided by the author. Another example is the sequence of events following the murder of Pertinax in 193. Septimius Severus in Pannonia heard the news long before he knew of the reaction of Niger in Syria (and doubtless Herodian knew this), but by the order of events in the narrative (2.8.6, 2.9.1, etc.) and at one point in a speech (2.10.7 ff.), the firm impression is given that Severus' declaration was consequent on and subsequent to the declaration of Niger. This dramatic rather than chronological order is capitalized upon by the speech put into the mouth of Severus, which it seems possible was composed after the main narrative (cf. 2.9.3).¹ Some of the errors therefore derive from the episodic and dramatic character of the writing.² It may be, too, that in the example mentioned Herodian was influenced by the stereotype of the unsuccessful pretender whose procrastination (*ῥαθυμία*) was the cause of his failure.³

Another source of confusion is the highly selective

¹ See p. lix. The news of Pertinax' death reached S. in Carnuntum in about ten days (2.6.3n). By fast ship and with perfect sailing conditions the news might have reached Antioch in not much longer time. But S. could not have heard from Antioch before his own *dies imperii*, which followed almost at once upon receipt of the message from Rome. Cf. Reincke, *RE* (Nachrichtenwesen) 1541, for sailing speeds.

² Good examples of this are to be found at 2.14.6 (Severus' preparations against Niger) and 8.5.1 ff. (the siege of Aquileia).

³ Fuchs, *Wien. Stud.* 17 (1895) 237–8, Bersanetti, *RFIC* 16 (1938) 357–64; but Cassola, *Atti Accad. Pont.* 6 (1956/7) 192, rightly points out that H. is not such a bad historian as to omit accounts of Niger's counter-measures.

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character of the composition, which is responsible for telescoping of events in some cases. The historian's intention is, as he says, to "narrate only the most important and conclusive . . . actions separately and in chronological order" (2.15.7). Thus the whole of Caracalla's activities on the northern front in 213-14 is compressed between two brief references (4.7.2-4, 4.8.1); Maximinus' battles on the Rhine and Danube in 236-8 are lost in the single reference to a winter at Sirmium (7.2.9), though in the latter case Herodian certainly knew more than he tells us. This leads to errors of interpretation and fact. Two campaigns by Severus at Hatra, perhaps as widely separated as in 198 and 199, become a single siege (3.9.3 ff.), though it is conceivable that at one of the attacks Severus himself was not present (3.9.9). The phrase "for some time" (3.9.1) covers only a few months, but "a few years were spent in Rome" (3.10.2)¹ omits all mention of Severus' visit to Africa soon after returning to Rome. Severus Alexander appears to march from Antioch to the Rhine without returning to Rome in 233, according to the narrative (6.7.5). The dramatic purpose served by recounting the early clash between Macrinus and Artabanus (4.14.1) has obscured the fact that peace was not concluded between them for nearly a year. Macrinus' slothfulness is in contrast to Elagabalus, who is said to have hurried back to Rome (5.5.1); whereas the young emperor did not reach Rome until approximately fifteen

¹ For the emendation, see *ad loc.* For the purposes of this argument it does not matter whether H. said "a few years" or "several years."

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months after his accession (5.5.8)—the length of the entire reign of Macrinus. The historiographic tendency to catalogue events—a feature derived from biography—has led to some chronological misplacements; e.g. the games of 204 (3.8.10) and perhaps the death of the urban prefect Sabinus (7.7.4).

But on the whole Herodian is guilty of less error than might be supposed from his critics. For instance, he dates the fall of Perennis by an incident at the *agon* of Jupiter Capitolinus (1.9.2). This chronological fix was supposed by Sievers and Hohl¹ to be a mistake, since the quinquennial *agones* founded by Domitian in A.D. 90 should have occurred in 182 and 186; the first date is too early for the fall of Perennis and second too late. But it now seems clear that there had been a break in the Domitianic games since their inception and that, when revived, they followed a different four-year cycle; for they are recorded as occurring in 220 and 238,² and thus also fell in 184 which was the correct date of the incident. The very complicated chronology of the year 238, between the accession of Gordian I and that of Gordian III can be perfectly well understood by the evidence provided by Herodian.³ To try to contradict his contemporary testimony by the self-contradictory accounts of the later *vitae* of the SHA is not reasonable.

¹ Sievers, *Philol.* 26 (1867) 38, Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 16.

² Dio 79.10.2 and the footnote to 8.8.3.

³ The evidence is too detailed to be provided here, but can be found in the footnotes to the relevant passages.

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Geography

Many of the same remarks made about the chronology of the *History* apply to the geography. There are undoubtedly some errors; Pannonia was certainly not a united command under Severus (2.9.2); Arabia Scenite and Arabia Felix are confused (3.9.3); Issus was not the scene of the final battle and capture of Darius (3.4.3).¹ Vague terms like Illyricum, Keltai, Germans, Libyans are no guide to accurate location. But the sins are largely those of omission. What was the route taken by the troops of Niger in their flight (3.4.2)?, Where was the battle of Issus fought (3.4.2)? No mention is made of Severus' trip to Palestine and Egypt in 199-201. The geographic details of Britain are so vague as to be almost worthless (3.14.10). Why is it that, when urgent messages reached Severus Alexander from the governors of Illyricum, the base for his campaign was at Mainz on the Rhine (6.7.2)? The route of Maximinus' German campaigns is untraceable (7.2.6). The information was quite often available. For "many historians, who have made the life of Severus the theme of their entire work, have given more detailed treatment to the stages of the march, the speeches that he made at each city . . . the topography of each place" (2.15.6). To do so again was, in Herodian's opinion, superfluous, however regrettable the decision may seem today, when the other sources are lost.² Com-

¹ Though this was an error not confined to Herodian; see note *ad loc.*

² But hardly a reason for censure; e.g. Fuchs, *Wien. Stud.* 17 (1895) 250, Dopp, *RE* (Herodianus 3) 957, who require to

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pare Herodian's method with the criterion laid down by Lucian in castigating the false imitators of Thucydides, who "describe every city, every mountain, plain and river" and "only just manage to describe the emperor's shield in a whole book." Such a "tactless display" of geographical detail, adds Lucian, was often a substitute for real knowledge.¹ This was how Herodian was influenced by the standards of his age.

Historical facts

To judge the errors of fact is only possible with an adequate control. Cassius Dio is not always correct, the authors of the *vitae* are frequently wrong. Were there two sons or only one of Perennis (1.9.1, 1.9.7) or of Cleander (1.13.6)? The mistake about the Palladium is obvious (1.9.2, 5.6.3) and Dio's details about the games of 192 are more likely to be correct than those of Herodian, since one eye-witness was a grown man and the other just a boy (e.g. 1.15.6, bears or lions?). But even for that event Herodian adds some authentic detail not in Dio (or the epitome) (e.g. the arrows that shot the ostriches, 1.15.6), and omits some improbable gossip that is in Dio (e.g. the slaughter of cripples). The historian contradicts his own erroneous statement that Pertinax was the last of the *amici* of M. Aurelius (2.1.4; cf. 1.17.2, 2.3.3). Augustus certainly did not prevent Italians serving

know the names of the cities visited by Commodus on his trip to Rome in 180 (1.7.2) or the route of Severus from Carnuntum to Rome in 193 (2.11.1 ff.).

¹ *How to write history* 19, 57.

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in the army (2.11.5). But one cannot be as categorical about the facts of Niger's capture, which Herodian says took place in the suburbs of Antioch (3.4.6) and Dio says was *en route* for the Parthian border (74.8.3); indeed, the similarity of the two accounts suggests that Herodian knew and deliberately corrected the evidence of the older historian.¹ Herodian's omission of the first Parthian campaign of Severus (3.5.1 ff.) is a serious deficiency, but the reason may be that the victories were considered hollow propaganda achievements that did not merit the name of a Parthian War. If the historian meant that Britain was divided in 197 (3.8.2) he was wrong, but later (3.14.1) he seems to make no such assumption. He is careless about imperial titles, sometimes simply vague (Pertinax—2.3.11, Macrinus—5.2.1), sometimes apparently ignorant (Diadumenianus as Augustus, 5.4.2, Gordian II as Augustus in Africa, 7.7.2) and sometimes clearly in error (Caracalla's titles misdated, 3.9.1). Considering his preoccupation with Parthia, Herodian's knowledge of that country and of Mesopotamia is strangely deficient. Not only is Severus' expedition to Ctesiphon in 197/8 misreported (3.9.3 ff.), but one must be sceptical about Caracalla's brutal massacre of the Parthian wedding party (4.11.1), the details about the geography of Carrhae and Edessa and the information about the assailant of Caracalla (4.13.1–3). He is tantalizingly unfathomable about the strategy of Alexander's Parthian campaign and the status of

¹ See pp. lxxvii–lxxviii for other examples. It is, of course, possible that both H. and Dio were correct about Niger's flight, or that, once Niger was caught on the run, it was given out that he had been making for the border.

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Mesopotamia in 233 (6.5.1 ff.) or the measure of the emperor's success (6.6.6).

In the realm of senatorial affairs Herodian can be reasonably controlled by Dio. The former says nothing of Commodus' tactless speech to the *patres* in 180 (1.7.6), and invents a rhetorical declamation for Pertinax unknown to Dio (2.3.1 ff.). The latter emperor's popularity with all senators is open to doubt (2.4.8). Didius Julianus' meeting with the senate immediately after his salutation is ignored by Herodian (2.6.13), as are the senatorial acclamations at Commodus' death (2.3.11) and the vote of imperial honours to Alexander (5.8.10). He also confuses Macrinus' letters to the senate (5.1.1). Most important of all, the existence of the *vigintiviri*, the senatorial committee in 238, though obliquely mentioned by the historian (7.10.3) could never have been conjectured from his account alone.¹

On the other hand, Dio's sycophantic description of the joy with which Severus was received into Rome in 193 (74.1.3–5) is rightly contradicted by Herodian (2.14.1) and provides a salutary warning against assuming that Dio either speaks for the whole senate or is inevitably to be trusted against Herodian. Herodian's culpable omission of all mention of the famous jurist Ulpian (6.1.8) becomes at least explicable if, as is proved by a recent papyrus,² the *prae-*

¹ Though this may be a bad example to pick; it is possible that the importance of the *vigintiviri* has been much exaggerated.

² *P. Oxy.* 2565, dated May/June 224, recording the Egyptian prefecture of M. Aurelius Epagathus, who was responsible for the murder riots in Rome and was removed by being

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torian prefecture of Ulpian lasted less than two years (perhaps only eighteen months) and has been therefore overrated, largely on the evidence of Dio.¹

Once again it is the omissions that are the most serious deficiencies in the *History*, even if admitted by the author. Nothing is said of Ulpian in Britain (1.9.1) or of Perennis' plans for the northern frontier defences (1.6.8). Pertinax's donative to the praetorians is conveniently forgotten (2.2.10), perhaps because it did not suit the characterization created by the historian. This may also explain why Niger's early successes are minimized (3.2.2) and his presence at the early battles ignored (3.2.10). Military and tactical manoeuvres by each side in the wars of 196-7 are less prominent than the picturesque details of battle (3.7.2, Lugdunum). Administrative adjustments to frontier boundaries, or the creation of new provinces in Syria, Britain (though see 3.8.2) and Spain are completely omitted. But the formation of the provinces of Mesopotamia (3.10.1) and Numidia

promoted to Egypt. Ulpian was not prefect before 1st April 222 (*Cod. Just.* 8.37.4) and is first recorded as such in Dec 222 (*Cod. Just.* 4.65.4.1).

¹ (Xiph.) 80.4.2 says that when he was in the province of Pannonia, the soldiers complained of him to Ulpian. If he is right it means that he held his Pannonian command in 223 and a drastic revision of the dates of his later *cursus* is necessary, including office under Elagabalus; Dio (Xiph.) 80.1.3 could be interpreted to mean that the author went to Bithynia after his Pannonian command and did not return until 229, when he spent his months of office in Italy (80.5.1-3). Cf. J. A. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (Cambridge, 1955) 87, who describes Ulpian as "de facto head of the government"; if so, only for a very brief time.

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(3.10.3), though not discussed, was obviously known.¹

There is little evidence that Herodian was aware of wider strategic problems in his descriptions of the various wars of the period, even though he admired the military achievement of Severus (3.7.7-8) and gives a reasonably detailed account of the tactical plan of Alexander Severus' Parthian campaign (6.5.1 ff.). There is no mention, for instance, of the importance of Africa and Egypt to Severus in his war against Niger (3.1.2), or of the exact intentions of M. Aurelius and Maximinus in their northern campaigns, beyond a vague rhetorical reference to "Oceanus" (1.5.6, 1.6.6, 7.2.9). Severus' expedition to Ctesiphon is regarded as an event of pure chance (3.9.8 ff.).

There is a fair number of references to finance and economics in the *History*, but largely in order to make tendentious observations about the extravagance and confiscations of tyrant-emperors, consistent with a stereotype.² Almost no mention is made of the rising burden of taxation (only 2.4.6), or of the fundamental dilemma of the empire—how to pay for the frontier defences and armies without crippling the economy with taxes or confiscating the property of

¹ If Bithynia-Pontus became a senatorial province under Alexander, this too is omitted; cf. H. G. Pflaum, *Le Marbre de Thorigny*, *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes-Études* 292 (Paris, 1948), Appendix. The status of Numidia is apparently known in the narrative of 7.9.1; Maximinus' position in Mesopotamia is a matter of dispute, but may presuppose a provincial organization (7.8.4).

² 1.17.2, 2.7.1, 3.8.2, 4.4.7, 5.4.2, 5.6.6, 6.1.3, 7.3.1 ff., 7.4.3. As suggested earlier (pp. xxii f.), Herodian's own background probably gave him some interest in the question.

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the wealthy.¹ Above all, Herodian passes over, without a hint, the famous *Constitutio Antoniniana*, extending the franchise and financial obligations of the inhabitants of the empire (4.7.1).

Omission of proper names, and of accurate facts and figures or specific examples is the rule in the *History*, contrived not through ignorance but by intent. It is obvious, for example, that the author knew of the mutilation of Papinian and Patruinus in the massacre of Geta's supporters in 212 (4.6.1) and could easily have mentioned the names of governors and procurators removed by Caracalla (4.6.4). No names of Elagabalus' extraordinary appointments are provided, but by his description Herodian proves he knew of Comazon (5.7.6). Although apparently ignorant of Maximinus' campaigns on the Danube, the historian shows in a later speech of the emperor that he was well aware of the Sarmatian Wars (7.2.9, 7.8.4).

If these are the faults of omission, the *History* also contains valuable factual information that is not found elsewhere in the literary sources for the period. Commodus' presence on the northern front before 175 (1.5.3) is important evidence of M. Aurelius' dynastic plans.² A hint of Commodus' further activities on the northern frontier is contained in 1.6.8. The armed insurrection of Maternus in 187 (1.10), though often regarded in the past with scepticism, has

¹ A good discussion of the finances of the period is to be found in Pekáry, *Hist.* 8 (1959) 443-89, though he discards any suggestion of bankruptcy as a result of the northern wars of M. Aurelius (1.6.3).

² Confirmed by an inscription from Marsala; G. Barbieri, *Kokalos* 7 (1961) 15 ff.

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received some support from epigraphic and archaeological discoveries.¹ Cleander's special status has been proved by inscriptions² to have been remarkably accurately described by Herodian (1.12.3). There seems no good reason to doubt the historian's information concerning the prestige of M'. Acilius Glabrio in 193 (2.3.4), and his whole description of the death of Commodus, formerly dismissed as merely imitation of Dio's description of the death of Domitian, has been reinstated.³ Niger's activities in Antioch (games, 2.7.9), his relationship with Aemilianus (3.2.3), the battle of the Taurus Pass (3.3.6) and the battle of Issus (3.4.4) are more closely described by Herodian than other authors. Important examples of the growing particularism in the Roman empire and features characteristic of plural societies are recorded; for instance, Niger's alliance with eastern kings (3.1.2-3), the refuge in the East for the fugitives from Niger's army (3.4.7-8), and the effects of such desertion (4.15.3). The later fragmentation of the empire is adumbrated in the scene of the imperial *consilium* of 211 (4.3.5 ff.) and the militancy of the local African *iuventutes* (7.4.3). The fact that Herodian omits some important information does not in itself impair the credibility of the information he provides. For it was a historian's duty to be selective, said Lucian;

¹ *AE* (1956) 90, Louis, *Rev. Arch.* 11 (1938) 253.

² *AE* (1952) 6, (1961) 280.

³ Attacked by E. Hohl, *Phil. Wochenschr.* 52 (1933) 191-200; originally defended by J. M. Heer, *Der historische Wert der vita Commodi, etc.*, *Philol. Suppl.* 9 (1091) 113 f., and most recently by Cassola, *Atti Accad. Pont.* 6 (1956/7) 195-8. Too often the later epitomes and excerpts of Dio have been regarded as authentic Dio.

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“there are some historians,” he adds, “who omit or skirt over important, noteworthy events and, through lack of education and taste or through ignorance of what must be noted and what suppressed, describe in minute and laborious detail most trivial events.” The distinction between history (*ιστορίαν συγγράφειν*) and chronicles (*πράξεις αὐτὰς διεξιέναι*) was just this art of imposing order (*τάξις*) and proportion (*μέτρον*) in the selection of one’s material.¹

Rhetoric, clichés and stereotypes

History and rhetoric had long been inseparable. And history itself was a vehicle for a variety of literary genres and ideals. A near contemporary of Herodian, Aulus Gellius, kept a history commonplace book for use in his literary discussions. Cornelius Fronto, the teacher of M. Aurelius, abandoned his stolid letters for a while to write a highly coloured, rhetorical history of the Parthian campaign of L. Verus. His was one of many such compositions, says Lucian, in a “polyphonic age” (*ἐν οὕτω πολυφώνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*). The Roman sophist Claudius Aelian, an almost exact contemporary of Herodian, wisely turned from declamation, says Philostratus, to writing history; in this field he won much acclaim. Aelian made a collection of moralizing anecdotes which he called “The Colourful History” (*ποικίλη ἱστορία*), and he wrote an attack on the emperor Elababalus, called “The Indictment of Gynnīs,” which he prudently published after that emperor’s death. Another historian of the second century, the freedman

¹ Lucian, *How to write history* 27, 4–6.

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Herennius Philo, wrote a work called “The Paradoxical History” (*παράδοξος ἱστορία*) as well as a mammoth composition of fifteen books called “Concerning the Cities and the Remarkable Men Produced by Each.” Flavius Arrian, the “new Xenophon” from Bithynia in the second century, is best known for his *Anabasis* of Alexander, but he also wrote a work in seventeen books on Trajan’s Parthian Wars. Appian, who became a procurator under Antoninus Pius, rejected the annalistic method in favour of episodic narrative grouped under ethnic headings. Encomium, sensational stories (*thaumasta*), poetic ornament, myth and eulogy all passed under the name of history. Men claimed to be eye-witnesses of events without stirring from their chairs at home. And everyone claimed to follow the classical models of Thucydides, Herodotus or Xenophon.¹ This was the cultural *milieu* in which Herodian composed his history and these were the influences inevitably reflected in his work.

In the introduction to the *History* Herodian soberly rejects the more lurid and dramatic romances of his day, which “showed a contempt for the truth and a preoccupation with vocabulary and style” (1.1.1); but he nevertheless sought to make his own work colourful (*τύχας ποικίλας*, 1.1.4) and to enliven it with paradoxes (*βίους παραδόξους*, 1.1.4) and sensational material (*πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ἤνεγκε καὶ θαύματος ἄξια*, 1.1.5). While opposed to the historians who wrote of tyrants, emperors and cities from biased motives (1.1.2), he admits that he too is

¹ Lucian, *How to write history* 2, 15, 19, 23, 38, 42, 54.

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preoccupied with " tyrants and emperors " and the " destruction of cities " (1.1.4). Though determined to maintain a chronological framework (1.1.6, 1.17.2) he was fascinated by the ethnic groups within the empire and beyond its borders (1.1.4). Like Lucian, Herodian believed that there was no real distinction between what gave pleasure and what was useful, since both derived from the truth.¹

Just as the historian accepted some of the contemporary ideals of historiography, so he expressed himself in the contemporary idiom, using clichés of thought and phrase. The *History* is garnished with imitations of classical models, rhetorical declamations, moralizing *sententiae*, antiquarian diversions and etymological bric-à-brac. So, for example, one finds a set piece on the dangers of corruption of a young heir (1.3.1 ff.), with classical models to illustrate the theme and an almost verbatim quotation from Sallust's famous speech of Micipsa (in turn deriving from Xenophon); the speech is known to have been popular in the Severan period.² Like the great sophist, Scopelian, who declaimed on the character of the barbarian, the *History* is full of similar generalizations (1.3.5, etc.).³ The sophist, Aelius Aristides, had used

¹ 1.1.3, 1.11.5; cf. Lucian, *ibid.* 9.

² The same theme is taken up by Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βαρ.* 3.86 ff., and Seneca, *de clementia*, but there is no reason why H. should not have known both Xenophon's and Sallust's speeches. Aulus Gellius is testimony to the popularity of *summae fidei et reverentiae vetustatis liber*, *NA* 9.14.26; cf. *ibid.* 1.15.18, 4.15.1, 18.4.6. The speech of Micipsa was allegedly sent by Severus to Caracalla, *SHA, Sev.* 21.10.

³ Full references to these examples are quoted in the footnotes to the text.

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the allusion to Oceanus to describe the limit of Roman territorial claims; the same word is used by Herodian (1.5.6, 1.6.6, 7.2.9). A description of the climate on the Danube had formed the subject of a declamation by the sophist, Alexander " Peloplaton " (1.6.1, 6.7.6). Demosthenes' description of sycophants is reproduced practically verbatim (1.6.1). A laboured rhetorical *schema* can be seen in the description of Commodus' prowess with a javelin (1.15.6). The death of Cleander prompts a typical moralizing comment on the *metabole* of fortune (1.13.6). The whole scene of the last day of Commodus is an example of the *paradoxia* of the hand of fortune (1.17.4). Rivalry between the cities of Asia (3.2.8) was a common theme of the rhetor and philosopher, Dio of Prusa. The description of the geography of Britain is a collection of commonplaces (3.14.6 ff.); so too is the description of the character of the Alexandrians (4.8.7).

Imitation of ancient classical authors (ἑλλησ τῶν ἀρχαίων),¹ particularly of Thucydides, was canonic to the sophistic movement, though there was a variety of opinions about the degree to which one's vocabulary and style should be exclusively Attic. In the frequent reminiscences of Thucydides found in Herodian,² one may detect some direct imitation of the Athenian; but most passages probably derived from the Atticizing movement in the schools of

¹ Lucian, *How to write history* 34.

² Collected by F. J. Stein, *Dexippus et Herodianus rerum scriptores quatenus Thucydidem secuti sunt* (Diss. Bonn, 1957) 219-21. The precise parallels are quoted in the footnotes to my text; e.g. 1.6.5, 1.12.2, etc.

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rhetoric¹ and are repeated by generations of historians. For instance, passages in Herodian's introduction which might be thought to stem from Thucydides can be paralleled in Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, Sallust, Livy and Tacitus.² On the whole there is little to show that the language of the model dictated the thought (perhaps 4.2.10). It may be that the well-known stereotype of Sardanapalus as the ultimate in oriental degeneracy and tyranny³ controlled the historian's description of the emperor Elagabalus (5.5.4), but the comparison was actually made during that emperor's lifetime.⁴

There are, however, a great number of passages in the *History* which show the influence of rhetoric in general. Examples are in the repeated clichés such as "a danger which is not just threatening but already here" (1.9.4, 1.13.4, 6.8.6, 7.5.5, 7.5.7) or "unarmed against armed" (1.12.7, 2.5.3, 2.13.4, 2.13.11, 4.9.6) or "everyone's life must come to an end some time"

¹ The same point is made about Cassius Dio by Millar, *Cassius Dio* 42. Imitative writing is far less obvious in H. than in the fragments of Dexippus; Stein, *op. cit.* 48 ff. It may be significant that one of the few fragments of Asinius Quadratus (cf. p. xvii) deals with a plague in Parthia—the very thing Lucian mocks as a feature of the superficial imitators of Thucydides; SHA, *Ver.* 8.1–4 = Jacoby, *FGH* fr. 19; Lucian, *op. cit.* 15.

² Stein, *op. cit.* 76 ff. Examples in addition to those already quoted are in the footnotes at 4.2.10 (Herodotus), 4.15.1 (Tacitus), 5.5.4 (Xenophon), 7.7.1 (Sallust). Further examples are to be found in Pobjocki, *de Herod. vita* 30 ff., though some are dubious.

³ Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βασιλ.* 1.3, 4.113.

⁴ Dio 79.1.1.

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(2.2.6, 2.5.6) or the metaphor of the encircling "net" of steel (2.13.5, 4.9.6, 4.15.4, 6.5.9, 8.4.7) or turning a place into "grazing land" as an expression for devastation (8.4.8) or "the besieger becoming the besieged" (8.5.5). There is an almost liturgic quality about the formula that is repeated on the death of each character in the narrative—"such was the end of so-and-so" . . . (1.9.10, 1.13.6, 1.17.12, etc.). Very like this is the resumé of each previous book that appears in the first words of each new book. This is not, as Cassola believes,¹ an indication that the books were originally published separately but a result of the classical influence of the running style of Herodotus (3.1.1). In some cases whole scenes can find classical antecedents, but one must bear in mind that similar conditions tend to provoke similar descriptions; one street battle must have been very much like another without having to go back to Thucydidean models (1.12.8, 7.12.5). Lucian does, however, lay down a formula for describing a battle that is based on classical models: first the general's harangue must be described, and then, "when battle is joined, the historian should look at both sides and weigh the events as in a balance, joining in both the pursuit and the flight."² With this can be compared Herodian's description of the battle of Lugdunum (3.6–7) or Macrinus' battle against Artabanus (4.14–15).

The characterization of the *dramatis personae* in the *History* is also influenced as a result of the repetitive and limited clichés employed. For example, emperors and pretenders defeated in battle are

¹ *NRS* 41 (1957) 217.

² Lucian, *How to write history* 49.

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always indolent procrastinators devoted to easy living.¹ Those successful in war rule by fear and confiscations and violence.² Commodus is portrayed as the mad tyrant (1.16.1), whose statues were everywhere (1.14.9), and who went to excesses of dress and behaviour (1.14.8). The tyrant Caracalla also had statues everywhere (4.8.1-2), and also displayed extremes of dress (4.7.3, 4.8.2) and senseless behaviour (4.9). The emperor Elagabalus ordered his portrait to be hung in the senate, clothed in his barbarous priestly garments (5.5.6). When Macrinus failed to live up to his promise, he is described as appearing in public wearing garments and ornaments more fitting for a barbarian than a Roman (5.2.4). It would, however, be wrong to suppose that the rhetoric falsified history. There are distortions and inconsistencies, but it is difficult to prove complete falsification. Herodian's method is to select facts, which in themselves are true, as *exempla* to typify and interpret a character. The criterion for the interpretation is political rather than rhetorical (see below).

The speeches

Herodian, like his contemporary Cassius Dio,³ exhibits his debt to classical models most clearly in the speeches that adorn the *History*. There are thirty-three speeches in all (including two letters), which are distributed as follows: Book I 4.2, 5.3, 6.2,

¹ Niger—2.8.9, 2.9.2, 2.12.2; Didius Julianus—2.6.6, 2.12.2; Albinus—2.15.1, 3.7.1; Macrinus—5.2.3, 5.5.2.

² Severus—3.4.7, 3.8.2, 3.8.7; Caracalla—4.3.3-4, 4.5.7, 4.9.3; Maximinus—7.1.2, 7.3.1 ff.

³ Millar, *Cassius Dio* 42.

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6.4, 9.4, 13.2, 17.5, 17.6; Book II 1.7, 1.8, 1.10, 2.6, 3.4, 3.5, 5.6, 8.2, 10.2, 13.5; Book III 6.1, 11.5, 12.2, 12.5, 12.11; Book IV 3.8, 5.2, 10.2 (letter) 14.4; Book V 1.2 (letter); Book VI 3.3; Book VII 5.5, 8.4; Book VIII 3.5 (partially indirect), 7.4. Of these, about half are set pieces, such as harangues to the soldiers or the senate. The rest are shorter dramatic exchanges. It goes without saying that Herodian, in common with almost every other Greek and Roman historian, felt no problem about freely inventing words for his speakers. Like cadenzas in music, the speeches were an opportunity for the historian to show his paces. The limitation to the imagination derived from the canon laid down by Thucydides, that a speech must be consistent with historical probability.¹ For this reason it was necessary to explain that the speech of the emperor Maximinus was written for him by his friends (7.8.3); otherwise a polished speech would not have been consistent with the character of the barbarian soldier.

The above list of speeches makes it clear at a glance that most of the speeches occur in the first four books of the *History*. It is also noticeable that all the short dramatic dialogues are contained in the first three books. As has been suggested earlier,² the reason for this is probably one of compositional procedure and incomplete editing. Although the major set speeches had been written, the graphic colour that was added

¹ Thuc.1.22, "what was demanded of the occasion"; cf. Lucian, *How to write history* 58, "let the language suit the character and the subject, then let it be as clear as possible; after that one can be rhetorical and demonstrate one's skill in oratory."

² See p. x.

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to the incident of the night visit to Pertinax (2.1) or Plautian's unsuccessful plot (3.11-12) had not yet been included in the later episodes.

It is the appropriateness and historicity of the speeches that have come under most serious attack by modern critics.¹ How, for instance, could M. Aurelius, on the point of death and sustained by drugs, have delivered a lengthy discourse on the morality and philosophy of kingship (1.4.2-6)?² The speech of Severus Alexander, says Poblöcki, sounds as if it were delivered to an audience of women not soldiers. Certainly there is some justification in criticisms of the banality of the "school" rhetoric in the orations, though this was a convention of the age. There are also some clear historical errors in the speeches that may have resulted from their later composition.³ But one can overstress the historian's ineptitude. Pertinax's nervousness (2.3.1) was not simply rhetorical *coloratura*, but prompted by very real factional opposition that is otherwise not revealed by the author.⁴ Maximinus' speech contains the only historical reference to the emperor's previous experience in Mesopotamia and his Sarmatian Wars

¹ Poblöcki, *de Herod. vita* 24-5, Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 10-11; objections are summarized by Grosso, *Lotta politica* 37

² J. Schwendemann, *Der historische wert der vita Marci bei den SHA* (Heidelberg, 1923) 114-15, says the interview between father and son took place in private and was brief, for fear of contagion from the disease; cf. *SHA. Marc.* 28.8-9. Dio (Xiph.) 71.6 says M. Aurelius was very weak and found difficulty in speaking without his theriac.

³ P. xli.

⁴ *SHA, Pert.* 15.8, says there was a letter extant, preserved by Marius Maximus, recording Pertinax's *horror imperii*.

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(7.8.4). Severus' denigration of the British troops (3.6.6), contradictory to the historian's own estimation (2.15.1), was dramatically correct for a commander encouraging his own troops. Severus' message requesting Albinus' partnership on the grounds of his own old age and gout (2.15.4), whereas Severus was in reality only forty-six and noted for his physical toughness (2.11.2, 3.6.10), was an example of the celebrated duplicity of the emperor (2.14.4).¹ Whether or not M. Aurelius delivered his long death-bed speech (something, after all, which used to be regarded as not unusual in our own society), there is no reason to doubt that his words represented genuine political sentiments and advice that had been given to the young heir on other occasions. Artistically the speech served at this point to mark the uncertainty of the succession² and the important part played by the *amici*—which was a real historical circumstance.

The sources

Quellenforschung has many pitfalls, since so much concerns anonymous, non-extant prototypes, on the assumption that ancient historians were incapable of

¹ Or it may have been true. According to the *SHA, Nig.* 4.7, the autobiography of Severus stated that on one occasion when he was ill, the emperor seriously intended to make Niger and Albinus his heirs; Peter, *HRR* II. 255, attributes this quotation to Marius Maximus on the basis of *SHA, Alb.* 3.4, which simply says that Marius Maximus recorded Severus' intention of making Niger and Albinus his heirs at one time. It seems to me improbable that it was true, but quite possible that Severus said it was true; cf. Barbieri, *RFIC* 32 (1954) 45-7.

² The point is made by Grosso, *Lotta politica* 37.

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absorbing more than one source at a time. In the case of one who wrote of his own lifetime and experiences it is doubly nonsensical to expect to identify *the* source of Herodian. Indeed, the author specifically denies using second-hand information that has not been corroborated by his own research (1.1.3), though of course this is not a claim personally to have witnessed every scene.¹ Obviously the antiquarian information is drawn from other sources (ὡς . . . παρ' ἑτέροις εὔρομεν). But it is conflated and shaped (ὡς ἱστορία παρελήφαμεν . . . οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ, etc., 1.11.1-2), not simply joined with scissors and paste or drawn from a single source. Baaz' attempt² to prove that Herodian's source for all his digressions was the Augustan writer, Verrius Flaccus, is based on no other evidence than that much of what the historian says is similar to information in Ovid, who was known to have drawn on Flaccus. It is true that an epitome of Flaccus was made in the late second century by Sex. Pompeius Festus, but there is absolutely nothing to show that this was the sole source of Herodian's information or that the historian had not himself read Ovid. In view of the popularity of learned discussions on Greek and Roman antiquities among the literary *circuli*, as evident in the kind of scenes described by Aulus Gellius and Athenaeus, there seems no reason to doubt the historian's word that he used a number of sources for his research.

¹ See pp. xii ff. Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus* 6, assumes 1.1.3 means H. himself witnessed every incident (and is therefore untrue). But H. means that he "heard" men telling of their experiences; very often this left him at the mercy of his informants (e.g. the tales of the siege of Hatra).

² *Op. cit.* 11 ff.

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References to sources are frequent, though, as usual in ancient historians, most are anonymous. Oral sources are not normally distinguished from literary sources, both of which are included in the formulae λέγουσι, φασι, ἱστορήσαν, διαβάλλουσι, etc. Such citations are found: (a) regularly in connection with antiquarian information; e.g. 1.11.1-3 (Magna Mater and Cybele), 1.14.4 (Palladium), 1.16.1 (Saturn), 5.6.4 (Dea Caelestis); but (b) also frequently with contemporary events; e.g. 2.1.6 (the conversation of Pertinax, Laetus and Eclectus), 3.4.7 (a judgement of Niger), 3.7.4 (slander against Laetus), 4.8.8 (Caracalla's reception in Alexandria), 6.6.9 (Severus Alexander's cowardice), 7.1.5 and 7 (Magnus' plot), 8.3.7-9 (episodes from the siege of Aquileia—possibly the soldiers were informants); (c) sometimes for geographic and historical background; e.g. 3.4.3 (Alexander's defeat at Issus), 6.5.2 (the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates); (d) sometimes indicating more than one source; e.g. 3.2.3 (the motives of Aemilianus), 3.7.6 (the numbers of casualties at Lugdunum), 4.8.4 (the death of Festus at Troy), 7.9.4 and 9 (the death of Gordian I).¹

There are several references to literary sources, particularly to historians of the life of Severus (2.15.6-7, 3.7.3) and authorities on the military and political virtues of M. Aurelius (1.2.5), but specific citations are limited to the writings of M. Aurelius (not necessarily the *Meditations*—τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν—

¹ When Herodian provides alternative explanation for events it does not automatically follow he is using two sources; but cf. 1.9.5, 1.17.10, 4.12.5, 4.13.8, 5.3.10, 6.5.8, 6.6.1, 6.8.5, 7.1.8.

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1.2.3) and the autobiography of Severus (2.9.4). The former may have been used by Herodian to expound the somewhat banal political thought that pervades the *History*.¹ The latter was almost certainly the source of the historian's information about the prodigies that forecast Severus' accession²—concerning which some scepticism is expressed (2.9.4–6).

The chief question must be the relationship between Herodian and the two major known historians of this period, Cassius Dio and Marius Maximus. The history of Dio, which extended up to the date of the author's second consulship in 229, is extant either in epitome and excerpts or (for the reign of Macrinus and part of the reign of Elagabalus) in the original, though fragmentary, text. It would have been extraordinary if Herodian had not known this massive historical work of eighty books by the Bithynian

¹ J. Zürcher, "Commodus. Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der Historien Herodians," in Büdinger's *Untersuch. z. röm. Kaisergesch.* (Leipzig, 1868) 230, attempts to find traces of M. Aurelius' writings in H., but the parallels are not convincing. Neither M. Aurelius nor H. were original enough to warrant a categorical assertion of direct influence.

² H. Peter, *HRZ* II. 329 fr.1; Cassius Dio also wrote a pamphlet on the Severan prodigies, but in view of H.'s direct reference to the autobiography, there is no need to suggest his information came from Dio. Cf. other refs. to the autobiography in SHA, *Alb.* 10.1, 11.4–5 (the drunkenness and luxury of Albinus), *Nig.* 5.1 (Niger's desire for glory and his debased morals) and my note on p. lxx, which may have derived from Marius Maximus. It is possible that H.'s own characterization of Niger and Albinus was affected by this source, and certainly it would have been reasonable to have put such sentiments into the speeches of Severus (3.6.4—Niger's desire for glory, 2.10.6–7—the corruption of Syrian life, 3.6.7—Albinus' effeminacy; cf. 3.7.1).

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senator, written less than twenty years earlier. Marius Maximus was also a senator, probably the man recorded on an inscription (*ILS* 2935) who was one of Severus' generals, urban prefect under Macrinus and consul for the second time in 223. He is usually believed to have been the author of a series of *Lives of the Emperors* from Nerva to Elagabalus, taking up where Suetonius had left off.¹ He was known and used by the authors of the *Augustan History* in the fourth century, and it is through them that he is known today. But it is very much an open question to what extent the character of Marius Maximus' work can be determined from the SHA, or indeed to what extent he was even quoted by them. Once again, however, it would have been slightly astonishing if Herodian had not known the work of such a prominent man, written so shortly before his own history of the same period.

There is no agreement about Dio's influence on Herodian.² There are advocates for the views either that Herodian made no use of Dio at all, and that any similarities derive from a common experience; or that Herodian used Dio; or that both authors derived their information from a common source.³ All

¹ The career of MM is summarized by Barbieri, *Albo* 1100. A recent discussion of his relationship to the SHA is by Barbieri, *RFIC* 32 (1954) 36–66, 262–75, where a bibliography of previous publications is to be found. Cf. articles by Schwartz and Seston in *H.-A. Colloquium Bonn 1963 and 1964/5*.

² The state of the question and a bibliography is provided by Cassola's lucid article, "Erodiano e le sue fonti," *RAAN* 32 (1957) 165–72. I have little of substance to add to what he says, though he leaves the questions open.

³ The last thesis has been put most fervently by Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus*, but the real objection is not only (as

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theories therefore presuppose a good deal of similarity between the two authors, but also that there is nothing in Herodian that can conclusively be proved to be drawn from Dio. The final decision is inevitably a value judgement. This being so, the following arguments appear to me to weigh in favour of Herodian having made some use of Dio: (a) Herodian was probably most dependent on literary sources for the years of his own boyhood—that is, the reign of Commodus. Kreutzer has shown how closely Herodian follows Dio's sequence and selection of events for the reign.¹ (b) There are linguistic coincidences in the description of certain scenes in 193 which appear too great to be ascribed to mere chance. The best example is H. 2.2.4 = Dio (Xiph) 73.2.2-4 (the cries of the people after Commodus' death); though one must immediately admit that the chronology of the acclamations differs in the two historians, and both could have heard the shouts with their own ears. Indeed, Dio says that they were like the formal chants at the circus, though slightly altered for this occasion; nevertheless they were probably frequently repeated

Cassola points out, *op. cit.* 168-9) that Dio himself did not follow a single prototype, but that some of the corner stones of B.'s arguments crumble on examination. E.g. p. 16 ff., the similarity of H. 1.15 and Dio 72.17 (a description of the games of 192), which happens to be the one occasion when both authors specifically affirm they were personally present at the event. Pp. 30-1, H. 2.4.4 and Dio 73.8.1 (the cause of the praetorians' discontent) are actually recorded in connection with different incidents; to Baaz this is proof of a common prototype which each author uses for his own ends. So first the similarities and then the differences prove a common source—an unbeatable argument.

¹ *de Herod. . . . scriptore* 18.

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and easy to remember. (c) Most of these linguistic parallels occur in Books I and II, though there are a few in Books III and IV. However, as soon as Dio's original text can be used as a comparison with Books V and VI, there are no provable similarities. This suggests to Cassola that the later epitomizers may have been responsible for the coincidences. But there are two other factors to be borne in mind: first, that Herodian's personal memories became stronger as his seniority and experience of public administration brought him closer to the centres of power; secondly, it seems possible that, just as the earlier books were in process of being polished and ornamented with rhetoric and digressions,¹ so too was Dio's narrative being used to check and supplement Herodian's original words. (d) The passage in Herodian which explains Caracalla's reasons for travelling to Alexandria (4.8.6) states that "the excuse he made for going there was that he longed to see the city founded in honour of Alexander and to sacrifice to the god" (*πρόφασιν μὲν ποιούμενος ποθεῖν τὴν . . . πόλιν*, etc.). The *μὲν* in this passage is never answered, though one would have expected the antithesis, "but the real reason was. . . ." Immediately following this Herodian repeats himself, saying "There were two particular reasons he alleged, the one to worship the god and the other to worship the hero" (*δύο γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπερβαλλόντως προσεποιεῖτο*, etc.). A corresponding passage in Dio (Xiph) 77.22.1 says that Caracalla "set off for Alexandria, concealing his anger and pre-

¹ See p. lix.

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tending that he longed to see them" (*ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ ποθεῖν αὐτοὺς προσποιοῦμενος*). Here, then, is not only a verbal parallel with Herodian but the missing antithesis is also supplied—Caracalla was angry with the Alexandrians. Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that Herodian had Dio's passage in mind when he wrote. It also provides an important demonstration of Herodian's method. He was clearly assimilating some other information with Dio's, which causes the slightly clumsy repetition of alleged reasons for the visit, to which Herodian adds one not in Dio (or the epitome)—that is, Caracalla's wish to sacrifice to the god (Serapis). Herodian therefore probably used Dio after his initial draft of the *History* but sometimes failed to assimilate Dio's evidence smoothly. He was by no means tied to Dio's evidence alone, and sometimes may be deliberately correcting him.¹ Perhaps when Herodian made a sarcastic comment on those who believed the portents of Severus' reign, he was criticizing Dio's earlier pamphlet on the subject.² In another place where he referred to historians of Severus' campaigns who were biased in order to win imperial favour (2.15.6-7), he may have had in mind Dio's second work, a flattering history of Severus' earlier wars.³

¹ See p. xlvi.

² Cf. Millar, *Cassius Dio* 29; Herodian 2.9.3.

³ Millar, *loc. cit.*, suggests that this work closed with the battle of Lugdunum, though it seems to me much more probable that it included the two Parthian campaigns and was presented to Severus in 202. Certainly H.'s account of Severus' entry into Rome contrasts with Dio's "rapturous description" (Millar, 139). There is a notable variation in the two author's versions of Severus' "flight" at Lugdunum (3.7.3).

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How much of Marius Maximus is there in the *Augustan History* with which to compare Herodian?¹ If the historian and the Severan general were the same person, it has been pointed out that the *vita Severi* contains almost nothing of the siege of Byzantium, at which Marius Maximus was the commander. There is very little of Byzantium's siege in Herodian either. On the other hand one would assume the reference in SHA, *Alb.* 12.14, praising both Herodian and Marius Maximus as trustworthy sources, to mean that the two authors were frequently in agreement. Judging from the places where Marius Maximus is quoted in the SHA, his biographies had two particular features; they were made up of a good deal of trivia and scandal,² sometimes to the point of tedium—*homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit*³ is one description of Marius Maximus; but they also had the great virtue of preserving some original documents like the *acta senatus*, acclamations of the senate, quotations from letters and from the autobiography of Severus.⁴ It has been suggested already⁵ that Herodian may well have used some of

¹ According to Barbieri, *RFIC* 32 (1954) 52-3, there is no reason to believe MM was the main source for any of the *vitae*.

² E.g. the collection of scurrilous verses about Commodus; SHA, *Comm.* 13.2.

³ SHA, *Firm.* 1.1-2.

⁴ There is no inconsistency between this and the author's verbosity; cf. SHA, *Comm.* 18-20—*acclamationes*; *Comm.* 11.11—record of *acta*; *Pert.* 2.8-9—an oration of M. Aurelius (cf. *Pius* 11.3); *Pert.* 15.8—a letter of Pertinax; *Alb.* 9.2, *Nig.* 4.5, *Sev.* 8.15—autobiography of Severus.

⁵ Pp. lx-lxi. Herodian claims, however, to have used the autobiography of Severus direct.

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these documents from the pages of Marius Maximus. This may also be the source for some of the more colourful stories of Severus' battles; for instance, the tale of Laetus at Lugdunum (3.7.5),¹ or the incidents at the siege of Hatra (3.9.5 ff.). But in the end one is left only with conjectures, and there is nothing to show that Herodian was tied to this source either. A good example for a comparison between Dio, Marius Maximus and Herodian (and incidentally the SHA) is to be found in the prophecy that Clodius Albinus would neither be captured nor escape but would die close by water²—a story apparently related by Severus in his autobiography. Dio clearly knew the tale direct from Severus' own writing; he makes an oblique reference to it and seems to mean that he had previously (i.e. in his pamphlet) recorded it, though in the history he deliberately rejects it.³ Marius Maximus recorded the prophecy, but it has become distorted in the SHA *vitae*.⁴ Herodian simply ignores the story, giving a different account of the death of Albinus, while elsewhere he expresses his mistrust of Severus' autobiography (3.7.7, 3.9.4). Each author followed his own criterion of selection and each worked from his own information. The later record

¹ Cf. SHA, *Sev.* 15.6, a reference by MM to Laetus and to Hatra; Barbieri, *op. cit.* 61, suggests that this proves that MM was hostile to Severus. Apart from the inherent unlikelihood that one of Severus' young colonels would be hostile, the report of Laetus' treachery proves nothing of the sort.

² SHA, *Sev.* 10.7.

³ Dio (Xiph.) 75.7.3.

⁴ SHA, *Alb.* 9.2, mentions MM but only tells half the prophecy; *Nig.* 9.5 refers the prophecy to Niger; cf. Barbieri, *op. cit.* 47, for a slightly different explanation.

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in the SHA is unreliable as a control for Dio or Herodian.

Politics, patronage and the purpose of the History

Although Herodian, in the conventional manner, declared that he intended to write without bias (1.1.2), no historian is ever completely objective. And much less so in the conditions of the Roman empire, where patronage, both literary and political, was woven into the very fabric of society. One need hardly mention the list of Martial's patrons, or the recitations and encouragement for struggling artists provided by distinguished politicians and civil servants.¹ In the age immediately preceding Herodian's, in the reign of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius, the letters of M. Cornelius Fronto are full of requests for political preferment on behalf of young men from different classes of society, often on the grounds of their literary merit.² The patrons he canvassed were, like Fronto himself, leading members of the Antonine establishment, Claudius Severus, Petronius Mammertinus, Aufidius Victorinus, Arrius Antoninus, Rufus Lollianus Avitus—what is called by Pflaum "une grande partie des dirigeants de la politique

¹ E.g. Octavius Titinius Capito, the *ab epistulis*; Pliny, *Ep.* 1.17, 5.8, 8.12; cf. L. Friedländer, *Sittengesch. Roms* (7th edition trans. Freese) 3.50 ff.

² E.g. C. Calvisius Faustianus, son of Fronto's equestrian friend C. Calvisius Statianus, of whom F. says in recommending him to the Asian consular, Ti. Claudius Julianus, *quam doctus sit mihi crede*. Father and son ended up as prefect and ideologue of Egypt at the time of Avidius Cassius' revolt (175); Fronto 1.290 (Haines).

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impériale."¹ Each of these men had their own (often overlapping) network of political and cultural contacts.² There would have been nothing strange about Herodian being attached to such a group. Therefore the question of *cui bono*—for whose benefit was the *History* written—is legitimate. And relevant to this question is the political philosophy contained in the work.

"Political philosophy" may be putting the ideals of Herodian on too high a plane, since there is nothing very profound about what is said. Dominating the *History* is the absent figure of M. Aurelius, who, apart from the introductory chapters, is mentioned no less than thirteen times (see 1.2.2). The characteristics of M. Aurelius are used to delineate the stereotype of the ideal ruler (1.1-4) in contrast to the tyrants of the succeeding years. Thus one finds that in civic virtues the ideal *basileus* is devoted to education and culture (1.2.1, 1.3.2). Towards his subjects he is gentle and moderate (*ἐπιεικής, μέτριος*). In judicial duties he is mild (*πρᾶος, ἡμέρος*, 2.4.1-2) and in his personal behaviour he is disciplined (*κόσμιος, σώφρων*), in contrast to the cruel excesses of tyranny (*ὠμὴ καὶ ἐφυβριστος τυραννίς*, 2.4.1-2). The ruler's accessibility (1.2.4, 2.14.3) is one of the things that contributes to his popularity and trust among his subjects (1.6.6, 2.4.2). As for military virtues,

¹ H. G. Pflaum, "Les correspondents de l'orateur M. Cornelius Fronto de Cirta," *Homages to Jean Bayet, Coll. Lat.* 70 (1964) 559. The whole article, pp. 544-60, is a valuable discussion of the literary and political nexus in the age when Herodian was born.

² For the Claudii Severi, see pp. lxxx-lxxxii.

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outside Rome the ideal ruler is admired for his expansionist policy (1.2.5), in which he is assisted by his *amici* (*πολλοὶ καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες*). He inculcates fear into the barbarians lest they come to despise the Romans (1.3.5, 1.6.4-6). Treaties are dictated from strength of arms (1.3.5). The *basileus* is personally brave (1.2.5), and his soldiers love him for his achievements, considering him one of themselves—*συστρατιώτης* (1.5.3). The guards at Rome are properly restrained from interfering with the people who wish to meet their emperor (1.2.4) and from indulging in their desires (2.2.3, 2.4.1). Towards the senate the *basileus* is respectful. No senator is put to death, there are no confiscations and no informers (2.14.3, 5.2.2, 6.1.7). Senators can live free from fear (2.4.2) and in freedom (5.1.8, 5.2.2). The rule of the *basileus* is not the rule of one man, but an *aristokratia* (1.2.2, 2.14.3) in which the *amici* and advisers (*φίλοι, σύμβουλοι*) play a leading role (1.4.1, 1.8.1, 5.1.8). Stress is laid on virtue as being superior to wealth and birth (1.2.2; cf. the curious reference by Macrinus to Marcus as an emperor like Pertinax, contrasted with the nobly born Commodus and Caracalla, 5.1.8).

It is against this backdrop that the successive emperors take the stage. Commodus immediately abandons the advice of the *amici* (1.6.1) and surrounds himself with sycophants. The senate hates and is hated by him (1.8.6-7). Confiscations and executions of the *principes* lead to suspicion and fear (1.8.8, 1.17.2). He is inaccessible to his subjects (1.12.1), loses popularity, and is ridiculed and feared (1.13.7, 1.14.7). He abandons the war against the barbarians and buys peace (1.6.8). Finally he is reduced to a

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state of utter degradation and megalomania, indulging in every excess of food, drink and dress (1.13.7-8, 1.14.8-9, 1.17.4-5).

There is no need to go into further detail to show how the matrix of the ideal prince guides the selection of facts. It would be unfair to suggest that it is totally constricting. Severus, for instance, possesses many admirable qualities of diligence, shrewdness and bravery. But he deceives and cheats; his motive is personal glory (3.6.4, 3.9.1), love of money (3.8.7-8) and therefore he murders and confiscates (3.4.7, 3.8.2, 3.8.7), ruling by terror not good will (3.8.2-3, 3.8.8). Pertinax, on the other hand, follows the prototype of the ideal. The rivalry between the sons of Severus is an interesting example of the way in which the political ideal tends to control the thought. In the earlier references, where the emphasis is on Severus' failure to control and educate (contrasted with the *ἐπιμέλεια* of M. Aurelius, 1.2.1-2), both sons are dissolute, unruly and surrounded by sycophants (3.10.3-4, 3.13.2, 3.16.6). But once Severus is dead, Geta is used to highlight the moral failings of Caracalla and now takes on the virtues of the perfect prince (*ἐπιεικής, μέτριος, χρηστός, φιλόθρως*) devoted to educational and cultural pursuits and winning good will (4.3.2-3). Caracalla is the typical tyrant, cruel, violent, allowing licence to the praetorians and luxury to the soldiers (4.3.7, 4.6.5, 4.7.4).

Macrinus' attempts to return to the ideal monarchy of Marcus are described in conventional terms, and his failure to live up to expectations is due to moral weakness. Elagabalus is the typical eastern potentate, surrounded by his sycophants, degrading the

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senate and the equestrians (5.5.7, 5.5.9-10). But Severus Alexander brings a return to sanity and the virtues of *aristokratia* (6.1.2), relying on his advisers and friends (6.1.2). His eventual failure was not one of *πολιτική ἀρετή* but of *στρατηγική ἀρετή*. At Alexander's death there is another reversion to tyranny and the destruction of the councillors of Alexander (7.1.4). The climax and the terminal point of the *History* is reached when the senate for the third time in two hundred years debated the selection of its own emperor, as it had done on the death of Gaius and Domitian—a parallel of which Herodian was probably conscious (7.10.2). *Aristokratia* became more than a constitutional fiction. Pupienus Maximus was, like Pertinax, a new man who had risen through the senate to patrician status, the urban prefecture and a second consulship (8.8.1). The slogans of *libera res publica*, the constitution of the *princeps* in senate, inevitably reappear, particularly in the speech of Pupienus (8.7.4-6)—the *commune imperium* of the rule, the *tutela* of the *princeps* at home and his *statio* with the troops. It is only the breakdown of *concordia*, so eloquently defended earlier in connection with the double principate of Caracalla and Geta (4.3.8), that proves the fatal defect. It is not, however, the revolt of Gordian I that is admired (except in so far as it led to the fall of Maximinus) nor the accession of Gordian III, but the double principate of the senatorial nominees. They did not deserve their cruel death.

The purpose of this ideogrammatic writing can be understood to some extent from the political scene after the reign of Severus Alexander. Not only were

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many of the individuals who had participated in the events of the years 222–38 alive to read Herodian's work, but there was bound to be a continuity of political pressure groups and alignments from that period up to the time of Herodian's writing. Some of the *principes viri* of Alexander's reign are recorded on the list of patrons of the celebrated *album* of Canusium, a record of the patrons of that town dating from the year 223.¹ Some of the names of prominent senators in 223 also appear on an epigraphic document from Thorigny in Gaul that was set up by the Gallic *conventus* of Lugdunum in December 238,² just after the accession of Gordian III. This demonstrates very well the degree of continuity of politics before and after the reign of Maximinus. For instance, at the head of the Canusium list and prominent on the Thorigny inscription is Appius Claudius Julianus, descendant of one of the few surviving republican patrician families in the third century.³ The last known consular from this family before Claudius Julianus was probably during the reign of Pius or

¹ CIL IX. 338 = ILS 6121 (abbreviated); discussed by A. Jardé, *Études critiques sur la vie et le règne de Sévère Alexandre* (Paris, 1925) 123–5, H. G. Pflaum, *Le Marbre de Thorigny*, Bibl. de l'École des Hautes-Études, 292 (Paris, 1948) 37 ff.

² Discussed by Pflaum, *op. cit.* The marble contains testimonials written at an earlier time in favour of the principle subject of the inscription. For the purpose of this discussion the important fact is not the date of the testimonials, but the fact that it was thought worth while in 238 to record the names of the senators who had written them.

³ PIR²C 901, Crook, *Consilium Principis* no. 93; he was probably an old man in 238 and dead by 248.

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M. Aurelius.¹ Two consular members from another old family appear on the Canusium list—the brothers L. Bruttius Crispinus and C. Bruttius Praesens,² sons of the consul of 187 whose sister, Crispina, had been chosen by M. Aurelius to marry the emperor Commodus. They were a family at the heart of the Antonine aristocracy. Two more names on the *album* have Antonine connections: C. Licinius Licinianus, whose father was *sodalis Augustalis cooptatus* in 169;³ and L. Didius Marinus, an ex-equestrian who had married M. Aurelius' daughter, Cornificia, after the death of her first husband, M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus.⁴

The same patron's list also contains the names of two men who are known for their opposition to the "tyrant" Maximinus; C. Petronius Magnus, whom Herodian recorded as the organizer of a conspiracy against that emperor in 235 (7.1.5), and L. Flavius Honoratus, who was probably responsible for the defection of Moesia Inferior from Maximinus, after the emperor had set out for Italy.⁵ An interesting group on the list are the three Statii, M. Stadius Longinus, his son of the same name and M. Stadius Patruinus; more than probably they were members of the famous trading house of Aquileia of that name;

¹ PIR²C 761; cf. *Albo* pp. 475–6.

² PIR²B 160, 166; the *praenomina* have been reversed on the Canusium list.

³ *Albo* 325, 1083.

⁴ G. Barbieri, *Not. d. Scavi* (1953) 151–89.

⁵ *Albo* 1042, PIR²F 290; P. W. Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 90, G. M. Bersanetti, *Studi sull' imperatore Massimino il Trace* (reissue, Rome, 1965) 41–2, Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 48. He was honoured as *magister* of the Arvaes in 240.

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and, if so, obviously very interested in the historical record of the great siege of Aquileia that brought Maximinus down (cf. 8.2.2).

The consular *fasti* for these years give further evidence of the political alignments. Once again one of the main features is the prominence of the descendants of the old Antonine families: L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus Salvius Julianus, whose family first reached high office under Trajan, was *consul ordinarius* in 223;¹ Appius Claudius Julianus (cos. II) and L. Bruttius Crispinus were *ordinarii* in 224; M. Nummius Senecio Albinus, related to Roscius Aelianus above, was *ordinarius* in 227;² the historian Cassius Dio, whose family had probably first achieved senatorial status under Pius or M. Aurelius, was consul (II) in 229 and given unusual military responsibilities by Alexander Severus before that. In 231 and 235 three of the *consules ordinarii* were grandsons of that political élite —“men of orderly habits and sober lives,” Herodian calls them (1.2.2)—whom M. Aurelius chose as his sons-in-law;³ they were Claudius Pompeianus, L. Ti. Claudius Aurelius Quintianus and Cn. Claudius Severus. Although our information is incomplete, some of these men were surely members of Alexander's *consilium* whom Maximinus unceremoniously dismissed (7.1.3).

After the rebellion of Gordian I in Africa, these

¹ *Albo* 1145; his father was flamen of the *salii Palatini* in 170 (and therefore a patrician) under M. Aurelius, and consul in 187; *Albo* 837.

² *Albo* 1116.

³ For a full discussion and references, see H. G. Pflaum, “Les gendres de Marc-Aurèle,” *Jour. Sav.* (1961) 28–41.

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were the prominent senators who activated the resistance in the provinces, though not necessarily privy to Gordian's plans.¹ Some of them must have been members of the vigintivirate, though only a few of that committee's names are known. Presumably when Pulpianus and Balbinus (himself from a patrician Antonine family) were murdered and Gordian III took over the empire, they had to accept the *fait accompli* and accommodate themselves to the new rule as best they could. Some of the staunch senatorial men, however, found their services gradually dispensed with after two or three years of the new regime.² But Philip, we are told, won over the *principes viri*;³ even the *amici* of Gordian in the end supported his elevation. Those who supported Philip, says Zosimus,⁴ were rewarded with high office. There were only five *consules ordinarii* during the reign (apart from the imperial family). One of them was C. Bruttius Praesens, son of the consul of 224 that had been a patron of Canusium; another, who was particularly honoured by holding a second consul-

¹ Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 49–105, assumes all the senators who resisted Maximinus were supporters of Gordian, as though they were a homogeneous whole. If, as I suggest below, H. drew some of his information from some of these senators, he apparently knew nothing of any co-ordination between Africa and Rome.

² See footnote to 8.6.8 and p. xiv. Even in the case of L. Caesonius Lucillus Macer Rufinianus, who was a *XXvir* and went on to serve in Africa as proconsul, then urban praefect and *electus ad cognoscendas vice Caesaris cognitiones*, there is nothing to show his offices extended after 241.

³ SHA, *Gord.* 29.5–6, which Zos. 1.19 makes clear referred to senators; cf. Wickert, *RE* (princeps) 2013.

⁴ 1.19.

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ship within five years of his first (244 and again in 249)—he was one of those who transferred his allegiance from Gordian to Philip—was Fulvius Aemilianus. The Fulvii Aemiliani were another Antonine patrician family and almost certainly related to the Bruttii.¹

In the light of this prominence of Antonine families the traditional philosophy of the ideal *basileus* served a more direct cause than that of hackneyed rhetoric. The men who benefited from the practice of an emperor who accepted that he was only a citizen among citizens² were the *principes* of the senate. The ideology derived from the confluence of republican Roman and Hellenistic Greek thought, that had crystallized in the post-Flavian empire through the writings of men like Tacitus, Pliny and Dio of Prusa, just at the same time as a new semi-Hellenized aristocracy was emerging in Rome. It was the descendants of these men who were prominent after the revolution of 238. Claudius Severus, the ancestor of the consul of 236, was the man who provided M. Aurelius with his reading list of "Thrasea, Helvidius, Dio (of Prusa) and Brutus" and who taught the young prince the political theory of a "monarchy which honours above all else the liberty of the subject."³ The political

¹ *PIR*²B 165, F 541. The full name of the father-in-law of Commodus, the powerful *comes* of M. Aurelius was L. Fulvius . . . C. Bruttius Praesens; cf. 8.2.2n for a possible connection with the Aquileian family of the Barbi. It was a Fulvius Aemilianus who had perhaps been Alexander's recruiting officer in 231 (6.3.In) and later suffect consul; *Albo* 1053.

² Tac. *A.* 12.5.2, *unum se civium et consensui imparem respondit.*

³ M. Aurelius, *eis* *éav.* 1.14.

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ideology of Herodian may not contain much that is original but its relevance was contemporary.¹

The selection of events in the *History* was guided by several different criteria; to give pleasure to the reader and win favour from the emperor. But it was also to some extent a history of the fortunes of the Antonine families through the vicissitudes of the post-Antonine era. Incidents such as the speech of Pompeianus, the conspiracy of Lucilla, the rise and fall of Perennis and Cleander, the extermination of the aristocracy in the wars of succession of 193-7, the defeat of the faction of Geta and the murders of Caracalla, the scandalous marriages of Elagabalus—these were all events in which the great families such as the Quintilii and the Claudii Juliani, the Claudii Severi and the Bruttii Praesentes had played an important and often painful part. Several of the families were Greek or Asian in origin and continued to maintain their estates and their family contacts and clientage.² Often this involved them in the literary and sophistic circles which flourished in the eastern provinces. The Claudii Severi, for instance, had been patrons of writers and sophists; they continued to maintain their estates in Bithynia (Pompeïopolis) and Phrygia.³

¹ See the lengthy discussion by Wickert, *RE* (princeps), especially 2190-9 and 2205. Wickert believes that H. made an attempt to reconcile the two conflicting claims of *virtus* and *nobilitas*—not unexpected under an emperor who was a *novus homo* backed by senators who were *εὐγενέστατοι*.

² Cf. Millar, *Cassius Dio* 8 ff.

³ *IGRR* III. 1446, *ILS* 8832 (*πάτρινα καὶ κληρονη*), *IGRR* IV. 889; patrons of Adrian of Tyre, though they later turned against him, *Insc. B.M.* III. 2.188 no.539; Philos. *VS* 2.10.588 (01); patrons of Galen, Galen 14.627.9 (Kühn).

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And no doubt after their service in public life they retired to their homes, just as Dio returned to Nicaea in 229. There, in the company of a few friends from a variety of walks of life, they could indulge their literary pursuits in their old age.¹ Perhaps a retired minor civil servant would have been welcomed into such a circle to entertain them with the history he was writing.

¹ Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 7.25, 9.36.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

The best discussion on the MSS and editions is to be found in the *praefationes* to the editions of Mendelssohn and Stavenhagen (see below) and in J. Blaufuss' work, *ad Herodiani rerum Romanarum scriptoris libros V et VI*. It is assumed that serious students of the text will turn to those works for fuller information. It was Mendelssohn who finally established the relationship between the *codices* and the archetype and introduced the readings of John of Antioch into his collation. The abbreviations and section numbering of this edition follow those adopted by him.

Codices

The most important *codices* can be divided into two groups as follows:

Group O

A = *Codex Monacensis*, a fifteenth-century manuscript which has been corrected by two hands (A¹ and A²).

B = *Codex Vindobonensis*, a fifteenth-century manuscript.

V = *Codex Venetus*, a fifteenth-century manuscript.

Although there are sufficient similarities in the texts to postulate a common source, B and V are often in agreement against A, showing that there was a common subsidiary source for the first two (= ϕ).

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Group *i*

g = *Codex Leidensis*, dating from the eleventh century but corrected, mostly by one hand (*g*¹), in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

l = *Codex Laurentianus*, a fifteenth-century manuscript in the famous Medici library, but not apparently the text used by Politian (see below).

a = The *editio princeps* from the press of Aldus Manutius in Venice, deriving from an unknown *codex*, unlike any of the three MSS in the Marcian library, but from the *i* group.

P = The Latin translation of a *codex* (which may have been in the Laurentian library at one time) by Angelo Politiano; the work was originally commissioned by Pope Innocent VIII in 1487 and finally included in the *editio Bonomiensis* of 1493. Politian was clearly influenced to some extent by Omnibonus Leonicensus, who had translated some part of Herodian, c. 1459, a translation now only partially preserved in Flavius Blondus' *Roma Triumphans* (Venice, 1511).

Macar = Macarius Chrysocephalus' book called 'Ποδωνία, written in the fourteenth century and including some selections from Herodian that derive from an unknown *codex* which has affinities with the *i* group.

Jo = John of Antioch, who wrote his *Chronicles* in the seventh century and included long quotations from Herodian in his work. The text he used was one which seems un-

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related to either of the groups of extant *codices* and therefore goes back directly to the archetype. Unfortunately John of Antioch's work is preserved in excerpts which were made in the tenth century and it is impossible to be certain how much distortion has taken place in the process; the relevant sections are collected by Mendelssohn in his edition of Herodian.

The Basle edition (1549) by Joannes Huoberus refers to a *codex Tigurinus*, but the *codex* is otherwise unknown and probably fictitious. In the Paris edition (1581) Henricus Stephanus makes frequent quotations from a *codex* which he calls *veterem*; but the readings which he quotes have little of value to add to the other *codices*. Andreas Schottius provided Sylburg with a number of readings from an otherwise unknown Spanish *codex*, which are included in Sylburg's edition of 1590.

Editions

1503 Aldine; 1517 Juntine; 1524 Aldine²; 1525 Lovanium; 1530 Walder, Basle; 1535, 1543, 1549, 1563 Peter-Huoberus, Basle; 1544, 1568 R. Stephanus, Paris; 1581 H. Stephanus, Paris (quarto and octavo); 1590 Sylburg, Frankfurt; 1593, 1608 Sartor, Ingolstadt; 1611, 1624, 1627, 1630 Parei, Frankfurt; 1635, 1637, 1639 Parei, London; 1644, 1661, 1662, 1672, 1694 Boeclerus, Strasburg; 1678, 1699, 1704, 1708 edit. Oxon. (but in the 1708 edition the name of Harwood appears); 1685 Antonius Brigoncius, Padua; 1724 Paton, Edinburgh; 1758 edit. Halle; 1785

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Schweighauser, Basle; 1791 Leipzig; 1791 Wolf, Halle; 1789-1805 Irmisch, Leipzig (5 vols.); 1816 Weber, Leipzig; 1824 Lange, Halle; 1826 Bekker, Berlin; 1855 Bekker,² Leipzig; 1863 La Roche, Vienna; 1883 Mendelssohn, Leipzig (Teubner); 1922 Stavenhagen, Leipzig (Teubner).

Part editions by Blaufuss (Books V and VI), Erlangen, 1893; Burrows (Books II.9.1-III.15.8), Ann Arbor (Microfilm), 1956.¹

The edition of H. Stephanus in 1581 marked the turning-point in the task of collating the manuscripts. This was supplemented by the notes of Sylburg in 1590 and those of Wolf in 1791, who also made use of the valuable collation of readings provided by the notes of Martin in 1740 and Stroth in 1759. But there was still no complete recension of the text making use of all the major manuscripts. Irmisch's massive (though almost unreadable) edition of five volumes brought together a large number of notes and emendations, including those of Ernestius, Reisk and Gedikius, but it was not until Immanuel Bekker brought out his two editions of 1826 and 1855 that the six major *codices* and Politian were first brought together in an attempt to establish the archetype. The edition of Ludovic Mendelssohn thirty years later made use of some new inspections of the manuscripts carried out by Oscar Basiner and some emendations by Nauck. It is still far and away the best and most complete edition of Herodian. Stavenhagen's Teubner edition of 1922 added some valuable suggestions and emendations by E. Schwartz, but is otherwise

¹ Since this book went to press an edition and translation of H. has been published by Cassola (Firenze, 1968).

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inferior to that of Mendelssohn. For, while Stavenhagen laudably attempted to simplify the *apparatus criticus* of his edition, and made no pretence of providing as complete a collation as Mendelssohn, he also worked on the mistaken assumption that the criterion of respectability was agreement among the majority of the *codices*—a hypothesis that cannot be sustained without better knowledge of the manuscript tradition.

The present edition therefore frequently returns to Mendelssohn's text and annotations, though once again there is no attempt to provide a complete set of alternative readings. But where the alternative tends to alter the sense of the passage radically it is included in the *apparatus criticus*.

Translations

There have been a large number of translations of Herodian's *History* into Italian, French, German and English—apart from the earliest translations into Latin. The first of such translations was in 1522 into the Tuscan dialect. The first English translation was by Stapleton in 1652, who put the *History* into heroic verse. The most recent translations are by A. Stahr into German (Stuttgart, 1858), by L. Halévy into French (Paris, 1824 and 1860) and by E. C. Echols into English (Univ. of California, 1961).

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HERODIAN

ΗΡΩΔΙΑΝΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ¹

1. Οἱ πλείστοι τῶν περὶ συγκομιδῆν ἱστορίας ἀσχοληθέντων ἔργων² τε πάλαι γεγονότων μνήμην ἀνανεώσασθαι σπουδασάντων, παιδείας κλέος αἰδίου μνόμενοι, ὡς ἂν μὴ³ σιωπήσαντες λάθοιεν ἐς τὸν πολλὸν ὄμιλον ἀριθμούμενοι, τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας ἐν ταῖς ἀφηγήσεσιν ὠλυγώρησαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐπεμελήθησαν φράσεώς⁴ τε καὶ εὐφωνίας, θαρροῦντες, ὡς εἴ τι καὶ μυθῶδες⁵ λέγοιεν, τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ τῆς ἀκροάσεως αὐτοὶ καρπώσονται, τὸ δ'² ἀκριβὲς τῆς ἐξετάσεως οὐκ ἐλεγχθήσεται. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ μῖσος τυράννων, κολακείαν τε ἢ

¹ βασιλείας ἱστορίας αὐτῶν V ἡρωδιανῶν ἱστοριῶν πρώτη A βασιλείας ἁ B βασ. βιβλίον πρῶτον α βασ. λόγος πρῶτος
1 om g

² ἐνίων α τῶν l om g

⁴ τέριψεως l

³ ὅπως μὴ al

⁵ ἀσθενὲς l

¹ The title is variously recorded in the MSS (cf. *app. critic.*) but it is uncertain whether any of the titles are authentic. In some early editions the first chapter is headed *prooemium*, but this appears in none of the MSS.

² The word in Greek is "listening", a ref. to the practice of

THE FIRST BOOK OF
HERODIAN'S HISTORY OF THE
EMPIRE FROM THE TIME OF
MARCUS AURELIUS¹

1. Most writers engaged in compiling history, whose concern has been to present a fresh record of the past, have aimed at winning themselves a permanent reputation for scholarship, since they were afraid that if they did not express themselves they would be indistinguishable from the masses. But in their narratives they have shown a contempt for the truth and a preoccupation with vocabulary and style, because they were confident that, even if they romanced a bit, they would reap the advantages of the pleasure they gave to their public,² without the accuracy of their research being investigated. Some² authors, through the excellent quality of their style,

public recitations and readings. The whole of this critique of contemporary historiography has a strongly conventional flavour (e.g. Thuc. 1.21 for a similar attack on logographers). Lucian in the late 2nd century also attacked the large number of sophist-historians who wrote stylish work of little authenticity. On the "mythical" element in history, another conventional target for attack, see e.g. Dion. Hal. *de Thuc.* 5-7, Lucian, *How to write history* 42 and his *reductio ad absurdum* in the *Varia Historia*. A contemporary of Herodian, Claudius Aelianus, wrote a typically "mythical" anecdotal work, also called the *Varia Historia*.

τιμὴν βασιλέων πόλεως¹ τε καὶ ιδιωτῶν, εὐτελή
καὶ μικρὰ ἔργα λόγων ἀρετῆ² δόξῃ παρέδωσαν τῆς
3 ἀληθείας μείζονι. ἐγὼ δ' ἱστορίαν οὐ παρ' ἄλλων
ἀποδεξάμενος³ ἄγνωστον τε καὶ ἀμάρτυρον, ὑπὸ
νεαρᾷ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἐντευξομένων μνήμῃ, μετὰ πάσης
[ἀληθοῦς]⁴ ἀκριβείας ἤθροισα ἐς συγγραφὴν, οὐκ
ἀτερπῆ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἔσεσθαι
4 προσδοκῆσας ἔργων μεγάλων τε καὶ πολλῶν ἐν
ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ γενομένων. εἰ γοῦν τις παραβάλοι
πάντα τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ χρόνον, ἐξ οὐπερ ἡ
'Ρωμαίων δυναστεία μετέπεσεν ἐς μοναρχίαν, οὐκ
ἂν εὖροι ἐν ἔτεσι περὶ που διακοσίοις μέχρι τῶν
Μάρκου καιρῶν οὔτε βασιλείων⁵ οὕτως ἐπαλλήλους
διαδοχὰς οὔτε πολέμων ἐμφυλίων τε καὶ ξένων
τύχας ποικίλας ἐθνῶν τε κινήσεις καὶ πόλεων
ἀλώσεις τῶν τε ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς
βαρβάροις, γῆς τε σεισμοὺς καὶ ἀέρων φθορὰς

¹ πόλεων from P

² ἀρετῶν O

³ ὑποδεξάμενος I Mendelss παραδ. Reisk

⁵ βασιλέων I

⁴ [ἀληθοῦς] del Bekk²

¹ The word *historia* is deliberately used in the original sense of "tracking down facts". Aulus Gellius, *AN* 5.18 (quoting Verr. Flaccus) says this word was restricted by some to contemporary history.

² The same cynical (or realistic) description of the *res publica restituta* of Augustus is given by Herodian's contemporary, Cassius Dio; e.g. Dio 53.11.5; cf. Millar, *Cassius Dio*, 93 ff.

³ The word *ethnos* in H. has a variety of meanings apart from the common one of "province". Frequently the term indicates rural provincial populations in contrast to the urban centres (e.g. 4.2.9) or ethnic groups within and beyond the frontiers (e.g. 6.2.1). H. stresses the growing particularism

have made trivial events acquire a spurious importance with posterity, greater than was deserved by the truth. They have done this either because they were bitterly opposed to tyranny or because they wanted to give flattering praise to an emperor or a city or a private individual. My policy has been not ³ to accept any second-hand information¹ which has not been checked and corroborated. I have collected the evidence for my work with every attention to accuracy, limiting it to what falls within the recent memory of my readers. But I believe that future generations too will derive some pleasure from the knowledge of events which are important and compressed within a brief span of time. A comparative ⁴ survey of the period of about two hundred years from Augustus (the point at which the regime became a monarchy)² to the age of Marcus would reveal no such similar succession of reigns, variety of fortunes in both civil and foreign wars, disturbances among the provincial populations,³ and destruction of cities in both Roman territory and many barbarian countries. There have never been such earthquakes and plagues, or tyrants and emperors⁴ with such unexpected

among the semi-Romanized ethnic groups in the empire who provided the military backing for men like Severus (Pannonia), Niger (Syria), Maximinus (Illyria and Thrace) and Gordian (Africa). Cf. Takahashi, *Jour. Class. Stud. of Japan* 3 (1955) 95 ff.; Magie, *De Rom. Iuris . . . Vocabulis* 59.

⁴ The contrast between *basileia* and tyranny is one of the themes of the history, fitting in a tradition of sophistic and philosophic discourses on the nature of kingship, popular in the 2nd-3rd centuries (e.g. Dio of Prusa and (later) Ps-Aristides) and representing the philosophic compromise with post-Trajanic absolutism.

τυράνων τε καὶ βασιλέων βίους παραδόξους πρότερον ἢ σπανίως ἢ μηδ' ¹ ὅλως μνημονευθέντας· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐπιμηκεστέραν ² ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δὲ πρόσκαιρον τὴν δυναστείαν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μέχρι προσηγορίας καὶ τιμῆς ἐφημέρου μόνης ἐλθόντες εὐθέως κατελύθησαν. μερισθείσα γὰρ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐξήκοντα ἐς πλείους δυνάστας ³ ἢ ὁ χρόνος ἀπήτει, πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ἤνεγκε καὶ ⁶ θαύματος ἄξια. τούτων ⁴ γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν πρεσβύτεροι διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ⁵ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελέστερον ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἤρξαν, οἱ δὲ κομιδῇ νέοι ῥαθυμότερον βιώσαντες πολλὰ ἐκαινοτόμησαν· διόπερ εἰκότως ἐν ἡλικίαις τε καὶ ἐξουσίαις διαφόροις οὐχ ὅμοια γέγονε τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα. ὡς δ' ἕκαστα τούτων πέπρακται, ⁶ κατὰ χρόνους καὶ δυναστείας διηγῆσομαι.

2. τῷ βασιλεύοντι Μάρκῳ θυγατέρες μὲν ἐγένοντο πλείους, ἄρρενες δὲ δύο. τῶν δὲ ἄρρένων τούτων ὁ μὲν ἕτερος κομιδῇ νέος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε (Βηρίσιμος δ' ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), τὸν δὲ περίοντα Κόμοδόν ⁷ τε καλούμενον ὁ πατὴρ μετὰ πάσης ⁸ ἐπιμελείας ἀνεθρέψατο, πάντοθεν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς

¹ Boecler μῆθ' Οἱ ² Steph -τερον Οαg ἐπιεικέστερον I
³ δυναστείας & ⁴ οὕτως I ⁵ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ I
⁶ γέγονε O ⁷ κόμοδον &
⁸ Schott τῆς πάσης A τῆς ἄλλης BV1

¹ In the period of 58 years (180–238) H. notes between 16 and 18 men who took the purple. Cf. 2.15.7 where H. says he intends to cover 70 years; the discrepancy is often used to argue that H. died soon after 238, having revised the intro-

careers, which were rarely if ever recorded before. Some of these men ruled for quite a long time, others ⁵ held only transient power; some hardly reached the title and fleeting honour before they were deposed. In a period of sixty years the Roman empire was shared by more rulers than the years warranted, so producing many strange phenomena.¹ The more ⁶ mature emperors took greater care to control themselves and their subjects because of their political experience. The very young ones led rather less disciplined lives and brought in many innovations. This disparity in age and authority naturally resulted in different activities. How all this happened I intend to relate in chronological order, taking each reign in turn.

2. When Marcus was emperor he had many daughters though only two sons.² One of them (named Verissimus) died while still quite young, but the survivor, called Commodus, was brought up by his father with great care. Men who were dis-

duction but not Book 2. See pp. x–xi. Numbers, probably originally recorded as numerals, were notoriously liable to corruption in the MSS.

² If H. means altogether, he is incorrect. Marcus is known to have produced at least 6 sons and 6 daughters, though in 161, when he succeeded Pius, M. had 4 surviving daughters (Faustina, Lucilla, Fadilla, Cornificia) and perhaps one son (Hadrianus). Commodus and his twin, Aurelius Antoninus were born in 161, M. Annius Verus in 162/3, Vibia Sabina in c. 167, but Hadrianus died in 162 (?) and Antoninus in 165. Possibly H.'s informant saw the triumph of 166 at which the two sons were seen in public, or H. may have seen the medallions of two boys as Caesares, Cohen III,² no. 169–70, Toynbee *JRS* 49 (1959) 39–40. There is no other evidence of Verissimus as a name, a confusion possibly with Hadrian's name for Marcus, Dio 69.21.2 etc.

ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ λόγοις δοκιμωτάτους ἐπὶ συντάξεσιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτοις καλῶν, ὅπως συνόντες αἱ 2 παιδεύουεν αὐτῷ τὸν υἱόν. τὰς τε θυγατέρας ἐν ὥρᾳ γενομένας ἐξέδοτο ἀνδράσι τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοῖς ἀρίστοις, οὐ τοὺς γένους μακραῖς διαδοχαῖς εὐπατρίδας οὐδὲ τοὺς πλοῦτου περιβολαῖς λαμπροῦς, κοσμίους δὲ τὸν τρόπον καὶ σώθρονας τὸν βίον γαμβροὺς αὐτῷ γενέθαι θέλων· ταῦτα γὰρ μόνᾳ ψυχῆς ἴδια¹ καὶ ἀναφαίρετα ἠγεῖτο κτήματα.

3 ἀρετῆς δὲ πάσης ἔμελεν αὐτῷ, λόγων τε ἀρχαιο-
τητος ἦν ἐραστής; ὡς μηδενὸς μήτε Ῥωμαίων
μήτε Ἑλλήνων ἀπολείπεσθαι· δηλοῖ δὲ ὅσα καὶ
ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦλθεν ἢ λεχθέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἢ γραφέντα.
4 παρεῖχε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ
μέτριον βασιλέα, τοὺς τε προσιόντας δεξιούμενος

¹ *ἴδια* Nauck τὰ γὰρ ψυχῆς μόνᾳ ἴδια καὶ conj Mendels

¹ SHA, *Comm.* 1.6, gives three teachers, Onesicrates, Capella Antistius and Ateius Sanctus (= T. Aius Sanctus, *AE* (1961) 280, later consul) Galen 16.650 (Kühn) mentions Pitholaus as *tropheus* (tutor). Cleander (cf. 1.12.3) was another *tropheus* (*AE* (1952) 6, Grosso, *Lotta politica* 118-19). A possible teacher was Julius Pollux of Naucratis, whose *Onomasticon* was dedicated to Commodus and mentions him in places as Caesar (i.e. before 175); Grosso, 122-3.

² The sons-in-law of Marcus were Cn. Claudius Severus (*cos* II 173) married to Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina, Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (*cos.* II 173) married to Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucilla (after the death of Verus), M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus (*cos.* 177) married to Fadilla, M. Petronius Sura Mammertinus (*cos.* 182) married to Cornificia, L. Antistius Burrus (*cos.* 181) married to Vibia Aurelia Sabina possibly after Marcus' death. At least two were from second-generation patrician families, probably also fairly wealthy. H. is

tinguished scholars in their own provinces were summoned by Marcus from all over the world to attend the boy and educate him for quite considerable fees.¹ When his daughters came of age Marcus² married them to leading senators, choosing as his sons-in-law not patricians of ancient lineage nor men noted for their accumulation of wealth but those of orderly habits and sober lives.³ These indestructible, spiritual characteristics were the only things he considered real possessions.³

He cultivated every kind of virtue,⁴ and in his love³ of ancient literature he was second to none, whether Greek or Roman. This much is clear from his speeches and writings that have come down to us.⁵ As an emperor he was merciful and fair to his subjects⁴ by receiving petitioners and not allowing his body-

idealizing Marcus, but may have been misled by criticisms of the *novitas* of Pompeianus; SHA, *Marc.* 20.6-7; see Pflaum, *Jour. Sav.* (1961) 28 ff.

² Cf. M. Aurelius, *eis éav.* 11.1 (τὰ ἴδια τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς) and 5.33 on the impermanence of all but *virtus*. Nauck's emendation of *ἴδια* is attractive because of the confused word order, *Mel. Grec.-Rom.* 2 (1861) 218—"he believed these qualities of the spirit alone were enduring and indestructible possessions."

⁴ The chapter is intended to set the pattern for the ideal emperor, recurring throughout the work as the yardstick for judgement. Repeated references occur to Marcus; 1.5.3, 1.6.6, 1.7.4, 1.8.1, 2.1.4, 2.4.2, 2.10.3, 2.14.3, 4.5.6 (ironic), 4.6.3, 5.1.8, 5.2.4, 6.1.7.

⁵ Not clear whether H. means the *Meditations*; they were perhaps known to Clement of Alexandria (died c. 210/20), but not directly quoted until the fourth century. But M. also refers to his own notebooks on history and literature (*eis éav.* 3.6-7); Farquarson, *Meditations* I. xvii, Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* 289 ff.

κωλύων τε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν δορυφόρους ἀποσοβεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας. μόνος τε βασιλέων φιλοσοφίαν οὐ λόγοις οὐδὲ δογμάτων γνώσεσι, σεμνῶ δ' ἦθει καὶ σώφρονι βίῳ ἐπιστώσατο. πολὺ τε πλήθος ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἤνεγκε τῶν ἐκείνου καιρῶν ἢ φορά.¹ φιλεῖ γάρ πως αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον ζήλω τῆς τοῦ ἀρχοντος γνώμης βιοῦν.

5. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκείνῳ πέπρακται ἀνδρεία καὶ σώφρονα, στρατηγικὴν ἢ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα, πρὸς τε τοὺς τὰ ἀρκτῶα τῆς γῆς [ἔθνη βάρβαρα]² κατοικοῦντας πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπὸ³ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ποιουμένους τὸν βίον, πολλοῖς καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι συγγέγραπται. ἃ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου τελευτήν παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ βίον εἰδόν τε καὶ ἤκουσα—ἔστι δ' ὧν καὶ πείρα μετέσχον ἐν βασιλικαῖς ἢ δημοσίαις ὑπηρεσίαις γενόμενος—ταῦτα συνέγραψα.

3. γηραιὸν ὄντα Μάρκον, καὶ μὴ μόνον ὑφ' ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ <καὶ>⁴ καμάτοις τε καὶ φροντίσι τετραυχασμένον διατρίβοντά τε ἐν Παίοσι νόσος χαλεπὴ καταλαμβάνει. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς πρὸς

¹ ἤνεγκε ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου καιρῶν φορά ἢ τὴν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου καιρῶν φορά? Whit

² [ἔθνη βάρβαρα] om Reisk

³ ἀπὸ AB ἐπὶ V

⁴ <καὶ> Reisk

¹ Most of the ideal qualities noted can be found in Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βασιλέως*, or Pliny, *Panegyricus*. For this *sententia* here, cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 45.6, Livy 1.21.2, Isocrates, *ad Dem.* 3.6. Victor, *Caes.* 16.10, repeats H., but Dio (Xiph.) 71.35.2 says many pretended to be philosophers to gain favour.

² Cassius Dio (in epitome) is the only extant, contemporary historian; Marius Maximus wrote a life of Marcus and other

guard to drive away people that approached him. He was the only emperor who gave proof of his philosophy by his dignified, sober manner rather than by words and a knowledge of doctrine. The product of the age of Marcus was a large number of scholars, since subjects always model their lives on the ideals of their ruler.¹

Many erudite writers have produced histories of Marcus' bravery and moderation, demonstrating his military and political ability and his actions against the inhabitants of the northern territories and those in the East.² I have written a history of the events following the death of Marcus which I saw and heard in my lifetime. I had a personal share in some of these events during my imperial and public service.³

3. When Marcus was an old man, worn out not just by age but also by hard work and worries, he was taken seriously ill on a campaign in Pannonia.⁴ Guessing there was little hope for his recovery and realizing that

Caesars up to Elagabalus, supposedly used in the SHA *vitae*, but much disputed to what extent; cf. Barbieri, *RFIC* 82 (1954) 36 ff., Introduction, p. lxix.

³ For the meaning of this passage, see Introduction, pp. xix ff.; for a summary of views, see Stein, *Dexippus et Herodianus* 72 ff., Grosso, *Lotta politica* 33-5, Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 221. It is generally accepted that H. is telling the truth about his lifetime and that he underwent imperial service as a minor official; the public service may be no more than local government service.

⁴ The *expeditio Germana secunda* opened on 2nd August 178. The form "Paiones" for Pannonians is regular in Zosimus, Philostratus, etc., but Dio (49.36.6) censures the misnomer. Marcus was only fifty-eight years old. The place was probably Vindobona (Vienna), Victor, *Caes.* 16.14, *Epit. de Caes.* 16.12, not Sirmium as Tertullian says, *Apol.* 25.5.

σωτηρίαν ἐλπίδας φαύλως ἔχειν ὑπώπτευν, ἑώρα
 τε τὸν παῖδα τῆς μειρακίων ἡλικίας ἀρχόμενον
 ἐπιβαίνειν, δεδιὼς μὴ νεότης ἀκμάζουσα καὶ ἐν
 ὀρφανίᾳ ἐξουσίαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀκώλυτον
 προσλαβούσα μαθημάτων μὲν καλῶν καὶ ἐπι-
 τηθευμάτων ἀφηνιάση, μέθαις δὲ καὶ κραιπάλαις
 ἐπιδῶ ἑαυτὴν (ῥῶστα γὰρ αἱ τῶν νέων ψυχαὶ ἐς
 ἡδονὰς ἐξολισθαίνουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν παιδείας καλῶν
 2 μετοχετεύονται), οἷα δὴ ἄνδρα πολυίστορα μάλιστα
 ἐτάραττε μνήμη τῶν ἐν νεότητι βασιλείαν παραλα-
 βόντων, τοῦτο μὲν Διονυσίου τοῦ Σικελιώτου
 τυράννου, ὃς ὑπὸ ¹ τῆς ἄγαν ἀκρασίας καινὰς
 ἡδονὰς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις μισθοῖς ἐθηράτο, τοῦτο δὲ
 αἱ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους
 ὕβρεις τε καὶ βίαι, δι' ὧν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρχὴν
 3 κατήσχυναν, Πτολεμαῖος μὲν καὶ μέχρις ἀδελφῆς
 ἰδίας ² ἔρωτος προχωρήσας παρά τε τοὺς Μάκεδό-
 νων καὶ Ἑλλήνων νόμους, Ἀντίγονος ³ δὲ Διόνυσον
 πάντα μιμούμενος καὶ κισσὸν μὲν περιτιθεὶς τῇ

¹ Nauck ἀπὸ Oi

² i and Macar γνησίας O

³ Ἀντίοχος Meineke (del also καὶ διαδήματος Μακεδ.)

¹ A standard theme for declamation in the rhetorical schools, Boissier, *L'opposition sous les Césars* 84, 94 ff. But there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of these worries, confirmed by Dio (Xiph.) 72.1.1-2, 76.14.7, SHA, *Marc.* 28.10; cf. Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βασ.* 1.64-5 for a rhetorical model of a father's apprehensions.

² Dionysius II of Syracuse, ruled 367/6-345 B.C., succeeding his father when aged thirty (young man?). Both father and son were popular subjects for moralizing anecdotes; e.g. Aelian, *VH* 9.8, etc. Arrian wrote a work on *Dionysius of Syracuse* and on the *Successors of Alexander* (lost) noted by Photius; cf. Athen. *Deipn.* 6.249E ff., etc.

his son was at the age of early adolescence, he was afraid that the young man would grow up in control of absolute, unchecked power without parental authority. As a result he might refuse the discipline of his moral studies and habits and devote his time to drunken debauchery. Young men's passions are easily diverted from learning moral values and slip into a life of pleasure.¹ Being a well-read man Marcus ² was worried when he recalled rulers in the past who had succeeded to power as young men; for example Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant,² who used to pay high prices for exquisite, novel pleasures because he lacked sufficient self-control; and there were the excesses and violence of Alexander's successors towards their subjects whereby they brought shame on Alexander's rule. Ptolemy³ even went so far as to break ³ Macedonian and Greek law by falling in love with his own sister. Antigonos⁴ modelled himself completely on Dionysus, wearing an ivy wreath on his

³ Probably Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308-246 B.C.), who according to Justin (writing in the third century), probably based on Pompeius Trogus, *nuptias Arsinoae, sororis suae* . . . *petit* 17.2.7. The normality of brother-sister marriages in Egypt causes H. to point out that it was Greek and Macedonian law which was violated; cf. Diod. Sic. 1.27.1.

⁴ Antigonos "Monophthalmos," but nothing is known of what H. says here. Hohl, *Kaiser Comm.* 8, believes H. has confused him with Demetrius Poliorcetes, but many others were accused of the same, imitation of Dionysus; e.g. Mithridates, M. Antony, Caligula. The *kausia* and *diadema* are noted by Julius Pollux; see 4.8.2n and Dio (Xiph.) 77.8.2-3 for Caracalla and Antigonos. The suggested emendation of reading Antiochus (Epiphanes) for Antigonos means that reference to Macedonians must also be deleted, Meineke, *AP* 87 (1863) 382.

κεφαλῇ ἀντὶ καυσίας καὶ διαδήματος Μακεδονικοῦ,
 4 θύρσον δὲ ἀντὶ σκῆπτρου φέρων· ἔτι δὲ καὶ
 μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐλύπει τὰ μὴ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἀλλ' ¹
 ὑπόγυον ἔχοντα τὴν μνήμην, τὰ τε Νέρωνι
 πέπραγμένα ὃς ἐχώρησε μέχρι μητρῴου φόνου
 παρείχε τε τοῖς δήμοις ἑαυτὸν καταγέλαστον
 θέαμα, τὰ τε Δομετιανῶ τετολημμένα, τῆς ἐσχάτης
 5 ἀμότητος οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντα. τοιαύτας δὲ τυραν-
 νίδος εἰκόνας ὑποτυπούμενος ἐδεδίει τε καὶ ἠλιπίζεν
 <εἰκότως>, ² οὐ μετρίως δ' αὐτὸν ἐταράττον καὶ οἱ
 Γερμανοὶ γειτνιώντες, οὓς οὐδέπω πάντως ³ ἐκε-
 χείρωτο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πειθοῖ ἐς συμμαχίαν
 προσηγάγετο, τῶν δὲ καὶ κρατήσας ἦν τοῖς
 ὅπλοις, ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ διαδράντες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
 ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν δέει τῆς παρουσίας τοιοῦτου
 βασιλέως. ὑπώπτευεν οὖν, μὴ τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ
 μειρακίου καταφρονήσαντες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτῷ. ἐρᾷ
 δὲ ⁴ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τυχοῦσαις ἀφορμαῖς
 ῥᾶστα κινεῖσθαι.⁵

4. κυμαίνουσαν οὖν ἔχων τοσαύταις φροντίσι τὴν
 ψυχὴν, συγκαλέσας τε τοὺς φίλους ὅσοι τε

¹ <γενόμενα> ἀλλ' Steph

² <εἰκότως> Whit <κακὰ> Schwartz ἀπῆλιπίζεν conj Mendelss

³ πάντας from P

⁴ γὰρ a

⁵ κινούμενον O

head instead of a royal Macedonian bonnet and carrying an ivy wand instead of a sceptre. Still ⁴ more disturbing was the memory of events in the not so distant past; of Nero's behaviour, which went to the extent of murdering his mother and making himself an object of ridicule before the people;¹ and Domitian's brazen activities plumbing the depths of cruelty.² With such examples of ⁵ tyrants in mind Marcus was properly apprehensive about the future. He also felt considerable anxiety about the Germans on the frontier whom he had not yet completely subdued. He had persuaded some of them to form an alliance and he had overcome others by force of arms. But there were some who had fallen back for the time being and retreated in fear of the presence of an emperor like Marcus, but who he suspected would despise Commodus for his youth and attack him. Barbarians are apt to be easily roused even for quite haphazard reasons.³

4. With a heavy heart because of these worries, Marcus summoned his advisers and the relatives that

¹ Tac. A. 15.67, Suet. *Nero* 21 and 35, etc., cf. SHA, *Comm.* 19.2, for the acclamations of the senate (claimed to be from Marius Maximus) which called *Comm. saevior Domitiano, impurius Nerone*, and *Marc.* 28.10. H. may be reflecting the tradition of *Comm.* which grew after his death; Grosso, *Lotta politica* 396 ff.

² E.g. Suet. *Dom.* 9-10, Pliny, *Paneg.* 48.3, 52.7.

³ Descriptions of the character of barbarians are part of H.'s ethnic interests. But also this is a commonplace theme among the sophists, as is shown by Scopelian (late first century), who "used to represent dramatically the arrogance and levity that are characteristic of the barbarians," *Philos. VS* 1.21.520 (Olearius); cf. below, 1.5.8, 1.6.5, 1.6.9, etc.

παρήσαν τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα παραστησά-
μενος, ἐπειδὴ πάντες συνήλθον, ἡσυχῇ τοῦ σκίμπο-
δος κουφίσας ἑαυτὸν τοιούτων λόγων ἤρξατο·

2 “ ἄχθεσθαι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐφ’ οἷς ὄρατέ με διακείμενον,
θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· φύσει τε γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον
ἐλεεινὸν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμφοραῖς, τά τε
δευνὰ ὑπ’ ὄψιν πεσόντα οἰκτον προκαλεῖται¹
μελίζονα. ἐμοὶ δέ τι καὶ πλέον ὑπάρχειν παρ’
ὑμῶν οἴομαι· ἐκ γὰρ ὧν αὐτὸς διάκειμαι πρὸς
3 ὑμᾶς, ἀμοιβαίαν εὐνοιαν εἰκότως ἤλπικα. νῦν δέ
καιρὸς εὐκαιρὸς ἐμοὶ τε αἰσθέσθαι μὴ μάτην ἐς
ὑμᾶς τοσούτου χρόνου τιμῆν τε καὶ σπουδῆν
κατατεθείσθαι, ὑμῖν τε ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, δείξασιν
ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτύχετε οὐκ ἀμνημονεῖτε. ὄρατέ δὴ
μοι τὸν νιὸν ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀνεθρέψασθε, ἄρτι² τῆς
μειρακίῶν ἡλικίας ἐπιβαίνοντα καὶ δεόμενον ὥσπερ
ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ζάλῃ τῶν κυβερνησόντων, μὴ ποι

¹ προκαλεῖται O

² om O

¹ The *amici* of M. who made up the *consilium* are discussed by Crook, *Consilium Principis* 66–85, Degrassi, *RFIC* 34 (1956) 436. The remark by Pompeianus (1.6.5) shows how the *consilium* might regard itself as a senate in miniature (cf. Suet. *Galba* 10.2) though they almost certainly had no juridical standing at this stage; see below, 1.5.1, 1.6.5; Hammond, *Antonine Monarchy* 370–2. H. reflects very well the complications of transference of power in the crisis of the northern frontier.

² This speech owes much to the speech of Micipsa in Sallust, *BJ* 10, and the long death-bed speech of Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.7, but there is a danger of dismissing it as unhistorical out of hand because of its rhetorical character and carefully con-

were with him,¹ and made his son stand beside him. When everyone was assembled and quiet, he raised himself up from his sick-bed and began a speech, saying,² “ I am not surprised that you are sad to see me lying here in this state. It is normal for men to feel pity when misfortune strikes their own family. If the suffering takes place before their eyes, it excites even more sorrow. But I think that there is something even more than that in your feelings for me. My own emotions towards you make me reasonable confident there is a return of goodwill. Now is the right time for me to see that the honours³ and effort I expended on you for so long were not misplaced. And it is a good time for you to show your gratitude by proving you have not forgotten the benefits you received. Here is my son, whom you yourselves brought up,³ who has just reached the age of adolescence and stands in need of guides through the tempest and storm of life. There is a danger that he will be carried away and dashed against the rocks

structed prose rhythms; e.g. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, I. 2.397–8, Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 8. There is nothing offensively improbable said, and though Dio (Xiph.) 71.6.3 says M. had difficulty in speaking, this does not mean he was a helpless drug-addict; Africa, *Jour. Hist. Ideas* (1961) 97 ff., Dailly-Effenterre, *REA* 56 (1954) 347.

³ Galen, 14.651 ff. (Kühn), seems to make it clear that Faustina and Cn. Claudius Severus (1.2.2n) had been left in Italy to look after Commodus c. 169. It was probably through Severus that Pitholaus and perhaps Adrian were introduced into the court. Severus was *comes* of Marcus and C. in 175–6 when they toured the East, Philos. *VS* 2.10.538 (01); cf. 1.13.7 on the advice of the *amici*. The significance of H.’s evidence that C. spent some time on the northern front as a boy is discussed in 1.5.3n.

φερόμενος ὑπ' ἀτελοῦς τῆς τῶν δεόντων ἐμπειρίας
 4 ἐς φαῦλα ἐπιτηδεύματα προσαραχθῆ. γένεσθε δὴ
 οὖν αὐτῷ ὑμεῖς ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ἐμοῦ¹ πατέρες πολλοί,
 περιέποντές τε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλευόντες.
 οὔτε γὰρ χρημάτων πλήθος οὐδὲν αὐταρκες πρὸς
 τυραννίδος ἀκρασίαν,² οὔτε δυρυφόρων φρουρὰ
 ἱκανὴ ῥύεσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, εἰ μὴ προσυπάρχοι³
 5 ἢ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοια. μάλιστα δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς
 ἀρχῆς μῆκος ἀκινδύνως ἤλασαν, ὅσοι μὴ φόβον
 ἐξ ὠμότητος, πόθον δὲ <ἐκ>⁴ τῆς αὐτῶν χρη-
 στότητος ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ψυχαῖς ἐνέσταξαν.
 οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δουλεύοντες ἀλλ' οἱ μετὰ
 πειθοῦς ὑπακούοντες ἀνύποπτα καὶ ἕξω κολακείας
 προσποιήτου δρῶντές τε καὶ πάσχοντες⁵ διατε-
 λούσι καὶ οὐδέ ποτε⁶ ἀφημιάζουσιν, ἣν μὴ βία
 6 καὶ ἕβρει ἐπὶ τοῦτο⁷ ἀχθῶσι. χαλεπὸν δὲ
 μετριάσαι⁸ τε καὶ ὄρον ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπιθυμίαις
 ὑπηρετούσης ἐξουσίας. τοιαῦτα δὴ συμβούλευοντες
 αὐτῷ, καὶ ὧν ἀκούει παρῶν ὑπομνησκόντες, ὑμῖν

¹ om O² ἀσφάλειαν Gedik ἀκρασίαν Nauck³ Faber προυπάρχοι Δι προυπάρχει φ Macar⁴ From P Steph⁵ ἀνύποπτα (-τοι a) del Mendelss and insert <ἀνεκτὰ
 ποιοί> after πάσχοντες (cf. Thuc. 7.77.4)⁶ διὰ τέλους, οὐδέποτε Reisk (καὶ om i)⁷ τούτῳ i⁸ Bekk² μετριάσαι Oi

¹ For the commonplace, cf. Sallust, *BJ* 10.4, *non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque*

of evil habits because he has an imperfect experience of what to do. You who are many must be fathers to 4 him in place of me alone. Take care of him and give him sound advice. Money is not enough to compensate for the licence of a tyrant and a bodyguard is not sufficient protection for a ruler unless he has the goodwill of his subjects as well.¹ The rulers who inspired 5 the hearts of their subjects with love by their goodness and not with fear by their cruelty were the ones who lived out the full length of their reigns free from danger. It is not people that are forced into slavery but those who are persuaded to obey that regularly behave without suspicion or any pretence of flattery—and they are treated in the same way. They do not rebel unless driven to those lengths by violent, arrogant treatment. It is difficult to regulate and put a limit to 6 one's desires if power is at one's disposal. Therefore you must give my son this sort of advice and remind him of what he is hearing now. In this way you will provide yourselves and everyone else with an excellent emperor,² and you will be showing your

armis cogere neque auro parare queas; officio et fide pariuntur; Xenoph. Cyrop. 8.7.13-14, Dio of Frusa, περὶ βασι. 1.35, 3.86-95. H. perhaps has in mind the contrast with Severus on his death-bed (3.15.3) and the vivid words of Dio (Xiph.) 76.15.2. Ironically Severus is said by SHA, Sev. 21.10, to have sent a copy of the speech of Micipsa to Caracalla on one occasion when he was ill.

² The concept of *optimus princeps* was inevitably stressed by the emperors from Nerva to M. Aurelius since they had no strong hereditary titles upon which to lean. But, as the reign of Commodus was to show, it was a poor safeguard for preventing *potestas* from degenerating into *potentia*; cf. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a political idea* 153-4.

τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστον ἀποδείξετε βασιλέα, τῇ τε ἐμῇ μνήμῃ χαριεῖσθε τὰ μέγιστα, οὕτω τε μόνως αἰδιον αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι δυνήσεσθε.”

7 τοσαῦτα εἰπόντα τὸν Μάρκον ἐπιπεσοῦσα λιποθυμία¹ κατεσίγασεν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀσθενείας τε καὶ ἀθυμίας αἰθις ὑπτίαζεν. οἶκτος δὲ πάντας ἐλάμβανε τοὺς παρόντας, ὡς μηδὲ κατασχόντας αὐτῶν τινὰς ἐς οἰμωγὴν ἀναβοῆσαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπιβιώσας μίᾳ ἀνεπαύσατο, πόθον τε τοῖς καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐγκαταλιπὼν ἀρετῆς 8 τε αἰδιον μνήμην ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον αἰῶνα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Μάρκου, ἐπειδὴ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη, πᾶν τε τὸ παρὸν στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τὸ δημῶδες πλῆθος ὁμοίως πένθει κατείχετο, οὐδὲ τις ἦν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὅς ἀδακρυτὶ τοιαύτην ἀγγελίαν ἐδέχετο.² πάντες δ’ ὥσπερ ἐκ μίᾳ φωνῆς, οἱ μὲν πατέρα χρηστὸν, οἱ δ’ ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα, γενναῖον δὲ ἕτεροι στρατῆγγόν, οἱ δὲ σώφρονα καὶ κόσμιον ἄρχοντα ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐψεύδετο.

5. ὀλίγων δὲ διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν ὅσαις περὶ τὴν κηδείαν τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἀπησχόλουν, ἔδοξε τοῖς φίλοις προσαγαεῖν³ τὸ μειράκιον ἐς τὸ

¹ Bekk² λιποθυμία Οἱ

² οὐδὲ τις—ἐδέχετο om 1

³ προσαγεῖν Οἱ

¹ On 17th March 180, aged fifty-eight, eleven months, Dio (Xiph.) 71.33.4. H. is circumstantial here, but says nothing of the scandal of murder which Dio reports, nor of the seven days of illness of SHA, *Marc.* 28.8. The date of 179 is given

gratitude to my memory in the best of all ways. Indeed, it is the only way that you can keep my memory alive for ever.”

After this Marcus fainted and said no more. As he 7 fell back on his bed, weak with exhaustion, everyone present was so affected by the sad occasion that some of them could not help groaning aloud. The emperor lived for another day and a night before he died,¹ leaving his contemporaries with a longing for him, and future generations with a permanent record of his goodness. When the report of his death was 8 known the whole army that was with him and the common people alike mourned for him. There was not a single subject throughout the Roman empire that did not grieve at the news and join together with one voice to proclaim his praise. Some praised his kindness as a father, some his goodness as an emperor, others his noble qualities as a general, still others his moderation and discipline as a ruler. And all spoke with complete sincerity.

5. For the next few days Marcus' son was kept busy with the arrangements for the funeral. Then his advisers² decided to bring the young man to the

by the late *Chronicon of Prosper Tiro* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I. 431). Dio also says M. was suffering from the plague; cf. Schwendemann, *vita Marci* 114-15. Cassola, *Atti Accad. Pont.* 6 (1956/7) 198, thinks Dio's story is really interpolated by Xiphilinus.

² On the *amici*, see 1.4.1n. On the key part played by them in securing the transfer of power, see Hammond, *MAAR* 24 (1956) 106-7. The Antonine theory that the emperor was *princeps inter pares*, and therefore chosen, not born for office, was the product of deliberate propaganda since Trajan's reign; cf. Grenade, *REA* 52 (1950) 275-6. *Amici* who were present

στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἂν ¹ διαλεχθείη τε τοῖς στρατιώ-
ταις, καὶ χρήματα δωρησάμενος, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς
βασιλείαν διαδεχομένοις, μεγαλόφρονι ἐπιδόσει
² οἰκειώσεται τὸ στράτευμα. παρηγγέλη τε δὴ
πᾶσιν ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ εἰωθὸς πεδίον [αὐτοὺς ὑποδέ-
χεσθαι].² προελθὼν ³ δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος τὰς τε
βασιλείους θυσίας ἐπετέλει, καὶ βήματος αὐτῷ ἐς
ὑψος ἀρθέντος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνελθὼν
ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ περιστησάμενος τοὺς πατρώους
φίλους (πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ λόγιοι παρήσαν αὐτῷ) ἔλεξε
τοιαύδε·

³ “κοιὴν εἶναι μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
καταλαβοῦσιν ἀλγηδόνα καὶ μηδέν τι ἦττον ὑμᾶς
ἐμοῦ δυσφορεῖν ἐμαντὸν ἀκριβῶς πέπεικα. οὐδὲ
γὰρ περιόντος μοι τοῦ πατρὸς πλεονεκτεῖν ὑμῶν
ἠξίουν. ἐκείνος γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς ⁴ ὡς ἓνα ⁵
ἠγάπα. ἔχαιρε γοῦν ⁶ μᾶλλον συστρατιώτην με ἢ
υἰὸν καλῶν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προσηγορίαν ⁷ ἠγάειτο

¹ om i

³ προσελθὼν O

⁵ ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐμέ Nauck (cf. Zürich 232)

⁶ Bekk² οὐν Oi

² Om Mendels (cf. 6.3.2.)

⁴ ὑμᾶς O

⁷ del Nauck

on the northern front were Claudius Pompeianus, Vitrasius Pollio, Bruttius Praesens, Tarrutenius Paternus, the two Quintillii cousins, M. Valerius Maximus, Helvius Pertinax (?); but if we can believe H. there were others at the court at Vindobona, including almost certainly most of the sons-in-law, 1.6.6.

soldiers' camp to address the troops and make a cash distribution—as was normal on the occasion of imperial succession¹—so as to win the loyalty of the army by a generous donative. An order was given² for a general parade on the usual ground.² First Commodus came out in front and performed the imperial sacrifices. Then mounting the platform which had been raised up for him in the middle of the camp, and positioning his father's advisers round about him—there were a number of skilled councillors there with him—he addressed the soldiers, saying, “ I ³ am perfectly sure that you and I share in our mourning over the events that have taken place and that your grief is no less bitter than mine, since I never pretended in my father's lifetime to be better than you. My father used to have an equal affection for all of us. At least he used to like to call me ‘ fellow-soldier ’³ rather than ‘ son,’ because he thought that

¹ The formal *adlocutio* and the personal distribution of *donativa*, for obvious reasons usually before the praetorian guard in Rome, but in this century increasingly before provincial armies. The *donativum* followed the votes of *imperium* and titles. No conclusion can be drawn from the absence of Commodus' *dies imperii* from the *Feriale Duranum* (contra Hammond, *Antonine Monarchy* 4); though there is no evidence of a formal vote of *imperium* by the senate, Degrassi, *Insc. Ital.* XIII. 2 (1963), p. 375, as was required in strict law; cf. Victor, *Caes.* 37.5, Parsi, *Désignation et investiture* 170-97.

² In Rome outside the *castra praetoriana*; on campaign on an open piece of ground outside the camp fortifications; though on this occasion the camp itself is used, one must assume it is the exception.

³ Cf. Suet. *Jul.* 67, *Aug.* 25, Tac. *H.* 1.29, 1.37, *Agric.* 33, and below, 4.7.6n, 4.14.4, 6.8.4, etc. Given by Dio of Prusa as one of the titles of an *optimus princeps*, *περι βαρ.* 1.22; cf. Instinsky, *Gymn.* 63 (1956) 260-8.

φύσεως, τὴν δ' ἀρετῆς κοινωνίαν. φέρων τέ με
 πολλάκις ἔτι νήπιον ὄντα ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἐνεχειρίσει
 4 πίστεσι. διόπερ καὶ ῥᾶστα πάσης εὐνοίας μεθέξειν
 πρὸς ὑμῶν ἡλπικα, τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων τροφείᾳ
 μοι ταῦτα ὀφειλόντων, τοὺς δ' ἡλικιώτας εἰκότως
 ἂν καὶ συμφοιτητὰς τῶν ἐν ὄπλοις ἔργων ἀποκα-
 λοίην.¹ πάντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς² ὡς ἓνα ὁ πατὴρ ἐφίλει
 5 τε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐπαίδευεν. ἔδωκε δὲ μετ'³
 ἐκείνον ἐμὲ βασιλέα ἢ τύχη, οὐκ ἐπέισακτον,
 ὥσπερ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ προσκλήτω σεμννόμενοι
 ἀρχῆ,³ ἀλλὰ μόνος τε ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις
 ἀπεκνήθην, καὶ μὴ πειραθέντά με ιδιωτικῶν
 σπαργάνων ἅμα τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς προελθεῖν ἢ
 βασιλεῖος ὑπεδέξατο πορφύρα,⁴ ὁμοῦ δέ με εἶδεν
 6 ἡλιος ἀνθρωπον καὶ βασιλέα. εἰκότως <δ'> ἂν⁵
 ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι στέργοιτε οὐ δοθέντα ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ

¹ ἀποκαλοίμην O

² ἡμᾶς Oal

³ προσκτ. — ἀρχῆ gloss? Mendelssohn σεμννόμενον i

⁴ πορφύρις i

⁵ <δ'> ἂν Schwartz ἂν g οὐν Oal

¹ Cf. 6.9.3. H. is the only major source to say that C. actually spent time on the northern front before 175; cf. Victor *Caes.* 16.9. A recent inscription from Marsala with a reference to the *liberi* of M. dedicated *pro salute et reditu* strengthens *RIC* III. 296 no. 1046 (dated 171/2) which shows a scene of M. presenting his son to the soldiers; Barbieri, *Kokalos* 7 (1961) 15 ff. Probably C. travelled backwards and forwards to the front for brief periods, but I doubt whether this has much relevance to the question of formal *destinatio*.

the title of son was one simply conferred by nature, whereas the former name showed we all shared in his merit. When I was a small boy he used to bring me with him and entrust me to your care.¹ So I am ⁴ optimistic that I shall win your complete loyalty without difficulty. The older ones among you owe me this service as your protégé;² as for the young men I might reasonably claim that we were fellow-pupils in arms, since my father loved us all alike and taught us all our virtues. Fate has given the empire ⁵ to me as his successor,³ not as an adopted heir like my predecessors who prided themselves on the added power they gained but as the only one of your emperors to be born in the palace. No commoner's swaddling clothes for me; the imperial purple lay waiting for me the moment I was born. On that day I was both man and emperor.⁴ If you consider it in ⁶ this light you are more likely to accept me, not so much as a ruler that is presented to you but as one

² A difficult phrase, discussed at length by Irmisch, *ad loc.*; cf. Tac. *A.* 1.44.1, *legionum alumnus*, of Caligula.

³ On *tyche*, see below, 1.13.6n.

⁴ H. is fully aware of this reversal of the *optimus princeps* principle; cf. Dio (Xiph) 69.20, Seneca, *de Clem.* 1.1.7. In law no one had any special claims to inherit the principate; Béranger, *Recherches* 255; Wickert, *Klio* 36 (1943) 8-9. Pflaum, *Jour. Sav.* (1961) 40, believes that this propagandizing of the *porphyrogennetos* epithet was a genuine historical attitude taken up by C. to counteract the dangers of Marcus' sons-in-law, who were eminently *capaces imperii*; cf. Instinsky, *Festschr. R. Egger* 1 (1952) 99 ff., and inscriptions like *ILS* 398, *nobilissimus omnium princeps*. In fact, C. was the first Roman emperor ever to be born to a reigning emperor. For the concept and the practice in Byzantine times, see e.g. Nic. Choniates. (thirteenth century) 5.

γεννηθέντα αὐτοκράτορα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ¹ πατήρ ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀναπτὰς ὁπαδὸς ἤδη καὶ σύνεδρος ἐστὶ θεῶν· ἡμῖν δὲ χρὴ μέλει τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς διοικεῖν. κατορθοῦν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ βεβαιοῦν ὑμέτερον ἔργον, εἰ τὰ τε τοῦ πολέμου λείβανα μετὰ πάσης ἀνδρείας ἀπαλείψαιτε² καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ προαγάγοιτε.³
 7 ὑμῖν τε γὰρ ταῦτα δόξαν οἶσει καὶ τὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην χάρισιν ἀξίαις οὕτως ἀμείψασθε· ὃν ἐπακούειν τε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ἐφορᾶν ἠγείσθε. εὐδαιμονοίημεν δ' ἂν τὰ δέοντα πράττοντες ὑπὸ τοιοῦτω μάρτυρι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρότερον ὑμῖν ἀνδρείως κατορθωθέντα ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου σοφίαν τε καὶ στρατηγίαν τὴν ἀνάφορὰν ἔχει· ὅσα δ' ἂν σὺν ἐμοὶ βασιλεῖ νέψ προθύμως ἐπιδείξησθε,⁴ τούτων <αὐτοὶ>⁵ τὴν δόξαν πιστεύουσ
 8 τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀποίσησθε. τό τε ἐν ἡμῖν νέον σεμνότητος πληρώσετε τῇ τῶν ὑμετέρων

¹ οὖν Mendelss

² Bekk ἀπαλείψουτε α ἀπαλείψετε gl ἀπολήψετε O

³ προσαγ. O ⁴ ἐπιδείξασθε V ἐπεδείξασθε B ἐπιδείξασθε I

⁵ Mendelss from P ea sunt vobis ipsis

¹ The correct stress for an emperor upon the *cura* or *tutela* of the empire; cf. Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βασ.* 1.40, 3.55; Béranger, *Recherches* 198. The deification of Marcus was voted at an extraordinary meeting of the senate and people, says SHA, *Marc.* 18.2–3. For coins commemorating the event, see *BMC* IV. civ, *RIC* III. 441 nos. 654–64.

² “Oceanus” was applied to the seas of northern Europe

who is born for you. My father has gone up to heaven and now sits as a companion of the gods. We must concern ourselves with human affairs and govern this world.¹ Your task is to set our affairs in order and strengthen our position if you want to finish off the rest of this war most bravely and advance the rule of Rome as far as the ocean.² By doing this you will win fame for yourselves and pay a fitting tribute to the memory of the father of us all. You may be sure that he is listening to our words and watching over all we do. We should be glad to do our duty under the eye of such a witness. Your brave achievements in the past are attributable to his wise generalship; but what you demonstrate by your enthusiasm under a young emperor like me will earn you a reputation for loyalty, soundness and courage that is your own. And you will confer authority upon my youthfulness by your daring exploits. If the barbarians are

somewhat affectedly since geographic knowledge had extended to countries like Britain beyond the so-called river that bounded the world. But cf. Tac. *Germ.* 1 (though *Germaniae sinus* in 37, etc.); for its rhetorical effect, see Ael. *Arist. Or.* 26 (Keil) 28, Rutil. 1.56. The same phrase is recalled in 1.6.6. and 7.2.9. Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 10 ff., objects to its inaccuracy since, he says, at the most the aim was to subdue the Hungarian plain and Moravia. But the extent of Marcus' intentions in the North are almost unknown. If he was about to create two new provinces of *Marcommania* and *Sarmatia* (SHA, *Marc.* 27.10) to settle the area of Slovakia (cf. the occupation at Trenčín, *AE* (1956) 124), it would have created an enormous salient that could not have remained static, and might well have entailed alterations along the German frontier—even a resurrection of the Elbe line of frontier. See Forni in Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.* (limes) 1074 ff. N.B. especially the great fort at Regensburg in Raetia, still under construction in 180; Raetia was a province that looked both east and west.

ἔργων ἀνδραγαθία. τὸ βάρβαρον δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ νέας ἡγεμονίας κωλυθὲν¹ οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρὸν κατα-
 θαρσῆσει τῆς <ἡμετέρας>² ἡλικίας [καταφρονή-
 σαν],³ τὰ τε μέλλοντα φοβήσεται δέει τῶν
 πεπειραμένων.”

τοσαῦτα ὁ Κόμοδος εἰπὼν καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως⁴
 δωρεαῖς χρημάτων οἰκειωσάμενος τὸ στρατιωτικόν,
 ἐς τὴν βασιλείον ἐπανῆλθεν αὐλήν.

6. ὀλίγου μὲν οὖν τινὸς χρόνου πάντα ἐπράττετο
 τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πατρώων φίλων, οἱ πανημέριοι
 συνήσαν αὐτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευόντες, καὶ
 τοσοῦτον ἐνδιδόντες χρόνον, ὅσον ἐνόμιζον αὐτάρκη
 πρὸς σώφρονα τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν. παρεισ-
 δύντες δὲ τινες τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς οἰκετῶν
 διαφθείρειν ἐπειρῶντο νέου⁵ ἤθος βασιλέως, ὅσοι
 τε κόλακες τραπέζης καὶ⁶ τὸ εὐδαιμον γαστρί⁷
 καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις μετροῦσιν, ὑπεμμησκόντες⁸
 αὐτὸν τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς, θεάματά τε καὶ
 ἀκούσματα τερπνὰ διηγούμενοι τὴν τε τῶν
 ἐπιτηδείων δαψίλειαν καταριθμοῦντες διαβάλλοντες

¹ κολασθὲν O

² Steph from P

³ om Mendelss

⁴ Irmisch -όνως O -όφροσι i

⁵ From P *invenis imperatoris νέου OI*

⁶ καὶ del Stav

⁷ -τριον O

⁸ a ὑπεμνησκον Ogl and *vetus* Steph

¹ Probably recorded as the same *liberalitas* as that in 1.7.6 when the soldiers were thanked in Rome. This was C.'s third distribution of money to the troops; Barbieri in Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.* (*liberalitas*) 854-6.

checked at the beginning of a new reign they will not now gain confidence from my immaturity, and later they will be cautious, frightened by their previous experiences." After this speech Commodus won the allegiance of the army with a generous donative¹ and then retired to the imperial quarters.

6. For a short time Commodus followed the guidance of his father's friends completely. They were continually at his side with sound advice, allowing only such free time as they considered sufficient for proper physical exercise. But some of the imperial household interfered and tried to corrupt the character of the young emperor;² these were the parasites at his table and men who measured happiness in terms of their bellies and their depraved vices.³ They reminded Commodus of the soft life of Rome by telling him of the delightful pleasures to be seen and heard and recounting the great wealth of resources there. They were scathing about all the seasons of the year on the banks of the Danube;⁴ a region which

² See 1.6.8n.

³ The phrase is lifted almost intact from Demosthenes, *de Cor.* 366. Evidently a popular phrase; cf. Ach. Tat. 1.6. Similar expressions in Lucian and Pollux are provided by Irmisch, *ad loc.*

⁴ Cf. 6.7.6 on the climate of the Rhine and Danube, and Seneca, *de prov.* 4.14, Pliny, *Paneg.* 12.3; Eutrop. *Brev.* 9.17.2, however, tells of the (later) vines in Pannonia and Moesia. How far is H. here parodying Alexander "Peloplaton", the sophist, whose speech was in circulation in H.'s day and which referred to the climate of the Danube? Alexander can be shown to be the *ab epistulis Graecis* of the emperor about this time and may have been one of the advisers of C.; Philos. *VS* 2.5.572(01).

τε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄχθαις τοῦ Ἰστρου ὄραν, μήτε ὀπώρας εὐφορον κρυεράν τε αἰεὶ καὶ συννεφῆ.
 2 “οὐ παύσῃ” δὲ ἔλεγον “ὦ δέσποτα, πηγνύμενόν τε καὶ ὀρυττόμενον πίνων ὕδωρ; ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπολαύσουσι πηγῶν τε θερμῶν καὶ ψυχροῦ νάματος ἀτμίδων τε καὶ ἀέρων, ὧν Ἰταλία μόνη εὐφορος.”
 3 αἰφνιδίως δὲ καλέσας τοὺς φίλους ποθεῖν ἔλεγε τὴν πατρίδα· ὁμολογεῖν δὲ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς αἰφνιδίου ὀρμῆς αἰδούμενος, δεδιέναι προσεποιεῖτο, μή τις ἐκεῖσε¹ προκαταλάβοι τὴν βασιλείον ἐστίαν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν πλουσιῶν,² εἰθ’ ὥσπερ ἐξ ὄχυρᾶς ἀκροπόλεως δύναμιν καὶ περιβολὴν³ συγκροτήσας ἐπιθῆται τῇ ἀρχῇ. αὐτάρκης δὲ ὁ δῆμος χορηγήσας πλῆθος ἐπιλέκτων νεανιῶν.
 4 τοιαῦτά τινα προφασίζομένου τοῦ μειρακίου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνεστάλησάν τε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ σκυθρωπαῖς ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐς γῆν ἔνευσαν. Πομπηα-

¹ ἐκεῖ Mendels

² om Mendels

³ <πλούτου> περιβολὴν Steph corrupt Mendels

¹ Cf. Aelian, *VH* 9.16, for similar praise of Italy’s climate.

² Dio (Xiph.) 72.1.2, (Exc. Urs.) 72.2.2, SHA, *Comm.* 3.5, say that C. hated hard work and gave in to the enemy’s terms; but see below, 1.6.8n. It seems likely that opinion among the *amici* about remaining was not unanimous; SHA, *Marc.* 22.8, in 171. C.’s decision to retire was easily distorted, just as was the opposition of L. Verus in c. 166 (SHA, *Ver.* 9.10–11, *Marc.* 14.5); in both cases they probably reflect a political struggle rather than a financial crisis. In spite of the drain of money and manpower (see Jones, *EHR* 5 (1953) 294), it

produced no fruits of harvest and was always cold and foggy. “My Lord,” they said, “don’t go on drinking this icy, muddy water while others are enjoying the hot springs and cooling rivers, or the warm mists and clear air which are only to be found in Italy.”¹ By putting such ideas into the young man’s head they whetted his appetite for a taste of these pleasures. Without warning he summoned his³ advisers and told them he had a longing to return home.² But because he was ashamed to admit the reasons for such a sudden departure, he pretended that he was afraid that one of the wealthy nobles in Rome would seize the seat of empire and then make a bid for power from his fortified citadel, by collecting forces and resources. He claimed there were enough ordinary people to muster a lot of specially selected young men.³

The councillors heard the young emperor putting⁴ forward his excuses with feelings of dismay as they gloomily bowed their heads. But the most senior of

did not reach crisis proportions (1.6.8n). C.’s decision to withdraw is defended by Carrata Thomes, *Regno di M. Aurelio*, 159.

³ Not clear whether C.’s fears were justified. The first conspiracy of 182 was chiefly supported by men at this time on the northern front (cf. 1.8.8). But it is known that some thought C. a bad choice for emperor who should have been removed, as Severus admitted in a candid moment, Dio (Xiph.) 76.14.7. It also provided a stimulus for Avidius Cassius’ revolt five years earlier (supported by Faustina?), Dio (Xiph.) 71.22.2–23.1, SHA, *Marc.* 24.6. According to one version C. received the incriminating letters of Cassius, Dio (Exc. Val.) 72.7.4—supposedly unread, but Philos. *VS* 2.1.563(01) knew of one. H. stresses the importance of the new emperor returning to Rome on other occasions, 3.15.6, 5.2.3, 5.5.1.

νός δέ, ὃς πρεσβύτατός τε ἦν ἀπάντων καὶ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν προσήκων αὐτῷ (συνώκει γὰρ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Κομόδου), “ποθεῖν μὲν σε,” ἔφη, “τέκνον καὶ δέσποτα, τὴν πατρίδα εἰκός· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν οἴκοι ὁμοίᾳ ἐπιθυμίᾳ 5 ἔαλώκαμεν. ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐνταῦθα προυργιαίτερα ὄντα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπείγοντα ἐπέχει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ¹ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ πλείστον αἰῶνα ἀπολαύσεις, ἐκεῖ τε ἡ ‘Ρώμη, ὅπου ποτ’ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦ. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἀτελῆ καταλιπεῖν μετὰ τοῦ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ἐπισφαλές. θάρσος γὰρ ἐμβαλοῦμεν τοῖς βαρβάροις, οὐκ ἐπανόδου πόθον 6 ἀλλὰ φυγὴν καὶ δέος ἡμῶν καταγνοῦσι. καλὸν δέ σοι χειρωσαμένῳ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ ἄρκτῳ ἀρχὴν ὠκεανῶ ² ὀρίσαντι ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε θριαμβύοντί τε καὶ δεσμίους ἀπάγογτι καὶ αἰχμαλώτους βασιλεῖς τε καὶ σατράπας βαρβάρους. τούτοις γὰρ οἱ πρὸ σοῦ ‘Ρωμαῖοι μεγάλοι τε καὶ ἔνδοξοι γεγόνασι. δεδιέναι δέ σε οὐ χρή, μή τις ἐκεῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιθῆται. οἷ τε γὰρ ἄριστοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα σὺν σοί, ἢ τε στρατιωτικῆ δύναμις παροῦσα ³ πᾶσα τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προασπίζει.

¹ ἐκεῖ Mendelssohn

² Οἱ τῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ὠκεανῶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Schwartz

³ παρὰ (παρὰ V) σοῦ φ

¹ Ti. Claudius Pompeianus; details in *PIR*² C 973, Pflaum, *Jour. Sav.* (1961) 39 ff. A Syrian-born equestrian, raised through the military crisis to be M.'s son-in-law and supreme commander on the northern front c. 170 (perhaps on the death of Claudius Fronto). From what H. says it is conjectured Cn. Claudius Severus had died or retired, leaving Pompeianus

them, Pompeianus,¹ who was related by marriage to Commodus (through Commodus' eldest sister) said, “My son and my master, it is quite reasonable for you to want to go home; all of us are equally consumed by anxiety to see those we left at home. But the more ⁵ important, urgent work here restrains our desires. You will have your enjoyment of the pleasures of the city after this for the rest of your life. Furthermore, Rome is where the emperor is.² But to leave the war unfinished is not just dishonourable; it is dangerous. We shall put new heart into the barbarian, who will accuse us not of longing to return home, but of retreating in panic. On the other hand, if you ⁶ subdue them all and extend the northern empire to the ocean,³ it will be wonderful for you to return in triumph, leading home barbarian kings and governors⁴ as prisoners in chains. This was what made your Roman predecessors great and famous. Do not worry about anyone in Rome undermining your position. The senatorial nobility are here campaigning with you, and the whole strength of the army is here to protect your rule. All the reserves of

senior. He was disliked by Faustina (until she died) and Lucilla, his wife, SHA, *Marc.* 20.7; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.5, and below, 1.8.4.

² For the *sententia* of *imperium comes*, cf. Lucan 5.23 (*mutatis mutandis*), H. contradicts this with Severus' speech, 2.10.9.

³ Cf. 1.5.6. Morris, *Jour. Warburg Courtauld Inst.* 15 (1952) 37, uses this to identify Pompeianus as leader of a war party.

⁴ Lit. “satraps”—normally Persian and Parthian governors. Perhaps an attempt to find a Greek equivalent for *reges et duces*, Tac. *German.* 7.1, or perhaps H. uses terms for his audience's understanding.

ταμειά τε χρημάτων βασιλικῶν ἐνταῦθα πάντα.
ἤ τε τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμη αἰώνιον σοι πίστιν καὶ
εὐνοιαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ¹ ἐβεβαίωσεν.”

7 τοιαῦτά τινα ἐς προτροπὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ
κρείττονα ὁρμῆν ὁ Πομπηϊανὸς εἰπὼν διέτρεψε
πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ μειράκιον. αἰδεσθεῖς γὰρ ὁ
Κόμοδος τὰ λεχθέντα, οὐδέν τε οἶός τε ὦν εὐλόγως
ἀποκρίνασθαι, τοὺς φίλους ἀπεπέμψατο, φήσας
ἀκριβέστερον καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκέψασθαι ² τὸ πρακ-
8 τέον. ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν θεραπόντων
οὐκέτι μὲν τοῖς φίλοις οὐδὲν ἐκοινώσατο, ἐκπεμψας
δὲ γράμματα, καὶ διανείμας οἷς ἐδοκίμασε τῆς
ὄχθης τοῦ Ἰστρου τὴν πρόνοιαν προστάξας τε
αὐτοῖς ἀνέχειν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομάς,
ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἕξοδον. οἱ μὲν οὖν διώκοντες τὰ
ἐγκεχειρισμένα· οἱ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πλείστους
τῶν βαρβάρων ὄπλοις ἐχειρῶσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ
μεγάλαις συντάξεσιν ἐς φιλίαν ἐπηγάγοντο ῥᾶστα

¹ ἀρχόντων ἰΡ

² Steph -ψασθαι Oi

¹ Cf. 2.53; these attendants appear to be the *Caesarei* (Dio's term) attached to C. and including the freedmen *cubicularii*; what SHA, *Comm.* 2.6-8, calls the *custodes vitae pessimi*; certainly Saoterus (Dio (Xiph.) 72.12.2), possibly Theocritus (Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.21.2) and Cleander. *CIL* VI. 2010 records an Ael(ius) Saoterus in the *ordo sacerdotum domus Aug(ustae) Palat(inae)*, a senator, but Grosso, *Lotta politica* 114-15, doubts the identification; cf. Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 39; Pflaum, *REL* 32 (1954) 450. Neither H. nor Dio can find a better

the imperial treasuries are here as well. And your father's undying reputation has made the loyal trust of your subjects certain.

Pompeianus tried to encourage Commodus with 7 these words to take a wiser course, and for a time he did divert the young man from his intentions. Commodus was put to shame by the speech, to which he had no reasonable reply. So he dismissed the council, saying that he would give closer consideration to his proper course of action in private. But at 8 the constant urging of his personal attendants ¹ he stopped taking the advice of his council and sent out instructions by letter, allocating the control of the Danube campaign to trustworthy commanders, with orders to check the incursions of the barbarians, while he announced his own return to Rome.² The commanders carried out their tasks and soon either reduced most of the barbarians by force of arms or easily persuaded them to form treaties of alliance by

reason for C.'s action than domination by freedmen advisers; Dio (Xiph.) 72.1.1, (Exc. Urs.) 72.2.1-4 on C.'s weak character; cf. 2.10.3.

² Later writers have preserved a tradition of C.'s success against the Germans; e.g. Victor, *Caes.* 17.2 (*bello plane impiger; quo in Quados prospere gesto*, etc.), Eutrop. 8.15 (*contra Germanos feliciter et ipse pugnavit*). C. did not abandon responsibility in the North; SHA, *Comm.* 12.8, notes the possibility of a *tertia expeditio Germana* (which Heer, *Philol.* suppl. 9 (1901) 166-72, thinks genuine); coins show *imp(erator)* IV salutations which may relate to successes of his generals in the North c. 183, *BMC* IV. ccliii. One of the main tasks was the creation of a military zone along the border of Pannonia Inferior, probably the work of Perennis c. 185; Bersanetti, *Athen.* 9 (1951) 165-8; Fitz, *Act. Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 14 (1962) 72-3; cf. *ILS* 1574.

9 πείσαντες. φύσει γὰρ τὸ βάρβαρον φιλοχρήματον, καὶ κινδύνων καταφρονήσαντες ἢ δι' ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ἐφόδου τὸ χρειώδες πρὸς τὸν βίον πορίζονται, ἢ μεγάλων μισθῶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικαταλλάσονται. ἄπερ ὁ Κόμοδος εἰδὼς καὶ τὸ ἀμέριμον ὠνούμενος¹ ἀφειδῶς τε ἔχων χρημάτων, πάντα ἐδίδου τὰ αἰτούμενα.

7. τῆς δὲ ἐξόδου διαγγελλείσης κίνησις δὴ μεγίστη καταλαμβάνει τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ πάντες αὐτῷ συναπελθεῖν ἤθελον, ὡς <ἀν>² ἀπαλλαγεῖεν μὲν τῆς ἐν τῇ πολεμίας διατριβῆς, ἀπολαύσειαν δὲ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἢ φήμη ἄγγελοί τε ἤκον κηρύττοντες τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄφιξιν, ὑπερήσθη τε ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος καὶ χρηστὰς εἶχεν ἐλπίδας νέου αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιδημίας, πατρύζειν τὸ μειράκιον ἠγγόμενοι. 2 ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ὁ Κόμοδος μετὰ νεανικῆς σπουδῆς καὶ διαδραμῶν τας ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις, ὑποδεχ-

¹ ὠνούμενος A ἰλόμενος emend Mendelss

² <ἀν> Schwartz

¹ One of H.'s stereotypes for unsuccessful emperors; cf. 4.15.8, 6.7.9-10, the pattern set from M. Aurelius, 1.3.5. Avaricious barbarians are also standard; Livy 21.20.8 (Gauls), Tac. *Germ.* 15 and 21 (Germans). But it was at least a moot point whether it was foolish to "subsidize" the barbarians after the heavy expenditure of Marcus. For a discussion of the finances of M. Aurelius and Commodus, see Pekáry, *Hist.* 8 (1959) 448 ff., who concludes that in spite of some financial stringency, talk of bankruptcy is exaggerated. On the other hand, inflationary tendencies are evident in the reduced content of silver in the denarius.

offers of large subsidies.¹ Since barbarians are naturally avaricious they provide for their necessities of life by completely fearless, foraging raids or else by bargaining for peace at a high price. Commodus realized this and met the barbarians' demand with an exorbitant sum of money in order to buy his peace of mind.²

7. As Commodus' withdrawal became public knowledge, there was a great deal of unrest in the army. They all wanted to accompany him back to the pleasures of Rome and have done with the hard life of war. As the news circulated and messengers arrived in Rome with reports of the emperor's homecoming, the people there were overjoyed and had high hopes for the visit³ of the new emperor, expecting the young man to take after his father. The journey home was completed by Commodus² with the enthusiasm of a young man.⁴ Everywhere

² Dio (Exc. Urs.) 72.2-3 indicates terms much more favourable to Rome than this—as stiff as anything demanded by M. Aurelius. H. appears to be influenced by the stereotype of the *optimus princeps* who must be dreaded by his enemies and not buy them with gold; cf. Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βασιλ.* 1.25, 3.4-5, Pliny, *Paneg.* 12.1-4, and Introduction, pp. lxxiii ff.

³ The word *epidemia* is used of an emperor's visit in *OGIS* 517.7 from Thyatira in the third century. Grosso, *Lotta politica* 126, alleges that C.'s decision to end the ruinous German war was a cause of popularity, but there is little evidence to show this.

⁴ Probably from the Danube via Aquileia; cf. Calderini, *Aquileia romana* 49; but attempts to link *ILS* 3228, an inscription from Aquileia set up by an imperial servant, referring to Hercules (*Tirynthia munera*) and peace, are based on too little evidence. For the haste to return to Rome, see 1.6.3n; believed by Hartke, *Röm. Kinderkaiser* 308-9, to be merely conventional.

θεῖς¹ τε πανταχοῦ βασιλικῶς καὶ δῆμοις ἑορτάζουσιν
 ἐπιφανείς, ἀσπαστός τε καὶ ποθεινός πᾶσιν ὤφθη.
³ ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῆς Ῥώμης, πᾶσά τε ἡ
 σύγκλητος βουλή καὶ πανδημεὶ ὅσοι τὴν Ῥώμην
 κατώκουν ἄνθρωποι, μὴ κατασχόντες αὐτῶν ἀλλ'
 ἕκαστος φθάσαι θέλων, δαφνηφόροι τε καὶ πάντα
 ἐπιφερόμενοι ἄνθη τότε ἀκμάζοντα, ὡς ἕκαστος
⁴ νοὶ τὸν νέον καὶ εὐγενῆ βασιλέα. ἐπόθουν γὰρ
 αὐτὸν ἀληθεὶ ψυχῆς διαθέσει ἅτε παρ' αὐτοῖς
 γεννηθέντα τε καὶ τραφέντα καὶ ἄνωθεν ἐκ
 τριγωνίας³ βασιλέα τε καὶ εὐπατρίδην ὄντα
 Ῥωμαίων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῶ γένος
 ἐκ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπισήμων ἦν
 Φαυστίνα δ' ἡ μήτηρ βασιλισσα γεγένητο θυγάτηρ
 τε οὐσα Ἀντωνίου⁴ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπικληθέντος,
 καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ ἕκγονος⁵ κατὰ θηλυγονίαν, ἀνήνεγκε
 δὲ τὸ γένος αὐτῆ⁶ ἐπὶ Τραϊανὸν πρόπαππον.

¹ ὑποδειχθεὶς φ² πορρωτάτω Reisk³ τριγωνίας VA but τριγενείας super A¹⁴ ἀντωνίου Oa⁵ ἕγγονος φ Cassola⁶ αὐτῆ O

¹ Not certain how much time C. spent in or near Rome from 161-75. SHA, *Comm.* 1.9, refers to an incident at Centumcellae in 171/2 and Galen writes of his attendance upon C. in 168/9. For the contrast between heredity and merit, see 1.5.5n. It is difficult to assess how far there had been a departure from the hereditary principle since the five previous emperors had been childless, but ideologically it would seem the direct offspring was precluded from the

as he passed through the cities on his journey he was given a royal reception. Making his appearance to the festive crowds, he was hailed as the darling of the people when they saw him. As he drew nearer to ³ Rome, the whole senate and population of the city were so anxious to be the first to see their new, noble emperor that they could not restrain themselves from coming out quite a distance from the city to meet him, carrying garlands of bay leaves and all the seasonal flowers that they could bring. Their ⁴ desire to see him was a sincere expression of their emotions because they felt he had been born and brought up in their midst,¹ an emperor of the fourth generation and a Roman patrician. His father's family background included prominent senators, while Faustina, his mother, who became empress, was the daughter of Antoninus Pius, the grand-daughter of Hadrian on her mother's side,² and actually traced her line back to Trajan as her great-grandfather.

traditional *refus de pouvoir*. Note SHA, *Sev.* 20.4 f. (to Diocletian), on the disadvantages of heredity; cf. Béranger, *Recherches* 141-2; Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 5 and 17. A summary of the debate is in Garzetti, *Storia di Roma* VI. 688-9.

² The meaning is disputed. Cassola, *RAAN* 38 (1963) 139, argues that H. refers only to Faustina, C.'s mother, and thereafter that the ancestry is by adoption. Grenade, *REA* 52 (1950) 263, justifies H. by saying Matidia the elder, niece of Trajan was the great-grandmother of C.'s mother. Sievers, *Philol.* 26 (1867) 36-7 and Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 12-13, think H. was misinformed in believing the elder Faustina was Hadrian's daughter, cf. *Epit. de Caes.* 15.2. If H. means relationship by adoption he ought to have noted five generations going back to Nerva; cf. *ILS*, index III, p. 284 (*divi Nervae adnepos*).

5 γένους μὲν οὖν ὁ Κόμοδος οὕτως εἶχε, πρὸς δὲ τῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀκμῇ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἦν ἀξιοθέατος σώματός τε συμμετρία καὶ κάλλει προσώπου μετ' ἀνδρείας. ὀφθαλμῶν τε γὰρ θερμαί¹ καὶ πυρῶδεις βολαί, κόμη τε φύσει ξανθὴ καὶ οὐλῃ, ὡς, εἴποτε φοιτῶν δι' ἡλίου, τοσοῦτον ἐκλάμπει αὐτῷ πυροειδές τι, ὡς τοὺς μὲν οἶεσθαι ῥίνημα χρυσοῦ προιόντι² ἐπιπάσσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκθειάζειν, λέγοντας αἰγλήν τινὰ οὐράνιον περι τῇ κεφαλῇ συγγεγενῆσθαι αὐτῷ. Ἴουλοι τε αὐτοῦ κατιόντες ταῖς 6 παρειαῖς ἐπήνθουν. τοιοῦτον δὴ θεασάμενοι βασιλέα οἱ Ῥωμαῖον, εὐφημίαις τε παντοδαπαῖς καὶ στεφάνων καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ὑπεδέχοντο. ὡς δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσήλασεν, ἐς τε τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νεῶς ἀνελθὼν εὐθὺς τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καταλειφθένσι³ στρατιώταις χαριστήρια ὁμολογήσας τῆς φυλαχθείσης πίστεως, ἐς τὴν βασιλείου αὐλὴν ἀνεχώρησεν.

¹ Giangrande *RhM* (1957) 263 ἀρθμία i αἰθμία (αἰθ. B) φ γλυκύτητες A φαινεαὶ Schwartz αἰθρία? Whit

² προσίοντι O ³ κατελειφ. a καταυλισθεῖσι cod Schottii

¹ Almost certainly corrupt beyond emendation (see *app. critic.*). My suggestion, meaning "cold" or "clear" is not paralleled elsewhere; Malalas, 12.283, has ὑπόγλυκος which is like the reading of A; perhaps it should be γλαυκότητες, meaning "grey."

² The vividness of the description has been taken to mean H. actually saw C. like this, though here he does mention informants. Note the contemporary fashion of writing *eikones*—descriptions of pictures (e.g. Philostratos of Lemnos) and *ekphraseis*—descriptions of statues (e.g. Callistratus).

Besides this ancestry and the fact that he was in the 5 prime of his youth, Commodus was of a striking appearance, with a shapely body and a handsome, manly face; his eyes were burning¹ and flashing; his hair was naturally fair and curly, and when he went out in the sunlight it gleamed with such brilliance that some people thought gold dust was scattered on it before public appearances, though others considered it supernatural and said that a heavenly halo was shining round his head.² On his cheeks the first 6 growth of hair was beginning to appear as well. This was the emperor the Romans saw as they welcomed him with full acclamations, showering him with garlands and flowers. On his entry into Rome,³ after going up to the temple of Jupiter and to the other temples, he made his grateful acknowledgements to the senate⁴ and the soldiers that had been left stationed in Rome for the loyalty they had shown. Then he went to the palace.⁵

Attractive is the suggestion that H. is describing a portrait bust of C. For gold dust in the hair, see SHA, *Ver.* 10.7, *Gall.* 16.4, Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 37; the *nimbus* was conventional later.

³ Coins of 180 show *adventus Aug(usti)* and *Fort(unae) red(uci)*, *RIC* III. 401, nos. 294-5, *BMC* IV. 684, nos. 1728-31. Soon after C.'s return a triumph took place which is dated 22nd October, 180; SHA, *Comm.* 3.6; cf. *ILS* 1420 and Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 183. This was probably the occasion for a *congiarium* and a *donativum* (above 1.5.8n). Before this (by August) there was a change in C.'s praenomen from Lucius to Marcus *pietatis causa*; Vogt, *Alexand. Münz.* 1.147, Grosso, *Lotta politica* 128-9.

⁴ H. says nothing of the tactless speech which C. made, at which Dio (*Xiph.* 72.4.2-3) was probably present.

⁵ Probably the palace on the Palatine; later C. moved to the *domus Vectiliana* on the Caelian.

8. χρόνου μὲν οὖν τινὸς ὀλίγων ἐτῶν¹ τιμὴν
 πᾶσαν ἀπένεμε τοῖς πατρώοις φίλοις, πάντα τε
 ἔπραττεν ἐκείνοις συμβούλοις χρώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐνεχείρισε² τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑαυτῷ,³
 ἐπιστήσας τοῖς στρατοπέδοις Περένιον, ἄνδρα τὸ
 μὲν γένος Ἰταλιώτην, στρατιωτικὸν δ' εἶναι
 δοκοῦντα (διὸ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἔπαρχον ἐποίησε
 τῶν στρατοπέδων), τῇ τοῦ μεираκίου ἀποχρώμενος
 ἡλικία ἐκείνος ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν τρυφαίς σχολάζειν⁴
 καὶ κραιπάλαις, τῆς τε φροντίδος καὶ τῶν βασιλείων
² καμάτων ἀπήγγεν αὐτόν,⁵ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν
 τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο πλούτου τε ἀκρατήτῃ
 ἐπιθυμία καὶ τῶν μὲν προσκτωμένων αἰεὶ κατα-
 φρονήσει, τῶν δ' οὐπω παρόντων ἀπλήστῃ
 ἀντιποιήσει. τοὺς τε πατρώους φίλους πρῶτος
 διαβάλλειν ἤρξατο, καὶ ὅσοι πλούσιοί τε ἦσαν

¹ ὀλιγ. ἐτῶν om Jo

² ἐνεχείρησε Ogl

³ ἑαυτοῦ Ogl ἑαυτοῦ <ἐτέροις> from P Stroth

⁴ emend Mendels from SHA *Comm* 5.3 ἐκείνος εἶασεν . . .

σχολαζοῦντα Oi (ἐκείνος δ' O)

⁵ om Schwartz

¹ The list of the *consules ordinarii* provide some guide to the fortunes of the *amici*; 181 L. Antistius Burrus (husband of Vibia Sabina); 182 M. Petronius Sura Mammertinus (husband of Cornificia); 183 C. Aufidius Victorinus, *cos.* II (*con-discipulus* of M. Aurelius). After the fall of Perennis (c. 185) there is a resurgence of the interests of the *amici* with 186 M'. Acilius Glabrio *cos.* II, 187 L. Bruttius Quintus Crispinus, 188 P (?) Seius Fuscianus and M. Servilius Silanus both *cos.* II, 189 Q. Servilius Silanus, 190 M. Petronius Sura.

8. For a few years he paid full respect to his father's friends,¹ acting in every case on their advice. But after he had taken over full control of the empire,² he gave the command of the praetorian guard to Perennis,³ an Italian with a fine military record (and for this reason a particularly good choice for praetorian prefect). But Perennis took advantage of the tender age of the emperor and began to relieve him of the responsibilities and cares of his office by persuading him to spend his time in a life of pleasure and drunkenness. Finally in his uncontrol-²lable desire for money, he took over total direction of the empire by himself, because he was permanently dissatisfied with his existing possessions and had an inexhaustible yearning for what he did not yet own.⁴ His first action was to bring accusations against

² Perhaps "after he had given control of the empire to others" as Politian's version suggests (see *app. critic*).

³ H. uses this form of the name for the Latin Perennis. The appointment of Tigidius Perennis was probably c. 181/2; Dio (Xiph.) 72.10.1 says he was colleague of Paternus (M. Tarrutenius Paternus), and SHA, *Comm.* 14.8, says C. tolerated no prefect longer than three years; hence Perennis' appointment was 182 at the earliest; Cassola, *Atti Accad. Pont.* 6 (1956/7) 193. Contra Howe, *Praet. Pref.* no. 2, Stein, *RE* (Perennis) 952. H. fails to mention the fall of Paternus, Dio (Exc. Val.) 72.5.1, or another hypothetical prefect, T. Pactumeius Magnus postulated by Stein, *Ritterstand* 243-4, 261-2.

⁴ Howe, *Praet. Pref.* 24 ff., believes Perennis' position was a significant step in the increased powers of the praetorian prefect as supreme commander over troops in the empire, but the example he adduces, Dio (Xiph.) 72.9.3, is ambiguous since the subject is probably C. and not Perennis who was supreme commander. Tullius Crispus' command in 193 to take charge of the fleet at Ravenna was an emergency measure against Severus; see below, 2.11.6n.

καὶ εὐγενεῖς, τούτους ἐς ὑποψίαν ἄγων τὸ μειράκιον ἐφόβει, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὺς διαχρησάμενος ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ παράσχοι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἀρπάζειν τὰ ἐκείνων κτήματα.

- 3 μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἐπέιχε τὸν νεανίσκον ἢ τε τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμη καὶ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους αἰδώς. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὡσπερ τινὸς πονηρᾶς καὶ βασκάνου τύχης ἀνατρεπούσης αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔτι σῶφρον καὶ κόσμιον,¹ συνέβη τι τοιοῦτον. Λουκίλλα ἦν τῷ Κομόδῳ πρεσβυτάτῃ πάντων ἀδελφῇ. αὕτη πρότερον Λουκίῳ Βήρῳ αὐτοκράτορι συνῶκει, ὃν κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας Μᾶρκος ποιησάμενος, ἐκδούς τε αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, δεσμὸν εὐνοίας ἐχυρώτατον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιγαμίαν² ἐποίησατο. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ συνέβη τὸν Λούκιον τελευτῆσαι, μερόντων³ τῇ Λουκίλλῃ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας συμβόλων
- 4 Πομπηιανῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἐξέδοτο αὐτήν. οὐδὲν ἦττον μέντοι καὶ ὁ Κόμοδος ἐφύλαττε τὰς τιμὰς τῇ ἀδελφῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου

¹ Reisk τὴν ἔτι σώφρονα καὶ κόσμιον Οἱ τὴν κοσμίαν ἀρχὴν Jo

² ποιησάμενος—ἐπιγαμίαν om Jo a gloss?

³ μερόντων a

¹ The twin themes of *tyche* and *pronoia*, common in Stoic thought, reappear continually throughout H., but are of no philosophic significance; by this time they had passed into conventional popular morality and are a cliché of historiography.

Marcus' advisers; then he sowed suspicion in the young emperor's mind against rich nobles, so that he would get rid of them out of fear. This would then provide him with the opportunity and the means to seize their property.

Up to a point young Commodus was restrained out of respect for his father's memory and his advisers. But an event occurred whereby such moderation and control as he had so far shown was upset by a most unhappy, malevolent turn of chance.¹ Commodus' sister, Lucilla, the eldest member of the family,² had been married to Lucius Verus, the emperor, whom Marcus had made his partner in the empire and his son-in-law.³ The marriage with Lucilla had been arranged by Marcus to bind Lucius firmly in his loyalty to the empire. When Lucius died, Marcus married Lucilla to Pompeianus,⁴ though she kept all the insignia of her imperial position. Commodus, like his father, allowed his sister to hold these privileges, that is, to take her place on the imperial seat at the theatre and to have the ceremonial fire carried

² Usually taken as evidence that Faustina had died; 1.2.2n.

³ L. Aurelius Verus, originally L. Ceionius Commodus, for whose family, see Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* 322. Probably designed by Hadrian as heir to Antoninus Pius, but superseded by Pius' favourite, M. Aurelius. In 161 Marcus consented to sharing the title of Augustus on condition of Verus' obedience (SHA, *Verus* 4.2), for which the marriage with Lucilla was a guarantee in 164. The hostile *vita* is to some extent refuted by Lambrechts, *Antiq. Class.* 3 (1934) 173 ff.

⁴ Cf. 1.6.4. According to Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.5 and SHA, *Marc.* 20.6-7, this was against the will of Lucilla and her mother Faustina, and done with indecent haste after L.'s death in 169.

καθήστο ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις,¹ καὶ τὸ πῦρ πρό-
 ἐόμπευεν αὐτῆς.² ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος γυναικα
 ἡγάγετο, Κρισπῖναν ὄνομα, ἀνάγκη τε ἐγένετο
 τὴν προεδρίαν ἀπονέμεσθαι τῇ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος³
 γυναικί, δυσφόρως τοῦτο φέρουσα ἡ Λουκίλλα,
 καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης τιμὴν ἑαυτῆς ὕβριν νομίζουσα,
 τὸν μὲν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα Πομπηϊανὸν εἰδυῖα ἀγαπῶντα
 τὸν Κόμοδον, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐπιθέσεως τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ἀνακουοῦται, Κοδράτου δέ, νεανίσκου
 εὐγενοῦς τινος καὶ πλουσίου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ λανθανούσης
 συνουσίᾳ διεβάλλετο, πείραν τῆς γνώμης λαμβά-
 νουσα, περὶ τε τῆς προεδρίας⁴ συνεχῶς⁵ ἀπαδύ-
 ρετο, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνέπεισε τὸν νεανίσκου
 ὀλέθρια βουλευσασθαι αὐτῷ⁶ τε καὶ πάσῃ τῇ
 5 συγκλήτῳ. συνωμότας γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῆς βουλῆς⁷
 λαβῶν τινὰς τῶν ἐξεχόντων ἀναπείθει νεανίσκου

¹ ἐν—θεάτροις om O

³ βασιλέως OI

⁷ χαλεπῶς I

⁸ ἐπιβουλῆς O

² καὶ γὰρ—αὐτῆς om Jo

⁴ Steph συνεδρίας (-είας O) I

⁶ αὐτῷ O

¹ Also the imperial *vexilla* carried in procession (2.3.2, 2.8.6) and the *fasces laureati* (7.6.2). For imperial fire, see 2.3.2n.

² Bruttia Crispina in 178; *PIR* ² B 170; daughter of C. Bruttius Praesens, *cos. II* in 180 and sister of L. Bruttius Quintius Crispinus, *cos. 187* ; a powerful Antonine family that continued in favour until c. 187. Probably at that time Crispina was accused of adultery, exiled and later killed, Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.6, SHA, *Comm.* 5.9, Whittaker, *Hist.* 13

before her.¹ But with his own marriage to Crispina,² precedence was bound to be assigned to the wife of the emperor. Lucilla was angered by this honour paid to Crispina, which she considered to be an insult to herself.³ She realized that her husband Pompeianus was devoted to Commodus, and so she did not communicate to him her intention to seize power. But she sounded out the feelings of a young noble, called Quadratus,⁴ with whom she was alleged to have a secret liaison. Her continual, bitter complaints about her rights of precedence soon persuaded the young man to conceive a plot, which turned out fatal for himself and the whole senate. He persuaded a number of leading senators to join 5 the plot, including a young man who was himself in

(1964) 353. For the family in H.'s later years, see Introduction, pp. lxxvii ff.

³ The motives and character of Lucilla are analysed by Aymard, *REA* 57 (1955) 85-91, who suggests that prospects of a child born to Crispina and a palace quarrel precipitated the crisis. But Crispina had been senior Augusta since 178; much more probably the political motives were stronger than personal pique. The date of the plot is fixed by the title *Pius* taken by C. afterwards; it appears first on 7th January 183 (*CIL* VI. 2099.12), so the plot was in 182.

⁴ Conjectured to be the son of Cn. Claudius Severus, *cos. II* 173, by his first marriage before marrying Marcus's daughter, 1.2.2n, on the basis of an inscription from Ephesus, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* III. 2.188, 539 = Lambrechts, *Ant. Class.* 7 (1938) 87. He was probably adopted by M. Ummidius Quadratus, *cos. 167* , the nephew of M. Aurelius. This conjunction of relations of Marcus gave C. some justification for his fears. Marcia, later mistress of C. (1.16.4), was once freedwoman mistress of Quadratus, Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.6-7, no doubt giving Q. a motive for animosity. *PIR* ² C 1024, Hanslik, *RE* suppl. 9 (Ummidius 8) 1832-3.

τινά, καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα τῆς βουλῆς, Κυντιανὸν¹
 ὄνομα, προπετῆ δὲ καὶ θρασύν, λαβόντα ἐγχειρίδιον
 ὑπὸ κόλπου,² καιρὸν φυλάξαντα³ καὶ τόπον
 ἐπιτήδειον, ἐπιπεσεῖν τε τῷ Κομόδῳ καὶ φονεῦσαι,
 τὰ λοιπὰ φήσας αὐτὸς κατορθώσασθαι⁴ χρημάτων
 ἐπιδόσει. ὁ δ' ὑποστὰς ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου
 εἰσόδῳ (ζοφώδης δὲ αὐτῇ, διὸ⁵ καὶ λήσεσθαι
 ἤλπισε), γυμνώσας τὸ ξιφίδιον, ἐπελθὼν τε
 αἰφνιδίως τῷ Κομόδῳ, καὶ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ⁶
 προειπὼν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτῷ ἐπιπεπέμφθαι,
 τρῶσαι μὴ φθάσας, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ περὶ τὴν τῶν
 ῥημάτων προφορὰν ἡσυχολεῖτο καὶ τὴν δεῖξιν τοῦ
 ξίφους, συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ
 βασιλέως δίκην ἀνοίας ὑπέσχευ, ὃς⁷ προεῖπε τὸ
 βεβουλευμένον μᾶλλον ἢ ἔδρασε, παρέσχε τε αὐτῷ
 μὲν προγνωσθέντι ἀλῶσαι, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ προμαθόντι
 φυλάξασθαι.

¹ κυντιανῶ Jo κυντιανὸν O (κυν—B)

² ὑποκόλπιον Mendelss (cf. 7.4.6)

³ φυλάξοντα φ

⁴ κατορθώσασθαι Steph

⁶ om i ⁶ βοῆ O

⁷ ὃς O

¹ Claudius Pompeianus Quintianus, Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.4, SHA, *Comm.* 4.2, *Amm. Marc.* 29.1.17; variously conjectured as step-son of Lucilla or son of the brother of Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (later murdered by C., SHA, *Comm.* 5.12) and therefore nephew of Lucilla. According to Dio he was be-

the senate, called Quintianus,¹ an extremely rash youth. The plan was that Quintianus should carry a dagger under his cloak, and, when he found a suitable time and place, he should attack and kill Commodus. Quadratus asserted that he had taken care of all the other arrangements by distributing largess.² So Quintianus hid in the entrance to the amphitheatre where he thought he would not be detected in the shadows. Drawing his dagger, he suddenly sprang out at Commodus and shouted out that he had been commissioned by the senate to kill him.³ But instead of stabbing Commodus first, he was seized by the imperial bodyguard⁴ while he was wasting time delivering a speech and showing that he held a weapon. So he paid for his stupidity in giving away his intentions instead of acting, and thereby he allowed himself to be found out and caught, while Commodus was forewarned and took precautions.

trothed to Lucilla's daughter (by L. Verus) and had adulterous relations with Lucilla. *PIR*² C 975, 757; Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 15; Millar, *Cassius Dio* 126 ff., for defects in the excerpts from Dio. Perhaps the quaestor, Pompeianus, referred to by Malalas 12.287.

² The Greek word *epidosis* suggests a *donativum* to the soldiers; cf. 1.5.1. Stephanus may be right that the verb should be a future tense, but it is plausible that Quintianus did not expect the guard to stop him because they had already been suborned (through Paternus?).

³ Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.4 gives the actual words, "Look! The senate has sent this to you."

⁴ Probably the *equites singulares*, Grosso, *Lotta politica* 34 and 39. H. is creditably aware of the difference between the general force of the praetorian cohorts and the special personal bodyguard of the emperors; but his general terms often make it unclear just to whom he is referring; Dio is no better, using the word *doryphoroi* indiscriminately.

7 αὕτη μὲν δὴ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη αἰτία τῷ
 μεираκίῳ μίσους ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον
 βουλὴν· ἔτρωσέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ λεχθέντα,
 καὶ κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς πάντας ἤγειτο, μεμνημένους
 8 αἰεὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐπιδραμόντος φωνῆς· ὑπῆρξε δὲ καὶ
 τῷ Περεννίῳ πρόφασίς τε καὶ ὑπόθεσις αὐτάρκης·
 ἐκκόπτειν γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ κολουέιν¹ αὐτῷ συν-
 εβούλευε τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, ὧν ἀρπάζων τὰς οὐ-
 σίας ῥᾶστα πλουσιώτατος ἐγένετο τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν
 ἀνθρώπων. γενομένης δ' ἐξετάσεως διὰ τοῦ
 Περεννίου ἀκριβεστέρας τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν ὁ Κόμοδος
 διεχρήσατο καὶ πάντας ἀφειδῶς τοὺς τε ὄντας ἐν
 τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' οἰαισδήποτε διαβληθέν-
 τας ὑποψίασις.

9. ὁ δὲ Περέννιος ἀποσκευασάμενος πάντας, οὓς
 καὶ ὁ Κόμοδος ἠδεύετο καὶ ὅσοι πατρῶαν αὐτῷ
 εὖνοιαν ἐπεδείκνυντο τῆς τε ἐκείνου σωτηρίας
 προμήθειαν εἶχον,² ποιησάμενός τε αὐτὸν ἐπ

¹ κολουέιν φη

² εἶχεν from P (*atque ipse illius tuendae salutis cura suscepta*)

¹ H. wrongly identifies C.'s action as being an attack on the whole senate. The names of some of those who fell as victims are supplied by Dio (Exc. Val.) 72.5.1-2, (Xiph.) 72.5.3 ff., SHA, *Comm.* 4; P. Salvius Julianus (*cos.* 175), Tarrutenius Paternus (praetorian prefect and *adlectus inter consularios*, whose daughter was betrothed to Julianus' son), the Quintilii cousins, Sex. Condiarius and Sex. Maximus (*cos.* 180 and 172), Vitruvius Secundus (*ab epistulis*). Those forced to retire from public life were Helvius Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Septimius Severus; Aufidius Victorinus (*praef. urbi* and *cos.* II

This was the first and foremost reason why young 7
 Commodus hated the senate. The wound he received
 was to his feelings, by what was said. He never
 forgot the sound of his assailant's words, and regarded
 the whole senate as his enemies. Perennius, too, 8
 was provided with valid evidence as a pretext for the
 action he was continually urging on Commodus, the
 extermination and degradation of the aristocracy.¹
 By seizing their property he had no difficulty in
 becoming the wealthiest man of his day. He set in
 motion a thorough enquiry, as a result of which
 Commodus ruthlessly executed his sister,² all the
 actual conspirators and anyone upon whom the
 slightest suspicion was thrown.

9. After getting rid of everyone, including those
 whom Commodus feared and those who were con-
 cerned for his safety as a demonstration of their
 parental affection,³ Perennius gained complete
 control and began to aim for the principate itself.

in 183) was too powerful to touch, but was hostile to Perennis, Dio (Exc. Val.) 72.11.1. Probably Saoterus the freedman *a cubiculo* also lost his position at this time to Cleander, but is not necessarily connected with the Lucilla plot. Cassola, *PP* 20 (1965) 452 believes the Lucilla group intended to resolve the political struggle between Perennis and Saoterus by putting up Cleander to remove them both.

² She was exiled to Capreae first and then executed, Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.6, etc. SHA, *Comm.* 8.3, says that this and the conspiracy of Julius Alexander of Emesa were the only two genuine conspiracies under C.; of Alexander almost nothing is known, Dio (Xiph.) 72.14, but the event was probably later in the reign.

³ Cf. 1.4.4. If Politian's version is right (see *app. critic.*) the text should read, "Perennius took over the care of Commodus' safety, and when he had gained . . ."

ἐξουσίας,¹ ἐπεβούλευε τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ τοῖς τε υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ νεανίαις οὖσω ἐγχειρίσαι πείθει τὸν Κόμοδον τὴν² πρόνοιαν τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν στρατευμάτων, αὐτὸς τε πλείστα χρήματα ἤθροιζεν ἐς τὸ ἐπιδόσει λαμπραῖς ἀποστήσαι τὸ στρατιωτικόν. οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ λαθάνοντες συνεκρότου δύναμιν, ὡς ἂν τοῦ Περεινίου κατεργασαμένου τὸν Κόμοδον ἐπιθοῖντο τῇ ἀρχῇ.

² ἐγνώσθη δ' ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ παραδόξῳ τρόπῳ. ἱερὸν ἀγῶνα τελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Διὶ Καπετωλίῳ, θεάματά τε <μούσης>³ καὶ ἰσχύος πάντα ἀθροίζεται ὡς ἐς βασιλίδα πόλιν πανηγυρίζουσαν. θεατῆς δὲ καὶ ἀθλοθέτης σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱερεῦσιν, οὓς ἐκ περιόδων χρόνον ἡ τάξις καλεῖ, ὁ βασιλεὺς γίνε-
³ται. κατελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Κομόδου ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀγωνιστῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν προκαθίσαντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ἔδρῳ, πλήρωθέντος

¹ Reisk ὑπ' ἐξουσίαν Ogl (ὑπὸ Jo) ἐπ' ἐξουσίαν α

² om φαι

³ Syllb from 3.8.9, 4.8.2, etc. <θυμέλης> Schwartz

¹ Only one son appears in 1.9.8 and in Dio, but documentation of activity in the Pannonias is very limited. No names of governors of Pannonia Superior are known before 184/5 (C. Vettius Sabinianus Julius Hospes); in Pannonia Inferior, L. Septimius Fla(cus) is attested for c. 180/2 and L. Cornelius Felix Plotianus in 184/5. The latter suffered *damnatio memoriae*, *ILS* 395, *PIR*² C 1359, suggesting he joined Perennis' son (or sons) who may have been in Pannonia Sup., Stein, *RE* (Perennis) 954; cf. Ritterling, *Arch. Ert.* 41 (1927)

First he persuaded Commodus to give the command of the Illyrian armies to his sons,¹ even though they were still young men. Then, while he himself amassed a vast sum of money to win over the allegiance of the army by large donatives, his sons secretly organized their forces in readiness for a *coup d'état* after Perennius had murdered Commodus.²

But news of the plot unexpectedly leaked out at the festival the Romans celebrate in honour of Capitoline Jupiter.³ On this occasion there are all kinds of artistic shows and athletic contests, to see which the people flock to the capital. The emperor attends the festival and acts as judge jointly with other members of the priestly colleges, who are designated each year in rotation. This time Com-
modus was attending the performance of celebrated actors, and took his place in the imperial seat. The theatre filled with people, who went to their places in

262; Fitz, *Act. Ant. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 11 (1963) 277. The work of Perennis on the northern frontier is discussed by Bersanetti, *op. cit.* 162-8, and Grosso, *Lotta politica* 468-90; see 1.6.8n. C. probably took his *imp(erator)* VI salutation for a victory here in 183.

² H. says nothing of the fighting in Dacia (perhaps that referred to above), SHA, *Comm.* 6.1, or the British campaign of Ulpian Marcellus, Dio (Xiph.) 72.8. C. took the title of *Britannicus* and received his *imp(erator)* VII salutation in 184; BMC IV. clviii, *RIC* III. 365 (table).

³ The *ludi Capitolini* were on 15th October (Plut. *Rom.* 25), but the musical, equestrian and athletic *agon* was an additional event (date uncertain), instituted by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 4) to be held every four years. Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 16-17, 74 calculates the *agon* should have fallen in 182 or 186, whereas the date here is probably 184—therefore an error by Herodian. But the *agon* may have been discontinued and revived, in which case H. could be correct; 8.8.3n.

δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας, τῶν τε ἐν ἀξιώσεσιν <ἐν>¹ ἐξαιρέτοις ἔδραις καὶ ὡς ἐκάστοις διετέτακτο ἰδρυμένων, πρὶν τι λέγεσθαι ἢ πράττεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀνὴρ φιλοσόφου φέρων σχῆμα (βάκτρον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ μετὰ χεῖρας, ἡμιγύμνω τε αὐτῷ ἐκκρεμῆς πήρα) εἰσδραμῶν καὶ στὰς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σκηνῇ τῷ τε χειρὸς νευματι⁴ τὸν δῆμον κατασιγάσας “οὐ πανηγυρίζεις σοι καιρός” ἔφη “Κόμοδε, νῦν, οὐδὲ θέαις καὶ ἑορταῖς σχολάζεις. ἐπίκειται γὰρ σου τοῖς ἀνχέσι τὸ τοῦ Περηννίου ξίφος, καὶ εἰ μὴ φυλάξῃ κίνδυνον οὐκ ἐπαιωρούμενον ἀλλ’ ἤδη παρόντα, λήσεις ἀπολόμενος.² αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δύναμιν ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζει, οἱ τε παῖδες αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰλλυρικὴν στρατιὰν ἀναπειθουσιν. εἰ δὲ μὴ φθάσεις, δια-⁵ φθειρή.” ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ὑπὸ τινος δαιμονίου τύχης ἐπειχθέντος, εἴτε καὶ τολμήσαντος ἵνα δόξαν ἄρῃται πρότερον ἀγνώστος καὶ ἄσημος ὢν, εἴτε³ ἐλπίσαντος ἀμοιβῆς μεγαλοδῶρον τεύξεσθαι⁴ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀφασία τὸν Κόμοδον καταλαμβάνει. καὶ πάντες ὑπώπτενον

¹ Reisk³ εἴτε καὶ i² Steph -ολούμενος Oi⁴ τεύξεσθαι φ

¹ Senators, equestrians, members of corporations, slaves, etc., had their special places; Friedländer (Freese and Magnus), *Sitt. Rom.* I. 151; Dio (Xiph.) 75.4.5-6 notes all the groups in procession at the funeral of Pertinax. Cf. *ILS* 5049 for an

an orderly way, nobles to their special seats and each person to the place allocated for him.¹ A man ran out on to the front of the stage, dressed like a philosopher (that is, he carried a staff in his hand and had a wallet hanging round his half-bared shoulders).² Before anyone could say anything to stop him, he stood in the middle of the stage, silenced the people with a gesture of his arm and began to speak. “Com-⁴modus,” he said, “this is no time for you to be enjoying yourself by spending your time at theatres and festivals. The sword of Perennius hangs poised over your head. Unless you take precautions against this danger, which is not just threatening but already here,³ you will be destroyed before you realize it. Here in Rome he is collecting forces and money to use against you; in Illyria his sons are bribing the army to support him. If you do not act first against him, you will be finished.” It may have been just⁵ an uncanny piece of luck which drove the man to utter these words, or it may have been that, as a completely unknown person before, he was trying to win himself a reputation, or hoping to get a rich reward from the emperor for his information. Commodus was dumbfounded; although everyone sus-

inscription from the Colosseum and Chastagnol, *Akte IV Internat. Kong. griech. u. lat. Epig.* 1962, 63 ff.

² One of the itinerant Cynics, whose characteristic dress was the *pallium* and *clava*; they proclaimed their freedom by poverty of worldly goods and fearless, outspoken words; cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 11.3 (ἀνάρκεια, παρηγορία, ἐλευθερία). For the suggestion that this was a contrived incident, see Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 365; a similar incident was organized against Titus; Crook, *AJP* 72 (1951) 169-70.

³ For the cliché, cf. 6.8.6, 7.5.5, 7.5.7.

μὲν τὰ λεχθέντα, πιστεύειν δὲ οὐ προσεποιούντο. κελύει δὲ αὐτὸν συλληφθῆναι ὁ Περέννιος, οἷα τε¹ μεμνηότα καὶ ψευδῆ λέγοντα πυρὶ παραδοθῆναι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀκαίρου παρρησίας τοιαύτην ἔπεσχε δίκην· οἱ μὲντοι περὶ τὸν Κόμοδο, ὅσοι τε² εὐνοεῖν προσεποιούντο, καὶ πάλοι μὲν ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς τὸν Περέννιον διακείμενοι (βαρὺς γὰρ καὶ ἀφόρητος ἦν ὑπεροψία καὶ ὕβρις), τότε <δὲ>³ καιρὸν εὐκαιρον ἔχοντες, διαβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο, ἐχρῆν τε ἄρα⁴ τὸν Κόμοδο τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ τὸν Περέννιον σὺν τοῖς παισὶ διο-⁷λέσθαι⁵ κακῶς. ἦλθον γὰρ μετ' οὐ πολὺ στρατιῶται τινες λαθόντες τὸν τοῦ Περεννίου παῖδα, καὶ νομίσματα ἐκόμισαν ἐκτετυπωμένα τὴν ἐκείνου εἰκόνα. λαθόντες δὲ καίτοι ἔπαρχον ὄντα τὸν Περέννιον καὶ δείξαντες τῷ Κομόδῳ τὰ νομίσματα διδάξαντές⁶ τε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὰ λανθάνοντα αὐτοὶ⁸ μὲν ἔτυχον μεγάλων δωρεῶν· ἀγνοοῦντος δὲ ταῦτα

¹ Wolf δὲ BVI δὴ Ai

³ om Steph

⁵ διολέσαι O

² om P Mendels

⁴ ἄμα a Steph

⁶ δειξαντές O

¹ According to Dio and the *vita Commodi* (see next note for refs.) they were led by the *cubicularius*, Cleander; for whom, see 1.12.3 ff.

² Dio has a completely different story about 1,500 soldiers coming from Britain to reveal Perennis' plot, which included (according to an excerpt from Peter the Patriarch) the establishment of a certain Priscus as emperor in Britain; Dio 72.9 (various excerpts). In view of the powerful position acquired

pected that the words were true, they pretended not to believe them. Perennius gave orders for the man to be arrested and punished for his insane lies by being burned. Though the philosopher paid his penalty for speaking so freely out of turn, Commodus' ⁶ companions and self-styled supporters,¹ who had previously hated Perennius for his harshness and intolerably supercilious arrogance, judged this an opportune moment to try and bring a charge against him. As it turned out Commodus was destined to escape the plot, while Perennius and his sons met a sorry end. For, soon after some soldiers came² with-⁷ out the knowledge of Perennius' son, bringing some coins that had Perennius' portrait on them.³ They avoided Perennius, even though he was praetorian prefect, and exposed the secret plot to Commodus by showing him the coins—for which they were richly rewarded. Since Perennius had no idea of what was 8

by Cleander, Dio (Xiph.) 72.9.3 is probably right to identify him as one of the instigators behind the scene. Dio (Xiph.) 72.10.1 also believed Perennis was loyal to C. and without self-aggrandizement. SHA, *Comm.* 6, attempts to reconcile the two versions, but suggests that Perennis' unpopularity stemmed from irregular appointments of equestrian governors. Bersanetti, *Athen.* 9 (1951) 151-70, claims that Dio's portrait of Perennis is more reliable, but there is little proof of this and as much to support H.'s version; Cassola, *Atti Accad. Pont.* n.s. 6 (1956/7) 193 ff.

³ The Greek does not make clear whether the portrait was of the father or the son. If Dio (Xiph.) 72.9.3 is right, that Perennis was intending to make his son emperor (but see Petr. Patr. above), then the son's portrait would naturally have been on the coins; but the rumour probably refers to the claims made by Perennis on behalf of his son for victories in Sarmatia, SHA, *Comm.* 6.1.

τοῦ Περεινίου μηδὲν τέ¹ τι τοιοῦτον προσδεχομένου νύκτωρ ὁ Κόμοδος πέμψας ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν· καὶ τὴν ταχίστην, ὅπως τὴν τῶν πραττομένων γνώσιν φθάσωσιν,² ἐκπέμπει τοὺς πορευομένους φήμης³ ὀξυτέρῳ δρόμῳ ἐπιστῆναί τε δυνησομένους τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ Περεινίου τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀγνοοῦντι, γράμματά τε φιλικὰ ποιήσας καὶ <ἐπὶ>⁴ μείζουσι φήσας καλεῖν ἐλπίσιν⁹ αὐτὸν ἦκειν κελεύει. ὁ δὲ μήτε <τι>⁵ τῆς παρασκευῆς πω καὶ τῶν βεβουλευμένων μήτε τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν πατέρα εἰδώς, τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰπόντων ταῦτα καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐντετάλθαι ῥήμασι, μηδὲν δὲ ἐπεσταλκέναι τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀρκοῦμενον γράμμασι, πιστεύσας ὁ νεανίας, ἀσχάλλων μὲν καὶ δυσφορῶν ὅτι δὴ ἀτελῆ κατέλιπε τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ὅμως δὲ θαρρῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς ἔτι συνέστώσῃ¹⁰ δυνάμει, ποιεῖται τὴν ἔξοδον. γενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἷς τοῦτο ἐντέταλτο, διεκρήσαντο. τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἐκείνους κατέλαβεν· ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος δύο τοὺς ἐπάρχους καταστήσας ἀσφαλέστερον ᾧήθη μὴ ἐνὶ πιστεύειν τσαούτην

¹ om φ καὶ μηδὲν A² μὴ φθάσωσιν A³ om i⁴ Mendelssohn⁵ Steph

¹ The only guide to dating is SHA, *Comm.* 8.1, stating that C. took the title of *Felix* soon after the fall of Perennius. The title appears on coins of 185, *BMC* IV. xlviii f., but an inscription has the title as early as 183, *ILS* 4202 (*Commodo Augusto Pio Felice et Victorino II cos.*); possibly a later

happening, he was caught totally unawares when Commodus sent someone by night to behead him. Commodus also sent off some men immediately by a quicker route to arrive before news of the incidents, so that they could keep an eye on Perennius' son while he was still uninformed about events in Rome. With them went a friendly letter requesting him to return to Rome and saying that by this summons he could expect promotion. Perennius' son had no idea⁹ yet of the plans which had been prepared nor of what had happened to his father. So when the messengers delivered the summons and said that Perennius had given the orders orally rather than in writing because he thought the emperor's letter was enough, the young man accepted it as genuine. Though it was extremely hard for him to abandon his plans incomplete he left for Rome because he was confident of his father's power (which he thought still existed). But when he reached Italy some men, acting on instructions, murdered him. After this end of Perennius and his sons,¹⁰ Commodus appointed two praetorian prefects,² because he thought it safer not to

retrospective dedication, Sievers, *Philol.* 26 (1867) 38. The titles *Pius* and *Felix* became part of the imperial formula for the quasi-Antonine descendants like Caracalla and Elagabalus; Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 62 and 94 (cf. Caracalla's admiration for Sulla who was associated with the title *felix*, 4.8.5); cf. Grosso, *Lotta politica* 192-3.

² Perhaps T. Longaeus Rufus and Niger, SHA, *Comm.* 6.6 f., though it is stated that there was a succession of prefects, including Marcus Quartus. About 187 P. Atilius Aebutianus was prefect, succeeded by Cleander. It is not known whether the two latter had colleagues or whether the list of names in the SHA *vita* is reliable; Howe, *Praet. Pref.* 66, 112 ff.

ἐξουσίαν, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀσθενεστέραν
ἔσεσθαι ἤλπισε πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν¹ ἐπιθυμίαν.

10. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διαγενομένου ἑτέρα τις
ἐπιβουλὴ τοιαύτη κατ' αὐτοῦ² συνεσκευάσθη.
Μάτερνος ἦν τις στρατιώτης μὲν πρότερον, πολλὰ
δὲ καὶ δεινὰ τολμήσας· τὴν³ τε τάξιν λιπὼν καὶ
πέισσας ἑτέρουσ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων συναποδρᾶ-
ναναι,⁴ χεῖρα πολλὴν κακούργων ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀθροίσας
χρόνῳ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κύμαισ τε καὶ ἀγροῖσ
ἐπιτρέχων ἐλήστευεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων
ἐγκρατῆσ ἐγένετο, μεῖζόν τι πλῆθος ἤθροισε
κακούργων μεγάλασ τε δωρεῶν ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ
τῶν ἀλισκομένων κοινωνία, ὡσ μηκέτι ληστῶν
² ἀλλὰ⁵ πολεμίων ἔχειν ἀξίωμα. πόλεσι γὰρ ἤδη
μεγίσταισ ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖσ δεσμοπτήρια
βία ῥηγνύντες, τοὺσ ἐφ' οἰαισδὴ καθειρχθέντασ
αἰτίασ δεσμῶν ἐλευθέρουσ ἀφιέντες ἄδειάν τε

¹ Sylb βασιλειον Oi

² Weber in *illum* P κατ' αὐτοῦσ Jo κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Oi

³ <ὄσ> τὴν Bekk¹ ⁴ Bekk συναποδρᾶν Oi

⁵ ἀλλὰ καὶ i

¹ The fall of Perennis led to the rehabilitation of a number of senators, including Pertinax, who was sent to Britain c. 186 to settle the troubled province; Dio (Xiph.) 72.9.2, 73.4.1, SHA, *Pert.* 3.5-9.

² Some probably from *leg. VII Augusta*, detachments of which formed a garrison at Porta Lirensis (?) on the Rhine; referred to in an inscription (dated 14th August 186) as undergoing an *inquisitio saeva* in which those to be prosecuted were

entrust so much power to one man. A divided office, he believed, would diminish anyone's ambitions for supreme power.¹

10. Soon after this another plot was formed against Commodus. There was a man called Maternus, an ex-soldier of notorious daring, who had deserted from the ranks and influenced others to escape service with him.² Within a short time he had collected a large band of criminals and began to make plundering raids on villages and farms. But once he had gained control of a large amount of money, he gathered together a somewhat larger number of criminals by promising them that they would be richly rewarded and have a share of the captured booty. They were now classed as enemies and no longer simply as robbers.³ The band proceeded to attack large cities, breaking their way into prisons and releasing the prisoners regardless of the charges against them. By promising them their safety they won over supporters

both citizens and *peregrini*; this supports H.'s view that the movement was not simply an army mutiny, though the non-citizens referred to in the inscription may have been pressed into unwilling service; *AE* (1956) 90 (discussed below).

³ Probably the formal declaration of a *iustum bellum*. The extent to which the frequent references to "robbers" in this period represent a growth of particularism among the rural populations of the provinces, or (less plausibly) a sharpening of class warfare is discussed by Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE* 738n, and Oliva, *Pannonia and the Onset of Crisis* 113 ff. The state of insecurity in the empire is linked by Pflaum, *Carrières*, pp. 527, 537, with the unusual appointments of M. Aurelius Mindius Matidianus Pollio as *ducenarius praefectus vehiculorum* and L. Artorius Castus as *procurator iure gladii* on the Dalmatian sea-board. But the dates of both appointments are highly conjectural.

ὑπισχνόμενοι, εὐεργεσίαις ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν
προσήγοντο.¹ πᾶσάν τε κατατρέχοντες τὴν Κελ-
τῶν καὶ Ἰβήρων² χώραν, πόλεσί τε ταῖς μεγίσταις
ἐπιόντες, καὶ μέρη μὲν ἐμπιπράντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ
3 <δι>³ ἀρπαγῆς ποιούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν. ὡς δὲ
ταῦτα ἐδηλώθη τῷ Κομόδῳ, μετὰ πάσης ὀργῆς τε
καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγουμένοις
ῥαθυμίαν ἐγκαλῶν καὶ κελεύει στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
ἀθροισθῆναι. μαθόντες δὲ ἐκείνοι δύναμιν ἀγει-
ρομένην ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν μὲν χωρίων ἃ ἐπόρθου
ἀπέστησαν, λαθόντες δὲ διὰ ταχείας καὶ ἀβάτου
ὁδοπορίας κατ' ὀλίγους ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρεδύον-
το, καὶ περὶ βασιλείας ἤδη καὶ μειζόνων πραγμάτων
ὁ Μάτερνος ἐβουλεύετο. ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ
προπεπραγμένα πάσης ἐλπίδος μειζόνως⁴ ἦν
προχωρήσαντα, ὠήθη <ῆ>⁵ δεῖν μέγα τι δράσας

¹ cod Schotti A προσήγοντο φι

² βήρων φ ῥήνου? Whit

³ Reisk

⁴ Irmisch μείζονος Ο μειζόν i

⁵ Whit from P (aut . . . aut certe)

¹ The extent of this war has been doubted because of lack of confirmation from other reliable sources; Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 19. It is referred to by SHA, *Comm.* 16.2, *Nig.* 3.4, as the *bellum desertorum*, some confirmation of which has been provided by a recent inscription from Aquae Flaviae (in the Agri Decumates), *AE* (1956) 90; cf. Egger, *Germania* 36 (1958) 373-85; Grosso, *Lotta politica* 437 ff. There is also the possibility that a town near the present site of Vézelay was destroyed at this time, Louis, *Rev. Arch.* 11 (1938) 253. The

who were grateful for being rescued. The whole of Celtic territory and Spain were overrun;¹ the largest cities were attacked; some were burned and others devastated before they withdrew. When news of ³ this reached Commodus he flew into a rage, and sent threatening letters to the governors of the provinces, accusing them of negligence and giving orders for an expedition to be organized against the bandits.² Maternus' men, on hearing that a force was gathering against them, abandoned the lands they were plundering and quietly slipped into Italy in small groups along an unfrequented short cut. At this stage Maternus was beginning to have plans of a grander design, including that of capturing the empire. Because his actions so far had exceeded his wildest hopes, he thought that either he must succeed in a large-scale enterprise, or at any rate, once he had become involved in the crisis, he would

movement probably involved Germany as well as Gaul, as is suggested by SHA, *Comm.* 13.5, and H.'s use of *Keltoi* (cf. Niese, *RE* (Galli) 611). It is plausible to see the disturbance as the forerunner of the Bacaudae movement a hundred years later, Thompson, *Past and Present* 2 (1952) 12 ff. The insecure state of Spain since the invasion by the Mauri in 172 had been only quelled temporarily in c. 182; cf. *ILS* 1140 (post-198) referring to *rebelles h(ostes) p(ublicos)* in the province. Etienne, *La culte impériale dans péninsule ibérique* 478 maintains that C. was unpopular in Spain.

² The governors involved were Pescennius Niger in Aquitania, Clodius Albinus in Belgica, Septimus Severus in Lugdunensis, all men who were later contenders for the purple. It may be that special detachments were sent under Niger, SHA, *Nig.* 3.4 (cf. *ILS* 1153 for detachments twenty years later). The details of the lives of Niger and Albinus are, however, extremely uncertain since the relevant SHA *vitae* are untrustworthy.

κατορθῶσαι, ἢ ἐπέιπερ ἄπαξ ἐν κινδύνῳ καθειστή-
 4 κει, μὴ ἀσήμεως μῆδ' ἀδόξως τελευτήσῃαι. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ τοσαύτην ὑπάρχειν δύναμιν ἠγείτο ὡς
 ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως ἰσορροποῦ καὶ φανερᾶς ἐφόδου
 συστήναι πρὸς τὸν Κόμοδον (τό τε γὰρ πλήθος
 τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου ἐλογίζετο εὖνουν ἔτι τῷ
 Κομοδῷ ὑπάρχον, τὴν τε περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν δορυφό-
 ρων εὖνοιαν), τέχνη καὶ σοφία ἤλπισε περιέσεσθαι.
 καὶ μηχανᾶται τοιούδε τι.

5 ἦρος ἀρχῇ ἐκάστου ἔτους ὠρισμένης ἡμέρας
 μητρὶ θεῶν πομπὴν τελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· καὶ πάντα
 ὅσα παρ' ἐκάστοις πλοῦτου σύμβολα κειμήλιά τε
 βασιλέων ὕλης τε ἢ τέχνης θαύματα, τῆς θεοῦ
 προπομπεύει. ἀνετός τε πᾶσι δέδοται ἐξουσία
 παντοδαπῆς παιδιᾶς, ἐκαστός τε ὃ βούλεται
 σχῆμα ὑποκρίνεται· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτως μέγα ἢ
 ἐξαίρετον ἀξίωμα, ὃ μὴ παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ
 ἀμφιεσθέντι ὑπάρχει παῖξαι τε καὶ κρύψαι τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν, ὡς μὴ ρᾶδιως διαγνῶναι τὸν τε ὄντα
 6 καὶ τὸν μιμούμενον. ἔδοξε δὲ¹ τῷ Ματέρνω
 καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι ἐς τὸ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν λα-
 θεῖν. ἤλπισε γὰρ αὐτός τε ἀναλαβὼν τὸ τῶν
 δορυφόρων σχῆμα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὄπλισας
 ὁμοίως ἀναμίξας τε τῷ πλήθει τῶν αἰχμοφόρων
 καὶ τῆς πομπῆς νομισθεὶς μέρος, μηδενὸς δὲ²
 προφυλαττομένου αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσὼν τὸν Κόμοδον

¹ δὲ καὶ O² Mendels from P (*videlicet*) τε Oi

not die without covering himself in fame and glory. But he did not believe he had a large enough force to 4 fight on even terms and meet Commodus in open battle, since his assessment was that the ordinary Roman people were still loyal to Commodus and the guards also supported him. So his hope of success lay in a skilful plan, which he devised as follows.

On a fixed date in early spring each year the 5 Romans celebrate a festival in honour of the mother of the gods.¹ All the tokens of people's wealth and the treasures of the imperial house—things of marvelous material and workmanship—are paraded in honour of the goddess. Free licence is given to all kinds of revels; anyone can disguise himself as any character he wants; there is no position so important or exclusive that someone cannot disguise himself in that dress and play the fool by concealing his true identity, making it difficult to tell the real person from the man in fancy dress. This was the occasion 6 Maternus thought was an ideal opportunity to get away with the plot. He hoped that if he put on the disguise of a praetorian, and armed his followers in the same way, he could mingle with the crowd of guards, apparently taking a part in the procession. Then when people were obviously off their guard, he

¹ The festival of the Hilaria, a long celebration, the high point of which was on the vernal equinox, 25th March. On 27th March the procession of the *lavatio* took place (Amm. Marc. 22.9.6 ff.) and on the 28th the Megalesia began. On the 25th there was a masquerade to which H. may refer here, though he also refers to the procession. For details of the festival, see the *calendarium Philocali*, *CIL* I, p. 388, Cumont *RE* (Hilaria) 1597-8, Lambrechts, *Bull. Inst. hist. belge de Rome* 27 (1952) 162.

7 διαχρήσεσθαι.¹ ἀλλὰ προδοσίας γενομένης διὰ² τῶν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ προκατελθόντων ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κατειπόντων (φθόνος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦτο παρώξυνεν, εἰ δὴ³ ἔμελλον ἀντὶ ληστοῦ⁴ δεσπότη⁵ ἔξειν⁶ βασιλεία), πρὶν ἔλθειν τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτός τε ὁ Μάτερνος συλληφθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη, καὶ οἱ συνωμόται ἀξίας ὑπέσχον δίκας. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος θύσας τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ χαριστήρια ὁμολογήσας τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπετέλει παρέπεμπέ τε τὴν θεὸν χαίρων. καὶ σωτήρια τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς⁷ ἐπανηγύριζεν.

11. θρησκευοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα τὴν θεὸν τῆνδε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης, ὡς ἱστορία παρελήφραμεν, ἧς ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἔδοξε διὰ τὴν/παρ' Ἑλλήνων τισὶν ἀγνωσίαν. αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμα διοπετές εἶναι λέγουσιν, οὔτε δὲ τὴν ὕλην οὔτε τεχνιτῶν ὅστις ἐποίησεν ἐγνωσμένον οὐδὲ ψαυστὸν χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης. τοῦτο δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθῆναι λόγος ἔς τινα τῆς Φρυγίας

¹ Steph -σασθαι OI

² Mendels from P (a sociis) καὶ OI om Stav

³ ἦδη (for εἰ δὴ) AV

⁴ δεσπότην IA

⁵ τὴν ἑορτὴν O

⁶ <ἀρχι>ληστοῦ Stav

⁷ ἔξειν καὶ ag

¹ The authenticity of the plot has been doubted because it sounds too fantastic; Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 19. Discussed by Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC* III. 359, Mattingly, *BMC* IV.

would rush upon Commodus and cut him down. But 7 Maternus was betrayed by some of his men, who went ahead to Rome and revealed the plot. (It was jealousy that drove them to it—the prospect of having an emperor in place of a robber chief.) Before the day of the festival Maternus was arrested and beheaded, while his fellow-conspirators received the punishments they deserved. Commodus sacrificed to the goddess and conceded a public thanksgiving before completing the festival and joining in the rejoicing and procession of the goddess. During the festival the people had a public celebration for the safety of the emperor.¹

11. Through my research I have discovered why the Romans have an especial veneration for this goddess, and, in view of the lack of knowledge about this among some Greeks,² I have decided to record it at this point. The story is that the actual statue of the goddess fell from Zeus, but no one knows what it is made of or who the craftsman was and they say it is not of human workmanship at all. The account

clxiii, clxxxi, and a table on cli. Coins of *Salus* and *Hilaritas* issued at this time are noted there. There is an obscure reference to a victory in *AE* (1951) 4, and *AE* (1959) 141 shows special precautions in Rome at this time. The date of the affair was probably in 187, though Stein, *RE* (Maternus 2) 2193, thinks it was in 188.

² H.'s audience is discussed on pp. xxviii ff. The source of the research mentioned here has been conjectured by some to be Verrius Flaccus, e.g. Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus* 7-14, but this is pure guesswork. No very deep research was required to produce the information here and Aulus Gellius makes it clear that discussion about antiquarian details was common in the literary circles, *AN* 1.12 (Vestal Virgins); cf. Cassola, *RAAN* 32 (1957) 165-6, Grosso, *Lotta politica* 40.

ἠῶρον (Πεσσινοῦς¹ δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῶ, τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν λαβεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐκ τοῦ πεσόντος ἀγάλματος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ) καὶ πρῶτον ἐκέεισε ὀφθῆναι.
 2 ὡς δὲ παρ' ἑτέροις εὖρομεν, "Ἴλω τῷ Φρυγί καὶ Ταντάλῳ τῷ Λυδῷ πόλεμον ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οἱ μὲν περὶ ὄδων,² οἱ δὲ περὶ τῆς Γανυμήδους ἀρπαγῆς· ἰσορρόπου δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἑκατέρωθεν πεσεῖν ἱκανούς, καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ὄνομα δοῦναι τῷ χωρίῳ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Γανυμήδην ἀρπασθέντα ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι λόγος, ἀνθελκόντων αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἑραστοῦ, ἀφανοῦς δὲ γενομένου τοῦ σώματος ἐκθειασθῆναι τὸ πάθος τοῦ μειρακίου ἐς μῦθον καὶ τὴν Διὸς ἀρπαγῆν. ἐν δὲ³ τῷ προειρημένῳ Πεσσινοῦντι⁴ πάλαι μὲν Φρύγες ὠργίαζον ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Γάλλῳ παραρρέοντι, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν φέροισιν οἱ
 3 τῇ θεῷ τομίαι⁵ ἱερωμένοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων

¹ πεσηνοῦς A πισηνοῦς φ ² ὄρων Casaub ³ δὴ Agl
⁴ πεσην. A ⁵ τομίαι V τὸ μίαι B τιμία A

¹ *Pesein* is the aorist infinitive of the Greek "to fall," but improbable that this is the correct etymology. The city appears in a number of inscriptions and coins and literary references; e.g. Strabo, Diod. Siculus, Pliny, *NH* (who himself used Verrius Flaccus), collected by Ruge, *RE* (Pessinus) 1104. It was well known in antiquity both for its cult of *Magna Mater* and as an *emporium* (Strabo 12.5.3 (567)); on the borders of Phrygia and Galatia, it was, until the empire, an independent priestly principality; Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 769-70.

² Or "over a boundary dispute" according to Casaubon's emendation.

³ There were many variants of the legend current in H.'s

says that the statue fell from the sky a long time ago and was first found at a place in Phrygia (the name of the place is Pessinous, which gets its name from the fall of the statue¹ out of the sky). Other accounts² have a story about a battle that took place there between Ilus the Phrygian, and Tantalus the Lydian, though some sources say it was over rights of passage,² others that it was over the rape of Ganymede.³ A long battle was fought in which both sides were evenly matched, and, since quite a number of men fell on either side, the name of the place was taken from the disaster. The tale is that, after he had been seized, Ganymede disappeared at this spot, torn to pieces between his brother and his lover. After the disappearance of his mortal remains the sufferings of the young man were venerated in a legend which said he had been snatched away by Zeus. At this same place, Pessinous, the Phrygians used to practise their orgiastic rites on the banks of the River Gallus, from which the eunuchs dedicated to the service of the goddess get their name.⁴ When the Roman state³

day; e.g. Strabo 13.1.11 (587), Paus. 2.22.3, Diod. Sic. 4.74, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.2, Ovid, *Met.* 10.155, Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* 4, etc., making nonsense of the idea of a single source for H. The special interest here is the attempts by H. to rationalize the legend, but he appears to conflate the legend of the *Magna Mater* at Pessinus with stories of Ilus, Ganymede and the finding of the Palladium near Troy. The rape of Ganymede by an eagle was the subject of a bronze by Leochares, copies of which were well known in Rome. The twelfth-century Byzantine writer John Tzetzes seems to have used H. for his commentary on Lycophron, 355 (ed. Potter).

⁴ The Galloi, eunuch priests of Cybele; the same etymology appears in Pliny, *NH* 5.147 (cf. 11.261, 31.9), Ovid, *Fasti* 4.361-4.

ἤϋξετο τὰ πράγματα, φασὶν αὐτοῖς χρησθῆναι
 μενεῦν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐς μέγα προχωρήσειν, εἰ
 τὴν Πεσσωνντιάν¹ θεὸν μεταγάγοιεν ὡς αὐτοὺς.
 πέμφαντες δὴ² πρέσβεις ἐς Φρύγας τὸ ἄγαλμα
 ἤτουν· ἔτυχον δὲ ῥαδίως συγγένειαν προβαλλόμε-
 νοι καὶ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰνείου τοῦ Φρυγὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς
 διαδοχὴν καταλέγοντες. κομισθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ νεὼς τὸ
 ἄγαλμα καὶ γενόμενον ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Θύμβριδος³
 ἐκβολαῖς (ταύταις γὰρ ἀντὶ λιμένων ἐχρῶντο οἱ⁴
⁴ Ῥωμαῖοι) ἔστησε θεία δυνάμει τὸ σκάφος. ἐπὶ
 πολὺ δὲ πανδημεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν ναῦν ἐφελ-
 κόντων, ἀντεχούσης τῆς ἰλῦος οὐ πρότερον ἢ ναὺς
 ἀνέδραμε,⁵ πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἰέρειαν ἐνεχθῆναι τῆς θεοῦ
 [ἥτις τῆς Ἑστίας ἦν]. ταύτην ἔδει⁶ παρθενεύεσ-
 θαι, αἰτίαν δὲ⁷ διαφθορᾶς εἶχεν. μέλλουσα⁸
 δὲ κριθῆσεσθαι, ἰκετεῦει τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ
 Πεσσωνντιᾷ θεῶ τὴν κρίσιν· καὶ λυσάμενη τὴν

¹ πεσων. Α² θυμβριδος φ³ ἔδραμε Ο⁴ τῆς—ἔδει as i [ἥτις—ἦν] del Stroth ἦν ταύτης· ὅς (ἦν Α)
 ἔδει Ο [τῆς θεοῦ ἦτις] and [ἦν] del Bekk² [τῆς] θεοῦ ἦτις [τῆς
 Ἑστίας (sic)] ἦν τοιαύτης, ὡστ' ἔδει emend Schwartz in Stav⁵ Steph δὴ Οἱ⁶ ὡς μέλλουσα i⁷ Lugdunensis δὲ Οἱ⁸ om i οἱ τότε? from P¹ In 204 B.C. The story appears in Livy 29.10, Catullus 63, Ovid, *Fasti* 4.305 ff.; Seneca, *Frag.* 80, Suet. *Tib.* 2.3. The

was growing powerful, it is said that an oracle announced to the Romans that their empire would endure and grow still greater if they brought the goddess of Pessinous to Rome. Whereupon they sent an embassy to the Phrygians asking for the statue.¹ They gained their request without difficulty by citing their kinship with the Phrygians and outlining how they were the descendants of Aeneas the Phrygian. When the statue had been transported by ship and had reached the mouth of the River Tiber (which the Romans used to use as their harbour) some supernatural force made the vessel run aground. The Roman people turned out in force and spent a long time trying to tow the ship off but it was held fast by the sandbar and refused to sail upstream. Finally they brought to the scene the priestess of the goddess [that is, the goddess Vesta]² who was under a vow of chastity but was being charged with adultery. Since judgement was on the point of being passed on her, the priestess begged the people to allow the goddess of Pessinous to give the verdict. She took

reference to Aeneas here may be due to a misunderstanding of Ovid, *Fasti* 4.250-5.

² The text is almost certainly corrupt beyond repair. The name of the goddess is so clumsily introduced that it is probably a marginal gloss; but if it is omitted there is no mention of Vesta by name elsewhere. It seems inconceivable that H. thought Magna Mater and Vesta were the same, though one should note the Vesta-Mater worship cultivated by Julia Domna, wife of Severus. A full discussion of the variations of text and emendations is in Irmisch, *Herod. Hist. ad loc.*; for Vesta-Mater and also the special connection of Vesta with *salus publica*, see Koch, *RE* (Vesta) 1759, 1769 ff.

ζώνην ἐπαφῆκε τῇ πρῶρα τῆς νεὸς προσευξαμένη, εἰ παρθένος εἴη καὶ ἀγνή, πεισθῆναι τὸ σκάφος. 5 ῥαδίως δὲ τῆς ζώνης ἐξηρητημένη¹ ἡ ναῦς ἠκολούθησεν· ὁμοῦ δὲ τὸ ἐναργές τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς παρθένου Ῥωμαῖοι ἐθαύμασαν. τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ <περὶ>² τῆς Πεσσινουντίας³ θεοῦ⁴ φιλοτιμότερον ἰστορήσθω,⁵ οὐκ ἄχαριν ἕξοντα γυνῶσι τοῖς τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ⁶ ἀκριβοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ἐκφυγὼν τὴν Ματέρνου ἐπιβουλὴν πλείονι τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχρήτο φρουρᾶ καὶ σπανίως τοῖς δήμοις ἐπεφαίνετο, τὰ πλείστα ἐν προαστείοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως βασιλικοῖς κτήμασιν διατρίβων καὶ ἑαυτὸν δικαστηρίων ἀπέργων καὶ βασιλικῶν πράξεων.

12. συνέβη δὲ κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ λοιμὸν ῥόσον κατασχεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν· μάλιστα δὲ τὸ πάθος <ἐν>⁷ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἤκμασεν ἅτε πυλναθρῶπι τε οὔσῃ φύσει⁸ καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ὑποδεχομένη, πολλή τε τις φθορὰ ἐγένετο ὑπο- 2 ζυγίων ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρώπων. τότε ὁ Κόμοδος συμβουλευσάντων αὐτῷ τινῶν ἰατρῶν ἐς τὴν

¹ Reisk -τημένης Oi

⁴ om O

⁶ om O

² Steph

⁵ Sylb -πέισθω Oi

⁷ Steph

³ πεισιν. A

⁸ om i

¹ Cf. 1.1.3 on the pleasure intended for the readers, even though this is not contemporary history. The value of digressions as *diverticula amoena* was canonical in ancient historiography; Livy 9.17.1, Dion. Hal. *ad Pomp.* 6, Theon, *Progymn.* (Spengel, *Rhet. Graec.* II, p. 80).

off her sash and threw it on to the prow of the ship with a prayer that, if she were still an innocent virgin, the ship would respond to her. When the ship with ⁵ the sash tied to it followed her without hindrance, the Romans were full of awe at this manifestation of the goddess and the holiness of the maiden. This story about the goddess of Pessinon may be rather glamorized, but it contains quite interesting information for people who are unfamiliar with Roman history.¹ After his escape from Maternus' plot, Commodus surrounded himself with a stronger guard and rarely appeared in public, spending most of his time avoiding legal and imperial business away in the suburban districts or on his imperial estates far away from Rome.

12. Just at this time a plague struck Italy,² but it was most severe in Rome, which, apart from being normally overcrowded, was still getting immigrants from all over the world. The result was a tremendous toll of life among men and beasts of burden. On the ² advice of his doctors, Commodus retired for the time

² The passage has been cited (with reservations) by Stein, *Deiippus et Herod.* 152 ff., as an example of conscious imitation of the description of the Athenian plague by Thuc. 2.47 ff. Some similarities of vocabulary are present and some of the incidents like plague, famine, overcrowding are coincidental, but the differences are greater than the similarities. H.'s general imitation of Attic usage is not in doubt and it is known that second-century sophist-historians frequently plagiarized Thuc.'s plague scene; Lucian, *How to write history* 15. But there is a danger of forgetting that similar situations evoke similar language. The plague is noted by Dio (Xiph.) 72.14.3-4 (including a fantastic story deliberately to link C. and Domitian), but it is not in Dio associated with the fall of Cleander.

Λαύρεντον ἀνεχώρησεν· εὐψυχέστερον¹ γὰρ ὄν τὸ χωρίον καὶ μεγίστοις κατασκίον δαφνηφόροις ἄλσσειν (ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ) σωτήριον² εἶναι ἐδόκει, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος φθορὰν ἀντέχειν ἐλέγετο εὐωδία τε τῆς τῶν δαφνῶν ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῆ τῶν δένδρων ἡδέια σκιᾶ.³ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν κελευόντων τῶν ἰατρῶν μύρου εὐωδεστάτου τὰς τε ὀσφρήσεις καὶ τὰ ὄτα ἐνεπίμπλασαν, θυμιάμασί τε καὶ ἀρώμασι συνεχῶς ἐχρῶντο, φασκόντων τιῶν τὴν εὐωδίαν φθάσασαν ἐμπιπλᾶναι τοὺς πόρους τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ κωλύειν δέχεσθαι τὸ φθορῶδες⁴ τοῦ ἀέρος, ἢ εἰ καὶ τι προεμπέσοι, κατεργάζεσθαι δυνάμει κρείττονι. πλὴν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ νόσος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκμασε, πολλῆς ἀνθρώπων φθορᾶς γενομένης πάντων τε ζῶων <τῶν>⁵ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνοίκων.
 3 ἐπέσχε⁶ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ καὶ λιμὸς⁷ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. Κλέανδρός τις ἦν, τὸ μὲν γένος Φρύξ, τῶν δημοσίων εἰωθότων ὑπὸ κήρυκι πιπράσκεισθαι. οἰκέτης δὲ βασιλικὸς γενόμενος συναυξή-

¹ ἐμψυχ. O² συντηριον ag³ καὶ τῆς (τῆ A) τῶν δένδρων ἡδέιας σκιᾶς Oi corr Bergl
καὶ ταῖς . . . ἡδέιας Schott⁴ φθινῶδει i⁵ Bekk⁶ ὑπέσχε Oi corr Mendels from Jo⁷ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ λιμὸς O

¹ About twenty-five miles south of Rome, on the coast between Ostia and Lanuvium. The same etymology is given by Vergil, *Aen.* 7.59-63. H. does not make clear how the Greek *daphne* (bay or laurel) is connected with the Latin word *Laurentum*, thereby showing not only that he knew Latin but

to *Laurentum*,¹ a cooler spot, shaded by huge laurel groves (which give the place its name). The doctors thought this place was safe because it was reputed to be immune from infectious diseases in the atmosphere by virtue of the redolent fragrance of the laurels and the pleasant shade of the trees. The inhabitants of the city followed the doctors' orders, too, by filling their nostrils² and ears with sweet scented perfume and making constant use of incense and aromatic herbs. Some said that if the sweet-smelling scent filled the sensory passages first, it stopped them inhaling the polluted air. If an infection were to get in, they said, the scent drove it out by its greater potency. In spite of this the plague was rampant, causing enormous loss of life among men and all the animals that came into contact with men.

At the same time there was a famine in the city,³ which was due to a man called Cleander, a Phrygian by birth who was one of those normally sold by public auction.³ He became a slave of the imperial house-

that his audience was also expected to have the same knowledge; cf. 1.16.1 and Poblocki, *de vita Herod.* 30.

² Galen, a contemporary of H., records the belief that most diseases were contracted by inhalation, 8.289, 14.281 (Kühn).

³ The full name M. Aurelius Cleander is on *CIL* XV. 8021 = *ILS* 1737 now lost, but confirmed by recent inscriptions (see below). The praenomen may mean that he was manumitted by M. Aurelius, though Commodus also assumed the name Marcus c. 180, see 1.7.6n. The low status of Phrygian slaves is noted by Ovid, *Her.* 16.197, Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 2. Dio (Xiph.) 72.12.1 says he had been sold with a group of others and brought to Rome as a pack-carrier; many Phrygian slaves came to Rome as young boys; cf. Philos. *VA* 8.7.12. Beginning life as a slave and then as a freedman, he became the *tropheus* (tutor) of C., perhaps in succession to Pitholaus.

θείς τε τῷ Κομόδῳ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς
καὶ ἐξουσίας προήχθη, ὡς τὴν τε τοῦ σώματος
φρουρὰν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξουσίαν τὴν τε
τῶν στρατιωτῶν¹ ἀρχὴν ἐγκειρισθῆναι ὑπὸ δὲ
πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς ἀνεπίεσθη καὶ πρὸς βασιλείας
4 ἐπιθυμίαν. ἀθροίζων δὲ χρήματα καὶ πλείστον
σίτον συνωνούμενος καὶ ἀποκλείων, ἤλπιζε<ν>
ὑπάξεσθαι² τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ
πρῶτον ἐν σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καταστήσας
ἐπιδόσει λαμπραῖς ἀλόντας πόθῳ τοῦ χρειώδους
προσαγάγοιτο. μέγιστον δὲ γυμνάσιον κατασκευά-
σας λουτρὸν³ δημόσιον ἀνήκεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ μὲν οὖν
5 οὕτως τὸν δῆμον ἐδελέαζεν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι
ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν δεινῶν τὰς
αἰτίας ἐς ἐκείνον ἀναφέροντες μισοῦντές τε⁴
αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀκόρεστον τῆς τοῦ πλούτου ἐπιθυμίας,

¹ <βασιλικῶν> στρατιωτῶν Schwartz στρατῶν i καὶ τοῦ
θαλάμου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρόνοιαν Jo

² Mendels from Jo προσάξεσθαι (-ασθαι a) Oi

³ καὶ λουτρὸν AJo

⁴ AP

¹ The distinction is between the special bodyguard of the *equites singulares* as opposed to the praetorian cohorts. Therefore the emendation by Schwartz (see *app. critic.*) is without justification. H.'s words are accurately confirmed by two recently discovered inscriptions, the first of which describes Cleander as *tropheus*, and ἐπὶ [τῆν τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ τ]οῦ σώματος

hold and, as Commodus gained power, he did too, until finally he was raised by the emperor to such a position of honour and power that he had control of the bodyguard, was appointed chamberlain and was put in command of the soldiers.¹ His greed and insolence led him to covet even the position of emperor. He amassed a large sum of money and 4 bought up most of the corn supply, but then cut off its distribution, the idea being that, if he first caused a shortage of supplies and then won people over by generous distributions when they were desperately in need, he would gradually gain the loyalty of the people and the soldiers. He also built a huge gymnasium which he made over as a public bath² to the people, trying in this way to entice them to support him. But the Romans hated him because they held 5 him responsible for their troubles and loathed his never-ending greed for money. First they organized themselves in the theatres and shouted insults at him

τοῦ ἐμοῦ πλίστιν ἐπιτε [ταγμένος], *AE* (1952) 6 = Oliver, *AJP* 71 (1950) 172-3, and can be dated before December 186; the second gives Cleander the titles *a cubiculo et a pugione*, *AE* (1961) 280 = Moretti, *RFIC* 38 (1960) 68. The position *a pugione* shows the power (though not necessarily the office) of praetorian prefect; *SHA, Comm.* 6.13, says Cleander was a special extra prefect *a pugione* after the fall of the prefect, P. Atilius Aebutianus (post-January 188, *CIL* VI. 31154), but by 190 he may have become sole prefect, as H. seems to imply.

² The variant reading would mean that Cleander built a gymnasium and public baths. No trace of either have been found, but the baths were almost certainly those later called the *Thermae Commodianae* in Regio I (Porta Capena), probably south of the later baths of Caracalla, *SHA, Comm.* 17.5, *Chron. of 354*, 147, *Chron. Pasc.* 1.226.

τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν¹ τοῖς θεάτροις συνιστάμενοι
κατὰ¹ πλήθη κακῶς ἠγόρευον, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον,
διάγοντος ἐν προαστείῳ τοῦ Κομόδου, ἐπελθόντες
πανδημεὶ ἐβῶν καὶ τὸν Κλέανδρον ἐς θάνατον
6 ἤτουν. ταραχῆς δ' οὔσης περὶ τὸ προάστειον τοῦ
τε Κομόδου ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεχωρηκόσι τόποις ἡδοναῖς
σχολάζοντος ἀγνοοῦντός τε τὰ θρυλούμενα, ἐπέπερ
ὁ Κλέανδρος ἀγγέλλεσθαι τι τῶν πραττομένων
ἐκώλυεν αὐτῷ, αἰφνιδίως, οὐ προσδοκῶντος τοῦ
δήμου, ἐπιφαίνονται ὀπλισμένοι κελεύσαντος² τοῦ
Κλέανδρου πάντες³ οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἰππεῖς τοὺς τε
7 ἐντυγχάνοντας ἔβαλλον καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. ὁ δὲ δῆ-
μος οὐδ' ἀντιστῆναι οἶός τε ἦν, ἀνοπλοὶ πρὸς
ὀπλισμένους καὶ πεζοὶ πρὸς ἰππεῖς· τροπῆς δὲ
γενομένης ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἐφθείρετο δὲ ὁ
δῆμος οὐ μόνον βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν

¹ ἐν τε . . . καὶ κατὰ Ο

² κελεύοντος Ο

³ πάντες δὲ ἰ

¹ The reading of the O group of MSS suggests that the demonstrations took place in the theatres and other places. Dio only mentions one such event, at the theatre; (Xiph.) 72.13.3-4. Behind the demonstration were a group of the Antonine *amici* and discontented equestrian officials like M. Aurelius Papius Dionysius, *praefectus annonae*, who had been demoted by Cleander; Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 348 ff.; cf. Cassola, *PP* 20 (1965) 464 ff., for the role of the future emperor Pertinax against some of the aristocratic *amici*; especially his enmity with the Petronii reflected in the scandalous stories in SHA, *Pert.* 13.8, and his accusations against Antistius Burrus and Arrius Antoninus (see 1.13.7n).

² Dio (Xiph.) 72.13.4 says C. was in the "Quintilian

all together,¹ but finally they went in a mass to where Commodus was living on the outskirts of the city,² and set up a shout demanding Cleander's blood. While this riot was taking place all round the area, 6 Commodus was spending his time enjoying himself in the secluded quarters of his palace without any idea of the commotion going on, because Cleander prevented news reaching him. Then suddenly, without any warning to the people, the whole imperial cavalry appeared on the scene,³ fully armed at Cleander's orders, charging and cutting down anyone they came across. The mob, without weapons and on foot, 7 could not stand up to the armed horsemen.⁴ They turned and ran for the city. Some were just cut down by the swords of the soldiers and trampled under foot

outskirts," almost certainly the *villa Quintiliana* which had been confiscated from the Quintilii family, 1.8.8n. The villa was about 6 km. out on the Appian Way; Castanoli, *Appia Antica* nos. 50-3.

³ Certainly the *equites singulares*, over whom Cleander had had a long supervision, 1.12.3n; but possibly also the mounted praetorians since Dio (Xiph.) 72.13.5 uses the general name for the guards in his account. Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 22, believed wrongly that this incident provides an example of the rivalry between the praetorians (whom he thought were mentioned in 1.13.9) and the foreign *equites singulares*, but there is in fact a history of rivalry between the praetorians and the urban cohorts; Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 351 (though see Cassola, *PP* 20 (1965) 467 f., for a defence of Hohl). The cavalry probably cut off the mob as they moved down the Appian Way by coming along the *vicus Sulpicius* (near the later Baths of Caracalla), a direct road from the *castra nova* of the *equites singulares*.

⁴ The verbal jingle (not preserved in translation) of "unarmed against armed" is a favourite rhetorical touch of H.; cf. 2.5.3, 2.13.4, 2.13.11, 4.9.6.

οὐδὲ πατούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ὠθούμενοι καὶ [ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων]¹ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους² πίπτοντες πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο.³
 8 μέχρι μὲν οὖν τῶν τῆς Ῥώμης πυλῶν ἀκωλύτως οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ἀφειδῶς ἀνήρουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει μείναντες αἰσθόμενοι τὸ κατειληφθὸς πάθος, ἀποικείσαντες τὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν εἰσόδους ἔς τε τὰ δωμάτια ἀναβάντες λίθοις καὶ κεράμοις ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἱππεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἔπασχον ἄπερ δεδράκεσαν, οὐδενὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς συστάδην μαχομένου, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἤδη βάλλοντος αὐτούς, τιτρωσκόμενοι τοίνυν καὶ μὴ φέροντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν,
 9 πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν διεφθείροντο· ὑπὸ τε τῆς τῶν λίθων συνεχοῦς βολῆς οἱ⁴ ἵπποι κυλιδομένοις τοῖς λίθοις ἐπιβαίνοντες ὠλίσθανον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπεωθοῦντο.⁵ πολλῶν δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν πιπτόντων ἐπεβοήθουν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως πεζοὶ στρατιῶται μῖσει τῶν ἱππέων.

13. ὄντος δὲ πολέμου ἐμφυλίου ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀγγεῖλαι τὰ πραπτόμενα τῷ Κομόδῳ

¹ del Mendelss

³ πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο om O

⁵ Mendelss ἀπεωθοῦντο O

² ἐπάλληλοι i

⁴ οἱ δὲ i

¹ The same language is used to describe a similar battle between the people and the praetorians in 7.12.5. This description also has been cited as an imitation of Thuc. 2.4.2 by Dopp, *RE* (Herodian) 955, but stones and tiles

by the horses, but many others died in the crush of the crowd [and the horsemen] as they stumbled on top of each other. The cavalry were unchecked in their pursuit right up to the city gates, slaughtering those who fell without mercy. But when the people that had stayed behind in the city saw the horror of what had happened, they locked the doors of their houses and climbed on to the roofs, from where they pelted the horsemen with stones and tiles.¹ The horsemen began to get a spell of their own treatment because there was no one to fight with at close quarters and the mob was hurling things at them from a safe distance. Unable to stand the heavy casualties⁹ they retreated, leaving many of their number dead. Under the steady hail of stones the horses stepped on the rolling pebbles and slipped, throwing off their riders. A large number were killed on either side before the urban cohorts,² who hated the cavalry, came to the rescue of the people.

13. Even though there was a civil war raging, the fear of Cleander's power was such that no one was

seem an obvious type of missile to use in street battles; cf. Pausanias 4.29.5. Stein, *Dezyp. et Herod.* 151, is rightly sceptical about this so-called "Schablone."

² Coins showing *fides coh(ortium)* are plausibly related to the unrest among the urban cohorts at this time. The urban prefect at this time was probably Seius Fuscianus, one of the old *amici* of Marcus (contra Grosso, *Lotta politica* 754 ff.) and naturally hostile to Cleander who had attacked two of the sons-in-law of Marcus just before this incident (probably in 188/9); cf. *BMC* IV. 739, etc. Noteworthy is the fact that the *praefectus annonae* also had some limited control over the urban cohorts, since on this occasion Papirius Dionysius played such a key role in the riots; Hirschfeld, *Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten* 242.

ἐβούλετο ¹ δέει τῆς Κλεάνδρου ἐξουσίας, ἣ δὲ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν Κομόδου ἀδελφῶν (Φαδίλλα ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῇ) εἰσδραμοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (ράδια δὲ ἡ εἴσοδος αὐτῇ καὶ ἀκώλυτος ἄτε ἀδελφῇ) λυσαμένη τὰς τρίχας ῥίψασά τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑαυτήν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ² ἢ πένθους σχῆμα δείξασα ² "οὐ μὲν" ἔφη "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μένων ἐπὶ ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν πραττομένων ἀγνοία, ἐν ³ ἐσχάτῳ καθέστηκας κινδύνῳ· ἡμεῖς δέ, τὸ σὸν γένος, ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπολούμεθα. οἴχεται δέ σοι ὁ τε δῆμος Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸ πλείστον τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ. ἃ δὲ πρὸς μηδενὸς βαρβάρων πείσεσθαι προσεδοκῶμεν, ταῦτα δρώσων ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκείοι, καὶ οὐς μάλιστα εὐηργέτησας, τούτους ἐχθροὺς ἔχεις. Κλεάνδρος ἐπὶ σέ ⁴ τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὥπλισεν· ἐκ δὲ διαφόρου καὶ ἐναντίας γνώμης οἱ μὲν μισοῦντες αὐτόν, [ὁ δῆμος,] ⁵ οἱ δὲ στέργοντες, [πᾶν τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα,] ⁵ ἐν ὄπλοις εἰσί, καὶ φθείροντες ἀλλήλους ἐμφυλίου αἵματος τὴν πόλιν ⁶ ἐπλήρωσαν. τὰ δ' ἑκατέρου τοῦ πλήθους δευῖα ἡμᾶς προσλήψεται, εἰ μὴ τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκδώσεις <τόνδε τὸν> ⁷ πονηρὸν οἰκέτην, ὀλέθρου τοσοῦτου τοῖς μὲν αἴτιον ἦδη γεγονότα, ⁸ ἡμῶν ⁴ δὲ ἐσόμενον ὅσον οὐδέπω." τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπούσα ῥηξαμένη τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ τῶν παρόντων τινές

¹ ἐβουλευετο φ

³ om Oag

⁵ del Martin

⁶ ῥώμην i

⁷ Whit following <τον> Stroth

⁸ τοσοῦτου αἴτιον· καὶ τούτους μὲν αἴτιον ἦδη γεγονότα O

² ἀλλ' gl' ἀλλ' a

⁴ ἔπεισε O

prepared to tell Commodus what was going on. In the end Commodus' eldest sister, Fadilla,¹ who had free access to him as a sister, ran in to the emperor with her hair all dishevelled and threw herself down on the ground, looking exactly like someone in mourning. "My lord," she cried, "here you are ² blissfully unaware of what is going on, while you are in deadly peril. But we, your own family, are going to be destroyed. The Roman people and most of the soldiers have deserted you. Our own people are doing the sort of thing we never expected to happen to us at the hands of any barbarian. Your past favourites are now your enemies. Cleander has ³ organized the soldiers and the people against you. Because of mutual hostility and antagonism his bitter enemies [the people] and his warm supporters [the entire cavalry cohorts] are up in arms, and involving the city in civil war by destroying each other. If you do not immediately put to death this wicked servant of yours, who has already caused so much disaster to some people, and will almost certainly bring it down on us too, then both sides will be the ruin of us." When she had finished she tore her clothes. Some of ⁴

¹ 1.2.2n; *PIR*² F 96; after the death of Faustina and Lucilla the eldest surviving daughter of Marcus. Her husband, M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus was still alive and survived until 205; Dio (Exc. Val.) 76.7.4, Pflaum, *Journ. Sav.* (1961) 34 ff. Dio says it was Marcia, C.'s mistress, who gave the alarm, (Xiph.) 72.13.5, but there is no reason why a young quaestorian senator should have had any special knowledge of internal palace affairs. By contrast, H.'s sources of information on palace intrigues are quite detailed; Grosso, *Lotta politica* 42, even believes he was a palace freedman; Introduction, pp. xxi-xxiv.

(ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ ¹ τοῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως λόγοις) τὸν Κόμοδοι ἐτάραξαν. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸν τε ἐπικείμενον κίνδυνον οὐ μέλλοντα ἀλλὰ παρόντα ἤδη φοβηθεὶς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Κλέανδρον, οὐδὲν μὲν τι εἰδότα τῶν ἀπηγγελλένων, οἰόμενον δέ. ἐλθόντα οὖν αὐτὸν συλληφθῆναι κελεύει καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν δόρατί τε ἐπιμήκει ἐγκαταπήξας ἐκπέμπει τερπνὸν καὶ
 5 ποθεινὸν τῷ δήμῳ θέαμα. ἔστη γὰρ οὕτως τὸ δεινόν, καὶ ἑκάτεροι πολεμοῦντες ἐπαύσαντο, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ἀνηρημένον ἰδόντες ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐμάχοντο, δέει τε τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς (συνίεσαν γὰρ ἐξηπατήσθαι καὶ τὰ δρασθέντα παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ τετολμηκέναι), ὃ δὲ δῆμος κεκόρεστο τιμωρίαν παρὰ τοῦ τὰ δεινὰ δράσαντος
 6 εἰληφώς. προσανείλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Κλεάνδρου (δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἄρρενες αὐτῶ), πάντας τε ὅσους ἤδεσαν ἐκείνῳ φίλους διεχρήσαντο· σύροντές τε τὰ σώματα καὶ πᾶσαν ὕβριν ἐνυβρίσαντες, τέλος λελωβημένα ² εἰς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς φέροντες ἔρριψαν. τοιοῦτω μὲν δὴ τέλει Κλεάνδρος τε καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχρήσαντο, φιλοτιμουμένης,³

¹ om Oa but in cod Steph

² λελωβημένους i

³ -τιμωσαμένης ABi

¹ For the rhetorical cliché, see 1.9.4.

² Dio (Xiph.) 72.13.6 mentions only one son; cf. Tac. A. 6.9 for the death of Sejanus' children after the *maiestas* charge against the father.

the attendants, who were encouraged to speak up when they heard the emperor's sister talk, unnerved Commodus completely. He was absolutely terrified at the urgency of the danger which threatened, not sometime in the future, but then and there.¹ Cleander, who knew nothing about Fadilla's denunciations, though he had his suspicions, was summoned, and on arrival was ordered to be arrested and executed. Then his head was stuck on the end of a long spear and sent out to the people, who had longed to see this welcome sight. So the troubles came to
 5 an end and both sides stopped fighting; the soldiers, now they saw the man for whom they were fighting was dead, were frightened of the emperor's anger, since they realized that they had been misled into foolhardy actions which he viewed with displeasure; the people had had enough once they had taken their revenge on the man responsible for their troubles. The two sons² of Cleander were put to death as well, and anyone who was known to be a friend of his. Their bodies were dragged through the city and shamefully degraded in every way until finally the mutilated corpses were thrown into the sewers.³ Such was the end of Cleander and his supporters.⁴ One might say that nature is anxious to

³ Bodies of condemned criminals were normally mutilated by being dragged by a hook to the Tiber. The sewers ran into the Tiber.

⁴ The passage on the death of Cleander contains a number of rhetorical features; e.g. *figura etymologica* (ὕβριν ἐνυβρίσαντες), a plethora of participles, the introduction of *epitēkeia* (a sense of what is proper in the just reward for Cleander); cf. Kettler, *Nonnullas ad Herod.* 32-3, Stein, *Dexip. et Herod.* 95-6.

ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, τῆς φύσεως ¹ ἐν ἐνὶ δεῖξαι, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἐσχάτης εὐτελείας ἐς τὸ μέγιστον ὕψος ἄραι καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀρθέντα ῥῦμαι ὀλίγη καὶ ἀνέλπιστος δύναται ² τύχης ῥοπή.

7 ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος δεδιὼς μὲν τὴν τοῦ δήμου κίνησιν, μή τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ³ νεωτερίσειεν, ὅμως δὲ παρορμησάντων αὐτὸν τῶν οἰκείων κατελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ πάσης εὐφημίας τε καὶ παραπομπῆς τοῦ δήμου ὑποδεχθεὶς ἐς τὴν βασιλείον ἐπανῆλθεν αὐλήν. πειραθεὶς δὲ τοσοῦτων κινδύνων ἀπίστως προσεφέρετο πᾶσιν ἀφειδῶς τε φονεύων καὶ πάσαις

¹ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως i

² om O but in Macar

³ αὐτοῦ ag om l

¹ Dio (Xiph.) 72.12.3, 13.1 makes the same observation but without the rhetorical flourish. General sentiments on the *metabole* of fortune are trite enough; e.g. Sallust, *BJ* 102.9, Aelian, *VH* 6.12, 9.8. The concept of *tyche* runs throughout the history; e.g. 1.5.5, 1.8.3, 1.9.5, 2.2.8, 2.4.5, etc. Inherited from Thucydides as a factor in human affairs and systematized by Polybius (cf. Walbank, *Commentary on Pol.* I 16 ff.), *fatum* was a corner-stone in Stoic thought and by now a commonplace of historiography; e.g. Sallust, *Cat.* 10.1, Florus 1.31.5, etc. H. does not clearly define whether it is accident (6.5.4), fate (5.3.1) or a *daimon* (1.9.5, 2.4.5); it is frequently contrasted with *pronoia* or *boule* (e.g. 3.7.1). As the divine will which selected the emperor (e.g. 1.5.5, 2.2.8, 6.8.1, 7.1.2) it was a prominent tenet of Stoicism; Béranger, *Recherches* 256; Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* 320. It also provided the dramatic *coups de théâtre* of historical writing so common in this age. See the discussion by Bickerman, *REL* 24 (1946) 150, Stein, *Dexip. et Herod.* 163 ff.

demonstrate in the person of one man that some trivial unsuspected quirk of fortune can raise someone from the meanest depths to the loftiest heights and then cast him down again.¹

Commodus now feared there would be popular ⁷ violence and an attempt to remove him by revolution. Nevertheless on the advice of his friends he returned to the city, where he was welcomed with great honour by the people and was escorted in procession back to the palace.² But after the experience of such a crisis his general suspiciousness led him to

² Coins of 190 show the occasion for *liberalitas* VII, no doubt to reaffirm popular loyalty. Since the crisis had been caused partly by the corn shortage it was at one time believed that the organization of the new African corn fleet, the *classis Commodiana Herculea* originated from about this time (e.g. Heer, *vita Commodi* 106-8, says 192), but Alexandrian coins show the fleet in existence already in 190, Vogt, *Alexand. Münzen* I.154, and possibly already operating in 186, *RIC* III, 422 (ship coins with *providentia Aug(usti)*). Perhaps one of the ways Cleander had grown rich was extortionate requisitioning and resale of corn in Africa and Egypt, a practice of which Appian accused Commodus in the *Acta Appiani*; Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* 210-12; Grosso, *Lotta politica* 307 ff. In which case it may have been Cleander who organized the new fleet and was blamed for any failures such as probably occurred during the African disturbances of 188/9 when Pertinax was governor, SHA, *Pert.* 4.2; the extent to which African discontent was fostered and utilized for the fall of Cleander is discussed by Picard, *Rev. Hist. Relig.* 155 (1959) 41-62, but his case for Pertinax as the leader of such disturbances is unconvincing. It was the execution of two African senators, C. Arrius Antoninus and L. Antistius Burrus (on Pertinax' evidence) which caused the trouble which Pertinax was sent to deal with, and for which he used the cult centre of Caelestis to assist in quietening the population.

διαβολαῖς ῥαδίως πιστεύων μηδέ τινα προσιέμενος τῶν λόγου ἀξίων· ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν περὶ τὰ καλὰ σπουδῆς ἀπήγεν ἑαυτὸν, δεδούλωντο¹ δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν 8 ἐπάλληλοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι σώματος ἦδοναί. καὶ σῶφρων μὲν πᾶς καὶ παιδείας κἂν ἔτι μετρίως μεμνημένος² τῆς αὐλῆς ὡς ἐπίβουλος ἐδιώκετο, γελωτοποιοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων ὑποκριταὶ εἶχον αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον. ἀρμάτων τε ἡνιοχείας καὶ θηρίων ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως μάχας ἐπαιδεύετο, τῶν μὲν κολάκων ἐς ἀνδρείας δόξαν αὐτὰ ὑμνούντων, τοῦ δὲ ἀπρεπέστερον μετιόντος ἢ βασιλεῖ σῶφρον ἤρμοζε.

14. ἐγένοντο δὲ τινες κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ καὶ διοσημεῖαι. ἀστέρες γὰρ ἡμέριοι συνεχῶς ἐβλέποντο ἕτεροί τε ἐς μῆκος κεχαλασμένοι ὡς ἐν μέσῳ ἀέρι κρέμασθαι δοκεῖν· ζῶα τε παντοῖα καὶ

¹ ἐδεδούλωντο i

² O but ἔτι for ἐπὶ Stav κἂν μετρίως μεμνημένος i cf. 1.4.6

¹ The *terminus ante quem* for the fall of Cleander is given by *CIL* XIV. 4378 recording Julius Julianus alone as praetorian prefect, dated July, 190; Regillus the other prefect had already been killed by this date. Others to fall after this are recorded by Dio (Xiph.) 72.14 and SHA, *Comm.* 7; names include Papirius Dionysius, L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Julianus (praet. pref.), the Silani (*co.* 188 and 189) the Petronii Surae (*co.* 182 and 190), M. Antonius Antistius Lupus. Not all are certainly involved in plots or the reaction to the fall of Cleander, but the list suggests another purge of the *amici* of M. Aurelius; cf. 1.8.2 and 1.9.1, H. states they had lost influence in 182, yet some of them were still influential in 193; 2.1.4, 2.1.7.

strike mercilessly and give a ready hearing to any accusation without admitting creditable witnesses to his presence.¹ He cut himself off from his interest in moral studies and continually gave his whole mind to the slavish pursuit of unrestrained physical pleasure day and night. Any person of moderation or anyone 8 who even mildly reminded him still of what he had been taught² was driven from the court on a charge of conspiracy, while clowns and performers of scurrilous acts³ gained complete control over him. He began to train to be a charioteer and to take part in combat with wild animals, practices which his flatterers praised as though giving him a reputation for courage. But his participation was less than proper for an experer of modesty.

14. There were certain portents which coincided with these events;⁴ some stars shone continuously by day, others became elongated and seemed to hang in the middle of the sky.⁵ There were fre-

² The i group of MSS reads "anyone even mildly inclined to scholarship."

³ Translated according to the interpretation of Politian, *qui turpissima quaeque repraesentabant*, but Dio (Xiph.) 73.6.2 says these *scurrae* had disgusting names; cf. SHA, *Pert.* 7.10. One *pantomimus*, L. Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius, had been executed with Cleander; others possibly at court still were Pylades (III), *temporis sui primus* (*ILS* 5186), later influential with Didius Julianus, and Paris (III) a friend of Adrian of Tyre, C.'s ophist friend; for references, see Bonaria, *Maia* 11 (1959) 224-42, who notes the confusion of "dynastic" names.

⁴ H. is sceptical about omens in 2.9.3.

⁵ *crinata stella, quam comitem vocant*, Suet. *Claud.* 46.1. The date is probably about 190/1. Coins of 190 were already heralding the *aureum saeculum* noted by Dio (Xiph.) 72.15.6, SHA, *Comm.* 14.3; *BMC* IV. clxxxii.

τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν μὴ τηροῦντα σχήμασί τε
 ἀλλοδαποῖς καὶ μέρεσι σώματος ἀναρμόστοις
 2 πολλάκις ἀπεκυήθη. τὸ μέγιστον δὲ δεινόν, ὃ καὶ
 τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἐλύπησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον
 οἰωνίσματι καὶ φαύλῳ συμβόλῳ χρωμένους πάντας
 ἐτάραξεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὄμβρου προὔπαρξαντος οὔτε
 νεφῶν ἀθροισθέντων, σεισμοῦ δὲ ὀλίγου προ-
 γενομένου¹ γῆς, εἴτε σκηπτοῦ νύκτωρ κατενεχ-
 θέντος, εἴτε καὶ πυρός ποθεν ἐκ τοῦ σεισμοῦ διαρ-
 ρυέντος, πᾶν τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος κατεφλέχθη,
 μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον γενόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
 3 ἔργων. πλουσιώτατον δὲ² ἦν πάντων ἱερῶν, δι'
 ἀσφάλειαν ἀναθήμασι κεκοσμημένον χρυσοῦ τε καὶ
 ἀργύρου·³ ἕκαστος δέ, ἃ εἶχεν, ἐκέϊσε ἐθησαυρίζετο.
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πῦρ ἐκείνης⁴ νυκτὸς πολλοὺς ἐκ πλοῦσιων
 πένητας ἐποίησεν· ὅθεν ὠλοφύροντο κοινῇ μὲν
 πάντες τὰ δημόσια, ἕκαστος δὲ ἴδια τὰ⁵ αὐτοῦ.
 4 καταφλέξαν δὲ τὸ πῦρ τὸν τε νεῶν καὶ πάντα

¹ P (*antecessisset*) προση- Oi

² See next note

³ δὲ—ἀργύρου om φ πλουσιωτάτον τε ἦν. καὶ πολλὴν περὶ
 αὐτὸ τὴν πίστιν εἶχον βωματοὶ αἰδῶ τε καὶ σέβας. καὶ ἕκαστος
 interpol A

⁴ Reisk ἐκ τῆς Oi

⁵ Nauck τὰ ἴδια Oi

¹ The contrast is between *auspicia impetriva* and *auspicia oblativa*.

² The temple was begun by Vespasian after the fall of Jerusalem in 71. It lay south-east of the forum of Augustus and was reckoned by Pliny, *NH* 36.102, one of the most beauti-

quent cases of different kinds of animals born as unnatural monstrosities with abnormal shapes and deformed limbs. But the strangest event of all was 2 one which caused dismay at the time and perturbed all those who practised augury and interpreted spontaneous auspices to forecast the future.¹ Without any warning of a rainstorm or clouds gathering, there was a small preliminary earth tremor; then either a flash of lightning occurred in the night, or a fire broke out somewhere as a result of the earthquake. Whatever the cause, the entire temple of Peace,² the largest and most beautiful of all the buildings in the city, was burned to the ground. The 3 temple was also the richest in Rome, since it was adorned with offerings of gold and silver that had been placed there because they were safe. Everyone used it as a deposit for his possessions.³ That night many rich were reduced to penury by the fire. Though everyone joined in deploring the destruction of public property, each person was thinking of his own private loss.

After gutting the temple and its entire precincts, 4 ful buildings in Rome. Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Rome* 386-8, Nash, *Pictorial Dict. Anc. Rome* I. 439-45.

³ For temples as safe deposits, see Juvenal 14.260-1 and the scholiast's remarks on the use of the temple of Castor; *Schol. in Juv. vet.* 222 (Teubner). Temples were also used as deposits for sums of money under dispute in legal cases. Cf. 7.3.5-6 for the anger caused among Romans when Maximinus raided temple funds. Cassola uses these passages as evidence of H.'s common interests with middle class businessmen, which may be what H. means in 1.14.7 below on the unpopularity of C.; *NRS* 41 (1957) 221-3. The same fire destroyed the library housed in the temple of Pax annex, which is noted by Galen 13.362 (Kühn).

τὸν περίβολόν, ἐπενεμήθη καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς πόλεως καὶ κάλλιστα ἔργα· ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἑστίας τοῦ νεῷ καταφλεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς γυμνωθὲν ὠφθη, τὸ τῆς Παλλάδος ἄγαλμα, ὃ σέβουσι τε καὶ κρύπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κομισθὲν ἀπὸ Τροίας, ὡς λόγος· ὃ τε καὶ πρῶτον¹ μετὰ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξιν εἶδον οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι. 5 ἀρπάσασαι γὰρ τὸ ἄγαλμα αἱ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱέρειαι παρθένοι διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὴν μετεκόμισαν. κατεφλέχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καὶ² κάλλιστα, ἱκανῶν τε ἡμερῶν πάντα ἐπιὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐπεβόσκετο, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἢ κατενεχθέντες 6 ὄμβροι ἐπέσχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄρμην. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ἐξεθειάσθη πιστευόντων κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ³ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅτι γνώμη θεῶν καὶ δυνάμει ἤρξατο τε τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐπαύσατο. συνέβάλοντο δέ τινες ἐκ τῶν καταλαβόντων,⁴ πόλεμικον σημεῖον εἶναι τὴν τοῦ νεῷ τῆς Εἰρήνης ἀπώλειαν.

¹ Whit ὅτε πρῶτον καὶ (ὅτι A) Oī ὁ τότε πρῶτον καὶ Stroth [καὶ] om Mendelss

² om φῖ ³ καὶ τὸ πᾶν—καιροῦ del Lange

⁴ ἐκ τῶν καταλ. del Bekk² κατελιφόντων i

¹ Cf. 5.6.3, where H. says the Palladium had never been moved before this fire. The figure of the Palladium, the very existence of which is sometimes doubted (Ziegler, *RE* (Palatium) 61 and 77, accepts there was such a thing), was supposedly brought from Troy by Aeneas and housed in the *penus Vestae*, a secret recess in the *aedes Vestae*; cf. Apollod. 3.12.3, Ovid, *Fasti* 6.421 f., etc., Dion. Hal. 2.66. H.'s knowledge is not very deep (see 1.11.2 for confusion with Magna Mater) since he does not know of the burning of

the fire spread to a major portion of the city, burning down some magnificent buildings. The temple of Vesta, too, went up in flames on this occasion, exposing the statue of Pallas to view. The image, reputedly brought from Troy by the Romans, is venerated and kept concealed. Our generation were the first ones to see it since it had been brought to Italy from Troy.¹ For the Vestal Virgins snatched 5 up the image and carried it along the Sacred Way from the temple to the palace of the emperor. Very many other fine parts of the city were destroyed as the fire raged for several days, consuming everything in its way, and was only finally stopped when the rain began to fall and checked the blaze. Thus the whole 6 incident was regarded as supernatural, since people on that occasion were convinced that the fire had begun and was ended by the force of divine will.²

Rome in 390 B.C., the rescue of the Palladium by Caecilius Metellus in 241 B.C., the removal of the *sacra* to the *domus Augustiana* in 14 B.C. or the destruction of the temple in A.D. 64; Dio 54.24, Tac. *A.* 15.41; cf. *Hist.* 1.43. Nor does he later mention the restoration of the temple by Julia Domna; Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Rome* 557 ff., Nash, *Pict. Dict. Rome* II. 505.

² The date of the fire is uncertain. Dio (Xiph.) 72.24.1-3 describes the fire in the temple of Pax as a portent of C.'s death, i.e. c. 192, though this section of the epitome is not chronological. Eusebius, *Chron.* 2.174, and other later writers describe two fires, one in 188/9 and the other in 192, the latter of which destroyed parts of the Palatine, the temple of Vesta and much of the city (repeated by Jerome *Chron. ad XII*, p. 209, for 191). Rebuilding after the fire has been suggested as one reason for renaming Rome as *col(onia) L(uicia) A(urelia) Com(modiana)*, but coins of this appear as early as 190, *BMC* IV. 825, though the title of *conditor* does not appear until 192. Jerome's date seems the best.

τὰ γοῦν ἀκολουθήσαντα, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν, ἐκ τῆς ἀποβάσεως τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν φήμην ἐπιστώσατο.

7 πολλῶν δὴ καὶ δεινῶν συνεχῶς κατειληφῶτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος μετ' εὐνοίας τὸν Κομοδον ἐπέβλεπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἀλλεπαλλήλων¹ συμφορῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἀκρίτους φόνους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βίου ἀνέφερεν ἀμαρτήματα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλάνθανε τὰ πραττόμενα πάντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς λανθάνειν ἤθελεν. ἃ δὲ πράττων οἴκοι διεβάλλετο, ταῦτα καὶ δημοσίᾳ 8 δεῖξαι ἐτόλμησεν. ἐς τοσοῦτόν τε μανίας καὶ παρανοίας² προϋχώρησεν, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πατρῴαν προσηγορίαν παραιτήσασθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ Κομόδου καὶ Μάρκου υἱοῦ Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διὸς

¹ ἐπαλλήλων ἰ

² φ παρνοίας Δι Jo Suda s.v. κόμοδος

¹ Cf. 1.15.7n for the continuing popularity of C. among the lower classes.

² The so-called theocratic programme is noted in detail by Dio (Xiph.) 72.15, SHA, *Comm.* 8.5-9, 9.4-6, 11.8-9, 14.3, 15.6, and "ushered in with a blare of trumpets" by the coins, *BMC IV.* clxvii-clxx, clxxviii, clxxxii; themes include Hercules Commodianus, Hercules Romanus, representations of Sol, Minerva Augusta (Marcia?), Jupiter Conservator and Defensor Salutis Augusti, Magna Mater of Phrygia, Isis and Serapis of Egypt, etc. For a summary of the copious literature, see Grosso, *Lotta politica* 326 ff. The purpose of the programme is disputed; religious infatuation, mysticism, or a political purpose to win the support of the non-Roman and provincial

Some people forecast from the occasion that the destruction of the temple of Peace was a portent of war. And, as it turned out, subsequent events confirmed this prophesy, as I shall relate.

As a result of all these tragedies falling on the city⁷ one after the other, the people of Rome no longer viewed Commodus in such a favourable light.¹ They alleged that it was the executions he had ordered without trial and the other mistakes he had made during his life that were the cause of this succession of disaster. It was no secret how he behaved, nor did he even want it to be. He was now² brazen enough to prove the allegations against his private conduct in public. Such was his state of mental⁸ derangement that first he refused to use the family name³ and gave orders that he should be called Heracles,⁴ son of Zeus, instead of Commodus, son of

lower classes. The extent to which the cult of Hercules was already associated with C. in the provinces of Britain and Mauretania is noted by Gagé, *Rev. Hist. et Phil. Relig.* 34 (1954) 344, Rostovtzeff, *JRS* 13 (1923) 91-109. Neither H. nor Dio make any attempt to understand a serious intention if there was one, which Hohl (and others) doubts, *Kais. Comm.* n. 176.

³ In fact there is an interesting reversion to C.'s earlier name of L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus in 191, e.g. *AE* (1963) 140, which can only be put post-185, but coins make the date more certain; Vogt, *Alexand. Münzen* 1.147; rightly interpreted as veneration of L. Verus and the oriental outlook for which he was noted, *BMC IV.* clxviii.

⁴ For the names, see above on the coins. Hercules (Greek Heracles) is the central figure of the religious programme, often used before to underline the near divinity of emperors; Caligula—Dio (Xiph.) 59.26.7, Nero—Dio (Xiph.) 63.20.5, Domitian—Mart. 9.64, Trajan—*CIL VI.* 2064, line 68, and Pliny, *Paneg.* 14.5, Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βασι.* 1.56 ff.

υἶόν αὐτὸν κελεύσας καλεῖσθαι ἀποδυσάμενός τε τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ βασιλείων σχῆμα λεοντῆν ἐπεστρώννυτο¹ καὶ ῥόπαλον μετὰ χεῖρας ἔφερον·² ἀμφέννυτό τε ἀλουργεῖς καὶ χρυσοφεῖς ἐσθήτας, ὡς εἶναι καταγέλαστον αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σχήματι καὶ³ θηλειῶν πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἡρώων ἰσχὺν ἠμιούμενον. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ προῶν ἐφαίνετο, ἥλλαξε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐνιαυσίων μηνῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ὅσα μὲν ἀρχαῖα καταλύσας, πάντας δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ προσηγορίαις ὀνομάσας, ὧν αἱ πλεῖσται ἐς Ἡρακλέα δῆθεν ὡς ἀνδρειότατον ἀνεφέροντο. ἔστησε δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς συγκλήτου συνεδρίου τόξον διηγκυλημένον· ἐβούλετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶ⁴ φόβον ἀπειλεῖν.

15. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἀνδριάντα μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτῆν καθελούσα ἡ σύγκλητος Ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα ἴδρυσεν·⁵ ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος μηκέτι κατέχων

¹ ἵπεστρ. ABi

² Sylb φέρειν φη φέρων Δ

³ καὶ following αὐτῶν i

⁴ αὐτῶ γ αὐτῶν φ αὐτοῦ Sylb τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ φοβερωτάτας εἶναι καὶ ἐκπληκτικὰς· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντα μετὰ . . . interpol A

⁵ ἴδρυσαστο i

¹ Many of the eastern manifestations of the Hercules cult were homosexual in character and included legends of Hercules dressed as a woman; e.g. Plut. *Quaest. graec.* 58. Coupled with this was stress upon the worship of H. Amazonius and Exsuperatorius. Roman worship of H. stressed the manly

Marcus. Then he took off the dress of a Roman emperor and took to wearing a lion skin and carrying a club in his hand. Or he would dress himself up in purple and gold, making himself a laughing-stock by wearing clothes which gave the impression of feminine extravagance and heroic strength at the same time.¹ Apart from his public appearance he also changed⁹ the months of the year, abolishing the ancient names and calling them all after his own titles, the majority of which were supposed to refer to Heracles,² who was a very brave man. All over the city he set up statues of himself,³ and what is more in front of the senate house he put up one of himself as an archer with a bow stretched ready to shoot. For he wanted even the statues to inspire the senate with fear.

15. After his death the senate removed the statue and replaced it with one of Liberty. Throwing off all inhibitions, Commodus now gave orders for the

qualities and the figure of H. Conditor at the Ara Maxima. Discussed by Gagé, *op. cit.* 364 ff. C. coupled the two sides, but seems to have laid stress on the oriental character, including the wearing of the ornate, long Greek *chiton* and *chlamys*, Dio (Xiph.) 72.17.3-4; cf. SHA, *Comm.* 9.6, 13.4.

² A list of the names is given by Dio (Xiph.) 72.15.3-4 and (wrongly) by SHA, *Comm.* 11.8. C. carried to extremes a practice as old as Augustus, Caligula, Nero and Domitian, though it had been rejected by Antoninus Pius, SHA, *Pius* 10.1; cf. Scott, *YCS* 2 (1931) 236-40.

³ See below, 1.15.9. Dio (Xiph.) 72.15.3 notes a group with a bull and a cow, obviously representing Commodus-Hercules in the act of *auctio pomerii* as founder of the *nova urbs*; cf. SHA, *Comm.* 9.2, Aymard, *REL* 14 (1936) 356-8. The famous bust of Commodus-Hercules in the Palazzo dei Conservatori may well date from this time. Nothing is known of the statue of Liberty.

ἑαυτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θεᾶς ἐπέτειλεν,¹ ὑποσχόμενος τὰ τε θηρία πάντα ἰδία χειρὶ κατακτενεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρειοτάτοις τῶν νεανιῶν μονομαχήσειν. διαδραμύσεως δὲ τῆς φήμης συνέθειον ἔκ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων ἐθνῶν, θεασόμενοι ἂ μὴ πρότερον μῆτε ἑώρακεσαν μῆτε ἠκηκόεσαν,² καὶ γὰρ διηγγέλλετο αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς τὸ εὐστοχον, καὶ ὅτι ἔμελεν³ αὐτῷ ἀκοντίζοντι καὶ τοξεύοντι μὴ πταίειν. συνῆσαν δὲ παιδεύοντες αὐτὸν Παρθυαίων οἱ τοξικὴν ἀκριβοῦντες καὶ Μαυρουσιῶν οἱ ἀκοντίζειν ἄριστοι, οὓς πάντας εὐχειρία ὑπερέβαλλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβον αἱ τῆς θεᾶς ἡμέραι, τὸ μὲν ἀμφιθέατρον πεπλήρωτο, τῷ δὲ Κομόδῳ περιδρομὸς κύκλῳ κατεσκευάσαστο, ὡς μὴ συστάδην τοῖς θηρίοις μαχόμενος κινδυνεύοι, ἄνωθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀκοντίζων εὐστοχίας⁴ μᾶλλον ἦ

¹ Irmisch -τέλεσαν Οἱ edere professus P ἐπήγγειλεν/Leisn

² Bekk² -εἰσαν Οἱ ³ ἔμελλεν I ἔμελλον O

⁴ Steph εὐτοχίας I εὐτοχείας O

¹ The year 192 was marked by two distributions of *congiaria* (liberalitas VIII and IX); *BMC* IV. clxx; according to Dio (Xiph.) 72.16.2 at very high rates.

² The words used by H. here derive from the regular formula of the *ludorum saeculorum edictio*; cf. 3.8.10, Zos. 2.5.1, Suet. *Claud.* 21.2, *CIL* VI. 32323.54-6; conveniently collected by Pighi, *De Ludis Saecularibus* 109 n.d. Although a period of neither 100 nor 110 years had been completed, the games were intended to mark the *aurum saeculum*. C. manifested himself as Hercules Venator; hence the reason why he presented himself in the amphitheatre in woman's dress (1.14.8n) and imitated Hercules Bibens as he drank in the theatre (Dio (Xiph.) 72.18.2, SHA, *Comm.* 13.4) and the stories (surely apocryphal) of his slaughter of cripples as

celebration of public shows,¹ at which he promised he would kill all the wild animals with his own hand and engage in gladiatorial combat with the stoutest of the young men. As the news spread, people flocked to Rome from all over Italy and the neighbouring provinces to be spectators at something they had never seen or heard of before.² The topic of conversation was about Commodus' marksmanship and how he made sure he never missed with his spear or arrow. He had the finest Parthian archers and² Mauretanian spearmen with him as his teachers, but he was more skilful than any of them. At last the day of the show came and the amphitheatre was packed.³ A special raised enclosure was put up for Commodus' benefit so that he could spear the animals safely from above without endangering himself from close quarters,⁴ a demonstration of his skill but not of

though they were giants (Dio (Xiph.) 72.20.3, SHA, *Comm.* 9.6). Marcia appeared in the dress of an Amazon in pictures and on coins; *BMC* IV. clxxxii, Gagé, *op. cit.* 349-51. The end of 192 was also marked for the emphasis upon Commodus as Hercules Romanus Conditor, founder of Rome (connected with early Roman legends of H. and Evander); 1.14.6n, *BMC* IV. 751, 846. This year C. seems to have been officially deified by the senate, Dio (Xiph.) 72.15.2, SHA, *Comm.* 8.9.

³ Probably the *ludi Romani* since the show lasted fourteen days, says Dio (Xiph.) 72.20.1; i.e. 4-14th September 192. Claudius Pompeianus refused to attend the degrading spectacle.

⁴ Described by Dio (Xiph.) 72.18.1 ff., who was present. The amphitheatre was divided into four sections by cross walls, around which ran a balustrade. The mobility of the wild animals was thus considerably reduced. Dio says that after the first day C. descended into the arena itself to deal with the tamer animals. The afternoons were devoted to gladiatorial fights.

3 ἀνδρείας παρέχοιτο δείξιν. ἐλάφους μὲν οὖν καὶ
δορκάδας ὅσα τε κερασφόρα πλὴν ταύρων, συνθέων
αὐτοῖς καὶ καταδιώκων ἔβαλλε φθάνων τε αὐτῶν
τὸν δρόμον καὶ πληγαῖς καιριοῖς ἀναιρῶν· λέοντας
δὲ καὶ παρδάλεις ὅσα τε ζῶα γενναῖα περιθέων
ἄνωθεν κατηκόντιζεν. οὐδέ τις εἶδεν ἀκόντιον
δεύτερον οὐδὲ τραῦμα ἄλλο πλὴν τοῦ θανατηφόρου·
4 ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τοῦ ζώου ὀρμῇ κατὰ τοῦ¹ μετώπου
ἢ κατὰ καρδίας² ἔφερε τὴν πληγὴν, καὶ οὐδέποτε
σκοπὸν ἄλλον ἔσχεν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλο μέρος ἦλθε τῶ
ἀκόντιον τοῦ σώματος, ὡς μὴ ἅμα τε τρῶσαι καὶ
φονεῦσαι. τὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν ζῶα ἠθροίζετο αὐτῷ.
5 ἀπὸ τε γὰρ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν, εἴ τι πρότερον
ἄγνωστον ἦν, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ τῆς ἀρκτύας
γῆς ζῶα πάντα φονεύων Ῥωμαίοις ἔδειξε.³ τὸ δ'
εὖστοχον τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐξεπλήττοντο.
λαβὼν οὖν ποτὲ βέλη ὧν αἱ ἀκμαὶ ἦσαν μνηοειδεῖς,
ταῖς Μαυρουσίαις στρουθοῖς δ'εὐτάτα φερομέναις
καὶ ποδῶν τάχει καὶ κολπώσει⁴ πτερῶν ἐπαφίεις
τὰ βέλη κατ' ἄκρου τοῦ τραχήλου ἐκαρτόμει, ὡς

¹ Steph τε ἰ γε Ο
³ ἐπέδειξε Ο

² καρδίαν Ο
⁴ κονπώσει φ κομπ. Α

¹ The first direct reference by H. to his own presence at events; cf. 1.2.5. This therefore is the *terminus post quem* for H. lifetime; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.* 799; Introduction, pp. xi ff.

his courage. He shot down deer and gazelles and 3 other horned animals (apart from bulls) by pursuing them as they ran and stopping them dead in their tracks with a well-timed shot just as they made a dash for it. The lions and leopards and other fine animals of this kind he speared from above by running around the enclosure. One never saw him take a second shot and it was always a fatal wound. As 4 the animal dashed away he caught it with a blow through the head or the heart. This was his only target, and his spear only hit a part of the body that wounded and killed the animal outright. Wild beasts were brought from all over the world for him to kill, species which we had admired in pictures but saw for the first time on that occasion;¹ from India and 5 Ethiopia, from the North and South they came. All of them, if any were previously unknown, were now on show for the Romans to see as they were killed by Commodus. His marksmanship was generally agreed to be astonishing. For instance, on one occasion he used some arrows with crescent-shaped heads to shoot at Mauretanian ostriches,² birds that can move tremendously quickly because of the speed at which they run and because of their folded back wings. Commodus decapitated the birds at the top

² Dio (Xiph.) 72.21.1 tells a more sinister story of how C. used a decapitated ostrich as a warning to senators; possibly the origin of the rumour that C. intended to enact Hercules and the Stympalian birds by shooting some of the spectators, Dio (Xiph.) 72.20.2. H.'s description receives confirmation from the frieze around the Meleager sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, which shows an arrow with a half-moon head used to kill an ostrich; illustration in Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 26.

καὶ ¹ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀφηρημένας ² ὀρμηῆ ³ τοῦ βέλους ἔτι περιθεῖν αὐτὰς ὡς μηδὲν παθούσας. ⁶ παρδάλεως δέ ποτε ὄξυτάτῳ δρόμῳ τὸν ἐκκαλούμενον καταλαβούσης φθάσας τῷ ἀκοντίῳ μέλλουσαν δῆξεσθαι, τὴν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν δὲ ἐρρύσατο, φθάσας τῇ τοῦ δόρατος αἰχμῇ τὴν τῶν ὀδόντων ἀκμῆν. λέοντων δέ ποτε ἐξ ὑπογαίων ἑκατὸν <ἄμα> ἀφεθέντων ⁴ ἰσαριθμοῖς ἀκοντίοις πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺν κειμένων τῶν πτωμάτων ⁵ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σχολῆς πάντας ἀριθμῆσαι καὶ μηδ' ἔν ⁶ ἰδεῖν περιττὸν ἀκόντιον.

⁷ μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων, εἰ καὶ βασιλείας τὰ πραττόμενα ἦν ἀλλότρια πλὴν ἀνδρείας καὶ εὐστοχίας, παρὰ τοῖς δημῶδεσιν εἶχε τινα χάριν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ γυμνὸς ἐς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον εἰσῆλθεν ὄπλα τε ἀναλαβὼν ἐμονομάχει, τότε ⁷ σκυθρωπὸν εἶδεν ὁ δῆμος ⁸ θέαμα, τὸν εὐγενῆ ⁹ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα μετὰ τοσαῦτα τρόπαια πατρός τε καὶ προγόνων οὐκ ἐπὶ βαρβάρους ὄπλα λαμβάνοντα

¹ om i ² -ρημένων O ³ ῥύμη Reisk

⁴ Reisk (cf. Amm. Marc. 31.10.19 *simul emissos*) ἀναρριφθέντων Oi

⁵ σωμαίων O ⁶ μηδὲν Oa ⁷ τοῦτο τὸ A τῶδε Lange

⁸ ἦλιος A ⁹ εὐγενῆ καὶ i

¹ Impossible to reproduce the play on words between *aichme* (barb of a spear) and *akme* (edge of the teeth); one of H.'s less successful rhetorical *schemata*, fortunately not often repeated. On the whole H. is sparing of obviously artificial devices usually associated with the more extreme

of their necks with his arrows, so that they went on running around as though they had not been touched, even when their heads had been cut off by the sweep of the arrow. Once when a leopard had dashed out ⁶ and pounced on a victim summoned into the arena, Commodus pierced it with a javelin just before it savaged the man. The animal was killed, the man was saved; Commodus forestalled the point of the teeth with the point of his spear.¹ On yet another occasion a hundred lions were released simultaneously from the subterranean traps and Commodus killed them all with exactly a hundred spears.² The bodies lay in a long line where they fell for everyone to count at leisure and see that not a single extra spear had been used.³

So far Commodus was still quite popular with the ⁷ mob ⁴ even if his conduct, apart from his courage and marksmanship, was unfitting for an emperor. But when he ran into the amphitheatre stripped and carrying his weapons for a gladiatorial fight, the people were ashamed to see a Roman emperor of noble lineage, whose father and forebears had all celebrated great triumphs, now disgracing his office

"Asianism" of some sophistic schools; cf. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* for an attempt to place H. in his slightly unreal categories of the second sophistic movement; especially 1.392.

² Are these the bears noted by Dio (Xiph.) 72.18.1? Cf. Domitian's skill with a bow (also killing a hundred wild animals!), Suet. *Dom.* 19.

³ Much of H.'s description seems influenced by conventional modes of expression; e.g. Lucan 8.297 describing Parthian archery, *a nulla mors est incerta sagitta*.

⁴ A valuable piece of information to counterbalance 1.14.7n and Dio's ridicule of C.'s behaviour, (Xiph.) 72.21.2.

στρατιωτικὰ ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ πρόποντα, καθυβρίζοντα δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα αἰσχίστῳ καὶ μεμιασμένῳ σχήματι. ὁ μὲν οὖν μονομαχῶν βραδίως τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν περιεγίνετο καὶ μέχρι τραυμάτων προεχώρει ὑπεικόντων ἀπάντων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα οὐ¹ τὸν μονομάχον ἐννοούντων. ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ προεχώρησε μανίας, ὡς μηκέτι βούλεσθαι μηδὲ τὴν βασιλῆιον οἰκεῖν ἐστίαν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετοικισθῆναι² ἐβούλετο³ ἐς τὸ τῶν μονομάχων καταγώνιον. ἑαυτὸν δὲ οὐκέτι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων ἐνδόξου τινὸς προτετελευτηκότος⁴ ὀνόματι καλεῖσθαι προσέταξε. τοῦ δὲ μεγίστου ἀγάλματος κολοσσιαίου, ὅπερ σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι εἰκόνα φέρον ἡλίου, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν ἰδρύ-

¹ Og and cod Steph and l om a

² μετοικισθῆναι τε O

³ ἐβουλεύετο gl

⁴ προτετ. δὲ φgl

¹ Dio (Xiph.) 72.19.2 says that in public C. only fought with the practice wooden foil (*rudis*) of the *secutor*; Victor, *Caes.* 17.4, says C. used a leaden-tipped weapon.

² SHA, *Comm.* 16.3, says this was the *domus Vectiliana*, not the palace on the Palatine; cf. *Chron. of 354* and *Chron. of Prosper Tiro* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I, 147, 432) and Hohl, *Die Ermordung des Commodus*, *Philol. Wochenschr.* 52 (1932) 191 ff. The house was near the Colosseum in Regio II (Caelimontium), Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Rome* 197, Jordan-Hülse, *Röm. Topog.* 1.3.252.

³ Almost certainly the *Iudus magnus*, very near the Colosseum; shown on the Marble Plan as a rectangular court

with a thoroughly degrading exhibition, instead of using his weapons to fight the barbarians and prove himself worthy of the Roman empire. He had no difficulty in overcoming his opponents in gladiatorial fights by merely wounding them, since they all looked upon him as the emperor rather than as a gladiator and let him win.¹ But his madness reached such a stage that he even refused to stay in the palace² any longer and was intending to go and live with the gladiators in their barracks.³ Orders were issued that he was no longer to be addressed as Heracles but by the name of a famous gladiator,⁴ now dead. He removed the head from the enormous statue of the Colossus which represents the sun and is revered by

surrounded by small chambers, of which C. already occupied one, says Dio (Xiph.) 72.22.2; Platner-Ashby *Top. Dict. Rome* 320, Nash, *Pict. Dict. Rome* II. 24-6. A procurator of the *Iudus magnus* is recorded on an inscription with the title of Commodianus; *ILS* 5084a, Pflaum, *Carrières* 1027. I can find no evidence to suggest that the *domus Vectiliana* was itself a gladiatorial school, as assumed by Werner, *Der historische Wert der Pertinaxvita* 296. More probably the *domus Vectiliana* was one of the many confiscated properties acquired by C.—tempting to associate it with Caesonius Vectilianus; confiscated after C.'s persecution of the supporters of Avidius Cassius; SHA, *Av. Cass.* 13.7, 5.5, Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* 207 ff.; cf. Dio (Exc. Val.) 72.7.4 (C. received the correspondence of Av. Cass. though Dio alleges he burned it unseen). But the evidence of the SHA, *vita*, is highly suspect and no certainty is possible.

⁴ Victor, *Caes.* 15.5 f., tells a story of a gladiator named Scaeva who disdained to be insulted by the practice sword and told C. he would use no sword at all to fight him; for which insult he was executed. Possibly C. took the name Scaeva (since he was himself left-handed) and the title from the dead man which he later inscribed on the Colossus (next note); Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 29.

σατο <τήν>¹ ἑαυτοῦ, ὑπογράψας τῇ βάσει αὐτοῦ
 ἄς² εἰώθασι βασιλικὰς καὶ πατρῶας προσηγορίας,
 ἀντὶ δὲ Γερμανικοῦ “μονομάχους³ χιλίους νικήσαν-
 τος”.

16. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα ποτὲ κάκεῖνον παύσασθαι μεμη-
 νότα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν τυραννομένην.
 νέου μὲν γὰρ ἔτους τῆς ἐπιούσης⁴ ἔμελλεν
 ἡμέρας⁵. . . . σέβουσί τε τὴν ἑορτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι
 ἐς θεὸν ἀρχαιότατον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιχώριον
 ἀναφέροντες. φασι γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Κρόνον ὑπὸ
 Διὸς ἐκβληθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελθόντα ἐς γῆν
 γενέσθαι ξένον, δεδιότα δὲ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς δυνασ-
 τεῖαν παρ’ αὐτῷ κρυπτόμενον λαθεῖν. ὄθεν καὶ
 τὸ ὄνομα δοθῆναι τῷ χώρῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας/Λάτιον
 τε κληθῆναι, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς ἐς τὴν⁶
 2 ἐπιχώριον παραχθέν. διὰ ταῦτά τοι καὶ μέχρι

¹ Mendelss

² οὐχ ἄς Oī emend Casaub and Irmisch

³ μονομάχου O

⁴ εἰσιούσης Schwartz

⁵ Lacuna or violent ellipse <. . . ἐκείνης γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας>
 σέβουσί [τε] τὴν Schwartz νέου μὲν γὰρ ἔτος τῆς ἑπ. ἔμελ.
 ἡμ. εἰσιέναι. σέβουσι δὲ ταύτην ἑορτῇ Ῥωμ. Reisk

⁶ τὸ O

¹ The huge statue of Sol (Helios), originally of Nero, near the Colosseum on the *via sacra*, stood 120 feet high; Suet. *Nero* 31.1. It was also given an addition of a club and a

the Romans.¹ On the base he inscribed the usual, imperial family names but, instead of the title “Germanicus,” he put “Victor of a Thousand Gladiators.”²

16. At last it became imperative to check the madness of Commodus and to free the Roman empire from tyranny. On the first day of the new year he was going to³ . . . The Romans keep the festival in honour of the most ancient of the local Italian gods.⁴ The story is that when Cronos (Saturn) was driven from his kingdom by Zeus he came to earth as this god’s guest, and was secretly hidden by him while in fear of the power of his son, Zeus. This is how that²

bronze lion (lion skin?) to represent Hercules, says Dio (Xiph.) 72.22.3. The date of this is erroneously put in 188 by the *Chron. of Prosper Tiro* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I. 432).

² Xiphilinus and Peter the Patriarch record different forms of this inscription; also noted by SHA, *Comm.* 15.8. If conflated, they should perhaps read *L. Commodus Hercules, palus primus secutorum qui (primus et?) solus scaeva vicit sescenties vicies* (Stein, *Röm. Inschriften in d. antik. Lit.* no. 165). Dio (Xiph.) 72.22.3 wrongly recalls this as a figure of twelve times 1,000 (when really 620 as in the *vita*) i.e. twenty times 600. Where does H. get his figure of 1,000 from? Probably he is, as usual, making a round figure, cf. Hohl, *Kais. Comm.* 29-30.

³ It is easiest to assume a lacuna in the text, though sense can be made if one understands an anacoluthon or ellipsis. See, below, 1.17.2, for a possible interpretation of the lacuna as <ὡς μονομαχος τε ἅμα καὶ ὑπατος προιέναι> “to emerge in public as a gladiator and a consul.”

⁴ The name Janus never actually appears in the text. Cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.235 ff., Vergil *A.* 8.321 ff., for the story and the same etymology, which, according to Servius, derived from Varro. C.’s special interest in the cult of Janus is shown on his coinage, *RIC* III. 359-60.

νῦν Ἰταλιῶται τὰ μὲν Κρόνια προεορτάζουσι θεῶ
 τῷ λαθόντι,¹ τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἱερομηρίαν
 ἄγουσι τῷ τῆς Ἰταλίας θεῶ.² διπρόσωπον δὲ
 αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἱδρῦται, ἐπειδὴ ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ
 ἐνιαυτὸς ἀρχεται τε καὶ παύεται. ταύτης δὴ³
 τῆς ἐορτῆς προσιούσης,⁴ ἐν ἣ μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι
 δεξιούνται τε ἀλλήλους καὶ προσαγορεύουσι⁵
 νομισμάτων τε ἀντιδόσεσι καὶ κοινωνία τῶν γῆς
 καὶ θαλάσσης καλῶν εὐφραίνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀρχαί
 3 τε ἐπώνυμοι⁶ τότε πρῶτον τὴν ἐνδοξον καὶ
 ἐνιαύσιον πορφύραν περιτίθενται, πάντων ἐορταζόν-
 των ὁ Κόμοδος ἐβούλετο⁷ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείου,
 ὡς ἔθος, προελθεῖν οἰκίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ τῶν
 μονομάχων καταγωγίου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐπαρύφου
 καὶ βασιλικῆς πορφύρας ὅπλα τε αὐτὸς φέρων καὶ
 συμπριόντων τῶν λοιπῶν μονομάχων ὀφθῆναι
 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

¹ Steph λαθόντι Οἱ

² δὲ Aal

³ προαγορεύοντες Ogl

⁴ ἀρχαί τε αἱ ἐπώνυμοι Bekk from ἀρχαί τε καὶ V

⁵ ἐβουλεύετο i

² Bergl ἔθει Οἱ

⁴ O cod Schott προι. i

¹ The Saturnalia proper began on 17th December but was extended by the inclusion of the Compitalia (22nd) and the Laurentalia (23rd) up to the New Year. The 30th was *Saturno sacer* and by Ausonius' day there were gladiatorial games *extremo sub fine Decembris, de feriis* 33. The festival is noted by Degrassi, *Insc. Ital.* 13.2.388-9. Lucian, Aulus Gellius, Athenaeus, all near contemporaries of H., wrote on the Saturnalia; e.g. Lucian's *Saturnalia* and *Kronosolon*. Pertinax, who succeeded to the purple on 1st January inscribed *Iano Conservat(ori)* on his coins, *BMC* V. no. 2, *RIC* IV. 1.7 no. 3.

part of Italy came to get the name of Latium, from the Greek word *lathein* "to hide" being transferred into the local language. This is why to this day Italians celebrate the Saturnalia first in honour of the god who hid away, then keep the new year sacred to the Italian god.¹ Statues represent him with two faces since the year begins and ends with him. During the period of the festival, the Romans make a special point of exchanging friendly greetings and giving each other the pleasure of interchanging gifts and sharing together the produce of the land and sea.² This is also the occasion when the eponymous³ magistrates assume the distinctive purple toga of their annual office.³ In the middle of this general festivity Commodus planned to make his public appearance before the Roman people, not from the palace, as was usual, but from the gladiators' barracks, dressed in armour instead of the purple-bordered toga of the emperors, and escorted in procession by the rest of the gladiators.⁴

² The exchange of *sigilla* (small figurines) was sometimes replaced by money gifts, still called *sigilla*. The *convivium publicum* was an essential part of the festival.

³ That is, on 1st January. By this period, the actual office could be very short and was never more than six months. Some of the suffect consulships could be simply token day-long offices (*nundina consularia*); e.g. in 155, 183, 190 when there was as many as twenty-five suffect consuls; Mommsen, *St.R.* (3) 2.1.86; Degrassi, *Fasti consolari, ad loc.*

⁴ The reliability of these last chapters of H. has been bitterly attacked by Hohl, *Philol. Wochenschrift* 52 (1932) 191-200, for being imprecise, rhetorical and bearing a resemblance to the death of Domitian in Dio (Xiph.) 67.15.3 ff. Cassola, *Atti Accad. Pont.* 6 (1956/7) 195-8, defends H. (a) because his account has as much circumstantial evidence as

4 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἀνήνεγκε
πρὸς Μαρκίαν, ἣν εἶχε τῶν παλλακίδων τιμιωτά-
την, ἣ¹ οὐδέν τι ἀπέχε γαμετῆς γυναικός, ἀλλὰ
πάντα ὑπῆρχεν ὅσα Σεβαστῆ πλὴν τοῦ πυρός· ἣ²
μαθοῦσα τὴν παράλογον οὕτω καὶ ἀπρεπῆ βούλησιν
αὐτοῦ τὰ πρῶτα ἐλιπάρει³ καὶ προσπίπτουσα
μετὰ δακρύων ἐδεῖτο μήτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν
καθυβρίσαι μηθ' εἰαυτὸν ἐπιδόντα μονομάχους καὶ
5 ἀπεγνωσμένους ἀνθρώπους κινδυνεῦσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ
πολλὰ ἰκετεύουσα οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτοῦ, ἣ μὲν
δακρύνουσα ἀπέστη, ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος μεταπεμφάμενος
Λαίτῶν τε τὸν ἔπαρχον τῶν στρατοπέδων Ἔκλεκτόν

¹ καὶ Schwartz from Bergl (Latin)

² [?] Schwartz

³ κατελιπάρει O

Dio-Xiphilinus and (b) because the epitome of Xiphilinus (eleventh century) is probably not Dio's own account, but Xiphilinus copying H. No one seems to suggest that the deaths of C. and Domitian really were rather similar, yet Tertullian, *Apol.* 25, compares the two killers. Given a similarity of circumstances and an anti-Commodus interest in drawing out the comparison, could not Dio himself have made Domitian's death as like C.'s as possible for the benefit of Julia Domna, whose veneration of Apollonius of Tyana would have stimulated her interest in the death of Domitian, which A. prophesied? Dio's dislike of Commodus and Caracalla (who claimed descent from Commodus by a spurious line) was far stronger than H.'s. Dio varied his account from that of Philostratus, *VA* 8.25-27, and has to protest that his is true; Grosso, *Acme* 7 (1954) 495-505, Millar, *Cassius Dio* 20, give the details though with different conclusions.

¹ Identified as Marcia Aurelia Ceionia Demetriade, *ILS* 406, perhaps daughter of Euhodatus M. Aurelius Sabinianus, *ILS* 1909; the name suggests that, like Eclectus, she had belonged to the household of L. Verus before being inherited by

Commodus communicated his intentions to 4 Marcia,¹ his favourite mistress. She was treated just like a legal wife with all the honours due to an empress apart from the sacred fire.² When she was told of Commodus' extraordinary plan which was so undignified for him, she fell on her knees earnestly begging him with tears in her eyes not to bring disgrace on the Roman empire and not to take the risk of entrusting himself to gladiators and desperadoes. But she achieved nothing by her many entreaties and 5 left in tears. Commodus then summoned Laetus,³ the praetorian prefect, and Eclectus,⁴ the chamberlain,

Quadratus from Annia Cornificia (see 1.8.4n). According to *Epit. de Caes.* 17.5 she was *generis libertini* which has led to doubt whether she is the same person as the above inscription which calls her *stolata femina*. The tradition that she was friendly to Christians (and Victor, Bishop of Rome) is recorded by Hippolytus *Confut.* 9.11-12, Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.7 (probably not Dio himself); cf. Aubé, *Rev. Arch.* 37 (1897) 154-75.

² See 1.8.4n, 2.3.2n.

³ See *PIR*² A 353; Q. Aemilius Laetus, appointed prefect some time after the fall of Cleander, perhaps in place of the murdered prefect, Motilenus, SHA, *Comm.* 9.2, or to replace Julius Julianus, 1.13.7n. An African from Thaenae, he is said to have acted as *suffragator* for other Africans like Septimius Severus (SHA, *Sev.* 4.4), Didius Julianus (SHA, *Did. Jul.* 6.2) and perhaps Clodius Albinus; Picard, *Atti Cong. Internat. Epig.* (1959) 266-7. He later turned against Pertinax but was executed by Didius Julianus for backing Severus; Dio (Xiph.) 73.6.3, 73.16.5. There is no evidence he intended Severus to rule at this stage; cf. 2.4.5n.

⁴ See *PIR*² E 3; one time freedman of L. Verus (SHA, *Ver.* 9.5) and then of Quadratus (Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.6 and 1.8.4n) he became a *cubiculo* after the fall of Cleander, perhaps through Marcia's influence; his long connection with Marcia (cf. 1.17.6) ended with his marriage to her just before he died fighting loyally for Pertinax; Dio (Xiph.) 72.4.7, 73.10.1-2.

τε τὸν τοῦ θαλάμου προεστῶτα¹ ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ
 παρασκευασθῆναι² ὡς διανυκτερεύσων ἐν τῷ τῶν
 μονομάχων καταγωγῷ κάκειθεν προελευσόμενος
 ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας τῆς ἱερομηνίας, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοις
 ἔνοπλος ὀφθείη. οἱ δὲ ἰκέτευον καὶ πείθειν
 ἐπειρῶντο μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖν.
 17. ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ἀσχάλλων τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο,
 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ὡς δὴ
 καθευδήσων (καὶ γὰρ μεσημβρίας εἰώθει τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν), λαβὼν γραμματεῖον τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐκ
 φιλύρας ἐς λεπτότητα ἠσκημένων ἐπαλλήλω τε
 ἀνακλάσει ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπτυγμένων³ γράφει,
 2 ὅσους χρὴ τῆς νικτὸς φονευθῆναι. ὧν πρώτη μὲν
 ἦν Μαρκία, εἶποντο δὲ Λαῖτός τε καὶ Ἐκλεκτός,
 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου
 πρωτευόντων. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους/ καὶ
 λοιποὺς⁴ πατρώους φίλους ἀποσκεύασαθαι πάντας
 ἤθελεν, αἰδούμενος ἔχειν αἰσχρῶν ἔργων σεμνοὺς
 ἐπόπτας· τῶν δὲ πλουσίων τὰς οὐσίας χαρίσασθαι
 ἐβούλετο μερίσαι τε ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς
 μονομαχοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν ἵνα φυλάττοιεν αὐτόν,

¹ προσετηκότα O

² <πάντα> παρασ. Stav

³ ἐπαλλήλω—ἐπτυγμένων om O

⁴ <ἔτι> λοιποὺς Schwartz

¹ Cf. Pliny, *NH* 16.65, Aelian, *VH* 14.2, and the *Suda* s.v. "φιλύρα". The tablet is mentioned in SHA, *Comm.* 9.3, and below, 2.1.10. Omission of its existence in Dio's account of C.'s death, but the mention of a tablet in his account of the death of Domitian (ἐς σανίδιον φιλύρινον δίθυρον) is one of Hohl's main arguments for saying H. is fictitious; see 1.16.3n and Dio (Xiph.) 67.15.3-4.

and gave them instructions to make arrangements for him to spend the night in the gladiators' barracks, from where he would start the procession to the festival sacrifices, dressed in armour for all Rome to see. They made every effort to try and dissuade him from any action unworthy of an emperor. 17. Commodus in a fury dismissed the two men and retired to his room as though he were going to take his usual mid-day siesta. But instead he took up a writing tablet (one of the kind made out of lime wood cut into thin sheets with two hinged pieces that close together)¹ and wrote down the names of those who would be executed that night. Heading the list was² Marcia; then Laetus and Eclectus, followed by a great many leading senators.² Commodus' intention was to be rid of all the remaining, senior advisers of his father, since he felt embarrassed at having respectable witnesses to his degenerate behaviour. He was going to share out the property of the rich by distributing it to the soldiers³ and the gladiators, so that the soldiers would protect him and the gladiators amuse

² Dio (Xiph.) 72.22.1-2 says C. intended to murder the incoming consuls, Erucius Clarus and Sosius Falco, taking the sole consulship himself. H. seems here to contradict his later comment about there being almost no friends of Marcus left; cf. 2.1.4n. SHA, *Comm.* 7.8, says C. intended to execute fourteen consulars.

³ The state of C.'s finances can only be guessed at. SHA, *Comm.* 8.7, repeats H. that the confiscations were in order to pay the troops, but C. did not raise the actual pay; Passerini, *Athen.* 24 (1946) 149 ff. This does not mean that *donativa*, like the *congaria*, had not taken a sharp rise in 190-2 (liberalitas VII, VIII and IX, though the latter was paid by Pertinax after C.'s death at a reduced rate); cf. van Berchem, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent* 157-8.

3 τοὺς δὲ ἵνα τέρπειεν. γράψας δὴ ¹ <τὸ> ² γραμματεῖον τίθησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος, οἰηθεὶς μηδένα ἐκεῖσε εἰσελεύσεσθαι. ἦν δέ τι ³ παιδίον πάνυ νήπιον, τούτων δὴ τῶν γυμνῶν μὲν ἐσθῆτος χρυσῷ δέ ⁴ καὶ λίθοις πολυτίμοις κεκοσμημένων, οὓς ⁵ αἰεὶ χαίρουσι Ῥωμαίων οἱ τρυφῶντες.⁶ ὑπεργάπα δὲ ὁ Κόμοδος αὐτὸ ὡς συγκαθεύδειν πολλάκις. Φιλοκόμοδος τε ἐκαλεῖτο, δεικνουσύνης τῆς ⁷ προσηγορίας τὴν στοργὴν τὴν ἐς τὸν παῖδα ⁴ τοῦ βασιλέως. τὸ δὲ παιδίον τοῦτο ἄλλως ἄθῦρον, προελθόντος τοῦ Κομόδου ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη λουτρά τε καὶ κραιπάλας, εἰσδραμὸν ἐς τὸν θάλαμον ὡσπερ εἰώθει, τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος κείμενον ⁸ ἀνελόμενον, ἵνα δὴ παίζεν ἔχοι, πρόεισι τοῦ οἴκου. κατὰ δέ τινα ⁹ δαίμονα συνήντα ¹⁰ τῇ Μαρκίᾳ. ἣ δὲ (καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔστεργε τὸ παιδίον) περιπτύξασα καὶ φιλοῦσα <αὐτὸ> ¹¹ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἀφαιρεῖται, δεδοκυῖα δὴ ¹² μὴ τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπὸ νηπιότητος ἀγνοοῦν παῖζον διαφθεῖρη. γνωρίσασα δὲ τὴν τοῦ

1 δὲ O

2 Mendels

3 δὲ τι Reisk from Jo δὲ Ogl δὲ καὶ a

4 τε Ogl

5 οἶα O

7 καὶ τῆς i

8 ἐπι—κείμενον om P

9 κατὰ δὲ γε τινὰ V καταδέγενα B

10 συνήντετο (-ται a) i

11 Stroth

12 om OJo

¹ Numerous stories were in existence about C.'s homosexuality, hardly surprisingly in view of the nature of the Hercules cult, 1.14.8n; e.g. the lampoon *non erit iste deus nec tamen ullus homo*, SHA, *Diad.* 7.3, or tales such as in SHA, *Comm.* 5.11, 10.9, assiduously collected by Marius Maximus, SHA, *Comm.* 13.3. Of interest is the name φιλοκόμοδος which is also

him. After writing on the tablet he left it on the ³ couch, thinking no one would come into his room. But he forgot about the little boy, who was one of those that fashionable Roman fops are pleased to keep in their households running around without any clothes on, decked out in gold and fine jewels. Commodus had such a favourite, whom he often used to sleep with. He used to call him Philocommodus, a name to show his fondness for the boy.¹ This young ⁴ lad was playing about aimlessly when Commodus left the room for his regular bath and drinking session. He ran into the bed-chamber as he normally did, picked up the tablet, which was lying on the couch—only to play with, of course—and then ran out again. By some extraordinary chance he happened to meet Marcia, who was also very fond of him. She hugged and kissed him and then took away the tablet from him, because she was afraid that he would destroy something vital without realizing it while innocently playing with it. But as she recognized ² Commodus'

found as a title for a priest in the Arsinoe nome of Egypt (φιλοκόμοδος καὶ φιλοσάραπης), Hunger, *Acta Ant. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 10 (1962) 154. Grosso, *Lotta politica* 397, raises the question of a possible Serapis cult on the Palatine, for which see *BMC* IV. clxxi and, e.g., p. 756, *Sarapidi conserv(ator) Augusti*. If so, and this is the reason for the boy's presence, Hohl's theories of the romance of H. receive another set-back.

² The highly dramatic quality of the narrative is brought out by use of the devices of chance, fate, recognition scenes and speeches. But note the advice of Lucian, *How to write history* 50-1, that accuracy was the first consideration; after that arrangement should be used to make the description vivid; "And when a person who has heard the historian thinks after this that he is actually seeing what is being described . . . the work . . . is perfect."

Κομόδου χεῖρα, ταύτη καὶ μάλλον ἐσπούδαξε
 5 διεξελεθεῖν τὴν γραφήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸ ¹
 θανατηφόρον καὶ πρὸ ἀπάντων αὐτὴν τε μέλλουσαν
 τεθνήξασθαι, Λαίτον τε καὶ "Ἐκλεκτον" ² ἐπακο-
 λουθήσοντας, ³ τῶν τε λοιπῶν τοιοῦτον φόνον,
 ἀνομιώξασα καθ' ἑαυτὴν τε εἶπουσα "εἶγε, ὦ
 Κόμοδε. ταῦτ' ἄρα ⁴ χαριστήρια εὐνοίας τε καὶ
 στοργῆς <τῆς ἐμῆς> ⁵ ὕβρεώς τε καὶ παροιρίας
 τῆς σῆς, ἣς ἐτῶν τοσοῦτων ἠνεσχόμεν. ἀλλ' οὐ
 καταπροῖξῃ αὐτὸς μεθύων νηφούσης γυναικός."
 6 ταῦτα εἶπουσα τὸν ² "Ἐκλεκτον μεταπέμπεται.
 ἔθος δ' εἶχεν αὐτῇ προσίεσθαι ἅτε τοῦ θαλάμου
 φύλαξ, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐπὶ συνουσία αὐτοῦ διεβάλλετο.
 δοῦσα δὲ τὸ γραμματεῖον "ὄρα" ἔφη "ποῖαν
 μέλλομεν παννυχίειν ἑορτὴν". ὁ δ' "Ἐκλεκτος
 ἀναγνούς τε καὶ ἐκπλαγείς (ἦν δὲ τὸ γένος
 Αἰγύπτιος, τολμησαί τε ἄμα ⁶ καὶ δρᾶσαι/θυμῶ
 τε δουλεῦσαι πεφυκώς) κατασημνάμενος οὖν τὸ
 7 γραμματεῖον διὰ τινος τῶν ἑαυτῷ πιστῶν ἀνα-
 γνωσθησόμενον πέμπει τῷ Λαίτῳ. ὁ δὲ καὶ

¹ αὐτὴν Ο³ Steph -σαντας Ogl⁵ Leisner² "Ἐκλεκτον—τον om a⁴ Nauck ταῦτα γὰρ Ο, γὰρ om gl⁶ om O

¹ A tyrant was conventionally a drunkard in literature, though doubtless many were also so in real life; e.g. Aelian *VH* 3.23 (Alexander), 2.41 (Dionysius of Syracuse).

² H.'s interest in ethnic characteristics is to some extent motivated by his desire to explain the upheaval of his age, 1.1.4n—not only the barbarian character (1.3.5n) but also that of Syrians (2.7.9n), Illyrians (2.9.11), British (2.15.1) Greeks (3.2.8), Alexandrians (4.3.7 ff). It seems impossible to draw any conclusion from these references about H.'s own national-

writing she became much more curious to have a look at the contents. Finding it was a death warrant, 5 and that she was going to be the first victim followed by Laetus and Eclectus and the others in the same way, she let out a cry. "Ah, Commodus," she said to herself, "so this is all the thanks I get for my loyal affection and putting up with all your vicious, drunken behaviour for so many years. A fuddled drunkard ¹ is not going to get the better of a sober woman." Then 6 she sent for Eclectus, who normally visited her in his capacity as the official chamberlain, quite apart from the gossip which said he was having an affair with her. She handed him the tablet and said, "There you are; that's the festival we are going to celebrate tonight!" Eclectus grew pale when he saw what was written. As an Egyptian he was characteristically given to act upon his impulses and be controlled by his emotions.² Sealing up the tablet he sent it by one of his trusted messengers to Laetus to read.³ He too 7

ity, though some have believed H. was an Egyptian on the basis of what he says here—even the son of Aelius Herodianus, the Alexandrian grammarian; e.g. Poblocki, *de vita Herod.* 2-3.

³ The necessity for summoning Laetus was in order to counteract the firm loyalty of the guards to Commodus. The advantage of immediate action during the period of the festival was that the guards were not armed (2.2.9). Hammond, *HSCP* 51 (1940) 164, says the plot was planned for this safe date, but is rightly sceptical about the intention being to elevate Septimius Severus. Eclectus and Marcia seem to be chief instigators of the plot and the selection of Pertinax; Laetus showed no special loyalty to Pertinax while Eclectus did; Septimius Severus was not the only friend of Laetus; e.g. Sosius Falco was his first choice as an alternative to Pertinax (Dio (Xiph.) 73.8) and he had also helped Didius.

αὐτὸς παραχθὲς ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Μαρκίαν ὡς δὴ
 συσκεψόμενος¹ αὐτοῖς περὶ ὧν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ
 βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ τῶν μονομάχων καταγωγίου·
 προσποιησάμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ διαφερόντων
 σκέπτεσθαι συντίθενται φθάσαι τι δράσαντες² ἢ
 παθεῖν, οὐδὲ³ καιρὸν εἶναι μελλήσεως ἢ ἀναβολῆς.
 8 ἀρέσκει δὴ δοῦναι φάρμακον δηλητήριον τῷ
 Κομόδῳ, ὑπέσχετο δ' αὐτὸ⁴ ῥᾶστα δώσειν ἢ
 Μαρκία. εἰώθει γὰρ αὐτὴ κερνάειν τε καὶ δίδοναι
 τὴν πρώτην πόσιν, ὡς ἦδιον πίοι παρ' ἐρωμένης.
 ἐλθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἐμβαλοῦσα ἔς τε
 κύλικα τὸ φάρμακον⁵ οἴνῳ τε κεράσασα εὐώδει
 δίδωσι πιεῖν.⁶ ὁ δ' ὡς συνήθη φιλοτησίαν μετὰ
 9 πολλὰ λουτρὰ καὶ γυμνάσια τὰ πρὸς θηρία διψῶν
 ἔπιεν ἀναισθητῶς. εὐθέως δὲ κάρως ἐπέπεσεν
 αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔς ὕπνον καθελκόμενος ὑπὸ καμάτου
 <τοῦτο>⁷ πάσχειν οἴθηβεις ἀνεπαύσατο. ὁ δὲ
 "Ἐκλεκτος καὶ Μαρκία πάντας ἀποστηῆναι κελ-
 εύσαντες ἔς τε τὰ οἰκεία ἀπιέναι, ἡσύχϊαν δὴ
 παρεσκεύαζον αὐτῷ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων

¹ -όμενος φgl

² δρᾶσαι τι φθάσαντες O δρ. τι <μᾶλλον> φθ. Cassola

³ οὐδὲ γὰρ Jo

⁴ αὐτῷ O

⁵ τοῦ φαρμάκου i

⁶ om i

⁷ Wolf

Julianus (SHA, *Did. Jul.* 6.2); Severus was not the most military of men successfully to carry out a revolution—or so it must have seemed; Hammond, *op. cit.* Cassola, *PP* 20 (1965) esp. 474 ff., makes out a strong case for supposing Pertinax' and Severus' complicity in the plot on the basis of a power

came to see Marcia in a panic on the pretext of consulting her and Eclectus about Commodus' orders to move to the gladiators' barracks. While they gave the impression they were working in the emperor's interests, they agreed that they must strike first or be struck down, and that there was no time for delay or procrastination. The plan was to give 8 Commodus a lethal dose of poison, which Marcia assured them she could easily administer; she normally mixed and handed the emperor his first drink so that he could have the pleasure of drinking from his lover's hand. Commodus returned from his bath¹ and Marcia put the poison into the mixing bowl, adding some fragrant wine, and gave it to him to drink.² Accepting it as a loving-cup which he normally drank after his frequent baths or bouts in the amphitheatre with the animals, the emperor tossed it off without a thought. At once he fell into a coma 9 and went to sleep, thinking that the drowsiness was the result of his exercise. Eclectus and Marcia told everyone to keep away and go home so that they could leave the emperor in peace, they said. This normally happened to Commodus on other occasions after he had been drinking heavily. He would take

struggle between the old and new Antonine families. But he assumes much too clear cut divisions (e.g. where does Glabrio fit in, 2.3.3n?) and does not explain why Laetus apparently turned to Falco immediately after P.'s accession—not to Severus.

¹ There is a reference to the death of C. in the *oracula Sibyllina* 12.222-3, which mentions the bath; Grosso, *Lotta politica* 27-8.

² Dio (Xiph.) 72.22.4 says the poison was administered in some meat.

<καιρών> ¹ τοῦτο πάσχειν ὁ Κόμοδος ὑπὸ κραι-
 πάλης· πολλάκις γὰρ λουόμενος ² καὶ πολλάκις
 ἐσθίων οὐδένα καιρὸν εἶχεν ἐς ἀνάπαυσιν ὀρι-
 σμένον, ἀλλεπαλλήλοις ³ καὶ διαφόροις συνεχόμενος
 ἡδοναῖς, αἷς δὴ καταλαβούση ὄρα καὶ ἄκων
 10 ἐδούλευεν. ἐπ' ⁴ ὀλίγον μὲν οὖν ἡσύχασε, περὶ
 στόμαχον δὲ καὶ κοιλίαν τοῦ φαρμάκου γενομένου
 ἰλυγγός τε αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνει ἔμετός τε πολὺς
 ἐπιγίνεται, ἢ τῆς προεγκειμένης τροφῆς ἅμα πότῳ
 πολλῷ ἐξωθούσης τὸ φάρμακον, ἢ διὰ τὸ προκατα-
 λαμβανόμενον, ὅπερ εἰώθασι βασιλεῖς ἐκάστοτε
 πρὸ πάσης τροφῆς λαμβάνειν, κώλυμα δηλητηρίων.
 11 πλὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ γε τοῦ ἐμέτου ὄντος, φοβηθέντες
 μὴ πᾶν ἐξεμέσας τὸ φάρμακον ἀνανήψῃ καὶ
 πάντες ἀπόλωνται, νέον ⁵ τινὰ ὄνομα ⁶ Νάρκισσον,
 γενναῖόν τε καὶ ἀκμαστήν, ⁷ πείθουσιν εἰσελθόντα
 τὸν Κόμοδον ἀποπνίξαι, μεγάλα δώσειεν ἔπαθλα
 ὑποσχόμενοι. ὁ ⁸ δ' εἰσδραμὸν παρεμμένον αὐτὸν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ μέθης ἀποσφίγγας τὸν
 τράχηλον φονεύει. ⁸

¹ Reisk <δέπων> Steph

² Steph -σάμενος Oi

³ Steph ἀλλὰ ἀλλεπαλλήλοις O ἀλλ' ἐπαλλήλοις gl ἀλλ' ἐπ'
ἀλλ. a

⁵ νεανίαν i

⁶ ὄνομα i

⁷ ἀκμηστήν V ἀμάστην Suda γυμναστήν? Sylb (cf. Dio-Xiph
72.22.5)

⁸ ὁ—φονεύει om P

frequent baths ¹ and meals but have no set time for
 his sleep because he used to get caught up in a non-
 stop round of various pleasures, to which he was a
 compulsive slave at any hour. For a while he lay ¹⁰
 quiet, but, as the poison reached his stomach and
 bowels, he was attacked by dizziness and began to
 vomit violently. The reason for this may have been
 that the food and excessive drink he had taken earlier
 were reacting to the poison, or it may be that he had
 taken an antidote to the poison—a practice of the
 emperors before each meal. At any rate, after a ¹¹
 prolonged bout of vomiting, Marcia and the others
 grew frightened that he would recover by getting rid
 of all the poison, and destroy them all. So they got
 hold of a strong, young athlete called Narcissus, ² and
 persuaded him to go in and strangle Commodus in
 return for a large reward. Narcissus rushed into the
 chamber of the emperor, as he lay there overcome
 by the effects of the poison and the wine, and
 strangled him to death.

joyed them all the same; *balnea vina Venus corrumpunt
 corpora nostra sed vitam faciunt*, CIL VI. 15253, quoted with
 other references by Carcopino, *Daily Life in Anc. Rome*
 (Penguin) 262.

² Probably one of the palace freedmen who surrounded
 C.; stated by SHA, *Nig.* 1.5, that he had acted as *suffragator*
 for Pescennius Niger to secure his Syrian command (though
 discounted by Hasebroek, *Die Fälschung der Vita Nigri* 48).
 He was later executed by Severus, Dio (Xiph.) 73.16.5.
 Victor, *Caes.* 17.8 f., says that as C. felt ill he was advised by
 his doctor, who was *princeps factionis*, to go into the palaestra,
 where he was strangled by his *minister ungenti*. The
 circumstantial detail has a ring of truth, since it would have
 been natural for C. to have been resting in one of the recrea-
 tion rooms attached to the *thermae* and the palaestra.

¹ SHA, *Comm.* 11.5, says he took as many as eight baths a
 day. Many writers moralized about the baths but they en-

12 τοιούτω μὲν τέλει τοῦ βίου ὁ Κόμοδος ἐχρήσατο, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρισκαίδεκα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν, εὐγενέστατός τε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων βασιλέων, κάλλει τε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων εὐπρεπέστατος ἀταρκέστατός τε συμμετρίᾳ σώματος,¹ εἰ δέ τι δεῖ καὶ περὶ ἀνδρείας εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὸς ἡττων εὐστοχίᾳ τε καὶ εὐχειρίᾳ, εἰ μὴ τὴν τούτων εὐμορίαν αἰσχροῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι κατήσχυνεν, ὡς προείρηται.

¹ ἀταρκέστατός—σώματος om iP

Such was the end of Commodus after thirteen 12 years' rule¹ since his father's death. More nobly born than any emperor before him; he also had more handsome looks and a better physique than any other man in his day; as for more virile accomplishments, he was a better marksman and had a surer hand than anyone else; but all this talent he debased by corrupt living, as we have seen above.

¹ See 1.4.7n. The length of C.'s rule was just under twelve years since the death of Marcus. It is possible H. was misled by the numbering of the regnal years, which in C.'s case began in 176, but he is so specific here that one must assume he is simply mistaken. Dates and figures are not H.'s strong point; cf. 2.4.5, 3.15.3, 4.13.8, 5.8.10, 6.2.1, 6.9.8. Even allowing for the inclusive method of counting there are a number of discrepancies which are simply errors either of transmission of the MSS or of H.

BOOK TWO

BIBLION ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

1. Ἀνελόντες δὲ τὸν Κόμοδον οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ συντάγματι τῆς ἱστορίας δεδήλωται, κρύψαι τε τὸ γενόμενον βουλόμενοι, ὡς ἂν τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὴν βασιλείον αὐτὴν δορυφόρους λάθοιεν, <ἐν->ειλήσαντες¹ στρωμνῆτινι εὐτελεῖ τὸ σωματίον καὶ καταδήσαντες, ἐπιθέντες δὲ δυσὶν οἰκέταις τῶν πιστῶν ἑαυτοῖς, ἐκπέμπουσιν ὡς δὴ τι σκεῦος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου² περισσόν.² οἱ δὲ φέροντες διὰ μέσων ἐκφέρουσι τῶν φυλάκων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ³ μέθης ἐκραιπάλων, οἱ δὲ ἐργηγορότες ἀκακίνοι⁴ ἐς ὕπνον κατεφέροντο κατεχούσαις τε ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ δοράτια ἐπανεπαύοντο, οἱ δ' οὐ πάνυ τὸ ἐκφερόμενον τοῦ θαλάμου, ὅτι ποτ' εἴη, ἐπολυπραγμούνον, ἐπεὶ μηδ' αὐτοῖς διέφερε ταῦτ' εἰδέναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτως κλαπὲν ἐκκομισθέν τε τῆς αὐλείου

¹ Reisk εἰλήσαντες V εἰλήσ. A εἰλσ. gl εἰλσ. a εἰλσ. B

² περιττῶν i

³ Nauck ἀπὸ Oi

⁴ Iσα ἐκείνοις conj Mendels from Reisk

BOOK TWO

1. In the first book of my history I showed how the conspirators destroyed Commodus. Now they had to conceal their act in order to evade detection by the guards on duty at the palace.¹ Wrapping up the body in some cheap bed-clothes, which they tied into a bundle, they gave it to two trusted slaves on the pretext that they were sending off some surplus equipment from the bed-chamber. The two slaves² carrying the body took it right through the line of guards, who were either sleeping off the effects of drink, or, if awake, were finding it difficult too to keep their eyes open, as they leaned on the spears they were holding. They made no real attempt to investigate whatever it was that was being brought out of the bed-chamber, since it was certainly none of their business to have this information. In this way the body of the emperor was secretly conveyed through the main entrance hall, where it was put on

¹ The events of this night and the following days are critically examined by Hohl, *SDAW* (1956) no.2 (*Kaiser Pertinax und die Thronbesteigung seines Nachfolgers*, etc.). Hohl's main criticisms are against H. for his omissions of detail (but see 2.15.7 for H.'s own criterion) rather than falsification. He also prefers the evidence of Dio's epitomizers and the SHA, *vitae* (called Marius Maximus if it seems good and "der Fälscher" if it seems weak), whenever they are in conflict with H. Dio was praetor designate in this year and in Rome; he was indebted to Pertinax and had prosecuted Didius Julianus; Dio (Xiph.) 73.12.2.

θύρας νύκτωρ ὀχήμενι ἐπιθέντες ἐς τὸ προάστειον ¹
ἀπέπεμψαν.

3 ὁ δὲ ² Λαίτος καὶ Ἔκλεκτος ἅμα τῇ Μαρκίᾳ τὸ
πρακτέον ἐβουλευόντο. ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ μὲν
τοῦ θανάτου φήμην ἐγκατασπεῖραι, ὅτι ³ δὴ
αἰφνιδίως τετελευτήκοι ἀποπληξίας ἐπιπεσοῦσης·
καὶ γὰρ ἐνδεχομένην ⁴ πίστιν ἔξειν ὦντο τὴν
φήμην προδιαβεβλημένης τῆς ἀκορέστου καὶ
ὑπερβαλλούσης ἐκείνου τρυφῆς. πρῶτον δὲ ἔδοξεν
αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέξασθαι ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην τινα καὶ
σώφρονα τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅπως αὐτοί
τε σωθεῖεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πικρᾶς καὶ ἀκολάστου
τυραννίδος πάντες ἀναπνεύσειαν. καθ' ἑαυτοὺς δὲ
ἀναλογιζόμενοι οὐδένα οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον εὔρισκον
4 ὡς Περτίνακα. ἦν δ' ὁ Περτίναξ τὸ μὲν γένος

¹ Sylb ἀριστέιον ἢ ἀρίστιον O Ἄρεος πεδίον conj Gedik

² δὲ al

³ ὅτι ἐν τῷ μονομαχίῳ Jo

⁴ ἐνδεχομένων Schwartz om? Mendelssohn

¹ The MSS record an unknown place called Aristeum; plausibly conjectured by Sylburg as *proasteion*—the same word used of C.'s villa Quintiliana in 1.12.6. Gedike's suggestion of *Areos pedion* (i.e. Campus Martius) is made on the evidence of SHA, *Comm.* 17.4, which says that the body was later buried in the Mausoleum of Hadrian; see 2.1.10n. Hohl, *SDAW*, 2 (1956) 4, rightly accepts Sylburg's reading, but unreasonably rejects the information on the grounds that H. did not know C. had been murdered in the *domus Vectiliana* (see 1.15.8n), nor that Pertinax sent an emissary to view the body (see 2.1.10n). There is nothing improbable about the body being sent outside Rome, close enough to be viewed

a cart and sent during the night to the outskirts of the city.¹

Meanwhile Laetus and Eclectus were conferring ³ with Marcia on their best course of action. They decided to spread a story that Commodus' death had been due to a sudden apoplexy. They believed that the rumour would carry ready conviction because Commodus' continual, excessive gluttony had been the subject of previous criticism. But first they must find a senior, moderate man as successor to the empire, thus providing themselves with a protector and the people at large with a respite from the bitter violence of tyranny. After considering the possibilities, they could find no one better qualified than Pertinax.² He was an Italian who had served with ⁴

if necessary, but where it would not be detected. It is unrealistic to expect the body to have lain where it was while the parley took place (nor does Dio say this, in spite of what Hohl says, p. 7). The villa Quintiliana was an ideal place.

² The career of P. is given by *PIR*³ H 73 and (for the equestrian part of it) Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes* 451 ff. Dio (Xiph.) 73.3 and SHA, *Pert.* 1.5-2.4, give the early life, to some extent confirmed by a fragmentary inscription from Brühl bei Köln (*AE* (1963) 52). Starting life as son of a freedman, P. had the early patronage of L. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Avitus (*PIR*³ H 40) and then Ti. Claudius Pompeianus, both important senators under M. Aurelius. (He also seems to have followed the path of M. Claudius Fronto, who may have recommended him for appointments.) Suspected by M. Aurelius of plotting, he was restored to favour and took an important part in the Marcomannian Wars as an equestrian prefect and, after 173 (*adlectus inter praetorios*), as a legionary commander and provincial governor. He was suffect consul in 175. Under Commodus P. seems to have played an equivocal role; forced out of public life by Perennis (1.8.8n), he came to terms with Cleander

Ἰταλιώτης, ἐν δὲ πολλαῖς στρατιωτικαῖς τε καὶ πολιτικαῖς εὐδοκίμῃσας πράξεσι, πολλὰ δὲ κατὰ Γερμανῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολήν βαρβάρων ἐγείρας τρόπαια, μόνος τε περιλειφθεὶς τῶν σεμνῶν¹ πατρῶν τῷ Κομόδῳ φίλων· ὃν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, τῶν Μάρκου ἐταίρων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐντιμότερον γενόμενον, ἢ διὰ σεμνότητα αἰδούμενος ἢ ὡς πένητα τηρήσας.² ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ³ καὶ τοῦτο μέρος τῶν ἐγκωμίων, ὅτι πλεῖστα πάντων ἐγχειρθεὶς πάντων οὐσίαν εἶχεν ἐλάττονα.

5 πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Περτίνακα νυκτὸς ἀκμαζούσης πάντων τε ὑπνῷ κατειλημμένων ἀφικνοῦνται ὁ Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἔκλεκτος ὀλίγους τῶν συνωμοτῶν ἐπαγόμενοι. ἐπιστάντες δὲ αὐτοῦ κεκλεισμένης⁴ τῆς οἰκίας ταῖς θύραις διεγείρουσι τὸν φυλάσσοντα. ἀνοίξας δὲ ἐκεῖνος καὶ θεασάμενος στρατιῶτας ἐφεστώτας καὶ Λαῖτον, ὃν ᾗδει ἑπαρχόν/ ὄντα, ἐκπλαγεὶς καὶ ταραχθεὶς ἀγγέλλει <τῷ δεσπότη>.⁵

¹ del Mendelss

² ἢ ὡς πένητος ὀλιγωρήσας conj Mendelss

³ αὐτοῦ i

⁴ κεκλεισμένης Reisk

⁵ add Jo *Pertinaci* P <εἰς> ἀγγέλλει Bekk²

and Commodus, even assisting in the attack on some of the *amici* of M. Aurelius (1.13.7n), for which he was rewarded by the urban prefecture in 190 and a second consulship in 192 (see below). Kolbe, *Bonner Jahrb.* 162 (1962) 407–20.

¹ Untrue as H. himself knows (1.17.2); he actually names M. Acilius Glabrio (2.3.3). Also alive were Ti. Claudius Pompeianus and M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, both sons-in-law of M. Aurelius; Crook, *Consilium Principis* nos. 4, 96, 260a.

² Conjectural dates for the latter part of P.'s career are: comes of M. Aurelius in the East 175, *legatus pr. pr.* in Moesia

distinction in many military and civil posts and won many victories against the German and eastern barbarian tribes. He was also the only one of the respected councillors left to Commodus by his father who had survived execution,¹ perhaps because Commodus stood in awe of his prestige as the most highly honoured of all the companions and generals of Marcus, or perhaps because his poverty kept him alive. Part of the reason for the high reputation of Pertinax was that, although he had held more offices² than anyone else, he had also gained far less wealth than anyone else.

And so it was that in the dead of night, while 5 everyone was sleeping soundly, Laetus and Eclectus, together with a few men who were in the plot, came to Pertinax' house. The house was locked up but they stood at the outer doors and raised the watchman. When he opened the doors and saw the soldiers standing there with Laetus, whom he knew was the praetorian prefect, he went inside in fear and trembling to announce their presence to his master.

Inferior 175–6, *legatus pr. pr.* of III Daciae 177–8, *legatus pr. pr.* of Syria c. 178/81, *legatus pr. pr.* of Britain 185–6, *praefectus alimentorum* c. 187, proconsul of Africa 188–9, *praefectus urbi* 190–2, *cos. II* with Commodus VII 192; the dates and evidence are conveniently summarized by Grosso, *Lotta politica* 684–5, though he places the urban prefecture before the fall of Cleander, in 189 (*ibid.* 254–9). An interesting survey of P.'s career is given by Cassola, *PP* 20 (1965) 451–77 and (up to 180) in *Ricerche sul II secolo dell' impero: l'ascesa di Pertinace al 180 D.C.*; while showing clearly how far P. was prepared to serve the régime of Commodus, Cassola assumes too much permanence among party factions in Rome and underestimates the extent to which most people conform to whatever government is in power.

6 ὁ δὲ ἤκειν αὐτοὺς κελεύει δευὰ προσδοκώμενα¹
 ἑαυτῷ ἐκάστοτε συμβῆσθαι φάσκων. ἐν τοσαύτῃ
 γοῦν αὐτόν φασι μῆναι ψυχῆς ἀταραξία ὡς μηδ'
 ἀναθορεῖν τοῦ σκίμποδος, μῆναι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ
 σχήματος,² καὶ τὸν Λαίτων³ ἅμα τῷ Ἐκλέκτῳ
 εἰσελθόντα καίτοι δοκοῦντα⁴ ἐπὶ φόνῳ ἤκειν
 προσειπεῖν τε καὶ θαρροῦντι μηδὲ ὠχριάσαντι τῷ
 7 προσώπῳ "πάλαι μὲν" φάναι "καὶ πάσης νυκτὸς
 τόδε τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου εἶχον δι' ἐλπίδος μόνος τε
 τῶν πατρῶων ἔτι περιλειπόμενος φίλων ἐθαύμαζον
 ἐπ' ἐμοὶ Κόμοδον βραδύνοντα. τί δὴ μέλλετε;
 ὑμεῖς τε γὰρ δράσετε τὸ κεκελευσμένον, ἐγὼ τε
 πονηρᾶς ἐλπίδος καὶ φόβου συνεχοῦς ἀπαλλά-
 8 ξομαι". πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Λαίτων "οὐ παύσῃ" ἔφη
 "ἀνάξια σαντοῦ καὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων σοι
 λέγων; οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ σῶ ἦδε ἡμῶν ἢ
 ἀφίξις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. κέεται μὲν γὰρ ὁ τύραννος
 δίκην δοῦς τὴν προσήκουσαν, καὶ ἄπερ αὐτὸς
 δράσαι διενεοῖτο, ταῦτα πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔπαθεν."⁵

¹ <οὐ> δευὰ <τὰ> προσδοκ. Reisk
³ τῷ Λαίτῳ O

² σχήματος φ
⁵ παθῶν i

¹ Understandably some later stories alleged that P. was a participant in the plot to remove Commodus; e.g. SHA, *Pert.* 4.4, Julian, *Conuivium* (Caes.) 312C = p. 401 (Teubner); but there is no good reason to doubt what H. says here, particularly if P. had supported and been favoured by Commodus; cf. Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 358; Barbieri,

Pertinax told them to come in, adding that the fate 6
 he had been expecting each day was now at hand.
 Reports certainly say that he remained so calm that
 he did not even get off his couch and never changed
 his expression. Even though he thought Laetus
 and Eclectus had come to kill him,¹ he spoke to
 them confidently without losing colour.² "I have 7
 been expecting to end my life in this way every
 night for a long time. I am only surprised that
 Commodus has been so slow in acting against me,
 since I am the last remaining one of his father's
 councillors.³ There is no need to delay. You carry
 out your orders and I shall be rid of the cowardly
 hopes and fears that have continually affected me."
 Laetus replied, "Please do not go on saying things 8
 like that, which are unworthy of you and your past
 life. Our visit here is not to destroy you but to save
 ourselves and the Roman empire. The tyrant is

Stud. Ital. Fil. Class. 13 (1936) 196. In addition to the military reputation and the *nobiles* backing which H. mentions, P. controlled the urban cohorts, which was important if the praetorians were going to be antagonistic.

² There should be no need to say that H., in common with most historians of his day, felt under no obligation to be historical in the speeches he invents for his characters. The number of speeches in this book, compared with the number in later books, is notable; of the thirty-three speeches, eight occur in Book 1, ten in Book 2, five in Book 3, three (and a letter) in Book 4, none (but a letter) in Book 5, one in Book 6, two in Book 7, two in Book 8; see references and discussion on p. lix. If, as seems probable, H.'s work was incomplete at his death, the present distribution of speeches suggests he was in process of ornamenting the narrative with the appropriate breaks and rhetorical colour. Cf. 4.14.2 and 5.3.9 for signs of lack of completeness in the text.

³ Cf. 2.1.4.

9 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἤκομέν σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειροῦντες, ὃν ἴσμεν προύχοντα ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ σωφροσύνη βίου μεγέθει τε ἀξιώματος καὶ ἡλικίας σεμνότητι ποθοῦμένον τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· ὅθεν κακείνοις εὐκταῖον καὶ ἡμῖν σωτήριον
10 τὸ πραττόμενον ἔσσεσθαι προσδοκῶμεν". πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Περτίναξ "οὐ παύσεσθε" ἔφη "χλευάζοντες πρεσβύτην καὶ τοσαύτην μου δειλίαν κατεγνώκότες ὡς πρῶτον ἀπατήσαι βούλεσθαι,¹ εἶθ' οὕτως φονεῦσαι;" "ἀλλὰ μὴν" ἔφη ὁ Ἐκλεκτος "ἐπεὶ λέγουσιν ἡμῖν οὐ πεπίστευκας, λαβὼν τουτὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον (γνωρίζεις δὲ τὴν Κομόδου χεῖρα, οὔσης σοι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἐν συνηθείᾳ) ἀνάγνωθι.² οὕτως γὰρ γνώση, τίνα τε κίνδυνον ἐφύγομέν, καὶ ὅτι μὴ σκῆψις ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια πρόσσεσι τοῖς/λεχθεῖσιν." ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ³ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὁ Περτίναξ, πεισθεὶς τε ἀνδράσι καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ φίλοις, πάντα πυθόμενος τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπιδίδωσιν ἑαυτόν.
2. καὶ πρῶτον ἀρέσκει προλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον

¹ βούλεσθε Oag³ δὴ Aag² OJo ἐπίσκεψαι ι

¹ Dio (Xiph.) 73.1.2 says P. was not convinced until he had sent someone to view the body, perhaps L. Fabius Cilo, suffect consul for 193 (on P.'s *commendatio* probably) and in charge of the burial of Commodus later, says SHA, *Comm.* 20.1. The body was being held in the care of P. Livius Larensis, the *procurator patrimonii* (later imagined by Athenaeus as one

dead. He got the punishment he deserved by suffering at our hands the fate he had in store for us. We have come here to offer you the empire because we know of the outstanding reputation you have in the senate for your moderate way of life and your tremendous authority; your age wins you respect and you are loved and honoured by the people. This is why we believe that the event which the people have longed for will be our salvation too." But Pertinax said, "Please, enough of this mockery of an old man! Don't attribute such cowardice to me that you have 10 to deceive me first and then kill me like this." "All right," said Eclectus, "if you do not believe what we say, take this writing tablet. You know Commodus' hand since you have often read his writing. Read what it says! Now you can see the danger we have escaped and that what we say is not to deceive you but is the truth." When Pertinax recognized the writing, he was convinced by Laetus and Eclectus (who were incidentally his former friends). Now that he knew the whole story he supported them wholeheartedly.¹ 2. As a first move they decided to

of the sophists at his literary dinner); Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 194, Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 6—who says it was Larensis who was sent to view the body. Larensis is recorded on *ILS* 2932. Hohl thinks the tablet is pure invention (copying the death of Domitian, 1.17.1n), but Dio says nothing that actually contradicts H. Viewing the body was important, not so much to convince P. but to get the remains buried secretly before senatorial reprisals (*unco trahatur*, SHA, *Comm.* 18.5) which would then cause the guards to riot, Dio (Xiph.) 73.1.3. To placate the guards later the body (cremated) was moved to the Mausoleum of Hadrian; recorded on *ILS* 401, SHA, *Comm.* 17.4; cf. Cilo as *sodalis Hadrianalis*, *ILS* 1141, etc.

καὶ πείραν τῆς γνώμης τῶν στρατιωτῶν λαβεῖν·
 πείσειεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λαίτος ὑπισχνεῖτο,¹ ἐπέπερ
 αὐτῷ ἐπάρχω ὄντι μετρίαν ἀπένεμον αἰδῶ.
 2 συμπαραλαβόντες οὖν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὅσοι
 παρήσαν, ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠπείγοντο. ἤδη δὲ
 καὶ τὸ πλείστον τῆς νυκτὸς προκεχωρήκει καὶ τῆς
 ἑορτῆς ἐνεστώσης πρὸ ἡμέρας πάντα ἐπράττετο.
 διαπέμπουσι δὴ τινες τῶν πιστῶν τοὺς διαβοήσου-
 τας ὅτι ὁ Κόμοδος μὲν τέθνηκε, Περτίναξ δὲ ἐπὶ ²
 3 τὸ στρατόπεδον βασιλεύσων ³ ἄπεισι. διαδραμού-
 σης δὲ τῆς φήμης πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐνθουσιῶντι
 ἐοικῶς ἐξεβακχεύετο διέθεόν τε, καὶ τοῖς οἰκείους
 ἕκαστος χαίρων ἀπήγγελλε ⁴ καὶ μάλιστα ⁵ τοῖς
 ἐπ' ἀξιώσεως ἢ πλουσίοις· ἐκείνοις γὰρ καὶ ⁶
 ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἤδεσαν τὸν Κόμοδον. ἔθρον τε
 4 ὁμολογοῦντες. ἐβῶν δὲ διάφορα, οἱ μὲν κείσθαι
 τὸν τύραννον λέγοντες, οἱ δὲ τὸν μονομάχον, ἄλλοι
 δὲ ἀπρεπέστερα βλασφημοῦντες. καὶ ὅσα πρότερον

¹ συνυπισχνεῖτο Og

² εἰς α

³ βασιλεὺς Jo

⁴ ἀπήγγειλε φ διήγγελλε ι

⁵ καὶ μάλιστα om P

⁶ καὶ <μάλιστα> Steph from P (*potissimum*)

¹ The festival ensured that many people would be moving very early in the day. The senate met at dawn; Victor, *Caes.* 17.10.

² This I understand to be the equivalent of some such phrase as *domesticos salutare*; H. is describing the pre-dawn

go to the praetorian camp and test the feelings of the soldiers. Laetus undertook to bring them over, since they had a certain amount of respect for him as prefect. So they collected together anybody else ² who was there and began to hurry off to the camp. By this time, too, the night was nearly over and, with the day of the festival approaching,¹ there was activity everywhere before dawn. In fact they dispatched some loyal supporters to spread the word that Commodus was dead and Pertinax on his way to the praetorian camp to become emperor. As the ³ word quickly spread the people went practically mad with excitement. Everyone rushed to and fro paying their visits to their patrons ² and telling them the news, especially if they were people of importance or wealth, since they were the ones whom it was known Commodus was also making plans to destroy. People danced at the temples and altars ³ in acknowledgement of their gratitude to the gods. Shouts ⁴ of all kinds were heard, such as that the tyrant was dead, or that the gladiator had been killed, as well as other more profane and abusive cries.⁴ No longer

call of the *clientes* for the *salutatio*. The importance of organizing popular pressure and support is discussed by Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 365.

³ Perhaps should be translated, "they ran to the temples," etc., but cf. 5.5.9 where a similar phrase is used of an organized ceremony at the temple.

⁴ For the acclamations of the senate, see 2.3.11n. H.'s language here is very similar to that of Dio (Xiph.) 73.2.3-4, but Dio puts the occasion after P. had addressed the senate at dawn. The extent to which H. corresponds with Dio and therefore uses Dio is analysed by Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus* 27 (for this passage); but Baaz' conclusions that H. and Dio are drawing upon a prototype is a desperate answer to explain

ἐπέιχεν ὁ φόβος ῥήματα, ταῦτα προελθούσης ἀδείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ῥαδίως ἐλέγετο. πλείστον δὴ τοῦ δήμου συνέθει δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἠπέιγοντο δὲ μάλιστα ¹ δεδιότες, μὴ πως ἄρα οἱ στρατιῶται ὀκνηρότερον ὑπακούσωσι ² τῇ τοῦ

5 Περτινάκος ἀρχῇ. ἐσομένην γὰρ σῶφρονα μὴ πάνυ τι ἀποδέξασθαι ³ τοὺς στρατιώτας προσεδόκων τυραννίδι δουλεύειν εἰθεσμένους ἀρπαγαῖς τε καὶ βίαις ἐγγεγυμνασμένους. ἴν' οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐκβιάσονται ὑπακούσαι, πανδημεὶ συνῆλθον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ὃ τε ⁴ Λαῖτος καὶ Ἔκλεκτος εἰσῆλθον ἄγοντες τὸν Περτινάκα· συγκαλέσας τε ⁵ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Λαῖτος ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·

6 “Κόμοδος μὲν ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τέθνηκεν ἀποπληξία· αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτου θανάτου οὐκ ἄλλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ· συμβουλεύουσι γὰρ ἡμῶν/αἰεὶ τὰ ἄριστα καὶ σωτήρια [οἷς] ⁶ μὴ πειθόμενος, βιοὺς δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἄγνοεῖτε, ὑπὸ πλήθους <τροφῆς> ⁷ ἀποπνιγείς διεφθάρη. τὸν μὲν οὖν κατέλαβε τέλος τὸ πεπρωμένον. οὐδὲ γὰρ μία οὐδ' ἡ αὐτῆ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις θανάτου αἰτία, διάφοροι δὲ οὖσαι ἐς ἐν

¹ δρόμῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠπέιγετο· τοῦτο μάλιστα ἰ

² Steph ἑπακούσωσι Οἱ ³ Steph -ασθαι Οἱ

⁴ Jo δὲ Ogl ὁ Λ. τε καὶ α

⁵ Sylb δὲ φ ὀμ Αἰ ⁶ del Steph

⁷ Schwartz from Irmsch (cf. 2.1.3) a nimio cibo potuque P

why there are as many differences as similarities. It is, however, noteworthy that the passages which most correspond to Dio are in Book I and early in Book 2, Cassola, *RAAN* 32 (1957) 169. Like the speeches this evidence suggests that H. was in process of touching up his work; which would also account

intimidated, as freedom returned, people were encouraged to give rein to all the words which they had been fearful of saying before. Most of the population rushed to the praetorian camp because they were very much afraid that the soldiers would be rather reluctant to acknowledge Pertinax' rule. They ⁵ were expected to be totally against accepting a rule of moderation since they had grown used to a tyrant as their master and were experts in pillage and violence. So the people went *en masse* to the camp to force the praetorians to submit. When the crowds were in the camp,¹ Laetus and Eclectus came in with Pertinax, and Laetus assembled the soldiers. Then he addressed them saying, “Commodus, our ⁶ emperor has died of apoplexy; but only he himself is to blame for this death. He continually rejected our advice, which was in the interest of his well-being. You know about his way of life; he choked to death from over-eating. He has got the fate that was in store for him. Although there is not just one single cause but many different causes of death among man-

for the fact that he has run together the events of before and after the meeting of the senate.

¹ The text is open to different interpretations. Politian translates it as *quo ubi perventum*, i.e. “when they (the people or Laetus' party?) arrived at the camp” . . . I have translated the Greek in what seems the most natural way (but see *app. critic.* for alternative readings of the participle); in 2.2.9 H. seems to make clear that the people were inside the camp, a fact which rouses the scorn of Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 8. But are enough facts known to declare that the people could not have entered the praetorian camp in the middle of the night when no trouble was expected? Dio (Xiph.) 73.1.2 implies that the people were roused only after the meeting of the senate.

7 *τέρμα βίου συντελοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἀντ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄγομεν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν*¹ *Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρα τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν σεμνόν, τὸν δὲ βίον σώφρονα, ἀρετῆς δὲ τῆς ἐν ἔργοις ἔμπειρον.*² *ὧν οἱ μὲν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν αὐτοῦ πρά-
ξων*³ *ἐπειράθητε, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχοντα τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν ἀεὶ διὰ τιμῆς τε καὶ*
8 *θαύματος ἔσχετε. δίδωσί τε ἡμῖν*⁴ *ἡ τύχη οὐ βασιλέα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα χρηστόν. εὐφρανεῖ τε ἡ τοῦδε ἀρχὴ οὐχ ὑμᾶς μόνον τοὺς ἐνταῦθα*⁵ *δορυφοροῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἰδρυμένους, οἳ τὴν πείραν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔργων φέρουσι διὰ μνήμης. τό τε βάρβαρον οὐ χρήμασις ἔτι θεραπεύσομεν, πείρα δὲ ὧν/πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασι στρατηγούντος φόβῳ ὑποτάξονται."*

9 *τοιαῦτα δὴ λέγοντος τοῦ Λαίτου μὴ*⁶ *κατασχῶν ἐαυτοῦ ὁ δῆμος μελλόντων καὶ ὀκνούντων ἔτι τῶν στρατιωτῶν*⁶ *Σεβαστόν τε ἀναγορεύει καὶ πατέρα*

¹ ὁ i

³ παρατάξων i

⁵ ἐνταυθοὶ ag

² σώφρονα φ σπουδαῖον A

⁴ ὑμῖν AP

⁶ μὴ—στρατιωτῶν om φ

¹ A typical, rhetorical *locus communis*; cf. Demosthenes, *de Cor.* 1.275.6 (Teubner) or *in Eubul.* 3.255.28 (Teubner) *καίτοι πᾶσιν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώποις τέλος τῶν βίου θάνατος*. For other examples, see Irmisch, *Hist. Herod. ad loc.* Mendelsohn thinks this is an interpolation, though it occurs in John of Antioch too.

² Only for two years; 2.1.4n.

kind, they all lead to the same end.¹ But now in place 7 of Commodus we and the Roman people bring for your approval a man who is respected for his age, who is moderate in his way of life and who knows the meaning of virtue in action. The veterans among you have had proof of this and of his military exploits; the rest have honoured and admired him for many years as urban prefect.² Our good fortune³ is not bringing us simply an emperor, but a kind father too. The rule of Pertinax will be welcomed by not only you who are the guards here in Rome, but also by the soldiers stationed on the banks of the rivers and the boundaries of the Roman empire. For they have experienced his achievements and remember them. Without pandering any more to the barbarians by giving them a subsidy, we shall control them by fear because of their past experiences when Pertinax was in command."³

When they heard Laetus making this speech the 9 people were unable to restrain themselves from proclaiming Pertinax as Augustus and giving him the

³ H.'s version and language are similar to Dio (Xiph.) 73.6.1; noteworthy that this occurs in a speech; see 2.2.4n. Dio adds a story of how Laetus actually sent after some departing barbarians and demanded back the gold they had received from Commodus; these barbarians, says Dio, knew P. well from when he fought against them. The last fighting in which P. had been involved had been against the Iazyges in c. 175; Mócsy, *RE Suppl.* 9 (Pannonia) 560. Does this mean that the subsidies were actually granted by M. Aurelius, who had to settle with the Iazyges in a hurry in 175? Commodus had made settlements with the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Buri; cf. Dio (Exc. Urs.) 71.17, 71.18, (Xiph.) 72.2-3. Firm actions against the barbarians is one of the stereotypes of the good emperor in H.; cf. 1.6.8n.

καλεῖ πάσαις τε γεραίρει εὐφημαῖς. τότε καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οὐχ ὁμοία μὲν προθυμία τῇ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος πλήθους ἀνάγκη (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου περιειλημμένοι ὀλίγοι τε καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὄπλων ὡς ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ) πλὴν συνεξέβησαν καὶ Σεβαστὸν προσεῖπον τὸν Περτίνακα.
 10 ἔς τε τὸ ἐκείνου ὄνομα τοὺς συνήθεις ὄρκους ὁμόσαντες καὶ θύσαντες, δαφνηφοροῦντες πᾶς ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικόν, ἐπειδὴ¹ προσῆει καὶ τὸ περίορθρον, ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐτὴν ἀνήγαγον τὸν Περτίνακα.

3. ὁ δὲ² ἐπέπερ ἰδρῦθῆ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ³ ἔστια τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν αὐτὸν⁴ καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς προεῖρηται, νύκτωρ ἀναγαγόντων, φροντίσι μεγίσταις τὴν γνώμην ἐταράττετο· πάνυ τε αὐτόν,

¹ Bekk² ἐπεὶ δὲ Ο

² βασιλείων φ

² ἐπεὶ δὲ (n. 2) — ὁ δὲ om IP

⁴ Stroth αὐτῶν Ο om i

¹ H. here uses the word *Sebastos* (= Augustus) rather than *autocrator* (= *imperator*). Strictly the soldiers should have acclaimed P. as *imperator* and the senate have bestowed the title of Augustus (2.3.3); Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 9. But the circumstances are unusual, since the soldiers were being forced to join in the acclamations of the people. In any case, the exactitude of the terms *Sebastos*, *autocrator* and *basileus* cannot be pressed in H.; e.g. 5.5.1, the soldiers hailed Elagabalus as *basileus* in the camp. There is a slightly greater incidence of

name of Father and all the other honorific titles, although the soldiers were still cautious and hesitant. Then, although they did not react with equal enthusiasm, the soldiers felt compelled to join in and salute Pertinax as Augustus,¹ because of the large number of people present who were hemming them in on all sides. Furthermore there were not many soldiers, and they were unarmed because of the festival. After the usual oaths and sacrifices had been made in 10 Pertinax' name,² the populace and the praetorians all together, waving branches of laurel, escorted Pertinax to the imperial palace just as dawn was breaking.

3. After the soldiers and people had conducted Pertinax to the palace during the night,³ as has been explained, and the emperor was settled into his quarters, he began to be worried by serious mis-

the word *autocrator* in Books 7-8 than in the previous books (eighteen times in Books 1-6, nine times in Books 7-8), but attempts to prove that this indicates a change in H.'s primary source are misguided based on the assumption that the historian was using a prototype rather than personal recollections and oral sources; cf. Baaz, *de Herod. font.* 62-4, Kreutzer, *de Herod. scriptore* 7, Salač, *Listy Filol.* 68 (1941) 206-8.

² H. discreetly omits the donative of 3,000 denarii promised by P.; Dio (Xiph.) 73.1.2, SHA, *Pert.* 4.6. Only half the sum was paid by the time P. died, says SHA, *Pert.* 15.7, but Dio (Xiph.) 73.5.4 contradicts this. The extent of the praetorians' discontent is discussed in 2.4.1n.

³ Dio (Xiph.) 73.1.4 says P. came straight from the camp to the senate, just before dawn, where Dio himself was present at a confused scene. SHA, *Pert.* 4.9, says P. went to the temple of Concordia because the doorman for the curia could not be found. Dio did not necessarily have special information of what took place while he himself was in bed, but must be followed for what happened inside the senate house.

καίτοι δοκοῦντα ¹ ψυχῆς εἶναι ἐρρωμένης καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἀνδρεῖον, τὰ παρόντα ἐφόβει, οὐχ οὕτως προνοία τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας (κινδύνων γὰρ καὶ μειζόνων πολλάκις ἦν καταφρονήσας), ἐλογίζετο δὲ τὴν τε ² αἰφνίδιον τῆς τυραννίδος μεταβολὴν τὴν τε ² ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ τινων εὐγένειαν, οὓς ὑπόπτειεν ³ οὐκ ἀνεξομένους μετὰ βασιλέα εὐγενέστατον τὴν ἀρχὴν μεταπεσοῦσαν ἐς ἄνδρα ἐξ ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ ἀσήμεου γένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντα.

² εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ βίος αὐτῷ διὰ σωφροσύνην ἐπηρεῖτο καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς πράξεσιν ἦν εὐκλεῆς,⁴ ἀλλ' ὅσον εὐγενείας χάριν πολὺ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἀπελείπετο. ἡμέρας οὖν καταλαβούσης κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς οὔτε τὸ πῦρ ἔασας αὐτοῦ ⁵ προπομπεῦσαι ⁶ οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν βασιλικῶν συμβόλων ἐς ὕψος ἀρθῆναι πρὶν ἢ μαθεῖν ³ τὴν γνώμην τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν

¹ om O² om O³ οὓς ὑπόπτ. om O⁴ εὐκλεῆ i⁵ αὐτοῦ O ἑαυτοῦ i⁶ εἰσψωθῆναι φ ὑψωθῆναι A

¹ Subsequent events proved P. was right to be nervous of nobles in the senate; e.g. the two *consules ordinarii* (selected by Commodus); Q. Pompeius Sossius Falco, a patrician with consular ancestors since Trajan's day, later plotted against P. (2.4.5n, Barbieri, *Albo*, p. 484, no. 34); the other consul, C. Julius Erucius Clarus Vibanius, also from a long line of consulars (*PIR*² E 97, *Albo* 503) was related through his mother, Pomponia Triaria, to Triarius Maternus Lascivius (= Maternus *cos.* 185?), from another Trajanic noble family,

givings. Although he had the reputation for iron nerves and courage, the circumstances worried him seriously. It was not so much care for his own safety that caused him anxiety, since he had often shown his disregard for more serious dangers, but the thought of the suddenness of the change from tyranny, and the fact that there were some members of noble birth in the senate.¹ They would most probably be dissatisfied with the succession passing from an emperor of the highest nobility to an upstart from a family without status and of humble origin. For all the credit his moderate way of life ² had earned, and for all the distinction of his military exploits, he was far inferior to the patricians in terms of genteel birth. When daylight came he went down to the senate chamber, but refused to be preceded by sacred fire or have any other of the imperial insignia ² set up until he discovered the senate's mind. But as ³

who was also involved (perhaps unwillingly) in a disturbance as soon as P. came to the rule (2.4.4n). By contrast P. was the son of a freedman, Helvius Successus, a timber merchant, who had married well into a Ligurian family at Alba Pompeia; Dio (Xiph.) 73.3.1, SHA, *Perf.* 1.1-2.

² See 1.8.4n. The ceremonial fire seems to have become a regular part of imperial ceremonial by H.'s day; cf. 1.8.4, 1.16.4, 2.8.6, 7.1.9, 7.6.2. Called *φῶς* in Dio (Xiph.) 71.35.5 and *lux* in Corippus *in laud. Iust.* 2.99, it seems to have been both a ceremonial torch used by triumphators (Suet. *Jul.* 37.2) and a censor (*turibulum*, or in Greek *θυμιατήριον*; cf. Appian, *Lyb.* 66) Discussed by Mommsen, *StR* (3) 1.1.423 ff., and in detail by Alföldi, *Mitt. d. deutch. arch. Inst. röm. Abt.* 49 (1934) 111-18, who provides illustrations of the torches on the Arch of Beneventum, etc., and the chariot-drawn *turibulum* which was part of the insignia of the praetorian prefect in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

ἅμα τῷ ἐπιφανῆναι πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφήμησαν
 Σεβαστόν¹ τε καὶ βασιλέα προσηγόρευσαν,² ὁ
 δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρητεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ
 ἐπίφθονον γῆράς τε προϊσχύμενος συγγνώμης
 ἐδέετο εἶναι τε πολλοὺς εὐπατρίδας ἔφασκεν
 οἷς ἢ βασιλεία μᾶλλον ἀρμόζει³ καὶ λαβόμενος
 τῆς χειρὸς Γλαβρίωνος εἶλκεν αὐτὸν καθίζεσθαι
 4 κελεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου. ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖνος
 εὐγενέστατος μὲν πάντων τῶν εὐπατριδῶν (ἀνέφερε
 γοῦν ἐς Αἰνείαν τὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀγχίσου τὴν
 τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν⁴), ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπατον
 ἀρχὴν τελέσας δεύτερον. ὁ δὲ “ ἄλλ’ αὐτός γε ”⁵
 ἔφη “ ἐγὼ δὲν σὺ νομίζεις πάντων ἀξιώτατον, σοὶ τε
 τῆς ἀρχῆς παραχωρῶ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες (ἔπευ)φημίζομεν⁶ σοὶ
 διδόντες ”. τότε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐκβιασαμένων

¹ σεβασμόν φι

² -ρευον Ο

³ ἀρμόζειν Ο

⁴ ἀρχὴν Α but in mg m¹ διαδοχὴν

⁵ Irmisch τε ΑΒΙ om V Mendelssohn

⁶ Schwartz ψηφίζομεν ΟΙ

¹ The word used here is *Sebastos*, the strict Greek equivalent; cf. 2.2.9n.

² M. Acilius Glabrio, *cos.* II 186, son of the consul of 152; *PIR*² A 69. He had been one of the *amici* of M. Aurelius. The family became patrician probably in the reign of Domitian and are connected with the plebeian family of this name, with consulars dating from the Punic Wars. The rapid extinction of noble (both patrician and plebeian) families meant that in 193 probably no more than two could trace patrician status

soon as he made his appearance, the entire senate joined together in acclaiming him with the titles of Augustus¹ and emperor. To start with Pertinax refused the invidious honour and begged to be excused on the grounds of his age. He said that there were plenty of nobles who would be better suited for the position. Then he took Glabrio² by the hand and, drawing him out, urged him to sit on the emperor's throne.³ Now Glabrio was the most⁴ nobly born of all the patricians, since he traced his descent from Aeneas son of Venus and Anchises, and had already held the consulship twice. But Glabrio said to Pertinax, “ Although you think I am the most eligible candidate, I at any rate renounce my claim to the empire in your favour, and all of us here endorse the decision by conferring supreme power on you.”⁴ After this everyone brought pressure to bear on Pertinax by their entreaties, so that in the end with

back as far as Augustus (the Calpurnii Pisones and perhaps the Corneli Scipiones Orfiti), Hammond, *JRS* 47 (1957) 75. Spurious claims of ancestry back to Aeneas were common, but H. is right about the position of Glabrio. Of the eight known republican families and of those with known patrician ancestry, he is the only one to have held iteration of consulship; cf. Barbieri, *Albo*, pp. 474 ff.

³ A third curule chair between the consuls, Mommsen, *StR.* (3) 3.2.933.

⁴ Dio (Xiph.) 73.1.4, who was in the senate, says nothing of this incident. Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 13 thinks this must be a confusion with Pompeianus (see below). But Dio (Exc. Val.) 73.3.3 says Glabrio was honoured as well as Pompeianus, evidence which Hohl and Baaz, *de Herod. font.* 57-8 mistrust because, they say, the *Excerpta Valesiana* is copying H.—yet this is the very passage used by Roos, *JRS* 5 (1915) 192 to prove H. is copying Dio!

ἐκλιπαρησάντων τε ὀκνῶν καὶ μόλις ἀνελθῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλεῖον θρόνον ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·

5 “ τὸ ¹ πᾶνυ δεξιὸν ὑμῶν τῆς πρὸς με τιμῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς σπουδῆς ὑπερβάλλον ἐπιλεκτόν τε ἐς πρόκρισιν τοσαύτης παρ’ ὑμῶν εὐγενείας, ¹ οὐκ ἔχον κολακείας ὑποψίαν ἀλλὰ δεῖξιν καὶ πίστιν εὐνοίας, ἄλλω μὲν ἂν τῷ θάρσος καὶ προθυμίαν ἐπέβαλεν ἐς τὸ ἐτοίμως ὑποδέξασθαι ² τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα ἐλπίδα τε ῥαστώνης ὑπέφηεν ἂν ὡς εὐμαρῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν διοίσοντι ³ ἐν ἀρχομένοις ⁶ οὕτως εὐνοοῦσιν· ἐμοὶ ⁴ δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ ἐξαιρέτα τιμῆς τε αἰσθήσει ἐκπλήττει δέος τε καὶ ἀγῶνα οὐ μικρὸν ἐμποιεῖ. μεγάλων γὰρ εὐεργεσιῶν προὔπαρχουσῶν τὸ ἰσότημον δυσέφικτον. ἀλλ’ ⁵ ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς καὶ μικρὰ μὲν λαβοῦσιν ἀντιδοῦναι μείζω ⁶ οὐχ οὕτως εὐμαρὲς ὡς ⁷ εὐχάριστον δοκεῖ, ⁸ ὀπηνίκα δ’ ἂν ὁ πρῶτός τι δράσας ἀγαθὸν ἀνυπέβλητον καταθῆται χάριν, τὸ μὴ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἀντιδοθὲν οὐχ οὕτως δυσπόριστον ὡς ἀναίσθητον ἅμα καὶ ἀχάριστον ὀνομάζεται. ⁷ ὄρω δὴ οὐ τὸν τυχόντα μοι ἐπηρτημένον ἀγῶνα πρὸς τὸ ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν παρασχεῖν τῆς τοσαύτης

¹ τὸ πᾶνυ—εὐγενείας corrupt Mendelss ² δέξασθαι i
³ or διοικήσουσι from Steph (cf. 8.7.12) Sylb -σουτα Oi
⁴ ἐμέ Irmisch from P ⁵ ἀεὶ Reisk del Bekk
⁶ μείζον φι ⁷ om O ⁸ Steph δοκεῖν Oi

¹ Among others Ti. Claudius Pompeianus supported P. By now he was an old man on his estate at Tarracina (SHA, 148

great reluctance he took his place upon the imperial throne ¹ and addressed them with these words:

“ Your complete willingness to honour me and the ⁵ unusual degree of enthusiasm you have shown in preferring me to all those among you of high birth contains not a trace of flattery, but is sure proof of your goodwill. This would have given some men encouragement and confidence to accept the task entrusted to them without hesitation, and have provided them with some indication of how easy it would be if one is going to bear the burden of the empire lightly among subjects of such good will. But as far ⁶ as I am concerned, however important or exceptional these distinctions are, I am staggered when I think of the honour, and my mind is tortured by a good deal of fear and anxiety. It is extremely difficult to repay great favours adequately; even in exchanges when one has received very little, the repayment of the debt with interest is not thought of as an easy task, but as a sign of gratitude. But when the benefactor confers a favour which is impossible to surpass, one’s inability to repay him adequately is not regarded as a difficult task but as a sign of insensitivity and ingratitude. I can see therefore that the struggle I ⁷ shall face to prove myself worthy of the great honour

Did. Jul. 8.3) but briefly returned to Rome. SHA, *Pert.* 4.10, says Pompeianus came to P. before the meeting of the senate and would really have liked the purple himself. But how did Pompeianus get the news so soon unless he had known of the plot beforehand? The reluctance of P. is more than the traditional *refus de pouvoir*, since, as Dio (Xiph.) 73.3.4 notes, there was real reservations about accepting P. among the “wealthy and proud”; Béranger, *Recherches* 137 ff. and 6.8.6 (Maximinus), 7.5.7 (Gordian I).

παρ' ὑμῶν¹ τιμῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ ἡ
 προεδρία, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις, εἴ τις αὐτὴν μὴ
 καταισχύνει. ὄσω δὲ τὰ γενόμενα² ὡς φαῖλα
 μισεῖται,³ τοσοῦτω τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς ἀγαθὰ μεγάλως
 ἐλπίζεται.³ καὶ τὰ μὲν δεινὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀεὶ
 μνημονεύεται³ (τὸ γὰρ λυπήσαν δυσεξάλειπτον⁴),
 τὰ δὲ χρηστὰ ἅμα τῇ ἀπολαύσει καὶ τὴν περὶ
 8 αὐτῶν μνήμην συναναλίσκει, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁμοίως εὐ-
 φραίνει ἐλευθερία ὡς λυπεῖ δουλεία, οὐδέ τις
 ἀδεῶς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων ἐν χάριτος μοίρᾳ τίθεται,
 τὰ ἴδια καρποῦσθαι νομίζων, ὁ δὲ τῶν οἰκειῶν
 στερηθεὶς αἰώνιον ἔχει⁵ τὴν μνήμην τοῦ λελυπηκό-
 τος. οὐδ' εἴ τις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν χρηστὴ γένοιτο
 μεταβολή, αὐτὸς τι πλεον καρποῦσθαι νομίζει,⁶
 ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν δημοφελούς καὶ κοινῆ διαφέροντος
 ὀλίγη τοῖς καθ' ἕνα φροντίς, τὸ δὲ καθ' αὐτὸν
 ἕκαστος εἰ μὴ⁷ κατὰ γνώμην προχωροῖ, οὐδέν
 9 τι μέγα ὠφελείσθαι νομίζει. οἱ τ' εἰθισμένοι ταῖς
 τῆς τυραννίδος ἀκρίτοις καὶ ἀφειδέσι μεγαλοδω-

¹ ἡμῶν B ² γιγνόμενα α ³ -τε O

⁴ i Macar δυσαπάλειπτον O

⁵ Steph ἔχων OI but -ει over -ων Macar

⁶ αὐτὸς τε πλέων (sic) νομίζου καρπ. α

⁷ εἴ <τι> μὴ Reisk εἰ μὴ κ.γ. προχ. del? Mendelss

¹ Bergler (Irmisch) translates the Greek *proedria* as *principatus*, though *Politian* as *fastigium dignitatis*. Note that P.

you have conferred upon me is no ordinary one. The dignity of the first citizen¹ does not depend on the seat he occupies, but on the deeds he achieves, unless a person dishonours the position. The more the past is loathed for its unpleasantness, the more optimistic are one's hopes for a bright future. Dreadful events are remembered² because suffering is not easy to wipe out; but the memory of good fortune is consumed in the process of enjoyment. Liberty does not give pleasure in the same degree³ that slavery brings resentment, nor does a man who has security of possessions consider this a favour, since he believes it is his right to enjoy the benefits of his own property. But deprive him of his property and he will remember the injury for ever. If there is some change in the fortunes of the commonwealth, no one thinks that he himself is any the richer, since public interest and benefit to the community are of little concern to people as individuals. Unless each individual's business prospers in the way he consciously decides, he does not feel he has gained any great advantage. Those who have grown used to a⁹ life of luxury under tyranny, resulting from the con-

took the title of *princeps senatus* (2.3.11n), which may be reflected by H. here. But H. is also using the term for the rhetorical effect of *paronomasia* with *kathedra* (seat or throne).

² For a similar *sententia*, see Thuc. 2.61.2. The whole of this speech has a strongly Thucydidean flavour, though I doubt whether H. is imitating Thucydides directly. Stein is right to say that these are *sententiae populares*; *Decip. et Herod.* 146. Lucian, *How to write history* 2 says, "Every single person is writing history; what's more, they are all Thucydideses, Herodotuses and Xenophons."

- ρίαις ἐντροφᾶν τὴν ἐς τὸ σωφρονέστερον καὶ
 μεμετρημένον διὰ σπάνων χρημάτων μεταβολὴν
 οὐ φειδῶ σώφρονα ¹ οὐδὲ σύμμετρον καὶ κεκρίμενην
 διοίκησιν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ μικρολογίαν καὶ
 ἀθλιότητα βίου ὀνειδίξουσιν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι τὸ
 μὲν μέγαρα καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε χαρίζεσθαι οὐκ ἂν
 περιγένοιτο, εἰ ² μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρπάξειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι,
 τὸ δὲ λογισμῶ πάντα καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου
 ἀδικον ἄνευ τοῦ δευόν τι δρᾶσαι, μὴ παρέχον
 10 σώφρονα ³ τῶν καλῶς πορισθέντων. ταῦτα δὴ ὑμᾶς
 ἐγνωκότας χρῆ συναίρεσθαι καὶ κοινὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς
 τὴν διοίκησιν νομίζοντας, ἀριστοκρατίαν τε ἄλλ'
 οὐ τυραννίδα ὑπομενοῦντας αὐτοὺς τε ἀγαθὰς
 ἔχειν ἐλπίδας καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ταῦτα
 ὑπισχνέσθαι."
 11 τοιαῦτα δὲ Περτίναξ εἰπὼν ὑπήρεισε ⁴ τῆ τὴν

¹ φειδῶ σώφ. Mendless φιλοσώφρονα AVi φιλοσόφρονα B

² om O ³ φειδῶ σώφ. i φιλοσώφρονα O

⁴ ὑπέρησεν A ὑπερήσέ Bekk²

¹ For P.'s financial arrangements, see 2.4.7n. Literary sources are agreed on the economic chaos at the death of Commodus, though most attribute this to the extravagance of C.'s way of life; manifested in confiscations to pay the soldiers (1.17.2n), increased *congiaria* (φιλόδωρος, Dio (Xiph.) 72.16.2, SHA, *Comm.* 16.8), personal luxuries (SHA, *Pert.* 8.9-11, Dio (Xiph.) 73.5.5, SHA, *Pert.* 8.2-8), sale of privilege and office (SHA, *Comm.* 14.4-8, cf. *Pert.* 6.10), cuts in the alimentary system (SHA, *Pert.* 9.3, not total since P. himself had been *praefectus alimentorum* in 187), new taxes in Rome and the provinces (2.4.7, though cf. SHA, *Pert.* 7.7), arrears in pay by the state (SHA, *Pert.* 9.2), neglect of the *annona* and the roads (Dio (Xiph.) 73.8.2, SHA, *Pert.* 7.6, 9.2). Although the

tinal extravagance of distributions of largess, do not term the transition to restrained and moderate administration, necessitated by shortage of finance, as either restraint or calculated moderation. They disparage such a policy by calling it parsimony and mean living, little realizing that such great and indiscriminate generosity could only have been possible by forced confiscation. Nor do they realize that, if every man is to get what he deserves systematically but without any injury to persons or an illicit source of funds, one learns to economize sensibly on the readily available sources of supply.¹ Of course, 10 you must be well aware of this. But now you must join me in the administration of the empire under an aristocracy and not allow a tyranny to exist. You must be optimistic and hold out the same hope to all the subject people of the empire."

With these words ² Pertinax put heart into the 11

silver coinage continued to be debased this was at no greater a rate than under M. Aurelius; Gage, *Rev. Num.* 6.4 (1962) 83, exaggerates by saying a 10 per cent drop in pure silver; Oertel, *CAH XII.* 724 f., Bolin, *State and Currency in the R. Empire* 210 f., say 4-5 per cent (as under M. Aurelius). The Marcomannian Wars and the general economic situation was more responsible than C.'s extravagance for any decline in coinage and rise in prices; but the crisis has been overestimated; Frank, *ESAR V.* 92-3, Oliva, *Pannonia* 107 ff., contradicted by Pekáry, *Hist.* 8 (1959) 445-54.

² The entire speech is dismissed (with some justification) as unhistorical by Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 12. Dio (Xiph.) 73.1.4 says P. appeared briefly before the senate and said, "I have been named *imperator* (Gk. *autocrator*) by the soldiers, but I do not want to rule." (For the translation, see Hammond, *MAAR* 24 (1956) 108, not as in Cary, *Dio-Loeb IX.* 125); that is, P. was scrupulous not to claim the rule before he had been formally acclaimed by the senate.

σύγκλητον βουλήν, καὶ πρὸς πάντων εὐφημηθεῖς¹ πάσης τε τιμῆς καὶ αἰδοῦς παρ' αὐτῶν τυχῶν ἔς τε τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερά <προ>πεμφθεῖς² τὰς τε ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας θυσίας τελέσας ἔς τὴν βασιλειον ἐπανήλθεν αὐλήν.

4. ἐπεὶ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη τῶν τε λεχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον γραφέντων, ὑπερήδοντο πάντες, σεμνὸν καὶ ἡπιον ἄρχοντα καὶ πατέρα, οὐ³ βασιλέα ἔξεν ἐλπίζοντες. τοὺς τε γὰρ στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε παύσασθαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δημότας ὕβρεως καὶ μήτε⁴ πελέκεις φέρειν μετὰ χεῖρας⁴ μήτε παῖεν τινὰ τῶν παριόντων, ἔς τε τὸ κόσμον καὶ εὐτάκτον μετάγειν πάντα ἐπειράτο, ἔν τε ταῖς προόδους καὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον ἦθος ἐπεδεί-
2 κνυτο. καὶ τῆς Μάρκου ἀρχῆς ζήλω τε καὶ

¹ AB g cod Schotti -μηθεῖς Val

² Sylb ³ καὶ O

⁴ μήτε—χεῖρας om i

¹ H. significantly omits the acclamations of the senate although he gives those of the people earlier (2.2.3-4); cf. Dio (Xiph.) 73.2, SHA, *Comm.* 18-19 (claiming to be Marius Maximus). In addition to the usual honours P. was given the title of *princeps senatus*, *ILS*, index III, p. 285. SHA, *Pert.* 5.4-6, says incorrectly that P. was voted Augustus and *pater patriae* and powers of *imperium proconsulare* and *ius quartae relationis*, which Hammond, *MAAR* 24 (1956) 108-9 accepts,

senate, who all cheered his speech and voted him full honours¹ and marks of respect.² Then he was conducted to the temple of Jupiter and the other temples, where he completed the sacrifices to inaugurate his reign, before returning to the palace.

4. When the news of his speech to the senate and his edict to the people was publicized, there were scenes of wild rejoicing in which everyone hoped they would have a respected and mild constitutional ruler and father, rather than an emperor.³ Orders were issued to the soldiers to stop their insulting behaviour to the populace, and they were forbidden to carry axes or to strike any passer-by.⁴ Pertinax made an

but *pater patriae* never appears on coins, *BMC* V. xxxi-ii, lxi. The *vita* also says P.'s wife, Flavia Titiana, was named Augusta, but Dio (Xiph.) 73.7.1-2 says votes of honour to his wife and son were refused; *ILS* 410 and Egyptian coins and documents show the titles of Augusta and Caesar—perhaps an error; cf. Werner, *Pertinaxvita* 300-1, Bloch, *Mem. Pont. Acad. Rom.* 3.4 (1938) 108.

² SHA, *Pert.* 5.2, reports an embarrassing question by the new consul, Sossius Falco (2.3.1n), who asked whether P. was going to be the puppet of Laetus and Marcia. Werner, *Pertinaxvita* 298, rejects the story as an inference from Sossius' later plot, but it seems eminently possible.

³ H.'s terminology, already imprecise in Greek, is almost impossible to translate. The contrast is between *princeps* and *pater* as opposed to *regnum*; this was by now a commonplace in "the official philosophy of monarchy" of Stoic political theory. *Respublica* (or *δημοκρατία*, Dio 66.12.2) meant the recognition of the function of the senate under the principate; Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome* 145 ff. and 148 ff.

⁴ Praetorian discontent began almost immediately to show itself; see 2.4.5n. For striking of civilians, see Juvenal 5.16.7-12, Sander, *RhM* 103 (1960) 296 ff., and *ILS* 7778 (a popular philosopher murdered in the praetorian camp).

μιμήσει τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους ὑπομιμήσκων
 εὐφραυνε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πάντας ἐξ ὠμῆς καὶ
 ἐφυβρίστου τυραννίδος ἐς σώφρονα καὶ ἀμέριμον
 βίον μεταχθέντας ῥῆστα ἐς εὐνοίαν ὠκειώσατο.
 τῆς τε ἡμέρου ἀρχῆς ἢ φήμη διαθέουσα πάντα
 ἔθνη, ὅσα τε Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα καὶ ὅσα φίλα, καὶ
 πάντα στρατόπεδα,¹ ἐκθειάζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 3 ἔπειθεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅσοι
 πρότερον ἀφηνιάζον ἢ ἐστασίαζον, φόβῳ τε καὶ
 μνήμῃ τῆς ἐν ταῖς προτέραις αὐτοῦ στρατείας
 ἀρετῆς, πίστει τε γνώμῃς ὅτι μηδένα ἐκὼν
 ἀδικήσει ποτὲ ἐκάστω τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονέμων,
 χάριτος ἀπρεποῦς καὶ² βίας ὠμῆς ἀλλότριος,
 ἐκόντες αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. πρεσβεῖαι τε / παν-
 ταχθεὶν ἀφικνουῦντο συνηδομένων ἀπάντων τῇ
 Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Περτίνακι ἀρχῇ.

¹ καὶ πάντα στρατ. after ἔθνη in Oi transposed by Lange
 πάντα στρατ. καὶ πάντα ἔθνη ὅσα γε Reisk

² om O

¹ The main coin types come near to H.'s description; the slogans are *liberatis civibus, dis custodibus, menti laudandae* (very strange) apart from the more usual *aequitas Aug(usti), laetitia temporum, providentia deorum* and *ops divina*; also a winged caduceus and six ears of corn showing an "age of fertility" (*BMC* V. 2, no. 5) which was of relevance to P.'s agricultural policy and his care of the *annona* (2.4.6n); *BMC* V. lxi ff. and Woodward, *Num. Chr.* (6) 17 (1957) 84-96.

² H. probably refers here to a return to normal judicial sittings of the *consilium* after the arbitrary condemnations of

attempt to change the whole administration to sound, orderly government,¹ setting an example of lenient and moderate behaviour in both his public appearances and in the courts.² Older men were delighted² by the way he reminded them of Marcus, whose rule he tried to copy;³ the rest he easily won over to his support by the change they experienced after a brutal, domineering tyranny, in being able to live a reasonable and untroubled life. As the report of his gentle rule travelled round the peoples of the empire, including both subjects and allies,⁴ and round the garrisons, they were all convinced that he ruled with divine authority. Furthermore, all the barbarians³ who were previously becoming restive and beginning to rebel, now willingly submitted themselves to Pertinax, because they remembered and feared his ability in previous campaigns against them.⁵ They also trusted his integrity knowing that he would never harm anyone knowingly and would treat each as they deserved; any improper favour or savage use of force was out of character. And so, amid general rejoicing that Pertinax was now ruling the empire, delegations kept arriving from every country.

Commodus (1.14.7); Crook, *Consilium Principis* 79. P., like Macrinus, may have intended to sweep away the plethora of *ad hoc* judicial decisions contained in previous rescripts, *ut iure non rescriptis ageretur*, SHA, *Macr.* 13.1.

³ See 1.2.3n.

⁴ The term *ethnos* is used; see 1.1.4n. The distinction here may be between *subiecti* and *amici* (communities with special treaty-relations) in the provinces, but possibly between provincials and allies beyond the borders; cf. 7.2.1 referring to Moroccans, Osrhoenians and Armenians.

⁵ See 2.2.8n.

4 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ
 ἰδίᾳ τῷ εὐτάκτῳ¹ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τῆς βασιλείας
 ἔχαιρον. ὁ δὲ πάντας εὐφραϊνε, τοῦτο μόνους²
 ἐλύπει τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας, οἱ δορυφο-
 ρεῖν εἰώθασι τοὺς βασιλέας. κωλυόμενοι γὰρ
 ἀρπάζειν τε καὶ ὑβρίζειν ἔς τε τὸ εὐτακτον καὶ
 κόσμιον ἀνακαλούμενοι, τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ὑβριν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀτιμίαν καθαίρεσίν τε τῆς
 ἀνέτου ἐξουσίας νομίζοντες τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ
 5 ἔφερον εὐταξίαν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγον
 ὀκνηροὺς τε καὶ ἀπειθεῖς αὐτοὺς τοῖς κελευομένοις
 παρείχον. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, οὐδ' ὄλων μηνῶν
 δύο³ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκυίας, ἐπίδει-
 ξαμένου τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολλὰ σῶφρονα καὶ
 χρηστά ἔργα ἐλπίδων τε ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις
 ὑποφαινομένων ἐβάσκηγε πάντα καὶ ἀνέτρεψε

¹ καθεστῶτι A

² μόνον O

³ Perhaps originally Greek numeral β' emended to γ' Mendelss

¹ According to SHA, *Pert.* 6.1-6, trouble began the day after P.'s accession, on 2nd January when the statues of Commodus were being pulled down. The following day when asked to take the formal oath of allegiance the praetorians attempted to make Triarius Maternus emperor, but he ran away; see 2.3.1n. Werner, *Pertinaxvita* 303 thinks the story spurious because too soon in the reign, but H. indicates obstructive behaviour from the start.

But in spite of the widespread official and unofficial 4 acts to celebrate his orderly and benevolent rule, the features which pleased everyone else annoyed one group, the troops that served as the imperial guard in Rome.¹ Now that they were prohibited from seizures and damage to property and were required to submit to order and discipline again, they considered the mild leniency of the regime to be a dishonourable insult to themselves and the end of their own unlimited power. They were not prepared to tolerate a well-ordered rule. For a time after the beginning 5 of the reign they behaved obstructively and disobediently when orders were given to them.² But before Pertinax had completed two months of his rule,³ during which brief period he had transacted a number of sensible and valuable reforms, which raised the hopes of his subjects, an ill chance put a blight on everything and reversed the trend by preventing the

² Dio (Xiph.) 73.8.2 says that Laetus, the prefect, planned to make the consul, Sossius Falco, emperor, but the plot was foiled and P. spared Falco's life. SHA, *Pert.* 10, is very corrupt but seems to indicate there was a pretender from the household of L. Verus as well. Laetus, who was playing a double game, used the soldiers' discontent and the freedmen to further another candidate, perhaps by this time thinking of Septimius Severus when Falco failed. The date of the Falco plot is put by Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 16, n. 52, as after 5th March on the slender grounds that P. was away in Ostia when the plot was planned and this was after the opening of the shipping season. Laetus used the reprisals after the plot further to rouse the soldiers. Cf. 2.3.1n and Jameson, *AS* 16 (1966) 125-30, for the importance of Falco's family.

³ Dio correctly says nearly three months (87 days); cf. 2.5.9n. Mendelssohn would emend the text from β' (=2) to γ' (=3).

πονηρὰ τύχη ἐκώλυσέ τε θαυμαστά καὶ ἐπωφελῆ
τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἔργα ἐς τέλος ἀχθῆναι.

6 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πᾶσαν τὴν κατ' ¹ Ἰταλίαν καὶ
ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀγεώργητόν τε καὶ παντάπα-
σι οὖσαν ἀργὸν ἐπέρεψεν, ὁπόσῃν τις βούλεται
καὶ δύναται, εἰ καὶ βασιλέως κτῆμα εἴη, κατα-
λαμβάνειν, ἐπιμεληθέντι τε καὶ γεωργήσαντι
δεσπότη ² εἶναι. ἔδωκέ τε γεωργοῦσιν ἀτέλειαν
πάντων ἐς δέκα ἔτη καὶ διὰ παντὸς δεσποτείας
7 ἀμεριμνίαν. τοῖς τε βασιλικοῖς κτήμασιν ἐκώλυσεν
αὐτοῦ τοῦνομα ἐπιγράφεσθαι, εἰπὼν αὐτὰ οὐκ
ἴδια τοῦ βασιλεύοντος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ καὶ
δημόσια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τέλη τε πάντα

¹ Bekk² τῆν τε Oi in Italia P

² -ην i

¹ SHA, *Pert.* 13.1, says P. was waiting for the festival of *urbis natalis* (25th April) to introduce his major reforms, including the transfer of provincial governors. This may have been an important factor in removing P. if there was a genuine conspiracy.

² Open to various interpretations; Politian and Stephanus, *Thes.* q.v. understand *despoteia* to refer to *onera quae a dominis imponi solent*, but as a later law term it means tenure of land. The measure has been questioned, since in Severus' reign the *lex Hadriana* governing waste land was still in operation; *CAH XII.* 2, n. 3, Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 17. But this measure may have been simply tralatitian and have needed restating as a result of the wars and plague of the last thirty years. Cf.

completion ¹ of some magnificent schemes of aid for the subjects of the empire.

The first of his projects was to make over to private ⁶ ownership all the land in Italy and the provinces, which was not being farmed and was lying completely fallow, in lots depending on the recipient's requirements and ability to work it. Even if the land was part of the imperial estates, the man who could farm and cultivate it was to become the legal owner. Farmers were given complete tax immunity for ten years and permanent security of tenure.² Pertinax ⁷ also gave orders that his name should not be inscribed on imperial property on the grounds that it did not belong to the private estate of the emperor but to the general public treasury of the Roman empire.³

Dio (Xiph.) 71.11.4-5, SHA, *Marc.* 22.2, Oliva, *Pannonia* 303 ff., Burn, *Past and Present* (1953) 4.17.

³ A good "senatorial" emperor regularly declared he had no private claims on public imperial property; cf. Tac. *A.* 13.4.2 (Nero), SHA, *Hadr.* 8.3 (Hadrian), Dio (Xiph.) 71.33.2 (M. Aurelius). Nerva had even inscribed on the palace the words *publicae aedes*, Pliny, *Paneg.* 47.4; cf. SHA, *Ant. Pius* 4.8. The distinction between imperial and public property, the *aerarium* and the *fiscus* or the *fiscus* and the *patrimonium* was obviously of little meaning to autocratic emperors, even though the formal legal distinction continued to exist; Millar, *JRS* 53 (1963) 41-2, Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 456. P.'s purpose seems to have been to disclaim private ownership of the vast confiscated properties acquired by Commodus, some of which were returned to the owners, SHA, *Pert.* 8.8, 9.8, and to emphasize the distinction between his private status constitutionally (cf. his refusal to admit his wife and son to imperial titles, 2.3.11n) and his elected function as emperor. Nesselhauf, *H.-A. Colloquium Bonn 1963*, 84, argues that P. was concerned because he had no legal claim to succession or to the *res privata* of the Antonines.

<τὰ>¹ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐς εὐπορίαν
 χρημάτων ἐπινοηθέντα ἐπὶ τε ὄχθαις ποταμῶν
 καὶ λιμέσι πόλεων² ἐν τε ὁδῶν πορείαις καταλύσας
 8 ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον ἀφήκεν. ἐμέλλησε δ'
 ἂν³ ἔτι καὶ πλείονα, ὡς γε τὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως
 ἐνεδείκνυτο, εὐεργετήσῃ τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 τοὺς συκοφάντας τῆς πόλεως ἦν διώξας καὶ τοὺς
 πανταχόθεν⁴ κολασθῆναι κελεύσας, τοῦ μηδένα
 ἐπηρεάζεσθαι μητὲ⁵ ματαίοις ἐγκλήμασι περι-
 πίπτει προνοούμενος. ἐν ἀδείᾳ τε καὶ μακαρίῳ
 βίῳ ἢ τε σύγκλητος μάλιστα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες
 9 βιώσεσθαι προσεδόκων. οὕτω γὰρ μέτριος καὶ
 ἰσότημος ἦν ὡς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἤδη μειράκιον
 ὄντα μηδὲ⁶ ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐτὴν ἀναγαγεῖν,⁷
 ἀλλ' ἐν τε τῇ πατρίᾳ μένειν οἰκίᾳ, καὶ ἐς τὰ
 συνήθη προϊόντα διδασκαλεία καὶ γυμνάσια ἰδιω-
 εύοντα ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς παιδεύεσθαι τε καὶ
 πάντα πράττειν, οὐδαμοῦ τύφον ἢ πομπὴν παρεχό-
 μενον βασιλικήν.

¹ Bekk² πολεμίῳν φ³ ἄρα conj Mendels⁴ Wolf πανταχοῦ ἦν φὶ πανταχοῦ εὕρισκομένους A ubiubi
invenientur P πανταχοῦ γῆς Irmisch⁵ μηδὲ Bekk²⁶ Wolf μήτε Oi⁷ ἀγαγεῖν O

¹ Dio (Xiph.) 73.5.4 says that no more than 1-million sesterces remained in the treasury at Commodus' death; cf. SHA, *Pert.* 7.6-7; in spite of certain economies (see references

He remitted all the customs tariffs which had been
 devised under the tyranny of Commodus as a ready
 source of money from traffic on the rivers, in the city
 harbours or on the arterial roads, all of which were
 now restored to their former freedom from taxes.¹
 Pertinax planned even further reforms for the benefit 8
 of the people of the empire, as far as can be observed
 from his general policy. He had banished informers
 from Rome and issued orders for their prosecution
 throughout the empire because he did not intend to
 allow anyone to become entangled in malicious or
 unfounded charges. All men, especially the senate,
 believed that they would now lead contented lives
 free from fear.² So modest and unpretentious was 9
 Pertinax that, although his son was by now a grown
 lad, he did not bring him to live in the palace, but left
 him in the family home,³ to be educated and carry on
 all his activities at his usual schools and gymnasias as a
 private citizen like everyone else without any imperial
 pomp and show.

2.3.9n) P. found himself unable to remit the taxes for long and himself was reputed to be greedy for money; SHA, *Pert.* 3.1, 9.4-7, 13.4. Only with difficulty was he able to pay the praetorians by sale of Commodus' private property, Dio (Xiph.) 73.5.4-5, SHA, *Pert.* 7.8-8.7. Gagé, *Rev. Num.* 6.4 (1962) 83 argues that there was a restoration of about 4 per cent of silver purity in the denarius and a drop in prices.

² P.'s popularity was not great with those whom he downgraded after their adlections *inter praetorios* by Commodus, SHA, *Pert.* 6.10-11; nor were his reimposed taxes appreciated, SHA, *Pert.* 7.7 (reproached by the son of his old patron, the *cos suff.* 193, Q. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Gentianus).

³ Dio (Xiph.) 73.7.3 says he lived with his (maternal) grandfather; cf. 2.3.11n, 4.6.3n. The grandfather was Ti. Flavius Sulpicianus, 2.6.8.

δ. τοιαύτης δὲ εὐμοιρίας καὶ εὐταξίας κατεχούσης τὸν βίον μόνοι οἱ δορυφόροι, ἀσχάλλοντες μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι, ποθοῦντες δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς προγεγεννημένης ¹ τυραννίδος ἀρπαγὰς τε καὶ βίας ἔν τε ἀσωτίαις καὶ κραπάλαις, ² ἐβουλεύσαντο ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὸν Περτίνακα, ὡς ὄντα αὐτοῖς ³ βαρὺν καὶ ἐπαχθῆ, ζητῆσαι δὲ τινα τὸν πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀνετον καὶ ἀκόλαστον παρέξοντα ἐξουσίαν.

² αἰφνιδίως τοίνυν, οὐδενὸς προσδοκῶντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διατριβόντων, θυμῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ ὄρμηϊ <ἐκ> ⁴ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δρόμῳ φερόμενοι αὐτοῖ ⁵ ἡμέρας ἀκμαζούσης ἐπεισῆλθον τοῖς βασιλείοις τὰ τε δόρατα διατεινόμενοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη

³ σπασάμενοι. τῷ δὲ παραδόξῳ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀνελπίστῳ οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ὑπηρεσία ταραχθέντες,

¹ προγενομένης i

² κραπ. <ἐκδιατήσεις> Syllb κραπ. <διαγωγὰς> Reisk/lacuna conj Mendelss contra Irmisch (cf. 2.2.5) ἔν-κραπάλαις om Jo

³ αὐτὸν φ

⁴ Steph

⁵ αὐτὸν O del? Mendelss

¹ SHA, *Pert.* 10.8, says, and Dio (Xiph.) 73.9.1, implies that Laetus, the prefect, was to blame for the plot, but this may be a projection from Falco's plot (2.4.5n) and the fact that after the death of Pertinax Laetus probably backed the candidature of Severus; for which he was executed by Didius Julianus. In spite of similarities between this situation and that of Nerva and Trajan, there is no real evidence that P. was intended as an interim candidate to prepare the way for Severus. But note that P. did not select his son as Caesar, Laetus and Severus were on cordial terms (SHA, *Sev.* 4.4), and Severus was remarkably quick off the mark once P. had been murdered. But this is no more than circumstantial evidence.

² A misleading statement. P. must have known of trouble among the praetorians since the urban prefect Sulpicianus

5. While men lived in this happy state of well-ordered government, the soldiers of the guard alone were upset about the prevailing conditions and longed for the old life of riotous, drunken behaviour under the tyranny when they could plunder and terrorize. They therefore plotted to get rid of Pertinax, because he was an annoying thorn in their flesh,¹ and in his place to find someone who would let them behave with complete licence and immunity, as they had done before. And so, while conditions were ² completely peaceful and people were off their guard, they made a sudden rush from the camp at mid-day without any apparent reason for their angry attack.² They charged into the palace with their spears ready and their swords drawn, throwing the emperor's ³ attendants into confusion by their surprise and

had been sent to the camp to negotiate with them, Dio (Xiph.) 73.11.1. The unexpected attack came from a small body of militant troops, which may have surprised even Laetus, SHA, *Pert.* 11.6-7. H. is preoccupied by the violence of the praetorian guard throughout his history and tends to generalize; cf. 8.8.3 for almost exactly similar language. The numbers of troops who made this attack was no more than about 6 per cent of the guard; see 2.5.8n.

³ The bad relations between P. and the *auliculi* is commented on in many places; SHA, *Pert.* 11.5, says they urged on the soldiers; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 73.6.2, 73.8.1 and 4, SHA, *Pert.* 8.1, 13.9, 14.6. A story in SHA, *Pert.* 12.8, says that the *ministri* planned to kill P. in his bath, suspiciously like the tale about Commodus; hence Werner, *Pertinaxvita* 315-17, would dismiss the tales as worthless. But there seems little doubt that P. was severely restrictive against the influential freedmen and slaves of Commodus; one of the actors who was an *auliculus* of Commodus was later found with Didius Julianus—Pylades, the pantomimus, Dio (Xiph.) 73.13.1; cf. 1.13.8n.

ὀλίγοι τε¹ πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ ἄνοπλοι πρὸς
 ὤπλισμένους, οὐκ ἔμενον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἦν ἐγκεχεί-
 ριστο² φρουρὰν λιπῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείῳ ἢ ἐπὶ ταῖς
 λοιπαῖς εἰσόδοις ἔφευγον. ὀλίγοι δέ τινες τῶν
 ἐνούσωντων διαγγειλαντες τῷ Περτίνακι τὴν ἔφοδον
 συνεβούλευον φυγεῖν τῇ τε τοῦ δήμου³ βοθηείᾳ
 4 ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι, ὃ δὲ καὶ⁴ τοῖς συμβουλευούσων
 αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὠφέλιμα [μῆ]⁵ πεισθεῖς,
 ἀπρεπῆ δὲ⁶ καὶ ἀνελεύθερα βασιλείας τε ἀνάξια
 καὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων αὐτῷ καὶ προπεπραγμέ-
 νων νομίσας, φεύγειν μὲν ἢ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν,
 ὁμοσε δὲ χωρήσας τῷ πράγματι προῆλθεν ὡς
 διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς ἐλπίας πείσειν τε αὐτοὺς
 καὶ παύσειν τῆς ἀλόγου εἰς τὸ παρὸν⁷ ὀρμῆς.
 5 καὶ δὴ⁸ τοῦ δωματίου προελθὼν, ὑπαντῶμενος
 αὐτοῖς πυνθάνεσθαι τε ἐπειράτο τὰς αἰτίας τῆς
 ὀρμῆς⁸ πείθειν τε ἐπεχείρει μὴ ἐνθουσιᾶν, μένων⁹
 καὶ τότε ἐν σώφρονι καὶ σεμνῷ σχήματι καὶ
 τηρῶν τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξίωμα, οὐδὲν¹⁰ τι
 κατεπτηχότος οὐδὲ ἀποδειλιῶντος καὶ ἰκετεύοντος
 σχήμα ἐνδεικνύμενος.¹⁰
 6 “τὸ μὲν ἐμέ” ἔφη “πρὸς¹¹ ὑμῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι
 οὐδὲν τι μέγα ἢ βαρὺ πρεσβύτη ἐς μακρὸν γῆρας
 ἐνδόξως¹² ἐλάσαντι. παντὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων βίω
 ἀνάγκη τέλος¹³ ἐπιτεθῆναι. τὸ δὲ ὑμᾶς φύλακας
 καὶ φρουροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοῦ¹⁴ βασιλέως καὶ

1 om O

2 ἐκεχείριστο al

3 after δήμου add Jo καὶ τῇ τῆς συγκλήτου

4 del Steph Stav καίτοι Reisk

5 om P

6 om O

7 εἰς τὸ παρὸν iP om OJo

8 καὶ δὴ—ὀρμῆς om l

unexpected move. Being outnumbered and un-
 armed against a large force of armed soldiers, every
 one of these men deserted their posts at the outer
 door of the palace and the other entrances and fled.
 A few who remained loyal told Pertinax of the in-
 trusion and advised him to escape and rely on the
 people to help him. Although Pertinax was [not]⁴
 persuaded by those who advised him to find an easy
 way out of his present difficulties, in his opinion it was
 an undignified and cowardly act, unworthy either of
 an emperor or of his own previous life and behaviour.
 Refusing therefore to run away or hide, he met the
 issue face to face and went out to parley with the
 soldiers in the hopes of persuading them to desist
 from their present, wild impulse. So he left his room⁵
 and faced the soldiers. He tried to find out why they
 had made the attack and to persuade them not to be
 carried away by their passions. Even then he kept
 his moderate, noble expression and his appearance of
 imperial dignity by showing no sign that he was
 afraid or flinching from the danger, or that he was
 begging for mercy.

“My death,” he said, “at your hands is of no⁶
 great consequence; I am an old man and have lived
 a long and distinguished life. Every man’s life must
 come to an end sometime.¹ But you are supposed
 to be the guardians and protectors of the emperor and

¹ See 2.2.6n for the cliché.⁹ corr Bergl and Reisk from ἐνθουσιασμένων Bgl ἐνθουσια-
σμένω V ἐνθουσιασμένω ἀλλὰ A ἐνθουσιασμένω α¹⁰ οὐδὲν—ἐνδεικνύμενος del Mendelss¹¹ πρὸ φ¹² om O¹³ om φ¹⁴ εἶναι τοῦ om i

τοὺς ἕξωθεν κινδύνους ἀπείργοντας αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι
 φονεῖς καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐμφυλίῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείῳ
 μιᾶναι τὰς δεξιὰς αἵματι, ὁράτε, μὴ πρὸς τὸ νῦν
 ἀνόσιον καὶ ὑστερον ὑμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον ἦ. οὐ γάρ
 7 τι ἐμαυτῷ συνοίδα λυπήσαντι ὑμᾶς. εἰ δὲ καὶ
 ἐπὶ¹ τῇ Κομόδου τελευτῇ δυσχεραίνετε, οὐδὲν
 παράδοξον, ἀνθρωπον ὄντα εἰ τελευτῇ κατέλαβεν.
 εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς οἴεσθε γεγενῆσθαι, οὐκ
 ἐμὸν τὸ ἀμάρτημα· ἴστε γὰρ ἕξω πάσης ὄντα
 με² ὑποψίας καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον³ ὑμῶν ἀγνοοῦντα⁴
 τὰ τότε πεπραγμένα, ὡς εἴ τι ὑποπτεύετε, ἐτέροις
 8 ἐπιφέρεω⁵ τὸ ἔγκλημα. ἀλλ' ὅμως κάκεινον
 τελευτήσαντος οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν εὐπρεπῶς καὶ κατ'
 ἀξίαν καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι με ἢ ἀρπάζειν
 <ἐπιθυμουμένων>⁶ ἐνδεήσει."

τοιαῦτά τινα λέγειν αὐτοῖς πειρώμενος ἦδη τινὰς
 αὐτῶν καὶ πείσειν ἔμελλε,⁷ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι γε
 ἀποστραφέντες ἀνεχώρουν σεμνοῦ βασιλέως γῆρας
 αἰδούμενοι· ἕτεροι⁸ δὲ λαλοῦντα τὸν πρεσβύτην
 9 ἐπιπεσόντες φονεύουσι. δράσαντες τε οὕτως ὡμῶν

¹ καὶ ἐτι Whit καὶ ἐπι Oi καὶ om P Mendels

² om φ gl ³ om Ogl ⁴ -οῦντων φgl

⁵ O cod Schotti ὑποφ. i <δεῖ> ἐπιφ. Reisk

⁶ Irmisch from P (*quod concuriveritis*) <δοθῆναι δυναμένων>

Schwartz ⁷ ἐμέλλησε i

⁸ Sylb from P ἐτι Oi after πρεσβύτην <οἱ θρασύτεροι>

Schwartz

¹ A dramatic anticipation of the disbanding of the guards by Severus; 2.13.2 ff.

² Cf. SHA, *Pert.* 6.6, which says P., in fear of the soldiers, had been forced to ratify all the concessions given to the praetorians by Commodus. This contradicts 2.4.1 and 2.6.10.

to keep off danger from outside. For you of all people to become murderers and to stain your hands with the blood of a citizen, let alone an emperor, may, I warn you, be an act of sacrilege today and a source of danger to you in the future.¹ I know of no way in which I have done you harm. If you are still upset 7 over the death of Commodus, there is nothing strange about him dying; for he was only a man. If you think his end was the result of a plot, this was none of my doing. You know that no suspicion attaches to me, and that I know as little about what happened that day as you do. So if you have suspicions, find someone else to blame. And anyway, even if 8 Commodus is dead, you will all get all you properly desire and are entitled to without putting violent pressure on me or overpowering me."²

His efforts to persuade them by talking to them were beginning to have an effect on some of them, since several of the soldiers turned round and went back out of respect for the age of the respected emperor. But others fell upon him while he was still talking and killed him.³ Having committed this 9

torians by Commodus. This contradicts 2.4.1 and 2.6.10. Werner points out, *Pertinaxvita* 303, that the story is an evident falsehood, since the praetorians would then have had no complaint, but he assumes absence of political manipulation.

³ Dio (Xiph.) 73.10.1 says there was one special ringleader; named as Tausius, a Tungrian (northern Gaul) by SHA, *Pert.* 11.9. If so, it would seem probable that the 200 (or 300) soldiers who came were mainly foreign *equites singulares*, whose loyalty to Commodus had been more personal. Dio says that P. could have used the cavalry (*equites praetoriani*?) or the night guard (i.e. the cohort of praetorians on palace duty) to put down the intruders; cf. Durry, *Cohortes praetoriannes* 56 and 382.

ἔργον, δέει τῶν τετολημμένων φθάσαι θέλοντες τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἔφοδον ἐπισταμενοί τε, ὅτι χαλεπῶς ὁ δῆμος¹ διοίσει τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον² δρόμῳ ἀναχωρήσαντες πάσας³ πύλας τε καὶ εἰσόδους ἀποκλείσαντες³ ἐντὸς <τοῦ>⁴ τείχους ἔμενον φρουρὰς ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καταστήσαντες, ὡς ἀμύνοντο, εἰ τῷ τείχει προσβάλλοι ὁ δῆμος. τέλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε τὸν Περτίνακα χρησάμενον βίῳ καὶ προαιρέσει ὡς⁵ προεῖρηται.

6. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσις, ταραχὴ τε καὶ πένθος πάντας κατεῖχε διέθεόν τε ἐνθουσιῶσιν εὐκότες κίνησις τε ἄλογος κατεῖχε τὸν δῆμον ζητούντων τοὺς δράσαντας, μήτε δὲ εὔρεῖν μήτε ἀμύνασθαι² δυναμένων. μάλιστα τε δεινῶς ἔφερον τὸ πεπραγμένον καὶ συμφορὰν κοινὴν ἔτηρουν⁶ οἷ τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν νέμοντες πατέρα τε ἥπιον καὶ χρηστὸν προστάτην⁷ ἀποβαλόντες. πάλιν τε τυραννίδος ἦν δέος, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ χαίρειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠλπίζον.

3 μᾶς δέ που καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας διαδραμούσης

¹ τὸ πλήθος i

² ἐς τὸ στρατ. iJoP om O

³ πάσας - ἀποκλείσαντες om i

⁴ Mendels

⁵ οἷς Belk²

⁶ Oi ἐθρήνου d'Orville ἐτίθεντο Mendels ἐποιοῦντο Schwartz

⁷ πρὸς ταύτην AV

¹ 28th March 193, according to SHA, *Pert.* 15.6 (though cf. 25th March, *ibid.* 15.7), N.B. *ILS* 409, a dedication to P. on 20th March. The date is secure, since Dio (*Xiph.*) 73.10.3 says P. ruled for eighty-seven days and died aged sixty-six.

act of savagery they grew frightened at their reckless action. They wanted to act before the people made an attack, because they realized that the people would be furious about what had happened. So they quickly ran back to the camp, shut all the gates and points of entry and stayed behind the walls. Sentries were stationed in the watch-towers so that they could keep off any attack the people made. Such then was the end of Pertinax, whose life and reign have been described above.¹

6. When the news of Pertinax' murder became generally known among the people, everyone was thrown into a confusion of grief and rushed about as though possessed. In a blind fury they searched for the culprits, but without being able to find them to take their revenge. The senators in particular were² angered by what had happened and observed it as a public disaster to lose so mild a father and so worthy a champion.² They were afraid that once again they would have a tyranny, because apparently this was what the soldiers liked.

After one or two days³ the common people, in fear³

² The Greek *prostates* is used to translate the Latin *patronus* (e.g. *Plut. Rom.* 13.4) but also *princeps*. Cf. *Cic. pro Mil.* 7 (16), in the sense of champion of the senate (*senatus propugnator atque illis quidem temporibus paene patronus*) and *Joseph. BJ* 4.596, for *prostates* used for *princeps*; *Magie, de Rom. . . vocabulis* 48 and 63.

³ Cf. *Amm. Marc.* 26.6.14. If this means there was an interval before Julianus' succession it cannot be reconciled with Dio (*Xiph.*) 73.11.1-2. Dio was present at the senate and would naturally be expected to be correct. But plausibility is lent to H.'s dating by the fact that, since Severus was proclaimed emperor by his troops in Pannonia on 9th April

οἱ μὲν δημόται ἕκαστος τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν δεδιῶς
 ὑπανεχώρει οἱ τε ἐν ἀξιώσεσιν¹ ὄντες ἐς τὰ
 πορρωτάτω τῆς πόλεως κτήματα ἀπεδίδρασκον,
 ὡς ἂν μή τι² δεινὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐσομένης ἀρχῆς
 4 παρόντες πάθοιεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπεὶ τὸν τε
 δῆμον ἡσυχάζοντα ἔγνωσαν μήτε τινα τολμῶντα
 ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως αἵματι, ἔμενον μὲν
 ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατακλείσαντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἀναγα-
 γόντες³ δὲ τοὺς εὐφωνοτάτους ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ
 τεῖχος προεκήρυττον⁴ ὄνιον τὴν βασιλείαν, τῷ
 τε πλέον ἀργύριον δώσουσι ἐγχειριεῖν ὑπισχνούντο
 τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων⁵ αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν
 5 ἀδεῶς ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ
 κήρυγμα διεφοίτησεν, οἱ μὲν σεμνότεροί τε καὶ
 εὐσταθέστεροι τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὅσοι τε
 εὐπατρίδαι ἢ ἔτι πλούσιοι, λείψανα ὀλίγα τῆς
 Κομόδου τυραννίδος, οὔτε προσῆλθον τῷ τείχει
 οὔτε ἀπρεπή καὶ ἐπονείδιστον χρήμασι κτήσασθαι
 6 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἠθέλησαν. Ἰουλιανῷ δέ τι, ἤδη μὲν

¹ ἀξιώσει i ἀξιώμασιν Jo

² ἀνάγοντες O

³ διὰ—ὄπλων om P

⁴ τὸ O

⁵ προσεκήρυττον i

(see 2.10.1n), he would have been more inclined to revolt if the messenger had left Rome while a state of confusion still reigned. It took about ten days for fast post from Rome to Carnuntum; Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 101. Eliot, *Phoenix* 9 (1955) 76-80, believes the messenger left Rome early on 29th March and arrived at Carnuntum on 8th April, travelling part of the route by night.

¹ Dio (Xiph.) 73.11-12 and H. agree that the scene of the

of their lives, began to retire, and those in positions of authority went away to their estates as far away from Rome as they could, to avoid being in the city and persecuted when the new regime was established. After the soldiers discovered all was quiet and no one 4 was brave enough to prosecute them for the murder of the emperor, they stayed shut up behind their walls, but stationed some of their number who had the loudest voices on the walls to announce that the position of emperor was up for sale.¹ They promised to entrust the power to the highest bidder and conduct him safely back to the palace under armed protection. As the announcement circulated, none of 5 the more respectable, firmly established senators (that is, the patricians and those who still possessed some wealth and who were left from Commodus' reign of tyranny) went to the camp wall; they had no intention of taking part in this improper, scandalous purchase of the empire. But there was a man called 6 Julianus,² an ex-consul who was reputed to be a man

whose auction took place. SHA, *Did. Jul.* 2.4-7, makes no mention of a sale, but would have validity only if we knew the source. It is impossible to argue as Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus* 19 and 34 ff., that this is yet another proof of a common prototype for Dio-Herodian. Dio and H. were both in Rome in 193; even if Marius Maximus were the source for SHA (very questionable), he was in Moesia Inferior (2.9.12n).

² M. Didius Severus Julianus; *PIR*² D 77; probably of African origin and related to the jurist Salvius Julianus, Kornemann, *Klio* 6 (1906) 183. He had been brought up in the household of Domitia Lucilla (mother of M. Aurelius), had earned rapid promotion under M. Aurelius and become suffect consul (with Pertinax) c. 175. Like Pertinax he had taken part in the German Wars and held several provincial governorships. Relegated to his country estates under Commodus

τὴν ὑπατον τετελεκότι ἀρχὴν, δοκοῦντι δὲ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ χρημάτων εἶναι, ἐστιωμένω¹ [δὴ]² περὶ δειλην ἐσπέραν διηγγέλη τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κήρυγμα παρὰ μέθην καὶ κραπαλῆν· ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ βίῳ μὴ σώφρονι διαβεβλημένων. πείθουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν ἢ τε γυνὴ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ τό τε τῶν παρασι- των πλῆθος ἀναθορόντα³ τοῦ σκίμποδος δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα μαθεῖν, παρὰ [τε]⁴ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν συμβουλευόντες ἐρριμμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρπάσαι, ἀφειδῶς δὲ χρημάτων ἔχοντα μεγαλοδωρίᾳ ἀπαντας ὑπερβαλεῖν,⁵ εἰ καὶ τινες ἀμφισβητοῦεν.⁶ ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τῷ τείχει προσῆλθεν, ἐβόα τε⁷ πάντα δώσσειν ὅσα βούλονται⁸ ὑπισχνού- μενος, παρεῖναι τε αὐτῷ πάμπλειστα χρήματα καὶ θησαυροὺς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεπληρωμένους ἔλεγε. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ⁹ Σουλπι- κιανός, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ τῶν ὑπατευκτότων,¹⁰ ἔπαρχός τε τῆς πόλεως γενόμενος (πατὴρ δὲ ἦν τῆς Περτινακος γυναικός), ἦκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠνούμε- νος.¹¹ ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὐ προσήκοντο φοβηθέντες

¹ ἐσθιομένω α ἐστιώμενον O

³ Steph -όντα OI

⁵ ὑπερέβαλεν O

⁷ om Stav

⁹ om OP

¹¹ ὠνήσόμενος con] Mendels

² del Reisk from P δὲ A

⁴ del Stav

⁶ εἰ-ἀμφισ. om P

⁸ ὅσα βούλονται om O

¹⁰ ὑπατικῶτων (-κωτων V) φ ὑπατικῶν A

(perhaps by Perennis in 182-5) he was restored to favour and succeeded Pertinax in the senior African proconsulship 189-90. Tales that he took part in the plot against Pertinax are discounted by Hasebroek, *Die Fälschung der Vita Nigri*, etc., 9 ff. He was known to hold estates at Mediolanum; cf.

of considerable means. It was getting on towards evening as he was feasting when the news of the soldiers' offer reached him, while he was in a drunken stupor. He was one of those about whom there were ugly stories concerning his intemperate life. His wife and daughter and a number of clients persuaded him¹ to get up quickly from his couch and run to the camp wall to find out what was happening. All the way there they advised him to seize possession of the empire while it lay abandoned, and by sparing no expense to outbid all possible rivals by the size of his bribe. So, when he reached the walls, Julianus⁸ shouted up that he would undertake to give them all they wanted and added that he had a lot of money and treasure chests full of gold and silver. But at the same time another man came to bid for the empire. He was Sulpicianus, who was also an ex-consul and now held the post of urban prefect (as well as being father-in-law to Pertinax).² But the soldiers would⁹

AE (1911) 181, G. Alföldi, *Legions legaten d. röm. Rheinarmeen* no. 49.

¹ Both the wife, Manlia Scantilla and the daughter, Didia Clara feature prominently on the coin issues subsequently; Woodward, *Num. Chr.* (7) 1 (1961) 71 ff. Two tribunes of the praetorian guard, Publius Florianus and Vectius Aper, are named by SHA, *Did. Jul.* 2.5, as those who persuaded J. to press his candidature.

² Ti. Flavius Sulpicianus, father of Flavia Titiana, the wife of Pertinax. He was a senior consul who had held the Asia proconsulship under Commodus; *PIR*² F 373, *Albo* 243 (perhaps the name Claudius also). He had also been caretaker of Pertinax' son, possibly on his estate at Praeneste, *CIL* XIV. 2838. After this incident he lost his urban prefectship to Cornelius Repentinus, the son-in-law of Julianus (*PIR*² C 1427), but survived at the request of the praetorians and was finally executed by Severus in 197 for supporting Albinus,

οὐ στρατιῶται τὴν πρὸς τὸν Περτίνακα συγγένειαν, μή τις ἄρα δόλος εἴη ἐς τὸ ἐκδικηθῆναι τὸν ἐκείνου φόνον· καθέντες δὲ κλίμακα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεβίβασαν. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας ἤθελον πρὶν ἢ τὴν ποσότητα μαθεῖν τῶν 10 δοθησομένων χρημάτων. ὁ δ' ἀνελθὼν τὴν τε Κομόδου μνήμην αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἃς ἡ σύγκλητος καθεῖλεν, ἀνανεώσασθαι¹ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πάντων δώσειν ἐξουσίαν ὧν εἶχον ἐπ' ἐκείνου, ἐκάστω τε στρατιώτῃ τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον ὅσον μῆτε αἰτῆσαι μῆτε λήψεσθαι προσεδόκησαν.² τὰ δὲ χρήματα μὴ μελλήσειν, ἀλλ' 11 οὐκοθεν ἤδη μεταπέμψασθαι.³ τούτοις ἀναπεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ταύταις ἀρθέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν αὐτοκράτορά τε τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναγορεύουσι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ οἰκείῳ καὶ⁴ ἐκ γένους ὀνόματι Κόμοδον ἀξιούσιν ἀποκαλεῖσθαι. τὰ τε σημεῖα ἄφαντες, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου εἰκόνας ἀποκατα-

¹ Steph and l (?) -σασθαι AV ag ἀνανεώσασθαι B.

² προσεδόκησε (-εν B) O

³ Steph -ψασθαι OI

⁴ om i but gloss? Mendelss om P (*simul ei Commodi cognomen imponunt*)

Dio (Xiph.) 75.8.4. Dio (Xiph.) 73.11.3-6 and SHA, *Did. Jul.* 2.6-7, say that Sulpicianus was already inside the praetorian camp negotiating for the purple when Julianus arrived.

¹ SHA, *Did. Jul.* 2.6-7, says that J. warned the praetorians that Sulpicianus would avenge Pertinax; he communicated by means of placards; at an earlier stage a certain Maurentius is said to have supported Sulpicianus, but then changed his

not consider him because they were afraid of his close relationship with Pertinax¹ and thought this was a trick to gain revenge for his murder. They therefore let ladders down and brought Julianus up on to the wall, because they were not anxious to open the gates until they found out how much money he intended to pay them. When he had climbed up 10 the ladder Julianus promised first to reinstate Commodus' reputation by restoring the honours and statues which the senate had removed,² then to allow them as much freedom as they had had under Commodus and finally to give each man more money than he dreamt of asking for or getting.³ What was more, he said, there would be no delay since he would send for the money from his home right away. This 11 was enough for the soldiers, whose expectations were roused by these bribes, and they hailed Julianus as emperor,⁴ and in addition to his family and gentile name they voted him the name of Commodus.⁵ Then they lifted up their standards upon which the portraits of Commodus⁶ had been restored and hurried to set

allegiance, *Did. Jul.* 3.1; all this information from the *vita* is highly suspect; Stein, *RE* (Maurentius) 2343.

² See 2.4.1n.

³ Dio (Xiph.) 73.11.5-6, SHA, *Did. Jul.* 3.2, say that each soldier was promised 25,000 sesterces (and actually received more, says the *vita*), which represented five years' pay (1,250 denarii × 5); Durry, *Cohortes praetorianae* 266 ff.

⁴ H. here uses the Greek word *autocrator*, the correct equivalent for *imperator*; cf. 2.2.9n.

⁵ Confirmed by Dio (Xiph.) 73.12.1, but not found on coins or inscriptions.

⁶ The Greek is ambiguous; perhaps "on which the portraits of Julianus had been fixed." For the *imagines principum*, see Tac. *A.* 4.2, Suet. *Tib.* 43, Tertullian, *Apol.* 16.8.

- 12 στήσαντες,¹ προπέμπειν ἐπέειγοντο.² θύσας δὲ ὁ
 Ἰουλιανὸς τὰς νενομισμένας καὶ βασιλείους³ ἐν
 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θυσίας, προήγετο ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 πλέον τι τῆς συνηθείας δορυφορούμενος· ἅτε γὰρ
 βία καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ δήμου μετὰ τε αἰσχροῦς
 καὶ ἀπρεποῦς διαβολῆς⁴ ὠνησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν,
 εἰκότως ἐδεδίει τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐναντιωσόμενον.
- 13 ἀναλαβόντες οὖν τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ φράξαντες
 αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται ἐς φάλαγγος σχῆμα ὡς, εἰ
 δέοι, καὶ πολεμήσοντες, ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες
 τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωροῦντες
 τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, μὴ που⁵ καὶ λίθων
 τις βολὴ ἀπὸ τῶν δωμάτων ἐπὶ τῇ πομπῇ γένοιτο,
 ἀνήγαγον⁶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, μηδενὸς τῶν
 δημοτῶν μῆτε ἀντιστήναι τολμῶντος μῆτε μὴν
 εὐφημοῦντος⁷ ὥσπερ εἰώθασι προπέμπειν τοὺς
 βασιλέας· τούναντίον δὲ καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐστῶτες
 ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ κακῶς ἠγόρευον ἅτε χρημάτων
 ἀντικαταλλάξάμενον⁸ τὴν ἀρχήν.
- 14 τότε δὴ⁸ καὶ πρῶτον ὑποδιεφθάρη⁹ τὰ τῶν

¹ *impositis illius imaginibus* P ἐπικατα- conj Syll

² Whit ἐπειράοντο Oi ³ καὶ βασιλ. om P

⁴ ἐμπολῆς Faber διαβολῆς Syll

⁵ μήπου τι λίθον ἀπὸ . . . γένοιτο ἀκοντήσειν ἀνήγαγον O

⁶ εὐφημοῦντες φ

⁷ -μένου O -ἠλλάξε cod Pal 129 fol 31^b

⁸ IP (*scilicet*) δὲ Oag ⁹ ὑποδιεφθάρσαν O

off in procession. Julianus completed the customary 12
 imperial sacrifices inside the camp before being
 escorted on his way by a larger contingent of guards
 than normal. The reason for this was because he had
 bought the empire by an immoral and scandalous
 fraud, using force to go against the wishes of the
 people, and he had good reason to fear popular
 hostility. So the soldiers put on full armour and 13
 formed up in closed battle order ready to fight if they
 had to. Placing their emperor in the middle of the
 escort and raising their shields and spears above their
 heads to prevent any stones being thrown on to the
 procession from the houses, they conducted him to
 the palace.¹ None of the common people dared to
 stand in their way, but neither did anyone cheer him
 the way people usually do along the emperor's route.
 On the contrary, they stood off at a distance and
 shouted curses and insults at him for procuring the
 empire in exchange for money.

This was the first time that the soldiers' characters 14

¹ H. says nothing of the meeting of the senate, which, according to Dio, took place on the evening of the proclamation by the soldiers and before J. went to the palace. Dio claims to have been present at the session at which the usual powers of the emperor were voted to J.; Dio (Xiph.) 73.12-13.1. SHA, *Did. Jul.* 3.3-5, substantially agrees with Dio, but gives the impression that the senate were given a free choice of whether to accept the soldiers' nomination; the honours voted included J.'s elevation to the patriciate and the titles of Augusta to his wife and daughter—probably correct. In the palace, says Dio (Xiph.) 73.13.1, the evening meal was still laid out for Pertinax and the corpse still lay in the palace while J. made merry. But SHA, *Did. Jul.* 3.8, explicitly refers to this story as scandal spread by J.'s enemies. Dio himself had personal enmity against Julianus, Dio (Xiph.) 73.12.2.

στρατιωτῶν ἤθη, καὶ χρημάτων ἐδιδάχθησαν ἄπληστον καὶ αἰσχροὺς ἐπιθυμίαν καταφρόνησίν τε τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας αἰδοῦς. τὸ γὰρ μήτε τοῖς οὕτως ὠμῶς τετολημμένοις ἐν φόβῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐπεξιέναι τινά, μήτε τὴν οὕτως ἀπρεπῶς ἐπὶ χρήμασι κηρυχθεῖσαν καὶ πραθείσαν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸν κωλύοντα, ἀρχηγὸν καὶ αἴτιον ἀπρεποῦς¹ καὶ ἀπειθοῦς καταστάσεως καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐγένετο, αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς τῆς φιλοχρηματίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων καταφρονήσεως καὶ μέχρις αἵματος αὐξήθεισης.

7. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπεὶ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν, τρυφαίς εὐθέως καὶ κραυπαλαῖς ἐσχόλαζε, τῇ μὲν τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιμελείᾳ ῥαθύμως προσφερόμενος, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀβροδίατον καὶ ἀσεμνον ἐπιδιδούς² ἑαυτόν. εὐρίσκετό τε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ψευδάμενος καὶ ἀπατήσας τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι/ἀπο-
2 πληρῶσαι ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἦν αὐτῷ τοσαῦτα χρήματα ὅσα ἠλαζονεύσατο, οὔτε μὴν οἱ δημόσιοι τι θησαυροὶ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ πάντα προκεκένωτο τῇ Κομόδου ἀσωτία καὶ ἀφειδέσει καὶ

¹ ἀπρεπή Ο

² ἐπιδούς Ο

¹ Clearly untrue; the same might have been written after the selection of the emperor Claudius; it is part of H.'s theme to dwell on the corruption of the soldiers and the praetorians; cf. 3.8.5 for the same kind of charge against Severus.

² The extent to which J. made concessions to the praetorians is demonstrated by his allowing the guards to recommend the selection of their own prefects, T. Flavius Genialis and Tullius Crispinus. Genialis is recorded on *CIL* VI. 214 as a tribune of

gradually began to be corrupted.¹ They learned to have an evil and insatiable lust for money and to ignore any feeling of respect for their emperors.² The fact that there was nobody to take revenge on the perpetrators of this savage murder of an emperor, and nobody to prevent the shameful auction and sale of the empire, was a prime cause in the development of a shameful state of indiscipline that had permanent consequences for the future. The ever-increasing avarice of the soldiers and their contempt for authority had developed to the extent of murder.

7. As soon as Julianus came to power,³ he began to waste his time in feasting and drinking, and idly neglected public welfare by abandoning himself to luxurious⁴ and indecent living. It was discovered that he had even deceived the soldiers by his lies since he was unable to keep his promises to them.⁵ He did not, in fact, have as much money as he had² boasted of in his private possession, and the public treasuries, which were completely exhausted by the extravagance of Commodus' wasteful and indiscrimin-

a cohort c. 185; cf. Howe, *Praet. Pref.* nos. 14 and 15; SHA, *Did. Jul.* 3.1; cf. *CIL* VI. 2747 (Tullius Crispinus).

³ Difficult to assess how far this portrait of Julianus is due to hostile Severan propaganda; see 2.6.13n, Millar, *Cassius Dio* 136 f. Some confirmation of J.'s desire to placate the soldiers and his extravagance comes from the coins; stress is laid on *concordia militum* and the coins themselves suffer a dramatic reduction in weight, in contrast to Pertinax's issues, 2.4.2n.

⁴ The word used by H. here is τὸ ἀβροδίατον. An indication of H.'s position in the world of stylistic controversy is given by the fact that the word, which occurs in Thuc. 1.6, is supported by the hyper-Atticist, Phrynichus, 603 (Lobek), in contrast to the word ἡ ἀβροδίατα which is used by H.'s contemporary, Aelian, *VH.* 12.24.

⁵ See 2.6.10n.

ἀκρίτοις ἀναλώμασιν. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς τόλμης καὶ ² τῆς αἰτίας οἱ τε ¹ στρατιῶται σφαλέντες τῶν ἐλπίδων ² ὑπηγανάκτου, ὃ τε δῆμος αἰσθόμενος τῆς γνώμης τῶν στρατιωτῶν ³ εἶχον (αὐτὸν) ⁴ ἐν καταφρονήσει, ὡς προϊόντα ⁵ τε κακῶς ἀγορεύειν, ἐπ' ⁶ αἰσχροῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιβόλοις ἡδοναῖς ³ σκώπτειν. ἔς τε τὸν ἵππόδρομον, ὅπου μάλιστα τὸ πλῆθος συνῖον ἐκκλησιάζει, τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐβλασφήμουν, ἀρωγὸν δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ σεμνῆς βασιλείας προστάτην Νίγρον ἐπεκαλοῦντο, βοηθεῖν τε αὐτὸν τὴν ταχίστην ἠξίουσαν ὡς ἐφύβριστα πάσχουσαν.

⁴ ἦν δ' ὁ Νίγρος τῶν μὲν πρὸ πολλοῦ ⁷ ὑπάτευσαντων, καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν τὰ προειρημένα ἐν

¹ om O

² τῆς τόλμης καὶ . . . σφαλέντες τῶν ἐλπίδων om Jo P

³ τῆς γνώμης.—στρατιωτῶν om Jo ⁴ Mendelss from Jo

⁵ cod Schotti προϊόντα OI ⁶ Steph ὑπ' OI/

⁷ πρὸ πολλοῦ om P

¹ See 2.3.9n.

² Probably the same event as that described by Dio on the day after accession, when, after fighting between the soldiers and the populace, the people met and demonstrated for twenty-four hours (probably in the Circus Maximus just below the Palatine); Dio (Xiph.) 73.13.5, SHA, *Did. Jul.* 4.7, *Nig.* 3.1 (which says on the occasion of circus games, but probably wrong). For the use of the circus as a popular meeting-place for organizing pressure groups, see Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 360 ff.

³ The career of Niger is a problem, principally because the *vita* in the SHA is very untrustworthy; Hasebroek, *Die Fälschung der Vita Nigri*, etc., rejects any information not corroborated from other sources or *vitae*; Grosso, *Lotta politica* 428 ff. and 685 f., is less cautious; Premerstein, *Klio* 13 (1913) 97-104, tries to accept almost all. The following "facts"

ate expenditure,¹ certainly had nothing to spare. Having been tricked in this way out of their hopes by Julianus' brazenness, the soldiers were extremely annoyed and, as the people saw this attitude of the soldiers, they showed their contempt for Julianus. They shouted insults at him when he came out in public and made fun of him for his immoral, questionable sensuality. At the circus,² where the people ³ principally gather to express their opinions, they cursed Julianus, invoking Niger as the protector of the empire and champion of the sacred office of emperor and calling upon him to help them as soon as he could because they were being treated so outrageously. Niger was one of the ex-consuls who had held ⁴ office several years earlier ³ and, at the time these

seem to me probable, but should be accepted with reservation. C. Pescennius Niger Iustus was born on an equestrian family (Dio (Xiph.) 74.6.1), served in the army for a number of years as an equestrian (SHA, *Nig.* 1.5, 6.10), including a high position in Egypt (Victor, *Caes.* 20.9, *dux*) and perhaps as a procurator in Palestine (SHA, *Nig.* 7.9, but may refer to 193); he saw military service in Dacia (c. 183, Dio (Xiph.) 72.8.1) and in Gaul during the *bellum desertorum* (cf. 1.10.3n, SHA, *Nig.* 3.3-5, 6.7); some time during his career he was adlected into the senate and became suffect consul before 191 (perhaps before 190, SHA, *Nig.* 4.6); in 191/2 he was appointed *legatus* of Syria. *CIL* III. 7750 (from Dacia) is questionably attributed to him—C. [Pescennius] [Niger] *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) cos. Dac(ium)*. Stein, *Präf. v. Ägypten* 100, rejects the possibility of N. being prefect of Egypt (but he would fit in 183-4); SHA, *Comm.* 6.6, names a Niger as praetorian prefect for a few hours in 185. It is possible that N. was in fact prefect in 185, adlected *inter praetorios* and given a special command of *vevillationes* in Gaul in 187; for his success he was rewarded with a suffect consulship (188), made *legatus* of Dacia (188-90) and finally *legatus* of Syria (191-3).

Ῥώμη ἐπράττετο, Συρίας ἡγείτο πάσης. πολλή δὲ ἦν καὶ μεγίστη ἀρχὴ τότε, τοῦ τε ¹ Φοινίκων ἔθνους παντός καὶ τῆς μέχρις Εὐφράτου γῆς ὑπὸ ⁵ τῇ Νίγρου ὄντων ἐξουσίᾳ. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ἤδη μετρίως ² προβεβηκώς, εὐδοκμήσας δὲ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας πράξεσι. φήμη τε περὶ αὐτοῦ διεφοῖτα ὡς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ δεξιῶν ὡς ³ τὸν τοῦ Περτίνακος βίον ζηλοῦντος· ὑφ' ὧν μάλιστα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπίειθοντο. ἐκάλουν τε αὐτὸν συνεχῶς <ἐν> ⁴ ταῖς τοῦ δήμου συνόδοις, καὶ βλασφημοῦντες τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν παρόντα ἐκείνων βασιλικαῖς φωναῖς εὐφήμουν ἀπόντα.

⁶ διαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων γνώμης καὶ τῆς ἐπαλλήλου ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις βοῆς, εἰκότως ὁ Νίγρος ἀναπεισθεῖς, ῥᾶστά τε αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ὑπακούσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ὑπὸ τε τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιωτῶν ἀμελεῖσθαι διότι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις οὐκ ἐπλήρωσεν τῶν χρημάτων, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καταφρονεῖσθαι ὡς ἀνάξιον ἧς ἐώνητο ἀρχῆς, ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτὸν τῇ

¹ Bekk² δὴ Αἰ δὲ φ³ καὶ Bekk²² om O⁴ Steph

¹ Described in this way because Syria was divided into two provinces soon after.

² Dio (Xiph.) 72.8.1 notes N.'s distinctions won in Dacia with Albinus. Grosso believes N. was already a senator and *legatus* of leg. XIII Gemina in Dacia, but there are numerous parallels of equestrians with special military commands; Grosso, *Lotta politica* 429.

³ Niger probably actively encouraged such a comparison by adopting the name Iustus which seems to have post-dated

events were taking place in Rome, was serving as governor of the whole of Syria.¹ This was an extensive province and the largest of its day, comprising the whole of Phoenicia and the territory stretching as far as the Euphrates under Niger's command. Niger was quite old with a distinguished record for a number of important activities.² He had a reputation for being a gentle, fair man as though he modelled his life on the example of Pertinax,³ and it was these qualities which particularly influenced the Romans. When the people met together they called upon Niger continuously, insulting Julianus, who was present, and honouring Niger, who was absent, with the titles of emperor. On being given the news⁴ about the feeling of the Roman people and the shouting that was taking place continuously at the meetings, Niger was understandably misled into supposing that he would have an easy success. The two important factors were that the soldiers of the body-guard were taking no steps to protect Julianus because of his failure to pay them the financial rewards he had promised, and the people contemptuously dismissed him as unworthy of the empire he had bought. Therefore Niger put all his hopes on becoming emperor.

his assumption of power; cf. Bersanetti, *Aegyptus* 29 (1949) 86n. The theme of *iustitia* appears on N.'s coins, associated with the idea of the *auræa saecula*; *BMC* V. cx, SHA, *Nig.* 12.6, *RIC* IV. 1.30-1, nos. 44 ff.

⁴ The news must have arrived at Antioch at a date actually after Severus had declared himself as emperor, though N. did not know this; see 2.9.11n. Even by the dangerous spring sea-route, express news could not have reached Antioch in under twelve days in perfect sailing conditions.

7 τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγους ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ χιλιάρχους τοὺς τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέχοντας οἴκαδε μεταπεμπόμενος διελέγετο καὶ ἀνέπειθε, τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης δηλούμενα φανερὰ ποιῶν, ὡς ἂν διαθέουσα ἡ φήμη¹ ἔκπυστα καὶ γνώριμα ποιῆ τοῖς τε στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀνθρώποις· 8 οὕτω γὰρ ῥᾶστα ἤλπιζε πάντας αὐτῷ προσχωρήσει, πυνθανομένους ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς μᾶται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ καλούμενος καὶ βοηθήσων ἅπεισι Ῥωμαίοις δεομένοις. ἀνεπτόητο δὴ² πάντες καὶ μηδὲν³ μελλήσαντες προσέκειντο, ἐκλιπαροῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν 9 πραγμάτων. φύσει δὲ κοῦφον τὸ Σύρων ἔθνος, ἐς καινοτομίαν τε τῶν καθεστηκότων ἐπιτηδείων. ἐνῆν δὲ τις αὐτοῖς καὶ πόθος τοῦ Νίγρου, ἡπίως

¹ Steph from P (*rumores disseminarentur*) γνώμη Οἱ

² OP δὲ i

³ μηδὲ i

¹ Only a few of the names of governors and legionary commanders in the eastern provinces in 193 are known; Thrace—P. Claudius Attalus Paterculinus (see 3.1.6n), Asia—Asellius Aemilianus (3.2.2n), Arabia—P. Aelius Severianus Maximus (if he backed Niger he soon went over to Severus, since he was made suffect consul in c. 194), Egypt—L. Mantennius Sabinus (supported Niger, but abandoned him in 194 and did not suffer disgrace, Reusch, *RE* (Pescennius 2) 1097–8); no names are known for the governors of Pontus-Bithynia, Cappadocia, Lycia-Pamphilia, Cilicia; nor are any names known for the legionary *legati* in the East; the Palestine legion VI Ferrata first supported Niger, but probably abandoned him after Cyzicus, Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1312–13, 1593; the same was probably true of the Arabian legion II Cyrenaica (see next note).

As a first measure he summoned the legionary 7 commanders and military tribunes and more distinguished soldiers in small groups to his private residence, where he discussed the subject with them and tried to win them over¹ by telling them the news he was receiving from Rome. In so doing he intended the news to come to the ears of the soldiers and the rest of the inhabitants of the eastern provinces, once the rumour was current. In this way 8 Niger hoped that no one would have any difficulty in supporting him, if they heard that he for his part was not making some insidious bid for power,² but going to assist the Romans in response to their call. And indeed everyone did become excited. Straight away they began to press Niger with requests to be allowed to take a personal part in the campaign. Syrians, 9 being characteristically erratic people, are always ready to upset established rule.³ But they also had

² There is little to support the theory that Niger had already revolted before the death of Pertinax, as suggested by Manni, *RFIC* 75 (1947) 230–5, based on SHA, *Did. Jul.* 4.7. All other evidence points to the contrary. Bersanetti, *Aegyptus* 29 (1949) 87 ff., plausibly argues that the support of the governors of Arabia, Palestine and the Egyptian prefect was won chiefly to avenge Pertinax rather than against Severus; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 74.9, the argument used by Cassius Clemens; hence the reason why they so readily deserted Niger after Cyzicus.

³ See I.17.6.n for H.'s ethnic interests. Most writers on H. have said he was a Syrian; but 2.10.7, 3.1.3, 3.4.1 are all hostile comments on Syrians; only 3.11.8 (clever thinkers) is complimentary and 6.6.4 praises Antioch's climate. H. does not know certain local facts, such as that Diadumenus was proclaimed Augustus at Apamea (5.5.1), that Vologaeses IV not Artabanus was king of the Parthians in 198 (3.9.10), etc.; Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 214–16 gives a list of those who think Antioch is H.'s home.

τε ἄρχοντας ἅπασι,¹ τὰ πλείστα τε αὐτοῖς συμπαν-
 ηγγυρίζοντος. φιλέορτοι δὲ φύσει Σύροι· ὧν μάλι-
 στα οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατοικοῦντες, μεγίστην
 πόλιν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, σχεδὸν παρὰ πάντα τὸν
 ἔναιαυτὸν ἑορτάζουσιν ἔν τε τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ
 10 τὰ προάστεια. θεάς τοῖνυν αὐτοῖς συνεχῶς ἐπι-
 τελῶν ὁ Νίγρος, περὶ ² ἀς μάλιστα ἐσπουδάσασι,²
 καὶ διδοὺς ἄνεσιν ἐς τὸ ἑορτάζειν καὶ εὐφραίνεισθαι,
 ἅτε ποιῶν κεχαρισμένα, εἰκότως ἐτιμάτο.

8. ἅπερ εἰδὼς, καλέσας τοὺς τε πανταχόθεν
 στρατιώτας ἐς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ
 πλήθους συνελθόντος, βήματος αὐτῷ κατασκευα-
 σθέντος ἔλεξε τοιαύδε ἀνελθών·³

2 “ τῆς μὲν ἐμῆς γνώμης τὸ πρᾶον καὶ πρὸς τὰ
 μεγάλα τῶν τετολημμένων εὐλαβὲς ἴσως ἐστὶν
 ὑμῖν πάλαι γνώριμον· οὐδ’ ἂν νῦν ἐς ὑμᾶς
 παρήλθον⁴ ταῦτα δημηγορήσων, εἰ ἐκ μόνης
 προαιρέσεως ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλόγου ἐλπίδος ἢ
 μείζονος ἐλπίδος ἐπιθυμίας⁵ ἀνεπειθόμεν. ἀλλ’
 ἐμὲ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ συνεχῶς βοῶντες
 ἐπέιγουσιν ὀρέξαι τε χεῖρα σωτήριον καὶ οὕτω

¹ <ἐν> ἅπασι Reisk from P (*apud illos*)

² περὶ-ἐσπουδ. om P Mendelss ³ om O ⁴ ἦλθον i

⁵ ἐπιθυμία AV [μείζονος] . . . ἐπιθυμία Schwartz and many
 conjectures shown in Mendelss

¹ Malalas 290.14.20 notes the building of the Plethrion, a
 wrestling arena, in the reign of Julianus—surely the work of
 Niger, not Julianus; Downey, *History of Antioch* 237, suggests
 an attempt by J. to win favour from Niger, but J. had no *de*
facto power in Antioch; cf. 3.1.3, 3.4.1 for enthusiasm for
 Niger in Antioch. The city was his mint and his capital.

a real affection for Niger because he had been a mild
 governor to everyone, and frequently used to join in
 the celebration of their festivals. The Syrians are
 naturally fond of holidays, which applies particularly
 to the citizens of Antioch, the largest and most
 flourishing city.¹ In Antioch they celebrate festivals
 practically the whole year round, either in the city or
 in the surrounding district.² Because Niger had 10
 given them a succession of shows (about which they
 are particularly enthusiastic), and had granted them
 licence to have feasts and celebrations, which he knew
 were popular, he was obviously respected.

8. Well aware of these circumstances, Niger called
 in all the troops from all over the country for a fixed
 date. All the rest of the population came too. Then
 he mounted a platform constructed for him and made
 the following speech:

“ You have probably been aware for some time of 2
 my gentle character and my caution in important
 enterprises. On this occasion I would not have
 come before you today to address you if I were being
 influenced by just my own choice or by some irrational
 optimism or by a passion stronger than hope. It is
 the Romans who are summoning me. They are
 continually calling and urging me to extend a helping

² A list of some of the festivals and games is given in
 Downey, *History of Antioch* 168 f.; there was a very large
 circus at Antioch and another at Daphne, a nearby suburb,
ibid. 647-50. Commodus had restored the games which had
 been abolished by M. Aurelius, probably through the petition
 of Quintianus (1.8.5n) in 181; the theatre clagues and the
 circus factions were always centres of political disturbances;
ibid. 228n, 241n, 428n.

τὴν ἔνδοξον καὶ ἐνάρετον ἀπὸ προγόνων ἄνωθεν
 3 ἀρχὴν μὴ περιδεῖν αἰσχροῦς ἐρριμμένην. ὥσπερ
 δὲ τὸ τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐπιτολμᾶν οὐκ οὔσης
 εὐλόγου προφάσεως προπετὲς καὶ θρασύ,¹ οὕτως
 καὶ τὸ πρὸς καλοῦντας² καὶ δεομένους ὀκνηρὸν
 ἀνανδρίας ἅμα καὶ προδοσίας φέρει διαβολήν.
 διὸ παρῆλθον πευσόμενος ὑμῶν τίνα γνώμην ἔχετε
 καὶ <τί>³ πρακτέον ἡγοῖσθε,⁴ συμβούλοις τε ὑμῖν
 καὶ κοινωνοῖς χρῆσόμενος περὶ τῶν καθεστώτων.
 τὸ γὰρ ἀποβησόμενον εἰ εὐτυχηθείη, κοινὴν ἐμοί
 4 τε καὶ ὑμῖν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν παρέξει. οὐ φαῦλαι δὲ
 οὐδὲ κοῦφαί καλοῦσιν ἐλπίδες, ἀλλ' ὅ τε Ῥωμαίων
 δῆμος, ᾧ τὴν δεσποτείαν τῶν ἀπάντων ἔνεμαν
 θεοὶ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν,⁵ ἢ τε ἀρχὴ σαλεύουσα καὶ
 παρὰ μηδενί πω βεβαίως ἰδρυμένη. ὅθεν ἡμῖν
 καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀσφαλές, ἕκ τε⁶ τῆς τῶν
 καλούντων γνώμης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδένα εἶναι τὸν
 5 ἀνθεστώτα μηδὲ κωλύοντα, ὑπάρξει. καὶ γὰρ οἱ
 τὰ ἐκείθεν ἀγγέλλοντές φασι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας,
 οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ χρημάτων ἀπέδοντο, πιστοὺς
 εἶναι φρουροὺς⁷ <ῆ>⁸ ὑπηρέτας, μηδὲ πληρώσαν-

¹ καὶ θρασύ om O ² τὸ εἰς τοὺς προσκαλοῦντας O

³ Steph ⁴ Wolf ἡγείσθε O

⁵ καὶ—βασιλ. om P Mendels

⁶ ἐκ τοῦ O

⁸ Bergl

⁷ del Bekk² φρουροὺς ὑπηρέτας om P

hand to save them, and thus to rescue our glorious, great empire, the legacy of our ancestors, which has been brought into such a disastrous state. It is rash 3 and impulsive to undertake such a great venture without some creditable motive, but to be slow in responding to calls of distress would make us guilty of a cowardly betrayal. That is why I have come before you, to ask what your feelings are and how you think we should react. I wish to make you my consultants and partners in deciding this affair. If the outcome is favourable, the benefit will be mutual for all of us. It is not some trivial, vain hope which beckons me on, 4 but the Roman people, into whose hands the gods have given the sovereignty over all things including the office of emperor.¹ It is the empire too which summons me, tossed by the storms and not firmly anchored to any one person. The very safety therefore of our enterprise lies in the express will of those who summon me and in the fact that there is no opposition to stand in our way. Reports from 5 Rome say that the soldiers, who sold the empire to Julianus, cannot be relied upon to protect or serve him, since he has failed to implement the promises

¹ The same theory of popular sovereignty is expressed in 4.15.7, 7.7.5 and 8.7.5. These republican sentiments about *consensus omnium* and *libertas* were, of course, part of the theory of the principate, which distinguished *principatus* from *dominatio* and made Augustus in one sense the last of the *populares*. But the freedom and the consent implied no limitation on the absolute power of the emperor; the *optimus princeps* was one who voluntarily governed *pro utilitate communi*; cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 3.20.12, *Paneg.* 7.3, Tac. *H.* 1.15. The contrast in H.'s simple political philosophy is between this "republican" type of princeps and the military tyranny described in e.g. 2.6.14.

τος ἐκεῖνου ἂ ὑπέσχετο. τίνα τοίνυν ἔχετε γνώμην, δηλώσατε.”

6 τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, εὐθέως τὸ στρατιωτικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ συνειλεγμένον πλήθος αὐτοκράτορά τε ἀνέειπε καὶ σεβαστὸν προσηγόρευσε· τὴν τε βασιλείον πορφύραν ἐπιβαλόντες,¹ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς σεβασμίου τιμῆς ἐξ² αὐτοσχεδίου παρασκευῆς ἀθροίσαντες, καὶ προπομπεύοντος τοῦ πυρός, ἔς τε τὰ ἱερά τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὸν Νίγρον ἄγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ³ οἰκίαν καθιστάσιν, οὐκέτι αὐτὴν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλείον αὐτὴν νομίζοντες, πᾶσι κοσμήσαντες ἔξωθεν βασιλικοῖς συμβόλοις.

7 ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ ὁ Νίγρος πᾶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἠὺφραίνετο, ὠχυρώσθαι τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠγείτο διὰ τε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὡς γὰρ διυπταμένη ἢ φήμη πάντα ἐπήλθεν ἔθνη ὅσα τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἠπειρον τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικεῖ, οὐδεὶς

¹ περιβαλόντες i

³ αὐτοῦ i

² καὶ αλ

¹ Both here and in 2.7.6 H. says that Niger knew of the lack of support for J. among the praetorians. If this is true, then the date of N.'s secession must be quite some time after the death of Pertinax; the same is implied by the time it must have taken to summon friendly commanders (2.7.7) and muster the army (2.8.1); see next note.

² Niger's proclamation must have been subsequent to that of Severus, since the news would not have reached Antioch before mid-April; by which time Severus was already mobilizing. News of Severus' "Putsch" cannot have reached N. before the end of April or later. There is no need

he made to them.¹ Give me an indication therefore of what your feelings are.”

After such a speech the entire army and the 6 assembled crowd at once proclaimed him emperor and hailed him with the title of Augustus.² They also put the purple cloak of an emperor on him and provided him with all the other tokens of imperial dignity made out of makeshift materials, including the carrying of fire before him in processions.³ After conducting him to the temples of Antioch they installed him ceremoniously in his own house, which was now regarded as the imperial court and no longer a private house.⁴ Outside it was decorated with all the insignia of office.

Niger was absolutely delighted at this and believed 7 that the will of the Roman people and the enthusiasm of his own men firmly established his claim to control the empire. As the news spread like wildfire to every country on the mainland facing Europe,⁵ they all

to see a sinister significance in the fact that H. recounts Niger's proclamation first; Bersanetti, *Aegyptus* 29 (1949) 79, believes H. is deliberately trying to characterize N.'s laziness (*ράθυμία*) and therefore predates the rising. But see last note for many indications that H. did not believe the event took place immediately; by contrast, see the sequence of events in 2.9.11-12.

³ See 1.8.4n, 2.3.2n.

⁴ See 2.7.9 for Antioch as the capital of Niger; although the city was his chief mint, coins were also issued from Alexandria and Caesarea Germanica in Bithynia. Niger entered on his second consulship in Antioch, as is shown by the coins of 194, but there is no reason to think he actually established a senate to legitimize the office. Cf. Gordian and his capital city of Carthage, 7.6.2.

⁵ That is, the countries of Asia Minor. See 2.7.7n for a list of known supporters of N. in the eastern provinces.

τε ἦν ὅστις ¹ οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐς τὸ ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ ἠπειγέτο, πρεσβείαι τε ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ὡς πρὸς βασιλέα ὁμολογούμενον ⁸ ἐστέλλοντο. οἱ τ' ἐπέκεινα Τίγριδος καὶ Εὐφράτου σατράπαι καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπέστελλον συνηθόμενοι αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ δέοιτο, βοηθείας ὑπισχρόνυντο. ὁ δὲ δώροις τε αὐτοὺς μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἠμείβετο, καὶ ἐπὶ ² τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι ² χάριν γινώσκων ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖσθαι συμμάχων· τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαίως ὠχυρῶσθαι, ³ ἀναμωτί τε ἄρξεν.

⁹ ταύταις ἐπαιρόμενος ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὑπτιάζε τε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίατον ⁴ ἀνεκίμενος ⁵ τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσι συνενφραίνετο, ἑορταῖς καὶ θέαις ἐπιδιδούς ἑαυτόν· τῆς τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφόδου, ⁶ ἐφ' ἣν μάλιστα ἐχρῆν ¹⁰ σπεύδειν, ἠμέλει. τοῖς δὲ Ἰλλυρικοῖς στρατεύμασι δέον ἐπιφοιτῆσαι τὴν ταχίστην καὶ φθάσαι οικειωσάμενον αὐτά, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν πραττομένων τι αὐτοῖς ἐδήλου, ἐλπίζων τοὺς ἐκεῖ στρατιώτας, εἶ ποτε καὶ μάθοιεν, ὁμογνώμονας ἔσσεσθαι τῇ τε

¹ ὅστ' B ὅς τ' V ὅς i

² ἐπι—ὑποσχέσεσι om P

³ from P ὠχυρῶσασθαι (ὠχ- α) Oi

⁴ ἐς—ἀβροδ. om Jo Mendels

⁵ -μένως Ogl (but o over ω in A¹) Jo

⁶ ἐφόδου O

¹ See 1.2.3 for the way in which H. establishes M. Aurelius as the *exemplum* of the *optimus princeps*, against which the

hurried to put themselves at his command of their own accord. Ambassadors were sent from these countries to him at Antioch as though he were the acknowledged emperor. Satraps and princes from beyond the Tigris and Euphrates sent messages of congratulations and promises of assistance, if it were needed. Niger responded with generous gifts but, while expressing his thanks for their enthusiastic offers, he stated that he had no need of allies. The empire, he said, was already definitely assured and he would rule without bloodshed.

Elated by his optimism, Niger began to grow care-9 less about his administrative duties. He turned to a life of idle luxury and enjoyment with the people of Antioch, devoting his attention to festivals and spectacles.¹ But he neglected his departure for Rome, to which he ought to have been putting all his energies. Although he should have visited the 10 Illyrian armies as soon as possible and have been the first to cultivate their acquaintance, instead he gave them no news of events and hoped that, if they did find out, the soldiers on that frontier would be in

virtues and vices of others are measured. Idleness, luxurious living and devotion to festivals are contrasted with *cura*, *labor* and *providentia* (*phrontis*, *pronoia*, *kamatos*, etc., in Greek); e.g. 1.3.1, M. Aurelius died, worn out by his cares; 1.5.6, Commodus expresses his intentions to care for the state, but 1.8.1, abandons his intentions; 2.5.2, Pertinax's energetic reforms are cut short by disaster; 2.12.2, Julianus' inactivity; 2.9.2, Severus' energy (many other e.g.s.); 3.7.1, Albinus' negligence; 4.3.3, Caracalla distorts his energy by violence; 5.2.3, Macrinus' failure due to idleness and luxuries; 6.7.3, Alexander's failure in the end due to lack of care and cowardice; etc. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 3.20.12, for the ideal *qui . . . solus omnium curas laboresque suscipit*; Béranger, *Recherches* 199 ff., 215 ff.

Ῥωμαίων εὐχῆ καὶ τῆ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν στρατοπέδων ¹ γνώμη.

9. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διατυπώδντος καὶ κούφαις ² καὶ ἀδήλοισ ἐπαιωρουμένου ἐλπίσι, διηγγέλλετο τὰ πραττόμενα ἔς τε Παίονας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκείσε στρατιωτικόν, ὃ ταῖς ὄχθαις Ἰστρου τε καὶ Ῥήνου ἐπικείμενον, ἀπείργον τοὺς ἐπέκεινα ³ βαρβάρους, φρουρεῖ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. ἠγείτο δὲ Παϊόνων πάντων (ὑπὸ μιᾷ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξουσία) Σεβήτρος, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος Λίβυς, ἔς δὲ πραγμάτων διοίκησιν γενναῖος ἄμα καὶ θυμοειδής, σκληρῶ τε βίῳ καὶ τραχεῖ ἐνειθισμένος, πόνους τε ἀντέχων ⁴ ῥᾶστα, νοῆσαι τε ὄξυς καὶ τὸ νοηθὲν ἐπιτελέσαι ³ ταχύς. οὗτος τοίνυν παρὰ τῶν ἀγγελλόντων πυν-

¹ στρατοπέδου O

³ ἐπ' ἐκείνω I ἀπ' ἐκείνου O

² Steph -οις OI

⁴ ἀνέχων Suda

¹ H. appears to believe here that N. had had time to contact Severus' armies before their defection, which was in fact impossible (2.9.11n), though N. was not to know this for some time.

² Cf. coins of Niger with *bonae spei* and *boni eventus*, Cohen, *Descript. hist. des monnaies* III², p. 405, *RIC* IV. 1.22, nos. 3 ff.

³ The Greek does not make it clear what news it was that reached Pannonia. In actual historical fact it was news of events in Rome not those in Syria which reached Severus; one is not entitled to interpret H. here to prove that he has made a mistake; cf. 2.9.3n.

⁴ For S.'s career, see next note. According to Dio (Xiph.) 73.14.3 he was governor of only one Pannonia with three legions—that is Pannonia Superior. There is no evidence of a *maius imperium*; Reidinger, *Die Statthalter des ungeteilten Pannon.* 94-5, though it should be noted that there is very little evidence for a *legatus* of Pannonia Inferior in 193 (perhaps C. Valerius Pudens, Fitz, *Act. Ant. Acad. Sc. Hung.*

agreement with the wishes of the Romans and the sentiments of the armies of the East.¹

9. While Niger was letting his imagination run away with him by getting excited over empty, uncertain hopes,² the news³ reached Pannonia and Illyricum and the whole army of the Danube and the Rhine that was stationed there to protect the Roman frontier from the incursions of the barbarians across the river. The whole of Pannonia was under the ² united command of Severus, a Libyan.⁴ He was an efficient, vigorous administrator, well used to a tough, vigorous life and not afraid of undertaking physical hardship; but he was quick to make decisions and acted upon his decisions promptly.⁵ When he learnt ³

11 (1963) 281-2). H. may be misled by the fact that Moesia Inferior with its two legions was under the command of S.'s brother, P. Septimius Geta; a very useful addition to S.'s forces; Bersanetti, *Epigraphica* 4 (1942) 121. Geta may well have felt he deserved a share in the imperial power as a result; SHA, *Sev.* 8.10, 10.3. Or perhaps H. was misled by the fact that at the time of writing Pannonia Superior was only a two-legion province (4.8.3n).

⁵ Note the stereotype for the successful leader, 2.8.9n; also the *locus communis*; cf. Thuc. 1.70, Nepos, *Them.* 2.1.4 (*neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus, quam excogitandis erat*). For the previous career of S., see most recently Barbieri, *Albo* 471. S. was born at Leptis Magna in Africa on 11th April 145 (Guey, *BSNAF* (1956) 33-5 for discussion whether 145 or 146) of an equestrian family and adopted into the senate c. 173 by M. Aurelius; he became entangled in the opposition to Perennis and was forced to retire c. 182 (1.8.8n), went to Athens but incurred Athenian dislike somehow and probably went on to Syria; there he met his wife, Julia Domna and was married about the time he was restored to favour c. 186; in 185/6 he became *legatus* of Gallia Lugdunensis until perhaps as late as 188 (birth of Caracalla); then *legatus* of Sicily c. 188/9, *cos. suff.* in 190 (Morris, *Listy Filol.* 87 (1964) 331,

θανόμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μετέωρον φερομένην ἀρπάσαι <διενοήθη>¹ καταγνοὺς τοῦ μὲν ῥαθυμίας τοῦ δὲ δυσπραγίας,² . . . [τοῖς πράγμασι].³ ἀνέπειθε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰρα ταιαύτην⁴ τινὰ ἐλπίδα ὑποσημαίνοντα, χρησμοὶ τε καὶ ὄσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν τῶν μελλόντων σύμβολα φαίνεται· ἄπερ πάντα ἀψευδῆ καὶ ἀληθῆ τότε πιστεύεται ὅταν ἐς⁴ τὴν ἀπόβασιν εὐτυχηθῆ. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ ἱστορήσεν⁵ αὐτὸς τε συγγράψας ἐν τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν βίῳ καὶ δημοσίαις ἀνέθηκεν εἰκόσι· τὸ δ' οὖν τελευταῖον καὶ μέγιστον, ὅπερ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ὑπέφαιεν ὄναρ, οὐδ' ἡμῖν παραλειπτέον. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν ὃν ἀπηγγέλη Περτίναξ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν, μετὰ τὸ προελθεῖν καὶ θῆσαι καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Περτίνακος βασιλείας ὄρκον ἀφοσιώσασθαι ὁ Σεβήρος⁶ ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης ἐς ὕπνον κατηνέχθη, μέγαν δὲ καὶ γενναῖον ἵππον βασιλικοῖς φάλαροις κεκοσμημένον⁷ ᾤθη βλέπειν, φέροντα τὸν Περτίνακα ἐποχοῦμενον διὰ μέσης τῆς ἐν

¹ (vel siml) Steph <τὸν Νίγρον καὶ τὸν Ἰουλιανόν> ἀρπάσαι Schwartz (see list of errata in Stav) ἀρπάζεσθαι Wolf

² ἀνανδρίαν Stav after which lacuna and <ἐπιθέσθαι> τοῖς πράγμασι³ om Jo Wolf Mendelss ⁴ ταιαύτην Ὁ

⁵ Faber eis τὸ ῥῆθὲν φη πολλὰ ἐκείνων αὐτὸς τε interpol A and P (quorum pleraque ipse in vita sua)

⁶ transp Lange from after θῆσαι ⁷ κοσμούμενον Ὁ

alleges inscriptional proof of this date but does not quote it) and *legatus* of Pannonia Superior, c. 191/2, through the *suffragatio* of Aemilius Laetus (1.16.4n). Important to note are the conclusions of Hammond, *HSCP* 51 (1940) 137-73 that S.'s career is not that of a crude, provincial, equestrian, military

from reports that the Roman empire hung in the balance he decided to seize it by levelling accusations against the one for his procrastination and against the other for being dogged by ill-fortune.¹ The thing that persuaded Severus was dreams that gave him a hint of hopes in this direction and oracles and other signs that assist in forecasting the future. These prognostications are all believed to be absolutely true later when in actual fact they turn out well. Severus⁴ has given an account of many of them himself in his autobiography² and by his public dedications of statues. But I ought to mention the most recent and most important of these dreams, which was also a revelation of his highest expectations. At the time⁵ of the announcement of Pertinax's succession Severus made the sacrifice publicly and took the formal oath of allegiance to Pertinax as emperor. Then he returned to his house, and after he had fallen asleep that night he dreamt he saw a fine, large horse wearing the imperial trappings carrying Pertinax down the middle

usurper, but an educated, legal and administrative expert, who was as senatorial as Dio; reiterated by Barnes, *Hist.* 16 (1967) 92-3.

¹ See *app. critic.* for Schwartz suggested restoration of the text based on 2.12.2; but the correction presupposes S. is referring to Niger and Julianus—which is unhistorical (though H. may have made an error). Why not a reference to Julianus' procrastination (e.g. 2.11.8) and Pertinax's ill-fortune? It is perfectly possible that S. knew Niger was being canvassed by groups in Rome, but he did not know N. had revolted. This corrupt passage is the only one before the speech (2.10.6) which suggests he did.

² S.'s autobiography is noted by Dio (Xiph.) 75.7.3; SHA, *Sev.* 3.2, 18.6, *Cl. Alb.* 7.1; probably written after 197 as an *apologia* against Albinus' supporters.

6 Ῥώμη ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο, ἔνθα ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πρότερον ὁ δῆμος συνιών ἐκκλησιαζεν, ᾤθη¹ τὸν ἵππον ἀποσεῖσθαι² μὲν τὸν Περτίνακα καὶ ῥῆσαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἄλλως³ ἐστῶτι ὑποδύναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀράμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς νότοις φέρειν τε ἀσφαλῶς καὶ στήναι βεβαίως ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης, ἐς ὕψος ἄρανα τὸν Σεβήρον ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ὄρασθαί τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι. μένει δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ἢ τοῦ ὄνειρατος εἰκὼν μεγίστη, χαλκοῦ
7 πεποιημένη. οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ Σεβήρος ἀρθεὶς τὴν γνώμην, ἐλπίζων τε θείᾳ προνοίᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν [αὐτὸν]⁴ καλεῖσθαι, ἀπόπειραν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν γνώμης, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ' ὀλίγους ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ χιλιάρχους⁵ τοὺς τε ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐξέχοντας οἰκειούμενος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλεγόμενος, ὡς παντᾶσιν ἔρριπται⁶ οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ γενναίως ἢ κατ'
8 Ἀξίαν αὐτὴν διοικούντος. διέβαλλε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας ὡς ἀπίστους καὶ βασιλείῳ καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ αἵματι μίαναντας τὸν ὄρκον, ἔλεγέ τε δεῖν ἐπαμύναι⁷ καὶ ἐπέξελθεῖν τῷ Περτίνακος φόνῳ. ἦδει δὲ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν

¹ del Schwartz

² ἀποσεῖσαι (-σεῖσθαι a) i

³ ἄσπον conj Gedike from P (*proxime*) αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ἵππον) δὲ ἄλλως ἐστῶτα Giangrande *RhM* (1957) 265 αὐτοῦ (*ibi*) δὲ ἄλλως ἐστῶτα? Whit

⁴ del Stroth

⁵ χιλιάρχας ag

⁶ ἐρέριπτο (sic) Jo

⁷ ἐπαμύνειν O

¹ Cassius Dio wrote a pamphlet on the dreams and portents of Severus, the success of which encouraged him to write a

of the Sacred Way in Rome. As it came to the entrance of the Forum at the point where popular meetings used to take place in Republican days, the horse appeared to shake off Pertinax and throw him down. While Severus was just standing there the horse got down under him and carried him off on its back without mishap, until it stood right in the middle of the Forum, where it held him up on high for everyone to see and honour. Today there is still a huge bronze statue on that spot to commemorate the dream.¹ Thus Severus was encouraged in his ideas, and, ⁷ believing that it was by divine providence that he was called to rule, he began to sound out the feelings of the army. The first thing he did was to make overtures to small groups of legionary commanders and tribunes and senior centurions, discussing with them the ruinous state of the empire, brought about because there was no noble or worthy leader to control it. He criticized the Roman garrison for disloyalty ⁸ and staining their oath of allegiance by shedding the blood of emperors and fellow citizens. In his opinion the murder of Pertinax ought to be avenged and

full-scale history; Dio (Xiph.) 72.23.1 ff. Dio actually records the story of the horse and Pertinax, (Xiph.) 74.3.3 ff.; cf. Millar, *Cassius Dio* 119 ff. The position of the equestrian statue described by H. was near the south-east of the forum near the Rostra Vetera; the statue has been identified with the so-called *equus Constantini*, Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Rome* 202, and probably was represented on coins, *RIC* IV. 1 (Severus) 100 nos. 73-4, etc. The spot described by H., however, corresponds roughly with the site of the Arch of Severus erected to commemorate the *decennalia* (*ILS* 425); perhaps the arch was the senate's own addition to the bronze equestrian statue; Bloch, *CW* 37 (1943/4) 31-2.

στρατιώτας μεμνημένους τῆς Περτίνακος ἡγεμο-
 9 νίας· ὑπὸ γὰρ Μάρκω βασιλεύοντι πολλὰ ἐγείρας
 σὺν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Γερμανῶν τρόπαια, στρατηγὸς τε
 καὶ ἡγεμῶν τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν κατασταθείς,¹ ἀνδρείαν
 μὲν πᾶσαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους²
 ἐπεδέδεικτο, εὖνοιαν δὲ καὶ χρηστότητα μετὰ
 σώφρονος καὶ ἐπιεικοῦς ἐξουσίας τοῖς ἀρχομένοις
 παρέσχετο,³ ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μνήμην τιμώντες ἐπὶ
 τοῖς οὕτως ὠμῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ τετολημμένοις
 10 ἡγανάκτουν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς προφάσεως λαβόμενος
 ὁ Σεβήρος εὐμαρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐς⁴ ἅ ἐβούλετο
 ὑπηγάγετο, προσποιούμενος οὐχ οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν μνάσθαι,
 ὡς θέλει ἐπεξελεθεῖν τοιοῦτου βασιλέως αἵματι.
 11 ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ σώματα οἱ ἐκεῖσε ἄνθρωποι γένναιό-
 ται τε καὶ μεγάλοι⁵ εἰσὶ καὶ πρὸς μάχας ἐπιτή-
 δειοι καὶ φονικώτατοι, οὕτω καὶ τὰς διανοίας
 παχεῖς καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως συνέναι δυνάμενοι, εἴ τι
 μετὰ πανουργίας ἢ δόλου λέγοιτο⁶ ἢ πράττειτο.
 πιστεύσαντες γοῦν τῷ Σεβήρῳ προσποιουμένῳ
 χαλεπαίνειν καὶ θέλει ἐπεξελεθεῖν τῷ Περτίνακος
 φόνῳ ἐπέδοσαν αὐτοῦς, ὡς αὐτοκράτορά τε

¹ καταστάς Jo³ Bekk² -εσχετο Oi⁵ καὶ μεγ. om O² cod Schotti -μους Oi⁴ ἐφ' i⁶ γένοιτο O

¹ H. regularly uses the term Illyricum to refer to Pannonia; but it is not clear whether he included in the term Moesia and

punished. He realized that all the troops in Illyricum remembered Pertinax's command; in the 9 reign of Marcus he had been appointed general and governor of the Illyrian provinces and had won many victories over the Germans with these troops.¹ In battle he had displayed the utmost bravery in face of the enemy, while to those under his command he had shown goodwill and integrity coupled with a sensible, moderate exercise of power. Now they honoured his memory and were furious at the perpetrators of his cruel murder. Seizing upon this excuse, Severus 10 had no difficulty in winning the soldiers over to his objective, though he pretended that his aim was not so much to lay claim to the empire or to win personal power as the desire to avenge the murder of so fine an emperor. The inhabitants of the district of Pannonia 11 are tall men of fine physique, natural and fierce fighters, but intellectually dull and slow-witted when it comes to crafty words or subtle actions.² Accepting Severus' protests of indignation and desire for the revenge of Pertinax's murder, they put themselves in his charge by declaring him emperor and en-

Dacia as well; cf. *AE* (1924) 79 *vexillationes Illyricianae* and *ILS* 1140 *exercitus Illyrici* contrasted with *ILS* 2935 *exercitus Mysiaci* as part of S.'s later fighting force, where Illyrian is almost certainly Pannonian; Murphy, *Septimius Severus from . . . Inscriptions* 14. If H. means only Pannonian here (as seems probable) note that Pertinax had not been on the Pannonian front as a commander since 175 (cf. 2.2.8n).

² Part of H.'s description of ethnic movements (1.1.4n) is the contrast between the overcivilized Hellenistic East with their trivial natures and petty rivalries (2.7.9, 3.2.8) and the semi-barbarian North which was essentially a crude, military force (e.g. 7.1.1 ff. and 4.7.3, 7.8.4, etc.).

- 12 ἀποδείξαι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρίσαι. ὁ δ' ὡς ἔγνω τὴν τῶν Παιόνων γνώμην, διέπεμπε¹ καὶ εἰς τὰ γειτνιῶντα ἔθνη καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ὑπ' ἄρκτω Ῥωμαίοις δουλευόντων ἔθνῶν, μεγάλας τε πάντας ὑποσχέσσει καὶ ἐλπίσω
13 ἀναπειθῶν ῥαδίως ὑπηγάγετο. ἰκανώτατος δ' ἦν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα προσποιήσασθαι τε καὶ πιστώσασθαι εὖνοιαν, μήτε ὄρκου φειδόμενος, εἰ δέοι τούτου καταφρονῆσαι, ψευσάμενος πρὸς τὸ χρειώδες, διὰ τε γλώττης² προΐετο ὅσα μὴ ἔφερον ἐπὶ γνώμης.

10. θεραπεύσας οὖν διὰ γραμμάτων πάντα τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν³ ἅμα καὶ ἄρχοντας, προσηγάγετο αὐτούς. ἀθροίσας δὲ τοὺς πανταχόθεν στρατιώτας, Σεβήρῶν τε Περτίνακα ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας,

¹ διέπεμψε i

² διὰ λόγου O

³ after Ἰλλυρικὸν lacuna Mendelss <στρατιώτας τε> cod Schotti <ἐνοικοῦντας> Lange

¹ The date of S.'s salutation by the army is given by SHA, *Sev.* 5.1, as *idibus Augustis*, emended by Baronius to *idibus Aprilibus*—i.e. 13th April. But the *Feriale Duranum* shows 9th April as celebrated *ob imperium d[iv]i Severi*; Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 45. This shows clearly that S. did not wait for news of Niger, but must have declared himself almost immediately the news arrived (c. 10 days for a fast messenger).

² Note the sequence of events here as contrasted with those in Antioch; cf. 2.8.6n. S. was saluted as *imperator* by the Pannonian troops first, then summoned neighbouring governors and legionary commanders. The governors and commanders who are known all went on to achieve high office in the Severan regime; they are: Pannonia Inferior—C. Valerius

trusting him with the supreme power.¹ Once he 12 knew the temper of the Pannonians, Severus began to send out messages to the adjoining provinces and to all the governors of the people in the North subject to Rome. By dint of extravagant promises to raise their hopes, he won them over without any trouble.² 13 He was an absolute expert at deception and giving assurance of his goodwill, but he had no respect for an oath if, after he had lied to secure some advantage, he had to break it. He would make protestations by word of mouth which did not represent his true feelings.³

10. After he had paid court by correspondence to all the members of the Illyrian provinces and their governors, Severus won them over to his side. Once all the troops had been gathered together from the

Pudens (? 2.9.2n, *Albo* 514 and *AE* (1962) 260); Moesia Inferior—P. Septimius Geta (2.9.2n); Dacia—probably Polus Terentianus (*Albo* 415); Britain—Clodius Albinus (the only rival, but at first named as Caesar). No names are known for Moesia Superior, the two Germanies, Raetia, Noricum. *Legati* of legions, whose names are known, were: L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus (I Italia, Moesia Inferior, 3.2.1n); T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus (XIV Gemina, Pannonia Superior, 3.7.7n); Ti. Claudius Claudianus (XIII Gemina, Dacia, 3.7.2n); Julius Laetus, a close adviser of S. in 193 was perhaps also a legionary commander in Pannonia Superior (I Adiutrix or X Gemina, 3.7.3n); Ti. Manilius Fuscus, who was leg. leg XIII in Dacia in 191 (*CIL* 1172) and then first governor of Syria Phoenice in 194, was perhaps also a legionary commander in Pannonia Superior (I Adiutrix or X Gemina, 3.5.1n); Q. Venidius Rufus Maximus (I Minervia, Germania Inferior, *Albo* 519); a formidable group of young men.

³ A rhetorical commonplace as old as Euripides (*Hipp.* 612), well rehearsed in the schools; cf. *Sall. Cat.* 10.5, *aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere*, *Cic. de off.* 3.29.

ὅπερ οὐ μόνον ἠλπίζε τοῖς Ἰλλυρικοῖς εἶναι κεχαρισμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην,¹ συγκαλέσας τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ βήματος αὐτῷ ἀρθέντος ἀνελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιαύδε:

2 “τὸ πιστὸν ὑμῶν καὶ πρὸς τε² θεοὺς σεβάσμιον, οὐς ὄμνυτε,³ πρὸς τε βασιλέας τίμιον, οὐς αἰδεῖσθε, δεδηλώκατε δι’ ὧν ἀνακατεῖτε ἐφ’ οἷς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην στρατιῶται, πομπῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρείας ὑπηρέταί, ἐτόλμησαν. κάμοι δὲ δι’ εὐχῆς ἐστὶ, πρότερον μὲν οὐδέποτε⁴ ἀντιποιησαμένῳ τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος (ἴστε γάρ μου τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας πειθήμιον), νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τέλος τε ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ἀνύσαι ταῦτα ἅπερ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ κεχαρισμένα, τὴν τε

¹ γνώμην ἰ

² τοὺς Ο

³ ὡς ἂν ὄμνυται Ο

⁴ Reisk οὐδ’ ἄλλοτε Οἰ

¹ A list of the legions supporting S. is given by Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 18-20, Platnauer, *Septimius Severus* 62; probably all sixteen legions from the Pannonias, Moesias, Dacia, Raetia, Noricum, Germanias supported S., though only fifteen feature in S.'s gold and silver "legionary type" coins; *RIC* IV. 1.65; *BMC* V. lxxxii and p. 21 ff. (legio X Gemina is absent but does win a new title *p(ia) f(idelis) Severiana*, *AE* (1913) 56). The African legion III Augusta probably supported S.; cf. *CIL* VIII 17726, with title *piae v[indicis]* before 196. In Britain the legions under Albinus were kept subdued by S.'s promises to Albinus; the Spanish legion seems to have followed the lead of Britain; 3.6.6n. Naturally not all these troops gathered at Carnuntum which was S.'s headquarters, but they may have sent representatives.

² The name appears from the beginning of S.'s coinage issues; e.g. *BMC* V. 20 ff. Hasebroek, *Septimius Severus* 42-3. When S. arrived in Rome the name was officially included in his titles,

different areas¹ he assumed the name of Severus Pertinax,² an act calculated not simply to please the Illyrian troops but in the hopes of popular Roman approval also by reviving the memory of Pertinax. Then he ordered all the soldiers out on to the parade ground and from a platform which had been set up for him he addressed them as follows:³

“You have already demonstrated your loyalty, your veneration for the gods of your oaths and your honour for the emperors whom you respect by the indignation you feel at the effrontery of the city troops. They are suitable as ceremonial attendants but no use to assist in deeds of bravery. I too am bound by a vow—though I never before entertained such hopes and you know my loyalty to the emperors—a vow to see this business to its conclusion, to achieve what you desire and not to abandon the

SHA, *Pert.* 15.2, and he carried out the formal consecration of Pertinax (*BMC* V. lxxxiv) an act reserved for legal heirs (4.2.1); but S. never called himself *divi Pertinacis filius*, and the name itself drops out of his titles after it had served its propaganda purpose.

³ The date of the speech is clearly put by H. at some time after the *dies imperii* of S. (2.9.11). S. would have taken from two to three weeks to muster his troops, which means the date of this speech was about the end of April. By this time there is no reason why S. should not have heard of the proclamation of Niger in Syria, even if not about all the detail in 2.10.6, which was part of the embellishment of the later added speech (see 2.2.4n). It was because S. heard of Niger's proclamation that he opened negotiations with Albinus, fearing his close ties with Niger (see 3.2.3n on Asellius Aemilianus). This seems to be the meaning of SHA, *Sev.* 6.9-10, which is out of place in the text; cf. 2.15.3, Dio (*Xiph.*) 73.15.1, SHA, *Nig.* 5.2 (the identity of S.'s agent Heraclitus is in some doubt, perhaps a military tribune; *PIR*² H 88-90).

3 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μὴ περιδεῖν ἔρριμμένην, ἣ πρό-
 4 τερον μὲν μέχρι Μάρκου¹ σεμνοπρεπῶς διοικου-
 μένη σεβάσμιος ἐφαίνετο,² ἐς Κόμμοδον δὲ μεταπε-
 σοῦσα,³ εἰ καὶ τινα ὑπ' ἐκείνου δια νεότητα
 ἐπλημμελεῖτο,⁴ ἀλλ' οὖν τῇ εὐγενείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ
 πατρὸς μνήμῃ ἐπεσκιάζετο· καὶ πλέον ἦν ἐν⁵
 αὐτῷ τὸ ἐλεούμενον ἐφ' οἷς ἐσφάλλετο ἢ τὸ μι-
 σούμενον, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν γνωμένων οὐκ ἐς
 ἐκεῖνον ἀνεφέρομεν,⁶ ἀλλ' ἐς τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν
 κόλακας τε καὶ οὐ πρεπόντων ἔργων ὁμοῦ συμβού-
 4 λους τε καὶ ὑπηρέτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς σεμνὸν πρεσβύ-
 την, οὐ τῆς ἀνδρείας τε καὶ χρηστότητος ἔτι ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἢ μνήμῃ⁷ ἐνέστακται, περιήλθεν ἡ
 ἀρχή, οἶδε οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα
 φόνῳ ἀπεσκευάσαντο. τὴν δὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης
 τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν ὠνησάμενός τις αἰσχρῶς πρὸς τε
 τοῦ δήμου, ὡς ἀκούετε, μεμίσηται, πρὸς τε τῶν
 ἐκεῖ στρατιωτῶν, οὓς ἐψεύσατο, οὐκέτι πιστεύεται.
 5 ὧν, εἰ καὶ ἔμελλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρατάξασθαι μετ'
 εὐνοίας,⁸ καὶ πλήθει σύμπαντες καὶ καθ' ἓνα⁹
 εὐανδρία¹⁰ προύχετε, ἀσκήσει τε¹¹ πολεμικῶν
 ἔργων¹² ἐγγεγύμνασθε ὑμεῖς μὲν αἰεὶ βαρβάροις¹³
 ἀντιταττόμενοι, καὶ φέρειν πόνους πάντας,¹⁴ κρύους
 τε καὶ θάλπους καταφρονεῖν, ποταμούς τε πηγυμέ-

¹ Bekk² καιροῦ O -ρῶν i

³ ἐφαίνετο μεταπεσοῦσα (μετ. ἐφαίν. A) O

⁴ ἐπλημμελεῖτο φ ὑπημμελεῖτο A

⁶ ἀναφέρομεν ABi

⁸ μετ' εὐν. om P

¹⁰ cod Schotti ἐν ἀνδρεία Oi

¹² om al

² ἐγένετο O

⁵ om O

⁷ ἡμῶν μνήμῃ i

⁹ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον a

¹¹ om OI

Roman empire as it lies in ruins. This empire was 3
 ruled with dignity up to the reign of Marcus and was
 looked upon with awe. Under Commodus it
 changed; but even if he did make some mistakes
 because of his youthful inexperience,¹ they were
 obscured by his noble birth and the reputation of his
 father; his errors were more a matter for sorrow than
 for anger, since we attributed most of the misfortunes
 not to him but to his sycophants and attendants, who
 encouraged him in his corrupt ways. But when the 4
 empire devolved on a respected, elderly man, the
 memory of whose courage and integrity is even now
 instilled into our hearts, the guards could not tolerate
 him and got rid of this fine person by murdering him.
 And now, as you know, this great empire, which
 stretches over land and sea, has been shamefully pur-
 chased by a man who is hated by the people and no
 longer trusted by the soldiers of the city, whom he
 has deceived. But even if they were prepared to 5
 fight for him because they supported him, you have the
 advantage of superior numbers and individual bravery.
 You are highly trained in battle by constant wars
 against the barbarians; you are used to enduring all
 kinds of hardship, ignoring heat and cold, crossing

¹ The *apologia* for Commodus is probably anachronistic (see 3.8.9n) since the title of *divi Commodi frater* is not certain until 195; *CIL* VIII. 9317. But it is worth noting that many of the military men who backed S. were adlected *inter praetorios* by Commodus and had been demoted by Pertinax, *SHA, Pert.* 6.10-11; e.g. Claudius Candidus, Marius Maximus, Flavius Secundus Philippianus. Cf. the discussion by Nesselhauf, *H.-A. Colloquium Bonn 1963*, 88.

¹³ βαρβάροις O

¹⁴ πάντας παρῆλας a

vous πατεῖν, [¹καὶ πίνειν ὀρυττόμενον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνιμώμενον ² ὕδωρ εἰθισμένοι. θήραις τε ἐγγεγύμασθε,³] ⁴ καὶ πάντως ὑμῖν ἐς ἀνδρείαν ὑπάρχει γενναῖα ἐφόδια, ὡς μηδὲ εἰ βουληθεῖη ⁶ τις, δύνασθαι ὑμῖν ἀντιστῆναι. δοκίμιον δὲ στρατιωτῶν κάματος, ἀλλ' οὐ τρυφή, ἥπερ ἐκείνοι ἐγκραιπαλῶντές ⁵ τε καὶ ἐναυξηθέντες οὐδ' ἂν τῆς βοῆς ὑμῶν ἀνάσχωιτο, οὐτι γὰρ τῆς μάχης. εἰ δέ τις τὰ κατὰ Συρίαν ὑποπτεύουσι πράγματα, ἐντεῦθεν ἂν τεκμήραιωτο ἀσθενῆ τε ὄντα καὶ φαύλας ἔχοντα τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὅπου μηδὲ προελθεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας ἐτόλμησαν, μηδὲ τι περὶ τῆς ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφόδου ⁶ βουλευσασθαι ἐθάρρησαν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐκεῖ μένοντες, καὶ τὴν ἐφήμερον τρυφήν ⁷ κέρδος τῆς οὐπω βεβαίας ἀρχῆς νομίζουσιν. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ χαριέντως καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἀποσκῶψαι ἐπιτήδειοι Σύροι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν οἰκοῦντες, <οὓς> ⁸ φασὶ περὶ τὸν Νίγρον ἐσπουδακεῖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔθνη καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις μέχρι νῦν τῷ ⁹ μηδένα εὐρίσκεσθαι τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον, σπάνει τοῦ μετὰ ἀνδρείας καὶ σώφρονος διοικήσεως ἄρξοντος ἐκείνῳ δηλον ὅτι ⁸ προσποιούνται ὑπακούειν. εἰ δὲ τὴν τε Ἰλλυρικὴν δύναμιν ἅμα ¹⁰ χειροτονήσασαν μάθειεν, τό τε

¹ del Whit² ἀντιμώμενον A ἀλλ'—ἀνιμ. del Mendelss³ ἐγγεγύμασθαι B -ε οὐετ -αι V⁴ πάντα OP⁵ ἐφόδου O⁶ cod Schotti⁷ ἐμὲ or ἡμᾶς Reisk⁵ Steph ἐγκραιπ. Oi⁷ τρυφήν ag⁹ τὸ O

frozen rivers; [you are used to digging for your own drinking water not drawing it from a well and you are practised hunters.]¹ All in all you are so magnificently equipped to demonstrate your courage that no one, even if they wanted to, could withstand you. The test of soldiers is their endurance, not a life of ⁶ luxury. But the guards in Rome have become increasingly intoxicated with this life and now they could not even resist your battle-cry let alone your attack. If some of you are worried about events in Syria, you can take as evidence of their weakness and the slenderness of their hopes the fact that they have not dared to leave their territory and have not even had the courage to make plans to leave for Rome. They are content to remain where they are, believing that the ability to lead their daily life of luxury is their gain from the empire which is still so disturbed. It ⁷ is elegant, witty remarks that the Syrians are good at, particularly the people of Antioch. These are the people who are reported to be enthusiastic supporters of Niger.² The other territories and cities³ have so far found no one who would be worthy of the empire, and so, in default of a man who can rule courageously and administer sensibly, they are obviously pretending to support Niger. But if they ⁸ learn of the choice of the Illyrian army and hear that my name has been put forward (a name which they

¹ The awkwardness of this addition and the repetition of vocabulary suggests it is an interpolation; cf. Irmisch, *Herod. Hist. ad loc.*, though he does not make clear which parts he thinks are interpolated.² See 2.10.1n.³ For the use of *ethnos* contrasted with cities, see 1.1.4n.

ἡμέτερον ὄνομα πύθοντο οὐκ ἄγνωστον οὐδ' ἄσημον παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχον ἐξ ὧν ἡγεμονεύσαντες ἐκείσε δικήσαμεν, εἰ ἴστε, οὔτε ἐμοῦ ῥαθυμίας ἢ ἀδρανίαν¹ καταγνώσονται, οὔτε τὸ ὑμέτερον γενναῖον καὶ πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐμβριθὲς ὑποστήναι αἰρήσονται, καὶ σωμάτων μεγέθει καὶ πόνων ἀσκήσεσι(ν) [καί]² ἐν τῇ συστάδην μάχῃ πολὺ ὑμῶν ἀπολείποντες. φθάσωμεν οὖν τὴν Ῥώμην προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἔνθα ἡ βασιλείος ἔστιν ἐστία· κἀκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενοι τὰ λοιπὰ εὐμαρῶς διοικήσομεν,³ θείαις τε προρρήσεσι πιστεύοντες καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων⁴ ἀνδρείᾳ ὄπλων τε καὶ σωμάτων.”

τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα τὸν Σεβήρον εὐφημήσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται, καλοῦντες Σεβαστὸν καὶ Περτίνακα, πᾶσαν ἐνεδείκνυντο⁵ προθυμίαν καὶ σπρόδῃν. 11. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος μηδένα διδοὺς καιρὸν ἀναβολῆς, συσκευάσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν μάλιστα εὐτελέστατα⁶ ἐκέλευσε, τὴν τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔξοδον ἐπήγγειλε· νομάς τε αὐτοῖς διαδοὺς⁷ καὶ ἐφόδια

¹ ἀνὰδρείαν A ἀνὰδρείας V ἀνδρείαν B

² del Bekk²

⁴ ἡμετέρων O

⁶ εὐσταλέστατα Faber

³ -σωμεν φη

⁵ διεδείκ. O

⁷ Mendelss διδοὺς Oi

¹ Cf. SHA, *Sev.* 9.4, a vague reference to S. *administrantem in oriente*. S. had been *legatus* of the legion IV Scythica in Syria, *Sev.* 3.6-7, c. 180; cf. Thomsen, *Zeit. d. Deutsch. Palästina-Vereins* 67 (1944/5) 75-81, for a suggestion that the reference in SHA, *Sev.* 3.6, *circa Massiliam* is a corruption of

know and of some distinction because of my achievement as a lieutenant when I was in charge of administration there)¹ you may be sure that they will not find fault with me for negligence or inefficiency, nor will they choose to oppose the weight of a crack fighting force like yours when they are so inferior physically and in endurance training and hand-to-hand combat. Let us be the first to take Rome, the very seat of the empire. Starting from there we shall easily control the rest of the world by putting our faith in divine predictions and in the strength of your weapons and your bodies.”

After this speech the soldiers cheered Severus, calling him Augustus² and Pertinax and giving a demonstration of their complete enthusiasm for his cause. 11. Without allowing them a chance to delay, Severus gave the order for each man to equip himself with as little as he could, and announced the departure for Rome. Money³ and supplies for the march were

the Phoenician city, Massyas, which may have temporarily been a base for the legion, whose permanent base at this period is not certain, Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1560. Otherwise no period of administrative service in Syria is known, though Dio (78.8.6) says S. was in Syria as a private individual, c. 132-5 perhaps, 2.9.2n. The terms *ἡγεμονεύω* and *ὑπάρχος* are both used of a *legatus*; e.g. *Forsch. Eph.* II., p. 129, no. 27, *Luc. de Mort.* 12.2, Barbieri, *Albo*, pp. 571 ff.

² But this is not the *dies imperii*, 2.9.11n. There may be significance in the fact that the word *autocrator* is not used here; but see 2.2.9n.

³ H. says nothing of the exceptional donative made to the soldiers according to SHA, *Sev.* 5.2 (perhaps 2,000 sesterces = 500 denarii, but the reading is disputed); it would have been exceptional, if true, because S. was not yet legally emperor; cf. Passerini, *Athen.* 24 (1946) 152.

τῆς ὁδοιπορίας εἶχετο. συντόνω δὲ σπουδῇ καὶ γενναίοις πόνοις τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπετάχυνε, μήτε που ἐνδιατρίβων,¹ μήτε διδοὺς καιρὸν ἀναπαύλης,² εἰ μὴ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὀλίγον τοὺς στρατιώτας ² ἀναπνεύσαντας ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκoinώνει δὲ τῶν καμάτων αὐτοῖς, σκηνηῇ τε χρώμενος εὐτελεῖ, καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ προσφερόμενος οἶα³ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν ἥπιστατο· οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τρυφήν ἐνεδείκνυτο βασιλικήν. ὅθεν καὶ μείζονα παρὰ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν⁴ εὐνοίαν ἐπιστώσατο· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτὸν συμπονοῦντα ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καμάτων ἄρχοντα οἱ στρατιῶται αἰδούμενοι μετὰ προθυμίας πάντα ἔπραττον.

³ ὁ δὲ τὴν Παιονίαν διαδραμῶν ἐπέστη τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄροις, καὶ τὴν φήμην φθάσας πρότερον ὤφθη τοῖς ἐκεῖσε παρὼν βασιλεὺς ἢ ἀφιζόμενος ἠκούσθη. δέος τε μέγα τὰς Ἰταλιώτιδας πόλεις κατελάμβανε πυνθανομένας τοσοῦτου⁵ ἔφοδον στρατοῦ. οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄνθρωποι, ὄπλων καὶ πολέμων πάλαι ἀπηλλαγμένοι, γεωργία

¹ ἐπιδια- i

³ Bekk ὅσα Oi

⁵ Reisk τοσαύτην Oi

² ἀναπαύσεως Jol

⁴ στρατιωτῶν P cod Schotti

¹ The distance from Carnuntum to Rome was 683 Roman miles, about thirty-four days' march at the pace of twenty miles per day. If, as H. says, they hurried, this allows about a month for travel to Rome, where S. arrived about 1st June; 2.12.6n, Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 18. Note the inscription in

distributed before he set out on the journey. He hurried along the march straining with enthusiasm and tremendous effort, not stopping anywhere and giving no opportunity for rest apart from just long enough for the soldiers to get their breath back before taking to the road.¹ He himself shared in ² their hardships, sleeping in a cheap tent and taking the same food and drink as he knew was available to everyone. He never displayed a specially luxurious, imperial standard of living. As a result he increased his popularity with his fellow soldiers. They carried out all their tasks enthusiastically because they respected his personal participation in all their labours and the lead he took in their hardships.

After passing through Pannonia, Severus arrived at ³ the Italian frontier ² before any news had reached them, and presented himself to the inhabitants as emperor before they had even heard that he was coming. The invasion of so large an army terrified the Italian cities when they heard the news, since the inhabitants of Italy had long ago abandoned armed warfare in favour of the peaceful occupation of

honour of M. Rossius Vitulus, who was chief supply officer for the expedition; *prae(posito) annonae exp(editionis) felicis(simae) urbicae*, *AE* (1914) 248, Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 16-17.

² At Emona in Dalmatia (8.1.4); Julianus was advised by his council to fortify the (Carnic) Alps, as H. says in 2.11.8, but he failed to do so. The route from Emona would take him to Aquileia as the first main Italian city. The immediate reaction as S. crossed the Italian frontier was a senatorial decree declaring him a *hostis publicus*, SHA, *Sev.* 5.5, *Did. Jul.* 5.3. It was presumably at this stage that Laetus and Marcia, the murderers of Commodus, were executed by Julianus for backing S.'s cause; Dio (Xiph.) 73.16.5, SHA, *Did. Jul.* 6.2.

4 καὶ εἰρήνῃ προσείχον. ἐς ὅσον μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ
δημοκρατίας τὰ Ῥωμαίων διωκεῖτο καὶ ἡ σύγκλη-
τος ἐξέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ πολεμικὰ στρατηγήσοντας,
ἐν ὄπλοις Ἰταλιῶται πάντες ἦσαν καὶ γῆν καὶ
θάλασσαν ἐκτήσαντο, Ἕλλησι πολεμήσαντες καὶ
βαρβάρους· οὐδέ τι ἦν γῆς μέρος ἢ κλίμα οὐρανοῦ
5 ὅπου μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξέτειναν. ἐξ οὗ
δὲ ἐς τὸν Σεβαστὸν περιηλθὲν ἡ μοναρχία, Ἰταλιώ-
τας μὲν πόνων ἀπέπαισε¹ καὶ τῶν ὄπλων
προυβάλετο, μισθοφόρους ἐπὶ ῥήτοισι σιτηρεσίοις
στρατιώτας καταστησάμενος ἀντὶ τείχους τῆς
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς· ποταμῶν τε μεγέθει καὶ
τάφρων ἢ ὄρων προβλήμασιν ἐρήμῳ τε γῆ καὶ
6 δυσβάτῳ φράξας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὠχυρώσατο. ὅθεν
τὸν Σεβῆρον προσιόντα πυνθανόμενοι τότε μετὰ
τοσοῦτου στρατοῦ εἰκότως ἐταράττοντο τῷ ῥήθει
τοῦ πράγματος· οὔτε δὲ ἀντιστῆναι ἢ κωλύσαι
ἐτόλμων, ὑπήντων δὲ δαφνηφοροῦντες καὶ πύλαις

¹ ἀπέπαισε i

¹ The whole of this passage bears the marks of being a rhetorical exercise, as an antithesis to the warlike character of the Pannonians, 2.9.11. Cf. Dio 52.27 for a more accurate summary of the frontier system in the famous speech of Maecenas, in which Dio makes an implied criticism of S.'s bar to Italian recruiting in the praetorian guard; Millar, *Cassius Dio* 109. But H. is quite wrong to say there was a bar to Italian recruiting as a whole—if that is what he means. It is true, however, that there had been a dramatic fall in the proportion of Italians to provincials serving in the army; Forni, *Reclutamento d. legionis* 65 ff. and Appendix B gives the following proportions (Italians first): Augustus and Tiberius—2:1,

farming. During the days of the Republic when the 4 senate appointed army commanders to their posts, all Italians used to bear arms and gained control of lands and seas in wars against Greeks and barbarians. There was no corner of earth or region in the world where the Romans did not extend their sway. But 5 when Augustus established his sole rule, he relieved Italians of their duties, and stripped them of their arms;¹ in their place he established a defensive system of camps for the empire, and in which were stationed mercenary troops on fixed rates of pay² to act as a barricade for the Roman empire. He also fortified the empire by hedging it round with major obstacles, rivers and trenches and mountains and deserted areas which were difficult to traverse. When therefore the Italians now heard the news of 6 Severus' approach with a large army, they were naturally panic-stricken at such an unusual event. Not daring to offer any opposition in his way, they went to meet him with garlands of laurels and opened wide their gates to admit him.³ But

Flavians and Trajan—1:3½, Hadrian to Diocletian—1:110. It was not a bar so much as the unattractive conditions of service which kept Italians out of the army. Domaszewski's theory that Italians were not admitted to the *militia equestris* by S. is incorrect; Dobson-Domaszewski, *Rangordnung xxxv*, 133 f., Birley, *R. Britain and the R. Army* 152 ff.

² The meaning of *siteresio* (pay or rations?) is discussed in 3.8.5n.

³ Cf. 1.7.3 for a similar reception. Dio (Xiph.) 73.17.1, SHA, *Did. Jul.* 6.3-4, mention Ravenna as the first city to fall; J.'s prefect, Tullius Crispinus (next note) who had been sent to save the city and the fleet was unsuccessful. J. also made repeated attempts to stop S. by the dispatch of private assassins, but they all defected to S.; Dio (Xiph.) 73.17.1, SHA, *Sev.* 5.8,

ἀναπεπταμέναις ἐδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀνεπαύ-
ετο ὅσον καλλιερῆσαι τε καὶ τοὺς δῆμους προσει-
πεῦν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο.

7 ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀπηγγέλλετο, ἐν
ἐσχάτῃ ἀπογνώσει ἦν, τοῦ μὲν Ἰλλυρικοῦ στρατοῦ
τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀκούων, οὔτε δὲ τῷ
δῆμῳ πιστεύων, ἐπεὶ μεμίσητο, οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώ-
ταις θαρρῶν, οὐδ' ἔψευστο.¹ χρήματα δὲ πάντα
ἀθροίζων τά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων, καὶ
εἴ τινα ἦν, ἐκ δημοσίων καὶ ἱερῶν² τόπων λαμβά-
νων, τοῖς στρατιώταις διανέμειν ἐπειράτο, ὡς
8 ἀνακτῆσαιτο³ τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν. οἱ δέ, καίτοι
μεγάλα λαμβάνοντες, χάρις οὐκ ἤδεσαν· ὄφλημα
γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποτίνειν ἀλλ' οὐ δωρεὰν διανέμειν
ἐλογίζοντο.

ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανός, καίτοι συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ
τῶν φίλων ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τὰ
στενὰ τῶν Ἄλπεων προκαταλαβεῖν⁴—μέγιστα

¹ ἐψεύσατο OJo

² Sylb ἱερῶν καὶ Oi

³ Sylb ἀν κτήσ. Oi

⁴ καταλαβ. O

Nig. 2.6, *Did. Jul.* 5.8; one of the agents is named as M. Aquilius Felix, "well known for his assassination of senators" (i.e. a *frumentarius*—member of the secret police), who was rewarded for his defection to S. by elevation to equestrian status and a series of imperial procuratorships, ending in his appointment as *praefectus* of the Ravenna fleet and *praefectus a censibus equitum Romanorum* (an unusual post), to review the *album* of equestrians; an indication of the extent of the

Severus only delayed long enough to obtain favourable signs from his sacrifices and to address the people of the cities, before hurrying on to Rome.

When Julianus received news of this, he was ⁷ reduced to a state of utter desperation; he knew of the size and power of the Illyrian army but could put no faith in the people, who hated him; nor the guards, whom he had tricked. He did actually make a collection of funds from all his own and his friends' private fortunes and whatever there was in the public and temple treasuries, but when he tried to make a distribution of this to the soldiers, in the hopes of gaining their favour, they accepted this large donative ⁸ but felt under no obligation to him. In their opinion he was only paying off a debt rather than distributing largess.

Julianus' councillors advised him to march the troops out and capture the Alpine passes.¹ The Alps are a very high range of mountains, far bigger than

sweeping changes in personnel by S. to eradicate opposition; cf. Oliver, *AJP* 67 (1946) 311-19; Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 225. Severus' recognition as *imperator* which appears on the *Feriale Duranum* for 21st May (193?) is probably not to be ascribed to his arrival in Ravenna but later (see 2.12.3n).

¹ See 2.11.3. Not much is known about who J.'s supporters were; names given by SHA, *Did. Jul.* 5, are: L. Vespronius Candidus, *cos. suff.* c. 176 (Exc. Val. 336, *Albo* 520), Valerius Catullinus (cf. SHA, *Sev.* 13.7; ? spurious since a man of this name appears under Constantine, *ILS* 704); both were supposedly sent to win over the soldiers in the provinces. J. was too late to defend the Alpine passes, but he was not as completely inactive as H. suggests. The praetorian prefect was sent to Ravenna (last note); there is a mention of troops in Umbria (SHA, *Did. Jul.* 8.4); a certain Lollianus Titianus is said to have armed the gladiators of Capua (SHA, *Did. Jul.* 8.3, *Albo* 331).

ἐκεῖνα ὄρη, καὶ οἷα οὐκ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γῆ, ἐν¹ τείχους σχήματι περίκειται καὶ προβέβληται Ἰταλίας, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας παρασχούσης τῆς φύσεως Ἰταλιώταις, ἔρυμα ἄρρηκτον τῆς² αὐτῶν προβεβλήσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκτώσας θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς³ μεσημβρίαν ὀρέουσαν διήκον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως προελθεῖν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐτόλμα· διέπεμπέ τε, τῶν στρατιωτῶν δεόμενος ὀπλιζέσθαι τε καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι πρότερον τῆς πόλεως τάφρους διορῦναι. καὶ τὴν πρὸς Σεβήρον μάχην ὡς ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιησόμενος παρεσκεύαζε· τοὺς τε ἐλέφαντας πάντας, οἱ ἐς πομπὴν ὑπηρετοῦσι⁴ Ῥωμαίοις, πύργους καὶ ἄνδρας φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν νώτων ἐπαίδευεν,⁴ οἰόμενος οὕτως ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς, καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἵππον διαταράξειν⁵ ὄψει καὶ μέγεθει θηρίων μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἑωραμένων. τότε δὴ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ὄπλα εἰργάζετο καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

¹ γενεᾶ φ γῆ om ἐν A

² τε καὶ ag τε l τε καὶ <ἄβατον> Reisk τε καὶ . . . lac Mendelss om O

⁴ ὑπηρετῶν (-έτων l) ἐπὶ νώτων φέρειν ἐπειράτο παιδεύειν (ἐπειράντο l) i ⁵ θέα παράξειν O

¹ The only indication H. gives that he is living in the East in his retirement; introduction, pp. xxiv ff.

² This apparently curious way of describing the line of the Alps was a description of the territorial boundary of Italy; cf. *CIL* V. 7817 (the tropaeum at la Turbia), *a mari supero ad inferum*, Pliny, *NH* 3.132. The Adriatic Gulf does extend

anything in our part of the world,¹ and act as a barricade for the protection of Italy; this is another of the advantages which nature has given to Italy, an impregnable barrier cast up in their land as a fortification and running from the northern to the southern coast.² Julianus, however, did not dare to advance³ from the city.³ Instead he issued orders to the soldiers⁴ to arm themselves and get into training and to dig trenches in front of the city. He also made preparations as though he were going to fight Severus in the streets of Rome. He began to train all the elephants, which were used by the Romans for processions,⁵ to carry men and turrets on their backs, in the belief that the appearance and size of these animals, which the Illyrians had not seen before, would terrify them and throw the enemy cavalry into confusion. So at this time the whole city was producing weapons and making ready for war.

nearly two degrees north of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Cf. 8.1.5 for another trite description of the Alps as a fortification of Italy.

³ Victor, *Caes.* 19.4, Orosius 7.16, Eutrop. 8.17, etc., preserve a tradition about a battle at the Milvian bridge; almost certainly this is false and arose possibly because of the parallel drawn between Severus and Vitellius (or the events of 312 as Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 37 says); cf. 2.14.1n.

⁴ Obviously the praetorian guards. One of J.'s attempted measures at conciliating S. (2.12.3) was to appoint a third prefect, D. Venturius Macrinus, a pro-Severus man, SHA, *Did. Jul.* 7.5, but apparently he was not acceptable to S. (see 2.13.1n); Macrinus had probably, like Severus and Julianus, been involved in anti-Perennis movements and had his career abruptly terminated in 183 when *praefectus Aegypti*; Pflaum, *Carriores* 179 bis, *AE* (1953) 79.

⁵ The elephants are mentioned by Dio (Xiph.) 73.16.3; cf. *Juv.* 12.102 ff. (ed. Friedländer, who notes Orelli 2951, *procurator Laurento ad helephantos*).

12. μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἔτι καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἔτοιμα ποιοῦντων, ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Σεβήρος ἤδη προσῶν. καὶ πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος μέρος διασκεδάσας ἐκείνος κελεύει παρεισδύεσθαι ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πάσας ὁδοὺς διανείμαντες αὐτούς,¹ πολλοὶ γ' ² ἐς Ῥώμην νύκτωρ λαυθάνοντες εἰσῆεσαν, τὰ ὄπλα ὑποκρύπτοντες,³ ἐν ἰδιωτῶν σχήματι.⁴ καὶ ἤδη οἱ πολέμοι ἐνδον ἦσαν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι ὑπτιάζοντος καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ἀγνοοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διάπυστα τῷ δήμῳ ἐγένετο, ἐν ταραχῇ πολλῇ πάντες ἦσαν, καὶ δεδιότες τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Σεβήρου τὰ ἐκείνου φρονεῖν προσεποιούντο, τοῦ μὲν Ἰουλιανοῦ καταγινώσκοντες ἀνανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ Νίγρου μέλλουσιν τε καὶ ῥαθυμίαν· τὸν δὲ Σεβήρον ³ ἀκούοντες ἤδη παρόντα ἐθαύμαζον. ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς πολλῇ καταλαμβανόμενος ἀφασία τε καὶ ἀπορία, ὅπως χρήσεται ⁵ τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐκ εἰδώς, ἀθροισθῆναι κελεύσας τὴν σύγκλητον καταπέμπει γράμματα, δι' ὧν ἐσπένδετο δὴ πρὸς τὸν Σεβήρον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀναδείξας κοινῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἐποιεῖτο. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσασα

¹ αὐτοὺς ἰ

² γ' Irmisch (cf. 2.5.8) δ' Oi lac Reisk explained as πολλοὶ μὲν μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους νύκτωρ ἐς Ῥώμην λαυθ.
³ ἐπικρ. ἰ ⁴ σχήμασι Og ⁵ χρήσαιτο O

¹ Dio (Xiph.) 73.15.3 notes a special force under S. of 600 men.

² The later coin issues of J. emphasize the Severus part of his own name in an attempt to find a spurious relationship with S.; cf. SHA, *Did. Jul.* 7.1-3, *BMC V.* lxx. The chronology of H. appears confused here. It would have been natural if

12. But while Julianus' forces were still waiting and just making their preparations for battle, news came that Severus was already approaching. He had dispersed most of his army and ordered them to infiltrate into the city.¹ They distributed themselves out along all the routes and many actually entered Rome undetected under cover of night by concealing their weapons and dressing up as civilians. The ² enemy were already in the city, while Julianus still failed to rouse himself, unaware of what was taking place. But when the news reached the people they were all in a complete panic, and, for fear of Severus' force, they pretended to support him by condemning Julianus' cowardice and Niger's negligent delay. They were astonished when they heard Severus had already arrived. Julianus was completely stupefied ³ and at a loss to know how he should deal with the crisis. Ordering the senate to convene, he sent them a letter in which he proposed concluding a treaty with Severus and making him a partner in the empire by publicly proclaiming him emperor.² The senate gave

J. had grown frightened after the fall of Ravenna and the failure of Tullius Crispinus (2.11.6); support for this comes from the *Feriale Duranum* which has a defective entry reading *xii Kal. [I]ulianus quod di[ov]us Sev[er]us imperator a[.] a]pp[ell]at[us]*; if S. took Ravenna about 16th May the news would have reached Rome about the 21st, provoking J.'s offer of partnership recorded on the *Feriale Duranum*. But S. had now broken up his force into fast mobile units (see above) which must have been reported as nearing Rome almost as soon as the vote was passed. H.'s "two or three days later" perhaps covers about a week. SHA, *Did. Jul.* 7.6-7, says that S. rejected the offer; if true it must have been the news of this which made the senate swing over completely to S.'s side.

μὲν ταῦτα, ὁρῶντες δὲ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀποδειλιῶντα
καὶ ἐν ἀπογνώσει ὄντα,¹ τῷ Σεβήρῳ πάντες ἤδη
4 προσετίθεντο. δύο δέ που ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν
παραδραμουσῶν, ἐπέπερ ἤδη τὸν Σεβήρον καὶ
αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἐπιστησόμενον ἤκουον, καταφρονή-
σαντες τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ συνίασιν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον,
τῶν ὑπάτων κελευσάντων, οἱ τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης
διοικεῖν εἰώθασιν ὀπηνίκα ἂν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας
5 μετέωρα ἦ.² συνελθόντες τοίνυν περὶ τῶν πρακ-
τέων ἐσκέπτοντο, τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι ὄντος ἐν τῇ
βασιλείῳ αὐλῇ καὶ τὰς παρούσας ὀδυρομένου
τύχας, ἰκετεύοντός τε³ ἐξομῶσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν
καὶ παραχωρῆσαι πάσης τῆς δυναστείας τῷ
Σεβήρῳ.

6 ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν ἡ σύγκλητος τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν οὕτως
κατεπτηχότα, τὴν δὲ δορυφόρων⁴ φρουρὰν διὰ
δέος τοῦ Σεβήρου αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλιποῦσαν, ψηφίζεται
τὸν μὲν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἀποδειχθῆναι δὲ μόνον
αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Σεβήρον· πρεσβείαν τε πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσι⁵ ἀπο⁶ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων
καὶ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων⁷ τῆς βουλῆς, πάσας αὐτῷ

¹ om φι ² om φ ³ τε <καὶ μέλλοντος> Schwartz

⁴ δορυφόρον Aag (but g¹ -ων) ⁵ ἐκπέμπει Jo

⁶ διὰ Ogl

⁷ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄντων φ τῶν ὄντων ἀξιωματῶν A om Mendels

¹ A leading role in the anti-Julianus movement was played by M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, son-in-law of M. Aurelius (I.13.1n), SHA, *Diad. Jul.* 6.6; he was later executed in c. 205, after Plautian's fall. Another active Severan partisan is unmentioned in the sources—L. Fabius Cilo, who was suffect consul in March–April and later one of S.'s most trusted *amici*

their vote of approval to this proposal but, as they viewed Julianus' cowardly state of despair, they all proceeded to go over to Severus' side.¹ About two or 4 three days later, when they heard that Severus would be at the very gates of Rome, they gathered together at the senate house² in contempt of Julianus and on the instructions of the consuls, who normally take over business when there is a crisis over the succession. After they had assembled they began to deliberate 5 on their course of action, while Julianus remained in the palace bewailing his present fate and begging to be allowed to abdicate from the rule³ and cede all his power to Severus.

When the senate learned of Julianus' total demoral- 6 ization and that his bodyguard had deserted him because they were afraid of Severus, they voted that Julianus should be destroyed and Severus acknowledged as sole emperor. A delegation was sent to him, of which the spokesmen were the magistrates and the leading senators,⁴ to convey to Severus the full honours that accompanied the title of Augustus.⁵

(3.1.5n). In the end only the praetorian prefect, Flavius Genialis and J.'s son-in-law Repentinus remained loyal to J.

² The meeting was in the Athenaeum according to Dio (Xiph.) 73.17.4, convened by the consul (suffect) M. Silius Messala (cf. *ILS* 3439, suffect c. May–June).

³ SHA, *Diad. Jul.* 8.3, says an offer of abdication was made in favour of the aged Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (see 2.3.4), but it was refused.

⁴ SHA, *Sev.* 6.1, says it consisted of a hundred senators, who went to meet S. at Interamna (on the via Flaminia about fifty miles from Rome).

⁵ The date of the formal title of the senate was probably 1st June 193, deduced from *CIL* XIV. 4570; cf. Snyder *YCS* 7 (1940) 258–60, though the evidence is far from conclusive.

7 προσφέρειν¹ τὰς σεβασμίους τιμάς. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν εἰς τῶν χιλιαρχούντων ἀναπέμπεται, ἀποκτενῶν² ἄνδρον καὶ ἄθλιον πρεσβύτην, ἰδίοις χρήμασιν ὠνησάμενον οὕτω πονηρὸν τέλος.

ὁ μὲν οὖν εὐρεθείς ἐρημός τε καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων καταλειφθείς, αἰσχροῦς ὀλοφυρόμενος ἐφονεύθη. 13. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐδηλώθη τῷ Σεβήρῳ ἢ τε τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀναίρεσις, ἦρθη καὶ³ εἰς μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἐλπίδα, καὶ σοφίσματι ἐχρήσατο, ὡς ἂν χειρώσαιοτο καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς τὸν Περτίνακα ἀνηρηκότας λάβοι. ἐπιστέλλει δὲ⁴ καὶ ἰδίᾳ μὲν λαθάνοντα γράμματα τοῖς τε χιλιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς ἑκατοντάρχοις ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλα, ὅπως πείσειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας ὑπακούειν εὐπειθῶς τοῖς ὑπὸ⁵ τοῦ 2 Σεβήρου κελευομένοις. ἐκπέμπει⁶ δὲ καὶ κοινῇ ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, κελεύων καταλιπεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ <τὰ ὅπλα>⁷ πάντα, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐξελεῖν⁸ <ἐν>⁸ εἰρηνικῶ

¹ πάσας τε αὐτῷ προσφέρει Οἶο

² conj Mendelssohn - κτείνων φgl - κτείνειν Αα

³ om i ⁴ οὖν Ο ⁵ ἀπὸ Ο

⁶ ἐκπέμπει δὲ καὶ δῆλωση δι' (ἐφ' ἰ) ἧς κελεύει τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτοὺς καταλιπεῖν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάντας δὲ ἐξελεῖν i (though erasures and two hands in g with mg additions)

⁷ Stav from i

⁸ Schwartz

If so, the delegation left after the murder of Julianus. S. rarely, if ever, used this senatorial *diēs imperii* for his anniversary, though the quinquennial and decennial celebrations may have been reckoned from this date. The date does not appear on the military *Feriale Duranum*; cf. 2.9.11n.

One of the military tribunes was dispatched against 7 Julianus to kill the cowardly, wretched, old man who had purchased this sorry end with his own money. Julianus was found alone and deserted by everyone and was murdered amid a shameful scene of tears.¹ 13. When Severus received the news of the senate's action and the death of Julianus, he was encouraged to set his aims still higher and used a stratagem to try to overpower and take prisoner those responsible for the murder of Pertinax. He sent secret messages in private to the military tribunes and centurions, offering them rich rewards if they would persuade the soldiers in Rome to accept his orders with obedience.² To the garrison, however, he issued a 2 public command that they should leave behind all their weapons in the camp and come out dressed for a peaceful procession as they did when conducting the

¹ SHA, *Sev.* 5.9, says S. incited the praetorians to murder J.; but *Did. Jul.* 8.8 follows H., that it was by order of the senate, though the agent was a *miles gregarius*. The date is given by Dio (Xiph.) 73.17.5, a rule of sixty-six days; SHA, *Did. Jul.* 9.3, says two months and five days; *Chron. of 354*, p. 147 (Mommsen) gives sixty-five days; *lib. gen.* p. 138 gives two months seven days; Eutrop. 8.17, *Epit. de Caes.* 19.1, *Chron. Pasc.* 493 give seven months. The usually accepted date is 1st June 193. It was about another nine days before S. entered Rome, 2.14.1.

² Probably through the new praetorian prefect, Flavius Juvenalis, appointed by J. to replace Tullius Crispinus who had been killed at Ravenna, SHA, *Sev.* 6.5, *Did. Jul.* 8.1. Juvenalis was S.'s nominee and later colleague of Plautian (SHA, *Geta* 2.7, 4.4, though a poor authority); *PIR*² F 300, Howe; *Praet. Prefect* no. 17, suggests he may have been sole prefect for a time because his name alone appears on the inscription *ILS* 2428.

σχήματι, ὡς περ εἰώθασι θύοντος ἢ ἐορτάζοντος¹ βασιλέως προπομπένειν, ὁμόσαι τε ἐς τὸ Σεβήρου ὄνομα, καὶ μετ' ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἐλθεῖν ὡς μέλλον-
³ τας τὸν Σεβήρον δορυφορήσειν. πιστεύσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις, πεισθέντες τε ὑπὸ τῶν χιλιαρχούντων, τὰ μὲν ὄπλα κατέλιπον πάντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν μόναις ταῖς πομπικαῖς ἐσθῆσι δαφνηφοροῦντες ἠπείγοντο. ὡς δὲ πρὸς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἐγένοντο, ἠγγέλῃσαν τε ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸ πεδῖον οὕτως,² αὐτοὺς ὁ Σεβήρος συνελθεῖν κελεύει³ ὡς δὴ δεξιωσόμενος καὶ
⁴ προσαγορεύσων. ὡς δὲ ἀνελθόντα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προσῆλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφημήσοντες, πάντες ὑφ' ἐνὶ συνθήματι συλλαμβάνονται· προεἰρητο γὰρ τῷ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατῷ, ὀπηνίκα ἂν στῶσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀποβλέποντες μετέωρόν τε τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντες, κυκλώσασθαι αὐτοὺς πολεμῖν νόμῳ, καὶ τιτρώσκειν μὲν ἢ παῖεν μηδένα, συνέχειν δὲ καὶ φρουρεῖν⁴ φράξαντας⁵ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὰς τε διβολίας⁶ καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐπισείειν, ὡς δέει τοῦ τραωθῆναι γυμνοὶ τε πρὸς ὀπλισμένους καὶ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς μὴ μάχονται.

¹ θύοντες ἢ ἐορτάζοντες O

² al g² (over erasure) οὐ O

³ lac after κελεύει Mendelssohn

⁴ διαφρ. O

⁵ φυλάξαντας O

⁶ Hemsterhuys διαβολίας φι om A (lao)

¹ SHA, *Sev.* 6.11, says the soldiers were dressed only in *subarmalia*—a *toga militaris* of rough cloth like a tunic, held

emperor to a sacrifice or the celebration of a festival; ¹ they were to swear their allegiance to him and should have every confidence that they would be enrolled as his guard. Believing this to be a genuine order ³ and urged on by the tribunes, the soldiers abandoned all their arms and quickly marched out, clad only in their ceremonial uniforms and bearing wreaths of laurels. When they reached Severus' camp and announced their arrival at the parade ground, Severus ordered them to form up round him, as though he was going to make them a speech of welcome. But as ⁴ they closed in upon him cheering together, where he stood on the tribunal, they were all surrounded at a signal. Severus had already given instructions to his own forces to treat the guards as enemies by surrounding them as soon as they were all standing still with their eyes on him and their attention distracted. Their orders were not to wound or strike anyone but to contain them and keep them under surveillance, ringed about with weapons, merely waving their lances and spears as threats, so that a few unarmed men would not fight many armed men

together by a *fibula*. This garment is sometimes called a *sagum* (not the same as the top cloak of the same name). Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 39, rejects the information as spurious; all that S. is demanding of the guard is that they shall leave their arms behind as normal for a festival *pompa*; cf. 2.2.9 and 7.11.2, but 4.5.1 implies that ceremonial dress included light arms of some kind. About this occasion, Dio (*Xiph.*) 74.1.2 and (*Exc. Salm.*) 217 Müll. (V. 1-12) says the praetorians brought their weapons and were disarmed. See Hohl, *Philol. Woch.* 52 (1932) 560, for a view that there was no such thing as ceremonial dress—only a civilian toga as an alternative to full military dress and swords always carried.

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὡσπερ σαγηνεύσας ἐντὸς τῶν ὀπλων δοριαλώτους¹ εἶχε, μεγάλη βοή και θυμοειδεὶ τῷ πνεύματι ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιαύδε·

“ὅτι μὲν ὑμῶν και σοφία κρείττους ἐσμέν και δυνάμει στρατοῦ και συμμάχων πλήθει, ἔργω ὁράτε· εἰληφθε γοῦν ῥαδίως, και ἀκοντί² γε ἐαλώκατε. ἔστι δ’³ ἐν⁴ ἐμοὶ ὅ τι ποτ’ ἂν ὑμᾶς δρᾶσαι θελήσω, και πρόκεισθε⁵ ἤδη θύματα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐξουσίας. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν⁶ πρὸς τὰ τετολημημένα τιμωρίαν ζητεῖ τις,⁷ οὐδ’⁸ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν δίκην τὴν ἐπιτεθησομένην⁹ ἀξίαν τῶν πεπραγμένων. σεμνὸν πρεσβύτην και βασιλέα χρηστόν, ὃν ἐχρῆν σώζειν και δορυφορεῖν, ἐφονεύσατε· τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐνδοξον οὖσαν ἀεὶ, ἣν και οἱ πρόγονοι ἢ δι’ ἀνδρείας ἐναρέτου ἐκτήσαντο ἢ δι’ εὐγένειαν διεδέξαντο,¹⁰ ταύτην αἰσχρῶς και ἀτίμως ὡσπερ τι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν κειμηλίων ἐπ’⁷ ἀργυρίῳ κατηλλάξασθε. ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ αὐτόν, ὃν οὕτως¹¹ ἀρχοντα εἴλεσθε, φυλάξαι ἢ σώσαι ἐδυνήθητε, ἀνάδρωσ¹² δὲ προιδώκατε. ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις δὴ ἀμαρτήμασί τε και τολμήμασι μυρίων ἀξιοὶ θανάτων, ἣν τις ὀρίσαι θέλη τὴν ἀξίαν τιμωρίαν, ἐστέ. ἀλλὰ τί μὲν χρῆ παθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὁράτε· ἐγὼ δὲ φείσομαι μὲν ὑμῶν ὡς μὴ φονεῦσαι,

¹ δοριαλ. Oa

³ ἔστι and ἔσται in mg g² but ἐστέ ag

⁴ om a

⁶ Schwartz ὑμεῖς Oi

⁸ οὐδὲν O

¹⁰ ἐδέξαντο O

¹² ὡς ἀνάδρωσ O

² g² ἀκοντί Oi

⁵ πρόσκ. O

⁷ Schwartz ζητεῖτε Oi

⁹ ἐπιτιθ. a ἐπιθησ. O om Cassola

¹¹ om O

for fear of getting wounded. When he had them⁵ caught within a ring of weapons like a net,¹ Severus addressed them passionately in a loud voice.

“You now see a practical demonstration of the fact that we are your superiors in intelligence, in the strength of our forces and in the number of our allies. You have been easily trapped and are our prisoners without even a struggle. I can do with you what I want, since you are now standing before me as victims in my power. If one tries to find a punish-⁶ ment for your effrontery, it is impossible to think of any penalty to impose that fits your crimes. You murdered a respected and honourable, old emperor, when you ought to have been acting as a guard for his protection. Our ancestors won the Roman empire (whose reputation is eternal) by deeds of outstanding bravery, and inherited it through a noble line of succession; but you sold it shamefully and dishonourably for a sum of money, as though it were some private possession. But then you could not⁷ even defend and protect your chosen ruler, betraying him instead in a cowardly fashion. For these enormities and crimes you deserve to die a thousand times, if one were to determine a just punishment. You know how you deserve to be treated. Yet I shall spare you. I am not going to copy your actions

¹ A favourite description of H.; cf. 4.9.6, 6.5.9. Although this passage and the following speech are typical of H.’s somewhat strained rhetoric, there is nothing here which disagrees with the account in the epitomes of Dio, nor any sign that H. was copying Dio. The relationship between the two accounts is only that they are about the same event, in spite of Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus* 43.

8 οὐτὲ τὰς ὑμετέρας χεῖρας μιμήσομαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ¹
 μήτε ὄσιον μήτε δίκαιον ἔτι βασιλέα ὑμᾶς δορυφο-
 ρεῖν καὶ ἐς τὸν ὄρκον ἀσεβήσαντας καὶ ἐμφυλίω
 καὶ βασιλικῷ αἵματι τὰς δεξιὰς μάναντας τήν τε
 πίστιν καὶ τὸ ἐχέγγυον τῆς φρουρᾶς προδόντας,
 τὰς μὲν² ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα δῶρον τῆς ἐμῆς
 φιλανθρωπίας ἔξετε, τοῖς δὲ³ περιειληφόσιν⁴
 ὑμᾶς στρατιώταις κελεύω ἀποζῶσαι τε ὑμᾶς, καὶ
 ἀποδύσαντας εἴ τινας περικεῖσθε ἐσθῆτας στρατιω-
 9 τικὰς, γυμνοὺς ἀποπέμπειν. παραγγέλλω τε ὑμῖν
 ἀπιέναι ὡς πορρωτάτω τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀπειλῶ τε
 καὶ διόμνυμι⁵ καὶ προαγορεύω κολασθήσεσθαι
 κεφαλικῶς, εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἐντὸς ἑκατοστοῦ⁶ σημείου
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης φανείη.”
 10 ταῦτα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, προσδραμόντες οἱ
 Ἰλλυρικοὶ⁷ στρατιῶται τὰ τε ξιφίδια περιαιροῦσιν
 αὐτῶν ἃ παρηώρητο [τῷ]⁸ ἀργύρω⁹ καὶ [τῷ]⁸
 χρυσῷ ἐς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένα, τὰς τε ζώνας καὶ
 τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ εἴ τι σύμβολον ἔφερον στρατιωτι-
 11 κόν, ἀφαρπάσαντες γυμνοὺς ἐξέπεμπον. οἱ δὲ
 ὑπεῖκον προδεδομένοι καὶ σοφίσματι ἐάλωκότες·
 τί γὰρ ἐνῆν δρᾶσαι γυμνοῖς πρὸς ὠπλισμένους καὶ
 ὀλίγοις πρὸς πολλούς; ἀπήεσαν δὴ ὀδυρόμενοι,
 καὶ ἠγάπων μὲν τὴν δοθείσαν σωτηρίαν, μετεγί-

¹ Steph ἐπειδὴ φη ἐπεὶ A ² Steph δὲ ag δὴ I om O
³ Steph τε OI ⁴ προειλ. O ⁵ διομνύμαι i
⁶ ἑκατοστοῦ V ἑκατοστοῦ B ἑκατοστοῦ τοῦ A
⁷ Ἰλλυρικοὶ Ogl ⁸ conj Mendelss ⁹ ἀργυρίω i

by killing you. On the other hand, it is neither right 8
 nor just that you should act as the imperial guard any
 longer once you have broken your oath and defiled
 your hands with the blood of fellow-citizens and an
 emperor by betraying your trusted position as pro-
 tectors. Your lives and limbs shall be spared; take
 them as a gift of my generosity. But I order the
 soldiers who are surrounding you to strip you of your
 rank and whatever uniform you are wearing¹ and
 dismiss you empty-handed. I further order you to 9
 go as far as possible from Rome, with the warning on
 my solemn oath that, if any of you are found within a
 hundred miles of Rome,² you will be executed.”

After Severus had given this order, the Illyrian 10
 troops rushed forward and took away from the soldiers
 the daggers they were carrying, which were inlaid
 with silver and gold, for ceremonial use, and their
 belts, uniforms or any other military insignia they
 were wearing. Then they were dismissed, completely
 stripped. Being utterly powerless to do anything 11
 against a superior, armed force, when they were out-
 numbered and without their weapons, the guards sub-
 mitted, betrayed by the trap into which they had
 fallen. And so they went away lamenting their fate;
 although they were grateful for the guarantee of their
 safety, they resented the humiliation and ignominy of

¹ The *cingulum* (belt) was regarded as the mark of military
 service; cf. *Suda* s.v. *ἀθροτήσαντρα*, *Cod. Just.* I.1.4.3, etc.
 The *pugio* (dagger) mentioned below is the ceremonial badge
 of the praetorian. The various items of uniform of the
 praetorians are discussed by Durry, *RE* (Praetoriae cohortes)
 1625.

² The extent of the jurisdiction of the urban prefect; cf.
 Gaius, *Inst.* I.27, for similar restrictions on *dediticii*.

νωσκον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ¹ ἀνόπλους² ἔλθειν, αἰσχυρῶς
 12 καὶ ἐφυβρίστως ἐαλωκότες. ἐκέχρητο δὲ καὶ
 ἄλλῳ ὁ Σεβήρος σοφίσματι· δεδιὼς γὰρ μὴ ἄρα
 μετὰ τὸ ἀποζωσθῆναι ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι
 ἀναδράμωσιν ἐπὶ³ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ ὄπλα
 ἀναλάβωσι, προύπεμψε⁴ λογάδας ἐπιλέκτους
 ὄσους⁵ γενναιοτάτους ἠπίστατο, δι' ἐτέρων ὁδῶν
 καὶ ἀτραπῶν, ὡς λαθόντες τό τε στρατόπεδον⁶
 ἐπεισέλλοιεν ἀνδρῶν κενόν,⁷ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καταλα-
 βόντες, εἰ ἐπίοιεν,⁸ ἀποκλείσαιεν αὐτούς.

δίκην μὲν δὴ⁹ ταύτην ἔδοσαν οἱ τοῦ Περτίνακος
 φονεῖς· 14. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος σὺν παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ
 ὀπλισμένῳ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικνεῖται, ἔκπληξιν
 τε καὶ δέος ἅμα τῷ ὀφθῆναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
 ἐνέβαλε τοῖς οὕτω τετολημημένοις τε καὶ εὐτυχηθεῖ-
 σιν ἔργοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος δαφνηφο-
 ροῦντες ὑπεδέχοντο πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων καὶ βασι-
 λέων ἀναιμαῶτι τε καὶ ἀκοντιῖ τσοσᾶτα κατωρθω-

¹ τὸ Ο

² ἀνάπλους B ἀνόπλους ag ἀνόπλω I ἀνοπλοι ? Whit

³ εἰς Ο

⁴ προύπεμπε Ο

⁵ a <τε καὶ> ὄσους Stav from λογάδας ἐπιλέκτους τε ὄσους gl
 τε λογ. ἐπιλ. καὶ ὄσους Ο

⁶ τῶν τε (om V) στρατοπέδων Ο

⁷ κενῶν Ο

⁸ ἀπίοιεν Ο

⁹ μέντοι cod Schotti

¹ The praetorian camp on the Viminal. It is not known where S. met the praetorians, but evidently it was reasonably close to Rome. Dio (Xiph.) 74.1.2 says there were spectators at the scene.

² SHA, *Sev.* 7.1-3, follows H. in saying that fear was the prevailing emotion, in contrast to the joyful scene described

their capture through having come out without their
 weapons. There was another scheme also which 12
 Severus had devised. He was afraid that, after they
 had been stripped of their office, the soldiers in
 desperation might make a rush to the camp¹ to
 retrieve their weapons. So he sent ahead by
 alternate routes and short cuts a contingent of men
 specially selected for their known bravery. The idea
 was that they should quietly occupy the camp while
 it was deserted, take control of the weapons and shut
 out the guard if they made an attack.

After the murderers of Pertinax had been punished,
 (14.) Severus approached Rome with all the rest
 of his army, fully armed. The Romans were
 absolutely terrified at his appearance because of the
 reputation for what he had achieved with such daring
 good fortune. The people and the senate went out
 with garlands of laurels to greet him² as the first man
 or emperor to have achieved such enormous suc-

by Dio (Xiph.) 74.1.3-5; Dio says that S. dismounted at the gates and changed into civilian dress. But there are problems about Dio's account, perhaps, suggests Millar, *Cassius Dio* 139, written as an earlier laudatory work on Severus (though this does not explain why Dio could not have revised his later history). There are also some parallels with Vitellius' entry into Rome; e.g. recruiting of "barbarian" praetorians, *Tac. H.* 2.93; entry into the city in civilian dress, *Tac. H.* 2.89. Was this the origin of the tradition of the battle at the Milvian bridge?—*Tac. H.* 2.88. The date of S.'s entry is deduced by Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 40, from *CIL* III. 11082 and *ILS* 2185 as being 9th June, but it could be earlier; Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 258-9. For garlands of laurel or bay leaves, see 1.7.3. Doorways were usually festooned to greet the arrival of an emperor; cf. *Juv.* 6.79, *Sen. Thyest.* 54-6, *Dio* 63.20.4, etc. (full references in Mayor, *Tertullian's Apology* 363-4).

2 κότα. πάντα γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐθαυμάζετο, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ ἀγγίνου τῆς γνώμης τό τε τῶν πόνων γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἐς τὰ τολμώμενα ἅμα τῷ θαρραλέῳ εὐέλπῃ. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ τε δῆμος αὐτὸν ὑποδεξάμενος εὐφρόνησεν ἢ τε σύγκλητος ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως εἰσόδοις προσηγόρευσεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸ¹ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος καὶ θύσας, ἐν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱεροῖς νόμῳ βασιλικῷ καλλιερῆσας, ἀνῆλθεν ἐς³ τὰ βασιλεία. τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης² κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους ἐπιεικεῖς πάνυ καὶ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων μεστοὺς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς πάντας, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ δεξιούμενος, λέγων ἦκειν μὲν ἔκδικος τοῦ Περτινάκος φόνου, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν παρέξειν καὶ³ εἴσοδον ἀριστοκρατίας, μήτε δὲ ἀκριτόν τινα φονευθήσεσθαι ἢ δημευθήσεσθαι, μήτε συκοφαντοῦντος ἀνέξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ βαρυτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις παρεξείν, καὶ πάντα πράξειν ἐς

¹ τε Ο² τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἰ³ <κοινῇ> καὶ Mendelss <ἀφορμῇ> καὶ Schwartz, παρέξ. κατ' εἴκονα τῆς ἀριστ. Domaszewski

¹ S.'s arrival may be in the mind of Tertullian, *Apol.* 35, who says that some Christians refused to light up their houses to welcome the emperor. But in the war between S. and Niger the Christians supported S., *Tert. ad Scap.* 3.4. SHA, *Sev.* 7.2-3, says the city was seething with troops, who threatened to destroy it; cf. *Tac. H.* 2.93, after the entry of Vitellius (previous note).

² SHA, *Sev.* 7.4-5, Dio (Xiph.) 74.2.1 both mention the meeting of the senate, but the *vita* says S. went surrounded by his *amici* and troops.

³ The promise was strengthened by a *senatus consultum*;

cesses so effortlessly and without bloodshed. Apart² from his general qualities, they were particularly impressed by his shrewd judgement, his noble endurance of hardship and the confidence and courage of his daring enterprises. After the people had welcomed him¹ with acclaim and the senate had greeted him at the gates of the city, he went up to the temple of Jupiter to sacrifice. After making favourable sacrifices at the other temples as was the custom for an emperor, he returned to the palace. On the following day he went down to the senate³ house,² where he made a very moderate and promising speech in the assembly, greeting them all collectively and individually. He had come, he said, to avenge the murder of Pertinax and his rule would also mark the beginning of an aristocracy. No one would be put to death³ or have his property confiscated without a trial; informers would not be tolerated. For his subjects he would provide a period of

Dio (Xiph.) 74.2.2, SHA, *Sev.* 7.5. The same promise is noted by Dio for Nerva, Trajan (there is a lacuna for Pius), M. Aurelius and Pertinax, and later for Macrinus. H. notes it for Severus (it is implied for Pertinax), Macrinus, Alexander (and referring to M. Aurelius) and Gordian I; 2.4.2, 5.1.8, 6.1.7, 7.6.4. But wrong to suggest this was simply a formal oath, Birley, *CR* 12 (1962) 197 ff. It was part of the stereotype of the senatorial *optimus princeps*; cf. 1.2.3n, Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βασ.* 1.25-26, 3.41, etc., and had a propaganda appeal to certain sections of society. It is regularly coupled with elimination of informers, curbing the praetorians, partnership with the senate. Note that S. introduced legislation to punish slaves who brought accusations against their master, *Dig.* 49.14.2.6, but that this was later amended specifically to allow accusations in cases of *maiestas*, *Cod. Just.* 9.41.1—thus the deception of S.

ζῆλον τῆς Μάρκου ἀρχῆς, ἔξειν δὲ τοῦ Περτίνακος
 4 οὐ μόνον τοῦνομα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνώμην. τοιαυτὰ
 τινα λέγων ὑπηγάγετο τοὺς πλείστους ἐς εὐνοίαν
 καὶ πίστιν ὧν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ἦσαν δὲ τινες τῶν
 πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γνωρίζοντων αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον,
 οἱ προύλεγον λανθάνοντες, ὅτι ἄρα εἶη ἀνὴρ
 πολύτροπός τις καὶ μετὰ τέχνης εἰδῶς προσφέ-
 ρεθαι πράγμασιν, ὑποκρίνασθαι¹ τε καὶ προ-
 σποιήσασθαι πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἰκανώτατος, ἔτι δ' ²
 ἀνύσαι καὶ τὸ χρεῖῶδες καὶ τὸ λυσιτελὲς αὐτῷ.
 ὅπερ καὶ ὕστερον ἔργω δέδεικται.

5 διατρέψας οὖν ³ ὀλίγον χρόνον ὁ Σεβήτρος ἐν τῇ
 Ῥώμῃ, καὶ νομὰς ἐπιδοῦς ⁴ τῷ δήμῳ μεγαλο-
 φρόνως, <θέας> ⁵ τε ἐπιτελέσας, ⁶ τοῖς τε στρατιώ-
 ταις ⁷ πολλὰ ⁸ δωρησάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτά-
 τους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς τὸ δορυφόρους εἶναι τῆς
 βασιλείας τόπῳ τῶν ἀπεζωσμένων, ἐπὶ τὴν
 6 ἀνατολὴν ἠπέιγετο. ἔτι γὰρ μέλλοντος καὶ

¹ ὑποκρίνεσθαι O (but A¹ a over ε)

² Wolf ἔστιν OI τε ἔστιν cod Schotti

³ γοῦν AB gl

⁴ ἐπιδοῦς Oal

⁵ Steph

⁶ τε ἐπιτελ. om P

⁷ τοὺς (τοῖς I) τε στρατιώτας OI

⁸ πολλοῖς Mendelss

¹ The title of Pertinax was taken by S. before he left Carnuntum (2.10.1n) but was now formally added as a title by the senate; SHA, *Pert.* 15.2, *Sev.* 7.9. The deification of P. had been voted on 1st June, but the ceremony of a mock funeral took place soon after this senate meeting, Dio (Xiph. and Exc. Val.) 74.4-5.

² The irony which Dio pointed out was that the senator who framed the *senatus consultum ne liceret imperatori in-*

true prosperity, in making the reign of Marcus a model for all his actions and adopting both the name and outlook of Pertinax.¹ By this speech he enticed most 4 senators into adopting a favourable attitude because they believed in his promises;² but there were some more senior men who knew Severus' character and privately circulated their opinion that he was really a crafty man and a master of the art of contrivances, who was absolutely accomplished at acting out any kind of deception but in the end obtained his own benefit and advantage. This was later, in fact, proved to be true.

Severus made only a brief stay in Rome, during 5 which time he made a generous distribution of money to the people, put on some shows and gave out a large donative to the troops,³ the best of whom he selected to serve as imperial guards in place of those who had been dismissed.⁴ Then he hurried off to the East,⁵

consulto senatu occidere senatorem was killed soon after; (Julius Solon) Dio (Xiph.) 74.2.2.

³ See 2.11.1n. If the exceptionally large donative promised in Carnuntum had as yet been unpaid, this would explain the threats of the soldiers which extorted the donative out of S. immediately following the meeting of the senate; Dio 46.46.7 (note that the reference to this has dropped out of the excerpts, Millar, *Cassius Dio* 209); *Sev.* 7.6-7. According to Dio, S. managed to pay only 250 denarii, though the *vita* says they demanded 10,000 sesterces (= 2,500 den.).

⁴ H. says nothing of the alleged bar to recruiting of Italians into the guard, noted by Dio (Xiph.) 74.2.5-6. Previously, says Dio, recruits were limited to Italy, Spain, Macedonia and Noricum. Inscriptional evidence certainly confirms a large influx of northern troops; Durry, *Cohortes præt.* 247-9; Passerini, *Coorti pretorie* 171-82, quoting *CIL* VI. 32533 (A.D. 209) and 32536-8 (A.D. 212-14). The profound effect that

ὑπτιάζοντος τοῦ Νίγρου, τῇ τε Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐντροφώντος, ἐπιστῆναι μηδὲ προσδοκώμενος ἦθελεν, ὅπως ἀπαράσκευον αὐτὸν λάβοι. τοὺς τε οὖν στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, συνεκρότει τε καὶ πανταχόθεν στράτευμα, ἕκ τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεων νεανίας μεταπεμπόμενος καὶ στρατεύων, εἶ τέ τι ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λείψανον, κατελθὼν 7 ἐπὶ Θράκην ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν. ἐξήρτυε δὲ καὶ στόλον ναυτικόν, καὶ πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τριήρεις ὀπλιτῶν πληρώσας ἐξέπεμπε. πολλή τε αὐτῷ καὶ παντοδαπὴ δύναμις μεγίστω τάχει συνεσκευάσθη· ἦδει γὰρ οὐ μικρᾶς δυνάμεως δεόμενος πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἠπειρον Εὐρώπῃ¹ τὰ Νίγρου φρονούσαν.

¹ εὐρώπην Bgl

this exclusion had upon the growth of "bandits" which Dio alleges, (Xiph.) 74.2.5-6, is accepted by Hasebroek (and others he quotes), *Sept. Severus* 39-40, but is surely exaggerated. The economic causes which motivated an incident like Bulla the robber, (Dio (Xiph.) 76.10) can hardly be put down to the exclusion of the youth of Italy from ten cohorts of praetorians; non-Italians in the guards had already risen to 35 per cent under M. Aurelius and after Severus some Italians are still to be found (perhaps ex-urban cohorts, Durry 245).

⁵ For the date, see 2.15.5. It is typical of H.'s method that he begins by stating the theme of the next episode (the departure of S.), then retraces his steps to describe the background until he arrives at the same point; cf. the siege of Aquileia, 8.2. The historian's task was to impose τάξις upon his material and not be strictly bound by chronology except in broad outline (1.1.6, 2.15.7); cf. Lucian, *How to write history* 16—the historian must not be "like a soldier or a

where Niger was still putting off his departure and 6 remaining inactive¹ amidst the pleasures of Antioch. Severus intended to launch an unexpected attack to catch him unprepared. The troops were ordered to get themselves fitted out for the expedition, while he made a widespread recruiting drive to collect together an army. Young men from the Italian cities were enrolled in the levy, and any troops left in Illyricum were ordered to make their way down through Thrace to meet him.² He also fitted out a 7 naval force and dispatched all the triremes belonging to the Italian cities, manned with troops.³ A large, varied force was equipped with great speed since Severus knew that no small armament was needed to oppose the entire continent opposite Europe⁴ which favoured Niger's cause.

pedlar following the army putting together a diary of daily events."

¹ Bersanetti, *RFIC* 16 (1938) 357-64 (following Wolf), accuses H. of tendentious writing to make Niger's idleness the foil to S.'s energy. But Cassola, *Atti Acc. Pont.* 6 (1956/7) 192, defends H., showing that the measures for defence taken by N. are recorded, 3.1.1-6, 3.2.2 and 9, 3.3.2.

² These were probably the *vevillationes* from Moesia under Marius Maximus who arrived later at Byzantium (3.2.1n). The naval force (below) would have transported the *vevillationes Illyricianae* under Fabius Cilo which were sent in advance to occupy Greece and Thrace (3.1.5n; cf. SHA, *Sev.* 8.12). Meanwhile S., having recruited new troops, advanced by land with the rest of the Pannonian force (SHA, *Sev.* 8.9, at Saxa Rubra on the via Flaminia; *ibid.* 8.10, met by Geta on the journey).

³ The wording suggests both the regular navy (from Ravenna and Misenum) and merchant ships. Used later at the siege of Byzantium, Dio (Xiph.) 74.12.1 ff.

⁴ That is, Asia Minor; cf. 2.8.7n.

15. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενναίως εὐτρέπιζεν, ἅτε δὲ ¹ ἀνὴρ προμηθῆς τε καὶ νήφων ὑπόπτευε τὴν ἐν Βρεττανία δύναμιν πολλὴν τε οὖσαν καὶ μεγίστην ἀνδρῶν τε μαχιμωτάτων. ἤρχε δ' αὐτῆς πάσης Ἀλβίνος, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου εὐπατριδῶν, ἐν πλούτῳ δὲ ² καὶ τρυφῇ ἐκ πατέρων ² ἀνατραφεὶς. τοῦτον τοῖνυν ἠθέλησεν ὁ Σεβήρος σοφίσματι ³ προλαβὼν οἰκειώσασθαι, μή πως ἄρα τοιαῦτα ἔχων ἐναύσματα ἐς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν, θαρρῶν πλούτῳ ⁴ καὶ γένοι δυνάμει τε στρατοῦ γνώσει τε τῇ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους, ἐπιθῆται τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐ πολὺ τι ἀφεστῶσαν ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ³ ἀνατολὴν ἀσχοληθέντος ὑποποιήσεται. τιμῇ τοῖνυν προσποιήτῳ δελεάζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ὄντα τὴν γνώμην χαῖνον καὶ ἀπλοϊκώτερον, τότε δὲ καὶ πολλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμόσα/τι τῷ Σεβήρῳ πιστεύσαντα. Καίσαρα δὲ ⁵ αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυει, φθάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν

¹ δὴ al.

³ ἐν σοφ. Ο

⁵ Steph δὲ i δ' Ο

² πατριδος φ g² (-έρων over erasure)

⁴ Α θαρρῶν ἢ πλούτῳ φ i

¹ Contrasted with the encouragement S. gave to his troops in 197; 3.6.6.

² See 3.5.2 for the earlier career of Albinus. His appointment as governor of Britain was probably in 191/2 and, like that of S., may have been through the influence of the African prefect, Aemilius Laetus (1.16.4n); he had been consul in c. 187-8.

³ In spite of S.'s deception, Albinus probably did scheme for power while S. was occupied; see 3.5.8n.

15. While making these efficient arrangements for war, Severus, who was naturally cautious and wary, had been having his suspicions about the army in Britain, a large and powerful force of extremely good fighters.¹ In charge of them was Albinus, the governor, a patrician-born member of the senate,² who had been brought up in the lap of wealth and luxury inherited from his ancestors. Severus was ² anxious to trick Albinus into giving his support, since there was a danger that he might perhaps have just such an incentive to aim for the principate, relying on his wealth and ancestry, the strength of his army and his reputation in Rome. In that case he might make a bid for power and capture Rome, which was no great distance away, while he, Severus, was occupied in the East.³ By pretending to pay him ³ honour, Severus won over Albinus, who in any case was vain and rather simple, and on this occasion was taken in by the many promises which Severus made in his letters. He declared Albinus Caesar,⁴ thereby anticipating Albinus' desired object by giving him a

⁴ Before he left Pannonia, Dio (Xiph.) 73.15.1; see 2.10. In. H. notes the event here as relevant to the formal senatorial *decretum*, noted in 2.15.5. Albinus never seems to have received *tribunicia potestas* or the secondary *imperium proconsulare* (though there is a coin with *trib. pot.*, it is almost certainly spurious, *BMC* V. 133, 533n; Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat* 84 is wrong). SHA, *Sev.* 6.9, is corrupt, but is also wrong if it says that Commodus had made A. Caesar. It seems possible, however, that A.'s soldiers had saluted him as *imperator* before S. gave him the title of Caesar; cf. SHA, *Cl. Alb.* 1.2 (very unreliable). There is no evidence to show that A. had *de facto* command of the western provinces, as Hammond says, *MAAR* 24 (1956) 112.

4 ἐπιθυμίαν τῇ τῆς ἐξουσίας κοινωνία. ἐπιστέλλει
 δὲ αὐτῷ φιλικώτατα [γράμματα δῆθεν],¹ ἵκετεύων
 ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς φροντίδα·
 δεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς καὶ τοιούτου τὴν τε
 ἡλικίαν ἔτι ἀκμάζοντος αὐτὸν ὄντα πρεσβύτην καὶ
 ὑπὸ νόσου ἀρθρίτιδος ² ἐνοχλούμενον, τῶν τε
 παίδων αὐτῷ ὄντων πάνυ νηπίων. οἷς πιστεύσας
 ὁ Ἄλβινος τὴν τιμὴν ὑπεδέξατο ἀσπαστῶς,
 ἀγαπήσας ἄνευ μάχης καὶ κινδύνου λαβεῖν ταῦτα
 5 ὧν ³ ὠρέγετο. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος καὶ πρὸς τὴν
 σύγκλητον τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνενεγκών, ὡς ἂν μᾶλλον
 αὐτὸν ἐς πίστιν ὑπαγάγοιτο,⁴ νομίματα τε αὐτοῦ
 κοπήναι ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσει
 ταῖς τε λοιπαῖς τιμαῖς τὴν δοθεῖσαν χάριν ἐπιστώ-
 σατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἄλβινον διὰ
 σοφίας ἀσφαλῶς εἶχεν, οὐδέ τι ⁵ δέος ἦν ἀπὸ

¹ γραμ. δῆθεν del? Mendelss

² ἀρθρίτιδος φ ἀρθροῖτ. A

³ ᾧ O

⁴ ὑπαγάγοι O

⁵ οὐδ' ἔτι Sylb

¹ See 2.10.1 for the reference to Heraclitus, who was sent as S.'s agent to Albinus. He was probably sent from Pannonia after the news of Niger's revolt and brought back the reply to Rome where S. had by then arrived.

² S. was only 48; Dio (Xiph.) 76.16.1 says the gout was an affliction of S.'s old age, but SHA, *Sev.* 16.6, says that by 202

share of power. He sent off a letter¹ containing a 4
 thoroughly friendly request to Albinus, asking him
 to devote his attention to the welfare of the empire,
 since he (Severus) needed the services of a man of
 noble birth, still in the prime of life, when he him-
 self was an old man, racked by gout² and with
 children who were still very young. Convinced by
 this letter, Albinus readily accepted the honour,³
 since he was happy to achieve his ambition without
 the danger of fighting for it. Severus also read out 5
 the letter in the senate so as to reinforce their
 loyalty. He gave permission for coins of Albinus to
 be struck,⁴ and by the erection of statues and other
 honours he gave recognition to the favour that had
 been conferred. After he had cleverly concluded
 his negotiations with Albinus so as to remove the
 danger from Britain without risk to himself, and

it was so bad that S. could not walk. What S. says to Albinus here is in marked contrast to his health noted in 2.11.2. Is this a piece of S.'s deception or is H. here making a later editing improvement based on 3.11.1? (cf. 2.2.4n for speech additions).

³ For Albinus as Caesar, see e.g. *ILS* 414-15. Albinus took the name of Severus as well, probably at this time and indicating some kind of adoption; cf. Mommsen, *SR* (3) 2.2.1147; doubted by Platnauer, *Sept. Severus* 99, but accepted by Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 28. Hammond, *MAAR* 24 (1956) 112, suggests the adoption was not a formal civil act, but Mommsen's remarks still stand—the title of Caesar without adoption was unknown.

⁴ Probably one of the Roman mint *officinae* was devoted to Albinus' issues, in addition to the mint at Lugdunum; *BMC V.* lxxviii. For examples of these coins, see *RIC IV.* 1.44-53, *BMC V.* 25-6, 35 ff. *SHA, Nig.* 2.1, *Cl. Alb.* 1.1 state that A. rebelled at the same time as S. and Niger, but are untrustworthy.

Βρεττανίας, τό τε Ἰλλυρικὸν στράτευμα σὺν αὐτῷ
πάν εἶχε, διοικεῖσθαι¹ νομίζων πάντα λυσιτελῶς
τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ τὸν Νίγρον ἠπείγετο.

6 τῆς μὲν οὖν² ὁδοιορίας τοὺς σταθμούς, καὶ
τὰ³ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν αὐτῷ λεχθέντα, καὶ
σημεῖα θεία προνοία δόξαντα πολλάκις φανήναι,
χωρία τε ἕκαστα καὶ παρατάξεις, καὶ τὸν τῶν
ἐκατέρωθεν πεσόντων ἀριθμὸν στρατιωτῶν ἐν⁴
ταῖς μάχαις, ἱστορίας τε πολλοὶ συγγραφεῖς καὶ
ποιηταὶ μέτρῳ⁵ πλατύτερον συνέταξαν, ὑπόθεσιν
ποιούμενοι πάσης τῆς πραγματείας τὸν Σεβήρου
7 βίον. ἐμοὶ δὲ σκοπὸς ὑπάρχει ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα⁶
πράξεις πολλῶν βασιλέων συντάξαντι⁷ γράψαι,
ὡς αὐτὸς οἶδα. τὰ κορυφαῖότατα⁸ τοίνυν καὶ
συντέλειαν ἔχοντα τῶν κατὰ μέρος πεπραγμένων

¹ διοικεῖσθαι Sylb from P

² om Ol

³ καὶ τὰ om O

⁴ τῶν ἐν O

⁵ μέτρων i

⁶ ἑξήκοντα Sylb Leis and many others

⁷ συνάξαντι i

⁸ κορυφαῖότατα AB

¹ See above, 2.14.6n. Presumably it was necessary to reorganize the entire army group from Pannonia, which included transferring the cream of the army into the new praetorian guard; since this involved over 5,000 men (not to mention changes in the urban cohorts and *vigiles*) and their replacement with new recruits, the departure of S. was inevitably later than that of the advance guard.

² Cf. 3.7.6; not enough is known about contemporary writers to be sure whom H. is criticizing. Marius Maximus, quoted frequently by the SHA *vitae*, was probably the Severan general in ILS 2935 (cf. 3.2.1n, 3.7.2n, *Albo* 1100); he wrote a series of lives from Nerva to Elagabalus (i.e. not during S.'s lifetime), was not uniformly complimentary to S. (e.g. SHA, *Sev.* 15.6) but was not the main source of the *vita Severi* in the SHA; Barbieri, *RFIC* 32 (1954) especially 62 ff.

after the rest of the Illyrian army had joined him,¹ he believed that everything was under his control and directed towards the advantage of his own rule. Then he hurried off against Niger.

Many historians and poets, who have made the life 6 of Severus the theme of their entire work, have given more detailed treatment to the stages of his march, his speeches at each city, the frequent manifestations that were interpreted as signs of divine providence, the topography of each place, the disposition of the forces and the number of soldiers on either side that fell in battle.² My aim is to write a systematic 7 account of the events within a period of seventy years,³ covering the reign of several emperors, of which I have personal knowledge. I shall narrate

and 268 ff. Cassius Dio wrote a laudatory work on S., including a history of the wars and divine manifestations; Introduction, p. lxviii, Millar, *Cassius Dio* 17 and 29. Aelius Antipater of Hierapolis, who was S.'s *ab epistulis Graecis*, wrote a history of the "achievements of S."; Philos. *VS* 2.24.607(01). As for poets, SHA, *Gord.* 3.3 and 4.7, alleges that Gordian I wrote an epic poem, the *Antoniniae* (about Pius and M. Aurelius only?) and a prose eulogy of all previous Antonini—and therefore perhaps including Caracalla (Antoninus) and the wars of S. One would expect the literary circle around the empress, Julia Domna to have produced panegyrics on S., but names of historians quoted in the SHA are often unreliable (e.g. Aelius Maurus, *Sev.* 20.1); cf Syme, *H.-A. Colloquium Bonn 1964/5*, 257 ff.

³ Cf. 1.1.5 and 1.2.5. The so-called inconsistency of seventy years here and sixty years earlier, leading to suggested emendations, is not real; the earlier statement simply says the history was to cover a period of sixty years (180-238); here H. states he has personal experience of seventy years (probably the length of his lifetime up to the date of writing); cf. Introduction, pp. ix ff.

Σεβήρω ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς διηγῆσομαι, οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς
 χάριν ἐς ὕψος ἐξαίρων, ὥσπερ ἐποίησαν οἱ κατ'
 ἐκεῖνον¹ γράψαντες, οὔτε παραλείπων εἴ τι²
 λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον.

¹ οἱ τὰ ἐκεῖνου Ο

² παραλιπὼν ὅ τι Ο

only the most important and conclusive of Severus' actions separately, in chronological order. I shall not exaggerate to flatter Severus, as contemporary writers did; nor shall I omit anything which merits attention and record.

BOOK THREE

BIBLION TPITON

1. Τὸ μὲν δὴ Περτίνακος τέλος καὶ <ή>¹ Ἰουλιανοῦ καθαίρεσις, ἢ τε Σεβήρου ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίξις, ἢ τε ἐπὶ Νίγρον ἔξοδος, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι δεδήλωται· ὁ δὲ Νίγρος, ἐπεὶ ἠγγέλη αὐτῷ μηδέν τι τοιοῦτον προσδεχομένῳ² κατειληφῶς³ μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Σεβήρος, ὑπὸ τε τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναδειχθείς,⁴ ἄγων δὲ πάντα ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰλλυρικὸν στρατὸν πεζὴν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν ἄλλην, ἐν μεγίστῃ ταραχῇ ἦν, διέπεμπέ τε κατὰ ἔθνη πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους, τὰς τε εἰσόδους πάσας καὶ λιμένας φυλάττεσθαι² κελεύων. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Παρθυαίων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ἀττηνῶν, συμμάχους αἰτῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρμένιος ἀπεκρίνατο μηδετέρῳ συμμαχήσειν, ἀγαπητῶς δὲ τὰ

¹ Mendels

³ ὡς κατειλ. Ο

² προσδεχόμενος g'1

⁴ ἀναγορευθεὶς a

¹ The rather longer recapitulation here, compared to the beginning of Book 2, leads Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 217, to suggest separate publication of Book 1 and 2 from the rest of the work, and possibly even publication book by book after this book; the argument is unconvincing, since the resumptive technique was as old as Herodotus, a model much admired in H.'s day (and probably by H. himself, 4.2.10n, 7.2.3n, and Introduction, p. lvii).

BOOK THREE

1. In the previous book¹ a description was given of the death of Pertinax, the overthrow of Julianus, Severus' arrival in Rome and the departure of his expedition against Niger. When Niger received the totally unexpected news that Severus had taken Rome, where he had been hailed as emperor by the senate, and was now leading a combined force of the whole Illyrian army and a second land and naval force, he was thrown into a state of complete panic. Messages were dispatched to the governors of the² various provinces,² instructing them to guard all points of entry and the ports. Letters were also sent to the kings of Parthia and Armenia and Hatra requesting alliances. The Armenian king replied that he could not make an alliance with either side,

² For known names, see 2.7.7n. H. makes no mention of the strategic importance of Africa and Egypt to Niger and S.; SHA, *Sev.* 8.7, *Nig.* 5.4; *CIL* VIII. 17726 (*pia vindex* title to legio III Augusta in 194/5 at Lambaesis), coins with the legend *Africa s.c.* issued in 194-5 (*BMC* V. 127, 129 ff.); the presence of a pro-Severan governor of Africa, Cornelius Anullinus (see 3.3.2n), kept Africa secure for S. But in Egypt Niger was recognized almost at once, and according to Malalas (p. 293; cf. *Suda* s.v. Σεβήρος) there was an inscription over the gates of Alexandria saying, "The city of Lord Niger"; cf. *P. Gren.* 2.60, *BGU* 454, Victor, *Caes.* 20.9, Eutrop. 8.18.4 (*Pes. Niger qui in Aegypto et Syria rebellaverat*). By 21st February 194 S. is shown by a papyrus to have gained control of Egypt, perhaps due to the early defeats of Niger.

ἑαυτοῦ φυλάξειν ἤδη προσιόντος Σεβήρου· ὁ δὲ Παρθυαῖος ἐπιστελεῖν¹ ἔφη τοῖς σατράπαις δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν· οὕτω γὰρ εἴθωεν, ὀπηνίκα ἂν δεθηῇ στρατὸν συλλέγειν, τῷ μὴ ἔχειν μισθοφόρους² καὶ συνεστὸς³ στρατιωτικόν. Ἄττηνοι δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ τοξόται σύμμαχοι, πέμψαντος Βαρσημίου, ὃς τῶν τόπων ἐβασίλευε. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν στρατιωτικὸν ἠθροίζεν ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατοπέδων· πάν- πλειστοι³ δὲ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, μάλιστα ὑπὸ κουφότητος νεανῖαι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Νίγρον σπουδῆς, ἐπέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς στρατείαν,⁴ προπετῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμπείρως τοῦτο ποιοῦντες.⁴ ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου ὄρους τὰ στενὰ καὶ κρημνώδη⁵ διαφράττεσθαι γενναίοις τείχεσι τε καὶ ἐρύμασι, πρόβλημα ὄχυρὸν νομίζων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ὁδῶν τὸ δύσβατον τοῦ ὄρους· ὁ γὰρ Ταῦρος μεταξὺ ὧν Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Κιλικίας διακρίνει τὰ τε τῇ ἄρκτῳ καὶ τὰ τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἔθνη⁵ προσκείμενα. προὔπεμψε τε καὶ στρατιὰν προ-

¹ Steph ἐπιστέλλειν Oag ἐπιτέλλειν I

² σὺν αὐτῷ O συνεστῶς Sylb

⁴ στρατιὰν O

³ Nauck πᾶν πλείστοι. OI

⁵ καὶ κρημνώδη om O

¹ For Hatra, the city-kingdom in Mesopotamia, see 3.9.4n. Situated in S. Mesopotamia, it was with Palmyra (Syria) and Vologasia (Babylon) one of the main caravan centres linking Parthian trade with the West. Trajan had failed to capture the city in his campaign of 117.

² The probable legions supporting N. are discussed in 2.7.7n. Almost certainly the three Syrian legions (III Gallica, IV

because; if Severus attacked him at this moment, it would be enough for him to protect his own territory. The Parthian king informed Niger that he would send out an order to his satraps to muster their forces. This was the practice whenever a levy was needed, in the absence of a paid, standing army. Aid from Hatra consisted of a troop of archers sent by King Barsemius, the country's ruler.¹ The rest of his army Niger assembled from the military camps of the East.² A large number of the lower class in Antioch,³ particularly the young men who were unthinking, enthusiastic supporters of Niger, joined the army really on an impulse rather than because of their experience. Niger issued orders that the passes and heights of the Taurus mountains should be barricaded with strong walls and fortifications; since he believed that this inaccessible range was an important barrier along the eastern routes. The Taurus range lies between Cappadocia and Cilicia, dividing the northern from the eastern peoples.⁴ Niger also sent an army in advance to capture Byzan-

Scythica, XVI Flavia) and the two Cappadocian legions (XII Fretensis, XV Apollinaris) joined him; less certain are the two Palestine legions (X Fretensis, VI Ferrata) and the one Arabian legion (III Cyrenaica) and the Egyptian legion (II Traiana) which probably began by nominal support of N.

³ The coinage of N. had a distinctly eastern flavour; BMC V. cxi ff. There is one silver coin marked *Hilaritas Aug(usti)* s.c. (BMC V. 77, RIC IV. 1.27, no. 30A) which has been rightly regarded with suspicion, since there is no evidence of a senate at Antioch; 2.8.6n, Hammond, *MAAR* 24 (1956) 113n.

⁴ The line of the Taurus range provided the division of the *dioceses* Oriens and Pontica under Diocletian; H.'s description of orientals in 3.11.8 seems to suggest that he did not consider himself one.

καταληφομένην¹ τὸ Βυζάντιον, πόλιν τῶν ἐπὶ
Θράκης μεγίστην τότε καὶ εὐδαίμονα, πλήθει τε
ἀνδρῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἀκμάζουσαν· κειμένη γὰρ
ἐπὶ τῷ στενοτάτῳ τῆς Προποντίδος πορθμῷ προσ-
όδοις ταῖς² ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τελῶν τε καὶ ἀλείας
μεγάλως ὠφελεῖτο, γῆν τε πολλήν καὶ εὐδαίμονα
κεκτημένην³ ἐξ ἑκατέρου⁴ τῶν στοιχείων πλείστα
6 ἐκέρδαιεν. ὅθεν αὐτὴν⁵ οὖσαν δυνατωτάτην ὁ
Νίγρος προκαταλαβεῖν ἠθέλησε, καὶ μάλιστα
ἐλπίζων δύνασθαι κωλύειν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης
εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν διάβασιν. περι-
τετειχιστό τε γενναίῳ τε καὶ μεγίστῳ⁶ ἡ πόλις
τείχει, πεποιημένῳ⁷ μυλίου λίθου⁸ εἰς τετρά-
γωνον εἰργασμένου,⁹ τοσαύτη τε συναφεία καὶ
κολλήσει ὡς μηδένα οἶεσθαι τὸ ἔργον σύνθετον,
7 ἐνὸς δὲ λίθου πάν¹⁰ πεποιησθαι. ἔτι γοῦν καὶ νῦν
τὰ μένοντα αὐτοῦ¹¹ ἐρείπια καὶ λείψανα ἰδόντι

¹ καταληφομένην O

³ κεκτημένην O

⁵ αὐτὴν Reisk τὴν Oi

⁷ Suda α πεποιημένη Ogl

⁸ μυλίου λίθου A μυλίω τοῦ λίθ. φ μυλίτη λίθω Suda Milesio lapide P

⁹ -νον φ -νη l -νω Suda

² Mendelss τοῖς Vag¹ τῆς ABgl

⁴ ἑκατέρων i

⁶ τε καὶ μεγ. om Suda

¹⁰ πάντα O

¹¹ om O

¹ Dio (Xiph.) 74.6.3, SHA, Sev. 8.13. H. makes no mention of an unsuccessful action by Niger against Perinthus; cf. *ILS* 1141 and *AE* (1924) 79 for L. Fabius Cilo as one of S.'s generals *praepositus vexillationib[us] Illyricianis Perinthis tendentibus*. These were probably the Pannonian detachments sent in advance by sea, which saved Perinthus but not Byzantium; 2.14.6n.

² The city is described at length by Dio (Xiph.) 74.10 ff.

tium, the largest and most prosperous town of its day in Thrace, with a flourishing population and great wealth.¹ Situated at the narrowest point of the straits of the Propontis, the city used to benefit enormously from shipping dues and fishing; it also possessed a lot of rich land and from these two elements made a great deal of profit.² Because it was so powerful, Niger was anxious to be the first into the city, particularly since he hoped to block the crossing at the straits from Europe into Asia.³ An enormous, strong wall surrounded the city, constructed out of mill-stone hewn into blocks and fitted together with such close mortises that one might think it was carved from a single block of stone rather than being jointed. Even when one sees the ruins of the wall⁷ as they are today, one has to admire the skill of the first builders and the power of those who later destroyed it.⁴

³ Byzantium's adherence to Niger is often attributed to the influence of the governor of Thrace, P. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus; *AE* (1940) 104; probably a descendant of the sophist of the same name (*Philos. VS* 2.25.609(01)), and therefore from Antonius Polemo, he was expelled from the senate by Severus (Dio 79.3.9), reinstated by Caracalla and finally executed by Elagabalus; 5.7.6n. But he was probably the governor of Thrace earlier than this; Hanslik, *RE* (Valerius 134). Tertullian, *ad Scap.* 3, notes a certain Caecilius Capella who was in some position of authority inside Byzantium.

⁴ Dio (Xiph.) 74.14.4-5 criticizes S. later for destroying the walls, though Platnauer, *Sept. Severus* 98, thinks he has enough evidence to prove they were rebuilt. The whole of the Dio passage on Byzantium is odd and may have been distorted by Xiphilinus, suggests Millar, *Cassius Dio* 140n. It seems impossible to dismiss H.'s evidence here about the ruins of Byzantium in his own day, one of the few eye-witness references in the history.

θαυμάζειν ἔστι καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασκευασάντων καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν¹ τῶν ὑστερον καθηρηκότων.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Νίγρος οὕτως ἐξήρτυε τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν προμηθέστατα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα, ὡς ᾤετο.² ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἠπείγετο, μηδὲν³ ῥαθυμία μηδ' ἀναπαύλη νέμων.³ μαθὼν δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιον προκατειλημμένον, καὶ εἰδὼς ὀχυρώτατα τετειχισμένον, ἐπὶ Κύζικον τὸν στρατὸν² ἐκέλευσε διαβαίνειν. ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Αἰμιλιανός, ᾧ τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ στρατηγίαν ὁ Νίγρος ἐγκεχειρίκει, μαθὼν ἐπιόντα τὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸν τὴν⁴ ἐπὶ Κύζικον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτράπετο, ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν, ἣν αὐτὸς συνέλεκτο⁵ καὶ ἦν ὁ Νίγρος ἐπεπόμφει. ὡς δὲ συνέβαλεν ἐκατέρωθεν τὰ στρατεύματα, μάχαι

¹ Stroth from P (*vires*) ἀρχὴν Oi

² μηδὲ O

³ μένων O

⁴ Bekk τε Oi

⁵ συνέλεκτο gl συνέλεξε O

¹ Cf. 2.14.6n.

² The Byzantium siege force of Cilo was probably left there until replaced by the troops from Moesia under L. Marius Maximus, the future historian, who is recorded as *dux exerciti* (sic) *Mysiacy apud Byzantium*, *ILS* 2935—perhaps S. himself came down with the Moesian troops, though H. implies he had not yet reached Thrace. The main Pannonian army was by now under Claudius Candidus (3.2.10n) and would have crossed at the Hellespont into Asia. Cilo may have gone with Candidus to Cyzicus or have waited in Thrace to join the staff of S. as *comes* (cf. *AE* (1924) 79 for Cilo as *comes* later).

³ Asellius Aemilianus recorded on a number of coins and inscriptions; *PIR*³ A 1211, *Albo* 55. He is important because he shows the connection between Niger and Albinus,

In this way Niger made provision for his side with great foresight and regard for safety—or so he thought.

2. Severus for his part made the maximum possible speed with his army¹ without allowing time for slacking off or rests. When he heard that Byzantium had fallen, and aware of its superb fortifications, he instructed his army to cross to Cyzicus.² Aemilianus,² governor of Asia, who had been commissioned by Niger to plan the defences as military commander,³ received the information that Severus' army was making for the area of Cyzicus and so directed his own attention there at the head of a combined force of his own locally levied troops and the soldiers dispatched by Niger. As the two armies made contact there were some fierce battles fought in the region.⁴

to whom he was related, Dio (Xiph.) 74.6.2. His distinguished career included *legatus pro praetore* of Thrace c. 176/180, *cos. suff.* soon after, *legatus* of Syria, perhaps not later than 186, proconsul of Asia 192. *CIL* XIII. 6806 records an unnamed governor of Thrace, Moesia Superior, Raetia, Germania Superior, Britain, but is only tentatively identified with Aemilianus. His career is in marked contrast to the comparatively recent senatorial promotion of Niger (2.7.4n).

⁴ The first major victory of S. at Cyzicus, probably towards the end of 193, accounting for his *imperator* II salutation; both *imp.* II and III appear before February 194, *AE* (1908) 14. S.'s victory salutations are a source of confusion, but I accept the dating given by Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 132, correcting Mattingly, *BMC* V. lxxiv and lxxix. Conclusive for the dating of *imp.* IV to Issus seems *AE* (1930) 141b, showing a governor of divided Syria after *imp.* IV, and therefore *imp.* II and III for Cyzicus and Nicaea. Evidently Niger was not entirely unsuccessful before Cyzicus; cf. coins showing *victoria iusti Augusti* and *invicto imperatori tropaea*; e.g. *BMC* V. 73-4, *RIC* IV. 1.27 ff. and 36 ff. (especially no. 80).

καρτεραὶ γίνονται κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία, καὶ κρατεῖ τὸ Σεβήρου στράτευμα, φυγὴ τε καὶ τροπὴ καὶ φόνος πολὺς τῶν τοῦ Νίγρου στρατιωτῶν γίνεται, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀνατολικῶν εὐθέως θραύσαι τὴν ἐλπίδα, τῶν δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐπιρρῶσαι.

- 3 φασὶ δὲ τινες προδοθέντα τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου πράγματα ὑπὸ Αἰμιλιανοῦ εὐθέως ἐν ἀρχῇ διαφθαρῆναι. διττὴν δὲ λέγουσι τῆς τοιαύτης προαιρέσεως τοῦ Αἰμιλιανοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ φθονοῦντα τῷ Νίγρῳ ἐπιβουλεύσαι, ἀγανακτοῦντα ὅτι δὴ διάδοχος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἐμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι κρείττων ἅτε βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης, οἱ δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀναπεισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἐπιστειλάντων καὶ δεηθέντων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν¹ σωτηρίας, οὓς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ εὐρῶν ὁ Σεβήρος/συλλαβῶν εἶχεν ἐν φρουρᾷ. ἐχρήσατο γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ⁴ σοφίσματι προμηθεστάτῳ. ἔθος ἦν τῷ Κομμόδῳ κατέχειν τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεμπομένων ἡγεμόνων, ὡς ἔχει ὄμηρα τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως. εἰδὼς τοίνυν τοῦτο ὁ Σεβήρος, ἅμα τῷ βασιλεὺς ἀναδειχθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἔτι περιόντος, πέμψας λάθρα διὰ φροντίδος² ἔσχε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκκλαπέοντας μὴ

¹ αὐτῶν φ

² φρουρᾶς α (cf. 8.2.5)

¹ Important to note against arguments seeking to show H. following a single source; unfortunately Dio's opinion on

Severus' army proved to be superior and completely routed the soldiers of Niger with heavy casualties. The hopes of the eastern forces were shattered at a single blow and the confidence of the Illyrians grew.

Some sources suggest that from the very start³ Niger's cause was lost because it had been betrayed by Aemilianus. Two allegations are made about his motives; one is that he was jealous of Niger and so plotted against him because he was annoyed, it is said, that his successor as governor of Syria was likely to become his superior as emperor and master. Other sources¹ say that Aemilianus was persuaded to take this action by his children, who sent him letters begging him to consider their safety. Severus had found them in Rome and was keeping them prisoners—a device that Severus made use of with great foresight.² It had been a practice of Commo-⁴ dus to hold as hostages the children of the governors of provinces as guarantees of their loyal support. Aware of this practice when he was saluted as emperor in Julianus' lifetime, Severus straight away sent off secretly and showed concern to have his children smuggled out of Rome so that they did not fall into the hands of a rival. But as soon as he him-⁵

either of these two stories is unknown, so there is no comparison with him; other double source quotations appear in 3.7.6, 4.8.4, 7.9.4 and 9, apart from many unnamed single references; listed in Cassola, *RAAN* 32 (1957) 170.

² Dio (Xiph.) 74.6.2 is difficult to understand. He seems to suggest that Aemilianus had remained neutral until some event occurred; but the event appears to be the rapprochement between Niger and Albinus. It is notable that S. refused to pardon Aemilianus, in spite of an offer of amnesty to Niger, *SHA, Sev.* 8.15-16, *Nig.* 5.7-8 (very garbled).

ὅ ἐλναι ἐν ἐτέρου ἐξουσία. αὐτὸς ¹ δ' ἅμα τῷ τῆς
 Ῥώμης ἐπιβῆναι συλλαβῶν πάντας ² τοὺς τῶν
 ἡγεμόνων ἢ τῶν ὀτιδῆ πραπτόντων κατὰ τὴν
 ἀνατολὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν, φρουρᾶ δούς εἶχε
 σὺν αὐτῷ, ὅπως ἢ πόθῳ τῆς τῶν παιδῶν σωτηρίας
 οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὰ Νίγρου προδιδόειν, ἢ μένοντες ἐπὶ
 τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνου εὐνοίας φθάσωσί τι κακὸν
 παθεῖν διὰ τῆς τῶν παιδῶν ἀναιρέσεως ἢ δράσωσιν
 αὐτοί.

ὅ γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἡττης κατὰ τὴν Κύζικον
 ἔφευγον οἱ τοῦ Νίγρου, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο
 σπεύδοντες, οἱ μὲν παρὰ ³ τὰς ὑπωρείας τῆς
 Ἀρμενίας, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ ⁴ Γαλατίας τε/ καὶ
 Ἀσίας, ⁵ φθάσαι θέλοντες τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβῆναι,
 ὡς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐρύματος γένοιτο. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου
 στρατὸς περαιωθείς διὰ τῆς Κυζικηνῆς χώρας
 [διαβάς τε] ⁶ ἐπὶ τὴν Βιθυνίαν ὁμορον οὖσαν
 ἡπέιγετο.

¹ αὐτῷ Οἰ

³ περὶ α ἐπὶ Reisk

⁵ Καππαδοκίας or Κιλικίας Reisk

⁶ om P Mendelss

² <παιδας> πάντας Stroth

⁴ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ο

¹ SHA, *Sev.* 8.11, 9.2 (Niger's children); the rounding up of the children as hostages had been the commission of Plautian as soon as S. arrived in Rome, SHA, *Sev.* 6.10.

² For an attempt to make sense of the strategy involved

self arrived in Rome,¹ he seized all the children of the governors and those who held any position in the East and throughout Asia. They were kept in custody at the court so that the governors might be induced by their anxiety for their children's safety to betray Niger's cause or, if they remained loyal to Niger, Severus would have a weapon to harm them through seizure of their children before they could harm him.

After the defeat at Cyzicus, Niger's forces broke ⁶ and fled as quickly as they could to various destinations; some made for the foothills of Armenia, others for the territory of Galatia and Asia ² in an attempt to cross the Taurus mountains before the enemy and have the protection of the fortifications there. Severus' army marched through the territory of Cyzicus and forged on into the adjacent province of Bithynia.³

here, see Platnauer, *Sept. Severus* 86 ff. But there is not enough information available to make sweeping condemnations of H.'s geography; e.g. Volckmann, *de Herod. vita* 19-21 (*magna Herodiani inscientia*), on the assumption that S. was already in control of Asia. After Cyzicus the situation was fluid; Candidus (perhaps joined by Cilo; 3.2.1n) was advancing eastwards by land and sea; another Severan force besieging Byzantium was a threat to Bithynia from the North; Severus himself may by this time have arrived in Thrace with his new recruits, though he did not, according to Dio (Xiph.) 75.6.1, cross to Asia to take charge of any of the battles. Understanding is not helped by some of H.'s Greek phrases; cf. Irmisch, *Herod. Hist.* II. 505 and *app. critic.*, for attempts to interpret what H. ought to have said.

³ See *app. critic.* for Mendelssohn's omission of the phrase "and crossing over." Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 57, would retain it as an indication that part of the Cyzicus force went up the coast by sea. But the phrase is awkward.

7 ὡς δὲ διέδραμε(ν ἡ) ¹ φήμη τῆς Σεβήρου νίκης, εὐθὺς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐκείνοις στάσις καὶ διάφορος γνώμη ἐπέπεσε ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐχ οὕτως τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας βασιλέας ἀπεχθεία· τινὲ ἢ εὐνοία ² ὡς ζήλω καὶ ἔριδι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλας
8 φθορᾷ ³ τε καὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν ὁμοφύλων. ἀρχαῖον τοῦτο πάθος Ἑλλήνων, οἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιά- ζοντες αἰεὶ καὶ τοὺς ὑπερέχειν δοκοῦντας καθαιρεῖν θέλοντες ἐτρύχωσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνων γηράσαντα καὶ περὶ ⁴ ἀλλήλοις συντριβέντα Μακεδόσιν εὐάλωτα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δοῦλα γεγένη- ται· τὸ δὲ πάθος τοῦτο ⁵ τοῦ ζήλου καὶ φθόνου μετῆλθεν ἐς τὰς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκμαζούσας πόλεις.
9 κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Βιθυνίαν εὐθὺς μετὰ τᾶ ἐν Κυζίκῳ Νικομηδεῖς μὲν Σεβήρῳ προσέθεντο καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, τὴν τε στρατιὰν ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ πάντα παρέξεν ὑπισχνούμενοι, Νικαεῖς δὲ τῷ

¹ Mendels² ἀγνοία O³ Whit φθόνῳ τε καὶ καθαιρέσει Oὶ καὶ μῦσει Stroth *invidiarum inter eiusdem gentis homines funestissima P*⁴ παρὰ Oa⁵ τουτοῦ A

¹ Some indication of the rivalries and partisanship of the cities is gained from the later awards of metropolitan status and *ius Italicum* after the war; see 3.3.3n, 3.6.9n; e.g. *ius Italicum* granted to Heliopolis *per belli civilis occasionem*, Dig. 50.15.1.2; see Platnauer, *Sept. Severus* 92, and Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 672, 1540, for a list of cities.

² A common subject for sophistic discourses; e.g. Dio of

When news of Severus' victory spread, its ⁷ immediate effect was to cause an outbreak of civil strife and factional politics in the cities of all the eastern provinces,¹ not really because of partisanship for or against one of the warring emperors so much as jealous inter-city rivalry and because of the slaughter and destruction of their compatriots. This continual inter-city struggle and the desire to ⁸ ruin a rival who seems to have grown too powerful is a long-standing weakness of the Greeks and sapped the strength of Greece. But as their organizations grew feebler and were mutually destructive, they fell easy victims to Macedonian domination and Roman enslavement. This same disease of jealous envy has been transmitted to the cities that have prospered right up to the present day.² Straight after the battle of Cyzicus the city ⁹ of Nicomedia in Bithynia went over to Severus³ and sent envoys to him, welcoming his army and offering their full co-operation. The people of Nicaea by contrast,⁴ because of their rivalry with Nicomedia,

Prusa Or. 38, 39, 40, 41; cf. Appian, *Hist. prooem.* 8, Dio 52.30.8. The medical metaphors used reinforce the suggestion that H. is here repeating a commonplace.

³ The conditions of rivalry between Nicomedia and Nicaea had long existed; *CAH XI.* 575 ff. (Keil); Millar, *Cassius Dio* 8 (with references). Nicomedia was nominally the metropolis of Bithynia, no doubt encouraged in its allegiance to S. by the persuasion of Claudius Candidus (below) who had been *curator (logista)* of the city sometime before the war, *ILS* 1140.

⁴ In spite of the title being held by Nicomedia, Strabo 12.4.7 (565) calls Nicaea the metropolis because of its prosperity and importance as a strategic centre of trade; the native city of Cassius Dio. It was about thirty miles from Nicomedia.

πρὸς Νικομηδέας μίσει τὰναντία ἐφρόνου καὶ τὸν
στρατὸν τοῦ Νίγρου ὑπεδέχοντο, εἴ τέ τινες ἐκ
τῶν φυγόντων κατέφευγον πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ τοὺς
πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ Νίγρου¹ φρουρεῖν Βιθυνίαν.
10 ἐκατέρωθεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὡς ἀπὸ στρατοπέ-
δων ὀρμώμενοι συνέβαλλον² ἀλλήλοις, καὶ μάχης
καρτερᾶς γενομένης πολὺ περιεγένοντο οἱ τοῦ
Σεβήρου. φυγόντες³ δὲ οἱ τοῦ Νίγρου κάκειθεν,
ὅσοι περιελείφθησαν, ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ Ταύρου
ἠπεύγοντο, ἀποκλείσαντες τε τὸ ἔρυμα ἐφύλαττον.
ὁ δὲ Νίγρος φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν τοῦ ἐρύματος, ὡς
ᾤετο, αὐτάρκη, ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἠπεύγετο,
στρατὸν ἀθροίζων καὶ χρήματα.

3. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς περαιωθεὶς διὰ τε
Βιθυνίας καὶ Γαλατίας, ἐμβαλὼν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν,
προσκαθεζόμενος τὸ ἔρυμα ἐπολιόρκει, πράγματά
τε εἶχεν οὐ μικρὰ δυσβάτου διὰ στενότητά καὶ
τραχύτητα οὐσης τῆς ὁδοῦ, βαλλόντων τε αὐτοὺς
ἄνωθεν λίθοις καὶ γενναίως ἀπομαχομένων τῶν
ἐφεστῶτων ταῖς ἐπάλλεσι τοῦ τείχους. ῥαδίως δὲ

¹ ὑπο—Νίγ. om P

² συνέβαλον AI

³ φεύγοντες O

¹ H. has been criticized for failing to make clear that Niger was personally present at the battle and achieved a temporary success, Dio (Xiph.) 74.6.6; also that S. did not take a personal part in the battle, which was under the direction of Ti. Claudius Candidus; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 75.6.1. Candidus was one of Commodus' equestrian adlections *inter praetorios* and seems to have had overall direction of the Pannonian army group in Asia; *dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana* (ILS 1140); cf. Sievers, *Philol.* 26 (1867) 261. The second great

joined the other side by opening their gates to Niger's army and taking in any fugitives that came their way as well as the garrison that Niger sent for Bithynia. The two cities were like army camps and 10 provided the bases from which forces clashed. A fierce battle developed in which the supporters of Severus won a decisive victory.¹ The survivors of this battle, too, fled to the passes of the Taurus mountains, where they set up a blockade of fortifications for their defence. Niger left a garrison which he thought sufficient to man the defences and himself hurried off to Antioch to raise troops and money.

3. Severus' army now overran Bithynia and Galatia, and marched into Cappadocia.² There they took up their positions and besieged the defences, no easy task in view of the extremely difficult route along narrow, rough paths. In addition, the defenders fought bravely standing on top of the defences and throwing down rocks on to those below.

Severus' victory was won at a place between Nicaea and Cius, as a result of which S. gained his *imp.* III salutation; see 3.2.2n. Thus the date was before February 194 and soon after the previous victory at Cyzicus.

² If S. were hurrying to pursue Niger, the more direct route to Syria was via Dorylaeum-Pessinus-Tyana; Platnauer, *Sept. Severus* 87, Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1539. But this route does not pass through Cappadocia. The more circuitous route through Cappadocia via Gangra-Tavium-Caesarea Mazaca is defended by Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 59-60, but his evidence is refuted by Magie. Although H.'s geography is weak, there may have been good reason for S.'s army to travel eastwards before advancing to the Taurus Mountains; but there is insufficient information about the state of Asia Minor. Even if S. were in a hurry to pursue Niger, it was more than a year before the next major battle was fought.

2 ὀλίγοι πολλοὺς ἐκώλυον· τῆς γὰρ ὁδοῦ στενῆς οὕσης τὸ μὲν ἕτερον μέρος ὑψιστον ὄρος σκέπει, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ κρημνὸς βαθὺς τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν συρρέουσιν ὕδασι πόρος γίνεται· ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ πᾶν παραπέφρακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Νίγρου τοῦ πανταχόθεν κωλύεσθαι ἕνεκα τῆν δίοδον τοῦ στρατοῦ.

3 κατὰ μὲν δὴ Καππαδοκίαν ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, ἑστασίασαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους [τῷ αὐτῷ ζήλω καὶ μίσει] ¹ Λαοδικεῖς ² μὲν κατὰ Συρίαν Ἀντιοχέων μίσει, κατὰ δὲ Φοινίκην Τύριοι Βηρυτιῶν ἔχθει· μαθόντες τε τὸν Νίγρον πεφηνγότα τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἐκείνου καθελεῖν ἐπειράθησαν, τὸν δὲ Σεβήρον ⁴ εὐφήμησαν. ὡς δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ταῦτα ὁ Νίγρος ἐπύθετο, ἄλλως μὲν τὸ ἦθος πρότερον χρηστὸς ὢν, ἀγανακτήσας δὲ τότε εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει αὐτῶν καὶ ὕβρει, ἐπιπέμπει ³ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις Μαυρουσίους τε ἀκοντιστὰς οὓς ⁴ εἶχε καὶ μέρος τοξοτῶν, φονεύειν τε τοὺς

¹ om Mendels [μίσει] om Bekk²

² λαοδικεῖα Οἱ ³ πέμπει Ο

⁴ ὄσους from P

¹ H.'s picturesque description of the battle for the pass does not mention the names of the Severan generals, Valerianus (= ? the Valerianus on *CIL* III 243, *legatus pr. pr.* of Galatia) and P. Cornelius Anullinus, proconsul of Africa in 193/4 (*ILS* 413, 1139); see 3.4.1n. Anullinus was later with S. in Adiabene (195), then *cos.* II and became *praefectus urbi*

A few men were easily able to keep a large force ^{1 2} back since at a narrow point in the pass on the one side was a high overhanging mountain and on the other a steep precipice which provided a channel for mountain streams. These features had all been used by Niger in his fortifications to provide a complete barricade to the passage of Severus' army.

While these events were taking place in Cappa- ³ docia, there was an outbreak of local rivalry in Syria by Laodicea ² which hated Antioch, and in Phoenicia by Tyre through enmity with Berytus.³ When both these cities heard that Niger had been routed they seized their chance to strip Niger of his honours and to recognize Severus. Niger heard the news when he ⁴ reached Antioch, and, though he had acted generously up to now, he was quite reasonably angered by this defiant revolt. So he dispatched against the two cities some Moroccan spearmen that he had with him and a section of archers with orders to kill any

in 199 and *amicus* of S. (*Epit. de Caes.* 20.6); *PIR*² C 1322, *Albo* 191. For the locality of the pass, see 3.3.7n.

² Laodicea and Antioch were founded as sister cities about fifty miles apart and were inevitably rivals; Strabo 16.2.4 (750). Laodicea was rewarded by S. with the metropolitan status of Antioch, 3.6.9. *BMC* V. lxxxi and cxxii shows the early adherence of the city to S. and its rivalry with Antioch. Antioch was jealously regarded by other cities of the tetrapolis (Apamea and Seleucia Pieria); cf. Dio of Prusa, *Or.* 34.48, Downey, *History of Antioch* 240.

³ Tyre was the chief city of Phoenicia and, after Antioch, the second mint of gold and silver coinage in Syria. It was rewarded by S. by being made the capital city of the new province of Syria Phoenice, seat of the *concilium* and granted *ius Italicum*. Berytus was about thirty miles north of Tyre, on the coast like Tyre and, like Tyre, a veteran settlement.

ἐντυγχάνοντας¹ κελύσας καὶ διαρπάζειν τὰ ἐν
 5 ταῖς πόλεσιν, αὐτάς τε ἐμπιπράναι. οἱ δὲ Μαν-
 ρούσιοι ὄντες φονικώτατοι, καὶ διὰ τὸ θανάτου
 καὶ κινδύνων ῥαδίως καταφρονεῖν πάντα τολμῶντες
 μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως, ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς Λαοδικεῦσιν
 οὐ προσδοκῶσι παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ
 τὴν πόλιν ἐλυμήναντο, ἐκεῖθὲν τε σπεύσαντες ἐπὶ
 τὴν Τύρον² πᾶσάν τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ πολλὴν
 ἀρπαγὴν καὶ φόνον εἰργάσαντο.

6 τούτων κατὰ Συρίαν γινομένων³ καὶ στρατοῦ
 ὑπὸ Νίγρου ἀθροιζομένου, ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς
 προσκαθεζόμενος τὸ ἔρυμα ἐπολιόρκει. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ
 στρατιῶται ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀπογνώσει
 ὄχυρου τε ὄντος καὶ δυσμάχου καὶ πεφραγμένου
 7 ὄρει τε καὶ κρημνῷ. ἤδη δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ Σεβήρου
 ἀπειρηκότων, τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων ἀμέριμνον⁴ ἔχειν
 τὴν φρουρὰν οἰομένων, νύκτωρ αἰφνιδίως ὄμβρων
 μεγίστων καταρραγέντων χιόνος τε πολλῆς (δυσχεί-
 μερος γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ Καππαδοκία, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ὁ
 Ταῦρος) μέγας καὶ σφοδρὸς χειμάρρους καταραχ-

¹ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα i

³ Steph from P γενομένων Oi

² τύρων a

⁴ ἀμερίμων AB -νος V

¹ H. seems fascinated by the fierceness of the Moroccan *auxilia* who are mentioned more often than any other group; cf. 4.15.1, 6.7.8, 7.2.1, 8.1.3.

² It is usually assumed that H. is describing the pass of the Cilician Gates, a gorge 100 yards long, with steep cliffs rising

who met them, to seize the movable property in the cities and burn down the buildings. The Moroccans⁵ are extremely bloodthirsty and ready for any desperate act because of their complete disregard for death or personal danger.¹ They fell upon Laodicea without warning and subjected the city and its inhabitants to all kinds of outrage. Then they hurried on to Tyre and destroyed the whole city in flames after looting and killing.

During the course of this action in Syria and while⁶ Niger was maintaining his forces, Severus' army was still laying siege to the defences (in the mountains). But morale was extremely low among the troops because the position was strongly held and difficult to attack, protected by the mountain and precipice. Severus' soldiers had reached a state of⁷ exhaustion by now and the defenders believed that they had nothing to worry about over the fortifications.² Then suddenly one night there were a series of enormous cloud-bursts accompanied by heavy snow. (It must be remembered that the whole of Cappadocia has hard winters, particularly in the Taurus mountains.) As a result, a large, rushing

above it to a height of 500 feet, and no more than 50 feet wide; a tributary of the River Cydnus flows through the pass, leaving only a few feet for the road. But, although the Cilician Gates were the main entry point into Cilicia from Cappadocia, there were other more difficult routes over the Taurus Mountains to the East, one apparently on the Peutinger Table emerging at Anazarbus, a city which S. almost certainly passed through in 194; Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1154; Miller, *Itineraria Rom.* 666 and 765, Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 60 (evidence of S. at Anazarbus, but he does not suggest a different pass).

θείς,¹ ἐμποδισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ συνήθους δρόμου καὶ τοῦ ἐρύματος ἐπισχόντος τὸ ρεῖθρον πολὺς καὶ βίαιος γενόμενος, τῆς τε φύσεως νικώσης τὴν τέχνην μὴ δυναμένου τοῦ τείχους ἀντέχειν τῷ ρεύματι, διέστησε τῷ ὕδατι² κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀρμογὰς, ὑποχωρούντων <δὲ>³ τῶν θεμελίων τῷ ρεῖθρῳ ἅτε διὰ σπουδῆς καὶ οὐ μετ' ἐπιμελείας κατασκευασθέντων πᾶν ᾤφθη,⁴ τὸν δὲ τόπον ὁ
8 χειμάρρους ἀνοίξας ὠδοποίησεν. ὅπερ ἰδόντες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρύματος φύλακες, φοβηθέντες μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ἐκπεριελθόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμάρρου ἀπόρροιαν μηκέτι ὄντος τοῦ κωλύοντος, καταλιπόντες τὴν φρουρὰν φεύγουσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς ἡσθεῖς τῷ γενομένῳ, τὰς τε ψυχὰς ἐπιρρωσθεῖς ὡς προνοία / θεία ὀδηγούμενος, συνείδεν ἀποδεδρακότας τοὺς φύλακας, εὐμαρῶς τε καὶ ἀκωλύτως διαβὰς τὸν Ταῦρον ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ἠπέιγετο.

¹ καταραχθεῖς Οἱ

² τῷ ὕδατι om P

³ Stav <ἔστη δὴ> ὑποχ. τῶν θεμελ. Bekk² Mendelss

⁴ ᾤφθη A κατηρέφθη conj Mendelss ἅτε—ᾤφθη om P

¹ The mention of snow is taken as a guide to the chronology of the battle of Issus. Harrer, *JRS* 10 (1920) 166, quotes the *Encyclop. Brit.* II. 758 for evidence of floods in winter and spring caused by snowfalls, and therefore wishes to place the battle in late spring. But H. seems here to indicate the unexpectedness of the snowfall (he does not say it was winter)

mountain stream¹ came pouring down and built up into an enormously powerful torrent because the normal channel was dammed up and was holding back the flow of water. In the end nature proved stronger than man's invention; the dam wall could no longer hold back the pressure, and the torrent gradually broke up the jointed masonry by the action of the water. When the foundations, which had been hastily and carelessly constructed, collapsed under the force of the torrent, the whole fortification was exposed and the raging torrent burst through it, clearing a channel for itself. When the garrison on 8 the blockade saw what had happened, they were afraid that now the mountain torrent had swept away the wall and there was no further obstacle, they would be surrounded by an enemy flanking action. So leaving their post they fled. Severus' army was delighted at the event and their spirits rose because they believed they were being guided by divine providence.² When they realized that the garrison had fled, they had no difficulty in making an easy crossing of the Taurus mountains, and so pressed on to Cilicia.

which seems rather to indicate that the date was early autumn; 3.4.1n.

² *Pronoia* (*providentia*) recurs throughout the history, partly as a divine attribute, partly as a human virtue, closely allied with *euboulia* (good planning). Though much of the concept is conventional and an important catch-word of imperial propaganda, H. seems on the whole to discount the importance of divine intervention (cf. 2.9.7). Note the Stoic connotations of the word and the book by a contemporary of H., Claudius Aelian, *περὶ πρόνοιαις*; in the speech by Ps-Aristides, *Or.* 35.14 (Keil), *pronoia* chose the emperor as well as being part of his personal qualities.

4. ὁ δὲ Νίγρος μαθὼν τὰ συμβάντα, πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας, πλὴν ἄπειρον μάχης καὶ πόνων, μετὰ σπουδῆς τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο· πολὺ γάρ τι πλῆθος καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ νεολαία τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐς στρατεῖαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον ἐπέδωκεν αὐτῆν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρόθυμον τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ, τοῦ δὲ ἐμπίρου καὶ γενναίου πολὺ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀπέλειπον.¹ συνέρχεται δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐς τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσσικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον πεδίον πλατύτατον τε καὶ ἐπιμηκέστατον, ᾧ περικεῖται μὲν λόφος ἐς θεάτρον σχῆμα, αἰγιαλὸς δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγιστος ἐκτείνεται, ὥσπερ τῆς φύσεως εἰργασμένης² 3 στάδιον μάχης. ἐκεῖ φασὶ καὶ Δαρεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν ὑστάτην καὶ μεγίστην μάχην συμβαλόντα

¹ Steph ἀπέλιπον Oi

² V ἐργασμένης B ἐργασαμένης Ai

¹ The date of the battle of Issus is still insecure; Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 61, and Platnauer, *JRS* 8 (1918) 146-53, argue for late 194; Harrer, *JRS* 10 (1920) 168, supports early 194. *AE* (1930) 141b shows *imp.* IV after the division of Syria (and therefore after Issus); *CIL* XI. 3201, III. 14174, etc. (Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 80) and *RIC* IV. 1.97, nos. 47-50, show *imp.* IV with *trib. pot.* II—i.e. before 1st January 195 (or 10th December 194) and (allowing time for the news to have reached Rome) c. November 194 as the *terminus ante quem* for the battle. Important factors for the date are: (1) that the *trib. pot.* numbering for the early reign of S. is often unreliable; (2) that there was time for road repairs in Syria Phoenice in 194 and early 195 to be completed before the *imp.* V salutation, *AE* (1930) 141; (3) that there is an unknown event commemorated on the *Feriale Duranum* and the *Theveste List* on 21st May, which may refer to an imperial

4. As soon as Niger heard the news he collected together a vast army, even though it was untried in battle and endurance, and quickly marched out.¹ A vast number of people, including almost the entire youth of Antioch, presented itself for service to undergo dangers on Niger's behalf. The enthusiasm of the army was an asset to Niger, but they were far inferior to the Illyrian troops in quality and experience. The two forces converged on a very broad, long plain at the bay named Issus.² Nature might have constructed a course for battle, with the ridge of hills that ran around the bay in the shape of an amphitheatre and the extensive beach that ran down to the sea. This is the site, we are told, where³ Darius too, having fought his last and greatest battle with Alexander, was defeated and captured, and

salutation, Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 131 ff., 307; (4) that Anullinus, who was in Africa in the second half of 193 (*ILS* 413, Thomasson, *Statthalter . . . Nordafrikas* II. 99-100), had time to get from Africa to take charge of the campaign before the battle of the Taurus Pass (3.3.2n). On the whole, this evidence is better support for a date early in 194 than late, but is far from conclusive.

² H.'s description of the battle of Issus has been attacked by Sievers, *Philol.* 26 (1867) 261, Höfner, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. des Kais. L. Sept. Severus* 141-4 on the basis of Dio (Xiph.) 74.7.1 ff. Dio does not describe the battle for the Cilician Gates at all, but makes clear that the battle of Issus was fought at the pass through the Amanus range, at the so-called Cilician-Syrian Gates just north of Alexandretta (see below) rather than down in the bay of Issus. But there are also unsatisfactory features of Dio's account—divine intervention of a thunder-storm, 20,000 dead (the equivalent of three to four legions)—showing that this was probably part of Dio's earlier laudatory work on Severus' battles (Introduction, p. lxxviii); cf. Magic, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1153, 1540.

ἡττηθῆναι τε καὶ ἀλῶναι, τῶν¹ ἀπὸ² τῶν ἀρκτώων μερῶν³ καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀνατολικούς νενικηκότων. μένει δὲ ἔτι νῦν τρόπαιον καὶ δεῦγμα τῆς νίκης ἐκείνης, πόλις ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου Ἀλεξάνδρεια καλουμένη, ἀγαλμά τε χαλκοῦν οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν ὁ τόπος φέρει.

⁴ συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Σεβήρου τε καὶ τοῦ⁴ Νίγρου μὴ τὴν σύνοδον μόνον κατ' ἐκείνο γενέσθαι τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὁμοίαν τῆς μάχης.⁵ ἀντιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι⁶ γὰρ ἐκατέρωθεν περὶ ἑσπέραν, πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν φροντίσιν ἐκάτεροι καὶ δέει διαγρηγορήσαντες, ἅμα ἠλίω ἀνίσχοντι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἠπειγόντο, παρ-
ορμώντων ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν στρατηγῶν. προθυμία δὴ πάσῃ ἐνέπιπτον ὡς ὑπολειπομένης⁷ καὶ τελευ-
ταίας ἐκείνης μάχης, κακεὶ τῆς τύχης διακρινούσης
⁵ τὸν βασιλέα. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν διαγωνισαμένων πολλοῦ τε ἐργασθέντος φόνου, ὡς καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα τῶν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ποταμῶν ρεόντων αἵματος πλεῖον ἢ ὕδατος κατὰγειν εἰς θάλασσαν, τροπὴ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν γίνεται. ἐκβιασάμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην θάλασσαν

¹ om i² Bekk ὑπὸ Oi³ V ἀνδρῶν ABi⁴ V om ABi⁵ Nauck τύχης Oi⁶ -σάμενος φgl⁷ Whit ὑπαρχούσης Irmisch ὑπὲρ <μόνης> Leisn Reisk ὑπὲρ λοιπῆς Oi

¹ An error by H. The battle of Gaugamela was Darius' last great battle and he was never captured in battle. How H. came to make this error is not clear, though he seems to
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where the people of the northern regions on that occasion, too, defeated the Easterners.¹ Today there is a city called Alexandria up on the ridge,² which is a triumphal monument to commemorate this battle; also there is a bronze statue of the man who has given his name to the site.

Not only did the armies of Severus and Niger, as it ⁴ turned out, meet on this site but fate repeated itself in the battle. The two forces pitched camp about nightfall facing each other, and spent the entire night awake in anxious foreboding. At sunrise the armies advanced to meet each other, urged on by their respective commanders. With fierce energy they fell upon each other, as though this was the contest to end all battles and fate was then and there making its choice of emperors. For a long time the ⁵ contest raged with heavy loss of life. The rivers of the plain carried more blood than water down to the sea. And then the rout of the eastern forces began. Bursting through the line, the Illyrian troops forced

indicate he drew it from local stories. Aelian, *VH* 3.23, groups the three battles of Alexander together and in 8.7 says Darius was captured by Alexander. H. does not seem to know Arrian, nor to repeat his cliché about the East-West struggle; e.g. Arrian, *Anab.* 2.7.5 ff.

² Cf. Pliny, *NH* 5.91, Ptolemy 5.15.2; named *Alexandria ad Issum* on the Peutinger Table and *Alexandria Scabiosa* on the Jerusalem Itinerary, about sixteen miles south of Issus, on the bay on the main road to Antioch. The proximity of the town in H.'s description shows that he correctly locates the battle near the "Cilician Gates" described by Dio. In spite of the rhetorical features H. suggests he had seen the site at a later date. A good diagram showing the relationship of the mountains, sea and city can be found in Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* 155.

τιτρώσκοντες ἐξωθοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς λόφους διώκοντες αὐτοὺς τε φονεύουσι καὶ πολὺ τι πλήθος ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὅπερ ἕκ τε τῶν περικειμένων πόλεων καὶ ἀγρῶν ἤθροιστο, ὡς ἀπ' ἀσφαλούς τοῦ τόπου τὰ γινόμενα ¹ θεάσονται.

6 ὁ δὲ Νίγρος ἵππῳ γενναίῳ ἐποχούμενος φεύγει μετ' ὀλίγων, εἰς τε τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικνεῖται. καταλαβὼν δὲ φεύγοντα τὸν λοιπὸν δῆμον, εἴ τις ² καταλέλειπτο, οἰμωγὴν τε καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ πόλει παῖδάς τε καὶ ἀδελφούς θρηνοῦντων, γενόμενος ἐν ἀπογνώσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀποδιδράσκει. καὶ ἐν τινι προαστείῳ κρυπτόμενος, εὐρεθείς τε ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἱππέων/καὶ συλληφθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη.

7 τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ³ ὁ Νίγρος ἐχρήσατο, μελλήσεως καὶ βραδυτήτος δούς δίκας, τὰ ἄλλα, ὡς φασι, γενόμενος μὴ φαῦλος ἄνθρωπος, μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ιδιώτης· ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος καθελὼν τὸν Νίγρον, τοὺς μὲν φίλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τινας οὐ

¹ Syll γινόμενα Oi (but A ¹ i over ε)

² <τέ> τις Bekk² ³ τοῦτῳ i

¹ S. received his *imp.* IV salutation after the battle; see 3.2.2n.

² Dio (Xiph.) 74.8.3 says Niger was caught attempting to cross the Euphrates to join the Parthians—surely a piece of

some with heavy casualties into the sea that lay to the south. Others they pursued as fugitives up on to the ridges and there they slaughtered them and many others besides who had collected together from the surrounding towns and farms, expecting to view the battle from a safe spot.¹

Niger himself, riding a fast horse, escaped with a few of his men and came to Antioch. There he found such of the population as had remained evacuating the city, and the place full of weeping and grief as people lamented for their sons and brothers. In despair he too hurried away from Antioch. In one of the outlying areas of the city he was found hiding by the pursuing cavalry and caught and beheaded.²

Such was the end of Niger who paid the penalty ⁷ for sloth and procrastination.³ Otherwise, the reports say, he was not a bad man, either as emperor or as an ordinary person. Now that Niger was out of the way, Severus ruthlessly punished all Niger's partisans, regardless of whether they had joined

propaganda put out by the Severans. There is a close resemblance in the language used by H. and Dio here; but far from Dio and H. following a common source, as Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus* 46, and Stein, *Deiip. et Herod.* 156-7, assert, H. is, if anything, consciously rejecting the story of Dio. Stein is unjustified in saying H.'s variations are simply literary exercises. Dio may mean only that N. was intending to flee (ὡς πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην).

³ For Niger's idleness, see 2.14.6n. Dio's assessment of N.'s character is that he was unremarkable, somewhat foolish and vainglorious, (Xiph.) 74.6.1, (Exc. Val.) 74.6.2^a. This is hardly borne out by the rest of N.'s career, in so far as it is known; 2.7.4n.

μόνον ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνάγκης προσέ-
θεντο αὐτῷ, πάντας ἀφειδῶς ἐκόλασε, τοὺς δὲ
στρατιώτας, ὅσοι διαδεδράκεσαν, πυνθανόμενος
περαιουμένους τὸν Τίγριδα ποταμὸν διὰ τε τὸ ἐκ
Σεβήρου δέος ἀπίοντας πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους,
8 <οὐ> πάντας¹ ἤγαγε δὸς ἀμνηστίαν. πολὺ γὰρ
πλήθος αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν ἀλλοδαπήν.
ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστα αἴτιον ἐγένετο μαχιμώτερα
ὑστερον γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν συστάδην μάχην
Ῥωμαίων τὰ τῶν ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρων. πρότερον
μὲν γὰρ τοξεύει μόνον ἵπποις ἐποχούμενοι ἦδουσαν,
μήτε πανοπλία φράσσοντες αὐτοὺς μήτε τῇ διὰ
δοράτων καὶ ξιφῶν θαρροῦντες μάχῃ, κούφαις δὲ
καὶ παρηωρημέναις ἐσθῆσι² κοσμούμενοι· τὰ
πλεῖστα γοῦν φεύγοντες ἐς τοῦπίσω τε τοξεύοντες
9 ἐμάχοντο. τῶν δὲ φυγάδων στρατιωτῶν, πολλῶν
τε ἐν αὐτοῖς τεχνιτῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ
τὸν ἐκεῖ βίον ἐλομένων, οὐ μόνον χρῆσθαι ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ὄπλα ἐδιδάχθησαν.

5. διοικήσας δὲ ὁ Σεβήρος τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς,
ὡς ᾤετο, ἄριστα καὶ ἑαυτῷ λυσιτελέστατα,

¹ Lange βαρβάρους <ἐπαν->ἤγαγε Sylb μάτην ἐπανῆγε διδούς
Mendels [πάντας] <ἐπαν->ἤγαγε δὸς ἀμνηστίαν <οὐ πάντας
δέ> Schwartz ² μόνας ἐσθῆσι gl

¹ Dio (Exc. Val.) 74.8.4, SHA, Sev. 9.3, 9.6, say that S.
executed no senator (apart from Aemilianus); contradicted
by SHA, Sev. 9.8, but the wording of the passage shows it to be
spurious; Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 63. It does not follow that
after the fall of Albinus in 197 some of Niger's supporters did
not suffer, as H. makes clear in 3.8.6-7.

² Cf. 4.15.2; the long-term effect of this desertion is difficult

him voluntarily or had been forced to do so.¹ But
when he heard that the fugitive soldiers were crossing
the Tigris and deserting to the barbarians because
of their fear of him, he granted them an amnesty.
But he failed to get them all back, since there were a
great many who had gone to that foreign territory.
Indeed, this was a major reason for the later develop-
ment of these barbarians' skill² in close-quarter
fighting against the Romans. Up to this time their
only tactical knowledge was of mounted archery,
where they were partially armed and lacked the con-
fidence to join battle with spears and swords, since
they were dressed in flimsy, loose-flowing garments.
At any rate, most of the battles they fought consisted
of firing arrows to their rear as they retreated. But
9 then the fugitive soldiers joined them and chose to
live there, many of them skilled craftsmen, who
taught the barbarians not only the use of the weapons
but how to manufacture them as well.

5. As soon as Severus had settled the East to his
satisfaction and advantage,³ he proposed to go

to assess and is probably exaggerated by Oliva, *Pannonia and
the Onset of Crisis* 135; more interesting is the growing affinity
between the "barbarian" and the frontier garrisons, which is
one of the themes of H.; cf. 6.2.2n and *CAH* XII. 9 (Miller).

² Syria was divided into two provinces of Coele (N. Syria
and Commagene—two legions, consular) and Phoenice (S.
Syria—one legion, praetorian). The division took place soon
after Issus in 194 but before the first Parthian salutation (*imp.*
V) in summer 195 as shown by *AE* (1930) 141—milestones
recording the new province of Phoenice in association with
imp. IV. The same inscriptions record the first governor of
the province, Ti. Manilius Fuscus (2.9.12n), who was therefore
only of praetorian rank; Harrer, *AJA* 36 (1932) 287-9; cf.
Ingolt, *Syria* 13 (1932) 278-86.

ἠθέλησεν εὐθέως ὀρμηῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν¹ Ἀτρηνῶν βασιλέα ἕς τε τὴν Παρθυαίων γῆν διαβῆναι· ἐνεκάλει γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις² φιλίαν Νίγρου. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἕς ὕστερον ἀνέθετο, πρῶτον δὲ πᾶσαν³ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίων ἕς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας² μεταγαγεῖν καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι⁴ ἠθέλησε. καθηρημένου γὰρ⁵ τοῦ Νίγρου ὀχληρὸς καὶ περιττὸς αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀλβίνος ἐνομιζετο· ἔτι τε καὶ ἤκουεν αὐτὸν βασιλικώτερον ἐντρυφῶντα τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀνόματι, πολλοὺς τε, μάλιστα τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, ἰδίᾳ καὶ κρύβδην ἐπιστέλλοντας αὐτῷ, ἕς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν πείθοντας ἀπόντος καὶ ἀσχολουμένου τοῦ Σεβήρου. ἤροῦντο γὰρ οἱ εὐπατρίδαι ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον ἄρχοντα, ἅτε ἐκ προ-

¹ τῶν φ τὸν βασ. τῶν ἀτρηνῶν A

² ἐκεπάλει γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις i

³ πᾶσαν γὰρ O

⁴ βεβαιῶσαι i

⁵ om O

¹ Although it is true S. postponed his attack on Hatra, H. makes a serious omission in failing to record the expedition of 195, Dio (Xiph.) 75.1.1 ff. This Parthian War (officially so-called, e.g. *ILS* 1140) was against "the neighbours of the Medes and Persians" (Dio)—that is, Osrhoene, Adiabene and Arabia (Scenite), for which S. took the titles of Parthicus Arabicus and Parthicus Adiabenicus; e.g. *ILS* 417 ff., *RIC* IV. 1.9 ff. (N.B. nos. 42 and 55 in association with *imp.* IV, showing the problems involved in this kind of dating). Later S. dropped the Parthicus part of the titles; e.g. *ILS* 425, SHA, *Sev.* 9.11. But although there were three imperial salutations (*imp.* V, VI and VII in 195), it is difficult to prove much solid achievement as a result of the war. The formation of a new

straight on to attack the king of Hatra and invade Parthia, since he alleged that both were guilty of alliance with Niger. But he postponed these two expeditions¹ because he wanted first to secure the transfer of the entire Roman empire to himself and his sons. Once Niger was out of the way Albinus² appeared a nuisance for whom he had no further use. There were also reports that he was behaving arrogantly with his title of Caesar and rather too much in the style of an emperor. Many people (the reports went on), particularly the more distinguished senators were sending him personal, private letters urging him to come to Rome while Severus was occupied away in the East. The nobles preferred to have him as emperor because he traced his noble

provincia Osrhoena (cf. 3.9.2n) has been proposed for 195; e.g. most recently by Pflaum, *Carrières* 606 ff.; but his arguments depend entirely upon supposing that a special *ducenarius* procuratorship of the Cottian Alps held by C. Julius Pacatianus (see 3.6.10n) must have due to the war against Albinus (of which there is no proof) and presuppose the formation of a Parthian legion before 197 (*contra* Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1308, 1435). H.'s omission might be explained if the victories were primarily for propaganda. Compare the title *mater castrorum* taken by S.'s wife Julia Domna on 14th April 195 (*BGU* II. 362.13, *CIL* VIII. 26498), probably in conjunction with one of the imperial salutations, (not, as Hasebroek says, *Sept. Severus* 93, for the *dies imperii*, nor as Instinsky says, *Klio* 35 (1942) 203, to mark the end of the war; nor was it in 196 as Murphy says, *Severus Inscriptions* 103). The title should be seen as part of S.'s policy of self-adoption into the Antonine dynasty (3.5.8n). The events related by H. in 3.9.2 concerning the submission of Armenia and of Abgar VIII of Osrhoene are alleged to belong to this year of 195, but for no very clear reason; Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1542, Debevoise, *Polit. Hist. of Parthia* 256.

γόνων ἐδ̄ γεγονότα καὶ χρηστὸν τὸ ἦθος εἶναι
 3 λεγόμενον. ἄπερ πυνθανόμενος ὁ Σεβήηρος φανεράν
 μὲν εὐθὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν ἄρασθαι καὶ πόλεμον
 ἐγείραι πρὸς ἄνδρα μηδεμίαν εὐλογον παρεσχημέ-
 νον αἰτίαν παρητήσατο· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπόπειραν
 ποιήσασθαι, εἰ δύναιτο ἀποσκευάσασθαι λαθῶν
 4 καὶ ἐξαπατήσας αὐτόν. μεταπεμφόμενος οὖν τοὺς
 πιστοτάτους τῶν εἰωθότων τὰ βασιλικά γράμματα
 διακομίζειν, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐντολὰς [ἀπορρήτων],¹
 εἰ γένοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ, τὰ μὲν γράμματα δημοσίᾳ
 ἀποδοῦναι, ἀξιῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδιαίτερον ἀποστάντα
 ἐπακοῦσαι ἀπορρήτων ἐντολῶν, πεισθέντι δὲ
 δορυφόρων ἐρήμῳ ἐπιπεσεῖν αἰφνιδίως καὶ φονεύ-
 5 σαι. ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ δηλητήρια φάρμακα,
 ὅπως τινὰς πείσαιεν, εἰ δυναθῆεν,² ἢ τῶν ὀψοποιῶν
 ἢ τῶν πρὸς ταῖς κύλιξι, λαθεῖν καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ
 <καίτοι>³ ὑποπτευόντων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων
 καὶ⁴ συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ φυλάττεσθαι ἄνδρα
 6 ἀπατεῶνα σοφόν τε πρὸς ἐπιβουλήν· διαβεβλήκε-
 σαν⁵ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἦθος αἰ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας
 τοῦ Νίγρου πράξεις· πείσας γὰρ αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν
 παίδων, ὡς προείρηται, προδοῦναι τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου

¹ om Bekk² ἀπορρήτως Leisn ἐπισκήπτων Mendels

² πείσαι δυναθῆεν α πείσαιεν δυναθ. lg (but g¹ corr πείσαι εἰ)

³ Schwartz lacuna after αὐτῷ Reisk (for which he suggests
 ἀλλὰ ματαλα αὐτη γε ἦν ἢ ἐπιβουλή καὶ οὐ προεχώρει ὑποπτ.)

⁴ om φgl

⁵ διαβεβλήκεισαν φi

birth back to a long line of ancestors¹ and was said to
 be good-natured. On hearing this news Severus³
 decided against an immediate, open breach with
 Albinus, which would stir up war against him, when he
 had offered no valid pretext for such action. The
 better course seemed to be to try to dispose of him,
 if possible, by an underhand subterfuge. The most⁴
 reliable of the regular imperial dispatch carriers
 were given letters and were ordered to hand over to
 Albinus in public the formal written messages when
 they arrived, but to request him to retire with them
 privately to hear some secret instructions. If he
 complied with their request, they were to make a
 surprise attack and kill him while he was unprotected
 by his guards. Severus also provided some deadly⁵
 poisons for the man to try, if it was possible, to induce
 one of the cooks or cupbearers to administer it to
 Albinus secretly, even though Albinus' advisers were
 suspicious and advised him to be on his guard against
 an adversary who was a treacherous and artful
 schemer. Severus' actions against Niger's generals⁶
 had detracted from his reputation because, after
 putting pressure on them through their children to
 betray Niger (as explained earlier), he made use of

¹ D. Clodius Albinus; *PIR*² C 1186 (the name Septimius was probably assumed after his selection as Caesar in 193); his career is very difficult because of the fictional account of the *SHA vita*; he was probably of African origin (Hadrumentum), served in Dacia under Commodus (perhaps a legionary *legatus*), rose to be *cos. suff.* and finally *legatus* of Britain, perhaps in 191 (1.16.5n). All the sources agree about his nobility of birth; this was no doubt the reason why S. thought him a valuable asset in the war against Niger, since he was popular with many in the senate.

πράγματα, μετὰ τὸ ἀποχρήσασθαι αὐτῶν τῇ
 ὑπηρεσίᾳ καὶ κατορθῶσαι πάντα ἃ ἐβούλετο
 ἀνέλεν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ <τούς>¹ παῖδας. τὸ οὖν
 ὑπουργὸν αὐτοῦ ἦθος μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ἔργων
 7 ἔδηλοῦτο. διὰ ταῦτα² ὁ Ἀλβίνος καὶ φρουρᾶ
 μείζονι ἔφραττεν ἑαυτὸν. οὐδὲ γάρ τις αὐτῷ τῶν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἀφικνουμένων ἄλλως προσήει,
 εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἀποθέμενος ὅπερ περιέκευτο ξίφος
 στρατιωτικὸν ἐρευνηθεῖς τε, μὴ τι φέροι ὑπὸ
 8 κόλπον. ὡς δ' οὖν ἀφίκοντο οἱ τοῦ Σεβήρου
 ἀγγελιαφόροι, τά τε γράμματα δημοσίᾳ ἀποδόντες
 ἤξιον αὐτὸν ἀποσάντα ἐπακοῦσαι τινῶν ἀπορρή-
 των, ὑποπτέυσας ὁ Ἀλβίνος συλληφθῆναι κελεύει
 αὐτούς, ἰδίᾳ τε βασανίσας πᾶσαν μανθάνει τὴν
 ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κολάζει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦδη ὡς
 πρὸς ὁμολογούμενον ἐχθρὸν παρεσκευάζετο. 6/ γνοὺς

¹ Mendels² ταύτη i

¹ Probably a generalization from the case of Asellius Aemilianus, 3.2.2.

² The formal date of the break is in doubt, but it would seem to be connected with the date of Caracalla's title of Caesar, since this openly repudiated Albinus as heir. The following evidence is a guide: news of the resumption of civil war reached Rome at the Saturnalia (15th December, Dio (Xiph.) 75.4.2)—196 is too late, so 195 probably; Caracalla appears with S. on a rescript dated 1st January 196 (*Cod. Just.* 9.41.1, but far from reliable headings, Van Sickle, *CP* 23 (1928) 270 ff.); *IGRR* IV. 566 (= *ILS* 8805) is a letter to the Aezani (in Phrygia) from S. in reply to their congratulations for his successes and victory and which mentions "the elevation of my son, M. Aurelius Antoninus, by good fortune

their services; but once he had achieved his aims he destroyed them and their children.¹ It was these acts which really showed up his underlying character. As a result, Albinus had increased the size of his guard,⁷ and no messenger from Severus was allowed to approach him until he had taken off the sword he wore as a soldier, and had been searched for a concealed weapon under his clothes. So it was that when⁸ Severus' dispatch carriers arrived and delivered their letters openly, but then requested him to step aside to hear their secret instructions, Albinus grew suspicious. Orders were given for their arrest and, by putting each one separately to the torture, he discovered the plan. The men were then punished and Albinus now began to make his own preparations against an enemy who had as good as declared himself.²

to the hopes of rule and his appointment to serve with his father"; this letter is dated *trib. pot. III, imperator VIII*, which dates it after the fall of Byzantium (*imp. VIII*) but in which year?—tribunician dates for S. are very insecure and in the early part of his reign the regnal day is sometimes (especially in provincial inscriptions) reckoned from 9th April, Snyder, *MAAR* 15 (1938) 63-7, Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 73; SHA, *Sev.* 10.3, says Caracalla did not assume the title of Caesar until he was at Viminacium on the return trip from the East; the naming of Caracalla as M. Aurelius Antoninus is linked by H. (3.10.5) and SHA, *Sev.* 10.6, with S.'s own desire to enter the family of M. Aurelius; the title of *divi M. Pii filius* occurs on S.'s coins after the *imp. VII* title in 195 (*BMC* V. xci and 140 ff., *RIC* IV. 1.99, no. 65, etc.); Commodus as *divus* and *frater*, *CIL* VIII. 9317). The accumulation of evidence suggests that the date of S.'s declared intentions must have been in 195 which led to Albinus' own declaration of himself as Augustus in the same year.

δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεβήρος, καὶ πάντα μὲν ἐκθύμως
πράττων, ὀργῆς δὲ ἤττων ὦν φύσει, οὐκέτι τὴν
ἔχθραν ἔκρυπτεν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας πᾶν τὸ στρα-
τιωτικὸν ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιαύδε·

“ μῆτε κουφότητά τις ἢ μετάνοιαν ¹ ἐπὶ τοῖς
πεπραγμένοις ² ἡμῖν ἐγκαλείτω, μῆτ’ ἄπιστον
<ἐμέ> ἢ ³ ἀγνώμονα πρὸς ⁴ τὸν νομισθέντα φίλον
² ἡγείσθω. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρ’ ἡμῶν πάντα ὑπῆρχεν ⁵
αὐτῷ, βεβαίας βασιλείας κοινωνία, πράγματος οὐ
μόλις ⁶ τις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς γνησίοις μεταδίδωσιν·
ὁ δὲ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ ὑμεῖς ἐχειροτονήσατε, τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ
πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐνευμάμην. μεγάλων τέ μοι κατα-
τεθεισῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνεργεσιῶν ἀχαρίστους τὰς
³ ἀμοιβὰς Ἀλβίνου ἀποδίδωσιν. ὄπλα καὶ στρατὸν
ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ⁷ συσκευάζεται, καταφρονήσας μὲν τῆς
ὑμετέρας ἀνδρείας, ἀμελήσας δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἐμέ
πίστεως, ἀπλήστῳ τε ἐπιθυμίᾳ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν
μετὰ κινδύνων οὐ τὸ μέρος εἶχεν ἄνευ πολέμου
καὶ μάχης, οὔτε θεοὺς αἰδεσθεῖς, οὐς πολλάκις
ᾤμοσεν, οὔτε τῶν ὑμετέρων καμάτων φεισάμενος,
οὐς μετὰ τοσαύτης δόξης τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ὑπὲρ
⁴ ἡμῶν ἐκάμετε. ἐν γὰρ οἷς κατωρθώσατε, κἀκεῖνος
τὸ μέρος ἐκαρποῦτο· ἔσχε δ’ ἄν τι καὶ μεῖζον, εἰ

¹ ἢ μετ. Wolf ἡμετέραν οἶον Oi

² προπεπραγμένους gl ob anteaacta P

³ καὶ α <ἐμέ> καὶ Reisk

⁵ ὑπῆρξεν i ⁶ μόνον O

⁴ πλὴν O

⁷ ὑμᾶς gl

6. Hearing what had happened Severus no longer
made any secret of his enmity. He was, in any case,
a man who brought furious energy to all his actions
and often lost his temper. Now he summoned the
entire army and addressed them, saying:

“ I trust no one will accuse us of changing our minds
lightly over the events that have taken place, nor
suppose that I personally do not keep my word or
disregard anyone considered a friend. All that ²
we had belonged to Albinus by his partnership in a
strong rule—something one would find difficult to
share even with one’s own brothers. The power you
voted to me alone I gave him too. And this is the
kind of thanks he returns for the considerable favours
bestowed on him. He is arming himself and his ³
troops against us; he despises your courage and he
does not care about his obligation to me. There is no
satisfying his ambition; he wants to take a dangerous
course to possess something of which he already has
a share ¹ without fighting a war. He has had no
respect for the gods in whose name he has often
sworn promises nor spared you the hard-earned re-
wards of the labour you undertook on my behalf
with such glorious courage. He was enjoying a share ⁴
of the fruits of your success and might have had more
of the prestige that you divided between us, if he had
kept his word. It is wrong to be the initiator of

¹ If the dating of Caracalla’s assumption of the title of
Caesar is in 195 there is good reason to suppose that it was
this which provoked Albinus’ reaction, not vice versa; Dio
(Xiph.) 75.4.1 seems to imply this was the sequence of events.
S.’s words to his troops would hardly be expected to convey
the truth.

καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐτήρει, τῆς ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῶν παρ' ὑμῶν μεμερισμένης τιμῆς. ὥσπερ δὲ ἄδικον τὸ ἄρχεω ἔργων πονηρῶν, οὕτως ἀνανδρον τὸ μὴ ἀμύνεσθαι προαδικούμενον. καὶ Νίγρω μὲν πολεμοῦντες οὐχ οὕτως εὐλόγους εἶχομεν αἰτίας ἔχθρας ὡς ἀναγκαίας· οὐ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀρχὴν ὑφαρπάζων μεμίσητο, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἐρριμμένην καὶ ἀμφήριστον οὖσαν ἐκάτερος ἡμῶν ἐξ ἰσοτίμου φιλοτιμίας ἐς αὐτὸν ἀνθελκεν.
 5 Ἀλβίνος δὲ σπονδῶν καὶ ὄρκων καταφρονήσας, καὶ τούτου παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχῶν οὐ μόνῳ τις νίῳ γνησίῳ μεταδίδωσιν, ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἀντὶ φίλου πολέμιος δὲ ἀντὶ οἰκείου γενέσθαι προήρηται. ὥσπερ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐεργετοῦντες πρότερον τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ ἐκοσμήσαμεν,¹ οὕτως καὶ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄπιστον
 6 καὶ ἀνανδρον τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐλέγξωμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομενεῖ ὁ ἐκείνου στρατὸς ὀλίγος ὢν καὶ νησιώτης τὴν ὑμετέραν δύναμιν. οἱ² γὰρ μόνοι καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς προθυμία καὶ ἀνδρεία τοσοῦταις μάχαις ἐνικήσατε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνατολήν ὑπετάξατε, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν, προσελθούσης ὑμῶν³ τοσαύτης συμμάχου δυνάμεως, σχεδόν τε παντὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ὄντος, ῥᾶστα κρατήσετε ὀλίγων τε ὄντων καὶ μηδὲ ὑπὸ γενναίῳ καὶ

¹ δόξῃ ἐτιμήσαμεν καὶ α² εἰ Ο³ ἡμῶν Ο

¹ Cf. Thuc. 1.120.3 for the *sententia*; H.'s debt to Thucydides or the Thucydidean "school" is most marked in the speeches; Stein, *Desrip. et Herod.* 137.

evil actions, but equally it is cowardly not to defend oneself against an aggressor.¹ When we were fighting Niger, the excuses for hostility were that it was necessary, rather than that it could be reasonably justified. He was not the enemy because he was trying to make an underhand bid for power which had previously belonged to us; the empire lay there as a prize to be contended for; each of us was equally ambitious to seize it for himself. But Albinus,⁵ scorning agreements and sworn promises, even though treated by me as one would only a son, has preferred my hatred to my love and would rather be my enemy than my kinsman. Previously we were generous in honouring him with distinction and reputation; now let us make an indictment of his treachery and cowardice with our weapons. His army is⁶ small and island bred,² unable to withstand your might. On your own, by your energy and bravery, you have won many battles and brought the whole East under control. So now, when you have strong auxiliary reinforcements and practically the whole Roman army here, you will surely have no difficulty in defeating a small army³ which lacks a competent,

² Cf. 2.15.1; the speech is used by H. to show S.'s trickery.

³ Albinus was supported by the three British legions and the unusually strong *auxilia* stationed in the province; their withdrawal for the war opened the way for a breakdown along the frontier, Salway, *Frontier People of R. Britain* 2. He was also probably supported by the Spanish legion (VII Gemina), since the governor of Tarraconensis, L. Novius Rufus, was later executed as Albinus' supporter, SHA, *Sev.* 13.7. Dio (Xiph.) 75.6.1 says that at Lugdunum there were 150,000 men on either side, a figure that seems impossibly large; but cf. 3.4.2n for another figure in Severus' wars, as given by Dio.

- 7 νήφοντι ἀνδρὶ στρατηγουμένων; τίς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐκ οἶδεν, ὡς χοροῖς¹ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀρμόζειν τὸν βίον ἢ φάλαγγιν; ἴωμεν οὖν τῇ συνήθει χρώμενοι προθυμία τε καὶ ἀνδρεία γενναίως ἐπ' αὐτόν, θεοὺς τε ἔχοντες βοηθούς, ἐς οὓς ἐπιορκήσας ἠσέβησε, τρόπαιά τε [ἃ πολλάκις ἠγγεῖραμεν],² ὃν ἐκεῖνος κατεφρόνησεν.”
- 8 τοιαυτὰ τινα εἰπόντος τοῦ Σεβήρου ὁ στρατὸς ἀπας τὸν μὲν Ἀλβίνου πολέμιον ἀνηγόρευσεν, εὐφημήσαντες δὲ τὸν Σεβήρον, πᾶσάν τε προθυμίαν διὰ τῆς βοῆς ὑποσχόμενοι, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον παρώρμησαν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὰς τε ὑπέφηναν τὰς ἐλπίδας. ὁ δὲ ἐπιδουὺς³ αὐτοῖς μεγαλοφρόνως
- 9 δωρεάς, τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνου ὁδοῦ εἶχετο. ἐπέμψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὸ Βυζάντιον πολιορκήσοντας· ἔμενε γὰρ ἔτι κεκλεισμένον, τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ Νίγρου ἐκεῖσε καταφυγόντων. ὅπερ ἑάλω ὕστερον/λιμῶ, πᾶσά τε ἡ πόλις κατεσκάφη,⁴ καὶ θεάτρων τε καὶ

¹ χοίροις agP
³ ἐπιδουὺς O

² del Mendelss
⁴ κατεστάθη φ

¹ The date of the fall of Byzantium is linked with the date of Caracalla's title of Caesar, as shown by the letter to the Aezani; therefore both were in late 195 or early 196; 3.5.8n. The salutation of *imperator* VIII for Byzantium does not show on coins before 196; *BMC* V. lxxx and 43 ff., *RIC* IV. 1.100 ff. Dio makes two conflicting statements about the date of the city's fall; that the news reached S. in Mesopotamia, (Xiph.) 74.14.2; but that the siege lasted three full years, (Xiph.) 74.12.1 (i.e. until mid-196). It is not known how long the Mesopotamia campaign lasted, though the victory salutations of S. were known in Egypt before 29th August;

sober general. The whole world knows about 7 Albinus' life of luxury, better training for the ranks of a stage chorus than of a battle. Let us advance into battle against him in fine form with our usual energy and bravery. We rely for our help upon the gods, whom he has dishonoured by his perjury, and our [many] triumphs, which he has despised.”

After the speech by Severus the entire army 8 declared Albinus an enemy of the state, and expressed their admiration for Severus. With a roar they proclaimed their entire support, urging him on to still greater things and forecasting his great expectations. Then Severus gave them a generous donative and set out on the march against Albinus. He also detached some troops to go to the siege of 9 Byzantium,¹ which was still holding out under blockade after Niger's generals had taken refuge there. Later the city was starved out and completely destroyed; deprived of its theatres, baths and all its splendour and honour, it was handed over with the

Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 79. Therefore if the news reached S. in Mesopotamia, he must have lingered on there until the end of the year and the Aezani delegation would have met S. as he passed through Asia Minor in winter 195/6. But in that case Caracalla must have been named as Caesar before the return to Viminacium (SHA, *Sev.* 10.3), and H. is completely wrong here. If Dio has made an error about Mesopotamia and if S. had already reached winter quarters at Postóvio (see below) by late 195 when Byzantium fell, then SHA and H. would be correct and the three years of Dio could be a confusion with the end of S.'s third regnal year (end of 195). There is some poor evidence to suggest S. was in Thrace on 27th May (196) in SHA, *Max.* 2.4, and Jordanes, *Get.* 15.84 (M); cf. Harrer, *JRS* 10 (1920) 163-4, and, for a general discussion, Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1541 f.

λουτρῶν παντός τε κόσμου καὶ τιμῆς ἀφαιρεθὲν τὸ Βυζάντιον κώμη δουλεύειν Περινθίοις¹ δῶρον ἐδόθη, ὡσπερ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια Λαοδικεύσιν. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ χρήματα πλείστα ἐς ἀνοικισμὸν τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἦν λυμηνάμενος ὁ Νίγρου στρατός. 10 αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶχετο, μηδεμίαν ἀνοχὴν ἀναπαύλης διδοὺς μήτε ἑορταῖς μήτε καμάτοις, κρύους καὶ θάλπους ὁμοίως καταφρονῶν. πολλὰ γοῦν διὰ τῶν δυσχεμερῶν καὶ ὑψηλοτάτων ὄρων τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ποιούμενος ὑπὸ νιφετοῖς καὶ χιόσιν ἀκαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ ὠδοιπόρει, προθυμίας καὶ ἀνδρείας τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔργῳ διδοὺς, ὡς μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς φόβῳ καὶ νόμῳ ἀντέχει πρὸς τοὺς καμάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμησεὶ καὶ ζήλω τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸν <μετὰ> δυνάμεως² τὸν τὰ στενὰ τῶν Ἄλπεων καταληψόμενον καὶ φρουρήσοντα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰς εἰσβολάς.

¹ περινθίων A

² στρατὸν δυνάμεως Oī corr Reisk δυνάμεως om Bekk²

¹ Perinthus is about sixty miles from Byzantium but had remained loyal to S. (3.1.5n). Dio (Xiph.) 74.14.3-5 is more precise, stating that Byzantium lost its *ius civitatis* and its land was given to Perinthus. It was restored to its rights later, perhaps in 201; SHA, *Car.* 1.7, Malalas 291.

² Cf. 3.3.3n. Laodicea became the metropolis and received *ius Italicum ob belli civilis merita*, *Dig.* 50.15.1.3. Like Byzantium, Antioch was reduced to the status of a *kome* attached to the metropolis, but there is no evidence of the destruction of the city. The date of Antioch's disgrace was probably in 194; cf. Downey, *History of Antioch* 241, who notes the abolition of Commodus' Olympic Games and the

status of a village to be the subject of Perinthus.¹ The same had happened to Antioch which became subordinate to Laodicea.² Large grants of money were also made for the reconstruction of cities devastated by Niger's army. Severus himself, however, kept to the march without regard for cold or heat, allowing no breaks for rest either for public holidays or after undergoing hard work. Often while crossing the high mountain barriers where weather conditions were difficult he marched bareheaded through rain and snow,³ setting his men an example of determination and bravery. In this way he made them persevere on the hard march not just by fear of breaking regulations, but by encouraging them to imitate their emperor. He also sent a general with a force of soldiers to take control of the Alpine passes and guard the routes into Italy.⁴

circuit factions. It, too, was restored c. 201 and made equal to Laodicea by Caracalla, 4.8.6n.

³ Perhaps this is evidence of S.'s late autumn march through Moesia and Pannonia, but it could equally well apply to the spring of 196 or even be a general remark; cf. 3.6.9n. The conjecture that S. wintered at Poetovio is made from *CIL* III. 4037, an inscription set up in the town by a tribune of the praetorian cohorts *proficiscens ad opprimendam factionem Gallicanam*; cf. SHA, *Sev.* 10.7, for S. in Pannonia.

⁴ Thought by some to be C. Iulius Pacatianus, who was first procurator of the province of Osrhoene and later *procurator et praeses Alpium Cottiarum* and finally adlected *inter comites* of the Augusti—an equestrian member of the *consilium*; *PIR*² J 444, Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 220, Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 95; but it is likely (3.5.1n) Osrhoene was not annexed until later, Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1543. More probably the general concerned was L. Fabius Cilo who was *dux vexill (ationum) per Italiam* (*ILS* 1141; cf. 3.1.5n, 3.2.2n; his distinguished career is discussed by Murphy, *Severus*

7. ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Ἀλβίνῳ μὴ μέλλων ὁ Σεβήρος ἀλλ' ἤδη παρεσόμενος, ὑπτιάζοντι καὶ τρυφῶντι μεγάλην ταραχήν ἐνέβαλε. περαιωθεὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίας ἐς τὴν ἀντικειμένην Γαλλίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐπεμψέ τε ἐς πάντα τὰ γειννιώντα ἔθνη, τοῖς τε ἡγουμένοις ἐπέστειλε χρήματά τε πέμπειν καὶ τροφὰς τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν πεισθέντες ἐπεμψαν ὀλεθρίως· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐκολάσθησαν· ὅσοι δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν,¹ εὐτυχῶς μᾶλλον γνόντες ἢ εὐβούλως ἐσώθησαν. ἡ γὰρ ἀπόβασις² καὶ ἡ τύχη τοῦ πολέμου τὰς ἐκατέρων² γνώμας ἔκρινεν. ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς τοῦ Σεβήρου δυνάμεως ἐς τὴν Γαλλίαν γεγόνασι μὲν τινες ἀκροβολισμοὶ καθ' ἕτερα χωρία, ἡ δὲ τελευταία περὶ Λουγδοῦνον, μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, ἐν ἣ κατακλείσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἀλβίνος³ ἔμενε, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐξέπεμψε. γενομένης δὲ συμβολῆς καρτερᾶς ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν ἰσορροπος⁴

¹ ἐπέστειλον (sic) A *imperium detractaverunt* P

² ἀπόβασις O ³ σεβήρος V ⁴ ἰσορρόπος O

Inscriptions 11-14). S. himself visited Rome in 196, as shown by coins with *adventus* and *profectio* (*BMC* V. xcii), several dedicatory inscriptions in Rome (e.g. *ILS* 418, *CIL* XIV. 112-14) and SHA, *Sev.* 10.1, *Synceillus* 671.11 (Bonn). But the dates can only be guessed at. A rescript heading dated 13th June 195 (*Dig.* 27.9.1) from a speech *in senatu* may be an error for 196. Nor are S.'s activities known; perhaps he began his purges of the senate; e.g. Cassius Clemens, Dio (Xiph.) 74.9.1-4; this was also the time when S. made the senate declare Albinus *hostis*, SHA, *Alb.* 9.1 (if true).

7. When the news reached Albinus that Severus was rapidly approaching and would soon be upon him, it terrified him, because he was idly whiling away his time¹ in easy living. Crossing from Britain to the opposite shore, he set up his forces in Gaul and from there dispatched messages to the neighbouring provinces, ordering the governors to send money and supplies for his army. Some of them obeyed his orders and sent supplies—a fatal move for which they were later punished.² Those, however, who refused to comply were saved more by good luck than good judgement, since it was only the chance of the eventual outcome of the war which proved the soundness of each man's judgement. After Severus reached 2 Gaul there were a number of light-armed skirmishes at various places.³ The final battle occurred at Lugdunum, a large, prosperous city, where Albinus had taken refuge and remained, while he sent his army out to fight the battle. A fierce clash took

¹ This may be true, but follows the stereotype of an unsuccessful leader; cf. Niger, 2.14.6n. In fact, it seems the Severan troops tried to make a way down the direct route to Lugdunum via the Rhône valley, but were checked (SHA, *Sev.* 10.7, *Severi duces victi*) and forced to make the more northerly entrance into Gaul. The pro-Severan governor of Germania Inferior, Virius Lupus was seriously defeated, Dio (Xiph.) 75.6.2, *Albo* 528.

² The only known case was L. Novius Rufus (cos. suff. 186) governor of Hispania Tarraconensis in 193 (*CIL* II. 4125); SHA, *Sev.* 13.7, *Albo* 382.

³ See the activities of the free-lance schoolmaster, Numerianus, Dio (Xiph.) 75.5; SHA, *Sev.* 11.1, notes a Severan victory at Tinurtium (Tournus) on the Saône. Hasebroek wrongly ascribes the *imp.* IX salutation to this battle, *Sept. Severus* 98 (*profectio* coins with *imp.* VIII also), which probably took place in late 196, *BMC* V. lxxiv, *RIC* IV. 1.190, no. 728.

ἔμενον ἑκατέροις τῆς νίκης ἢ τύχῃ. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Βρεττανοὶ ἀνδρεία τε καὶ θυμῷ φονικῷ οὐδὲν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀπολείπονται· γενναίων οὖν στρατῶν³ μαχομένων, οὐδετέρων¹ ῥαδία ἦν ἡ τροπή. ὡς δὲ τινας τῶν τότε ἱστόρησαν, οὐ πρὸς χάριν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες, πολὺ τι ὑπερέσχευ ἡ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀλβίνου στρατοῦ, καθ' ὃ μέρος τέτακτο ὁ Σεβήρος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατός, ὡς φυγεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀπορρίψαντα δὲ τὴν χλαμίδα τὴν βασιλικὴν λαθεῖν. ἤδη δὲ διωκόντων καὶ παιωνιζόντων² τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὡς δὴ νενικηκότων, ἐπιφανῆναι Λαῖτον, στρατηγὸν ὄντα Σεβήρου, σὺν τῷ στρατῷ οὐ

¹ οὐδετέρων g οὐθ' ἐτέρων φι οὐθατέρων a

² παιωνιζόντων φ παιανίζ. Dag (but a over erasure in g)

¹ At Lugdunum, former capital of *tres Galliae*, still the first city in Gaul, official centre of the sixty-four *civitates* and home of the XIII urban cohort (which declared in Albinus' favour). The battle is described by Dio (Xiph.) 75.6-7; the first battle, says Dio, at which S. was present.

² H. makes no attempt at accurate description of a battle; cf. 2.15.6; only the picturesque incidents are described in the eight battle scenes he narrates (3.4, 3.7, 3.9, 4.15, 6.5, 7.2, 7.9, 8.2 ff.). Note here the advice of Lucian, *How to write history* 49, "When the battle is joined the historian should look at both sides and weigh the events as if in a balance."

³ For Albinus' forces, see 3.6.6n. Severus' forces consisted of the bulk of the Illyrian legions under Ti. Claudius Candidus (*dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione . . . Gallica*, ILS 1140), to which were added the *vexillationes* of the Dacian legions under Ti. Claudius Claudianus (ILS 1146-7) and the Moesian legions still under Marius Maximus (ILS 2935). Presumably some of the German legions also joined S.

⁴ Dio (Xiph.) 76.6.7 describes this incident, but says that

place¹ in which the fortune of victory for a long time remained evenly in the balance for both sides.² The bravery and bloodthirsty courage of the British are certainly not inferior to that of the Illyrians. The result was that neither of these two excellent armies could easily be routed.³ Some contemporary writers,³ who give an unbiased report aimed at the truth, record that in the sector where Severus and his personal troop were stationed, Albinus' battle-line was far stronger. The emperor turned tail and was knocked off his horse, but escaped detection by tearing off his imperial cloak.⁴ The British troops followed up in pursuit and had begun to chant their hymn of victory, assuming they had already won, when Laetus, one of Severus' generals,⁵ appeared on the

S., having lost his horse, tore off his riding cloak and joined the infantry in order to rally them from flight. Which story is more likely to have been Severan propaganda?

⁵ Who was Laetus? Several men of this name are known: (Julius) Laetus, close adviser of S. at Ravenna in 193 (SHA, *Did. Jul.* 8.1, 7.6); general of S. in the 1st Parthian War (Dio (Xiph.) 75.2-3); this general at Lugdunum (Dio (Xiph.) 75.6.8, SHA, *Sev.* 11.2—unnamed); defender of Nisibis in late 197 (3.9.7n, Dio (Xiph.) 75.9.1-2); general at Hatra in 198, executed for treachery (Dio (Xiph.) 7.5.10, 3.9.7n). There is nothing impossible about all being the same man, though it is often argued that Nisibis' defence began earlier and made it impossible for the same man to be at Lugdunum and Nisibis; but Dio only says the invasion of Mesopotamia began during the Gallic campaign, not that the siege began then. It is too much of a coincidence that two men of the same name, both popular with the soldiers, both accused of plotting for power, were both executed within a year of each other. More probably after the execution at Hatra, S. was anxious to justify his action, for which he wanted to avoid blame (SHA, *Sev.* 15.6) and put out the story of Lugdunum. See Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 34 and 116, *Albo* 323a for a contrary view.

ἦρχεν, ἀκμήτι τε ὄντι καὶ ἔξω μάχης γεγονότι.¹
 4 διαβάλλουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς καταδοκήσαντα τὴν
 ἀπόβασιν τῆς μάχης καὶ ἐκόντα βραδύναντα, τὸν
 δὲ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατὸν ἀκμήτα τηρήσαντα, τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῷ μνύμενον, τότε ἐπιφανῆναι ὅτε
 ἔμαθε τὸν Σεβήρον πεπτωκότα. πιστοῦται δὲ τὴν
 διαβολὴν ταύτην ἢ ἀπόβασιν.² ὕστερον γὰρ ὁ
 Σεβήρος, μετὰ τὸ πᾶντα κατορθῶσαι καὶ εἶναι ἐν
 ἀμερίμνω βίῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας στρα-
 τηγοὺς αὐτοῦ³ μεγάλως ἡμέψατο, τὸν δὲ Λαῖτον
 5 μόνον, ὡς εἰκός, μνησικακῆσας διεχρήσατο. ἀλλὰ
 ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δ' οὖν, ὡς
 προεῖρηται, τοῦ Λαῖτου ἐπιφανέντος σὺν νεαρῷ
 στρατῷ⁴ οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σεβήρου ἐπερρώσθησαν, τὸν
 τε Σεβήρον τοῦ ἵππου ἐπεβίβασαν καὶ τὴν χλαμίδα
 6 περιέθεσαν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλβίνου οἰόμενοι ἤδη
 νευκικένοι καὶ ἀτακτότεροι εὐρεθέντες, αἰφνιδίως
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσοῦσας γενναίας καὶ οὐ προηγωνισμέ-
 νης δυνάμεως, ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀντισχόντες εἶξαν,
 τροπῆς τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς
 φονεύοντες οἱ Σεβήρου, μέχρις οὐ ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐσέβαλον.⁵ τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν
 ἀνηρημένων ἢ ἀλόντων, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐβουλήθη τῶν
 7 τότε συγγραψάντων, ἰστόρησεν· οἱ δὲ⁶ τοῦ
 Σεβήρου τὴν τε Λουγδοῦνον διαρπάσαντες καὶ
 ἐμπρήσαντες, τὸν τε Ἀλβίνον συλλαβόντες καὶ

¹ οὐ ἦρχεν . . . τε . . . καὶ—γεγονότι not in P
² ἀπόβασιν O
³ αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦς i
⁴ νεαρῷ τῷ στρατῷ i σὺν—στρατῷ om P
⁵ ἐσέβαλλον i
⁶ Steph τε Oi

scene with his fresh troops that had not been involved
 in the battle. Reports accusè Laetus of waiting to 4
 see the result of the battle and deliberately holding
 back, keeping his troops fresh in a bid to win the
 empire for himself. He only appeared when he was
 informed that Severus had fallen. Certainly what
 happened afterwards confirms this charge, since at a
 later date after the general restoration of order and a
 return to security, Severus richly rewarded the rest
 of his generals.¹ Laetus was the only one he
 executed, apparently remembering the treachery at
 Lugdunum. All this, however, was in the future. 5
 At the time, as mentioned above, the appearance
 of Laetus with fresh troops put new heart into
 Severus' forces. They mounted Severus on his
 horse and dressed him in his cloak. Albinus' troops, 6
 who assumed they had already won, were caught in
 disorder by the sudden attack of a strong force that
 had not yet been engaged. For a while they held
 firm, then broke and in a desperate flight Severus'
 army pursued them with great slaughter until they
 reached the city. Contemporary historians vary the
 total number of casualties and prisoners on either side
 to suit their own purposes. Severus' forces ravaged 7
 Lugdunum and burned it to the ground.² Albinus
 was taken prisoner, executed and his head carried to

¹ The various generals' careers are well documented in inscriptions and confirm what H. says; for the list and references, see 2.9.12n, 2.10.3n, 3.2.1n, 3.2.10n, 3.7.2n, and Walsler-Pékary, *Krise d. röm. Reiches* 3, Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 7 ff.

² The XIII urban cohort was disbanded and replaced by detachments from the Rhine legions, *ILS* 9493.

τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόντες, κομίσαντες αὐτὴν τῷ Σεβήρῳ δισσὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἤγειραν τρόπαια, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἄρκτω, ὡς μηδὲν ταῖς Σεβήρου μάχαις ἢ νίκαις παραβάλλεσθαι μήτε πλήθει δυνάμειος μήτε ἐθνῶν κινήσειον ἀριθμῶ τε παρατάξεων ὁδοπορίας τε μήκει καὶ τάχει. 8 μεγάλοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αἱ Καίσαρος πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐκατέρωθεν στρατοπέδων Ῥωμαϊκῶν μάχαι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ¹ Σεβαστοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἢ τοὺς Πομπηίου παῖδας, εἴ τε τι ² πρότερον Σύλλα ἢ Μαρίας ἐν ἐμφυλίῳ καὶ Ῥωμαϊκαῖς μάχαις ἢ ἄλλοις πέπρακται. ³ ἓνα δὲ ἄνδρα τρεῖς καθελόντα βασιλέας ἤδη κρατοῦντας, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατοῦ σοφία περιγενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ἀλλῇ καθηρηκέναι ⁴ τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ κρατοῦντα πάλαι καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα κληθέντα, τὸν δὲ ἐν Καίσαρος

¹ Steph (*item* P) αὐτοῦ Οἱ

² ἐν τε Ο

³ *Marioque civilibus externisque proleis gesta sunt* P

⁴ καθηρηκέναι <εὐτυχῶσαντα> Schwartz

¹ Dated to 19th February 197 by SHA, *Sev.* 11.7, and confirmed by the anniversary "gymnasium" noted on the Arch of Theveste (Caracalla); Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 306-7. Dio (Xiph.) 75.7.3 says Albinus committed suicide and then his head was cut off and sent to Rome, but that Severus' own propaganda had a different version. SHA, *Sev.* 11.6-9, has a hostile account of execution and mutilation, which according to *Cl. Alb.* 9.3 derived from Marius Maximus (*semineciis*). S. received his *imp.* IX salutation after the battle, *BMC V.* lxxx (not *imp.* X as Hasebrook says, *Sept. Severus* 97-8).

² The only inscriptional evidence remaining is an altar to

Severus.¹ Finally two huge victory monuments were set up, one in the East, and the other in the North.² The battles and victories of Severus are quite unique in the size of the contending forces, the upheaval among the nations, the numbers of battles and the 8 distances and speed of the marches. It is true that the battles of Caesar against Pompey, when two Roman armies faced each other, were enormous; so too were the wars of Augustus against Antony and Pompey's sons. Before that, too, there were the civil wars at Rome of Sulla and Marius and others.³ But this one man destroyed three reigning emperors.⁴ One, who was the occupant of the imperial palace, he destroyed by gaining control of the soldiers in Rome through clever trickery. Another he got rid of held power in the East and had already been saluted as emperor by the Roman people. The third, who had been granted the honours and office

Jupiter Depulsor, Bona Mens and *Fortuna Redux* set up by T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus and his family when he was restored as governor of Lugdunensis (*redhibita et suscepta provincia*), one of S.'s special appointees who had backed him in 193 as *legatus leg. XIV Gemina* in Pannonia Superior. The family was promoted to patrician rank, which must have outraged conservative opinion since Secundus had held no single elected magistracy (adlected *inter praetorios* by Commodus); *ILS* 1151, *Albo* 241, *PIR*² F 362.

³ The reference to Rome is not clear. The meaning might be "civil and Roman (i.e. national) wars" as Politian seems to interpret it, see *app. critic.* The references to Marius, Sulla, Pompey Caesar and Augustus are all contained in a speech of S. to the senate reported by Dio (Xiph.) 75.8.1, but the context of the references is to praise or blame their measure of severity, not to admire their military achievements.

⁴ I.e. Didius Julianus, Pescennius Niger and Albinus.

τιμῆ καὶ ἐξουσία γεγονότα χειρωσάμενον ἀνδρεία,
οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον¹ ῥαδίως εἰπεῖν.

τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ὁ Ἀλβίνος ἐχρήσατο,
πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀπολαύσας ὀλεθρίου τιμῆς· 8. ὁ δὲ
Σεβήρος θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ εὐθέως πρὸς τοὺς ἐν
Ῥώμῃ φίλους αὐτοῦ ἐχρήτητο.² καὶ πέμφας τὴν
κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἀλβίνου δημοσίᾳ ἀνασταυρωθῆναι
κελεύει· γράμμασί τε τῷ δήμῳ τὴν νίκην ἑαυτοῦ
δηλώσας ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ τοῦτο προσέθηκε, πεπομφέ-
ναι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ περίοπτον,³ ἵνα⁵
αὐτὸς⁴ οἶόν περ ἐδείκνυεν αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμὸν ἴδη
² καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὀργήν.⁵ διοικήσας δὲ τὰ
κατὰ Βρεττανίαν καὶ διελὼν ἐς δύο ἡγεμονίας⁶
τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξουσίαν, τὰ τε κατὰ τὰς Γαλλίας,

¹ ἄλλο O

² ἐχρήσατο Jo

³ περίοπτον ἀνασταυρωθῆναι κελεύσας i

⁴ αὐτὸν gl (not in O)

⁵ ἵνα οἶόν περ καὶ φοβήσῃ ἐκείνους (ἐκείνους A) καὶ τὴν ὀργήν
ἦν ἐπεφέρετο καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνδέξεται O ἵνα . . . (lac) οἶόν
περ . . . (lac) καὶ τὴν . . . (lac) ὀργήν . . . (lac) Stav ut
exemplum caperent, quod item ipsis patiendum foret P

⁶ ἡγεμόνας V

¹ Very similar to the language used by Dio (Xiph.) 75.7.3, presumably the text of the letter to the senate, which even Baaz, *de Herod. fontibus* 47, admits Dio himself must have heard.

² The alternative version in the O group of MSS reads, ". . . in order that he might frighten them and show them the anger he felt against them." One effect of this letter was probably the congratulatory message sent by an embassy to S., recorded on *ILS* 1143; (P.) Porcius Optatus Flamma was sent by the senate to Severus in *Germaniam* and *Caracalla imperatorem destinatum in Pannoniam* (left behind at Poetovio when the campaign in Gaul was fought?). SHA, *Sev.* 12.1-5, notes S.'s activities in Gaul and Spain, carrying out large-scale confiscations and executions; it was as a

of Caesar, he dominated by his bravery. One would look far to find another who was his peer.

So Albinus met his end after a brief but disastrous taste of power. 8. Immediately after this Severus turned his full anger on Albinus' friends in Rome. The head of Albinus was sent to Rome with orders that it should publicly displayed on a pole.¹ In a letter announcing his victory to the Roman people he added a postscript to say that he had sent Albinus' head to be displayed in public so that the Roman people could see for themselves the measure of his temper and his anger with Albinus' friends.² Then ² he set affairs in Britain in order, dividing up the governorship of the province into two commands.³

result of these savage punishments that a few years later S. had to take action against the *defectores et rebelles* (*ILS* 1153) which Murphy believes to be a full-scale revolt, but was probably a series of sporadic outbursts throughout the empire; *Severus Inscriptions* 38 ff.; Hammond, *AJP* 71 (1950) 193 ff., is rightly dubious about the dating and coordination of events in Africa, Asia and Gaul over a period of several years.

³ The supposition that S. went to Britain after Lugdunum is based on an obscure reference in Dio (Exc. Urs.) 75.5.4, which records the activities of the new governor Virius Lupus (*CIL* VII. 210, 273) in 197/8, who had to buy off the Maecatae; but Dio probably means S. was engaged in Gaul and Germany. The division of Britain into a consular (two legions) and a praetorian (one legion) province has been convincingly shown not to have occurred until c. 211-20; Graham, *JRS* 56 (1966) 92-107. But does H. mean that there was a territorial division into provinces (an error) or that there was an administrative division between civil and military authorities for the period of the emergency? Note the appointment of Sex. Varius Marcellus as *ducenarius* procurator of the province (*ILS* 478), who soon after this (if not already) was married to the niece of Julia Domna, and appears to have acted as S.'s special agent; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 237. H. certainly does

ὡς ᾤετο, ἄριστα διαθεῖς, πάντας τε τοὺς Ἀλβίνου φίλους εἴτε ἔκουσίως εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῷ γνωρισθέντας φονεύσας, τὰς τε οὐσίας αὐτῶν δημεύσας, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤπειλετο, ἄγων ἅπαντα τὸν στρατὸν σὺν αὐτῷ, ὡς φανεῖν φοβερώτερος.

3 ἀνύσας δὴ πολλῶ τάχει τὴν ὁδοπορίαν, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος αὐτῷ, χαλεπαίνων πρὸς ἔτι περιόντας τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσήλασεν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτὸν δαφνηφορῶν μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς καὶ εὐφημίας ὑπεδέξατο, ἧ τε σύγκλητος προσηγόρευσαν, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν μεγίστῳ δέει καθεστῶτες, λογιζόμενοι ὅτι αὐτῶν οὐ φείσεται, φύσει μὲν ὦν ἐχθρὸς χαλεπώτατος καὶ μικρᾶς προφάσεως δέομενος ἐς τὸ ἀδικῆσαι, τότε δὲ δοκῶν καὶ εὐλόγους

4 ἔχειν αἰτίας. ὁ δ' οὖν Σεβήρος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἀνελθὼν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τελέσας ἱερουργίας ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὰ βασιλεία, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προῖθηκεν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις μεγίστας νομάς. τοῖς τε στρατιώταις

not describe a divided province in 3.14.1. There may be some significance in the fact that H. uses here the word *exousia* (*potestas*) rather than the more usual word *arche* (*imperium, terra imperantis, provincia*); Irmsich, *Herod. Hist.* IV (index q.v.), though cf. 2.9.2, describing S.'s Pannonian command.

¹ See 3.8.7n. SHA, *Sev.* 12.4, says a new *procurator rerum privatorum* was established by S. to administer the confiscated property. Cf. the career of Tl. Claudius Xenophon who went to Africa c. 197 as [*pro*]c(urator) *Aug(usti) ad bona cog[en]da in Africa*, *ILS* 1421, Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 222 (though there had previously been *procuratores bonorum damnatorum*, this official was more senior and the changed title suggests a more radical reorganization).

² S. was in Rome by 9th June 197 (*CIL* VI. 224); a *taurobolium* had been performed in his honour in Gaul on

In Gaul, too, he arranged the administration to his satisfaction. All the friends of Albinus, regardless of whether they had allied themselves to his cause spontaneously or under compulsion, were executed and their property was confiscated.¹ Finally he hurried to Rome, taking with him his entire army so that he would appear more awe-inspiring. Completing the journey at his usual high speed, he rode into Rome,² furious with the friends of Albinus that still survived. The people, carrying laurel branches, welcomed him with full honours and acclaim, to which the senate added its own words; but most were desperately afraid, because they reckoned they would not be spared. If Severus was normally fiercely antagonistic and prone to harming people for trivial reasons, on this occasion they thought he appeared to be fully justified. After going up to the temple of Jupiter and completing the rest of the religious ritual, Severus went back to the palace and gave the people a vast distribution of money to commemorate his victories.³ The soldiers too were

4th-7th May (*CIL* XIII. 1754). Obviously the whole of the army did not go to Rome.

³ The second distribution of largess, noted on coins, *RIC* IV. 1.101 and in a confused reference in SHA, *Sev.* 14.11. The occasion may have been on the fifth anniversary of S.'s first entry into Rome (9th June noted above). It is possible also that at this time there was some kind of formal bestowal of the title *imperator destinatus* (or *designatus*) on Caracalla by the senate. The term first appears in 197 before Lugdunum (*CIL* VIII. 5760); but the adjective is most unusual, normally reserved for senatorial magistrates; cf. Mommsen, *StR* (3) 1.578n, 2.2.1136; therefore perhaps indicating a formal vote by the senate to confirm C. as heir. Note the games at this time also, 3.8.9n.

ἐπέδωκε χρήματα πλείστα, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνεχώ-
 5 ρησεν ἂ μὴ πρότερον εἶχον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ σιτηρέσιον
 πρῶτος ἠϋξήσεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δακτυλίους χρυσοῖς
 χρήσασθαι ἐπέτρεψε γυναιξί¹ τε συνοικεῖν,² ἅπερ
 ἅπαντα σωφροσύνης στρατιωτικῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
 πόλεμον ἐτοίμου τε καὶ εὐσταλοῦς ἀλλότρια ἐνομί-
 ζετο. καὶ πρῶτός γε³ ἐκείνος τὸ πάνυ αὐτῶν
 ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς διαίτης τό τε εὐπειθές
 πρὸς τοὺς πόνοους καὶ εὐτακτον μετ' αἰδοῦς πρὸς

¹ γυναικὶ Ogl

² γυναιξὶ μίγνυσθαι Suda (s.v. Σεβήρος)

³ Steph τε OI

¹ Such as the extensive number of *collegia* (clubs) which came into vogue; Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 67 ff. The army privileges are discussed as a whole by Sander, *RhM* 101 (1958) 102 ff.

² The Greek *siteresion* (lit. corn allowance) is used by H. to mean ordinary pay (*stipendium*) in 2.11.5; cf. 4.4.7, 6.8.8. Unknown is the extent to which pay in kind was used in inflationary conditions as a substitute for money. Dio 78.34.3 implies that some pay was in kind and it was under S. that the *annona militaris* began to develop (even if not the full-scale affair of the fourth century; van Berchem, *Mém. Soc. Nat. Ant. France* 7.10 (1937) 117 ff., but qualified by Brunt, *PBSR* 18 (1950) 50n.), though this is not necessarily connected with pay; Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1545.

³ Domaszewski, *Neue Heidel. Jahrb.* 10 (1900) 218 ff., believed this to mean that S. was the first to raise the actual amount of the *stipendium*, though the number of such *stipendia* had risen under Domitian from 3 to 4 per annum (Suet. *Dom.* 7.3) and under Commodus from 4 to 5; Brunt, *PBSR* 18 (1950) 54 argues the opposite, but *P. Gen. Lat.* 4

given a very substantial sum of money and with this many other privileges that they had not had before,¹ 5 such as an increase in pay² (which Severus was the first to give),³ permission to wear a gold ring⁴ and the right to live at home with their wives.⁵ All these things are usually considered to be inimical to military discipline and to a state of prompt readiness for action. Severus was certainly the first to undermine the tough austerity of their diet, their obedience in face of hardship and their disciplined respect for

(from Egypt) supports Domaszewski that there were four annual stipendia of 75 denarii in the late first century, Walton, *Hist.* 5 (1956) 332 ff. There is no real evidence to show an increase under Commodus, Passerini, *Athen.* 24 (1946) 149 ff.—but, as Passerini points out, most attempts to calculate the rise are based erroneously on *donativa*; the actual amount of the pay probably rose from 300 denarii to 450 denarii approximately (cf. 4.4.7 for Caracalla's pay rise). Increases in pay are well-attested by inscriptions, Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 76. The cost of such an increase must have been enormous, met for the time being by confiscations.

⁴ The mark of equestrian rank, though S. did not actually make the soldiers equestrians; the privilege extended to centurions and *principales*; an indication of the social mobility S. desired for the extensive use of soldiers in the equestrian civil service. The centurionate itself was (like the legions) increasingly manned by provincials during the second century; there is no reason to believe S. initiated any radical change; Birley, *R. Britain and the R. Army* 104 ff.; cf. Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 64 ff.

⁵ More a correction of a legal anomaly than an innovation, since cohabitation was already widespread and legally permitted to senior officers and *auxilia*. But growth of military *vici* and the accelerated integration of army and local population from this time proves that the measure had some effect; Salway, *Frontier People of R. Britain* 187, 196, Cagnat, *L'armée rom. d'Afrique* 372-3.

ἀρχοντας ἐπανάτρεψε,¹ χρημάτων τε ἐπιθυμῆν διδάξας καὶ μεταγαγὼν ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίατον.
 6 διοικήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ὡς ᾤετο, ἄριστα, κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλήν, ἀνελθὼν τε ἐς τὸν βασιλεῖον θρόνον, πικρῶς κατηγορήσε τῶν Ἀλβίνου φίλων, ὧν μὲν ἐπιστολὰς προκομίζων² ἀπορρήτους, ἃς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου ἀποθέτοις εὔρε γράμμασιν, οἷς δὲ δῶρα ὀνειδίζων πεμφθέντα ἐκείνῳ πολυτελέστερα· ἄλλοις δὲ ἄλλας ἐπιφέρων αἰτίας, τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνθρώποις φίλιαν³ <Νίγρου>⁴ τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα γνῶσιν Ἀλβίνου, πάντας⁵ τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τότε τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς⁶ κατὰ ἔθνη πλούτῳ ἢ γένει ὑπερέχοντας ἀφειδῶς ἀνήρει, ὡς μὲν προσποιεῖτο, χαλεπαίνων πρὸς ἐχθρούς, τὸ δ' ἀληθές, ὑπερβαλλούσης ἐν αὐτῷ φιλοχρηματίας· οὐδεὶς γοῦν βασιλέων οὕτω⁷ χρημάτων ἠττήθη. ὡς γὰρ καρτερία ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνεξικακία πόνων διοικήσει τε στρατιωτικῶν⁷ πραγμάτων οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἀπελείπετο, οὕτως ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπλήθυνε τὸ φιλοχρήματον ἐξ

¹ -στρεψε OI

³ πρεσβείαν A

⁵ πάντας δὲ O

⁷ στρατικῶν B πολιτικῶν conj Mendelss

² προσκομίζων O

⁴ Steph

⁶ τῶν Ogl Jo

¹ The growing comforts of the army are well illustrated by the conditions at Dura-Europos, where the troops lived in the town itself with comfortable quarters and clubs and adequate entertainments. S.'s encouragement of the cantonements (already fairly extensive) led finally to the militarized peasantry, the growth of particularism and loss of efficiency in the following generations; Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE* 377-8,

commanders; by teaching the men to be greedy for riches and seducing them into a life of luxury.¹

When he had completed these reforms to his satisfaction, the emperor entered the senate and took his seat in the emperor's chair. He then bitterly attacked the friends of Albinus by producing some of their secret letters, discovered in Albinus' private files. Others he charged with sending fairly sizeable gifts to Albinus. Each one was indicted for a crime, some who came from the East for supporting Niger, others from the West for their ties with Albinus. All who were prominent at that time in the senate⁷ or who were richer and more noble in the provinces were destroyed ruthlessly.² He pretended that he was furious with his enemies, but in fact his dominant motive was to gain their wealth. There never was an emperor so obsessed with money. As far as his bravery, endurance or military organization were concerned, he was surpassed by none of the well-known examples. But equally he increased his love for his ill-gotten wealth and murdered people for any

MaeMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Rom. Emp.* *passim* especially 160 ff. (though with confusing chronology).

² See 3.4.7. Some fifty-three or fifty-four names are given by Dio and SHA, and are listed in Barbieri, *Epigraphica* 14 (1952) 46-8, though these are not all victims of the purge of 197, nor all Niger's and Albinus' supporters. At this time Dio (Xiph.) 75.8.4 says twenty-nine supporters of Albinus were executed; SHA, *Sev.* 13.1-7 gives a list of forty-one supporters of Niger and Albinus. Some of the Pescenniani who suffered at this time seem to have been "discovered" by Plautian, SHA, *Sev.* 15.4. Of special interest are the names of some of the Antonine aristocracy, backers of Pertinax.

ἀδικίας, φονῶν¹ ἐκ τῆς τυχοῦσης αἰτίας. φόβῳ
 9 γοῦν ἤρξε μᾶλλον τῶν ἀρχομένων ἢ εὐνοία. τῷ
 μέντοι δήμῳ ἐπειρᾶτο ποιεῖν κεχαρισμένα· καὶ
 γὰρ θεάς πολυτελεῖς καὶ παντοδαπὰς συνεχῶς
 ἐπετέλει, καὶ θηρίων ἑκατοντάδας ἀνείλε πολλάκις
 τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς² ἡμετέρας τε καὶ βαρβάρου,
 νομάς τε μεγαλοφρόνως ἐπεδίδου. ἐπετέλεσε δὲ
 καὶ ἐπινίκιον ἀγῶνα, τοὺς πανταχόθεν μούσης τε
 ὑποκριτὰς καὶ ἀνδρείας μαθητὰς³ μεταπεμφάμενος.
 10 εἶδομεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ θεάς τινῶν παντοδαπῶν
 θεαμάτων ἐν πᾶσι θεάτροις ὁμοῦ, ἱερουργίας τε
 καὶ παννυχίδας ἐπιτελεσθείσας ἐς μυστηρίων
 ζῆλον· αἰωνίους δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκάλουν οἱ τότε, ἀκούον-
 τες τριῶν γενεῶν διαδραμουσῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.
 κήρυκες γοῦν κατὰ τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
 διεφοίτων καλοῦντες ἤκειν καὶ θεάσασθαι πάντας
 ἃ μῆτε εἶδον μῆτε ὄψονται. οὕτως ὁ μεταξὺ

¹ Bekk^a φόνων Oī all MSS place the comma after φόνων
 [ἐξ ἀδικίας] φονῶν conj Mendels

² τῆς BV

³ μελετητὰς Sylb μιμητὰς Bergl

¹ Probably on the occasion of the *quinquennialia* (cf. 3.10.2n);
 SHA, Sev. 14.11, notes some gladiatorial games in 197. The
 consecration of Commodus also took place near this time,

reason that came to hand. So his rule was one of
 intimidation not affection. He tried to make himself 9
 popular with the common people by putting on
 continuous shows of all kinds¹ and slaughtering
 hundreds of wild animals from all over the world,
 from the Roman empire and from foreign countries,
 and also by making generous distributions of money.
 He also gave victory games, to which he summoned
 from every quarter performers of musical acts and
 mock battles.² In his reign we saw all kinds of 10
 different shows in all the theatres at the same time,
 including all-night religious ceremonies in imitation
 of the Mysteries. These were the ceremonies which
 were called at the time the Secular Games, when
 people heard that three generations had elapsed since
 they had last been celebrated. So heralds travelled
 throughout Rome and Italy summoning all the people
 to come and attend games the likes of which they had
 never seen before and would not see again. The
 intervening period between one celebration and the

partly as an anti-senatorial gesture, SHA, Sev. 12.8, Victor,
Caes. 20.30; but the rehabilitation of Commodus had taken
 place as early as 195 (see 2.10.3n); cf. Dio (Xiph.) 75.7.4-8.3,
BMC V. 42, *CIL* VI. 1365, 1577. More important than an
 anti-senatorial gesture was Severus' dynastic plans and the
 fact that several of his lieutenants were creations of Com-
 modus. The *quinquennialia* may also have been the occasion
 for the formal *destinatio* of Caracalla; see 3.9.1n.

² It is not clear whether H. is cataloguing all the special
 celebrations of S. and is referring here to the decennial games
 (3.10.2, Dio (Xiph.) 76.1.1-5), or whether the victory games
 were a substitute for not celebrating a triumph in 197. The
 meaning of the Greek which is translated here as "performers
 of mock battles" is obscure (lit. pupils of bravery); Politian
 understood it to mean *athletae*.

χρόνος τῆς παρελθούσης ἑορτῆς καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἔδηλοῦτο, πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερβαίνων.

9. διατρέψας δὲ ἱκανοὺς χρόνους ¹ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοὺς τε υἱεὶς αὐτοῦ κοινωνοὺς τῆς βασιλείας καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἀποδείξας, βουλόμενος δόξαν ἄρασθαι νίκης μὴ μόνον ἐμφυλίου τε καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι ἠδέσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ² βαρβάρων ἐγείρει τρόπαια, πρόφασιν ποιούμενος τὴν Βαρσημίον ³ τοῦ Ἀττηνῶν βασιλέως πρὸς Νίγρον φιλίαν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν. παρὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καταδραμεῖν ἠθέλησε· φθάσας δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς χρήματά τε αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα ὀμήρους τε ἰκετεύων ἔπεμψε, σπονδὰς καὶ εὐνοίαν ὑπισχνούμενος. ὁ ⁴ δὲ Σιβήηρος τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ προχωροῦν-

¹ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου Nauck

² τὰ φ κα- over τὰ Α²

³ Leisn from P βαρσημίου Oi

⁴ ὁ δὲ—ἦγαγεν om O

¹ The second personal reference in the history to H.'s own presence at an event; cf. 1.15.4, also at some games. The Secular Games were held from 26th May to 1st June 204, and this passage is therefore strangely out of chronological order, though logical if H. were following a non-annalistic order (see Introduction, p. xliii). The *saeculum* of 110 years had previously been celebrated with games by Augustus in 17 B.C. and Domitian in A.D. 88 (though, on another reckoning of the *saeculum* as 100 years, games were celebrated by Claudius in 48, Antoninus Pius in 148 and Philip the Arab in 248; see Introduction, p. xviii, for the significance of this). The *commentarium* of the Severan Secular Games is recorded on *CIL* VI. 32326-9, *AE* (1932) 70; cf. Pighi, *De Ludis Saecularibus* 137 ff. Coins from 204 to 207 carry the legends *ludos*

next was described in this way, being longer than the life-span of a man.¹

9. For some time Severus stayed on in Rome² and appointed his sons to take a share in the empire, each with the title of Augustus.³ But then he wanted to win a reputation for himself not just for winning a civil war over Roman armies (which he was ashamed to celebrate as a triumph) but also by raising monuments for victories against the barbarians. So, using the friendship that Barsemius, king of Hatra, had shown for Niger as an excuse, he made an expedition to the East. Once he was² there, he planned to attack Armenia too, but he was forestalled by the Armenian king, who approached him humbly by sending money and gifts and hostages and offering terms for a treaty of good will. And since this success in Armenia was what Severus

saecul(ares) and *sacra saecularia*, with pictures of the special wooden theatre erected in the Campus Martius; Hill, *Num. Chron.* (7) 4 (1964) 175. Julia Domna, unlike Livia in 17 B.C., took an official part as priestess in the ceremonies. For the formulae of the heralds' announcement, see 1.15.1n; cf. also the words of the *commentarium* I. 20 (Pighi), *longissimum inquit (Sibylla) humanae vi[tae] impu[er] centensim[us] et d[ec]im[us] annus e[st]*.

² In 197 S. stayed in Rome only a few months; coins with *profectio Aug(usti)* occur with *imp. IX*, showing the departure in this year. *imp. X* also occurs in 197, almost certainly for the relief of Nisibis in the second half of the year; *BMC* V. xevi and 58-9, *RIC* IV. 1.103 ff., Orelli-Henzen no. 907.

³ Inaccurate; Caracalla did not become Augustus, nor Geta Caesar, until 198 (probably on the occasion of the fall of Ctesiphon; 3.9.12n). H. may have confused this with other honours to S.'s sons, including the styling of *destinatus imperator* used by Caracalla from 197 and perhaps formally voted to him by the senate, 3.8.4n.

των κατὰ γνώμην ἐπὶ τὴν¹ Ἀτρηνῶν ἠπέιγετο. προσέφυγε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀῦγαρος,² τοὺς τε παῖδας ὀμηρεύειν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν πίστεως ἐξέδωκε, τοξότας τε πλείστους συμμαχοὺς ἤγαγεν.³

³ ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος διαβὰς τὴν τῶν ποταμῶν μέσην τὴν⁴ τε καὶ Ἀδιαβηνῶν⁵ χώραν, ἐπέδραμε καὶ τὴν εὐδαίμονα Ἀραβίαν· φέρει γὰρ πόας εὐώδεις, αἷς ἀρώμασι καὶ θυμιάμασι χρώμεθα. πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ πόλεις πορθήσας τὴν τε χώραν λεηλατήσας, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀτρηνῶν χώραν, προσκαθεζόμενος τὰς Ἄτρας ἐπολιόρκει. ἦν δὲ πόλις ἐπιᾶκρας ὑψηλοτάτης⁶ ὄρους, τεῖχει μεγίστῳ, καὶ

¹ Steph τὸν (τῶν α) i

² gl² in mg have ἀεραρος

³ ὁ δὲ—ἤγαγεν om O

⁴ Sylb γῆν φὶ τὴν μεσοποταμίαν μεσηγηνῶν A

⁵ Mendelss ἀβηνῶν ABi ἀτρηνῶν V Albenorum P

⁶ ὑψηλοτάτου conj Mendelss from P (altissimo monti)

¹ There seems no good reason for putting these events in 195, though it should be noted that the passage about Armenia and Osrhoene is completely omitted by the O group of texts (see *app. critic.*); cf. 3.5.1n. Abgar VIII (PIR² A 8) and his son remained as rulers at Edessa throughout S.'s reign, so that the *provincia Osrhoena* recorded on ILS 1353, which was probably formed at this date (3.5.1n), did not include Edessa. Abgar's flight may be the incident described by Dio 79.16.2; see Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1543-4.

² Cf. SHA, *Sev.* 15.2-3; there is very little evidence of S.'s movements, but he appears to have entered Mesopotamia in pursuit of the Parthians, who retired before him, perhaps

wanted, he marched against Hatra. Abgar, the king of Osrhoene, also took refuge with the emperor and handed over his children as hostages to guarantee his good faith.¹ He brought a large number of archers to be auxiliary forces for Severus.

After crossing Mesopotamia² and the territory of³ Adiabene, Severus hurried on to Arabia Felix.³ The name Felix comes from the fact that the country produces aromatic herbs, which we use for perfumes and incense. When he had destroyed many towns and villages and laid the land waste, Severus came to the territory of the Atreni where he laid siege to Hatra,⁴ a city at the very top of a precipitous ridge,⁴ encircled by enormous, strong walls and teeming with

specifically in order to relieve Nisibis, though the danger had passed by the time he reached the city, Dio (Xiph.) 75.9.1-3; the route is discussed by Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 111-12, Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 21-2. If he went on to Adiabene (across the Tigris) he must have returned almost at once to the Euphrates, where a fleet was being prepared. Narses of Adiabene had just been killed by the Parthians.

³ H. appears totally confused here between the Arabians east of Mesopotamia (from whom S. had taken his title of Arabicus in 195) and the visit S. made to the province of Arabia in 199 immediately after the second attack on Hatra, Dio (Exc; cf. Boissevain 3.350). But certainly S. never went to Arabia Felix (S.W. Arabia), as far as is known.

⁴ Described by Maricq, *Syria* 34 (1957) 289-90; a fortified city on the edge of the central Mesopotamian desert, near the River Tigris. H.'s chronology differs seriously from the order of events in Xiphilinus' epitome of Dio, which records two attacks on Hatra, both after the capture of Ctesiphon (197/8); see Dio (Xiph.) 75.9 ff. But the words of Dio give no real chronology, Millar, *Cassius Dio* 142. Picard, *CRAI* (1962) 7 ff., suggests H. was following the order of events displayed on paintings in Rome and (later) on Severus' arch.

γενναίω περιβλημένη, πλήθει τε ἀνδρῶν τοξοτῶν ἀκμάζουσα. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς προσκαθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει παντὶ σθένει, πειρώμενος τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν· μηχαναὶ τε παντοδαπαὶ προσήγοντο τῷ τείχει, καὶ οὐδὲν παρελείπετο εἶδος
 5 πολιορκίας. οἱ δὲ Ἀτρηνοὶ γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο, τόξοις τε καὶ λίθοις ἄνωθεν βάλλοντες οὐ μικρῶς ἐλύπουν τὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατόν. σκεύη τε κεράμου πεποιημένα¹ πληροῦντες πτηνῶν, μικρῶν μὲν ἰοβόλων δὲ θηρίων, ἐπέβαλλον αὐτοῖς· τὰ δὲ ἐμπίπτοντα ταῖς ὄψεσι, καὶ εἴ τί που παραγεγυμνωτο τοῦ σώματος, λανθάνοντα καὶ παρεισιόντα
 6 τιτρώσκοντά τε αὐτοὺς ἐλυμαίνετο. καὶ μὴ φέροντες τὸ πνιγῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ ἡλίου πῦρ, νόσοις περιπίπτοντες διεφθείροντο, ὡς πλείστον μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας μάλλον ἀπόλλυσθαι ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

7 ἀπαγορεύοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα, τῆς τε πολιορκίας μὴ προχωρούσης ἀλλὰ μάλλον βλαπτομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ κατορθούντων, τὸν

¹ πεποιημένοι O

¹ Cf. Dio (Xiph.) 75.11.2 for the archery of the Atreni, whose cavalry also was extremely effective against the Romans (called Arabians by Dio, which may be another explanation of H.'s confusion about Arabia; see above).

archers.¹ There Severus' army sat, throwing its full force against the beleaguered city in an attempt to storm it. Every kind of siege engine was used against the walls and no technique of siege operation was left untried. But the people of Hatra vigorously 5 defended themselves by firing down missiles and stones on to the army of Severus below and causing them a good deal of damage. They made clay containers filled with little flying insects that had poisonous stings, which were then fired off. When these missiles fell on to Severus' army, the insects crawled into the eyes and exposed parts of the skin of the soldiers without being noticed and stung them, causing severe injuries.² The soldiers could not stand 6 the stifling atmosphere caused by the excessive heat of the sun and began to fall ill and die. The result was that most of the army was wiped out this way rather than in battle.

Since the army was succumbing to the conditions 7 just described and the siege was meeting with no success (causing a good deal more harm to the

² This sounds like an old campaigner's story; Dio (Xiph.) 75.11.4 mentions bituminous naphtha being poured down on to the besiegers and a double firing ballistic machine. *Ptenos* (insect) must surely be a slang word for arrow (cf. *volucris*, Verg. *A.* 5.242) and the ballistic machine was called a *scorpio*; hence the ingredients for a story about stinging insects. H. cannot have been present on the expedition, over which he makes so many errors, but there is no way of telling whether he was drawing on a literary or oral source (the latter if he is to be believed, 1.2.5). Marius Maximus, the general and historian, was not present at Hatra either, being governor of Lugdunensis in 198 (*Albo* 1100), but his brother, L. Marius Perpetuus, was *legatus leg. XVI Flaviae*, a Syrian legion, and almost certainly at Hatra (*Albo* 357).

στρατὸν ὁ Σεβήρος, ὡς μὴ διαφθαρείη πᾶς, ἀπρακτον ἐπανήγαγε, δυσφοροῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὡς ἐβούλετο τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκέ-
 8 ναι· νικᾶν γὰρ πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις εἰθισμένους τὸ μὴ περιγενέσθαι ἤτταν ἠγείτο. πλὴν παρεμυθή-
 σατο αὐτὸν ἢ συναιρομένη τότε τοῖς ἐκείνου πράγμασι τύχη· οὐ γὰρ παντάπασιν ἀπρακτος ἐπανήλθεν, ἀλλὰ μείζονα κατορθώσας ὧν ἤλπισε.
 9 καταπλέων γὰρ ὁ στρατὸς νασιὶ πολλαῖς οὐκ ἐς ἄς ἐβούλετο Ῥωμαίων ὄχθας κατηνέχθη, ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγόντος τοῦ ρεύματος προσώκειλε ταῖς Παρθυαίων ὄχθαις, αἱ μὴ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέιχον τῆς ἐς Κτησιφῶντα ἐφόδου,¹ ἔνθα ἦν τὰ βασιλεια τοῦ Παρθυαίου καὶ αὐτὸς διέτριβεν εἰρήνην ἄγων, μηδέν τι προσήκειν νομίζων ἑαυτῷ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀττηνοὺς Σεβήρου μάχας· ἡσύχαζεν οὖν, μηδέν τι δευὸν προσδεχόμε-

¹ ἀφόδου i

¹ H. does not mention the mutiny of the European legions during the second siege of Hatra, Dio (Xiph.) 75.12.3-5; it probably stemmed from the executions of a praetorian tribune, Julius Crispus and S.'s commander, Laetus (see 3.7.3n), both of whom would have served with the Pannonian legions at one time. This was one of incidents included by Marius Maximus in his history, SHA, *Sev.* 15.7; cf. Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 22, for the legions that took part (including detachments from Pannonia Superior and the praetorian guard).

² Another tall story. The chronology seems to have been that in late summer (*aestate . . . exeunte*, SHA, *Sev.* 16.1) S.

Romans than any good they were doing),¹ Severus retired without achieving his object for fear the entire army would be destroyed. The troops were upset at their failure to achieve the objective in the siege; they were so used to winning all their battles 8 that they considered lack of success to be a defeat. However, the good fortune which attended all Severus' affairs at that time gave him some compensation, since he did not return home completely empty-handed and even achieved more than he had hoped. The army had embarked on a large 9 fleet of ships but were not carried to the Roman bank of the river as they intended.² Instead the current swept them down a long way and set them down on the Parthian bank not many days journey from the approaches to Ctesiphon. In this city was the court of the Parthian king, who was actually present in person spending his time peacefully there with little idea that Severus' war against Hatra was any concern of his. So he was inactive, because he

left Nisibis and joined the fleet which he had ordered to be assembled at Nicephorium (?), c. September/October. Sailing down the Euphrates, S. then crossed to the Tigris via the King's Canal (Amm. Marc. 24.6.1) to the city of Seleucia. Seleucia was taken and followed by Ctesiphon's capture in the winter (*hiemali prope tempore*, SHA, *Sev.* 16.1); the details are reconstructed by Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus*, on the basis of Dio (Xiph.) 75.9. This was then followed by two attacks on Hatra. Not clear is why there were two attacks in close succession. Is it possible that S. was not present at the first attack, which was carried out by a column (? under Laetus) marching down from Nisibis direct via Singara and the Archous Valley; that this was then joined by S. after Ctesiphon's fall and that S. drew them off to regroup and execute Laetus on suspicion of conspiracy before reattacking?

- 10 vos. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου στρατὸς ἄκων προσαχθεῖς
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ταῖς ἐπέκεινα ὄχθαις, ἀπόβασίν
 τε ποιησάμενος, τὴν γῆν ἐλεηλάτει, θρέμματά τε
 τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα ἀπελαύνων, ἕν' ἔχοι τροφάς, καὶ
 κώμας ἐμπιπρὰς τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας. κατ' ὀλίγον
 τε προῖων ἐπέστη Κτησιφῶντι, ἔνθα ἦν καὶ ¹
 11 μέγας βασιλεὺς Ἀρτάβανος. προσπεσόντες δὲ οἱ
 Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπαρασκευάστους ² τοῖς βαρβάροις, πάντα
 τε τὸν ἐμπίπτοντα ἐφόνεον καὶ διήρπασαν τὰ ἐν
 τῇ πόλει, πάντας τε παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας αἰχμαλώ-
 τούς ἔλαβον. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν
 ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι τοὺς τε θησαυροὺς αὐτοῦ τῶν
 χρημάτων αἵρουσι, καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ
 κειμήλια ἀρπάσαντες ἐπανάισιν.
- 12 οὕτω μὲν δὴ Σεβήρος, τύχη μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη,
 τῇ κατὰ Παρθυαίων νίκη κεκόσμητο· τούτων δὲ
 αὐτῷ δεξιῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσαν εὐχὴν προχωρησάντων
 ἐπέστειλε τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, τὰς τε
 πράξεις μεγαληγορῶν, τὰς μάχας τε καὶ τὰς νίκας
 δημοσίαις ἀνέθηκε γραφαῖς. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος

¹ ὁ α² ἀπαρασκευάστοις ι

¹ It may well have been the serious internal trouble from Iran which accounted for the ease with which S. entered

was not expecting any trouble.¹ After Severus' 10
 army had been carried down by the current to these
 shores contrary to its own intention, it disembarked
 and began to devastate the region, driving off the
 cattle it came across for provisions and burning down
 the villages in its way. After a short march they
 stood at the gates of Ctesiphon, the city where the
 great king Artabanus ² was also present. Falling 11
 upon the barbarians unawares, the Romans
 slaughtered any they met and plundered the whole
 area of the city, making prisoners of all the women
 and children.³ Though the king and a few of his
 cavalry escaped, the soldiers captured his treasury
 and stole all his jewels and valuables before returning
 home.

So more by good luck than good judgement Severus 12
 won prestige with his victory over the Parthians.
 After this good fortune, which succeeded beyond his
 wildest dream, he dispatched a report to his senate
 and people, making much of his achievements and
 ordering that his battles and victories should be
 painted and publicly exhibited. The senate voted

Parthia and captured Ctesiphon; cf. Debevoise, *Polit. Hist. of Parthia* 258.

² Dio (Xiph.) 75.9.3 correctly records the king as Vologaeses (IV), who died in 207/8. He was succeeded by his son Vologaeses V, but c. 213 the kingdom was split by a challenge from the new king's brother, Artabanus V (cf. 4.10.1n).

³ S. was criticized for making his attack into a mere marauding raid, Dio (Xiph.) 75.9.4-5; this may be the origin of the story that the whole thing was an accident. The date of the fall of Ctesiphon was some time before 28th January 198, the official date of S.'s salutation (3.9.12n).

πάσας τε τιμὰς ¹ ἐψηφίσατο αὐτῷ, καὶ προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κεχειρωμένων.

10. κατορθώσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ὁ Σεβήρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέειγετο, ἄγων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐφήβων ἤδη τελούντας. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδοπορίαν, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι διοικήσας ὡς ἐκάστῳ ² ἀπήγει τὸ χρεῖδες, τὰ τε ἐν Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίσοι στρατόπεδα ἐπελθών, νικηφόρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου μετὰ μεγάλης εὐφημίας ² καὶ θρησκείας ὑπεδέχθη, θυσίας τε καὶ ἑορτὰς θέας τε καὶ πανηγύρεις τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχε, νομάς

¹ <τὰς ἄλλας> τιμὰς Schwartz

² ἐκάστων Syll

¹ The title coincided with the *imp(erator)* XI salutation taken after the fall of Ctesiphon; *RIC* IV. 1.103n (contra Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 113), 105 ff., dated 198. Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 77 ff., conjecture that a damaged entry in the *Feriale Duranum* for 28th January (198) refers to the title—*ob v[ic]tor[is] am... parthica[m] maxim[am]*; though the date on the later calendar may have been chosen to coincide with the (otherwise unknown) *dies imperii* of Trajan, who also captured Ctesiphon. Possibly the title of Augustus was given to Caracalla, and Caesar to Geta, at the same time since both date from 198; cf. SHA, *Sev.* 16.3–5, *RIC* IV. 1.108, nos. 142–4 (though cf. *ibid.* 105, nos. 120–1 with *imp. X*; *BMC* V. cxxix says *imp. XI* fell early in 198). For *imp. XI* as the last official salutation of S. and the change in coin pattern, see Boyce, *AJA* 53 (1949) 342 ff.

² The formation of the province of Mesopotamia was one of the administrative settlements made; a province with two legions (I and III Parthica) under an equestrian *praefectus*; *ILS* 8847, 9148, Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1544 (who gives a list of the cities that received colonial status under S.; the date is not certain).

³ Caracalla assumed the *toга virilis* in 201 at Antioch, and

him every honour and decreed that he should take a title from the conquered peoples.¹

10. After settling matters in the East² Severus grew anxious to get to Rome with his sons, who had now reached the age of manhood.³ The journey was completed; the administration of each territory was set in order as the circumstances dictated and a visit was made to the armies in Moesia and Pannonia.⁴ Then he was received in triumph by the Roman people with great acclamations and ceremony, and instituted religious sacrifices for them and² holidays, for which he provided spectacles and

Geta in 202 at Rome (?); Caracalla was almost certainly born on 4th April 188 at Lugdunum (Dio 78.6.5, not as in SHA, *Car.* 6.6) and Geta on 27th May 189 in Sicily (?) (Dio (Xiph.) 77.2.5, SHA, Geta 3.1). It is from this period that S. began to advertise his dynastic aims with coins carrying the legends *aeternitas imperii* and *concordia aeterna*, *BMC* V. cxxxix.

⁴ This is all H. says about the return of S. from Mesopotamia to Syria (SHA, *Sev.* 16.6, though Dio (Xiph.) 75.13.1 says S. went straight from Hatra to Palestine) and his subsequent visits to Palestine, Arabia and Egypt, from where he returned to Antioch in time to enter on his joint consulship with Caracalla on 1st January 202 (SHA, *Sev.* 16.8); see Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 116 ff. Soon after this S. returned to Rome, through Asia Minor and Byzantium (Hasebroek, *ibid.* 126 for references); thence through Thrace, where he founded the new emporium of Forum Pizus as a stimulus to the economy of the province; Mihailov, *Insc. Graec. in Bulg. Repert.* III, 103 ff., no. 1690. Numerous references to S. from Moesia and Pannonia are collected by Fitz, *Act. Arch. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 11 (1959) 237 ff., but do not prove a personal visit by the emperor and are all dated from a false reference to *Cod. Just.* 2.32.1 (supposedly putting S. in Sirmium on 18th March 202, but an error in the index of Haenel, *Corp. legum ab imp. rom. ante Justinian. latarum*, repeated by Hasebroek, *op. cit.* 127). S. probably reached Rome for the *decennalia* (next note).

τε μεγαλοφρόνως¹ ἐπιδοὺς καὶ θέας τελέσας ἐπινικίους. ἐτῶν οὖν ὀλίγων² ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διέτριψε, δικάζων τε συνεχῶς καὶ τὰ πολιτικά διοικῶν, τοὺς τε υἱεὺς παιδεύων καὶ σωφρονίζων.
³ οἱ δέ (ἤδη μειράκια ἦσθη) ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς καὶ διαίτης τῆς τε περὶ τὰ θεάματα ὑπερβαλλούσης σπουδῆς ἡνιοχείας τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως τὰ ἦθη διεφθείροντο. πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον οἱ ἀδελφοί, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ παιδαριώδους φιλονεικίας δι' ὀρτύγων μάχας καὶ ἀλεκτρονίων συμβολὰς πάλας τε παίδων ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζοντες.
⁴ ἢ τε περὶ τὰ θεάματα αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ἀκροάματα σπουδῆ φιλονεικίως ἐκάστοτε ἐμερίζετο· καὶ οὐδενὶ ἀμφοτέρω ὁμοίως ἠρέσκοντο, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ τῷ ἐτέρῳ φίλον τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐχθρὸν ἦν. συνέκρουον δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ τε κόλακες καὶ οἱ θεράποντες, πρὸς τὸ ἡδὺ τῆς ἡλικίας κολακεύοντες καὶ ἀνθ-έλεκοντες. ὁ δὲ Σεβήρος ταῦτα πυνθανόμενος συν-άγειν τε καὶ σωφρονίζειν ἐπειράτο.³

¹ μεγαλοφρόνας i

² τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχε νομάς τε—ἐπινικίους, ἐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων
 OI corr Whit

³ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπειράτο i

¹ On the occasion of the *decennalia*, Dio (Xiph.) 76.1.1. The date fell strictly on 9th April (2.9.11n), though possibly delayed; Fitz, *op. cit.*, suggests 9th June, but on no good evidence; cf. Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 257 f., for possible confirmation of 9th April. The games and donative to the troops are recorded by Dio; also a *congiarium* to the people of 250 denarii each—the largest sum to date; cf. *RIC* IV. 1.115 (Severus), *liberalitas* III.

² For S.'s legal interests, see 3.13.1n. S. stayed in Rome

public festivals; he also made a generous distribution of money and held special victory games.¹ A few years were spent in Rome, during which time Severus assiduously administered the law² and directed the civil administration, while training his sons in the art of self-control. The two sons, who were both young³ men by now, were corrupted in their habits by the life of luxury in Rome and an excessive enthusiasm for the theatre and chariot races and dancing. As brothers they were also mutually antagonistic; this dated back to their rivalry as children when they quarrelled over quail fights or meetings in the cock-pit or wrestling bouts with each other. Their divided interests⁴ in the theatre and recitations³ also always encouraged this rivalry because they never had the same tastes; anything one liked, the other hated. Their fawning attendants encouraged the split by flattering them and encouraging them to seek the pleasures of youth. It was this that Severus discovered when he attempted to reconcile the pair and teach them moderation.

for about two years before going to Africa c. 203/4, Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 132 ff. (though Guey, *Rev. Afr.* 95 (1950) 51 postulates a year earlier without good evidence). The reason for S.'s visit may have been to inspect the recently formed province of Numidia—probably organized under Q. Anicius Faustus in late 198 or in 199, Pflaum, *Libyca* 5 (1957) 61–75.

³ A reference to the enormously popular demonstrations put on by the sophists, consisting of musical recitations, rhythmic dancing and stylized speeches. When Adrian of Tyre appeared at the Athenaeum in Rome under Commodus, even members of the senate came running to hear him; Philos. *VS* 2.10.589(01); cf. Croiset, *Lit. grecque* V. 559–64. Possibly the meaning of 3.6.7, 3.10.3, 7.8.5.

5 τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον, ᾧ γνήσιον μὲν ἦν ὄνομα
 Βασιανὸς¹ πρὶν ἐς τὸν βασιλείου οἶκον παρελθεῖν,
 ὅτε δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμὴν εὐτύχησε, Σεβήρος²
 Ἀντωνῖνον ὠνόμασε, Μάρκου θελήσας αὐτὸν
 προσηγορίαν φέρειν· ἡγάγετό τε αὐτῷ γυναῖκα,
 γάμῳ³ σωφρονίσαι θέλων.³ ἦν δὲ ἐκείνη θυγάτηρ
 6 τοῦ ἐπάρχοντος τῶν στρατοπέδων· Πλαυτιανὸς
 δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ· τοῦτον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῆς
 ἡλικίας εὐτελεῖ (τινὲς αὐτὸν καὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι
 ἔλεγον ἀλόντα ἐπὶ στάσει καὶ πολλοῖς ἀμαρτήμα-
 σιν), ὄντα δὲ πολίτην ἑαυτοῦ (Λίβυς γὰρ κάκεῖνος
 ἦν), ὡς μὲν τινας ἔλεγον, πρὸς γένους⁴ αὐτῷ
 ὑπάρχοντα, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι μᾶλλον⁵ διέβαλλον,

¹ βασιανὸς φαg
³ γάμ.—θέλων om P

² σεβήρον Ogl
⁴ Sylb γένος OI

⁵ ὄμ i

¹ A tradition persisted in saying that Caracalla was the son of S.'s first wife, Marcia; SHA, *Sev.* 20.2, *Car.* 10.1, *Geta* 7.3, *Victor, Caes.* 21.3. But the story was clearly an attempt to account for the rivalry between the two brothers; denied by Ps-Orpian, *Cyng.* 1.4, *Philos. VS* 2.30.622(01), *CIL* VI. 2086 and the coinage, *BMC* V. lxxxvi. The name Bassianus derived from C.'s maternal grandfather, priest of Emesa, *Epit. de Caes.* 21.2 (a hereditary priestly title); cf. *ILS* 8914.

² Cf. 3.5.8n, 3.9.1n; SHA, *Sev.* 10.3–6, alleges that one of the reasons for the title was to destroy the hopes of his brother Geta—i.e. P. Septimius Geta (cf. 2.9.2n). The name M. Aurelius (Severus) Antoninus appears from 195/6; S.'s own title of *Marci filius* appears earlier. From 198 Severus drops the *cognomen* of Pertinax from his coins, though it still appears in inscriptions; *BMC* V. xcii, cxxx.

³ Pu(blia) Fulvia Plautilla Augusta, *PIR*² F 564; the marriage took place before the end of the Alexandrian year,

The older brother's real name was Bassianus¹ before he became a member of the imperial house; after he achieved the high office of emperor, Severus named him Antoninus² because he wanted him to bear the name of Marcus. He also gave his son a wife in the hope that marriage would sober him. The girl was the daughter³ of the prefect of the praetorian guard, a man called Plautianus,⁴ who had spent his youth in humble circumstances (some people say he had been in exile after being charged with sedition and many other crimes). He was also a fellow-countryman of Severus, being a Libyan like the emperor and, as some sources say, related to him.

28th August 202, but the title of Augusta was given to Plautilla some time earlier, at the time of betrothal.

⁴ C. Fulvius Plautianus, *PIR*² F 554, Howe, *Praet. Prefect*, no. 18, Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 238. He was probably an African from Leptis Magna and related to S. through S.'s mother, Fulvia Pia. Almost certainly prefect by 197, he may have been so even in 193, when he was already in a position of special trust (SHA, *Sev.* 6.10, 15.4); he is noted as colleague with Flavius Juvenalis at that time (though on bad authority, 2.13.1n). As early as 1st April 200 he appears alone on an inscription (*ILS* 2186), though this does not prove his last known colleague, Q. Aemilianus Saturninus (*PIR*² A 403), was not still alive; it may not have been until his return to Rome in 202 that he became sole prefect; cf. the discussion in Howe, p. 70, on Dio (Xiph.) 75.14.1–2 for the possibility of other colleagues after Saturninus. He was adlected into the senate with *ornamenta consularia* in 202, chosen as consul (*cos.* II for 203) and made a patrician (*ILS* 9003). An erased inscription may show his earlier career as an equestrian procurator, set up by the Fulvii of Leptis Magna; *IRT* 572 (cf. *IRT* 291 for the family), though doubted by Pflaum. He gathered round him a number of Africans in the equestrian service (e.g. M. Opellius Macrinus from Mauretania, the future emperor), including several from Leptis Magna; noted by Pflaum.

ἀκμαζούση τῇ ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενον παιδικά, πλὴν
 ἀλλ' ὁ Σεβήρος ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς τύχης ἐς
 μεγάλην προήγαγεν ἐξουσίαν, πλούτῳ τε ὑπερ-
 βάλλοντι ἐκόσμησε, τῶν ἀναιρουμένων χαριζόμενος
 τὰς οὐσίας, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀλλ' ἢ μερισάμενος πρὸς
 7 αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχήν. ἤπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀποχρώμενος οὐτε
 ὠμότητος οὐτε βίας ἐν πάσῃ οἷς ἔπραττεν ἀπέ-
 χετο, φοβερώτερος τῶν πώποτε ἀρχόντων γενόμε-
 νος. τούτου <οὖν>¹ τὴν θυγατέρα ζεύξας ὁ
 Σεβήρος τῷ υἱῷ τὸν οἶκον ἦνωσεν.

8 ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος οὐ πάνυ τι ἠδόμενος τῷ γάμῳ,
 ἀνάγκη δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ προαιρέσει συνεζευγμένος,
 ἀπεχθῶς πάνυ πρὸς τὴν κόρην διέκειτο καὶ πρὸς
 τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς, ὡς μήτε εὐνῆς μήτε ἐστίας
 κοινωνεῖν, μυσάττεσθαί τε τὴν κόρην, ἀπειλεῖν²
 τε ἐκάστοτε ἀποκτενεῖν καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν πατέρα,
 ἐπὰν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῆς γένηται μόνος. ταῦτα
 δὴ ἡ κόρη ἐκάστοτε ἀπήγγελλε τῷ πατρί, καὶ τοῦ
 γάμου τὸ μῖσος διηγουμένη παρώξυνεν αὐτόν.
 11. ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς ὄρων τὸν μὲν Σεβήρον πρεσβύ-

¹ Supp Mendelss from P (ergo)

² OP ἀλλ' ἦν i

¹ All sources note P.'s enormous power; greater than that of Sejanus (Dio 58.14.1); addressed as the fourth Caesar (Dio (Petr. Patr.) 75.15.2^a); *socer et consocer Aug(ustorum)* (CIL XIV. 4392); *omnium praecedentium praef(ectorum) excellentissimus* (CIL XI. 8050); included in the *domus divina* (AE (1944) 74). Dio (Xiph.) 76.4.5 seems to suggest that P. had been encouraged to hope for the succession; he was *comes* of S. on

But other informants are less complimentary; they say that in the prime of his youth Plautianus was the boy-lover of Severus, who, when he rose from poor, humble circumstances to his position of great power, showered vast wealth upon Plautianus by granting him the property of the condemned and virtually giving him a share in the empire.¹ But he misused
 7 this power to commit all kinds of acts of cruelty and violence in everything he did, making himself into one of the most feared prefects of all time. This, then, was the man whose daughter Severus linked with his son to make a union of the two families.

Antoninus, however, was not in the least bit pleased
 8 with the marriage. It was not by his choice but under compulsion that the union took place, and therefore he was extremely hostile to the girl and to her father. He refused to eat or sleep with his wife² because he loathed her, and he regularly threatened he would kill her and her father when he gained sole control of the empire. The girl reported this back to her father every time and spurred him on by telling him of her husband's hostility.

11. Realizing that Severus was now an old man,³

all his expeditions (ILS 456). His extensive property warranted a special official to administer it after his death, *ad bona Plautiani*; Pflaum, *Procurateurs equest.* 90n. He even had his own *comites*, according to an Ephesian inscription recording a *comes Plautiani*, *ibid.* 189n; cf. 3.11.3.

² Dio (Xiph.) 76.3.1 says she was a shameless woman, but that the resentment felt by Caracalla for the overbearing control of P. was the real cause of C.'s discontent. Stein (PIR² F 564) is rightly sceptical about there being a child of the marriage.

³ S. was sixty; see 2.15.4n for his illness. C. was seventeen.

την τε ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου συνεχῶς ἐνοχλούμενον, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον ἐμβριθῆ καὶ θρασὺν νεανίαν, δεδιῶς τε αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀπειλάς, δρᾶσαι τι μᾶλλον φθάσας 2 ἢ παθεῖν ἀναμείνας ἠθέλησεν. ἔτι τε αὐτὸν καὶ πολλὰ ἦν τὰ πρὸς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναπείθοντα, πλοῦτου τε περιβολῆ ἢ 1 μὴ πρότερόν τινι ἰδιωτεύοντι ἐγένετο, στρατιωτῶν τε θεραπείαι, τιμαὶ τε αἰ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων, σχῆμά τε ᾧ 2 προηέη· ἡμφίεστο γὰρ τήν τε πλατύσημον ἐσθήτα, ἔν τε τοῖς δεύτερον 3 ὑπατεύσασιν ἐτέτακτο, παρηώρητό τε τὸ 4 ξίφος, καὶ παντὸς ἀξιώματος σχῆμα ἔφερε 3 μόνος. προῶν δὲ φοβερὸς ἦν, ὡς μήτε τινα προσιέναι, ἀλλὰ 5 καὶ τοὺς ὑπαντωμένους ἀναστρέφειν· οἳ τε προϊόντες αὐτοῦ ἐκήρυττον μηδὲνα παρεστάναι μηδ' ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἀλλ' ἀποστρέφεται καὶ κάτω βλέπειν.

οἷσπερ καὶ ὁ Σεβήηρος ἀγγελλομένοις οὐ πάνν τι

¹ ὄση conj Mendels from P (*opes quantas*)
² ὁ O
³ Ὕlb -ποις O
⁴ αὐτῶ i
⁵ om O

¹ A critical comparison of the accounts of H. and Dio is made by Hohl, "Herod. und d. Sturz Plautians," *SDAW* 2 (1956) 33-46, who considers that H.'s version is rhetorical, untrustworthy and represents a garbled account of the official story put out by S. after the death of Plautian. In Dio's opinion the whole affair was a put-up job by Caracalla in order to get rid of P.; but Dio had a very strong hatred of Caracalla and his account also has some unsatisfactory

continually suffering from illness, and that Antoninus was a fierce, wild young man, Plautianus was fearful of the threats and planned to forestall the event by some action, rather than waiting passively.¹ There 2 were also many persuasive reasons why he should want the empire: more wealth accumulated in his hands than ever before in the hands of an ordinary individual, the personal devotion of the soldiers, the honour given to him by imperial subjects, and the image he presented in public appearances. He used to wear the broad stripe on his toga, was ranked among the senators who had held the consulship a second time, wore a sword at his side² and on his one person wore the badge of every rank. As he went 3 out in public his presence was awesome; no one dared to approach him, and even those who happened to meet him turned aside. The companions who preceded him in public allowed no one to stand and stare at him; all had to stand aside and keep their eyes lowered.

Severus was not very pleased when he was told

features (e.g. how did a forged document convince S.? how did Dio find out the "true" story? why does his official version bear so much resemblance to the murder of Caius?). In spite of the obvious rhetoric of H., his story is not the same as Dio's official version (e.g. the "plot" took place at night, not during the afternoon). It is possible that neither Plautian nor Caracalla was guilty, but that there was a plot among the palace guards and freedmen, perhaps inspired by Julia Domna, who hated the prefect, Dio (Xiph.) 75.15.6, 76.4.4, 78.24.1; cf. de Regibus, *Athen.* 24 (1946) 142-3 (Saturninus was a Syrian; P.'s replacement, Papinian, was a favourite of Julia; but there is no very strong evidence).

² Presumably a reference to the *pugio* of the praetorian prefect.

ἠρέσκετο, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθῆς ἤδη καὶ βαρὺς κἀκείνω
 ἐγένετο, ὡς καὶ περιελεῖν τινὰ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐξουσίας
 [τὸν Σεβῆρον],¹ καὶ πείσαι² κολουεῖν³ τὸ ὑπερβάλ-
 4 λον τῆς ἀλαζονείας. ἃ δὴ μὴ φέρων ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς
 ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ μηχανᾶται
 τοιάδε. Σατορνῖνος ἦν εἰς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ χιλι-
 αρχούντων. οὗτος ὑπερβαλλόντως τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν
 ἐθεράπευε· καὶ πάντων μὲν τοῦτο ποιούντων,
 ἐκείνος δὲ πλείονι θρησκείᾳ ὤκείωτο αὐτόν. τοῦ-
 τον πιστότατον ἠγούμενος καὶ μόνον οἶόν τε
 φυλάξαι καὶ πληρῶσαι ἀπορρήτους ἐντολάς, περὶ
 δείλην μεταπεμφιάμενος πάντων ἀνακεχωρηκότων
 5 “νῦν σοι καιρὸς” ἔφη “τέλος γενναῖον ἐπιθεῖναι
 εὐνοία τε καὶ ὑπηρεσία ἦν πρὸς με ἐπεδείξω,⁴
 ἐμοί τε ἀμείψασθαι σε⁵ κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν
 προσήκουσαν χάριν ἀποδοῦναι. πρόκειται δέ σοι

¹ om Mendelss from P

³ κωλύειν ABa

⁵ σοι O

² πειρᾶσθαι Reisk

⁴ ὑπεδείξω O

¹ Politian interprets this to mean, “Severus began to show himself hostile and stern towards Plautian, so that he . . .”

² From Dio (Xiph.) 75.15.3-4 and SHA, *Sev.* 14.7, it would seem there were two periods of estrangement between S. and Plautian; the first during the second Parthian War, c. 201 in Asia Minor, though a reconciliation was effected on the return to Rome. The second occasion was soon after the death of S.'s brother, P. Septimus Geta, who warned S. of Plautian before he died in 204; there was also a circus demonstration against Plautian, Dio (Xiph.) 76.2.2-5; Dio himself

what was going on. Plautianus began to be a burdensome nuisance to him too,¹ so he stripped the prefect of some of his power and persuaded him to moderate his excessively overbearing attitude.²

Plautianus would not tolerate this and had the ⁴ audacity to devise a plot for the empire as follows: Saturninus was one of the military tribunes who had shown absolute devotion to the prefect³ and, although all the tribunes acted alike, he cultivated Plautianus with even greater obsequiousness. The prefect believed that he was the most trustworthy and the only one able to keep to himself and to carry out secret orders. One evening after everyone else had retired he sent for Saturninus and said, “Now is your ⁵ chance to bring the devoted service you have shown me to a magnificent climax. I too have an opportunity to show you my gratitude in a proper manner, as you deserve. You must make a decision whether

sat as a member of the *consilium* which tried Ricius Constans, governor of Sardinia for excessive enthusiasm in following S.'s example of melting down some of Plautian's statues, by assuming that P. was a *publicus hostis*; the date of the *consilium* was in 204, Dio (Xiph.) 75.16.2-4, SHA, *Sev.* 14.5-9; cf. Millar, *Cassius Dio* 17, Crook, *Consilium Principis* 81.

³ Saturninus was a centurion, according to Dio (Xiph.) 76.3.2; he is the only character in the episode who appears in both Dio and H. H. makes no mention of the part played by the freedman, Euodus, *tropheus* of Caracalla, Dio (Xiph.) 76.3.2; according to Dio he acted as chief agent in framing the plot against Plautian. Both Euodus and Saturninus were significantly executed by Caracalla after the death of Severus; Dio (Xiph.) 76.6.1, 77.1.1; cf. 3.15.4. If, as Hohl suggests, H. recorded the official version of the plot, how would anyone believe it if Saturninus were not a tribune—vital to the story?

αἴρεσις ἢ τοῦ εἶναι ὅπερ ἐμὲ νῦν ὄρας ὄντα, καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἐξουσίαν παραλαβεῖν διαδεξάμενόν¹ με, ἢ τεθνάναι αὐτίκα ἀπειθείας ὑποσχόντα τιμωρίαν. 6 μὴδὲ σε τοῦ ἔργου τὸ μέγεθος ἐκπληττέτω, μὴδὲ τὸ τῶν βασιλέων ὄνομα ταραττέτω. εἰσέναι γὰρ² μέχρι τοῦ δωματίου ἔνθα ἀναπαύονται δύνασαι μόνος, ἅτε τὴν νυκτερινὴν φρουρὰν ἐκ περιόδου ἐγκεχειρισμένος. ὅ τι δ' ἂν μέλλης³ πράττειν, λανθάνων ἀκωλύτως ἐς τέλος ἄξεις,⁴ ἐπεὶ⁵ μήτ' ἐμὲ ἔτι τοιαῦτα κελεύσαι προσδόκα μήτε σὲ 7 ὑπακοῦσαι. ἀνελθε δὴ ἐς τὴν βασιλείων αὐλήν, καὶ ὡς τινας ἀγγελίας ἐπειγούσας καὶ ἀπορρήτους παρ' ἐμοῦ φέρων ἐπεισελθῶν αὐτοῖς⁶ ἀπόκτεινον. ἀνὴρ δὲ γενναῖος γενοῦ, ραδίως κατεργασάμενος⁷ πρεσβύτην τε καὶ παιδάριον. μετασχὼν γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῶν κινδύνων, μεθέξεις καὶ τῶν μεγίστων τῆς κατορθώσεως τιμῶν."

8 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ χιλιάρχος⁸ ἐξεπλάγη μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν,⁹ οὐκ ἐταράχθη δὲ τὴν γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἅτε ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν καθεστώς (καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῷ γένει Σύρος, δριμύτεροι δ' ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἐννοίας¹⁰ οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολήν ἀνθρωποι) τὸν θυμὸν ὄρων ἐνθουσιῶντα τοῦ κελεύοντος καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰδὼς οὐκ ἀντίειπεν, ὡς μὴ παρ' αὐτὰ κολασθεῖη,

¹ διαδεξάμενός Ο

³ μέλλει φ μέλλοις α

⁵ ἔπειτα conj Leisn

⁷ -όμενος conj Sylb *intra suum utrumque cubiculum* add P

⁸ χιλιάρχης φι but see 3.12.1

¹⁰ ἐντολᾶς Ο

² τε γὰρ ABi

⁴ ἔξεις I ἔξεις α

⁶ αὐτοῦς ΑΙ

⁹ τῇ ψυχῇ Ο

you are to become the man you now see me to be and are to take over this office as my successor, or whether you are going to die here and now as a punishment for failing to obey orders. Do not be 6 frightened by the size of the undertaking nor overawed by the reputation of the emperors. You are the only one who has the right of entry to the sleeping chambers, since it is now your turn by rota to mount the night guard.¹ You will achieve your intention without being detected or prevented. There is no need to wait for me to give further orders rather than obeying me now. So go to the imperial palace and 7 pretend you are carrying some urgent, secret message from me. When you have got in to the emperors, kill them. Show your mettle by easily finishing off an old man and a young lad.² Though sharing in this danger, your success will also give you a share in the highest honours."

When he heard this the tribune was astounded, but 8 did not lose his head. Like a sensible person (he was a Syrian,³ and Easterners are fairly sharp-witted), he saw the madness which had taken hold of his commander but, realizing Plautianus' position of power, he did not refuse the orders in case he was punished for it. He pretended that what he had

¹ The praetorian cohort and tribune of the night guard came on duty at the eighth hour (i.e. 2 p.m.); this is the main proof, according to Hohl, of the untrustworthiness of H.'s narrative about the late night plot; as he came on duty, the tribune would approach the emperor to ask the watch-word; Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 39.

² Politian adds the words "in each of their rooms"; cf. 3.12.1.

³ Cf. 2.7.9n for H.'s other comments about Syrians.

προσποιησάμενος δὲ εὐκταῖα καὶ ἀσπαστὰ ἀκούειν, προσκυνήσας τε ὡς ἤδη βασιλέα, γραμματεῖον ἤτησε τοῦ φόνου φέρον τὰς ἐντολάς. ἔθος γὰρ τοῦτο τυραννικόν, εἴ τινα ἐκπέμποιεν ἐπὶ φόνον ἄκριτον, ἐντέλλεσθαι τοῦτο διὰ γραμμάτων, ἵνα μὴ γνώμενον ἢ ἀκατασήμαντον. ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς τυφλώτων τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ γραμματεῖον, καὶ ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπὴν ἀμφοτέρους διαχρήσηται, πρὶν διαβόητον γενέσθαι τὸ πραχθὲν πέμψαι τοὺς καλέσοντας αὐτόν, ἵνα ὀφθῆ πρότερον¹ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἢ ἀκουσθῆ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβών.

12. ἐπὶ ταύταις δὴ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀνελθὼν ὁ χιλιάρχος² εἰσῆλθε μὲν διὰ πάσης τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἀκωλύτως· εἰδὼς δὲ ἀδύνατον ὄν δύο διαχειρίσασθαι³ βασιλέας, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν διαφόροις οἴκοις διατρέβοντας, ἐπιστὰς τῷ δωματίῳ τοῦ Σεβήρου, καλέσας τοὺς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θαλάμου φύλακας, ἤξιώσεν εἰσαχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν ὡς δὴ

¹ Bekk² πρώτων Οι

² χιλιάρχης al cf. 3.11.8

³ διαχρήσασθαι Jo

¹ *Adoratio* had precedents during the late republic, though the practice was not regular until the later empire; examples are quoted by Alföldi, *Mitt. d. deutsch. arch. Inst. Rom. Abt.* 49 (1934) 45-79; SHA, *Alex.* 18.3, says Elagabalus tried to introduce the practice but that it was banned by Alexander (but this may be a false reference). But both Dio and H. take *proskynesis* (obeisance) as a regular court procedure; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 65.5.2, *CAH* XII. 363 (Ensslin).

² Not Greek tyrants, but a description of the *tyrannikon*

heard was something he had longed for and he welcomed it and prostrated himself before Plautianus as though he were already emperor.¹ But he asked the prefect to give him a document with written instructions for the murder. It was the practice of tyrants², when they sent someone to carry out an execution without a trial, to put their orders in writing so that the deed should not be executed simply on verbal authority. Plautianus was so blinded by his ambition that he gave Saturninus the document and sent him off to do the murder but with instructions that, when the tribune had killed the two people, he should send messengers to summon him before the deed was made public. In this way Plautianus would appear in the palace before anyone heard that he had seized the imperial power.

12. Just as had been planned, the tribune made his usual tour of the whole palace without being challenged. But he realized that it was impossible for him to make away with two emperors, especially when they lived in different sections of the palace. When he came to the quarters of Severus he called out to the guards of the bed-chamber and demanded to be brought before the emperor, saying that he had

ethos; Roman precedents of *secreta mandata* for executions go back to Augustus and Tiberius; Tac. *A.* 1.6 (Agrippa Postumus), 3.16 (Piso and Germanicus); cf. Amm. Marc. 14.1.3 on the *letalis formula*. H.'s explanation of how the damning written evidence came into existence is regarded by Hohl as an elaborate attempt to make the story respectable, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 40. Dio (Xiph.) 76.3.4 finds the fact of a supposed written order one sign of the incredibility of the official story; even in H.'s account Plautian is never actually confronted with the written document; 3.12.9.

2 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῷ τινὰ ἀγγελῶν.¹ οἱ δὲ δηλώσαντες τῷ Σεβήρῳ, καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, τὸν χιλιάρχον εἰσήγαγον. ὁ δὲ εἰσελθὼν “ἦκω σοι” ἔφη, “ὦ δέσποτα, ὡς μὲν ὁ πέμψας οἴεται, φονεὺς καὶ δῆμιος, ὡς δ’ αὐτὸς εὐχομαί τε καὶ βούλομαι, σωτήρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης. Πλαυτιανὸς γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύων τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐνετείλατό μοι φόνον σόν τε καὶ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγοις μόνον² ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμασι· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ γραμματεῖον. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπεσχόμην μὲν, ὅπως μὴ ἐμοῦ τὸ ἔργον παραιτησαμένου ἄλλῳ ἐγχειρισθῆ· σοὶ δὲ ταῦτα δηλώσω ἦκω, ὡς ἂν μὴ λάθῃ τὰ τολμώμενα.”

3 τοιαῦτά τινα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δακρύνοντος οὐκ εὐθέως ὁ Σεβήρος ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ’ ἅτε πολὺ ἔχων ἐν τοῖς στέρνοις τὸ Πλαυτιανοῦ φίλτρον, συσκευῆν τινα καὶ σκηνὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπώπτειεν,³ ἠγγεῖτό τε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἔχθει τοῦ⁴ Πλαυτιανοῦ καὶ μίσει τῆς ἐκείνου θυγατρὸς εὐρηκέναι τινὰ τέχνην κατ’

4 αὐτοῦ καὶ διαβολὴν θανατηφόρον. μεταπεμφάμενος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἠτιᾶτο ὡς τοιαῦτα συσκευάζοντα κατὰ ἀνδρὸς εὖνον καὶ οἰκείου. ὁ δ’ Ἀντωνῖνος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπώμνυτο, μηδ’ εἰδέναι φάσκων τὰ λεγόμενα· ἐγκειμένου⁵ δὲ τοῦ χιλιάρχου καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον δεικνύντος παρεθάρσυνέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἐς τοὺς ἐλέγχους [ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος].⁶

¹ Nauck ἀγγελῶν Δ -είλων φ -έλλων ι

² μόνους Ogl

³ -τευσεν O

⁴ Stroth τῷ Oi

⁵ ἐκκειμένον O

⁶ om conj Mendelss ὁ om Og

some security information for his ears. After² conveying this message to the emperor and gaining his consent, the guards conducted the tribune into the emperor's chamber. There Saturninus addressed Severus, saying, “My lord, it is the intention of the man who sent me that I should be here as your assassin and executioner. But it is my own earnest desire that I should be your saviour and benefactor. Plautianus is plotting for the empire and has ordered me to murder you and your son. He has even confirmed his order in writing, as is proved by this document. I only undertook the task in case, if I refused, someone else was commissioned to do it. I have come to give you this information so that you are not caught unawares by this audacious attempt.” In spite of Saturninus' words and tears Severus did not³ believe him straight away. And, because he felt a good deal of deep affection for Plautianus, he suspected the whole thing was a put-up job to trick him. He thought that his son had worked out a plan against Plautianus to slander him and have him put to death, because of his hatred for the prefect and dislike of his daughter.¹ So, sending for his son, he⁴ accused him of contriving a plot against a man who was his friend and a member of his family. Antoninus' first reaction was to deny the charge, swearing he knew nothing of what had been said. When the tribune became more urgent and showed him the document, Antoninus backed him up and encouraged him to produce proof. The tribune realized what

¹ It is worth pointing out that H. consciously rejects Dio's version of the plot.

ὁ δὲ χιλιάρχος ὄρων ἐς ὅσον κίνδυνον¹ ἦκει, δεδιώς τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν τοῦ Σεβήρου εὐνοίαν, ἐπιστάμενός τε ὡς, εἰ λάθοι ἢ ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ μὴ ἐλεγχθεῖη, ὄλεθρος αὐτῷ οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν
 5 ἐπήρηται, “καὶ τίνα” ἔφη, “ὦ δέσποτα,² ἔλεγχον μείζονα βούλεσθε, ἢ ποῖαν ἀπόδειξιν φανερωτέραν; ἐπιτρέψατε γὰρ δὴ μοι” ἔφη “προελθόντι³ τῶν βασιλείων διὰ τινος τῶν ἐμοὶ πιστῶν δηλῶσαι ὅτι δὴ τὸ ἔργον κατείργασται. ὁ δὲ ἀφίξεται πιστεύσας, καὶ οἰόμενος ἔρημα τὰ βασιλεία καταλήψεσθαι. ὅταν δὲ ἀφίκηται, ὑμέτερον ἤδη ἔργον εὐρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ἡσυχίαν δὲ εἶναι πολλὴν ἀνὰ τὰ βασιλεία κελεύσατε, ὅπως μὴ τὸ πραττόμενον προγνωσθὲν ἀνατραπῇ.”

6 ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐντέλλεται τινι τῶν πιστοτάτων ἑαυτῷ ἀγγεῖλαι Πλαυτιανῷ ἠκει τὴν ταχίστην· κείσθαι γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἔνδον εἶναι πρὶν ἔκπυστα τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι, ὡς ἂν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατειλημμένης καὶ⁴ τῆς βασιλείας ἰδρυμένης⁴ ἔκόντες τε καὶ ἄκοντες πάντες ὑπακούοιεν οὐκ ἔσομένῳ βασιλεῖ ἀλλ’ ἤδη ὄντι.
 7 τούτοις πιστεύσας ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς ἤδη περὶ δειλῆν ἐσπέραν, ἀρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλλήσι, θύρακα μὲν ἀμφιέννυται τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας χάριν, κρύψας

¹ κίνδυνον i³ προσελθόντι O² δέσποτα read by P⁴ καὶ—ἰδρυμένης om O

¹ Cf. 3.11.9. Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 35, adduces this as an example of the wordy rhetoric of H. who repeats the instruction of the prefect back in the message to the prefect.

² Probably here not the *arx* but the palace on the Palatine

a dangerous position he was in; he was afraid of Severus' friendship for Plautianus and knew that, if the plot remained obscure and unproven, absolutely certain death was in store for him. So he said, "My lord, what stronger proof or clearer evidence do you require? Allow me to go out to the front of the palace and send a message by a man who is loyal to me, saying that the deed is done. Plautianus will believe the message and come, thinking that he can occupy the empty palace. When he arrives it is up to you to discover the truth. But give orders for the whole palace to be silent so that Plautianus does not get prior warning and so frustrate the plan."

Then he gave the instruction to one of his most 6 reliable men to tell Plautianus to come as quickly as possible, since both emperors lay dead and it was essential for him to be inside the palace before the news got out to the people.¹ In this way, with the citadel² occupied and the empire settled, everyone would accept him whether they liked it or not, because he was already emperor without waiting for the future. Plautianus was convinced by the message 7 and his hopes rose. He put on his breast-plate as a protection against an attack on his person, concealing

which had grown from the *domus Augustiana*. For the term *arx* used to describe the palace cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 47.4, Ovid, *Trist.* 1.1.72, and *Thes. Ling. Lat.* "arx" D. In 3.11.9 H. makes clear he is referring to the palace, though he uses the same terminology with respect to the Capitol in 7.10.2. S. himself had been responsible for a substantial addition to the building complex including the erection of a great eastern facade, the Septizodium, built in 203; Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Rome* 473 ff., Nash, *Pict. Dict. Anc. Rome* I. 316 ff., II. 302 ff.

δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ λουπῇ ἐσθῆτι, ἐπιβάς ὀχήματος
αἰφνιδίως ἐς τὰ βασιλεία ἠπέιγετο, ὀλίγων αὐτὸν
παραπεμπόντων, οἱ παρήσαν οἰόμενοι κεκλήσθαι
8 ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τινα ἐπείξαντα. ὡς δ'
ἐπέστη τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐτῇ, ἀκωλύτως τε εἰσῆλθεν
ἀγνοούντων τὸ πραττόμενον τῶν φυλάκων, ὑπ-
αντώμενος ὁ χιλιάρχος ἐνεδρεύων τε προσεῖπεν
αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ δῆθεν συνήθως ¹ λαβόμενος τῆς
χειρὸς ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον εἰσῆγαγεν, ἔνθα ἔφασκεν
9 ἑρριφθῆαι τὰ τῶν βασιλέων σώματα. ἤδη δὲ
παρεσκευάκει ὁ Σεβήρος νεανίας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
σωματοφυλάκων, οἱ συλλήψονται αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντα.
ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς ἐφ' ἑτέrais εἰσελθὼν ἐλπίσιν ὄρᾳ
τοὺς βασιλέας ἀμφοτέρους ἐστῶτας, συλληφθεὶς τε
κατείχετο· καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ πράγματι ἔδειτο, καὶ
ἐλιπάρει. ἀπελογεῖτό τε, φάσκων πάντα ψευδῆ
εἶναι καὶ συσκευῆν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δράμα ἐσκευ-
10 ἄσθαι. πολλὰς ² δὲ τοῦ μὲν Σεβήρου ὀνειδίζοντος
εὐεργεσίας τε καὶ τιμὰς, τοῦ δὲ πίστεώς τε καὶ
εὐνοίας τῆς ἄνωθεν ὑπομνησκοντος, ἡρέμα πως ³
ὁ Σεβήρος ὑπήγετο ⁴ πειθοὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλαυτια-
νοῦ λεγομένων, ἔστε δὴ ὑπεφάνη τοῦ θώρακος
μέρος καταραχθείσης ⁵ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐσθῆτος.

¹ συνήθη gl and Steph (vetus cod) δῆθεν συνήθως om P and Mendelss
² πολλὰ Ogl
³ om O

⁴ ἠπέιγετο φι
⁵ Bekk² καταραχθείσης Oi

¹ So quickly, says Dio, that the mules which drew the chariot collapsed in the palace courtyard; but Dio does not go

it under his other clothes, and drove quickly by chariot to the palace,¹ although the time was by now late at night. A few companions, who went with him, were there on the assumption that he had been summoned by the emperors on a matter of urgency. When he reached the emperor's quarters none of the guards challenged his entry, since they were ignorant of what was happening.² The tribune met Plautianus and laid the trap for him by saluting him as emperor and pretending to be friendly as he took the prefect by the hand and led him into the bed-chamber, where, he said, the bodies of the emperors had been thrown. 9 Severus had already detailed some of the younger members of his personal bodyguard to seize the prefect as he came in. Contrary to the expectations he had had when he entered, Plautianus saw the two emperors standing before him, and he himself was seized and held fast. Absolutely astonished by what had happened, he began to plead most earnestly and to defend himself by saying that the whole thing was a trick and a contrived charade had been laid for him. Severus reproached Plautianus for all the benefits 10 and honours he had given him, but Plautianus in return reminded Severus of the loyalty and goodwill he had shown in the past. Gradually Severus began to be taken in by the plausibility of Plautianus' words until his top clothing was torn aside and there

on to explain just what it was that made Plautian hurry so, if it was not for the reasons H. gives; (Xiph.) 76.4.1.

² According to Dio (Xiph.) 76.4.2, the guards at the door were privy to Caracalla's plan to destroy Plautian and separated him from his companions. Did the companions come with Plautian in his express chariot?

ὅπερ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, νέος ¹ θρασὺς θυμοειδής
 11 τε καὶ φύσει μισῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, “ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 δύο” ἔφη “ταῦτα τί ἂν ἀποκρίναιο; ἦκεις πρὸς
 βασιλέας ἐσπέρας μὴ κελεύσαντας· ὃ τε ² θώραξ
 σοι τί βούλεται; τίς γὰρ ἐς ἐστίασιν ἢ κῶμον
 ὠπλισμένος ἔρχεται;” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν κελεύει
 τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τοῖς τε παροῦσι σπασαμένοις τὰ
 ξίφη φονεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς ὁμολογουμένως πολέ-
 12 μων. οἱ δὲ μὴ μελλήσαντες κελεύσαντι τῷ νέῳ
 βασιλεῖ πείθονται, ἀναιροῦσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα
 ῥίπτουσιν ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον, ὡς ἂν πᾶσι φανερὸν
 γένοιτο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ³ μισούντων ὕβρισθείη.

τούτῳ ⁴ μὲν δὴ τῷ τέλει Πλαυτιανὸς ἐχρήσατο,
 ἀπλήστῳ τε ζήσας ⁵ πάντων ἐπιθυμία, καὶ χρησά-
 μενος ἐν τῷ τέλει ἀπίστῳ ⁶ ὑπηρεσία. 13. ὁ δὲ

¹ <ἄτε> or <ὡς> νέος Schwartz

² Bekk from P (*dein*) ὁ δὲ Oi

³ A and Mendelss om φι

⁴ τοιούτῳ OJo

⁵ τε ζήσας Oi τε ζέσας Syll τελέσας πάντα? Whit παραφρονήσας
 Schwartz

⁶ Steph ἀπλήστῳ Oi

¹ Again H. seems to be trying to explain why he is not following the official version of an afternoon plot; the festival would be the Palatine Games, 21st–23rd January, in 205. According to Dio (Xiph.) 76.3.4 the events all took place before dinner—i.e. c. 3 p.m.—which to Dio proved the plot was not genuine; cf. Hohl, *SDAW* 2 (1956) 44, n. 15. If the plot was faked, it was a remarkably clumsy story put out as the official

appeared a glint of the breast-plate. Antoninus, who was an impulsive young man and naturally violently hostile to the prefect, saw the breast-plate and said, “Very well, then. How do you account for these 11 two points? You have come here to see the emperors at night without being summoned. And then there is the breast-plate. What is the meaning of that? Who goes to dinner or a festival dressed in armour?”¹ So saying he ordered the tribune and those present to draw their swords and kill the man who was obviously an enemy. Without delay they 12 did as they were told and killed him. The body they threw out on to the main thoroughfare² to be seen by everyone and execrated by Plautianus’ enemies.

Such was the end of Plautianus, who spent his life wanting everything with an avarice that could not be satisfied, and at his end made use of an unfaithful assistant.³

13. In future Severus appointed two military pre-

version, since it resembled the murder of Gaius so much; Gaius was murdered by a tribune of the night-watch, just before the dinner hour, also on the occasion of the Palatine Games (though Suet. is explicit that this was on the 9th day before the Kalends of February—i.e. 24th January, *Gaius* 58).

² Either the *via sacra* which ran down the eastern side of the Palatine, or the *via Appia* which came in on the south side past the Septizodium.

³ The text appears corrupt here, since the moral seems not to be drawn; perhaps there is a play on the Greek *τελέσας* and *τέλει* parallel to the play on the other words *ἀπλήστῳ* . . . *ἀπίστῳ* and *ἐχρήσατο* . . . *χρησάμενος*. The meaning would then be, “He paid fully for his insatiable desire by finding an unfaithful minion.”

Σεβήρος τοῦ μὲν λοιποῦ ἐπάρχοντας¹ δύο τῶν στρατοπέδων κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πλείστα τοῦ βίου διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς προαστείοις καὶ τοῖς παραλίοις τῆς Καμπανίας χωρίοις, δικάζων τε καὶ πολιτικὰ διοικῶν. ἀπάγειν² γὰρ ἤθελε τοὺς παῖδας τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαίτης, καὶ χρηστῆς³ ἀπολαύειν,⁴ ἐπεὶπερ αὐτοὺς ἑώρα περὶ τὰ θεάματα ἐσπουδακότας ἀπρεπέστερον ἢ βασιλ-
 2 εῦσιν ἤρμοζεν. ἢ τε περὶ ἐκεῖνα σπουδῆ καὶ φιλονεικία, διάφορον ἔχουσα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αἰεὶ τὴν γνώμην, τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐτάραττε τὰς ψυχάς, ἐναύσματά τε ἔριδος καὶ ἔχθρας παρέιχε. μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίνος ἀφόρητος ἦν ἀποσκευασάμενος

¹ ὑπάρχοντας φαg

² ἀπαισι φι

³ A om καὶ ἰ χρηστοῦς O χρηστῆς <δὲ> Wolf /

⁴ ἀπολαύσειν O

¹ The two appointed were Q. Maecius Laetus, ex-prefect of Egypt, and Aemilius Papinianus, the distinguished jurist; Pflaum, *Carrières*, nos. 219–20. Both may have remained in office until 211, Howe, *Pract. Pref.* nos. 21–2. H. does not mention the emergency meeting of the senate at which the official version of the plot was recounted by Eudodius and Saturninus, after which the senate praised them; Dio (Xiph.) 76.5.1 ff.

² S. is often alleged to have shown special favour to Africans and Orientals, but a survey of senatorial adlections and provincial appointments shows no revolutionary desire to bar Italians, even though there is an obvious increase in African and eastern senators; most noticeable is the adlection of equestrian *novi homines* into the senate, though this had been a practice of M. Aurelius and Commodus; there is some sign of favour for natives of Leptis Magna, partly under the

facts¹ and himself spent most of his life on the imperial property on the outskirts of Rome or on the coast of Campania, there doing his judicial and administrative work.² His reason was that he wanted to remove his sons from the life in Rome and give them a taste of clean living, particularly when he saw that their enthusiasm for the shows was more disreputable than was proper for emperors. Their² keenness and rivalry over the shows was always a source of contention and antagonism, distracting the senses of both brothers by adding fuel to their quarrels and making them into personal enemies. Antoninus was particularly insufferable after he had disposed of Plautianus, but he respected and feared <his father, which prevented him from doing anything

influence of Plautian; cf. Barbieri, *Epigraph.* 14 (1952) 32 and 45 ff., Haywood, *TAPA* 71 (1940) 175–85. S.'s interest in judicial work is attested by his appointment of legal experts to the praetorian prefecture and by some special equestrian appointments; e.g. P. Messius Saturninus (an African) who was a *trecenarius officer a declamationib(us) Latinis*, and earlier (*advocatus sacri auditori(i)*) and a *studii*, *AE* (1932) 34, Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 231. Pflaum quotes SHA, *Sev.* 18.4–5 (*doctrina* = juridical science), Victor, *Caes.* 20.20–23 (*conditor legum aequilibrium*), *Dig.* 49.14.50 (*Papinianus et Messius novam sententiam induxerunt*), Dio (Xiph.) 76.17.1–2. Messius probably prepared S.'s speeches for him on legal matters. Another literary-judicial expert was the sophist, Aelius Antipater (Philos. *VS* 2.24, etc.), who became *ab epistulis Graecis* by 200, Caracalla's tutor and member of C.'s *consilium*; Hermocrates of Phoea, another sophist, also served on C.'s *consilium*, Heberdey, *Forsch. in Ephes.* 2.125, no. 6. S.'s interest in law derived from his early training as an equestrian official; cf. Hammond, *HSCP* 61 (1940) 1950 ff.; unjustifiably rejected by Barnes, *Hist.* 16 (1967) 91, on the grounds that it is combined with spurious information.

τὸν Πλαυτιανόν. ἤδειτο δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο ¹ . . .
 τῇ τε θυγατρὶ μὲν ἐκείνου γυναικὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ παντὶ ²
³ τρόπῳ θάνατον ἐμηχανᾶτο. ὁ δὲ Σεβήθρος αὐτῆν
 τε ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἐς Σικελίαν
 ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτάρκη δούς περιουσίαν ἐς ³ τὸ
 διαβιοῦν ⁴ δαμιλῶς, ³ μιμησάμενος τὸν Σεβαστόν·
 καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος τοῖς Ἀντωνίου παισὶ, πολεμίου
 γενομένου, ⁵ οὕτως ἐχρήσατο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο
 συνάγειν αἰεὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς φιλίαν καὶ προτρέπειν
 ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συμφωνίαν, μύθων τε ἀρχαίων
 καὶ δραμάτων ὑπερίμνησκεν, αἰεὶ βασιλέων ἀδελφῶν
⁴ συμφορὰς ἐκ στάσεως διηγούμενος. θησαυροὺς
 τε καὶ νεώς, πάντας ⁶ ἐδείκνυ χρημάτων πλήρεις, ⁷
 πλοῦτόν τε καὶ δύναμιν ⁸ <τοιαύτας οἷαις μὴ> ⁹
 ἔσεσθαι ἔξωθεν ἐπιβουλεύσαι, ¹⁰ τοσαύτης μὲν οὕσης
 οἴκοι περιουσίας ὡς ἀφειδῶς καὶ δαμιλῶς τοῖς
 στρατιώταις χορηγεῖν, τῆς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνάμειως

¹ Probably a lacuna in the archetype for which a supplies
 τὸν πατέρα πράξαι τι ἀνηκεστον but Schwartz τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ
 τὸν υἱὸν καίπερ ἡσυχάζοντα

² ὡς παντὶ O

⁴ βιοῦν i

⁶ πάντα ABI

⁸ After δύναμιν a lacuna too corrupt to restore Mendelss

⁹ Supp Schwartz οὐκ before ἔσεσθαι add a and g² in mg

¹⁰ ἐπὶ βουλεύσαι φ ἐπὶ ἐπιβουλεύσει τις A. Many suggested
 emendations in Irmsch for passage πλοῦτόν—ἐπιβουλεύσαι
 perhaps π. τ. κ. δύναμιν <αὐτοῖς> ἔσεσθαι ἐὰν ἔξωθεν ἐπιβουλεύσει
 τις Whit

¹ See *app. critic.*; the sense if not the archetype, is pre-
 served by the Aldine text (a); there is little justification for
 Schwartz to refer the words to Plautian's son.

rash).¹ He tried in every way to bring about the
 death of Plautian's daughter, whom he had married.
 Severus exiled her and her brother to Sicily, giving ³
 them enough means to live on comfortably.² In this
 he followed the example of Augustus who treated
 Antony's children in the same manner even though
 Antony was his enemy.³ Severus made a personal
 effort all the time to reconcile his sons and bring them
 to live in harmony and agreement by reminding them
 of plays and tales of long ago where the story always
 ends in disaster as a result of the enmity between
 royal brothers. He showed them the treasuries ⁴
 and the temples full of money and pointed out that
 they would have the finance and the power to repel
 any external conspiracy, since domestically there
 were ample resources to provide liberally and comfort-
 ably for the troops.⁴ The troops in Rome had

² Cf. 4.6.3. Dio (Xiph.) 76.6.3, 77.1.1 says that they were
 relegated to the island of Lipara, where, until their later
 execution by Caracalla, they lived in poverty. Lipara was
 about fifty miles from Messina, though it may have come
 under Sicily for administrative purposes; for the significance
 of this piece of inaccurate information in rejecting H.'s
 identification with the Sicilian governor, Ti. Claudius
 Herodianus, see Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 213.

³ The comparison is inept; Antony's male heir was killed
 and his daughters never exiled but used in a series of advan-
 tageous marriage alliances.

⁴ The passage is corrupt, though the sense is fairly clear;
 see *app. critic.* for my suggested emendation; H. probably
 has in mind the saying of S., recorded by Dio (Xiph.) 76.15.2,
 "Live in harmony, enrich the soldiers, ignore all else"; the
 "external conspiracy" is probably an armed revolt from the
 provinces, not a foreign attack.

αὐτῆς τετραπλασιασθείσης, καὶ στρατοπέδου τοσούτου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυθέντος ὡς μηδεμίαν μείναι¹ δύναμιν ἔξωθεν ἐχέγγυον μηδ' ἀντίπαλον πλήθει² στρατοῦ μήτε μεγέθει σωμάτων μήτε 5 χρημάτων περιουσία. πλὴν οὐδὲν ὄφελος τούτων πάντων ἔλεγε στασιαζόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῦ τε πολέμου ἔνδον ὄντος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαυτὰ τινα λέγων ἐκάστοτε, ποτὲ μὲν λυπαρῶν ποτὲ δὲ ἐπιπλήττων, σωφρονίζεω αὐτοὺς ἅμα καὶ συνάγειν ἐπειράτο· οἱ δ' οὔτι γε ἐπέιθοντο, ἀφηγίαζον δὲ 6 καὶ ἐπεδίδοσαν ἐς τὸ χεῖρον. ἅτε δὲ νεανίας σφριγῶντας καὶ ὑπὸ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐς πάσας ἡδονῶν ὀρέξεις ἀπλήστως ὀρμωμένους ἕκαστοι τῶν κολακευόντων ἀνθεῖλκον πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐ μόνον ὑπηρετούμενοι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὰ αἰσχιστά σπουδαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ τι καινὸν ἐξευρίσκοντες, δι' οὗ εὐφρανοῦσι μὲν ὃν ἐκολάκευον, λυπήσουσι δὲ τὸν ἀδελφόν. ἤδη γοῶν τινας καὶ

¹ <μήτε> πλήθει Sylb

² εἶναι u

¹ An exaggeration. Before S. the total Roman garrison was probably about 11,500 soldiers, made up of cohorts of praetorians, urban troops and *vigiles* (not including special detachments of other troops). If S. increased the size of the praetorian cohorts to 1,000 (as seems proved from the discharge lists), one may assume that the other cohorts also doubled. But even with the addition of the Parthian legion (which H. specifically excludes here) the total garrison of Rome was no more than about 30,000 men; Durry, *Cohortes præt.* 82-9, *RE* (praetoriae cohortes) 1613-14, against which, see Passerini, *Coorti præt.* 59-67.

² The Second Parthian legion which took up permanent

actually just been quadrupled¹ and there was such a strong garrison stationed just outside the city² that there was no external power left competent to be a rival force in terms of manpower, physique or resources. But none of this was any use, he said, if 5 they intrigued against each other and there was civil war. This was the gist of what Severus regularly repeated, sometimes pleading with them and sometimes upbraiding them, trying to bring them to their senses and make them co-operate. But they simply would not listen and grew worse as they threw off all 6 restraint. They were young men, bursting with health, and, because of their position in the imperial house, they were encouraged to seek every kind of pleasure without restraint. Each of their admirers tugged them in opposite directions, not merely by catering for their desires and low tastes but by being always on the look out for novelties to please their favourite and irritate his brother. Severus, it

quarters at Albanum after the second Parthian War. It is uncertain at what date the legion was formed, though Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1308-9 argues that all three Parthian legions were raised together for the war against Albinus; followed by Passerini in Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.* (legio) 558, but Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 229, reverts to Mommsen's suggestion (note to *CIL* XII. 1856) of a single Parthian legion in existence before 195 (3.5.1n). Neither date rests on adequate proof. The prefect of the legion was always an equestrian (as were the commanders of the other Parthian legions), formally under the command of the praetorian prefect. The legion was stationed near Rome in order to discourage further armed usurpation by provincial commanders (of. the division of provinces later) rather than because S. was adopting a conscious policy of the provincialization of Italy; cf. *CAH* XII. 24 (Miller).

λαβὼν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ὑπηρεσίαις ὁ Σεβήτρος ἐκόλασεν.

14. ἀσχάλλοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ βίῳ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεάματα ἀπρεπεῖ σπουδῇ ἐπιστέλλει ὁ τῆς Βρεττανίας ἡγούμενος, στασιάζειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ βαρβάρους φάσκων, καὶ καταπρέχοντας τὴν χώραν λείαν τε ἀπάγειν¹ καὶ πορθεῖν τὰ πλείστα· δεῖσθαι τοίνυν χειρὸς πλείονος πρὸς βοήθειαν τοῦ τόπου ἢ βασιλικῆς² ἐπιδημίας. ὁ δὲ Σεβήτρος ἀσμένως ταῦτα ἀκούσας, φύσει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως φιλοδόξος² ὑπάρχων, καὶ μετὰ τὰς ὑπὸ ἀνατολαῖς³ καὶ ἄρκτῳ⁴ νίκας καὶ προσηγορίας βουλόμενος καὶ κατὰ Βρεττανῶν ἐγείρει τρόπαια, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς ἀπαγαγεῖν

¹ ἀπαγαγεῖν i

³ ἀνατολὰς O

² Mendelss φιλοδόξος ἄλλως Oi

⁴ ἄρκτον V

¹ This is all the information H. provides about the period 205–8. The excerpts of Dio 76.7 ff. are not much better, relating only the execution of M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, the alleged conspiracy of Popilius Peditus Apronianus and the affair of Bulla the robber. The first of these, the death of Quintillus, last of the sons-in-law of M. Aurelius, was part of the neutralization of the old Antonine dynasty, like the marriage of Cornificia to L. Didius Marinus (*AE* (1954) 171, *ILS* 1396), and the marriage of Vibia Sabina to L. Aurelius Agaclytus (*CIL* XV. 7402), son of the freedman of L. Verus; both men were equestrians and therefore safe; cf. Pflaum, *Jour. Sav.* (1961) 37 and 39. The other two incidents were

is true, punished some of these sycophants when he caught them performing this kind of service.¹

14. Just at the time when Severus was upset by his sons' way of life and their indecent preoccupation with the shows, the governor of Britain² sent a dispatch to say that the barbarians of the province were in a state of rebellion, laying waste the countryside, carrying off plunder and wrecking almost everything. The governor requested, therefore, that either the garrison should be strengthened to give the province protection or that the emperor should come in person. This was welcome news for Severus, partly because² he was a man who naturally liked glory in any case and wanted to win some victories in Britain after the titles and conquests that he had won in the eastern and northern provinces. But a more important reason was that he was anxious to get his sons out of

part of wide-scale unrest extending to Asia Minor, Spain and Africa, but far too insecurely dated or connected to argue for a general revolt; Murphy, *Severus Inscriptions* 38–40, more cautiously assessed by Hammond, *AJP* 71 (1950) 193 ff.

² Cf. 3.8.2n; H. seems not to know of a division of Britain here. The last certain governor of Britain is L. Alfenius Senecio, responsible c. 205/8 for repair work on Hadrian's Wall after the break through of 197; Richmond, *Rom. and Native in N. Britain* 94–5 (Steer). Possibly this had involved fighting and an imperial salutation (Fluss, *RE* (Severus) 1977), but the dating of all the imperial salutations after number XI (between 198 and 210) are unofficial and thus uncertain; judging by the incidence of numbered milestones, Noricum, Raetia and Mauretania were the scenes of minor battle triumphs; Boyce, *AJA* 53 (1949) 337–43. There is no real evidence to show Caracalla fighting in Gaul or Britain in 207, *BMC* V. clxxv–vi, *RIC* IV. 1.226–7. (coins of C. dated to 207).

τῆς Ῥώμης θέλων, ὡς ἂν ἀνανήψειεν¹ ἐν στρα-
τιωτικῷ βίῳ καὶ σώφρονι ἀπαχθέντες τῆς ἐν
Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς καὶ διαίτης, ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἐς τὴν
Βρεττανίαν ἔξοδον, πρεσβύτης τε ἤδη ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ
τῆς ἀρθρίτιδος νόσου κάμνων· ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς
3 ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔρρωτο ὑπὲρ πάντα νεανίαν. τὰ
πλεῖστα γοῦν καὶ φοράδην φερόμενος τῆς ὁδοιπο-
ρίας εἶχετο, οὐδὲ πώποτε ἐπὶ πολὺ μένων ἀν-
επαύετο. ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ
παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἐλπίδος θάπτον, τὸν ὠκεανὸν
διαπλεύσας Βρεττανοῖς ἐπέστη, τοὺς τε πανταχόθεν
στρατιώτας ἀθροίσας καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν ἀγείρας
τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

4 οἱ δὲ Βρεττανοὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπλαγέντες
αἰφνιδίῳ² ἐπιδημίᾳ, δύναμιν τε ἀκούσαντες παμ-
πλείστην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀθροισθεῖσαν, πρεσβείας
ἔπεμπον περὶ τε εἰρήμης διελέγοντο, ἀπολογεῖσθαι
5 τε ἐβούλοντο πρὸς τὰ προημαρτημένα. ὁ δὲ

¹ Schwartz νεάζοιεν OI

² αἰφνιδίως φg

¹ The harmony motive is confirmed by coins of 209 after Geta's elevation to Augustus, stressing *concordia Augustorum*, *BMC* V. clii. Dio (Xiph.) 76.13.1 says S. wished to conquer the whole island, to some extent supported by the establishment of a 30-acre fort at Carpow on the Tay estuary (*JRS* 53

Rome so they could return to their senses,¹ leading a sober military life away from the luxurious delicacies of Rome. So he announced that he would make an expedition to Britain.² By now he was an old man and suffering from gout, but in spirit he was tougher than any youth. And even though he made most of ³ the journey carried on a litter, he never halted in one place for very long. He and his sons completed the march to the coast sooner than they were expected and before the news of their arrival. Then they crossed the ocean and stood on the shores of Britain. There Severus held a general levy of troops and mustered the whole army in preparation for the war.³

Worried by the sudden arrival of the emperor and ⁴ the news of the vast armament assembled against them, the Britons ⁴ sent off a delegation to discuss peace terms and to try to clear themselves of their past misdemeanours. But Severus was anxious for a ⁵

(1963) 127, dated by a coin of Caracalla). Graham, *JRS* 56 (1966) 106, argues from this that S. had longer-term plans than simply waging a punitive campaign. But lack of advance planning suggests no permanent intentions at first; S. was an opportunist; cf. Richmond, *op. cit.* 95-6 (H. nowhere suggests this was a mere "punitive campaign").

² *Profectio Augg.* on coins dates from 208, *BMC* V. clx; cf. Hasebroek, *Sept. Severus* 141-2, for signs of S. in Gaul. Accompanying S. were Julia Domna and perhaps Philostratus (*VA* 5.2. though possibly only as far as Gaul) from whom no doubt some of the stories of Britain came (cf. *Ep.* 72 for his anti-Caracalla feeling).

³ Apart from the three British legions, *vexillationes* were probably imported from Germany; cf. *CIL* XIII. 3496 *evntes [ad] expedi(tionem) Britannicam*.

⁴ The Caledonians (in Scotland) and the Maeatae.

Σεβήρος διατριβάς τε χρόνου ζητῶν, ὡς ἂν μὴ
 πάλιν¹ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπέιγοιτο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ
 βουλόμενος προσκτήσασθαι τὴν κατὰ Βρεττανῶν
 νικην τε καὶ προσηγορίαν, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις
 αὐτῶν ἀπράκτους (ἀπ)έπεμψεν,² εὐτρέπιζε δὲ τὰ
 πρὸς τὴν μάχην. μάλιστα δὲ γεφύραις ἐπειράτο³
 διαλαμβάνειν τὰ ἐλώδη χωρία, ὡς ἂν ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς
 βαίνοντες οἱ στρατιῶται ῥαδίως⁴ τε αὐτὰ διατρέ-
 χοιεν καὶ ἐπ' ὄχυροῦ βήματος⁴ ἐδραίως ἐστῶτες
 6 μάχωντο. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τῆς Βρεττανῶν χώρας
 ἐπικυζόμενα ταῖς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ συνεχῶς ἀμπώτισιν
 ἐλώδη γίνεται· οἷς ἔθος τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις
 ἐνήχεσθαι τε καὶ διαθεῖν βρεχομένοις μέχρις
 ἰξύος· γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὄντες τὰ πλείστα τοῦ σώματος
 7 τῆς ἰλύος καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐσθήτος ἴσασι
 χρῆσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν λαπάρας καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους
 κοσμοῦσι σιδήρω, καλλῶπισμα τοῦτο καὶ πλούτου
 σύμβολον νομίζοντες ὡπερ τὸν χρυσὸν οἱ λοιποὶ
 βάρβαροι, τὰ δὲ σώματα στίζονται γραφαῖς
 ποικίλαις καὶ⁵ ζῶων παντοδαπῶν εἰκόσιν· ὅθεν
 οὐδὲ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἵνα μὴ σκέπωσι τοῦ σώματος
 8 τὰς γραφάς. εἰσὶ δὲ μαχιμώτατοί τε καὶ φονικώ-
 τατοι, ἀσπίδα μόνην στενὴν προβεβλημένοι⁶ καὶ
 δόρυ, ξίφος δὲ παρητημένοι (ἐκ)⁷ γυμνοῦ
 σώματος. θώρακος δὲ ἢ κράνους οὐκ ἴσασι χρῆσιν,

¹ πάνυ O² Sylb³ μάχην κάλλιστα. γεφύραις τε ἐπειράτο A⁴ ῥαδίως—βήματος om P⁵ ποικίλαις καὶ Sylb from P ποικίλων Oi⁶ Reisk περιβ- Oi⁷ Schwartz

delay to prevent him from marching back to Rome again and he was still keen to win a British victory and title. As a result the mission was dismissed without achieving its object and preparations for battle were put in hand. A particular effort went into intersecting the marshy areas with pontoons¹ to permit the troops to advance safely by crossing them and so to fight on a firm standing of solid ground. Most of 6 Britain is marshland because it is flooded by the continual ocean tides. The barbarians usually swim in these swamps or run along in them, submerged up to the waist. Of course, they are practically naked 7 and do not mind the mud because they are unfamiliar with the use of clothing, and they adorn their waists and necks with iron, valuing this metal as an ornament and a token of wealth in the way that other barbarians value gold. They also tattoo their bodies with various patterns and pictures of all sorts of animals. Hence the reason why they do not wear clothes, so as not to cover the pictures on their bodies. They 8 are very fierce and dangerous fighters, protected only by a narrow shield and a spear, with a sword slung from their naked bodies. They are not familiar with the use of breast-plates and helmets, considering

¹ Supposedly this is depicted on the "bridge" type coins of 208-9, *RIC* IV. 1.120, no. 225, 198, no. 786, 284, no. 441 (*Caracalla, trib. pot. XI*); the bridge is surely not over the Forth, whatever else it is. The expedition seems to have been chiefly waged by transporting troops by sea; hence the supply depots at Cramond and Carpow (see 3.14.2n) supplied from the great base reserve at Corbridge, *ILS* 9124 = *RIB* 1143, *curam agens [h]orr(ei) tempo[r]e expeditionis felicissimi(mae) Britannic(ae)*; cf. Richmond, *op. cit.* 24 and 96.

ἐμπόδια νομίζοντες πρὸς τὴν δίοδον τῶν ἐλῶν,
 ἐξ ὧν τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως καὶ παχύτητος ὁ κατ'
 ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν ἀῆρ ζοφώδης ἀεὶ φαίνεται.
 πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα ὁ Σεβήρος ἐξήρτηεν ὅσα συνοίσειν
 ἔμελλε τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, λυπήσειν δὲ καὶ
 ἐμποδιεῖν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ὁρμὴν.

- 9 ὡς δὲ αὐτάρκως ὤφθη αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν
 πόλεμον εὐτρεπίσθαι, τὸν μὲν νεώτερον τῶν νιῶν,
 τὸν Γέταν¹ καλούμενον, κατέλιπεν² ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ
 Ῥωμαίους ἔθνει δικάσοντά τε καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ
 τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσοντα,³ δούς αὐτῷ συνέδρους τῶν
 φίλων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνίνον
 10 παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἠπειέγο. ὑπερ-
 βάντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὰ προβεβλημένα ρεύματα
 τε καὶ χώματα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς συμβολαὶ καὶ

¹ γέταν throughout O

² Mendelss καταλιπεῖν Ogl -λιπὼν a

³ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικήσοντα πολιτικὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς a τῆς ἀρχῆς del Mendelss

¹ Descriptions of Britain (presumably of Scotland beyond the Antonine Wall) such as here and in Dio (Xiph.) 76.12 seem to owe more to convention and gossip than reality; cf. Richmond, *op. cit.* 93, for a criticism of Dio's account, though H. seems to manage to avoid the flagrant inaccuracies of Dio. But almost all the items of H.'s description can be found in other writers; painted bodies—Caesar, *BG* 5.14, Pliny, *NH* 22.1, Mela 3.6; small shields and (big) swords—Tac. *Agric.* 36; mists—Tac. *Agric.* 12, Min. Felix in Oct. 18.3. Stein, *Dez. et Herod.* 92, notes that part of the account contains obvious rhetorical features (e.g. 3.14.2, a string of six participles).

them to be an impediment to crossing the marshes. Because of the thick mist which rises from the marshes, the atmosphere in this region is always gloomy.¹ These, then, were the conditions for which Severus prepared the armaments likely to suit the Roman army and damage or frustrate a barbarian attack.

Once the preparation for war appeared to be 9 satisfactorily completed, Severus summoned Geta, the younger son, and left him to exercise jurisdiction over the subject people of the province and to carry on the civil administration of the empire.² For this he was given a council of the emperor's senior friends. Antoninus he took with him, and pushed on into barbarian territory. After the army had crossed 10 the rivers and fortifications which marked the borders of the empire,³ there were frequent clashes and light

² Not enough is known about the campaigns to state that Caracalla was really in charge, and that the sources are biased against him. But from scraps of information the outline of the campaign has been reconstructed as follows: 208-9, preparations (including no doubt the building of Carpow); 209, main campaign against the Caledonians (Dio (Xiph.) 76.13-14); 210, main campaign against the Maeatae. Cf. *CAH* XII. 40 ff. (Miller), Richmond, *op. cit.* 95. It was before the main campaign of 209 that Geta was made Augustus; e.g. *IG* II/III² 1077. For the question whether the date was December 208 or sometime in 209, see the evidence in Hammond, *MAAR* 24 (1956) 116n.

³ H. probably means the Antonine Wall, which, though abandoned c. 185, may have been temporarily re-established, though there is insufficient evidence to be certain; Richmond, *op. cit.* 96. S. perhaps crossed into Fife by sea, and from here advanced up the West coast to the Tay base; from there Dio (Xiph.) 76.13.3 says he reached the "extremity of the island."

ἀκροβολισμοὶ πολλάκις ἐγίνοντο¹ τροπαί τε τῶν βαρβάρων. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ῥαδία ἦν ἡ φυγή, καὶ διελέανθانون ἔν τε δρυμοῖς καὶ ἔλεσι καὶ τῇ τῶν χωρίων γνώσει, ἄπερ πάντα Ῥωμαῖοις ὄντα ἐναντία πλείονα παρέσχε τῷ πολέμῳ² τὴν διατριβήν. 15. τὸν δὲ Σεβήηρον γηραιὸν ὄντα ἤδη νόσος ἐπιμηκεστέρα καταλαμβάνει, ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν ἠναγκάζεται μένειν οἶκοι, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπειρᾶτο ἐκπέμπειν διοικήσοντα τὰ στρατιωτικά. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μετρίως ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐπειρᾶτο³ δὲ οἰκειοῦσθαι τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πάντας ἀνέπειθεν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν μόνον, ἐμῶτό τε παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν μοναρχίαν, διαβάλλων τὸν ἀδελφόν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐπὶ πολὺ νοσῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον βρῆδύνων ἐπαχθῆς αὐτῷ καὶ ὄχληρὸς ἐφαίνετο· ἀνέπειθέ τε ἰατροὺς καὶ ὑπηρέτας κακουργῆσαι τι περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ γέροντος, ὡς ἂν θᾶπτον αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλαγείη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ μόλις ποτὲ Σεβήηρος, λύπη τὸ πλεῖστον διαφθαρεῖς, ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ

¹ ἐγίνοντο Oga² ῥωμαῖοις O³ om P

¹ The title of Britannicus appears in 209 (e.g. *ILS* 431), but not on the coins until 210; possibly there was a time lag on the bronze coins; Hill, *Num. Chron.* (7) 4 (1964) 171, *BMC* V. clxxxiii. Dio (Xiph.) 76.14.3 notes a victory over the Caledonians.

² Both Dio and H. imply that Caracalla abandoned the war

skirmishes in which the barbarians were put to flight.¹ The enemy found it easy to escape and hide in the woods and marshes because they were familiar with the terrain; but the same conditions all hampered the Romans and made the war considerably longer drawn out.

15. But Severus was an old man and was now attacked by a more prolonged illness that forced him to remain in his quarters. He tried to send out Antoninus to take charge of the campaign, but his son was not really interested in the war against the barbarians.² Instead, he attempted to win over the loyalty of the army and began to induce them all to regard him alone as their leader, using every device to canvass for the position of sole emperor by slandering his brother. He regarded his father,² who was suffering from a drawn-out illness and taking a long time to die, as a troublesome nuisance and tried to persuade his doctors and attendants to do him some mischief while they tended the old man, so as to get rid of him sooner.³ Finally and slowly Severus did die, though really broken with grief, after a life of

and S.'s intentions to subjugate the whole of Britain; cf. 1.6.3 for the stereotype. Coins of Severus (210-11) were already announcing S.'s intention to return home, probably on the assumption that the war was over; *BMC* V. clxxxiv, 405 (*fortuna redux*), *RIC* IV. 1.205, no. 836. *CIL* XIII. 7417 set up by the governor of Germania Superior during S.'s lifetime records *pro salute et victoria et reditu*. In spite of a revolt of the Caledonians and Maeatae (Dio (Xiph.) 76.15.1-2), Caracalla's final settlement and defensive system of *exploratores* as an early warning device beyond Hadrian's Wall functioned satisfactorily for 100 years; Richmond, *op. cit.* 95-99.

³ Dio (Xiph.) 76.14 notes two attempts by C. to murder his father, but neither through attendants.

βίου, ἐνδοξότατα βιώσας, ὅσον πρὸς τὰ πολεμικά,
 3 τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐμφύλια κατ'
 ἔχθρῶν οὔτε ξένα κατὰ βαρβάρων τοσαυτά τις πρὸ
 αὐτοῦ ἤγειρε τρόπαια. βασιλεύσας δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα
 ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ παισὶ νεανίαις διαδόχοις ἀνεπαύσατο,
 χρήματά τε αὐτοῖς καταλιπὼν ὅσα μηδεὶς πώποτε,
 καὶ δύνάμιν στρατιωτῶν ἀνανταγώνιστον.

4 ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος λαβόμε-
 νος ἔξουσίας, εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑστίας πάντας φονεύει
 ἤρξατο, τοὺς τε ἰατροὺς ἀνελών, οἳ μὴ ὑπήκουσαν
 αὐτῷ κελεύσαντι κακουργῆσαι καὶ τὸν θάνατον
 ἐπέξει τοῦ γέροντος, τοὺς τε τροφεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ¹
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπειδὴ προσέκειντο λιπαροῦντες ²
 αὐτὸν ¹ ὑπὲρ ὁμοιοῖας· οὐδένα δὲ εἶασε περι-
 γεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τιμῇ γενομένων ἢ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ
 5 γέροντος. ἰδίᾳ τε δώροις καὶ μεγάλαις ὑποσχέσεσι
 τοὺς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγουμένους ἐθεράπευεν,
 ὅπως ἀναπέσειαν τὸν στρατὸν ἀποδείξει μόνον

¹ καὶ—αὐτὸν om l

² παρακαλοῦντες O

¹ Part of the official Severan propaganda; *CIL* VIII. 6306, *et super omnes retro principes invictissimi*.

² S. died at York on 4th February 211. Dio (Xiph.) 76.15.2 records this date and (Xiph.) 76.17.4 states that S. was sixty-five years old—hence born in 145 not 146 (as SHA, *Sev.* 1.3; cf. 2.9.2n); Dio also states that S. ruled seventeen years, eight months, three days, almost exactly true if reckoned from the termination of Julianus' rule (Dio's usual practice), 2.12.6n. The date of Caracalla's *dies imperii*

greater military distinction than any other emperor. No one had ever before been so successful in civil 3 wars against rivals or in foreign wars against the barbarians.¹ For eighteen years he ruled, before making way for his young sons to succeed,² bequeathing to them greater wealth than any previous ruler and an invincible army.

As soon as Severus was dead Antoninus took over 4 power, and straight away began to execute all the household attendants; he made away with the doctors who refused to obey his orders to injure the old emperor, and so to hasten on his death; also the men who had brought him up with his brother,³ because they persisted in begging him to be reconciled to Geta. No one who had been honoured by the old emperor or served as his attendant was allowed to survive. He flattered the army com- 5 manders with private gifts and extravagant promises so that they would induce the army to declare for

recorded in the *Feriale Duranum* was also 4th February, though it is argued that during S.'s lifetime C. always used 28th January; cf. 3.9.12n, Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 82. Perhaps this meant that C. accepted a formal renewal of power from the senate, though the date suggests that he redated his power from his accessional *allocutio* to the troops (cf. 1.5.1n for Commodus).

³ Dio (Xiph.) 77.1.1 records the execution of Euodus, the *tropheus*, and Castor, the *a memoria* (and *cubicularius* probably, 4.8.4n); after the return to Rome the distinguished charioteer, Euprepes, was killed. Later Aelius Antipater, one time *ab epistulis Graecis* and by now a senator, who was also called *tropheus* (honorary, Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 180 bis), was forced into retirement, Philos. *VS* 2.25.607(01); L. Fabius Cilo, called *tropheus* by Dio (Xiph.) 77.4.2, was also attacked, but saved by intervention of the urban cohorts (see below).

<αὐτὸν> ¹ αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ πᾶσαν μηχανὴν κατὰ
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐζήτει. οὐ μὲν ἔπειθε τὸ στρατιωτι-
 κόν· μεμνημένοι δὲ τοῦ Σεβήρου, καὶ ὅτι ἀμ-
 φοτέρους ἴσους δὴ ² ἐκ παιδων παραθρέψιαν,
 ἴσῃν αὐτοῖς ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ εὐνοίαν παρείχοντο.
 6 ὁ δὲ Ἄντωνῖνος, ἐπεὶ μὴ προεχώρει αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν
 στρατοπέδων, σπεισάμενος πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους,
 δούς τε εἰρήνην τὰ τε πιστὰ λαβών, ἐξήει τε τῆς
 βαρβάρου πρὸς τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἤδη καὶ τὴν
 μητέρα ἠπειύετο. ὡς ³ δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο, ³
 συνάγειν αὐτοὺς ἢ μῆτηρ ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ οἱ ἐν
 7 ἀξιώσει ὄντες καὶ συνέδροι ⁴ πατρῷοι φίλοι. ὁ δὲ
 Ἄντωνῖνος, πάντων αὐτῷ πρὸς ᾧ ἐβούλετο ἐναν-
 τιουμένον, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη ἐς ὁμόνοιαν

¹ Mendels from Jo and P

² δὲ gl om O <ἴδιον ἐκείνου (sic) γεγονότας ἴσους> δὲ suppl
 Schwartz ³ ὡς—ἐγένοντο om O ⁴ ὄντες συνέδροι καὶ A

¹ Far from clear how far S. intended a genuine double princi-
 pate. It is certainly not true that the two sons had been
 brought up equally; although there was only a year between
 their ages, C. had been associated in the "Samtherrschaft"
 ten years before Geta; 3.9.1n, 3.10.1n. It seems possible that S.
 (under pressure from Julia?) had come round to accept a
 double rule; cf. SHA, *Sev.* 23.5-7, which says that S. even
 ordered that the silver statue of Fortuna, a symbol of power
 used by M. Aurelius and L. Verus (SHA, *Marc.* 7.3), should
 be kept by C. and G. on alternate days. But, like M. Aurelius,
 C. had sole tenure of the title of *pontifex maximus*; Korne-

him as sole emperor. There was not a trick he did not
 try against his brother. But the army was not taken
 in: they remembered Severus and the fact that they
 had reared the children as equals from childhood,¹
 and now they showed the brothers equal allegiance
 and loyalty. After this lack of success with the 6
 army, Antoninus came to terms with the barbarians,
 granting them peace in return for guarantees. Then
 he left their territory and hurried back to join his
 brother and mother.² When they were together,
 their mother and distinguished citizens and their
 father's friends who sat on the council ³ attempted to
 reconcile the brothers. Since opinion was unani- 7
 mously opposed to Antoninus' aim, he was compelled
 rather than persuaded to accept a peace and a friend-

mann, *Doppelprinzipat* 88, *BMC V.* clxxxvii. *CIL III.* 1464
 shows a Dacian legion with the epithet *Getica*.

² H.'s first mention of Julia Domna, whom S. married in
 c. 187; *PIR*² J 663. Born in Syria of the family of priestly
 rulers of Emesa, she reached a status of unprecedented
 prestige as empress, illustrated by vast numbers of in-
 scriptions in her honour, the titles of *mater castrorum* (in
 195, 3.5.1n), and (after S.'s death probably) *mater senatus*;
mater patriae, pia felix; *BMC V.* clxxxvi, cxov ff. ("a reigning
 empress"); for the date see Instinsky, *Klio* 35 (1942) 204 ff.
 (who rightly rejects the oriental character of the titles).
 Temporarily overshadowed by Plautian, J. turned to literature
 and philosophy, but after Plautian's fall she accompanied S.
 to Britain and was probably responsible for ensuring that
 Geta gained a share of the principate; cf. her influence with
 Papinian, the praetorian prefect, *SHA Car.* 8.2-3, *Zos.* 1.9.

³ Members of the *consilium* known to have suffered later
 for supporting Geta were the two prefects, Aemilianus
 Papinianus, Valerius Patruinus; the urban prefect, L. Fabius
 Cilo: the (ex-?) governor of Bithynia, Aelius Antipater; not
 all were necessarily in Britain. Dio, himself an *amicus*,
 favoured Geta.

καὶ φίλιαν ἐπίπλαστον μάλλον ἢ ἀληθῆ περιήγετο.¹
 οὕτως δὴ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφοτέρω διουκοῦντες
 ἐν¹ ὁμοτίμῳ ἀρχῇ ἀπάραι τῆς Βρεττανίας ἠθέλη-
 σαν, ἔς² τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγοντο κομίζοντες τὰ
 τοῦ πατρὸς λείψανα· τὸ γὰρ σωματίον πυρὶ
 παραδόντες, τὴν τε κόνιν σὺν ἀρώμασιν ἐς κάλπιν³
 ἀλαβάστρου ἐμβalόντες, ἀπεκόμιζον ἐς τὴν
 Ῥώμην, ἐς τὰ βασιλεία⁴ ἀποθησόμενοι ἱερὰ
 8 μνήματα. αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβόντες⁵
 νικηφόροι δὴ κατὰ Βρεττανῶν ἐς τὴν ἀντικειμένην
 Γαλλίαν, διαβάντες τὸν ὠκεανόν, ἀφίκοντο.
 ὅπως μὲν δὴ Σεβήρος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε καὶ οἱ
 παῖδες αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο, ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ
 τούτῳ δεδήλωται.

¹ ἠπείγετο Ο ἐπήγετο conj Mendels

² ἐν—ἐς om O

³ κάλπην throughout i sometimes A

⁴ βασιλείων Schwartz

⁵ παραλαβί O

¹ The three major sources disagree over details. SHA, *Sev.* 24.1–2, says there were two stories in circulation—one

ship that was more contrived than real. So the two brothers shared the administration of the empire with equal power. They decided to set sail from Britain and made their way to Rome, bearing the last mortal remains of their father with them. The body of Severus had been cremated and the ashes with perfumes consigned to an alabaster urn. This they now escorted to Rome to be placed in the sacred imperial mausoleum.¹ Associating themselves with the army as though they were returning as conquerors of Britain, they crossed the ocean and landed on the opposite shore of Gaul.

In this book I have described how Severus ended his life and how his sons succeeded him to the rule.

that the body was taken to Rome for cremation, another that the ashes were carried in a golden urn; Dio (Xiph.) 76.15.3–4 says the ashes were carried in an urn of purple marble. Dio is clear that the ashes were taken to the Antonine mausoleum—i.e. the tomb of Hadrian, modern Castel S. Angelo (4.1.4); SHA, *Geta* 7.2, is in error in saying the remains were deposited in a building on the Appian Way.

BOOK FOUR

BIBLION TETARTON

1. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πραχθέντα Σεβήρῳ βασιλεύσαντι ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου βιβλίῳ δεδήλωται· οἱ δ' υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἤδη νεανίαί, ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγοντο, ἤδη μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν στασιάζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. οὔτε γὰρ καταγωγαῖς ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐχρῶντο οὔτε συνειστιῶντο ἀλλήλοις· πολὺ δὲ ¹ τὸ ὑποπτον ἐν ἅπασιν ἐδέσμασί τε καὶ πόμασι, μὴ τις αὐτῶν προλαβὼν καὶ λαθῶν, ἢ τινὰς ἀναπέσας τῶν ὑπηρετῶν,
- 2 δηλητηρίῳ χρήσεται φαρμάκῳ. ταύτῃ γοῦν καὶ τὴν ὄδοιπορίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠπείγον, ἀδέεστερον ἐκότερος βιώσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, εἰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γένοιτο καὶ τὰ βασιλεία διελόμενοι ἐν πλατείᾳ καὶ πολλῇ οἰκήσει καὶ πάσης πόλεως ² μείζονι καθ' ἐάντων ἐκότερος διάγοι ὡς βούλοιο.
- 3 ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὃ τε δῆμος αὐτοὺς δαφνηφορῶν ὑπεδέξατο ἢ τε σύγκλητος προσηγόρευσεν. ἠγοῦντο δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν τὴν βασιλεῖον φέροντες πορφύραν, εἶποντο δ' ὀπισθεν αὐτοῖς

¹ δ' ἦν Schwartz ἦν after πόμασι (πόμασιν AB) conj Mendels

² πόλει conj Markland

¹ Cf. 3.1.1n.

² Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.641 ff. describing the house of Vedius Pollio (which became part of the *domus Augustiana*); *urbis*

BOOK FOUR

1. In the previous book ¹ I have related Severus' actions during the eighteen years after he became emperor. His sons, who were by now young men, hurried back to Rome with their mother, but already on the return journey there were serious differences between them. For example, they did not stay at the same lodging houses nor take a meal together. Each was extremely circumspect with everything he ate and drank in case the other quietly made the first move, or persuaded some of the attendants to administer a fatal dose of poison. Hence there was ² even greater haste on the journey, since they both believed they would breathe more safely when they reached Rome and divided up the palace, where they could each live their separate lives according to their own interests in a vast, spacious building that was bigger than any city.²

On their arrival at Rome,³ the people welcomed ³ them waving branches of laurels and the senate joined in presenting an address of greetings. The two brothers headed the procession wearing the imperial purple, followed by the consuls who were

opus domus una fuit, spatiumque tenebat Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent.

³ About May 211. Coins of both Caracalla and Geta in 211 carry the legend *fort(una) red(ux)*; *RIC* IV. 1.238, no. 189 ff., 324, no. 75 ff.

οἱ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν τότε διέποντες, κάλπιν φέροντες ἔνθα ἦν τὰ Σεβήρου λείβανα. οἱ τε προσαγορεύοντες¹ τοὺς νέους αὐτοκράτορας πα-
 4 ριόντες καὶ τὴν κάλπιν προσεκύνουν. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν παραπέμψαντες, καὶ προπομπεύσαντες αὐτῆς,² ἀπέθεντο³ ἐν τῷ νεῷ ἔνθα Μάρκου τε καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἱερὰ μνήματα δείκνυται.⁴ ἐπιτε-
 λέσαντες δὲ τὰς νενομισμένας ἱεουργίας ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς εἰσόδους ἀνήλθον εἰς τὰ βασιλεια.
 5 διελόμενοι δὲ αὐτὰ ἑκάτερος ὥκει, παραφράττοντές τε πάσας εἰσόδους, εἴ τινες ἦσαν λανθάνουσαι, μόναις δὲ ταῖς δημοσίοις⁵ καὶ αὐλείοις ἀνέδην χρώμενοι, φρουράς τε ἐπιστήσαντες ἰδίᾳ ἑκάτερος, οὐδὲ συνιόντες εἰ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὅσον δημοσίᾳ, εἴ ποτε,⁶ ὀφθῆναι. ἐπετέλεσαν δὲ πρὸ ἀπάντων τὴν εἰς τὸν πατέρα τιμῆν.

2. ἔθος γάρ ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκθειάζειν βασιλέων τοὺς ἐπὶ παισὶ διαδόχοις⁷ τελευτήσαντας· τὴν τε τοιαύτην τιμὴν ἀποθέωσιν καλοῦσι. μεμιγμένον δέ τι πένθος ἑορτῇ καὶ θρησκείᾳ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
 2 πόλιν δείκνυται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ τελευτήσαν-

¹ προαγ. i ² καὶ προπομ. αὐτῆς spurious? Mendelss

³ ἀπέθεντο a ἀπέθεσαν Olg¹ (in mg) cf. Dio 73.5.3

⁴ δείκνυται i ⁵ δημοσίοις Jo Mendelss

⁶ [εἴ] ποτε or add χρήζοιεν Sylb

⁷ Bekk διαδόχ. παισὶ a παισὶ ἢ διαδόχ. Ogl P

¹ I.e. not the eponymous consuls, but the suffect consuls who came into office in March and/or May.

then in office,¹ carrying the urn containing the remains of Severus. Those who were there to salute the new emperors also went forward to bow before the urn. Then a procession went ahead escorting⁴ the urn and laid it in the temple where the sacred memorials of Marcus and his imperial predecessors were displayed. After completing the rites prescribed for the entry of emperors into the city, the young men returned to the palace. There they⁵ lived separate lives; the buildings were partitioned off, all the private connecting passages were bricked up and only the outer, public entrances were left in use.² Both established their own private guard and were never seen together except occasionally for brief appearances at public functions. The first thing they did was to carry out the funeral ceremonies for their father.

2. It is normal Roman practice to deify emperors who die leaving behind them children as their successors.³ The name they give to this ceremony is apotheosis.⁴ All over the city expressions of grief are displayed, combined with a festival and a religious ceremony. The body of the dead emperor is buried²

² Used as evidence by Grosso, *Lotta politica* 34-5, that H. was an imperial freedman at the court, and was therefore in possession of information not available to Dio. Needless to say, the theory is far from proven.

³ Dio (Xiph.) 74.4 gives a long description of the *consecratio* of Pertinax; was H. deliberately writing a parallel? A discussion of the ceremony is in Bickermann, *Arch. f. Rel.-wiss.* 7 (1929) 1-34.

⁴ The Greek term was adopted into Latin; Schol. Horace, *Od.* 1.2.41 (*per apotheosin id est per deificationem*), Tert. *Apol.* 34, etc.

τος πολυτελεῖ κηδεῖα καταθάπτουσιν ἀνθρώπων νόμῳ· κηροῦ δὲ πλασάμενοι εἰκόνα πάντα ὁμοίαν τῷ τετλευτηκότι ¹ ἐπὶ μεγίστης ἐλεφαντίνης κλίνης, ἐς ὕψος ἀρθείσης, προτιθέασιν ἐν τῇ τῶν βασιλείων εἰσόδῳ, χρυσοῦφεῖς στρωμνὰς ὑποστρωννύντες. ἢ δ' εἰκὼν ἐκεῖνη ἐν σχήματι νοσοῦντος ³ πρόκειται ὠχριῶσα. τῆς δὲ κλίνης ἐκατέρωθεν καθέζονται ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν μὲν τῷ λαῶ μέρει πᾶσα ἢ σύγκλητος, μελαίναις ἐφειστρίσι χρώμενοι, ἐν δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ γυναικες πᾶσαι ὄσαις ἀνδρῶν ἢ πατέρων ἀξίωμα τιμῆς ἐνδόξου μεταδίδωσιν. οὔτε δὲ χρυσοφοροῦσά τις αὐτῶν ὄραται οὔτε περιδεραιοὺς κοσμουμένη, ἀλλὰ λιτὰς ἐσθῆτας λευκάς ἀμφιεννύμεναι σχῆμα παρέχουσι ⁴ λυπουμένων. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἡμερῶν τὰ εἰρημμένα ἐπιτελεῖται· ἰατροὶ τε εἰσιόντες ἐκάστοτε πρόσιασι τῇ κλίνῃ, καὶ δῆθεν ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὸν νοσοῦντα χαλεπώτερον ἔχειν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἐκάστοτε. ἐπὶ δὲ δόξῃ τετελευτηκέναι, τὴν μὲν κλίνην ἀράμενοι τοῦ τε ἵππικοῦ τάγματος εὐγενέστατοι καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπιλεκτοὶ νεανῖαι κατακομίζουσι διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, ἐς τε τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν προτιθέασιν, ἐνθα οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς ²

¹ τελευτήσαντι O² om i

¹ Richer families normally took a wax death-mask, from which the *imago* was later made. In some cases, presumably

in a normal way with a very expensive funeral. But then they make a wax model ¹ exactly like the dead man and lay it on an enormous ivory couch raised up on high legs at the entrance to the palace, ² and spread golden drapes under the effigy. This model lies there pale, like a sick man, and on either side of the couch ³ people sit for most of the day. On the left is the entire senate dressed in black cloaks ³ and on the right all the women who hold a position of high honour because of the distinction of their husbands or fathers. None of these women appear wearing gold ornaments or necklaces; they wear only a plain white dress to show they are in mourning. ⁴ For seven days the ⁴ above-mentioned ceremonies continue. Each day the doctors come and go up to the couch, and each day they pretend to examine the patient and make an announcement that his condition is deteriorating. Then, when it appears he is dead, the noblest members of the equestrian order and picked young men from the senatorial order lift the couch up and take it along the Sacred Way to the old forum, and there they set it up at the place where Roman

for hygiene's sake, since the body lay in state for seven days (Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.64), a wax effigy was used for the actual burial ceremony; Tac. *A.* 3.5.

² The high *lectus funebris* is illustrated on a relief in the Lateran Museum.

³ A special garment, which, according to the *Suda* s.v. *ἐφειστρίς* and Artemidorus, *Oneir.* 2.3.105 (Pack), was also called a *mandua* or *berion* (or *birron*); cf. Pollux 7.60; presumably a kind of woollen cloak and the same as the black *pullum* worn by the plebs, Juv. *Sat.* 10.245, Tac. *A.* 3.2, Non. Marc. (Varro) 549 (M).

⁴ An innovation under the empire; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 26, Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.3.

5 ἀπόμνυνται. ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ βάθρα τινὰ σύγκειται
 ἐν κλίμακος σχήματι, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν θατέρου μέρους
 τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ εὐπατριδῶν χορὸς ἔστηκε
 παιδῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν
 ἀξιώσει εἶναι δοκουσῶν.¹ ᾄδουσι δὲ ἑκάτεροι
 ὕμνους τε καὶ παιᾶνας ἐς τὸν τετελευτηκότα,
 6 σεμνῶ μέλει καὶ θρηνώδει ἐρρυθμισμένους. μετὰ
 δὲ τοῦτο βαστάσαντες τὴν κλίνην φέρουσιν ἕξω
 τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρεως πεδίον,
 ἔνθα κατεσκευάσται ἐν τῷ πλατυτάτῳ τοῦ πεδίου
 τόπῳ² τετράγωνόν τι καὶ³ ἰσόπλευρον, ἄλλης μὲν
 ὕλης οὐδεμιᾶς μετέχον, ἐκ⁴ μόνης δὲ συμπήξεως
 7 ξύλων μεγίστων ἐς σχῆμα οἰκῆματος. πᾶν δὲ⁵
 ἐκεῖνο ἔνδοθεν μὲν φρυγάνων πεπλήρωται, ἕξωθεν
 δὲ χρυσοῦφέσι στρωμαῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις τε ἀγάλμασι
 γραφαῖς τε ποικίλαις κεκόσμηται. ἐπ'⁶ ἐκείνῳ
 δὲ ἕτερον, σχήματι μὲν καὶ κόσμῳ παραπλήσιον,
 μικρότερον <δ>⁷ ἐπίκειται, πυλίδας ἔχον καὶ
 θύρας ἀνεωγυίας. τρίτον τε καὶ τέταρτον, αἰεὶ τοῦ
 ὑποκειμένου μείον, ἐς τελευταῖον βραχύτατον
 8 περατοῦται.⁸ ἀπεικάζουσι τις ἂν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ

¹ δοκούντων O² τόπος O³ om Mendelss⁴ ἢ ἐκ i⁵ Sylb τε Oi⁶ Steph ὑπ' Oi⁷ Irmisch and Steph (δὲ)⁸ Scheid περαιούται Oi

¹ Probably H. means the *Rostra Vetera* moved to the North end of the *Forum Romanum*, as opposed to the *Rostra Julia*, the podium of the heroism of Julius Caesar from which

magistrates swear themselves out of office.¹ On 5
 either side stands are put up in tiers, on which there
 are two choirs, one made up of children from noble
 and patrician families, and opposite them one com-
 posed of women of honourable reputation.² Each
 group sings hymns and chants that are set to solemn
 rhythms of mourning in honour of the dead man.
 Next, the bier is carried out of the city to the Campus 6
 Martius, where there has been set up in the most
 open part of the plain a square building, which con-
 sists entirely of vast wooden beams put together
 to make a kind of house. Inside, the building is 7
 completely filled with brushwood, and outside it is
 decorated with gold-embroidered drapery, ivory
 carvings and a variety of paintings. On top of this
 structure there is another one of the same shape and
 with the same decoration, but smaller and with open
 windows and doors. On top of this are a third and a
 fourth tier, each smaller than the last, until finally
 comes the smallest of all.³ One might compare the 8

Caesar's own funeral ceremonies had been conducted. The ceremony of *abdicatio* when the magistrates took the oath *se nihil contra leges fecisse* (Pliny, *Paneg.* 65; cf. Tac. *A.* 12.4) was presumably at the old rostra before it was moved by Augustus, and continued to take place there. For Pertinax's funeral a wooden platform was set up just beside the Rostra (Dio (Xiph.) 74.4.2). Cf. Nash, *Pict. Dict. Anc. Rome* II. 276 ff.

² A chorus of boys and men in Dio's description.

³ H.'s description corresponds fairly closely with representations on coins; e.g. *BMC* IV. 764 and plate 101.10-11. The second and third tiers are ornamented with figurines in niches and the second tier has a door. On top is the emperor in a quadriga; Dio's description is of three storeys and a quadriga and statues; a common subject for description.

κατασκευάσματος φρυκτωρίοις, ἃ τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐπικείμενα νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς ἀσφαλεῖς καταγωγὰς τὰς ναῦς χειραγωγεῖ· φάρους τε αὐτὰ οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν. ἐς δὴ τὸ οἴκημα τὸ δεύτερον ἀνακομίσαντες τὴν κλίνην τιθέασιν, ἀρώματά τε καὶ θυμιάματα πάντα ὅσα γῆ φέρει, εἴ τέ τινες καρποὶ ἢ πόαι χυμοὶ τε συμβαλλόμενοι πρὸς εὐωδίαν, ἀνακομίζονται καὶ σωρηδὸν χέονται
 9 οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος οὔτε πόλις τις οὔτε τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει ἢ τιμῇ¹ ἔστιν ὅς² μὴ δῶρα ταῦτα ὕστατα πέμπει φιλοτίμως ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπὰν δὲ μέγιστον χῶμα ἀρθῇ τῶν ἀρωμάτων πᾶς τε ὁ τόπος πληρωθῇ, ἵππασία περὶ τὸ κατασκευάσμα ἐκείνο γίνεται, πᾶν τε τὸ ἵππικὸν τάγμα περιθεῖ κύκλω μετὰ τινος εὐταξίας καὶ ἀνακυκλώσεως
 10 πυρριχίῳ δρόμῳ καὶ ῥυθμῷ. ἄρματά τε περιερχεται ὁμοία εὐταξία, φέροντα τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἡμφιεσμένους μὲν τὰς περιπορφύρους³ ἔσθῆτας, προσωπεῖα δὲ περικειμένους εἰκόνας ἔχοντα ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐνδόξως ἐστρατήγησαν ἢ ἐβασίλευσαν. τούτων δὲ συντελεσθέντων λαβὼν λαμπάδα ὁ τὴν

¹ τιμῆς φῖ² ὡς Ogl³ Ern (in Steph) from περιπορφύρας Ἄ περὶ πορφύραν φῖ

¹ The name of the lighthouse at Alexandria, built by Sostratus of Cnidos in the reign of Ptolemy II (c. 280 B.C.); it was frequently depicted on coins from Domitian to Commodus; a three-storeyed building, surmounted by a colossal statue, the whole about 120 metres high, it was one

shape of the structure to the lighthouses which stand at the harbours and guide ships at night to safe anchorage; the general name for these lighthouses is Pharos.¹ The bier is taken up and placed on the second storey. Every perfume and incense on earth and all the fruits and herbs and juices that are collected for their aroma are brought up and poured out in great heaps. Every people and city and prominent
 9 person of distinction vies with each other to send these last gifts in honour of the emperor. When an enormous pile of these aromatic spices has been accumulated and the entire place has been filled, there is a cavalry procession around the pyre in which the whole equestrian order rides in a circle round and round in a fixed formation, following the movement and rhythm of the Pyrrhic dance.² Chariots, too,
 10 circle round in the same formation with their drivers dressed in purple-bordered togas. In the chariots are figures wearing masks of all the famous Roman generals and emperors.³ After this part of the ceremony the heir to the principate takes a torch and

of the wonders of the ancient world; in one form or other it stood until the fourteenth century and some of the best descriptions come from Arab sources; Reineke, *RE* (Pharos) 1867-9.

² Clearly not the whole equestrian order, but the *turmae* of *iuventus* who were *equites equo publico*. Dio (Xiph.) 74.5.5 seems to suggest it was not the equestrians at all, but the mounted sections of the praetorians, who took part in the dance. The Pyrrhic dance was introduced into Rome by Julius Caesar; the name derived, according to one theory, from its inventor Pyrrhicus, but more plausibly from *pyra* (a pyre); Athen. *Deipn.* 12.630D (Aristoxenos).

³ The parade of images took place, according to Dio, while the ceremony was still in the forum; (Xiph.) 74.4.4-5.

βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος προσθέρει τῷ οἰκῆματι
οἷ τε λοιποὶ πανταχόθεν πῦρ περιτιθέασιν.¹ πάντα
δὲ ῥᾶστα ἀνάπτεται <καὶ>² εὐμαρῶς³ ὑπὸ τοῦ
πυρός, φρυγάνων τε πλήθους⁴ καὶ θυμιαμάτων
11 ἐπινηθέντος.⁵ ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ βραχυτά-
του κατασκευάσματος, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ τινος ἐπάλλξεως,
ἀετὸς ἀφίεται σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελευσόμενος⁶ ἐς
τὸν αἰθέρα,⁶ ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ
βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ
ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν θρησκευέται.⁷

3. ταύτη⁸ δὴ⁹ τῇ τιμῇ ἐκθειάσαντες οἱ παῖδες
τὸν¹⁰ πατέρα ἐπανήλθον ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. ἐξ
ἐκείνου δὲ ἐστασίαζον¹¹ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐμίσουν
τε καὶ ἐπεβούλευον· πάντα τε ἔπραττεν ἑκάτερος
πειρώμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποσκευάσασθαι ἐς αὐτόν
2 τε μόνον περιαγαγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐμερίζοντο δὲ

¹ ἐπιπεριτιθέασιν B ἐπιτιθ. V

² Schwartz

³ del or ῥᾶστα Sylb Mendelss ταῦτα Stroth

⁴ πλήθος O

⁵ Locella ἐπινηθέντος Ogl ἐπιθέντος a g² (in mg) ἐπιτεθέντος
Steph in Gesn *Chrest*

⁶ ἀνελ.—αἰθέρα om P

⁷ εἶναι πιστεύεται A πιστεύεται φ

⁸ Reisk ταύτην . . . τὴν τιμὴν OI

⁹ Bekk² δε OI

¹⁰ ἐς τὸν i

¹¹ <ἔτι μάλλον> ἐστασίαζον Neumann <ἤδη φανερώς> ἐστασ.
Schwartz

¹ The fire was lit at Pertinax's funeral by the consuls, but that may have been a deliberately conciliatory gesture by

puts it to the built-up pyre,¹ while everyone else
lights the fire all round. The whole structure easily
catches fire and burns without difficulty because of
the large amount of dry wood and aromatic spices
which are piled high inside.² Then from the highest 11
and topmost storey an eagle is released, as if from a
battlement, and soars up into the sky with the
flames, taking the soul of the emperor from earth to
heaven,³ the Romans believe. After that he is
worshipped with the rest of the gods.

3. After the deification of their father at this cere-
mony the sons returned to the palace. But now
their rivalry and hatred and plots against each other
broke out. Each brother tried every way to get rid
of the other and secure a change of power in favour
of himself alone. The opinion of everyone in Rome 2

Severus; Dio (Xiph.) 74.5.5. It was at this stage also that
the spectators sat on wooden stands, not as H. says, in the
forum. In view of the various differences between Dio (who
was present in 193) and H. on this occasion in 211, even
allowing for differences upon each occasion, one is bound to
question whether H. was an eye-witness or was relying rather
on a somewhat inaccurate report. Perhaps his senile memory
played him tricks.

² Locella's emendation (*app. critic.*) seems undoubtedly
right in view of the striking similarity of language in Herodot.
4.62. It is a not infrequent trick of H. to allow the words or
the images of a classical model to influence his train of
vocabulary, no doubt often unconsciously, since he com-
manded a store of quotations; e.g. ἄρματα—ἀμάξας (Hero-
dotus), φρυγάνων—φρυγάνων (Herodotus), ἐπινηθέντος—ἐπιπέουσι
(Herodotus).

³ Represented on coins with *consecratio* and an eagle alone
or an eagle bearing the emperor on its back, often holding a
thunderbolt in its claws; e.g. *BMC* V. 423, 429, *RIC* IV.
1.239, nos. 191 A-F (Caracalla).

καὶ πάντων αἱ γινῶμαι, ὅσοι ἐν ἀξιώσει ἢ τιμῇ
τινὶ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· ἰδίᾳ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἑκάτε-
ρος ἐπέστελλέ τε λανθάνων καὶ ὑψικιοῦτο, μεγάλας
ὑποσχέσεσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθέλκων.¹ καὶ τό γε
πλείστον μέρος ἐς τὸν Γέταν ἔβλεπε· φαντασίαν
γάρ τινα ἐπιεικειᾶς ἐπεδείκνυτο, μέτριόν τε καὶ
3 πρᾶον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς προσιούσι² παρείχεν, ἐπιτηδ-
εύμασί τε σπουδαιοτέροις ἐχρήτο, προσιέμενός τε
τοὺς ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ ἐπαινουμένους, ἐσπουδακῶς τε
περὶ παλαίστραν καὶ γυμνάσια ἐλεύθερα· χρηστός
τε ὢν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος τοῖς συνοῦσι, φήμη καὶ
δόξῃ ἀρίστη πλείους ἐς εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν προκα-
λείτο. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνίνος ἐμβριθῶς τὰ πάντα καὶ
4 θυμοειδῶς ἔπραττε. πολὺ δὲ ἀπάγων ἑαυτὸν τῶν
προειρημένων στρατιωτικοῦ τε καὶ πολεμικοῦ
βίου ἔραστής εἶναι προσεποιεῖτο· ὀργῇ τε πάντα
πράττων, καὶ ἀπειλῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πείθων, φόβῳ καὶ
οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ φίλους ἐκτάτο.

¹ ἀνέλκων i² παροῦσι O

¹ An *ex parte* statement and contrasting with the earlier description of Geta, 3.10.3-4. There both young men were corrupted by the luxuries of Rome, and G.'s activities are far from the scholarly pursuits noted here. Literary figures known to have supported Geta were Aelius Antipater (3.15.6n), the elder Philostratus (a letter of reproach to "Antoninus," presumably after Geta's death, *Ep.* 72), Serenus Sammonicus (*vir saeculo suo doctus*, Macrobian, *Sat.* 36.16.6, SHA, *Car.* 4.4, *Geta* 5.6), probably Gordian, the future emperor (connected with Philostratus and Serenus Sammoni-

who held rank and honour was also divided. Each of the brothers sent out confidential and secret letters trying to win favour and drawing support for themselves by making extravagant promises. The majority were for Geta, who showed some sign of goodness by acting with moderation and mildness to those who approached him.¹ He also had more serious³ interests, including in his circle distinguished men of learning and devoting his enthusiasm to wrestling school and the athletic activities of free citizens. As a person of honour and generosity to his companions, he attracted through his reputation and good name more people than his brother into his circle of friends and supporters. Antoninus was always a man of grim and violent action who had absolutely nothing⁴ to do with the activities² mentioned above and made himself out to be an enthusiast for a soldier's life of war. A man of violent temper in all he did, he made his friends by threats and intimidation rather than persuasion and favour.

cus) and probably Dio (Millar, *Cassius Dio* 19-20, for connection with Julia Domna). Although H. is not as violently anti-Caracalla as Dio, he seems here to be accepting the views of the circle of Julia Domna.

² On the contrary, several of Julia's circle stayed on at court under Caracalla later (e.g. both Philostrati). The historian, Asinius Quadratus, became governor of Asia under C. probably and dedicated to him a statue (*PIR*² A 1244, *Albo* 59) Philostratus records an occasion in Gaul (213) when C. listened to an *epideixis* of the sophist, Heliodorus the Arab, who became an *advocatus fisci*; cf. 3.10.4 for both brothers' interests in sophistic recitations. Dio (*Exc. Val.*) 77.13.7 notes C.'s musical interests; Dio (*Xiph.*) 77.11.3 records his study of philosophy; C. was able to quote Euripides to Dio (at Nicomedia in 214, 78.8.4).

ὡς στασιάζοντας δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν ἅπασιν
οἷς ἔπραττον, μέχρι τῶν εὐτελεστάτων ἔργων, ἢ
5 μήτηρ συνάγειν ἐπειράτο. καὶ ποτε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς,
ἵνα δὴ μὴ μένοντες ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀλλήλοις ἐπι-
βουλευοίεν, νείμασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. συναγαγόντες
δὴ τοὺς πατρώους φίλους, τῆς τε μητρὸς παρούσης,
ἠξίου διαιρεθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπ'
Εὐρώπῃν πάντα ἔχειν τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, τὴν δὲ
ἀντικειμένην ἡπειρον Ἀσίαν τε καλουμένην πᾶσαν ¹
6 Γέτα παραδοθῆναι. οὕτω γὰρ ἔλεγον καὶ θεία τινὶ
προνοία τὰς ἡπείρους διηρῆσθαι ² τῷ Προποντίδος
ρέύματι. ἤρεσκε δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ
Βυζαντίῳ ἰδρύσαι στρατόπεδον, τὸν δὲ Γέταν ἐν
Χαλκηδόνι τῆς Βιθυνίας, ὡς ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις
τὰ στρατεύματα ³ φρουροίη τε τὴν ἑκατέρου
ἀρχήν καὶ κωλύοι τὰς διαβάσεις. ἐδόκει τε τῆς
συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοὺς μὲν Εὐρωπαϊοὺς πάντας
ἀπομείναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελθεῖν σὺν τῷ Γέτᾳ.
7 τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀντάρκη ἔσεσθαι ὑπο-
δοχὴν ὁ Γέτας ἔλεγεν ἢ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἢ τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, οὐ πολὺ τι τῆς Ῥώμης [ὡς
ᾤετο] ⁴ μεγέθει ἀποδεύσας. ⁵ τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ μεσημ-

¹ πᾶσαν καλουμένην Ogl

² διοικεῖσθαι φ διωρίσθαι A

³ στρατόπεδα AVag

⁴ om Whit from P

⁵ OI Steph in Gesn. ("quidam vetus" = g¹ in mg?)
ἀπολειπούσας a ἀπολιπούσας g (but g¹ above)

¹ Probably not a formal territorial division, but following the precedent of Augustus-Agrippa, Tiberius-Germanicus, M. Aurelius-Verus; cf. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat* 89-90, who sees this as a transition to the more formal division of Diocletian.

In this state of bitter antagonism between the brothers over every single thing they did, right down to very trivial matters, their mother made an attempt to effect a reconciliation. The two men planned at 5 one time to partition the empire ¹ so that they should not stay on in Rome intriguing against each other. The council of their father's advisers was summoned ² and in their mother's presence they decided to divide the principate. Antoninus was to have all the provinces in Europe and Geta was to receive all the territory which lies opposite Europe, the continent 6 known as Asia. This was the division of continents, they said, which had been foreseen even by the gods when they created the Propontis flowing between them. It was decided that Antoninus should station his army at Byzantium and Geta at Chalcedon in Bithynia. The two armies would thus be facing each other and protecting the realm of each from en- 6 croachments. It was also planned that all the senators who came from Europe should remain in Rome, but that those from the East should go with Geta.³ Geta declared that either Antioch or 7 Alexandria, which were not much smaller than Rome [in his opinion], would be a suitable capital for his

² A list of the known *amici* of Severus and Caracalla appears in Crook, *Consilium Principis* 84-5; several of them were Severus' old generals, who no doubt ensured that C. did not win over the loyalty of the army to his sole rule (cf. 3.15.5-7).

³ An interesting side line on probable support for Geta. Eastern and Hellenistic senators under the Severi represented some 33 per cent of the total known numbers (Barbieri, *Albo* p. 441); many of the old Antonine aristocracy and the literary figures came from the East; e.g. Claudii Severi, Claudii Pompeiani.

βρία ἐθνῶν Μαυρουσίους μὲν καὶ Νομάδας Λιβύης
 τε τὰ παρακείμενα Ἀντωνίνῳ παραδοθῆναι,¹ τὰ
 δὲ ἐπέκεινα μέχρις ἀνατολῆς προσήκειν τῷ Γέτῃ.
 8 ταῦτα δὴ αὐτῶν διατυπούντων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες
 σκυθρωποῖς προσώποις ἐς γῆν ἔνευσαν· ἡ δὲ
 Ἰουλία “ γῆν μὲν ” ἔφη “ καὶ θάλασσαν, ὦ τέκνα,
 εὐρίσκετε ὅπως νείμησθε, καὶ τὰς ἡπείρους, ὡς
 φατε, τὸ Πόντιον ρεῖθρον διαιρεῖ· τὴν δὲ μητέρα
 πῶς ἂν διέλοισθε, καὶ πῶς ἡ ἀθλία ἐγὼ ἐς ἑκάτερον
 ὑμῶν νεμηθεῖν ἢ τμηθεῖν; πρῶτον δὴ² ἐμὲ
 φονεύσατε, καὶ διελόντες ἑκάτερος παρ’ ἐαυτῷ τὸ
 μέρος θαπτέτω· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μετὰ γῆς καὶ
 9 θαλάττης ἐς ὑμᾶς μερισθεῖν.” ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα
 μετὰ δακρῶν καὶ οἰμωγῆς, ἀμφοτέροις τε τὰς
 χεῖρας περιβάλλουσα καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ἀγκάλας λαβοῦσα,³
 συνάγειν ἐπειράτο. πάντας δὲ οἴκτου καταλαβόν-
 τος διελύθη τὸ συνέδριον, ἢ τε σκέψις⁴ ἀπεδοκιμά-
 σθη, ἑκάτερός τε ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ βασίλεια ἀνεχώρησε.

4. τὸ δὲ μῖσος καὶ ἡ στάσις ηὔξετο. εἴτε γὰρ
 ἡγεμόνας ἢ ἄρχοντας ἔδει ποιεῖν, ἑκάτερος τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ φίλον προάγειν ἤθελεν, εἴτε δικάζοιεν, τὰ

¹ δοθῆναι O

³ Jo ἄγουσα O

² iP δὲ OJo

⁴ σκῆψις O

¹ Africa Proconsularis and the Tripolitanian sea-board, but not apparently including Cyrenaica or Marmarica (later called

empire. As for the southern territories, Morocco, Numidia and the land adjacent to Libya¹ were allocated to Antoninus, while all the territory east of this belonged to Geta. So much for the proposals, 8 to which almost everyone assented with expressions of gloom and heads bowed. But Julia² cried out, “ My sons, you have found a method of partitioning the land and the sea; between the continents you say lies the barrier of the Pontic sea. But what about your mother? How do you propose to partition her? How am I supposed to divide and carve up this unhappy body of mine? Very well, kill me first and each of you take a part of my torn body to your territory and bury it there. In this way I can be shared out between you along with the land and the sea.” With these words she began weeping and 9 crying out. Then she threw her arms around them both and drew them into an embrace, trying to reconcile them. Everyone was overcome with pity and the council broke up. The scheme was rejected and the two brothers returned, each to his own palace quarters.

4. But the hatred and rivalry grew. Whenever the question of an appointment to a military or civil post came up, they each wanted to promote their own friends. In trials they held conflicting views,

Libya superior and inferior). The division is similar to the diocesan boundary between Oriens and Africa under Diocletian.

² In spite of this outburst, Julia Domna seems to have lost none of her prestige after the murder of Geta and in 214 was practically managing the civil administration of the empire; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 77.18.2, 78.4.2-3. Scandalous stories of an incestuous marriage between her and Caracalla were spread, SHA, *Car.* 10.1; cf. 4.9.3n.

ἐναντία ἐφρόνουν, ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν δικαιομένων
 ἔσθ' ὅτε· πλέον γὰρ ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου τὸ
 φιλόνεικον. ἔν τε τοῖς ¹ θεάμασι περὶ τὰ ἐναντία
² ἐσπούδαζον. πάντα τε εἶδη ἐπιβουλῆς ἐξήρτυον,
 οἰνοχόους τε καὶ ὄψοποιούς ἀνέπειθον ἐμβαλεῖν
 δηλητήρια φάρμακα. οὐ ραδίως δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδε-
 τέρῳ προεχώρει, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας
 καὶ φρουρᾶς διητῶντο. τέλος δὲ μὴ φέρων ὁ
 Ἀντωνῖνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν
 ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαυνόμενος, διέγνω δράσαι τι ἢ παθεῖν
³ γενναῖον, διὰ ξίφους χωρήσας καὶ φόνον· μὴ
 προχωρούσης γὰρ τῆς λαυθανούσης ἐπιβουλῆς
 ἀναγκαίαν ἠγγήσατο τὴν κινδυνώδη τε καὶ ἀπεγνω-
 σμένην . . . ² τῆς ³ μὲν διὰ στοργὴν τοῦ δὲ δι'
 ἐπιβουλήν.

Γέτας μὲν δὴ καιρίως τρωθείς, προσχέας τὸ
 αἷμα ⁴ τοῖς τῆς μητρὸς στήθεσι, μετέλλαξε τὸν

¹ Mendels (not in B as Irmisch) from ἐν τοῖς Ο ἔν τε ι

² lac filled by A and P interpol: ἀπεγνωσμένην ὅθεν καὶ ποτε περὶ τὴν μητέρα παραγεγονότων (sc. αὐτῶν) τοῦ μὲν γέτας (-as?) διὰ στοργὴν, ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος (τοῦ δ' Ἀντωνίου Irmisch) διὰ ἐπιβουλήν, ἐξεκέντησε τὸν ἀδελφόν. γέτας μὲν δὴ A *quare irrupto fratris cubiculo, nihil eum tale expectantem supra matris pectus multo undantem sanguine saevius obruncat* P ἐλαυνόμενος διὰ ξίφους ἐχώρησεν, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς στήθεσι τῆς μητρὸς καταφυγόντα διεχρήσατο JO

sometimes to the detriment of those who were being tried, since their mutual antagonism was weightier than justice. At the shows they backed opposing factions.¹ They were up to every kind of intrigue trying to persuade cupbearers and cooks to mix some deadly poison for each other. But neither found it easy to succeed because they both lived extremely carefully and were closely guarded. But finally Antoninus found it intolerable and was driven on by his own desire for sole rule. Either he must act or fail in the grand manner, finding a way with his sword and by bloodshed. His secret plot was not ³ successful, so now he believed he must undertake a dangerous and desperate one. . . .² his mother because of her love and his brother by a plot. Geta was mortally wounded and died spilling his blood on

¹ C. backed the blue faction at the circus, Dio (Xiph.) 77.10.2; cf. 3.10.4, Dio (Exc. Val.) 76.7.1-2. Not only was the circus the scene of political rivalries and demonstrations, but the partisans of the factions acted as bodyguards for the rival emperors, Dio (Xiph.) 77.2.2; cf. Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 361 ff.

² The following interpolations are found in the MSS and texts to fill the lacuna: Codex Monacensis (A), "As a result once, when they were attending their mother, Geta because of his love for her and Antoninus because of his plot, he stabbed his brother"; Politian (P), "Therefore he burst in to his brother's chamber and, when he was not expecting it, savagely slaughtered him as blood spurted out on his mother's breast"; John of Antioch (Jo), "He undertook a way with his sword and slaughtered his brother upon his mother's breast as he ran away for refuge."

³ τὴν φ

⁴ Om O (στήθει τὰ ἔγκατα A)

βίον· ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος κατεργασθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ
 φόνου προπηδᾷ τοῦ δωματίου θέων, φερόμενός τε
 δι' ὄλων τῶν βασιλείων ἔβόα μέγαν κίνδυνον
 4 ἐκπεφευγέναι μόλις τε σωθῆναι. τοὺς τε στρα-
 τιώτας, οἱ φρουροῦσι τὰ βασιλεία, κελεύει αὐτὸν
 ἀρπάσαντας ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἂν
 σωθῆ φυλαχθεῖς ἐκεῖ· μείνας γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείου
 αὐλῆς ἔλεγεν ἀπολείσθαι. πιστεύσαντές τε ἐκείνοι,
 τό τε πεπραγμένον ἔνδον οὐκ εἰδότες, θέοντι αὐτῷ
 καὶ φερομένῳ¹ συνεξέδραμον πάντες. παραχῆ τε
 τὸν δῆμον κατεῖχεν ὀρῶντα περὶ δειλὴν διὰ μέσης
 5 φερόμενον² τῆς πόλεως δρόμῳ τὸν βασιλέα. ὡς
 δὲ εἰσέπεσεν³ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔς τε τὸν νεῶν,
 ἔνθα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 προσκυνεῖται, ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐς γῆν ὠμολόγει τε
 χαριστήρια ἔθνε τε σωτήρια. ὡς δὲ διηγγέλη
 τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἤδη περὶ
 λουτρὰ εἶχον οἱ δὲ ἀνεπαύοντο, πάντες ἐκπλαγέντες
 6 συνέθεον. ὁ δὲ προελθὼν τὸ μὲν πραχθὲν εὐθέως
 οὐχ ὠμολόγησεν, ἔβόα δὲ πεφευγέναι κίνδυνον καὶ
 ἐπιβουλήν πολεμίου καὶ⁴ ἐχθροῦ, τὸν ἀδελφὸν

¹ καὶ φερομένῳ om Mendelss from PJo

² om φ

³ εἰσεπήδησεν Jo

⁴ om O

¹ The date in Dio (Xiph.) 77.2.5 can be calculated to 26th February 212 if one assumes that Geta's birthday was 27th May 188 (i.e. he lived twenty-two years, nine months, says Dio), but the birthday is open to doubt; Reusch, *Der hist.*

his mother's breast.¹ After the murder Caracalla was the first to jump up and run from the chamber. Rushing through the whole palace, he shouted out that he had escaped a great danger and only just been saved. He ordered the palace guards to take 4 him away and conduct him to the military camp since he knew he would be safely protected there. If he remained in the palace building, he declared, he would be destroyed. The soldiers believed him, since they had no idea of what had been done inside, and so they all rushed outside with him as he ran out at full speed. There was confusion among the popu- lace when they saw the emperor come running quickly through the middle of the city at nightfall. Bursting into the camp and the temple where the 5 standard and images of the soldiers are worshipped,² Antoninus threw himself on the ground. Then he offered thanks and made a sacrifice for his safety. When the news circulated among the soldiers, as some were already taking their baths and others sleeping, they all hurriedly mustered in a panic. Antoninus then came out but did not at first tell them 6 what had happened. Instead, he cried out that he had escaped from a dangerous plot of a man—he was

Wert d. Caracallavita 15. Dio (Xiph.) 77.2.1 says C. wished to kill his brother at the Saturnalia (i.e. December 17th to 23rd or later; cf. 1.16.2n); being frustrated, he then persuaded his mother to invite them both to her apartment. Beyond that there is no more certain date. The very few coins belonging to Geta with *trib. pot. IV* (post 10th December 211) confirm a date early in 212 for his death, though only *ex silentio*; *RIC IV*. 1.327, no. 93A, 341, nos. 179-81. The incident must have been before 11th July 212 (see 4.5.1n).

² The *sacellum* or shrine; cf. 5.8.5.

λέγων, μόλις τε καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς μάχης τὸν ἐχθρὸν ¹ κεκρατηκέναι, κινδυνευσάντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων κὰν ἓνα ἑαυτῶν ² βασιλέα τετηρήσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. τοιαῦτα δὴ τινα πλαγίως ἐμφαίνων νοεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἐβούλετο τὰ πραχθέντα ἢ ἀκούεσθαι. ⁷ ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ μοναρχίας ἐκάστῳ μὲν στρατιώτῃ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς, προστίθῃσι δὲ τῷ σιτηρεσίῳ ἄλλο τοῦ τελουμένου ἡμισυ. κελεύει τε ἀπελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἤδη ὑποδέχεσθαι ἕκ τε τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν τὰ χρήματα, μιᾶς [τε] ³ ἡμέρας ἀφειδῶς ἐκχέας πάντα ὅσα

¹ τῶν ἐχθρῶν Ag¹

² ἑαυτὸν cf. 4.5.7 βασιλέα om B

³ del Bergl γε Steph

¹ SHA, *Car.* 2.10, says that this curious, oblique speech (*involute et incondite*) was made in the senate, whereas to the soldiers C. was explicit (2.4-5). Dio (Xiph.) 77.3.1-2 mentions the pay and the treasuries only.

² An attic drachma, approximately equal to a denarius, here used due to fluctuating real values of denarii; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 55.12.4-5. This sum was less than half that offered by Didius Julianus (2.6.10n), and just half that given by M. Aurelius in 161 (SHA, *Marc.* 7.9) though over ten times as much as anything given by Severus. On denarii, see Pekáry, *Hist.* 8 (1959) 480-1.

³ Although H. here only refers to praetorian pay, C. was responsible for a general pay rise throughout the army. Cf. 3.8.5 on the meaning of "allowances." According to Dio 78.36.3 the total cost of C.'s pay rise was 70 million denarii, which, if divided between thirty-three legions and all the various bodies like the praetorians, is at least a rise of 50 per cent; Passerini accepts H.'s figure, *Athen.* 24 (1946) 156, and

referring to his brother—who was a public and private enemy, and that after a desperate fight he had just managed to defeat his enemy. Although both had been in great danger, one of them at any rate had been preserved by fortune to be emperor. He made hints in this indirect way, wanting them to understand what had happened but not to hear it explicitly.¹ As a reward for his safety and gain-⁷ ing the sole rule he promised to give each soldier two thousand five hundred Attic drachmae,² and he increased their normal pay by a half.³ He told them then and there to go out and get the money from the temples and treasuries, in this way lavishly squandering in one day⁴ all the funds which Severus had

calculates the basic legionary pay at 665 denarii per annum; Van Berchem, *Mem. Soc. nat. Ant. Fr.* 10 (1937) 126, believes the pay may have risen 100 per cent to 800 denarii per annum. The entire army cost about 70 million under Augustus, but an increase of one-third in size, plus rapid inflation, plus a pay rise the size of Augustus' original pay, makes Dio's figure of 70 million by no means exaggerated.

⁴ Obviously a picturesque exaggeration; all sources comment on the extravagance of C.; Dio (Xiph.) 76.16.4 (the full treasury of S.), (Exc. Val.) 77.9.1 ff. (extravagance on soldiers, repeated demands for *aurum coronarium*, heavy levies of *annona militaris*, new taxes, *mansiones*, extravagant building); (Xiph.) 77.10.1 ff. (expenditure on games and soldiers); cf. 4.7.4 (further donatives), *CIL* III. 14416 (75,000 sesterces given to a soldier in 214 for bravery); shortage of money was said by Dio to be the reason for the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (4.7.1n); and the raising of the *vicesima hereditatum* to a new level of 10 per cent (an inheritance as low as 1,900 drachmae was taxed; cf. Gilliam, *AJP* 73 (1952) 402 ff.) must have been due to rising expenditure. But Macrinus' later attempts to cut down were a failure, indicating more serious problems than mere extravagance; cf. 2.3.9n for the same charge against Commodus.

ἔτεσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὁ Σεβήρος ἠθροισέ τε καὶ
8 κατέκλεισεν ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων συμφορῶν. οἱ δὲ στρα-
τιῶται τοσοῦτον¹ χρημάτων πλήθος ἀκούσαντες,
καὶ συνέντες τὸ πεπραγμένον ἤδη [τε]² καὶ τοῦ
φόνου διαβόητου γενομένου ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδοθεν
φυγόντων,³ μόνον τε αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορεύουσιν
αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Γέταν καλοῦσι πολέμιον.

5. ἐπιμείνας δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης
ἐν τῷ νεῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, θαρρήσας τε καὶ ταῖς
ἐπιδόσεσιν οἰκειωσάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐς τὴν
σύγκλητον κατήλθε μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ,
ὠπλισμένου μᾶλλον ἢ ἔθος ἐστὶ βασιλέως⁴ προ-
πομπεύειν. εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ θύσας, τοῦ τε βασι-
2 λείου ἐπιβὰς θρόνον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. “οὐκ ἄγνοῶ
μὲν ὅτι πᾶς οἰκείου φόνος εὐθέως ἀκουσθεῖς με-
μίσηται, τό τε ὄνομα ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἅμα τῷ προσπε-

¹ τοσοῦτων Αἰ

² del Bekk²

³ Sylb φευγόντων Οἰ

⁴ βασιλέα ag βασιλέα προπέμπουσιν conj Mendelss

¹ According to SHA, *Car.* 2.7–8, the day after the murder C. went to the soldiers of legio II Parthica at Albanum; but they were so angry at the murder of Geta they refused to allow the emperor in for a long time, and were finally also won over by a donative; cf. *Geta* 6.1–2, Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1317 (the legion failed to receive the epithet Antoniniana), 4.14.2n. If C. also went to the senate on the same day he must have attended late in the day, allowing time for the thirty miles riding there and back.

amassed in eighteen years and had confiscated as a result of the misfortunes of other people. When the 8 soldiers heard so large a sum mentioned, even though they now knew the facts as a result of fugitives from within the palace broadcasting the story of the murder, they saluted Antoninus as sole emperor and declared Geta a public enemy.

5. Antoninus spent the night in the camp temple, where he gained confidence and won the allegiance of the soldiers with donatives.¹ Then he ventured out to the senate house, escorted by the entire guard, who were more heavily armed than was normal when leading a procession for the emperor.² He went into the senate, made his sacrifice and then ascended the emperor's throne to make the following speech.³ “I am well aware of the odium which attaches im- 2 mediately to the news of any family murder. The very word causes serious recrimination as soon as it comes to one's hearing, rousing pity for the victims

² Cf. 2.2.9, 2.13.2.

³ The visit to the senate is also recorded by Dio (Xiph.) 77.3.3 and SHA, *Car.* 2.10–11, but Dio says C. only announced a return and amnesty for exiles and apologized for a sore throat (Petr. Patr.). A later *novella*, clarifying and explaining the amnesty edict, is preserved in *P. Giess.* 40 II, dated 11th July 212, in Rome (though not promulgated in Alexandria until 10th February 213); the same appears in abbreviated form in *Dig.* (Ulpian) 50.2.3.1 and *Cod. Just.* 10.61.1. From this it is apparent that the earlier edict (*πρότερον διάταγμα*) only permitted exiles to return to their native land, as is stated by SHA, *Car.* 3.1. Some of the restored exiles noted by Dio are Aelius Coeranus, (Xiph.) 76.5.5, Sempronius Rufus, (Xiph.) 77.17.2, Aelius Triccianus—who became the new prefect of legio II Parthica, (Xiph.) 78.13.3–4, 4.14.2n, Claudius Attalus, 79.3.5.

σεῖν εὐθὺς ¹ φέρει χαλεπὴν διαβολήν. τοῖς μὲν ² γὰρ δυστυχήσασι ἔλεος, τοῖς δὲ κρατήσασι φθόνος παρακολουθεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡττηθὲν <ἐν> ³ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀδικεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ νικῆσαν ἀδικεῖν ³ δοκεῖ. πλὴν εἴ τις ὀρθῇ κρίσει καὶ μὴ διαθέσει τῇ πρὸς τὸν πεσόντα τὸ πεπραγμένον λογίζοιτο, τὴν ⁷ τε αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐξετάζοι, ⁴ εὖροι ἂν ὁμοῦ ⁵ καὶ εὐλογον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τὸν μέλλοντα πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ἀμύνασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπομεῖναι· ⁶ τῇ ⁷ μὲν γὰρ συμφορᾷ τοῦ πεσόντος ⁷ καὶ ἀνανδρίας ψόγος παρακολουθεῖ, ὁ δὲ κρατήσας ἅμα τῷ σεσῶσθαι καὶ δόξαν ἀνδρείας ⁴ ἀπηνέγκατο. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα, ὅσα διὰ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐνέδρας ἐπεβούλευσέ μοι, ἔνεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ διὰ βασάνων χωρήσασι μαθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ⁸ ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι, ὅπως εὕρητε τὴν ἀλήθειαν. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἤδη ἐξετασθέντες, καὶ τῆς ἐξετάσεως ἐπακουσαι δύνασθε. τὸ δ' οὖν τελευταῖον ἐπήλθέ μοι παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ ὄντι ξιφήρεις ἔχων τινὰς ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένους. ⁵ ὅπερ ἐγὼ προμηθεῖα πολλῇ καὶ ἀγχυοῖα συνείς ἡμυνάμην ὡς πολέμιον, ἐπεὶ μήτε γνώμην ἔτι μήτε ὁρμὴν ἔφερεν ἀδελφοῦ. ἀμύνεσθαί τε τοὺς ⁹ ἐπιβουλευόντας οὐ μόνον δίκαιον ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺνηθες. αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως κτίστης Ῥωμύλος οὐκ ἠνεγκεν ἀδελφὸν ὑβρίσαντα μόνον ἐς τὰ

¹ εὐθέως O

² εὐθέως ἐγείρει μίσημα. τοῖς μὲν A

³ Reisk

and hatred for the victors. The victim in such circumstances appears to be in the right and the victor in the wrong. But if one approaches the deed ³ with a fair mind, unprejudiced in favour of the dead man, and investigates the fundamental cause of the action, one discovers then that it is logically necessary for a person who would be harmed to defend himself and not remain passive. For in that case the victim's disaster can be blamed on the result of cowardice, whereas the victor, apart from being safe, earns a reputation for bravery. In general, you can find out ⁴ by using torture the various occasions when my brother plotted against me with lethal poisons and all kinds of treachery. For this reason I gave orders for his servants to be brought here for you to discover the truth. Some of them have already been examined and you can have the evidence of their examination. But the final event was while I was with my mother, when he made an attack on me with a sword, accompanied by several men armed for action. But with great foresight and presence of ⁵ mind I realized what was happening and defended myself by treating him as an outlaw, as he no longer showed the attitude and instinct of a brother. Self-defence against plots is not only justified but natural. After all, even Romulus, the founder of this city, did not stand for his brother simply making fun of his

⁴ τὴν—ἐξετάζοι om Macar

⁵ ἂν ἴσως ὁμοῦ Macar

⁶ ἀπομεῖναι Schwartz ἀναμεῖναι Nauck

⁷ ὅτι τῇ μὲν συμφορᾷ τοῦ πίπτοντος Macar

⁸ <πάντας> τοὺς ἐκείνου ὑπηρέτας Mendelssohn from P

⁹ αὐτοὺς i

6 ἐκείνου ἔργα. σιγῶ Γερμανικὸν <τὸν Τιβερίου
καὶ Βρεττανικὸν>¹ τὸν Νέρωνος καὶ Τίτον τὸν
Δομετιανοῦ. Μάρκος αὐτός, φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἐπιεί-
κειαν προσποιούμενος, Λουκίου τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ
ἤνεγκεν ὄντος γαμβροῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτὸν
ἀπεσεύσατο. ἐγὼ δὲ δηλητηρίων παρεσκευασμέ-
νων ξίφους <τ'>² ἐπηρωρημένον τὸν ἐχθρὸν
ἡμυνάμην· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦνομα ἐδίδου τὰ
7 ἔργα. ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ πρῶτον μὲν θεοῖς εἰδέναί
χάριν ὅτι κἂν τὸν ἕτερον ὑμῶν τῶν βασιλέων
ἔσωσαν, παύσασθαι³ δὲ ἤδη τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς
γνώμας διηρημένους,⁴ ἐς ἓνα δὲ βλέποντας ἀμε-
ρίμνως βιοῦν. βασιλείαν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς
ἔχει θεῶν μόνος, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐνὶ δίδωσι."
τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν μεγάλην βοῆν, θυμοῦ πεπληρωμένος,
βλέμματι δριμυεῖ ἀφορῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους,

¹ Sylb lac Mendelss

² ξίφους <τε> Stroth from P <τ'> Irmisch <τε> ξίφους
Schwartz

³ παύσαθε Οα

⁴ διηρημένοι AVa

¹ Accepting Sylburg's emendation of the text; but there is no way of knowing how good H.'s history was or whether he thought Germanicus was the brother of Nero; Britannicus, the stepbrother of Nero, was in any case originally called Germanicus, says Suet. *Claud.* 27.1. If the emendation is correct, the Germanicus mentioned is not the nephew, but the brother of Tiberius, Drusus, about whom there was a story

labours; not to mention Germanicus, the brother of 6
Tiberius, Britannicus,¹ the brother of Nero, or Titus
the brother of Domitian. Marcus himself, while
professing his philosophy and humaneness, did not
tolerate the arrogance of Lucius, his son-in-law, and
got rid of him by a plot.² And so I too have defended
myself against my enemy who was preparing to kill
me and raised his sword against me. Enemy is the
name he deserves as a result of his actions. It is 7
your task first to give thanks to the gods that at
least one of your emperors was saved by them;³ next
you must put an end to sectarian feelings and partisan
opinions and live an untroubled life looking to a single
emperor. Jupiter created imperial power for a sole
ruler among mankind on the model of his own
position among the gods." With these words de-
livered at the top of his voice he gave a piercing stare
at the friends of Geta, full of anger. Then leaving

that he had been poisoned (Suet. *Claud.* 1.4—also he was called Germanicus) and that Tiberius hated him (Suet. *Tib.* 50.1). Nero's poisoning of Britannicus appears in Suet. *Claud.* 33.2, *Tac. A.* 13.17; Domitian's plots against his brother Titus and his helping hand in Titus' death are recorded by Suet. *Dom.* 2.3, *Tit.* 9.3. Both these stories were known to Dio.

² A common rumour after the death of L. Verus in 169; SHA, *Marc.* 15.5-6, *Ver.* 11.2; H. mentions this as an evident irony that C. should also claim his model to be M. Aurelius; cf. 1.2.3n.

³ N.B. the predominance of *salus* type coins in 212; two distributions of *congiaria* took place, in 212 and 213 to counter the unpopularity of the murder; *RIC* IV. 1.243, 258, 296-7. The opposition in the senate was considerable; SHA, *Car.* 5.6, 10.5-6, *Geta* 6.6-8; the story (supposedly after 213) of Germanicus (*germanus* = brother) and Geticus being sarcastically given to C. as titles is a manifest forgery; Hohl, *SDAW* 1 (1950).

τρέμοντάς τε καὶ ἄχριώντας τοὺς πλείστους καταλιπών, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλεια.

6. εὐθὺς δὲ πάντες ἐφονεύοντο οἱ ἐκείνου οἰκεῖοί τε καὶ φίλοι, καὶ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔνθα ἐκείνος ᾤκει· ὑπηρέται τε πάντες ἀνηροῦντο. οὐδὲ τις ἦν φειδῶ ἡλικίας, οὐδὲ¹ μέχρι νηπίων. τὰ δὲ πτώματα συρόμενα² μεθ' ὕβρεως πάσης³ ἀμάξαις ἐπιτεθέντα καὶ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κομισθέντα σωρηδὸν κατεπίμπρατο ἢ ὄπωδῃ ἐρρίπτετο. οὐδεὶς δὲ περιεγένετο τῶν κἂν μετρίως ἐκείνῳ γνωσθέντων. ἀθληταὶ δὲ καὶ ἡνίοχοι ὑποκριταὶ τε πάσης μούσης καὶ ὀρχήσεως, πᾶν τε ὅπερ ἐκείνος δι' ἡδονῆς ἔσχε θέαμα ἢ ἄκουσμα, διεφθείρετο. τῆς τε συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὄσοι/γένει ἢ πλούτῳ ὑπερεῖχον, ἐπὶ βραχυτάταις ἢ οὐδ' ὑφ-

¹ Bekk² οὔτε Οἰ

² Irmisch φερόμενα Οἰ

³ πάσαις ι

¹ According to SHA, *Car.* 3.1, C. returned to the camp; it was on the following day (3.3) that he went to the palace; accepted as correct by Reusch, *Caracallavita* 19-21; H. is often guilty of compressing dates together.

² Dio (Xiph.) 77.4.1 ff. says 20,000 freedmen and soldiers of Geta's entourage were killed (including many women) as well as many distinguished men. Xiphilinus says that Dio recorded a list of the names, but the only ones noted are L. Valerius Messalla Thraxea Priscus (*cos.* 196, *Albo* 511) who was executed, C. Julius Asper (*cos.* II in 212 and urban prefect at the same time, *PIR*² J 182) who was forced into retirement,

them trembling and pale, he hurried back to the palace.¹

6. But then straight away there began a general slaughter of Geta's household and friends and members of his palace staff.² All his servants were destroyed. There was no mercy shown to young people, not even children. The corpses were subject to all kinds of indignities as they were dragged around,³ put on carts and carried out of the city. There they were cremated in a heap or simply thrown out in any way. Not a person survived who² was even casually acquainted with Geta. Athletes and charioteers and performers of all the arts and dancing—everything that Geta enjoyed watching or listening to—were destroyed. Senators distinguished by birth and wealth were executed as Geta's friends on the most trivial or even non-existent charges at

probably with his son (also consul in 212, *PIR*² J 232), a certain Laenus (is this the Laetus of SHA, *Car.* 3.4? or Laelius? cf. *Albo* 322) who was too ill to punish, L. Fabius Cilo (probably urban prefect in 211; cf. 3.15.4) who may have been forced to retire now, Aelius Antipater (cf. 3.15.4) who committed suicide and the two praetorian prefects (next note). The other names are those noted by H. and SHA, *Car.* 3-4 (essentially the same as H., adding Plautian's son and Serenus Sammonicus, 4.3.2n).

² H. is probably referring to the treatment given to the praetorian prefects, Aemilius Papinianus and Valerius Patruinus (it is not certain whether Papinianus was still prefect or had just been dismissed; cf. Howe, *Praet. Pref.* no. 22), SHA, *Car.* 4.2. The Laetus who was forced to commit suicide, even though he had advised C. to murder Geta, was almost certainly not Maecius Laetus, praetorian prefect of 205 (3.13.1n), who probably went on to be consul in 215, Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 219); but there may be a confusion here with the Laenus mentioned above.

εστώσαις αἰτίαις ἐκ τῆς τυχοῦσης διαβολῆς, ὡς
 3 ἐκείνου φίλοι, ἀνηροῦντο. τὴν τε Κομμόδου
 ἀδελφήν, πρεσβύτην ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ¹ πάντων
 βασιλέων ὡς Μάρκου θυγατέρα τιμημένην,
 ἀπέκτεινεν, αἰτίαν ἐπαγαγὼν ὡς δακρυσία παρὰ
 τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς φόνῳ. τὴν τε
 γυναικα γενομένην ἑαυτοῦ, Πλαυτιανοῦ ² θυγατέρα,
 οὖσαν [δὲ] ³ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τὸν τε ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ
 Σεβήρω τε ὀμώνυμον, καὶ τὸν Περτίνακος υἱόν,
 τῆς τε Κομόδου ἀδελφῆς Λουκίλλης υἱόν, καὶ εἴ
 τι γένος ἦν βασιλικόν ἢ ⁴ ἐν συγκλήτῳ ἔξ εὐπα-
 4 τριδῶν καταβαῖνον, πᾶν ἐξέκοψεν. ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη
 πέμπων, ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ ἐπιτρόπους ὡς ἐκείνου
 φίλους πάντας διεχρήσατο. πᾶσά τε νύξ ἔφερε
 φόνους παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων. τὰς τε τῆς Ἑστίας
 ἱερείας ζώσας κατῴρυττεν ὡς μὴ φυλαττούσας τὴν
 παρθενίαν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ μήποτε γενόμενον

¹ πρὸ V³ om Jo Mendelss² πλαυτίαν Jo⁴ om Jo

¹ Cornificia, Dio (Petr. Patr.) 77.16.6a. The weeping incident took place two days after the murder, SHA, *Car.* 3.3. It was a crime to mourn for *maiestas* offenders, Vittinghoff, *Staatsfeind* 46-7. Only Vibia Sabina of the daughters of Marcus now remained alive (*ILS* 388; cf. 3.13.6n and *AE* (1954) 171).

² See 3.13.3; her brother also was killed.

³ Probably L. Septimius Aper (wrongly Afer in SHA, *Car.* 3.6-7); *PIR*² A 436; he was consul in 207; *Albo* 466, 470.

the instigation of any informer that happened to come forward. He also murdered Commodus' sister ³ who was now an old woman and had been held in honour by all the emperors as Marcus' daughter.¹ The alleged reason was that she had wept with the emperor's mother at the death of her son. Other victims were his wife, the daughter of Plautianus,² who was in Sicily; his cousin whose name was Severus,³ the son of Pertinax,⁴ the son of Commodus' sister Lucilla ⁵ and anyone who was connected with the principate by birth or was descended from a patrician family in the senate. The whole lot were executed. Next he turned to the provinces and ⁴ made away with governors ⁶ and procurators, all on the allegation that they were friends of Geta. Every night heralded the murder of men of every class. He buried alive the Vestal Virgins ⁷ on the grounds

⁴ P. Helvius Pertinax; *PIR*² H 74; actually suffect consul in 212, therefore not executed at once; cf. Julius Asper and his son, also consuls (*ordinarii*) in this year, 4.6.1n. The story of Pertinax's witticism in SHA, *Car.* 10.6, *Geta* 6.6. is false (4.5.7n), but P. must have gained the special favour of Severus (or Geta) not to suffer when his guardian, T. Flavius Sulpicianus, fell in 197 (Dio (Xiph.) 75.8.4).

⁵ Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (also called Aurelius Pompeianus), SHA, *Car.* 3.3, Pflaum, *Jour. Sav.* (1961) 33; he had probably been consul in 209; the circumstances of his death seem a confusion with those of his uncle, SHA, *Comm.* 5.12; cf. Seston, *H.-A. Colloquium Bonn 1964/5*, 211-19.

⁶ The governor of Baetica (Spain) was executed—Sex. Caecilius Aemilianus (an African senator), Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.20.4, *Albo* 93. Also the governor of Narbonensis (name unknown), SHA, *Car.* 5.1. A procurator is noted in 4.9.2n.

⁷ Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.16.1-3 gives the name of four; Clodia Laeta, Aurelia Severa, Pomponia Rufina, Cannutia Crescentina (suicide); but Dio's additional stories of scandal—both rape

ἔργον· ἵπποδρομίαν μὲν ἐθεῶτο, ἀπέσκωψε δέ τι
 τὸ πλήθος ἐς ἡνίοχον, περὶ ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐσπουδάκει·
 ὁ δὲ οἰηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑβρίσθαι κελεύει τῷ πλήθει
 προσπεσεῖν τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπάγειν τε καὶ φονεύειν
 5 τοὺς κακῶς τὸν ἡνίοχον εἰπόντας. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶ-
 ται τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τε καὶ ἀρπάζειν λαβόντες ἐξου-
 σίαν, οὐκέτι διακρίνοντας¹ τίνες ἦσαν οἱ προπετέ-
 στερον φθεγξάμενοι (καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὐρίσκειν ἀδύνατον
 ἐν δῆμῳ τοσούτῳ μηδενὸς ὁμολογοῦντος), ἀφειδῶς
 τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀπάγοντες ἀνήρουν, ἢ ἀφαι-
 ρούμενοι ἄπερ εἶχον ὥσπερ λύτρα μόλις ἐφείδοντο.

7. τοιαῦτα δὴ πράττων, ὑπὸ τε τῆς τῶν ἔργων
 συνέσεως ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει
 διατριβὴν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων, ἀποδημηῆσαι τῆς Ῥώμης
 ἠθέλησεν ὡς δὴ διοικήσων τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις
 2 καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐποψόμενος. ἀπάρας δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας,

¹ Reisk διεκρίνοντο Οἱ Ἰο

and impotence—make it difficult to know how far the information is to be taken seriously; can this be a case of deliberately creating Caracalla as a second Domitian (cf. Suet. *Dom.* 8.3-4)? In 214 and 215 C. is portrayed on coins sacrificing at the temple of Vesta; *BMC* V. 450, no. 101, 458, *RIC* IV. 1, 247, nos. 249-50, 251, nos. 271-2. The incidents may be connected with the Severan revival of the cult of Vesta.

¹ Possibly the same occasion noted by Dio (Xiph.) 77.10.3, when a demonstration took place protesting at the number of executions.

that they had not preserved their chastity. Finally he was responsible for one unprecedented action; while he was attending a horse-race, the crowd jeered at a charioteer whom he favoured.¹ Believing himself to have been humiliated, he ordered the soldiers to set upon the people and arrest and slaughter those who had made aspersions against the charioteer. Armed with authority to use violence
 5 and robbery, the soldiers could not any longer distinguish who had shouted out rather recklessly. In any case it was impossible to find the culprits among so many people, if none admitted the offence. So they arrested and destroyed anyone they came across indiscriminately, or they reluctantly spared people after removing from them as ransom anything they were carrying.

7. With actions like this the emperor was troubled with a guilty conscience; he also loathed the life in Rome² and preferred to get away from the city, no doubt in order to deal with the military administration and to inspect the provincial territories. So 2

² Hostility to the upper classes is one of the reasons alleged for C.'s famous *Constitutio Antoniniana* which extended citizenship throughout the empire; other reasons suggested are: to distract attention from his problems, to counter unpopularity for Geta's murder, need to raise taxes (Dio). The edict is usually dated 212; Millar, *JEA* 48 (1962) 124 proposes 214, but Gilliam, *Hist.* 14 (1965) 86-92, strengthens 212. Of literary sources, only Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.9.5 notes the edict. We do not know the motive, the exact date it was passed, the effective limits of the grant and the final effect. A large bibliography on this subject is summarized in Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 161 ff., Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor 155-6*, Walsor-Pekáry, *Krise d. röm. Reiches* 11-12, Sasse, *JJP* 14 (1962) 109 ff.

ἐπί τε ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἰστρου γενόμενος, διώκει δὴ τὰ ἀρκτῶα τῆς ἀρχῆς μέρη, γυμνάσια τοῦ σώματος ποιούμενος ἡνιοχείας καὶ θηρίων παντοδαπῶν συστάδην¹ ἀναιρέσεις, δικάζων μὲν σπανίως, πλὴν νοῆσαι τὸ κρινόμενον εὐθύς² ἢ εὐθίκτως³ τε πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἀποκρίνασθαι.
 3 ὤκειώσατο δὲ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπέκεινα Γερμανοῦς, ἔς τε φιλίαν ὑπηγάγετο, ὡς καὶ συμμάχους παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἑαυτοῦ⁴ φρουροὺς ποιήσασθαι,⁴ γενναίους τε καὶ ὠραίους

¹ συσταδὸν i cf. I.15.2

² εὐθύς Bergl

³ εὐθίκτως a εὐθίκτως φ εὐθέως A

⁴ ἑαυτοῦ and ποιῆσ. om Jo Mendelssohn

¹ From here to 4.7.7 H. covers the period 213-14 and C.'s northern campaigns; cf. Dio (Exc.) 77.13.3-15.7, SHA, *Car.* 5.1-7, Reusch, *Caracallavita* 26-33, von Rhoden, *RE* (Aurelius 46) 2446 ff. C. went to Gaul in early 213 (though the proconsul title appears with *trib. pot.* XV—i.e. 212, *CIL* VIII. 4196-7, cf. *Cod. Just.* 4.29.1 dated 5th December 212 in Carnuntum, but *ibid.* 5.60.1 in Rome 29th July 213); he crossed the Raetian frontier into the *agri decumates* by 11th August (the date celebrated by the *fratres Arvales*, *ILS* 451); the enemy were given the general name of Alemanni; *ILS* 1159 names the commander as C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus (*praepositus vexill(ationibus) Germanicae expeditionis*); the road from Strassburg to Baden-Baden was reconstructed, as was the Raetian frontier (Reusch 30); then C. moved up the Rhine to the Taunus salient, with headquarters at Mainz, against the Cenni (*CIL* XIII. 11831, Reusch 28, Dio (Xiph.) 77.14.1—not Chatti) and even contacted the tribes round the Elbe. By late September C. won a victory on the River Main and his *imperator* III salutation and his Germanicus Maximus title (Victor, *Caes.* 21.2, confirmed by the senate on 6th October, *ILS* 451; cf. *CIL* VIII 4202, *ob victoriam Germanicam*). Illness led C. to visit the shrine of Apollo Granus at Baden-Baden (Aurelia Aquensis) and may have forced 408

setting out from Italy he arrived on the banks of the Danube¹ where he saw to the business of the northern section of the empire. He took his physical exercise by chariot-racing and fought all kinds of wild animals at close quarters. He spent little time over legal cases but he was straightforward in his perception of an issue and quick to make a suitable judgement² on the opinions expressed. He also won the loyalty³ and friendship of all the Germans north of the frontier;³ so much so, that he drew auxiliary forces from them and created his bodyguard from specially selected men of strength and fine physical appear-

him to terminate the war by paying a subsidy to the Germans. See Fitz, *Alba Regia* 6-7 (1965/6) 202-5, for the dates.

² A reference to C.'s decisions (*responsa*) after the jurists had advised; cf. Philos. *VS* 2.32.626(01) for C.'s judicial hearings in Gaul. I have rejected Bergler's attractive emendation (see *app. critic.*) since he seems to destroy the typical paronomastic scheme of H.; for *eὐθύς* in this sense, cf. Thuc. 3.43. Dio (Xiph.) 77.17.1 says C. rarely, if ever, gave judicial decisions, but the later Dmeir inscription happens to give an account of an imperial *cognitio* in which C. is portrayed as "patient and easy-going"; Crook, *Consilium Principis* 82-4, and 142 ff. (who suggests H. means here that C. had a ready wit).

³ Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.13.3 is completely contradictory but very biased. The worst of H.'s anecdotal method is that he fails to mention the work of C. in the reconstruction of the Hadrianic turf wall on the Raetian *limes* and the system of frontier posts; Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.13.4-5, Schleiermacher, *Bericht. d. röm.-germ. Kommission 1943-50* (1951) 146-8. It was probably also at this time that C. divided off the new single legion province of Asturia-Gallaecia from Hispania Cit. and appointed the new governor, C. Julius Cerealis (214; *ILS* 1157). Perhaps Britain too was divided at this time into an upper and lower province; by 220, Graham, *JRS* 56 (1956) 107.

ἐπιλεξάμενος. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀποθέμενος χλαμύδα ἠμφιέννυτο τὰ Γερμανῶν περιβλήματα, ἔν τε χλαμύσιν αἷς εἰώθασιν, ἀργύρῳ πεποικιλμέναις, ἑωρᾶτο· κόμας τε τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπετίθετο ξανθὰς καὶ ἐς κουρὰν τὴν¹ Γερμανῶν ἠσκημένας. τούτοις δὴ χαίροντες οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπερηγάπων αὐτόν. ἔχαιρον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιδόσεις, αἷς ἀφειδῶς προσεφέρετο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τε πᾶν ὡς² στρατιώτης ἔπραττεν, εἴτε ὄρυγμά τι ὀρύττειν ἔδει, σκάπτων πρῶτος, εἴτε ρεῖθρον γεφυρῶσαι ἢ βάθος χῶσαι· πᾶν θ' ὁ χειρῶν³ ἢ καμάτου σώματος ἔργον, πρῶτος⁵ ἐιργάζετο. τράπεζάν τε εὐτελῆ παρετίθετο, ἔσθ' ὄπη⁴ καὶ ξυλίνοις ἐς ποτὸν καὶ ἐδέσματα χρώμενος σκεύεσιν. ἄρτον τε προσεφέρετο αὐτοσχέδιον· σῆτον γὰρ ἀλέσας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ, ὃ ἤρκει μόνῳ, μᾶζάν τε ποιήσας καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθράκων ὀπτήσας⁶ ἐσιτεῖτο. καὶ πάντων μὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν ἀπείχετο· ὅσα δὲ εὐτελέστατα καὶ τοῖς πενεστάτοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐμαρῇ, τούτοις ἐχρῆτο. συστρατιώτης τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεὺς καλούμενος χαίρειν προσεποιεῖτο. τὰ πλείστα τε αὐτοῖς συνώδευε περιπατῶν, σπανίως ὀχήματος ἢ ἵππου ἐπιβαίνων, τὰ τε ὄπλα βαστάζων ἑαυτῷ.⁷ ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων σύμβολα,

¹ τῆς φῖ
³ χεῖρον AB

² ὁ ο
⁴ ὅτε A

ance. On many occasions he took off his Roman cloak and appeared wearing German clothes,¹ including the surcoat they usually put on, embroidered with silver. He also used to wear a wig of blonde hair elaborately fashioned in the German style. The barbarians were delighted and absolutely adored⁴ him. So did the soldiers, mostly because of the donatives he paid out to them, but also because he shared in all their duties as an ordinary soldier, being the first man there with his spade if a moat had to be dug or if a river had to be bridged or a deep ditch had to be filled in. Any manual or tiring physical labour he was the first to tackle. His table was laid⁵ inexpensively and there were occasions when he even used wooden utensils for eating and drinking. He used to eat whatever bread was available locally. He would grind enough corn for himself with his own hands and make a barley cake which, after baking on charcoal, he would eat. He did not indulge in any⁶ extravagance and only used what was the cheapest thing available to the poorest of his men. He claimed that he loved being called comrade instead of emperor by them.² Most of the time he marched alongside them on foot, rarely riding in a carriage or on horseback, and carrying the same equipment as they did. Sometimes he even took on his⁷

¹ The German cloak, the *caracallus*, gave C. his nickname; it was a small cloak and especially invented by C.; Dio 78. 3.3 ff.; the cloaks were later given out to the Roman plebs.

² Cf. 1.5.3n. The increasing use of the term *commilito* shows the growing dependence of the emperor on the army; frequently used by Trajan, Pliny, *Ep.* 10.53, 10.101, 10.103, *Dig.* 29.1.1. C.'s popularity with the army, for all the disparagement of Dio and H., was demonstrated at his death.

ἐπιμήκη τε ¹ ὄντα καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένα, μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν γενναιοτάτων στρατιωτῶν φερόμενα ἐπιθεῖς τοῖς ὤμοις ἔφερεν αὐτός. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια ὡς στρατιωτικὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφιλεῖτο καὶ ὡς γενναῖος ἐθανμάζετο· καὶ γὰρ ἦν θαύματος ἄξιον ἐν μικρῷ πάνυ τὸ μέγεθος σώματι γενναίων πόνων ἀσκήσις τοσαύτη.

8. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ² στρατόπεδα διώκησε, κατῆλθέ τε εἰς Θράκην Μακεδόσι γειτυῶσαν, εὐθὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν, καὶ τὴν τε μνήμην αὐτοῦ παντοίως ἀνεκείνατο, εἰκόνας τε καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐν πάσαις πόλεσιν ἀναστήναι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν τε Ῥώμην ἐπλήρωσεν ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων, ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς, τῆς ³ πρὸς ² Ἀλέξανδρον συναφείας. ³ ἔσθ' ὅπου δὲ καὶ χλευῆς εἶδομεν ἀξίας ⁴ εἰκόνας, ἐν γραφαῖς ἐνὸς σώματος ὑπὸ περιφερεία κεφαλῆς μιᾶς ὄψεως ἡμιτόμους δύο, Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίνου. προῆει δὲ αὐτὸς

¹ om i displaced from after μόλις? Mendelss

² παρ' αὐτῷ Ο ³ τῆς—συναφείας om P

⁴ ἀξίος δ' φ ἄλλας δ' Α

¹ H. fails to notice C.'s return to Rome in the winter 213/14 before he left for the Danube front; cf. Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.16.7, SHA, *Car.* 5.4, *Cod. Just.* 7.16.2 (dated February 214 in Rome). At Rome the German victory was celebrated with games and a *congiarium*, e.g. *BMC* V. 482, no. 265 (*trib. pot. XVII imp. III cos. IV liberalitas Aug.* and *M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus Germanicus*). Early in 214 C. left Rome; his route may have been that later recorded in the *Itinerarium Antonini* on which a series of *mansiones* (stopping

shoulders the legionary standards, great long things, heavily ornamented with gold and difficult for the strongest soldiers to carry. It was through actions like this or similar ones that he was loved for his military qualities and admired for his strength. And rightly so, considering the degree of strenuous labour practised by a person so small in size.

8. After completing his business with the garrison on the Danube,¹ Antoninus marched south to Thrace, the territory adjacent to Macedonia. There he suddenly became Alexander and commemorated him afresh in all sorts of ways;² for instance, orders were given for pictures and statues to be set up in every city,³ including Rome, which was filled on the Capitol and in other temples with these images emphasizing his links with Alexander. In some places we saw ² some ludicrous pictures portraying a single body surmounted by a head whose circumference was split into two half faces, one of Alexander and one of Antoninus. The emperor himself used to go out

(places) were provided by imperial order; Rome—Mediolanum—Aquileia—Sirmium—Nicomedia—Antioch—Alexandria; cf. van Berchem, *Mém. Soc. nat. Acad. Fr.* 80 (1937) 170–5.

² Identification with Alexander was in part a claim to be the champion of the East; 4.10.1n. It had frequently been claimed by other Roman emperors; e.g. Nero (Suet. *Nero* 19.2), Trajan (Syme, *Tacitus* 770–1). The cognomen *invictus* and the Hercules cult were also probably connected with Alexander (Weinstock, *HTR* 50 (1957) 211–47). C. also seems to have been connected with Hercules, Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.5.1. The value of such an identification was, like the association with Romulus, an “indirect method of emperor worship,” Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 211.

³ Note the reference to *eikones* in the Alexandrian papyrus, the *acta Heracleti*; see 4.9.2n.

ἐν Μακεδονικῷ σχήματι, καυσίαν τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φέρων καὶ κρηπίδας ὑποδύμενος.¹ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε νεανίας καὶ στρατεύσας Μακεδονικὴν ἐκάλει φάλαγγα, τοὺς τε ἡγουμένους αὐτῆς φέρειν
 3 τὰ τῶν ἐκείνου στρατηγῶν ὀνόματα.² ἀπὸ τε Σπάρτης μεταπεμψάμενος νεανίας Λακωνικὸν καὶ Πιτανάτην ἐκάλει λόχον.

ταῦτα δὴ ποιήσας, τὰ τε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι διοικήσας ὡς ἐνεδέχετο, ἐπέιχθη ἐς Πέργαμον τῆς Ἀσίας, χρῆσασθαι βουλόμενος θεραπείαις τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

¹ ὑποδύμενος O

² ἐκέλευσε has dropped out (*iussis ducibus P*)

¹ Cf. I.3.3 for the *kausia* (bonnet); *crepidae* were a kind of calf boot, military footwear for a phalangite (cf. Pollux 7.85) but often regarded as rather fancy and effeminate, Athen. *Deipn.* 12.4.522 (Timaeus).

² The Macedonian phalanx of 16,000 men, called "Alexander's phalanx," is noted by Dio (Xiph.) 77.7.1-2, 77.18.1 (at Nicomedia in 214/15). Cf. Nero's *magnum Alexandri phalanx*, Suet. *Nero* 19.2.

³ Possibly a generalization from Dio (Xiph.) 77.8.2, the story of a man called Antigonus, son of Philip, who was promoted and adlected *inter praetorios*, and later became consul; *I GR* 1.407, *Albo* 33.

⁴ The Pitanetai were a group in Sparta who once lived in Pitane, says Herodotus 3.55; cf. Herodot. 9.53 for the *lochos pitanite*; Thuc. 1.20 denies the existence of a special *lochos*. An inscription from Caesarea Mazaca (Cappadocia) to some dead soldiers from the "land of Pelops" probably refers to this group; *BCH* 33 (1909) 63, no. 44.

⁵ Important work was carried out in strengthening the Dacian frontier, Dio 78.27.5, Macrea, *Studi si cercet. d. ist. veche* 8 (1957) 248-51; there are some scraps of information about activities against the Marcomanni, the Vandals and the Quadi, Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.20.3; an officer was decorated

wearing Macedonian dress, including the *kausia* on his head and *crepidae* for shoes.¹ He enrolled some specially selected young men and called them the Macedonian phalanx,² whose commanders were told to adopt the names of Alexander's generals.³ He ³ also sent for some young men from Sparta and called them his Laconian and Pitanetan cohort.⁴

After this Antoninus made what administrative arrangements were possible in the cities⁵ and then left for Pergamum in Asia, where he was anxious to have treatment at the shrine of Aesculapius.⁶ When

by C. [*ob*] *alacritatem virtutis adversus hostes ca[r]pos*], *ILS* 7178. But Tudor, *Lat.* 19 (1960) 350-56, thinks *ca[r]pos* should be *ce[n]nos*, and, if so refers to the German campaign (4.7.2n). Probably at this time the boundaries of Pannonia were adjusted to bring leg. I Adiutrix into Pannonia Inferior (*ILS* 2375 dated 228, *CAH* VII. 48); the first consular governor was Alfenus Avitianus; *CIL* III. 3637 read by Fitz, *Act. Ant. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 11 (1963) 287-9. Later followed by Suetrius Sabinus (4.7.2n). Thus C.'s work was more than simply routine administration. If C. was still in Pannonia in late August (cf. Fitz, *Accad. d'Ungheria in Roma* 2 (1961) 16-17) and then went to Dacia, he probably did not arrive in Asia before late September (as opposed to late August/September of Millar, *JEA* 48 (1962) 130).

⁶ The crossing from Europe to Asia involved C. in a near shipwreck; *SHA, Car.* 5.8; cf. Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.16.7 and the restored *CIL* VI. 2103a ([*ex naufragi periculo salvus servatus sit*). The curious route given by H., to Pegamum before Ilium, is not confirmed by Dio's epitome (Boissevain III. 395), though it might be explained by the urgency of C.'s illness, von Rhoden, *RE* (Aurelius 46) 2448. C. went to considerable lengths to find a cure from his secret ailments, Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.15.3-7, including visits to Apollo Grannus, Serapis and Aesculapius. The shrine at Pergamum was famous in the East, Euseb. *v. Const.* 3.56; the temple was rebuilt under C. (*I GR* IV.) 3620 and a coin shows him sacrificing there

ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐς ὅσον ἤθελε τῶν ὄνειρά-
 4 των ἐμφορηθεῖς, ἦκεν ἐς Ἴλιον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ πάντα
 τὰ τῆς πόλεως λείψανα, ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως
 τάφον, στεφάνους τε κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθει πολυ-
 τελῶς πάλιν Ἀχιλλέα ἐμμειίτο. ζητῶν δὲ καὶ
 Πάτροκλόν τινα ἐποίησέ τι τοιοῦτον. ἦν αὐτῷ τις
 τῶν ἀπελευθέρων φίλτατος, Φῆστος μὲν ὄνομα,
 τῆς δὲ βασιλείου μνήμης προεστῶς. οὗτος ὄντος
 αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον,
 φαρμάκῳ ἀναιρεθεῖς ἢ ὡς Πάτροκλος ταφῆ, ὡς
 5 δ' ἕτεροι ἔφασκον, νόσῳ διαφθαρεῖς. τούτου¹
 κομισθῆναι κελεύει τὸν νέκυν, ξύλων τε πολλῶν
 ἀθροισθῆναι πυρᾶν· ἐπιθεῖς τε αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ
 παντοδαπὰ ζῶα κατασφάξας ὑφήψε τε, καὶ φιάλην
 λαβὼν σπένδων τε τοῖς ἀνέμοις εὔχετο. πάνυ τε
 ὦν ψιλοκόρησ, πλόκαμον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πυρὶ ζητῶν
 ἐγελᾶτο· πλὴν² ὦν εἶχε τριχῶν ἀπεκείρατο.²
 ἐπῆγει δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶν μάλιστα Σύλλαν τε τὸν

¹ τοῦτον i huius P² πλὴν--ἀπεκείρατο om O

probably; Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1551. C. wrote a poem of gratitude to Aesculapius for his preservation from shipwreck, Wilhelm, *S.B. Berl. Acad.* (phil.-hist. klasse) (1933) 836-46. Roman coins of C. showing Aesculapius appear as early as 214, *RIC* IV. 1.246, no. 238; cf. (in 215) 248, nos. 251-3.

¹ The most famous city in the Troad, built on the site of ancient Troy. Bound by close emotional ties to Rome, the city had been honoured by Sulla and several emperors before. Philostratus, who accompanied C. on this trip, probably wrote the *Heroikos* to mark the visit and to publicize the thauma-

he arrived there, he made as much use of the incubation treatment as he wanted and then went to Ilium.¹ There he visited all the ruins of the city and came to the tomb of Achilles, which he decorated lavishly with garlands and flowers, and once again imitated Achilles.² In his hunt for someone to be Patroclus, what he did was this. One of his favourite freedmen was a man called Festus, who was his chief personal secretary.³ While he was at Ilium he died; according to some stories he was poisoned so that he could have a funeral like Patroclus, though others says he died of a disease. Antoninus gave orders for the 5 body of Festus to be brought out and large numbers of logs to be made up into a pyre. The body was placed in the middle of the pyre and many different animals were sacrificed, before the emperor put a light to it. After that libations were poured from a drinking bowl and he offered a prayer to the winds. But he made himself an object of derision by wanting to throw a lock of his hair upon the fire, as he was almost completely bald. Still, he cut off what hair he had. He admired Sulla the Roman and Hannibal

turgic hero cults that were favoured by the Severan court. Apollonius of Tyana, in whose life Julia Domna was so interested, had himself visited the tomb of Achilles and urged its restoration; Philos. *VA* 4.11-17, T. Mantero, *Ric. sull' Heroikos di Philostrato* 45-7.

² C. was imitating Alexander again, not Achilles directly, though Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.16.7 confirms that C. honoured Achilles. Perhaps the *Suda* s.v. Ἀρρωτίνος is correct in omitting the word "again."

³ Probably Marcius Festus, *CIL* XIV. 2638, *a cubiculo et a memoria*. The office of a *memoria*, perhaps originating in the first century, in the second century was frequently coupled with that of a *cubiculo*; cf. *CIL* VI. 8618, 8621.

Ῥωμαῖον καὶ Ἀννίβαν τὸν Λίβυν,¹ ἀνδριάντας τε αὐτῶν καὶ εἰκόνας ἀνέστησεν.

6 ἀπάρας δὲ τῆς Ἰλίου διὰ τε τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας τῶν τε λοιπῶν ἔθνῶν,² κάκεῖσε³ διοικήσας τὰ πρακτέα, ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκεῖ τε ὑποδεχθεὶς πολυτελῶς καὶ διατρίψας χρόνου τινὸς⁴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστέλλετο, πρόφασιν μὲν⁵ ποιούμενος ποθεῖν⁶ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κτισθεῖσαν⁷ πόλιν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ

7 χρήσασθαι ὃν ἐκεῖνοι σέβουσιν ἐξαιρέτως· δύο γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπερβαλλόντως προσεποιεῖτο, τὴν τε τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἥρωος μνήμην.

¹ καρχηδόσιον A

² ἔθνῶν <πορευθεῖς> Reisk from P (*gentibus pertransiitis*)

³ κάκεῖ Mendelssohn from P (ubique)

⁴ χρόνον τινα AJo

⁵ om Jo

⁶ ποθεῖν <ιδεῖν> Bekk but cf. Dio (Xiph.) 77.22.1

⁷ ab Alexandro constructae P = ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου

¹ For the ceremony, cf. Homer, *Il.* 23.138 ff. The passage about Sulla and Hannibal is incongruous and may be out of place, thinks Mendelssohn; it may also be a sign of lack of revision of the text by H.; cf. 2.2.4n, 4.14.2n, 5.3.9n. For C.'s admiration of Sulla, see Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.13.7, SHA, *Car.* 2.2. H. mentions several sources of information (4.8.4); perhaps one was Marius Maximus, governor of Asia at this time (*OGIS* 517).

² A large number of references to C. in Asia Minor in 214–15 (not all indicating his actual presence) are collected by Reusch, *Caracallavita* 39 ff., Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1551–3, Pfaum, *Carrières* nos. 230, 262. C. spent the winter in Nicomedia (until after 4th April 215), then travelled to

the Libyan most of all the generals, and set up statues and pictures of them.¹

After leaving Ilium, Antoninus travelled through⁶ the rest of Asia and Bithynia and the other provinces, making what administrative decisions were necessary,² until he came to Antioch. Here he was given an elaborate welcome³ and spent a certain amount of time there before setting off for Alexandria. The excuse he made for going there was that he longed to see the city founded in honour of Alexander⁴ and to sacrifice to the god whom the people there hold in special veneration.⁵ There were⁷ two particular reasons, he alleged, one to worship the god and the other to honour the memory of the hero.

Antioch, probably via the eastern route of Prusias–Ancyra–Caesarea Mazaca–Tyana–Cilician Gates. Meanwhile Theocritus advanced into Armenia; the date is fixed by Dio (Xiph.) 77.18.1; the Armenian king was probably arrested in 213/14 while C. was at Rome, Maricq, *Syria* 34 (1957) 298–300.

³ C. showed favours to Antioch, restoring the Olympic Games in 212 and granting colonial status either then or now in 215; *Dig.* 50.15.8.5 (though the exact meaning is disputed). Antioch became C.'s administrative base from now until his death. His arrival was c. May 215; Downey, *Hist. of Antioch* 244 ff.

⁴ The sentence seems incomplete; before the μὲν clause is answered, the sense is interrupted to add two reasons (which are, in fact, the same as the two reasons just given); the sentence is almost the exact copy of a phrase from Dio (Xiph.) 77.22.1, but the idea of pretence only makes sense if we are told, as in Dio, that C. was concealing his anger. This is the strongest evidence in the book to show H. is copying Dio, but is assimilating his narrative with other sources. See Introduction, pp. lxxvii f.

⁵ Serapis Polieus, especially honoured by Severus and C.; cf. SHA, *Sev.* 17.4, Amm. Marc. 22.16.14, *BMC* V. cxcix–cc, *IGRR* 1.1063 (C. as *philosarapis*).

ἐκατόμβας τε οὖν κελεύει παρασκευασθῆναι ἑναγισμοὺς τε παντοδαπούς. ὡς δὲ διηγγέλη τῷ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πλήθει, φύσει μὲν ὄντι τὰς γνώμας κουφοτάτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς βραχυτάτοις ῥᾶστα κινουμένῳ, τότε δ' ἐξεπτόηντο τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδὴν τε καὶ εὐνοίαν πυνθανόμενοι. ὑποδοχῆ¹ δὴ παρεσκευάζετο² οἷαν μηδενὶ πρόποτε βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι φασί.³ πάσης τε γὰρ μούσης ὄργανα πανταχοῦ διακείμενα ποικίλον ἦχον εἰργάζετο, ἀρωμάτων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἀτμίδες εὐωδίαν παρείχον ταῖς εἰσόδοις, δαδουχίαις τε καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ἐτίμων τὸν βασιλέα. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλασεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὸν νεῶν ἀνελθὼν πολλὰς ἐκατόμβας κατέθυσσε λιβάνῳ τε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐσώρευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἔλθων ἐς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνήμα, τὴν τε χλαμύδα ἣν ἔφερον ἀλουργῆ, δακτυλίους τε οὓς εἶχε λίθων τιμίῳν,⁴ ζωστήρας τε καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς ἔφερε,⁴ περιελὼν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου

¹ ὑποδοχὴν O ² παρεσκευάζοντο A ³ ῥωμαίων A

⁴ τιμίῳν καὶ ζωστήρας τε πολυτελεῖς ἔφερε O Jo seems to follow i (καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς)

¹ A cliché of the sophists; e.g. Dio of Prusa, *Or.* 32.

² For musical *organa*, see Suet. *Nero* 41, *Juv.* 6.380, SHA, *Elag.* 32.8.

³ Dio (Xiph.) 77.22.2 says the leading men of Alexandria were executed as they came to meet C., but Dio is very unreliable here. C.'s arrival in the city was probably between c. June/September 215, since the total absence of Alexandrian

So he gave orders for large public sacrifices of cattle and all kinds of offerings to the dead to be made ready. The people of Alexandria are by nature extremely frivolous and easily roused for very trivial reasons.¹ On this occasion, when the news came, they were greatly excited to hear of the emperor's enthusiastic goodwill towards them. So they made⁸ ready to give him such a reception as, they say, had never been given to an emperor before. All kinds of musical instruments were set up everywhere and produced a variety of sounds.² Clouds of perfume and incense of all sorts presented a sweet odour at the city gates. The emperor was regaled with torch processions in his honour and showered with flowers. As soon as Antoninus entered the city³ ⁹ with his whole army he went up to the temple, where he made a large number of sacrifices and laid quantities of incense on the altars. Then he went to the tomb of Alexander where he took off and laid upon the grave the purple cloak he was wearing and the rings of precious stones and his belts and anything else of value he was carrying.

coins for the year 29th August 215/16 (Vogt, *Alex. Münzen* 1.173) suggests the city was already in disgrace by then. Roman coins of C., issued before 10th December 215 (i.e. *trib. pot.* XVIII), representing C. as "king of Egypt" receiving corn ears from Isis and standing on a crocodile, probably commemorated his arrival—therefore before c. November; *RIC* IV. 1.249, no. 257, 303, no. 544; cf. Levi, *Num. Chron.* (6) 8 (1948) 33. Benoît-Schwartz, *Étud. Papyr.* 7 (1948) 32n, make the "piquant" suggestion that a ruling on *actio furti* in *Cod. Just.* 6.2.3, dated 8th September 215, is connected with the incidents of the *acta Heracliti* (below) soon after C.'s arrival. C.'s headquarters were the temple of Serapis, Dio (Xiph.) 77.23.2.

σορῶ. 9. ἃ δὴ ὄρων ὁ δῆμος ὑπερέχαιρε, παν-
 νυχίζων τε καὶ ἑορτάζων, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν τοῦ
 βασιλέως λανθάνουσαν γνώμην· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα
 ἐκεῖνος ὑπεκρίνατο βουλόμενος τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν
 διαφθεῖραι. ἢ δ' αἰτία τοῦ λανθάνοντος μίσους
 2 τοιάδε τις ἦν. ἀπηγγέλλετο ¹ αὐτῷ διατρίβοντι
 ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔτι, καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περιόντος
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκεῖνου φόνον, ὅτι ἄρα εἶεν πολλὰ
 ἐς αὐτὸν ἀποσκώψαντες. πεφύκασι δέ πως εἶναι
 φιλοσκώμμονες καὶ λέγειν εὐστόχους ² ὑπογραφὰς
 ἢ παιδιάς, ἀπορριπτοῦντες ἐς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας
 πολλὰ χαρίεντα μὲν αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα, λυπηρὰ δὲ
 τοῖς σκωφθεῖσι· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων κνίζει ³ μάλιστα
 ὅσα ἐλέγχει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
 3 πολλὰ τοίνυν ἐκείνων αὐτὸν σκωψάντων ἔς τε ⁴
 τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν πρεσβύτιν
 Ἰοκάστην καλούντων, ἐκεῖνον δὲ χλευάζόντων ὅτι

¹ ἀπηγγέλλετο B ἀπηγγέλλετο conj Mendels from P (*nuntiatum fuerat*)

² Reisk εὐστόχους OI

³ ἠνίζει I κνίζειν AB κακίζειν V

⁴ om A del Reisk

¹ A breakdown in law and order is evidenced by the *cognitio* held by C. to try the Egyptian prefect, Aurelius Septimius Heraclitus, soon after his arrival in 215; the incidents involved destruction of statues, robbery of temples and riots, though not necessarily directly connected with the massacre of this visit; cf. Benoît-Schwartz, *op. cit.* 28-33, for an attempt to link the two incidents, but Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* 229-32, is more cautious. Some time earlier

9. When the people saw this they were extremely pleased and spent the whole night in celebrations without realizing the secret intention of the emperor. All this show was a pretence by him as part of a plan to massacre a large number of them. The reason for his concealed antagonism was that he kept receiving ² reports while he was living in Rome during his brother's lifetime, and also after his assassination, that the Alexandrians had actually been making great fun of him.¹ To a certain extent it was a natural feature of the people to indulge in lampoons and repetition of many pungent caricatures and jokes belittling the authorities, since they are considered very witty by the Alexandrians, even if libellous to the victims.² The witticisms that really irritate are those which expose the truth of one's shortcomings. Many of ³ their lampoons against Antoninus referred to the destruction of his brother and to his old mother, calling her Jocasta,³ and jeering at him for imitating

(probably) Theocritus had executed the *procurator Alexandri*, Flavius Titianus (cf. 4.6.4); was he connected with Pertinax's wife, Flavia Titiana? Victor, *Caes.* 21.4, states that C. removed some *Aegypti sacra* to Rome. It is tempting to suppose that all these disturbances were in some way connected with the pro-Geta faction; 4.9.3n.

² For this Alexandrian characteristic, see Ovid, *Trist.* 1.2.80, Martial 4.42, Dio (Xiph.) 66.8.2-7, Suet. *Vesp.* 19.2.

³ The insult was double; first as a reference to the rivalry between Eteocles and Polynices, sons of Jocasta, one with a legal, the other with an illegal claim to power; but chiefly as an insinuation of incestuous relationships between mother and son; cf. SHA, *Sev.* 21.7, *Car.* 10.1 ff., Victor, *Caes.* 21.3, *Epit. de Caes.* 21.5, etc. The same scandal was spread about the relations between Nero and Agrippina, Tac. *A.* 14.2; cf. Hohl, *SDAW* I (1950) 15-16.

δὴ μικρὸς ὢν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα γενναιοτάτους καὶ μεγίστους ἥρωας ἐμιμέιτο, τοιαυτὰ τινα παίζειν αὐτῶν δοκούντων, ὀλέθρια καὶ ἐπίβουλα κατ' αὐτῶν σκέψασθαι τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἠνάγκασαν, φύσει ὄντα ὀργίλον καὶ φονικόν.¹

4 συμπανηγυρίσας τοίνυν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεορτάσας, ὡς εἶδε πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πλήθους μεγίστου πεπληρωμένην τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης περὶ αὐτὴν χώρας ἐκεῖ συνελθόντων, διὰ προγράμματος πᾶσαν τὴν νεολαίαν ἔς τι² πεδῖον κελεύει συνελθεῖν, φήσας ἔς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὴν φάλαγγα βούλεσθαι συστήσασθαι, ὥσπερ³ Μακεδονικὴν καὶ Σπαρτια-
5 τιν, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ ἥρωος ἐπωνύμους.³ κελεύει δὴ στιχηδὸν τοὺς νεανίας πάντας διαστήναι, ὡς ἂν

¹ φονικώτατον ἰ

² τὸ Α

³ ὥσπερ—ἐπωνύμους del Mendels

¹ Adequate information on causes for the massacre does not exist; fear of a pro-Geta rebellion seems connected with the cult of Serapis; e.g., Dio 78.7.3, the sword that killed Geta was dedicated in the temple of Serapis, and was later mysteriously destroyed by fire; Dio (Exc. Val.) 77.15.4, the appearance of a vision of Geta while C. was seeking an incubation cure in the temple of Serapis and C.'s excessive *superstitio*; Dio (Xiph.) 77.23.2, the order for the massacre was given from the Serapeion. C. also attacked the philosophic *syssitia*, supposedly because of his obsession with Alexander, Dio (Xiph.) 77.7.3. Reusch, *Caracallavita* 46-7, suggests the order for expulsion of native Egyptians, recorded on *P. Giess* 40 II, might have caused the trouble, but it seems to have

Alexander and Achilles who were very strong, tall men, while he himself was only a small man. Though the Alexandrians considered this kind of insult light-hearted comedy, Antoninus had a murderous, hot temper and was driven to work out plans for the destruction of the people.¹

So he celebrated the occasion with them and took 4 part in their festivities, but when he saw that the entire city was crammed with a vast number of people as the result of an influx from the entire surrounding district, he issued an edict that all the young men should assemble on an open piece of ground,² saying that he intended to enrol a phalanx in honour of Alexander which would be called after the hero, just as he had given a name to the Macedonian and the Spartan phalanx. The young men were 5 told to muster in ranks so that the emperor could

been designed to prevent further riots—particularly at the festival of Serapis (25th April), Schwartz, *CE* 34 (1959) 122.

² SHA, *Car.* 6.2, says they were assembled in the gymnasium (on the East side of the city) but is palpably influenced by the comparison between C. and Ptolemy VII Euergetes, who also massacred the young men at the gymnasium; cf. Val. Max. 4.25, etc. The mesopedium is mentioned by Jul. Val. 1.28, Ach. Tat. 5.1.2, an open space bisected by the *plateia* in the centre of the city, Diod. Sic. 17.52.3; cf. Calderini, *Diz. nomi geografici . . . dell' Egitto* 1.107, 137. If Dio and H. can be conflated, there appears to have been two massacres; the first of the young men, perhaps near the Serapeion in the south-west of the city; this then developed into a general massacre all over the city and (if H. is correct in referring to the Nile) extending outside the city to the Canopic mouth of the Nile. The young men would hardly have assembled if C. had already murdered his reception committee, as Dio says (4.8.9n); Benoît-Schwartz, *Étud. Papyr.* 7 (1948) 29 ff.

ἐπελθὼν ἕκαστον ἴδῃ πῶς τε ἡλικίας ἔχοι καὶ
 μεγέθους σώματος καὶ εὐξίας ἐς στρατείαν
 ἐπιτηδείου. ταύταις αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὑποσχέσει πιστεύ-
 σαντες οἱ νεανίαί πάντες, εὐκότα τε ἐλπίσαντες
 διὰ τὴν προὔπαρξασαν¹ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 τιμῆν, συνῆλθον ἅμα γονεῦσί τε καὶ ἀδελφοῖς
 6 **συνηδομένους αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος**
διεστώτας αὐτοὺς ἐπιών, ἑκάστου ἐφαπτόμενος
καὶ ἄλλου ἄλλο λέγων ἐγκώμιον παρήει, ἔστε²
αὐτοὺς οὔτε τι ὀρώντας οὔτε προσδοκῶντας τὸ
στρατιωτικὸν πᾶν ἐκυκλώσατο. ὡς δὲ ἐτεκμήρατο
ἤδη αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐντὸς τῶν ὄπλων περιειλημμένους
καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν δικτύοις σεσαγηνευμένους, ἐπελθὼν
πάντας³ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξέρχεται μεθ' ἧς εἶχε
φρουρᾶς περὶ ἑαυτόν,⁴ ὑφ' ἐνὶ δὲ σημείῳ προσπε-
σόντες⁵ πανταχόθεν οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν ἐν/μέσῳ
πᾶσαν νεολαίαν, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλως⁵ παρήσαν,
παντὶ τρόπῳ φόνων ἀναιρουῦσιν, ὡπλισμένοι τε
7 ἀόπλους καὶ πανταχόθεν περιειληφότες. τῶν δὲ
στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐφόνευον οἱ δ' ἔξωθεν⁶
ἄρρυτον ὀρύγματα μέγιστα ἔλκοντές τε τοὺς
πίπτοντας⁷ ἐνέβαλλον, πληροῦντες σωμάτων⁸
καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπιχέοντες μέγιστον ἡγειραν⁹ ταχέως

¹ ὑπάρξασαν O² ἐστ' ἂν i³ ἐπελθὼν πάντας om Mendelssohn following P⁴ αὐτόν O⁵ Wolf ἔξωθεν, οἱ δ' O⁶ πληροῦντες τῶν πιπτόντων σωμάτων A⁷ προσπεσόντες—ἄλλως om φ⁸ ἐμπέποντας α πλείστους A⁹ ἡγειρον i

examine each man and decide how far his age, size and condition were up to standard for the army. All the youth believed Antoninus' promises and credited the probability of what he said because he had already honoured the city. They arrived with their parents and brothers, who were equally pleased at the prospects for their relations. Antoninus in- 6
 spected the ranks as they stood there and passed from man to man, saying a different word of encouragement to each man as he came up to him, while the entire army encircled them without being noticed or rousing suspicion. After he had gone up and down all the ranks, he judged they were by this time surrounded by arms like animals trapped in a net.¹ So he actually left the field² with his personal bodyguard, while from every side the soldiers at a single signal fell upon all the encircled young men and any who were there for other reasons. They wiped them out with every kind of slaughter, armed soldiers against defenceless men who were totally surrounded. Some of the troops did the killing, while the rest 7
 outside the ring dug huge pits, to which they dragged the fallen and threw them in until they were filled with bodies. Earth was thrown on top of them and a vast communal burial mound quickly raised. Lots

¹ The description is similar to the disarming of the praetorians in 2.13 and Dio's description of the slaughter of the young men of the Alamanni (Exc. Val.) 77.13.5; much of H.'s vivid description is highly rhetorical (see next note) and cannot be used to argue that he was actually present in Alexandria (as Sievers suggests, *Philol.* 31 (1872) 636-7).

² The possibility of the massacre getting out of hand through the mistakes of subordinates is postulated by Benoit-Schwartz, *Étud. Papyr.* 7 (1948) 31, but is unconvincing.

πολυάνδριον.¹ πολλοί τε καὶ ἡμιθνήτες εἰλικύ-
στησαν, ἔτι τε ἄτρωτοι συνώσθησαν.² ἀλλὰ μὴν
8 καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι προσαπώλοντο.³
ὅσοι γὰρ ἔτι ἐμπνέοντες καὶ δυνάμειως μετρίως
ἔχοντες συνωθούντο, περιπλεκόμενοι συγκαθεύκον
αὐτούς. τοσοῦτος δὲ ἐγένετο φόνος ὡς ρεῖθροις
αἵματος διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὰς τε ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Νείλου
μεγίστας οὔσας τόν τε περὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰγιαλὸν
πάντα φοινηχθῆναι. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐργασάμενος τὴν
πόλιν, ἀπάρας ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο.

10. ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Παρθικὸς
κληθῆναι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστεῖλαι ὡς χειρωσάμε-
νος τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν βαρβάρους, καίτοι γε
οὔσης εἰρήνης βαθείας, μηχανᾶται τοιόνδε τι.

¹ ταχέως τάφον πολυάνδρια (-δρία V -δρεία B) O

² συνεχώσθησαν α συνεώσθησαν conj Mendelss

³ -ώλλοντο A -όλλοντο φ -ώλλυντο ag

¹ Almost a standard rhetorical description; cf. 3.4.5. An aureus of 215 shows C. with Isis, trampling on a crocodile (*BMC* V. 452 and references in 4.8.9n). The type, showing the emperor as Horus, merely indicates suzerainty over Egypt.

² The date of the massacre was probably soon after C.'s arrival (i.e. c. September 215; see 4.8.9n). C.'s presence in Alexandria in late January 216 is shown by *P. Flor.* 382 (an edict probably issued from there); *BGU* 1.266, referring to January/February 216, suggests C. was in the city near that date. Soon after this he must have gone to Antioch, though apparently he intended to return, *P. Strasb.* 245, Schwartz, *CE* 34 (1959) 120-3. The only certain date is that C. was in Antioch by 27th May 216 (4.11.2n).

³ Desire for glory was a standard charge against Roman emperors' activities in the East; a *victoria Parthica* was, from Augustus on, important for an emperor who wished to

of people were half alive when they were dragged away, and unwounded men were forced into the grave along with the rest. Still worse, several 8 soldiers lost their lives, because, when those who were still alive and fairly vigorous were being pushed into the pits, they pulled the soldiers in with them by hanging on to them. So great was the slaughter that the mouths of the Nile (a vast area) and the whole seashore around Alexandria grew red from the streams of blood which flowed through the plain.¹ So much for what Antoninus did to Alexandria, after which he left for Antioch.²

10. Soon after this Antoninus wanted to have the title of 'Parthicus' and to report to the Romans that he had mastered the barbarians in the East.³ So although there was in fact complete peace, he formulated the following plan.⁴ He wrote to the

establish his claim to be champion of the East—the *Alexander redivivus* over the vassals in Parthia. Note the appearance of the title of *kosmokrator* (conqueror of the world) with C.'s name in 216; Cumont, *CRAI* (1919) 318-28; Gagé, *Rev. Hist.* 83 (1959) 231-5.

⁴ H. gives no impression of the long-term planning that had taken place for the Parthian campaign; in 213/14 before leaving Rome C. had summoned the kings of Osrhoene and Armenia; Edessa (the later base of operations) was turned into a colony by January 214 (Bellinger-Welles, *YCS* 5 (1935) 142-54), a series of *mansiones* from Rome was probably ordered for the campaign (the extent of an empire-wide system of *mansiones* at this stage can be doubted, but Dio (Xiph.) 77.9.6 makes it clear that they were imposed on the eastern provinces; one such *mansio* at Apamea is recorded in Jalabert-Mouterde, *Insc. gr. et lat. de la Syrie* 1346, though disputed as to its number by Robert, *Bull.* (1954) 244 = *REG* 67 (1954) 175. Preparations at Nicomedia in 214/15 were for the Parthian campaign, Dio (Xiph.) 77.18.1; the vast in-

ἐπιστέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ Παρθυαίων (Ἀρτάβανος δ' ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), πέμπει τε πρεσβείαν καὶ δῶρα
 2 πάσης ὕλης τε πολυτελοῦς καὶ τέχνης ποικίλης.
 τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγεν ὅτι δὴ βούλεται ἀγαθέσθαι
 αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον· ἀρμόζειν δὲ
 αὐτῷ, βασιλεῖ τε καὶ βασιλέως υἱῷ, μὴ ἰδιώτου
 τινὸς καὶ εὐτελοῦς γαμβρὸν¹ γενέσθαι, ἀγαθέσθαι
 δὲ βασιλίδα τε καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως θυγατέρα,
 δύο δὲ ταύτας ἀρχὰς εἶναι μεγίστας, τὴν τε
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὴν Παρθυαίων· ἃς συναχθείσας
 κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν, μηκέτι ποταμῷ διωρισμένας,
 3 μίαν² ποιήσεν ἀρχὴν ἀνανταγώνιστον· τὰ γὰρ
 λοιπὰ ἔθνη βάρβαρα, [ἴσα νῦν <οὔπω> ὑπὸ³ ταῖς
 τούτων βασιλείαις,]⁴ εὐάλωτα ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς,

¹ γαμβρῷ Ο

² ἀλλὰ μίαν Ο

³ Gedike ἴσα μὴ ὑπὸ Bergl ἴσα νῦν ἐπι <κείσθαι> Schwartz

⁴ del Whit τούτων shows it is a gloss

crease in the number of Syrian mints for billon tetradrachms along the supply routes (Heichelheim, *CP* 39 (1944) 113-15) and the dramatic rise in recruiting figures in 214-16 on the Dura rosters (Gilliam, *Hist.* 14 (1965), esp. 75) provide some evidence of long-term planning from 214. An order for elephants from Banasa (Mauretania) in 216 (*RE* (1935) 170, if this is the meaning of *caelestia animalia*) was to imitate Alexander's cortège on his eastern campaigns; Guey, *REA* 49 (1947) 253-73.

¹ H. fails to make any reference to the rivalry between Vologaeses V and Artabanus V, rivals for the throne of Parthia since c. 213. C.'s policy of alliance with Artabanus,

Parthian king, called Artabanus,¹ and sent a diplomatic mission to him bearing gifts of every kind of valuable material and intricate workmanship. In the letters he alleged that he was anxious to marry² the king's daughter because it was proper that he who was an emperor and son of an emperor should not become the son-in-law of some private person of low birth, but should marry a princess, the daughter of the great king. The two most powerful empires were those of the Romans and the Parthians. If they were united by marriage, he would create one invincible power no longer separated by a river.² For the remaining barbarian peoples [who were³ not as yet subject to the rule of these two,] would be an easy conquest for them, one by one in their

who controlled Media, against Vologaeses, whose capital was at Ctesiphon, makes sense under these conditions. The provocation by Vologaeses in harbouring Tiridates (pretender to the Armenian throne?) and Antiochus provided the excuse; Dio (Xiph.) 77.19.1-2. Repercussions of this Parthian rivalry had clearly upset the stability of Mesopotamia, and in the winter 213/14 C. had summoned the king of Osroene (Abgar IX) and the king of Armenia to Rome, where they had been kept in custody (see Maricq, *Syria* 34 (1957) 297 for the date); Dio (Exc.) 77.12.1-5, Debevoise, *Pol. Hist. of Parthia* 263.

² Neither H. nor Dio (Xiph.) 78.1.1. believed this was a genuine offer, but neither explain why, when C.'s initial quarrel was with Vologaeses, he should have turned against Artabanus. The reason was probably because Vologaeses hurriedly acknowledged C.'s authority in 215; therefore C., who had first courted the alliance of Artabanus, turned against him, using the refusal of a marriage as a pretext; Dio (Xiph.) 77.21.1. The original offer of marriage may therefore have been genuine, another act in imitation of Alexander (Roxana or Statira); cf. *Venus Victrix* coins c. 215, *BMC V.* 485.

κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ συστήματα¹ ἀρχόμενα. εἶναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν διὰ δοράτων συστάδην μάχην ἀνανταγώνιστον, Παρθυαίοις δὲ² ἵππον τε πολλήν³ καὶ τὴν διὰ τόξων⁴ εὐστοχοῦν ἐμπειρίαν. ταῦτα δὴ συνελθόντα, πάντων τε οἷς πόλεμος κατορθοῦται συμπνεόντων, ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἐνὶ διαδήματι βασιλεύσειν⁴ πάσης οἰκουμένης. τά τε παρ' ἐκείνοις φνύμενα ἀρώματα ἢ θαυμαζόμενα ὑφάσματα καὶ⁵ <τὰ>⁶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μεταλλεύμενα ἢ διὰ τέχνην ἐπαινούμενα μηκέτι μόλις καὶ σπανίζοντα λανθάνοντά τε δι' ἐμπόρων κομισθῆσθαι, μιᾶς δὲ γῆς οὔσης καὶ μιᾶς ἐξουσίας κοινῆν καὶ ἀκώλυτον ἀμφοτέροις τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἔσσεσθαι.

⁵ τοιοῦτοις αὐτοῦ γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν ὁ Παρθυαῖος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντέλεγε, φάσκων οὐχ ἀρμόξειν Ῥωμαίῳ γάμον βάρβαρον. τίνα γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι συμφωνίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, μήτε τῆς ἀλλήλων φωνῆς συνειῶν, ἐν τε διαίτη καὶ σκευῇ διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων; εἶναι δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εὐπατρίδας πολλούς, ὧν τινὸς ἐπιλέξασθαι δύναιτ' ἂν θυγατέρα,

¹ τὰ ἔθνη B i . . . τὰ συστήματα al

² Mendelss from P τε Oi

³ πολλὴν BA (but A¹ in mg πολλήν)

⁴ βασιλεύσειν from P -εύσειν Oi

⁵ Mendelss ἢ Oi

⁶ Steph

separate national groups and confederacies.¹ The Romans had an infantry force which was invincible in close-quarter fighting with spears, while the Parthians had a large cavalry force who were highly skilled in archery. If these forces united and all the 4 agencies for successful warfare co-operated, they would surely have no difficulty in ruling the whole world under a single crown. Furthermore, the locally grown spices of the Parthians and their wonderful clothes, and on the other side, the metals produced by the Romans and their admirable manufactured goods would no longer be difficult to get and in short supply, smuggled in by merchants. Instead both sides would have commerce and unimpeded advantage from the unification of their countries under a single rule.

On the receipt of this letter the initial Parthian 5 reaction was to say that a Roman marriage to a barbarian was not suitable since they had nothing in common, they did not understand each other's language and had different habits of food and dress. The Romans had plenty of patrician families (like the Arsacids in Persia)² from whom Antoninus could

¹ The term *systema* (confederacy) used by H. had a variety of meanings in the Hellenistic period, but in H.'s day was applied to the political organizations of western Anatolia. This piece of specialized vocabulary is regarded by Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 215-16, as a sign of H.'s connection with Asia Minor. But it can hardly be said to be in contrast to *provincia* (*ethnos*), since C. is not advocating an invasion of the provinces and confederations of Asia Minor.

² The royal dynasty of Parthia since the third century B.C.; although Hesychius quotes this passage to equate Arsacids and patricians, the Arsacids were the central royal families in contradistinction to the feudal nobles.

παρά τε αὐτῷ Ἀρσακίδας· καὶ μὴ¹ δεῖν μηδέ-
 τερον γένος νοθεύσθαι. 11. τὰ² μὲν οὖν πρώτα
 τοιαυτὰ τινα ἐπιστέλλων παρηγγέιτο·² ἐγκειμένου
 δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, δώροις τε³ πολλοῖς καὶ
 ὄρκους τὴν πρὸς τὸν γάμον σπουδὴν τε καὶ εὖνοιαν
 πιστουμένου, πείθεται ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ δώσειν τε
 ὑπισχνεῖται,⁴ καλεῖ τε γαμβρὸν ἐσόμενον. διαδρα-
 μούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι εὐτρέπιζον
 πάντα ἐς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως,
 ἔχαιρόν τε εἰρήνης αἰωνίου ἐλπίδι· ὁ δ' Ἀντωνίνος
 διαβὰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀκωλύτως, εἰσελάσας ἐς
 τὴν Παρθυαίων γῆν ὡς ἰδίαν ἤδη, πανταχοῦ
 θυσιαῶν αὐτῷ προσαγομένων βωμῶν τε ἐστεμμένων,
 ἀρωμάτων καὶ θυμιαμάτων παντοίων προσφερόμέ-
 νων, χαίρειν τοῖς γνωμομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων
 προσποιεῖτο. ὡς δὲ προχωρήσας τό τε πλεῖστον
 τῆς ὁδοπορίας ἀνύσας ἤδη τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῦ

¹ om O³ P δὲ Oi² τὰ—παρηγγέιτο om A⁴ ὑπισχνεῖτο i

¹ Dio (Xiph.) 78.1.1 ff. is explicit that C. invaded Parthia because Artabanus had rejected the marriage offer; although Dio himself knows little about the war, it is almost inconceivable he would have omitted any story of C.'s treachery, if he had known about it. H.'s information may have originated from the alleged *hypomnemata* of Caracalla, later made public by Macrinus (Dio 78.16.4-5), which Dio rejected because of his dislike of Macrinus. Certainly Artabanus was very

choose a daughter. The racial purity of neither should be contaminated.

11. Such were the initial letters of refusal. But when Antoninus pressed his case and built up confidence in his enthusiasm for the wedding and his goodwill by sending gifts and making solemn promises, the barbarian king was convinced and agreed to give away his daughter, naming Antoninus as his prospective son-in-law. When the news reached the public, the barbarians made complete preparations to welcome the Roman emperor, rejoicing at the prospect of a permanent peace.¹ Crossing the rivers² without opposition, Antoninus² rode into Parthian territory as though it already belonged to him. Everywhere there were sacrifices made to him and altars strewn with garlands and all kinds of perfumes and incense offered up. Antoninus pretended to be pleased by these acts of the barbarians. He advanced until he had completed most of the journey and was now near Artabanus'

angry at what had happened (Dio 78.26.2 ff.); it would therefore seem not inherently improbable that Artabanus was expecting a Roman alliance against Vologaeses.

² The Euphrates and the Tigris; the date was not before 27th May 216 (the date of the famous Dmeir inscription recording an imperial *cognitio* at Antioch; cf. Crook, *Consilium Principis* 82 ff.). The route into Parthia is unknown, but was probably into Adiabene, where C. captured the city of Arbela (near Gaugamela) and ravaged the royal tombs (in imitation of Alexander?); it is improbable that he crossed the mountains into Media (Dio (Xiph.) 78.1.2), and almost impossible that he went to the Caspian (SHA, *Car.* 6.4—Cadusii); coin evidence from Assur in 215 confirms the impression that the campaign was confined to north-central Mesopotamia and Adiabene; Seyrig, *Syria* 26 (1949) 17-19.

Ἄρταβανὸν ἐπλησίαζεν, οὐκ ἀναμείνας ὁ Ἄρτά-
 βανος ὑπήντητο ¹ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως
 πεδίῳ, δεξιούμενος νυμφίον μὲν τῆς θυγατρὸς
 3 γαμβρὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ. πᾶν δὲ τὸ πλήθος τῶν
 βαρβάρων ἀνθεσι τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις κατεστεμμένον,
 ἐσθῆτί τε χρυσῷ καὶ βαφαῖς διαφόροις πεποικιλμέ-
 νον, ἐώρταζε, πρὸς τε αὐλοὺς καὶ σύριγγας
 τυμπάνων τε ἤχους ἐσκίρτων εὐρύθμως· χαίρουσι
 γὰρ τοιαύτην τιὰ ὄρχησιν κινούμενοι, ἐπὰν οἴνου
 4 πλείονος ἐμφορηθῶσιν. ὡς δὲ πᾶν συνῆλθε τὸ
 πλήθος, τῶν τε ἵππων ἀπέβησαν, φαρέτρας τε καὶ
 τόξα ἀποθέμενοι περὶ σπονδὰς καὶ κύλικας ² εἶχον.
 πλείστον δὲ πλήθος τῶν βαρβάρων ἤθροιστο, καὶ
 ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀτάκτως εἰστήκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἄποπον
 προσδοκῶντες, σπεύδων δὲ ἕκαστος ἰδεῖν τὸν
 5 νυμφίον. τότε ὑφ' ἐνὶ συνθήματι ³ κελεύει ὁ
 Ἄντωνῖνος τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ /φον-
 εῦει τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ τῷ πρά-
 γματι, παύμενοί τε καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι ἐτράποντο.
 αὐτὸς τε Ἄρτάβανος ἀρπαγείς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
 δορυφόρων ἵππῳ τε ἐπιτεθεῖς ἀπέδρα ⁴ μόλις μετ'
 6 ὀλίγων. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος ἐκόπτετο τῶν

¹ ὑπήντη τε O

³ σημείω i

² κῆδος A

⁴ ἀπέδρασε A -δραμε φ

¹ The royal palace at Arbela probably; Vologaeses was still issuing coins from Seleucia, near Ctesiphon; SHA, *Car.* 6.4, is in error saying C. went against the Babylonii; Debevoise, *Pol. Hist. of Parthia* 265-6; *BM Parthia* 241-3, nos. 1-36 (up to A.D. 222).

² The army of C. is discussed by Debevoise, *Polit. Hist. of*

palace.¹ But then Artabanus, without waiting for his arrival, came out to meet him on the plain before the city and greeted him as the bridegroom of his daughter and his own son-in-law. The entire 3 barbarian population celebrated the occasion, wearing garlands of local flowers and richly dressed in clothes of gold and various colours, as they leapt about in rhythm to the sound of flutes and pipes and to the beat of the drums. This is their favourite form of dancing on occasions when they have taken quite a lot to drink.

After all the people came together, they dis- 4 mounted from their horses and, laying aside their quivers and arrows, occupied their attention with libations and drinking cups. There was a very large number of barbarians gathered together there, standing around in no particular order just as they came. They expected nothing out of the ordinary and were all anxious to get a view of the bridegroom. This was the point at which Antoninus gave the 5 signal to order his army ² to set upon the barbarians and kill them. They were thunderstruck at what happened and, wounded by a rain of blows, turned and ran. Artabanus himself was snatched from danger by his bodyguard and placed on a horse, and so only just escaped with a few followers. But the rest 6

Parthia 263-4; evidence exists of the legions I and II Adiutrix (*ILS* 8879), II Parthica (4.14.2n), III Augusta (*CIL* VIII. 2564), III Italica (*CIL* III. 14207^a), III Cyrenaica, IV Scythica, XVI Flavia (*Dura-Europos Final Report* V. 1.25) and some German *auxilia* (Dio 79.4.5; cf. 4.13.6). Even if only *veccillationes* of these legions were present it was a considerable force.

βαρβάρων οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους ἐχόντων, οἷς χρῶνται μάλιστα (ἀποβεβηκότες γὰρ εἰσθήκεσαν, ἐκείνους ἀνέντες νέμεσθαι), οὔτε δρόμῳ χρῆσασθαι δυναμένων πρὸς φυγὴν, ἐμποδιζούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς περὶ τοῖς ποσὶ χαίνου ἐσθήτος. φαρέτρας δὲ καὶ τόξα οὐκ εἶχον· τί γὰρ ἔχρηζον αὐτῶν πρὸς γάμους; 7 πολὺν δὲ ¹ ἐργασάμενος ὁ Ἀντωνίνος φόνον τῶν βαρβάρων, λείαν τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτους παμπληθεῖς συλλαβῶν, ἀπήει μηδεὶν ἀὐτῷ ἀνθεστῶτος, κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις ἐμπιπράς, δούς ἐξουσίαν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀρπάζειν τε ἕκαστον ὃ δύναται καὶ ὃ ² βούλεται αὐτὸς κτήσασθαι.

8 τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ πάθει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ βάρβαροι οὐ προσδοκηθέντι· ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Παρθυαίων γῆς ἐλάσας, ἤδη καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεκμηκότων ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀρπάζειν καὶ φονεῖν, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν. ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος ἐπιστέλλει τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ πᾶσαν ἀνατολὴν κεχειρῶσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐπέκεινα βασιλείας ³ πάντας αὐτῷ παρακεχωρηκέ- 9 ναι. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα (λαθεῖν γὰρ ⁴ ἔργα βασιλέως ἀδύνατον ⁵), πλὴν δέει καὶ κολακεία ψηφίζονται αὐτῷ πάσας τιμὰς ἐπινικίους. διέτριβε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα

¹ δὴ Mendels from P (*ita*)

² om OP (*quod quisque aut posset aut vellet*)

³ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα βασιλέας A

⁵ ἀδύνατον <ἦν> Irmisch from P

⁴ om Macar

¹ To Edessa in Osrhoene; Dio 78.5.4, SHA, *Car.* 6.6.

² A naïve *sententia*, apparently adapted from a line of

of the barbarians, who were dismounted and standing about, after letting the horses out to graze, were cut down without the horses that were essential to them. They could not run away on foot either, because the loose flowing garments around their ankles tripped them up. They had neither quivers nor bows, for which of course there was no need at a wedding. And so, after a great massacre of the 7 the barbarians, Antoninus retired unopposed, loaded with booty and prisoners. On the way he burned down villages and towns, giving his troops permission to loot where they could and to seize for themselves what property they wanted.

That was the kind of unexpected tragedy that the 8 barbarians suffered. Antoninus, however, marched throughout the length and breadth of the Parthian territory, until even his soldiers were exhausted from looting and killing, and he returned to Mesopotamia.¹ There he sent a dispatch to the senate and Roman people announcing the subjugation of the entire East and the submission of everyone in the kingdom east of Mesopotamia. Although the 9 senate were well aware of the facts (since the deeds of an emperor cannot be kept secret),² they nevertheless voted him full triumphal honours out of fear and flattery.³ Antoninus lingered on in Meso-

poetry, and contrasting with Dio 78.27.3, when the senate were misled. Politian reduces the aphorism to a particular observation, *latere enim eum (sc. senatum) imperatoris Caracallae acta non poterant*.

³ *vict(oria) Part(hica)* is celebrated on the coins of 217 along with the *vota decennalia* (i.e. twenty years since 198 as emperor), but the title Parthicus and *imperator* IV never appear, since C. was assassinated early in 217 or (more

ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ὁ Ἀντωνίνος, ἡμοχειλαῖς σχολάζων καὶ θηρία παντοδαπὰ ἀναιρῶν.

12. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπάρχοντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου ¹ δύο, ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτης πάνυ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ιδιώτης καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχων, στρατιωτικὸς δὲ γεγενῆσθαι δοκῶν. Ἄδουεντος ² ὄνομα αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Μακρίνος μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο, τῶν δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὐκ ἀπείρως εἶχε, καὶ μάλιστα νόμων ἐπιστήμης. ἐς τοῦτον οὖν ὡς μὴ στρατιωτικὸν μηδὲ γενναῖον δημοσίᾳ πολλὰκις ἀπ-
2 ἔσκωπτε, καὶ μέχρις αἰσχρᾶς βλασφημίας· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν αὐτὸν καὶ διαίτη ἐλευθερίῳ χρώμενον καὶ τὰ φαῦλα καὶ ἀπερριμμένα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων καὶ ποτῶν μυσσαττόμενον, οἷς ὡς ³ στρατιωτικὸς δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνίνος ἔχαιρε, χλαμύδιον ἢ τινα ἄλλην

¹ στρατεύματος Ο δύο τοὺς στρατοπέδων ἐπάρχους ἔχων Jο

² Steph αὔδεντος Βι αὔδεντος V αὔδενος Α Ἀδυέντιος Jο Audentius P
³ δ AB

probably) since the victory was not considered important enough by C. himself (cf. Macrinus, 4.15.9n); if the latter is true, H. exaggerates here; cf. *BMC* V. 465-6. The return of legio II Adiutrix to Pannonia Inferior seems to indicate an end to the campaign, *AE* (1964) 261.

¹ M. Oclatinius Adventus; Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 247, Howe, *Praet. Pref.* no. 26. He began his career from low origins as a *speculator*, then a *centurio frumentarius*, and later a *princeps peregrinorum* (Dio 78.14, though the Greek terms are difficult to be certain about; Hirschfeld, *Kaiserlich. Verwaltung*. 194n); after long service in the army he became an equestrian procurator in Britain c. 205-8 (*CIL* VII. 1003, 1346); his appointment as praetorian prefect was in succession to Cn. Marcus Rustius Rufinus (Howe) or Papinian in 212 (Pflaum). *Cod. Just.* 9.51.1, which seems to show him and Macrinus with

potamia after this, occupying his leisure in chariot racing and hunting a variety of wild animals.

12. Antoninus had two military prefects; one was a fairly old man called Adventus,¹ who had had a reputation as a soldier, though in other fields he had no professional experience and was lost in politics. The other prefect was called Macrinus,² who had some experience in the courts and a very sound experience of law. Antoninus frequently made fun of Macrinus in public for his lack of military experience and bravery, carrying this to the point of rank abuse. When he found out that ² Macrinus led an extravagant life and intensely disliked the rough scraps of food and drink which he, Antoninus, professed to enjoy as a military man,

ornamenta consularia in 216 (*clarissimis viris*), is shown to be wrong by *AE* (1947) 182 (*eminentissimis viris*). After Macrinus' accession he was adlected *inter consulares*, created *praefectus urbi* and commissioned to convey the body of C. to Rome (SHA, *Mac.* 5.3 f.), but soon after (under pressure from hostile senators like Dio perhaps; e.g. 78.14.3) he was replaced by Marius Maximus. He shared the consulship with M. in 218, was treated by Elagabalus as though he were sole consul (cf. *ILS* 505) and then retrospectively colleague of Elag. and *cos.* II in the same year; Dio 79.8.2-3; cf. *CIL* VI. 2001, III. 6161.

² M. Opellius Macrinus, Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 248. Born c. 164-6 at Caesarea in Mauretania, he began his career as a lawyer and became *advocatus fisci* under Plautian's patronage (3.10.6n). He was saved by L. Fabius Cilo when Plautian fell, and after a number of equestrian appointments he became procurator in charge of the *res privata*. His appointment as praetorian prefect seems not to have been as early as 212 (Dio says he held some brief procuratorial appointments first under C.). Both Dio and SHA give him a bad press through senatorial prejudice against an equestrian emperor; cf. Dio 78.11 for his career.

ἐσθῆτα ἀμφιεσάμενον ἀστειοτέραν ἐς ἀνανδρίαν¹
καὶ θήλειαν νόσον διέβαλλεν, αἰεὶ τε ἀποκτενεῖν
ἠπέλει. ἄπερ οὐ φέρων ὁ Μακρίνος πάνυ ἤσαλλε.
3 συνέβη δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον· ἔδει γὰρ ἄρα τέλος
λαβεῖν τὸν Ἀντωνίνου βίον. περιεργότατος² γὰρ
ὦν οὐ μόνον τὰ ἀνθρώπων πάντα εἰδέναι ἠθέλεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ δαιμόνια πολυπραγμονεῖν.
αἰεὶ τε πάντας ὑπόπτευεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντας,
χρηστηρίων τε πάντων ἐνεφορεῖτο, τοὺς τε
πανταχόθεν μάγους τε καὶ ἀστρονόμους καὶ³
θύτας μετεπέμπετο· καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν⁴ ἐλάνθανε
4 τῶν τὴν γοητείαν ταύτην ὑπισχνουμένων· ὑπο-
πτεύων⁵ δ' αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ τάληθῆ αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ πρὸς
κολακείαν θεσπίζοντας, ἐπιστέλλει Ματερνιανῶ
τιμί, (τῷ) τότε⁶ πάσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ
πράξεις ἐγκεχειρισμένων, πιστοτάτῳ εἶναι δοκοῦντι
φίλων καὶ μόνῳ κοινῶν τῶν ἀπορρήτων· κηλεύει
δὲ αὐτῷ μάγων τοὺς ἀρίστους ζητήσαντι νεκρία
τε χρησαμένῳ⁷ μαθεῖν⁸ περὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ
βίου⁸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μή⁹ τις ἄρα ἐπιβουλεύει τῇ
5 ἀρχῇ. ὁ δὲ Ματερνιανὸς χρησάμενος ἀδεῶς τοῖς

¹ ἀνανδρείαν Va ἀνδρείαν Blg (g² has added ἀν- and in mg
ὡς ἀνανδρείαν)

² μαγ. καὶ ἀστρον. τε καὶ Oi emend Reisk

³ αὐτῷ O ⁴ ὑπόπτευε O

⁵ Whit τότε Jo a τῷ τε Al τῷ τε g τὰ τε B τὰς τε V

⁶ Reisk—ον Oi Jo ⁷ ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ βίου A

⁸ εἰ conj Lange

¹ Lit. "a womanly disease," but probably means no more
than *muliebria*, the disease of acting like a woman (cf. Suet.
Cal. 56.2).

and that he wore a long flowing cloak and other
clothes which were more elegant, he accused the pre-
fect of cowardice and effeminacy¹ and continually
threatened to execute him. Macrinus resented
these accusations and was deeply offended.

But it was obviously inevitable that Antoninus' life³
would come to an end and this was how the event
occurred. Being an inquisitive person, the em-
peror was anxious to know all about human affairs,
but also to pry into matters concerning the gods and
spirits. He was also perpetually suspicious that
everyone was plotting against him. So he made
full use of every oracle and summoned wise men and
astrologers and sacrificial interpreters from every
land; no one who offered this kind of sorcery escaped
him.² But he began to suspect that these prophets⁴
were not telling him the truth, but were making
forecasts to flatter him. So he wrote to Mater-
nianus,³ whom he had put in charge of affairs in
Rome at the time and whom he considered his most
reliable friend and the only one to share in his secrets.
He told this man to search out the best seers, and,
by calling up the dead, to discover what his end
would be and whether anyone was plotting for the
empire. Maternianus carried out the emperor's⁵

² The preoccupation of the Severan court and of Caracalla
with cults of magic, astrology and mysticism are discussed
by T. Montero, *Ric. sull' Heroikos di Philostrato*, esp. 32-34.

³ Flavius Maternianus, *PIR*² F 317, *Albo* 237. He was
probably not the regular *praefectus urbi* but acting in charge
of the troops in Rome during C.'s absence; Dio 78.4.2;
Domaszewski, *RhM* 58 (1903) 222 ff., believed him to be, like
Varius Marcellus in 211, *vice praeff. pr. et urbi functus* (5.3.3n);
if so, he was an equestrian.

ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κελευσθεῖσιν, εἴτε ὄντως αὐτῷ
 δαιμόνων ταῦτα θεοπισάντων εἴτε ἄλλως συσκευα-
 ζόμενος [τὸν Μακρίνον],¹ ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ
 ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇ ἀρχῇ τὸν Μακρίνον καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν
 6 ἀποσκευάσασθαι. ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα ἀποσημηνά-
 μενος μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ἐπιστολῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος
 δίδωσι τοῖς διακομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἰδῶσιν ἃ φέρουσι.
 τῷ δὲ συνήθει τάχει τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐκεῖνοι
 χρησάμενοι ἐφίστανται² τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ, ἥδη τε
 σκευὴν ἠμιόχου ἀνεληφότι καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος
 ἐπιβαίνοντι προσκομίζουσι πάντα³ τὸν σύνδεσμον
 τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ τὰ κατὰ Μακρίνου⁴
 7 γράμματα. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνίνος τὴν ὁρμὴν ἤδη καὶ
 τὴν γνώμην περὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἔχων, κελεύει
 τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἀποστάντι καὶ ἰδιάσαντι ἐντυχεῖν
 τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐπεύγον εἶη, δηλῶσαι
 αὐτῷ, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτὸν διοικῆσαι ὡς
 ἔπαρχον. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦτο κελεύειν ἦν σύνηθες
 αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα προστάξας εἵχετο τοῦ

¹ del Mendelss ² ἐπίστ. Ο ³ τε πάντα Δ τε Jo

⁴ κατὰ μακρίνον Β περὶ μακρίνου Jo τοῦ μακρίνου ι

¹ Dio 78.4.1-2 says that a certain African soothsayer had forecast Macrinus' succession in Africa and had been sent to Maternianus for interrogation; as a result Maternianus had written to C.

orders completely, and then, either because the spirits had really made a prediction¹ or because he was up to some kind of scheme, he wrote to Antoninus saying that Macrinus was plotting for the empire and should be disposed of. This message was sealed and given⁶ with other letters as usual to the couriers,² though they did not realize what they were carrying. They completed the journey with their normal speed and came before Antoninus to present him with the whole package of letters, including the message attacking Macrinus, just as he was getting into his chariot and had picked up his charioteer's equip-⁷ ment.³ Antoninus' entire interest and attention was concentrated on the chariot race, so he told Macrinus to stand aside privately⁴ and deal with the dispatches; then, if there was anything urgent, to bring it to his attention but, if not, to carry out his normal duties as prefect (as Macrinus frequently used to be told to do). After giving this instruction, the emperor carried on with the business in hand, while Macrinus

² The *tabellarii* of the imperial post service. The information was almost certainly leaked by Julianus Nestor, *princeps peregrinorum*, and thus intimately concerned with secret service work of the kind investigated by Maternianus; it may even have been one of Nestor's *frumentarii* who was detailed to carry the special letter; cf. Durry, *Cohortes præt.* 27 ff. Nestor's reward was to be made praetorian prefect by Maorinus later; cf. 4.14.2n.

³ The dress was the special colours of the faction, a short tunic with loose sleeves; on the head a helmet was worn; in addition there were extras such as a quiver and bow, a cloak, sometimes a lion skin over the back, a special belt and so on.

⁴ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*⁸ s.v. ἰδιάζω take this to mean M. was in retirement, an impossible interpretation.

8 προκειμένου· ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος καθ' αὐτὸν γενόμενος τὰς τε ἄλλας ἐπιλύεται ἐπιστολάς, περιτυχὼν δὲ καὶ τῇ καθ' αὐτοῦ¹ θανατηφόρῳ ὄρῃ προὔπτον κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενον. εἰδὼς τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸ φοινικόν² ἐπὶ τοιοῦσδε γράμμασι, καὶ πρόφασιν αὐτῷ εὐλογον ὑπάρξουσιν, τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ὑφαιρεῖται, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπαγγέλλει ὡς εἶεν συνήθεις.³ 13. φοβηθεῖς δὲ μὴ καὶ δεύτερον ταῦτα ὁ Ματερνιανὸς ἐπιστείλῃ, δράσαι τι μᾶλλον ἠθέλησεν ἢ ἀναμείνας⁴ παθεῖν. τολμᾷ δὴ τι⁵ τοιοῦτον. ἦν τις ἑκατοντάρχης,⁶ Μαρτιάλιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν Ἀντωνίνου, αἰεὶ παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ. τούτου τὸν ἀδελφὸν πρὸ δλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀνηγήκει διαβληθέντα μὲν οὐκ ἐλεγχθέντα δὲ· αὐτῷ τε ἴψῳ Μαρτιαλίῳ ἐνύβρισεν, ἀναδρον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγεννή

¹ αὐτὸν A

² εἰδὼς τε καὶ τὸ φοινικόν τοῦ ἀντ. καὶ (καὶ om B) τὸν θυμὸν AB εἰδὼς τε καὶ τὸν φοινικόν τοῦ ἀντ. θυμὸν V

³ Wolf *σνήθεις* Oi ὡς εἶχεν ἐν συνηθείᾳ Reisk ὡς εἰ ἐν συνηθείᾳ? Whit

⁴ om O

⁵ AJo τι om φί

⁶ -ἀρχος Jo

⁷ τοῖ ἰ τῶν—αὐτῷ om A

¹ According to Dio 78.4.2 ff. the letter went to Julia Domna, who was in charge of imperial correspondence at Antioch, and was thus delayed; meanwhile Macrinus was warned by Ulpian Julianus (see 5.4.3n) from Antioch(?). C. had already received a warning about Macrinus from an Egyptian soothsayer, Serapio, which made it doubly urgent for Macrinus to act. Dio's circumstantial evidence cannot be disregarded, but

on his own opened all the letters.¹ Among them he found the letter which would have been fatal to himself and realized the obvious danger threatening him. He was also aware of Antoninus' hot temper and his murderous inclinations when he received messages of this kind; the emperor would now have a good excuse to act. So he quietly removed the letter and for the rest reported that they were routine.

13. But because he was afraid that Maternianus would send the news a second time, he preferred to take some positive action of a daring nature rather than wait passively for the consequences.² There was a centurion named Martialis in Antoninus' body-guard, who regularly formed part of the imperial escort.³ His brother had been executed a few days earlier on an unproven charge and he himself was insulted by the emperor, who taunted him with cowardice and low birth and being a friend of Macri-

the extent of the plot seems to go further than either he or H. suggests.

² Already, a few days before C.'s birthday (4th April), some of Macrinus' supporters had been removed from positions close to C.; Dio 78.5.1 (though the text is fragmentary); this may be what H. refers to concerning Martialis' brother.

³ Dio 78.5.2 ff. makes it clear that Julius Martialis was only an *evocatus*, part of an officer cadre under the praetorian prefect, and employed for special duties, to whom C. had refused promotion to the centurionate. Domaszewski, *RhM* 57 (1902) 508, suggests his post was *praepositus equitibus extraordinariis*, but without evidence (see below). SHA, *Car.* 7.2, gives his position as *strator* (i.e. an equerry, believed correct by Hohl—see reference below); if he were *strator imperatoris*, this could well be the rank of centurion (cf. *CIL* X. 3735—*primipilaris*) and part of C.'s regular escort. H. fails to mention here the two tribunes of the praetorians who were also part of the plot (cf. 4.14.2).

2 καλῶν καὶ Μακρίνου φίλον. τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Μακρίνος ἀλοοῦντά τε σφοδρῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναιρέσει, μὴ φέροντά τε τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεις, μεταπέμπεται (ἐθάρρει δὲ αὐτῷ θεραπεύοντί τε αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν καὶ πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὐεργετηθέντι), πείθει τε καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον παραφυλάξαντα ἐπιβουλευσαι τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ. ὁ δὲ ταῖς τε ὑποσχέσεσι τοῦ Μακρίνου ἀναπεισθεῖς, μισῶν τε ἄλλως καὶ τιμωρῆσαι θέλων τῷ ἀδελφῷ, πάντα ποιήσεν ἀσμένως ὑπισχνεῖται καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον εὐρών.

3 συνέβη δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς σκέψεως ταύτης θελήσαι τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, διατρίβοντα ἐν Κάρραις τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, προελθεῖν τῆς στρατοπεδείας.¹ ἀπελθεῖν τε ἐς τὸν νεῶν τῆς σελήνης, ἣν μάλιστα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσιν. ἀφειστήκει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ νεὸς πολὺ, ὡς ὁδοιπορίας χρήζειν. σὺν ἵππεῦσιν οὖν ὀλίγοις, ἵνα δὴ μὴ πάντα τὸν στρατὸν σκύλη,

¹ A βασιλείας φη αὐλῆς Jo βασιλείου <αὐλῆς> Stav

¹ The cause of Martialis' discontent is said by Dio 78.5.3 to have been due to his failure to get promotion; this may have been because of C.'s suspicions about his connection with Macrinus. The insults offered are suspiciously like those offered by the emperor Gaius to his future assassin, Cassius Chaerea; Suet. *Cal.* 56.2, Dio (Xiph.) 59.29, though this does not prove the falsity of H.'s account.

² Dio 78.5.4 says that C. was on his way from Edessa (his

nus.¹ When he heard that Martialis was very much 2 upset at his brother's execution and resented the insults hurled against him, Macrinus summoned him to his presence. He had confided in the centurion because the man was originally a client of his and had received many favours from his patron. He persuaded him to plot against Antoninus when he had carefully watched for a suitable opportunity. Martialis, who was in any case anxious to avenge his brother, was won by Macrinus' promises and readily undertook to do everything if he found the right occasion.

Soon after this discussion Antoninus, who was 3 spending some time at Carrhae in Mesopotamia,² decided to leave the camp and visit the temple of Selene,³ the main cult of that region. The temple was some distance from the town, needing a proper journey to see it. But not to disorganize the whole army, Antoninus made the trip with a few cavalry,⁴

winter quarters; 4.11.8n) to Carrhae; cf. SHA, *Car.* 6.6. The events of the assassination are discussed by Hohl, "Das Ende Caracallas," *Misc. Acad. Berol.* (1950) 276-93, who believes the SHA account derives from Marius Maximus.

³ The temple of Sin, a male moon god, confused with Selene; SHA, *Car.* 7.1-5, Roscher, *Lexicon* II. 2689. It was evidently near to Carrhae, since it appears on a coin of Caracalla from Carrhae; *BM Mesopot.* 82, no. 4.

⁴ A troop of German and Scythian *equites extraordinarii* (4.13.6n) and probably the *equites singulares*. The presence of the latter would explain how two tribunes of the praetorians came to be present at the scene, since they were commanded by praetorian tribunes; Durry, *Cohortes præt.* 143-4. Hohl, *op. cit.*, thinks the term *equites extraordinarii* is anachronistic, but that the escort was composed of a special group of officers and the bodyguard serving *extra ordinem* under the direction of the prefect of the Second Parthian legion, Aelius Tricicianus (4.14.2).

τὴν ὀδοιπορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς δὴ¹ θύσας τῇ θεῷ
 4 ἐπανεῖθιοι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν² μέσσην ὁδὸν ἐπειχθεῖς
 ὑπὸ τῆς γαστρὸς, ἀποστῆναί τε πάντας κελεύσας,
 ἀνεχώρει σὺν ἐνὶ ὑπὲρ τῆ ἀποσκευασόμενος τὰ
 ἐνοχλοῦντα. πάντες τοῖνυν ἀπεστράφησαν καὶ ὡς
 πορρωτάτω ἀπῆσαν, τιμῆν καὶ αἰδῶ τῷ γινομένῳ
 5 νέμοντες. ὁ δὲ Μαρτιάλιος τοὺς καιροὺς πάντας
 παραφυλάττων, ἰδὼν τε αὐτὸν μεμονωμένον, ὡς
 δὴ κληθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νεύματι ἐρών³ τι ἢ ἀκουσό-
 μενος, προστρέχει, ἐπιστάς τε αὐτῷ τὰς ἐσθῆτας
 τῶν μηρῶν καθέλκοντι, ἀπεστραμμένον⁴ παίει
 ξιφιδίῳ, ὃ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔφερε λαυθάνων. καιρίου
 δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἐπὶ⁵ τῆς κατακλείδος⁶ γενομένης
 ἀπροσδοκῆτως τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως ὁ Ἀντωνίνος
 6 ἀνῆρέθη. πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πηδήσας⁷ ἵππῳ
 ἔφυγεν ὁ Μαρτιάλιος. Γερμανοὶ δὲ ἵππεῖς, οἷς
 ὁ⁸ Ἀντωνίνος ἔχαιρε φρουροῖς τε τοῦ σώματος
 ἐχρήτο, οὐ⁹ τοσοῦτον ἀφεστῶτες [ἐς]¹⁰ ὅσον οἱ
 λοιποὶ, πρῶτοί τε ἰδόντες τὸ γινόμενον, διώξαντες

¹ ἀν Nauck

³ Bekk ὄρων Oi

⁵ ἐκ O

⁷ <ἐμ->πηδήσας Steph

⁹ οὐ οὐ O

² om O μέσση τὴν conj Mendelss

⁴ ἀπεστραμμένον ag ἀποσ- I

⁶ τὰς κατακλείδας conj Stroth

⁸ om Ogl

¹⁰ del Bekk

¹ Lit. "when dragging off the clothes from his thighs"; not clear what kind of clothes C. was wearing; perhaps the high puttees worn over the thighs and legs called *feminalia* or *tibialia*, or more probably the Germanic type *bracae* (breeches)

intending to make a sacrifice to the goddess and then return. In the middle of the journey he was forced 4 by a stomach ache to tell the whole column to stop while he went off with a single attendant to relieve his trouble. So everyone turned their faces away and walked off as far as they could out of respect for the emperor's dignity and his modesty while in the act. Martialis was watching every opportunity and 5 spotted the emperor all alone. He ran towards him, pretending he had been summoned by a nod to tell the emperor something or to be told something. He stood over Antoninus while he was pulling down the clothes from his waist¹ and stabbed him with the dagger he had hidden in his hands while the emperor's back was turned. The blow, which caught Antoninus just near the clavicle, was fatal and he died unexpectedly while he was off his guard. After 6 he fell, Martialis jumped on a horse and ran away. But the German cavalry, Antoninus' favourites, acting as bodyguard,² were not standing as far away as the rest and were the first to see what happened. They set off after Martialis and brought him down with their spears. When the rest of the army saw

increasingly common wear for soldiers (as is shown on the column of M. Aurelius).

² The *equites extraordinarii* of SHA, *Car.* 6.7, are probably the same as the special bodyguard of men of centurion rank called "lions" (the blond beasts) of Germans and Scythians (= Dacians, Dio 51.22.6) in Dio 78.5.5 ff. The Scythian soldier who killed Martialis was himself immediately killed by Nemesianus and Apollinaris (Dio, *ibid.*, wrongly translated by Cary); Domaszewski, *RhM* 57 (1902) 508. These cavalry are not the same as the German *vexillationes* employed by Maximus (8.6.6, etc.).

7 τὸν Μαρτιάλιον κατηκόντισαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ
λοιπὸς στρατὸς εἶδε τὸ πραχθέν, πάντες συνέ-
δραμον, καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπιστὰς τῷ
πτώματι ὀλοφύρεσθαι τε καὶ θρηνεῖν προσποιεῖτο.
ὁ τε στρατὸς πᾶς χαλεπῶς καὶ δυσφόρως ἤνεγκε
τὸ πραχθέν· συστρατιώτην γὰρ καὶ κοινωὸν τοῦ¹
βίου, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρχοντα ᾤοντο ἀποβεβληκέναι.
καὶ οὐδεμίαν πω ἐπιβουλὴν ὑπώπτευον ἐκ τοῦ
Μακρίνου, ᾤοντο δὲ τὸν Μαρτιάλιον οἰκείαν
8 ἔχθραν ἀμύνασθαι.² καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕκαστος ἐς³
τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπαῆσαν· ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος πυρὶ
παραδοὺς τὸ σωματίον, τὴν τε κόνιν κάλπει τινὶ
ἐμβάλων, ἔπεμψε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ καταθάψαι, ἐν
'Αντιοχείᾳ διατριβούσῃ. ἐκείνη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν
παιδῶν ὁμοίαις⁴ συμφοραῖς εἶτε ἐκούσα εἶτε
κελευσθεῖσα ἀπεκαρτέρησε. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει
ἐχρήσατο ὁ Ἀντωνίνος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Ἰουλία,
βιώσαντες ὡς προείρηται. πᾶς δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ
μόνος ἐβασίλευσεν ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελ-
φοῦ, ἐν ἕξ ἔτεσι συνετελέσθη.

14. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀντωνίνου ἐν ἀφασίᾳ τε

¹ om O

³ ὡς AB

² ἀμύνεσθαι φgl

⁴ om Jo

¹ Where she was conducting the business of the empire; Dio (Xiph.) 77.18.2-4, 78.4.2-3. The body was probably

what had been committed they all hurried to the 7 spot; first to get there was Macrinus, who stood over the dead body, pretending to weep and lament. The entire army was bitterly angry about the crime, regarding the emperor they had lost not as a ruler but as a comrade and associate. They had no suspicion so far of a plot by Macrinus, since they thought Martialis had taken his revenge for a private grievance. When they had all gone back to their own 8 tents, Macrinus put the body on a pyre and then, after placing the ashes in an urn, sent them for burial to Antoninus' mother, who was at Antioch.¹ With both of her sons dead under similar circumstances she committed suicide,² perhaps without any prompting or perhaps she was ordered to do so. And so, after living as has been described above, Antoninus and his mother Julia died in this way. The total period of his sole rule after the death of his father and his brother was less than six years.³

14. After the death of Antoninus the army was at a

cremated immediately and the urn sent in the care of Adventus; first to Antioch and then to Rome; Dio 78.9.1, SHA, *Macr.* 5.2, *Car.* 9.12.

² The Greek ἀποκαρτερέω normally means to commit suicide by starvation, but the *Suda* s.v. ἀποκαρτερήσαντα makes it clear it can also be by hanging. Julia's suicide did not take place immediately, Dio 78.23.1; she began by attempting suicide, then intriguing for power, and finally, after being ordered away from Antioch, she starved herself to death, though she had cancer of the breast also.

³ Lit. "within six years"; Geta died c. 27th February 212. The date of C.'s death is given by Dio 78.5.4 as four days after his birthday, that is 8th April 217; SHA, *Car.* 6.6, says C. died on his birthday on 6th April during the Megalensia (4th-10th April).

ἦν ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἀπορία τοῦ πρακτέου· ἔμεινάν τε ἡμερῶν¹ δύο ἀβασίλευτοι, ἐζήτουν τε ὄν ἐπιλέξονται ἄρχοντα. καὶ γὰρ ἠγγέλλετο μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιὼν Ἀρτάβανος, δίκας ἀπαιτήσεων τιμωρήσων τε τοῖς ἐν σπονδαῖς² καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἀνηρημένοις. αἰροῦνται δὴ βασιλέα πρῶτον μὲν Ἄδουεντον³ ὡς στρατιωτικόν τε καὶ ἔπαρχον οὐ φαῦλον γενόμενον· ὁ δὲ γῆρας προῖσχύμενος παρητήσατο· μετ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν Μακρίνον, πειθόντων αὐτοὺς⁴ χιλιάρχων, οἳ καὶ⁵ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ⁶ Ἀντωνίνου συνωμόται καὶ κοινωνοὶ τοῦ Μακρίνου γεγενῆσθαι ὑπωπεύθησαν. ὕστερον⁶ γοῦν ἐκολάσθησαν⁶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου³ τελευτήν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν. παρέλαβε δὲ

¹ ἡμέρας i

² Steph αὐδεντον Aa αὐδ. B αὐδ. V ἀβδέντον I ἀβδεντον g Audentium P

³ αὐτὸν A

⁴ χιλιάρ. τὲ καὶ ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ ὄσοι A

⁵ <κατὰ> τοῦ Reisk

⁶ ὕστερ.—ἐκολάσθησαν om iP

¹ Dio 78.11.6 says on the fourth day, but the counting is inclusive; M.'s *dies imperii* was the same day as Severus' *natalis*, 11th April; Dio 78.8.1. A demonstration took place at Rome on that day in the circus, at which the name of Martialis was called. Can one believe that there was a planned date for the plot, known to M.'s partisans in Rome, or was this mere coincidence? Dio 78.8.2 (divine inspiration). Millar, *Cassius Dio* 164, believes the reference must be to the *ludi Martiales* of 12th May; cf. Dio 78.18.3.

² Cf. Dio 78.14.2; one may suspect that the real disadvantage for Adventus was that he had such lowly origins

complete loss about what should be done and for two whole days¹ they remained without an emperor, trying to find a suitable choice. On top of this came the announcement that Artabanus was advancing with a large and powerful force to punish the Romans and take his revenge for the men who had been slaughtered while there was a peace treaty in force. So the first choice for emperor was Adventus² because he had military experience and was quite a good prefect. But he refused on the plea that he was too old.² So then they were persuaded to choose Macrinus, who was supported by some tribunes³ suspected of being members of the conspiracy against Antoninus and accomplices of Macrinus.⁴ After his death, in fact, they were punished, as will be described later.⁵ Macrinus³

and would have provoked an even more violent reaction than Macrinus' accession.

³ See 4.13.1n and next note.

⁴ The *factio Macriniana* noted in SHA, *Diad.* 1.1. A list of accomplices is given by SHA, *Car.* 6.6; they are Aelius (Decius is incorrect; *AE* (1953) 11) Triccius (*Albo* 926), *praefectus* of legio II Parthica—the legion remained permanently hostile to Caracalla, 4.5.1n; Marcus Claudius Agrippa (Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 287, Groag, *RE* (Marcus 34)); Martialis, who had brought over a number of *officiales* of the praetorian prefecture. In addition were the two praetorian tribunes, Aurelius Nemesianus and Aurelius Apollinaris. Marcus Agrippa, who was formerly *ab epistulis* and now *praefectus classis*, was probably present with a fleet on the Euphrates. The conspirators were thus almost entirely made up of the palace guard, and related functionaries; add to these Ulpianus, who was a *censibus* in Antioch (4.12.8n) and Julianus Nestor, who was *princeps peregrinorum* (4.12.6n). They were rewarded for their services, Dio 78.13, 78.15.1.

⁵ There is no further reference to them, strong evidence that the work was unrevised; cf. 2.2.4n, 4.8.5n, 5.3.9n.

τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Μακρίνος οὐχ οὕτως εὐνοία καὶ πίστει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς ἀνάγκη καὶ χρεῖα τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ.

τούτων δὲ πραπτομένων ἐφίσταται ὁ Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ μεγίστου πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως, ἵππον τε πολλὴν ἄγων καὶ τοξοτῶν μέγα τι πλήθος καταφράκτους τε ἀπὸ καμήλων ἔξωθεν¹ μακροῖς⁴ δόρασιν.² ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη προσιῶν, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Μακρίνος ἔλεξε τοιαύδε. “ἀλγεῖν μὲν ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐπὶ τοιούτου βασιλέως, ἢ ἵνα τὰ ληθῆ λέγοιμι, συστρατιώτου³ ἀποβολῆ, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· φέρειν δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰ προσπίπτοντα μετρίως ὑπομένειν ἀνθρώπων ἔργον⁵ σωφρονούντων. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνου μνήμη ἔν τε τοῖς ἡμετέροις⁴ στέρνοις ἐγκείσεται, τοῖς τε ἐς ὕστερον παραδοθήσεται [καὶ]⁵ δόξαν αἰδίου φέρουσα μεγάλων τε καὶ γενναίων ἔργων ὧν ἔδρασε, φίλτρων τε καὶ εὐνοίας καμάτων τε κοινωνίας τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς. νῦν δὲ καιρὸς, τιμήσαντας ὡς χρὴ τὴν μνήμην τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, ἀφοσιωσαμένους τε τὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἐπειγόντων.

¹ ἀνωθεν Leisn ἔξωθούντας Leisn in mg edit Oxon ἐξ ἀνωθεν ὠθοῦντας ?Whit ἐξ <ἔδρας> ὠθοῦντας Schwartz

² δόξασιν(v) O

⁴ vestris P

³ AP στρατιώτου φ

⁵ Syllb

obtained the principate not so much through the love and loyalty of the soldiers as through necessity and the demands of the immediate situation.

Meanwhile Artabanus was upon them¹ with his vast and powerful army composed of many cavalry and an enormous number of archers and armoured riders, who fought from the backs of camels² with long spears, avoiding close combat.³ When he received news of their approach, Macrinus summoned the troops and made a speech to the following effect: “Naturally you are all sad about the loss of an emperor of this calibre—or perhaps it would be true to call him a fellow soldier. But sensible men make it their job to endure disasters and not exaggerate sudden calamities. We shall preserve the⁵ memory of Antoninus in our hearts and pass it on to future generations; it will be glorious for ever because of his important and noble achievements and also because of his affection and goodwill towards you and the way he shared in your labours. But now that you have duly honoured the memory of the dead man and have fulfilled all your obligations to him, it is time to turn your attention to matters of

¹ For the chronology of this battle, see 4.15.5n.

² The Parthian army was made up almost entirely of mounted soldiers, heavy *clibanarii* and *cataphracti* and light mounted archers; in emergencies infantry could be summoned from the vassals; the force of *dromedarii* was possibly in imitation of the Roman auxiliary soldiers attached to the infantry centuries; cf. *Dura-Europos Final Report V*. 133 (with references), Rostovtzeff, *CAH XI*. 119-20.

³ The text seems corrupt; my emendation (*app. critic.*) translates “who forced their way by jabbing from above with their long spears.”

6 ὁράτε τὸν βάρβαρον ἐφεστῶτα σὺν παντὶ τῷ τῆς ἀνατολῆς πλήθει, καὶ δοκοῦντα πρόφασιν εὐλογον ἔχθρας ἔχειν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν προυκαλεσάμεθα παρασπονδήσαντες, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθεῖα πόλεμον ἠγειράμεν. ἤρτηται δὲ νῦν¹ πᾶσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας² ἀνδρείας τε καὶ πίστεως· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὄρων γῆς οὐδὲ ρείθρων ποταμῶν ἢ φιλονεικία, περὶ τοῦ παντός δέ, πρὸς μέγαν βασιλέα, ὑπὲρ παιδῶν καὶ συγγενῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἀδίκως καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους οἶεται ἀνηρῆσθαι.

7 τά τε οὖν ὄπλα λαμβάνωμεν καὶ τῇ συνήθει Ῥωμαίοις εὐκοσμίᾳ ταπτώμεθα. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς παρατάξεσι τὸ³ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἄτακτον πλήθος καὶ προσκαιρῶς ὠρισμένον αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ ἴσως γένοιτ' ἂν⁴ ἐναντίον· τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον⁵ εὐτακτὸν τε ὄν καὶ συγκεκροτημένον, μετὰ τε ἐμπειρίας μαχόμενον, ἡμῖν⁶ τε ἔσται σωτήριον καὶ κείνοις ὀλέθριον. μετ' ἀγαθῆς οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀγωνίζεσθε ὡς Ῥωμαίοις πρέπον^{7,8} καὶ σύνηθες.

8 οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τε βαρβάρους ἀπώσεσθε, καὶ δόξης κλέος ἀράμενοι μέγα Ῥωμαίοις⁷ τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δείξετε, τὴν τε προτέραν νίκην πιστώσεσθε, ὡς μὴ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ παρασπονδήσαντες ἠδικήσατε,⁹ ἀλλὰ δι' ὄπλων νικήσαντες ἐκρατήσατε."

τοιαυτὰ τινα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ πράγματος ὁρῶντες παρετάττοντο καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις ἦσαν. 15. ἅμα δὲ ἠλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐφάνη Ἄρτάβανος σὺν μεγίστῳ πλήθει στρατοῦ.

¹ ὡς O² ἡμετέρας iP³ om O

urgency. As you can see, the barbarian is attack- 6 ing with his entire eastern forces, believing that he has a just cause for his hostility because of our aggression and violation of a treaty in stirring up a war in time of complete peace. Now the whole Roman empire depends upon our courage and loyalty. This is not a territorial dispute about frontiers and rivers. It is total war against a great king who is fighting because he believes that his children and his relatives were murdered unjustly and contrary to our sworn promises. So we must get 7 hold of our arms and hold our ranks with traditional Roman discipline. For in the line of battle the disorderly hordes of barbarians organized on a temporary basis will probably be their own worst enemies. While our side, which is a well-disciplined, co-ordinated and experienced fighting force, will be our salvation and fatal for the opposition. So fight the 8 battle with your morale high, as is proper and normal for Romans. In this way you will put the enemy to flight and win a glorious reputation for yourselves. You will also prove to Rome and the world (confirming the results of our previous victory) that you did not violate a truce unjustly by trickery and deceit but that you won by superior force of arms."

After this speech the soldiers, seeing there was no other choice under the circumstances, assembled in their battle order with their weapons.

15. At sunrise Artabanus came into sight with his vast army. After hailing the sun (which was their

⁴ ἂν καὶ O⁷ πρέπον—Ῥωμαίοις om φ⁵ ἡμέτερον φ i⁸ πρέπει i⁶ vobis P⁹ om A

ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, οἱ
 βάρβαροι, μεγίστη τε κλαγγῇ βοήσαντες, ἐπέδρα-
 μον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοξεύοντές τε καὶ καθιπ-
 πεύοντες. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐτάκτως¹ τε καὶ
 ἀσφαλῶς συστήσαντες τὰς φάλαγγας, ἐκατέρωθεν
 τε τοὺς ἵππεις καὶ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους παρατάξαντες,
 τὰ τε κενὰ πληρώσαντες τῶν κούφως καὶ εὐσταλῶς
 ἐκτρέχειν δυναμένων, δεξάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους
² ἐμάχοντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῷ πλήθει τῶν
 τόξων τοῖς τε ἐπιμήκεσι δόρασι τῶν καταφράκτων
 ἀπὸ τε ἵππων καὶ καμήλων τιτρώσκοντες² αὐτοὺς
 ἄνωθεν μεγάλως ἔβλαπτον· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν
 μὲν συστάδην μαχομένων ῥαδίως ἐκράτουν, ἐπεὶ
 δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε ἵππος πολλή οὖσα καὶ τὸ τῶν
 καμήλων πλήθος ἐλυμαίνετο, προσποιούμενοι ἀνα-
 χωρεῖν τριβόλους τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τεχνάσματα
 σιδηρῶν,³ ὄξυτάτας⁴ ἐξοχὰς περικείμενα, ἐρρί-
 πτουν. λανθάνοντα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ψάμμοις καὶ οὐ
 καθορώμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππέων ἢ τῶν καμηλιτῶν
³ ὀλέθρια ἦν αὐτοῖς· πατοῦντες γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι, αἱ τε
 κάμηλοι μάλιστα, ἔχουσαι ἀπαλὰ τὰ πέλματα,
 ὠκλαζον καὶ ἐχώλευον, τοὺς τε ἐπιβάτας οὖς
 ἔφερον ἀπεσείοντο. οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα βάρβαροι ἐς⁵
 ὅσον μὲν ἐποχοῦνται ἵπποις ἢ καμήλοις, γενναίως

¹ εὐτάκ.—ἀσφαλῶς om P

³ σιδηρῶν Reisk

⁵ om O

² -όντων conj Mendelss

⁴ Sylb ὄξυτάτων Oi

¹ An obvious echo of Tac. *H.* 3.24.5, *orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani salutavere*. In Tacitus the words come

custom)¹ the barbarians with loud shrieks and shouts charged the Romans, with archers firing and cavalry at the gallop. But the disposition of the Roman units was orderly and careful, with cavalry and Moorish soldiers on either flank and the spaces in the centre filled with light-armed troops capable of marauding forays.² So they sustained the barbarian onslaught and fought back. The barbarians² caused heavy casualties with their rain of arrows and with the long spears of the heavy-armed knights on horses and camels, as they wounded the Romans with downward thrusts. But the Romans easily had the better of those who came to close-quarter fighting. And when the size of the cavalry and the numbers of the camels began to cause them trouble, they pretended to retreat and then threw down caltrops and other iron devices with sharp spikes sticking out of them. They were fatal to the cavalry and the camel-riders as they lay hidden in the sand, and were not seen by them. The horses and the³ camels trod on them and (this applied particularly to the camels with their tender pads) fell onto their knees and were lamed, throwing the riders off their backs. As long as the eastern barbarians are riding on horses or camels, they fight bravely;

after a speech and are followed by *undique clamor*; typical of the way in which H.'s ideas are influenced by an association of recollections; cf. 4.2.10n.

² On the Moroccan *auxilia*, see 3.3.5n. These are probably special regiments of *equites* and *pedites* raised by Caracalla; cf. 5.4.3n. The order of battle here may be genuine, but possibly the description owes something to Livy's (and Polybius') description of Scipio's tactics at Zama; *vias . . . velutibus . . . complevit*, Livy 30.33.3.

μάχονται, ἦν δὲ ἀποβῶσιν αὐτῶν ἢ κατενεχθῶσι, ῥᾶστα ἀλίσκονται, μὴ φέροντες τὴν ἐκ συστάσεως μάχην. πρὸς τε τὸ φυγεῖν ἢ διῶξαι, εἰ δέοι, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἐσθῆτος χαύνως παρηωρημένης ἐμποδίζονται.

⁴ πρώτης μὲν οὖν καὶ δευτέρας ¹ ἡμέρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ ἐς ἑσπέραν ἐμαχέσαντο, καὶ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε ² τὰς μάχας, ἑκάτεροί τε ἐπανήλθον ³ ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδα νικᾶν ἀξιοῦντες. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ συνήλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πεδῖον μαχοῦμενοι, ⁴ ἐπειρῶντο ⁵ δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι, πολὺ τι τῷ πλήθει ὑπερέχοντες, κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ⁵ καὶ σαγηνεῦσαι· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκέτι τὰς φάλαγγας ἐς βάθος συνίστασαν, ἐς μῆκος δ' ἐκτείνοντες ⁶ αἰεὶ τὸ κυκλούμενον ἐνεπόδιζον. ⁵ πλήθος δὲ τοσοῦτον ⁷ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ κτηνῶν ἐφονεύθη ὡς πᾶν πληρωθῆναι τὸ πεδῖον μεγίστους τε σωροὺς πτωμάτων ἐς ὕψος ἀρθῆναι, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν καμήλων ἐπαλλήλων πιπτουσῶν. πρὸς τε οὖν τὸ διατρέχειν ἐνεποδίζοντο οἱ μαχόμενοι· οὐκέτι δὲ οὐδὲ καθεώρων ἀλλήλους, μεγάλου οἰονεῖ ⁸ χώματος ἐν μέσῳ καὶ δυσβάτου ὑπὸ τῶν σωμάτων σεσωρευμένου, ⁹ ὑφ' οὗ κωλιόμενοι [τοῖς]

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if they dismount or are thrown, they are easily taken prisoner because they do not resist in close-quarter fighting. And furthermore, they are hindered from running away or pursuing (assuming this were necessary) by the loose folds of their clothes hanging around their legs.

For two whole days the battle went on from dawn ⁴ to dusk. When night-fall ended the fighting, both sides retired to their camps thinking they had won. On the third day, as they assembled on the same plain to join battle, the barbarians made an attempt with their vastly superior numbers to trap the Romans by encircling them. But the Romans stopped forming up their units in depth and, by extending their line continually, prevented the encirclement. So heavy was the slaughter of men ⁵ and animals that the plain was completely choked with them, and dead bodies were piled high in huge mounds, particularly those of camels which fell over each other. The men who were fighting were prevented from charging across the plain; they could not even see each other any longer because of the enormous kind of burial ground which was heaped up between them and made impassable by the

¹ δευτ. πάσης ἡμέρας α

² διέλυε O

³ ἐπανήρχοντο O

⁴ μαχόμενοι i

⁵ ἐπειρῶντο—Ῥωμαίους om φ

⁶ διεκτείνοντες φ δε διεκτ. A

⁷ τοσοῦτων AB

⁸ ὄντος τοῦ α

⁹ -μένων α -μένη l

ἀλλήλοις¹ ἐπιέναι ἕκαστοι ἐπανήλθον ἐς τὰ
ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδα.²

6 ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος συνεῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἄλλως Ἀρτάβανος
ἐκθύμως τε μάχεται καὶ προσμένει ἀλλ' ἢ οἰόμενος
Ἀντωνίνῳ μάχεσθαι, εἰωθότων αἰεὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
ῥᾶστα ἀποκάμνειν ἐθελokaκεῖν τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἐν
7 ταῖς πρώταις ὁρμαῖς κατορθώσουσι, τότε δὲ
προσμενόντων ὡς ἂν τὴν μάχην ἀνανεώσαιντο μετὰ
τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσίν τε καὶ κατάφλεξιν, οὐκ
οἰομένων τεθνηκέναι τὸν τῆς ἔχθρας αἴτιον, πέμπει
πρεσβείαν ἐπιστέλλει τε τῷ Παρθυαίῳ, λέγων τὸν
μὲν παρὰ³ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀδική-
σαντα βασιλέα τεθνηκέναι δίκας⁴ τε ἀξίας ὧν
ἔδρασε δεδωκέναι,⁴ Ῥωμαίους δέ, ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ
ἀρχή, ἑαυτῷ⁵ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκεχειρικέναι.

¹ Schwartz τοῖς ἄλλοις Οἱ τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις Mendels

² στρατεύματα φ

³ περὶ α

⁴ δίκας—δεδωκέναι om O

⁵ ἑαυτῷ τε φ

¹ Needless to say the whole of the account of this fantastic battle is open to serious doubt; not least the date, which H. says was soon after the 11th April. Dio's account of the war against Artabanus (78.26.2 ff.) seems to put the fighting some time after M. became emperor, and near the winter 217/18 (78.26.8, though so fragmentary it is far from clear). If Artabanus was on the march in early 217 (for which there is only H.'s word), M. would logically have gone to intercept him, and thus the battle of Nisibis (in Dio) would have taken place some five days after leaving Carrhae or Edessa. But Dio (78.26.2-3) says negotiations took place before the battle. There is some small evidence to show that M. was at Zeugma (on his way to Syria?) in late May (5.1.1n) and *ILS* 1738 shows an imperial official, M. Aurelius Prosenes who died in Samos(?) in May to July 217, *regrediens in urbe* (sic) *ab expeditionibus*, suggesting a return of some troops in mid-217. But *victoria*

bodies. Since they were stopped from attacking each other, they retired to their respective camps.¹

Macrinus realized that the only reason Artabanus⁶ was putting up such a desperate fight and not giving in was because he thought he was fighting Antoninus. Normally the barbarians are always quick to get tired of a hard fight and to let themselves be defeated, unless they have some success in the initial encounters. But on this occasion they stayed on, wanting⁷ to start the battle again after they had removed and cremated their dead, unaware that the cause of their enmity was dead. So Macrinus sent a representative with a letter to the Parthians to say that the emperor who had caused them harm by breaking the treaty and his word was dead and had met with a just punishment for his action. The Romans, to whom the power belonged,² had entrusted the

Part(hica) does not appear on coins until 218, making it virtually certain that peace with Artabanus was not concluded until that year. Out of this slender evidence a year's campaign has to be reconstructed. Perhaps immediately after C.'s death, M. marched to Nisibis; negotiations broke down while they were being conducted at Nisibis (Dio records a fight over water wells, which seems to show two armies waiting, while a peace conference was in progress). An inconclusive battle nevertheless forced Artabanus to retire across the Tigris, and M. returned to Antioch, but Artabanus threatened to reinvade Mesopotamia. Renewed negotiations lasted until early 218, at the end of which M. agreed to buy off the Parthians and claim an "Augustan" victory in both Armenia and Parthia. Cf. Petrikovits, *Klio* 31 (1938) 103-4, for a different account, though he unjustifiably claims to detect a second battle in Dio. SHA, *Macr.* 2.2, 8.2-3, for what it is worth, supports H.'s account of an early battle. Millar, *Cassius Dio* 165, thinks the battle of Nisibis was not until autumn 217.

² Cf. 2.8.4n.

8 μήτε δὲ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν, αἰχμαλώτους
 τε τοὺς περιόντας ἀποδοῦναι, χρήματά τε ὅσα
 ἠρπάγη ἀποτίσαι, φίλω τε ἀντὶ ἐχθροῦ χρῆσθαι καὶ
 τὴν εἰρήνην ὄρκοις καὶ σπονδαῖς βεβαιῶσαι
 <βούλεσθαι>.¹ ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβανος ταῦτά τε ἀναγ-
 νους καὶ διδαχθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβειων περὶ τῆς
 Ἀντωνίνου ἀναιρέσεως, ἀντάρκη τιμωρίαν τὸν
 παρασπονδήσαντα δεδωκέναι νομίζων, τοῦ τε στρα-
 9 τοῦ αὐτῷ² τετρυχωμένου, ἀγαπῶν τε τοὺς αἰχμα-
 λώτους καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀναιμωτὶ ἀπολαβεῖν,
 σπεισάμενος εἰρήνην πρὸς τὸν Μακρίνον ἐς τὰ
 ἑαυτοῦ ἐπανέρχεται. ὁ δὲ³ τὸν [τε]⁴ στρατὸν
 ἀπαλλάξας τῆς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ διατριβῆς⁵ ἐς τὴν
 Ἀντιόχειαν ἠπέιγετο.

¹ Steph from P (*cupere*)

² τοῦ—αὐτῷ Kuhn τούτέστι (τούτέστι g τούτέστι l) τοῦ αὐτῷ
 φgl τούτέστι θανάτου τοῦ αὐτῷ a οἰηθεῖς (for νομίζων), τὸν τε
 αὐτοῦ στρατὸν τετρυχομένον ὄρων A

³ ag² (above) om Ogl lac conj Mendelss after δὲ

⁴ del Whit γε Steph

⁵ διατρ. ὁ μακρίνος A

¹ Dio 78.27.1 says that 200 million sesterces was paid; no doubt it was classed as reparations for damaged forts, cities and tombs (Dio 78.26.3), but in principle it was not so different from the subsidies that had been paid by C., which M. had condemned (Dio 78.17.3). The agreement on this payment was not concluded until 218 (see below).

² H. fails to realize that it was because of the length of the negotiations (lasting until 218) that Artabanus' army was under strain and anxious to return to its peacetime role, Dio

principate to him. He did not approve of what 8
 had taken place, and was willing to return the
 surviving prisoners and to pay back all the plundered
 property.¹ He would rather have Artabanus as a
 friend than an enemy, and was ready to reinforce the
 peace terms with oaths and treaties. When Arta-
 banus read the message and learnt from the deputa-
 tion about Antoninus' murder, he was of the opinion
 that the violator of the treaties had been suitably
 punished. Also his army was worn out,² and he was 9
 content to get back the prisoners and property with-
 out further bloodshed. So he concluded peace
 with Macrinus and returned home.³ Macrinus
 ended the army's stay in Mesopotamia and hurried
 to Antioch.

78.27.2; cf. 4.14.7 for the tumultuary character of a large
 part of the Parthian army. M. may have deliberately pro-
 tracted negotiations, relying on this weakness of the Parthians;
 they certainly did not get the terms for which they had first
 bargained, Dio 78.26.3.

³ See 4.15.5n for the date of the conclusion of peace, which
 does not appear on coins until *trib. pot.* II, BMC V. cccii, Dio
 78.26.8 (the consulship of Macrinus and Adventus—218).
 This, of course, explains why M. did not return to Rome
 immediately (5.2.3, 5.4.12) and to some extent absolves M.
 from the charge of idleness; Mattingly, *Studies D. M.*
Robinson II. (1953) 672 ff. M.'s reasons for staying in the
 East were logical, but not necessarily pardonable. Why did
 he take so long to conclude a peace (diplomacy rather than
 war?). In Rome they failed to understand the cause of delay
 and by August (the Vulcanalia, 23rd August) predictions of his
 fall were being made; in September there was a popular
 demonstration against M.; Dio 78.25.2, 78.20.1.

