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## HERODIAN

II

BOOKS V-VIII

# HERODIAN

IN TWO VOLUMES

II

BOOKS V-VIII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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# HERODIAN

ΗΡΩΔΙΑΝΟΥ  
 ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ  
 ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ  
 ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ

1. Ὅπως μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἠρξέ τε καὶ ἐτελεύτησε, δεδήλωται ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι [ἢ τε πρὸ τούτου ἐπιβουλή καὶ διαδοχή].<sup>1</sup> γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ Μακρίνος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ τε δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ,<sup>2</sup> λέγων τοιάδε. “ἐν εἰδόσι μὲν ὑμῶν τοῦ τε βίου μου τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαίρεσιν τοῦ τε τρόπου τὸ πρὸς χρηστότητα ἐπιρρεπές, καὶ τὸ πρᾶον τῆς διοικηθείσης πρότερον πράξεως, οὐ πολὺ τι ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως βασιλικῆς ἀποδεύσης, ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐπάρχουσι τῶν

<sup>1</sup> del Wolf

<sup>1</sup> Accepting Wolf's deletion, which seems correct in removing a clumsy phrase; but see 3.1. In for recapitulations at the beginning of new books.

<sup>2</sup> The date of M.'s return to Antioch can be fixed by his presence at Zeugma (if one assumes he was returning). Diadumenianus was acclaimed as Caesar by the army at Zeugma, Dio 78.19.1, 78.40.1. The senate had also declared him Caesar after the receipt of M.'s first letter; i.e. about early May, Dio

THE FIFTH BOOK OF  
 HERODIAN'S HISTORY OF THE  
 EMPIRE FROM THE TIME OF  
 MARCUS AURELIUS

1. In the preceding book Antoninus' rule and death have been described [and before this, the intrigue and succession].<sup>1</sup> On arrival at Antioch,<sup>2</sup> Macrinus sent off a letter to the senate and Roman people with the following message. “You know what my disposition in life has been from the beginning, and how my character has inclined to what is morally good.<sup>3</sup> You are aware of the mildness of my previous administrative work, which is not too much different from the office and powers of an emperor (on the occasions when the emperor himself relies upon the

78.17.1. News of this senatorial honour must have reached M. about early June, but by this time, Dio seems to imply, M. had been forced to anticipate the senate, Dio 78.19.1. Thus the date for M. at Zeugma was about late May. If the news travelled by land, the letters would have taken a month longer each way; this is rather more consistent with Dio's report of a circus demonstration when news of Diadumenianus was known in Rome, since it was on Diadumenianus' *natalia*, 14th September; but the news of M.'s succession was known in Rome at the *ludi Martiales*, 14th May, Dio 78.18.3.

<sup>3</sup> The opening *sententia* is typical of a Thucydidean speech; Thuc. 1.68.3, 2.36.4, 4.59.2. The speeches were inevitably the place where the rhetoric of H. was on show; cf. Stein, *Desip. et Herod.* 142 ff.

στρατοπέδων πεπίστευται, περιπτὸν νομίζω μακρογγορεύειν. ἵστε γάρ με καὶ οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένον, καὶ προκινδυνεύσαντα ὑμῶν ἐν οἷς πολλάκις ταῖς τυχούσαις διαβολαῖς πιστεύων  
 3 ἀφειδῶς ὑμῖν προσεφέρετο. καὶ μὲν κακῶς ἠγόρευε, καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις τὸ μέτριόν μου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους φιλόανθρωπον διαβάλλων καὶ διασκώπτων ἐς ῥαθυμίαν καὶ τρόπων χαυνότητα· κολακείαις δὲ χαίρων, καὶ τοὺς εἰς ὠμότητα παροξύνοντας τῷ τε θυμῷ τὸ ἐνδόσιμον αὐτοῦ διδόντας τῆν τε ὀργὴν διαβολαῖς ἐγείροντας εἴνοους καὶ πιστοὺς ἐδοκίμαζε φίλους. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 4 τὸ πρᾶον καὶ μέτριον προσφιλές. τὸν γοῦν πρὸς Παρθυαίους πόλεμον, μέγιστόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ πᾶσα Ῥωμαίων ἐσάλεινεν ἀρχή, κατελύσαμεν καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀνδρείως παραταξάμενοι οὐδέν τι ἠττήμεθα, καὶ ἐν οἷς σπείσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐλθόντα μέγαν βασιλέα πιστὸν φίλον ἀντ' ἐχθροῦ δυσμάχου ἐποιήσαμεν. ἐμοῦ δὲ κρατοῦντος ἐν ἀδείᾳ τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀναιμωτῇ πάντες βιώσονται, ἀριστοκρατία τε μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεία νομισθήσεται.

<sup>1</sup> μὲν Ogl

<sup>1</sup> Some of the more notorious informers under Caracalla are noted by Dio 78.21; Ti. Manilius Fuscus (*Albo* 347), Julianus (unknown, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 102), Sulpicius Arrienus (*Albo* 490) and C.'s favourite, L. Lucilius Priscillianus (*Albo* 337, Oliver *AJA* 50 (1946) 247-50); but M. refused to reveal to the senate most of the evidence about informers.

prefects of his troops). So I do not need to make a long oration. As you know I did not like all that Antoninus did and I took risks for you on many occasions when he was treating you without mercy, because he believed any slanders that he heard. He 3 slandered me too and publicly jibed at my moderation and generosity towards his subjects, accusing me of idleness and feebleness of character. He took pleasure in flatterers, and approved as his loyal friends and supporters those who spurred him on to cruelty by pandering to his hot temper and stirring up his anger with slanderous charges.<sup>1</sup> But I have from the start favoured leniency and moderation. Take the Parthian war; this was a very important 4 war and critical for the entire Roman empire. But we have brought it to an end in two ways; by fighting bravely without giving way in the slightest and by signing a treaty<sup>2</sup> with the great king which makes him into a faithful ally instead of a bitter enemy, after he had come against us with a large force. As long as I hold power, everyone shall live free from fear and bloodshed, and this shall be a rule

<sup>2</sup> On the terms of the treaty, see 4.15.5n; Dio 78.26.3, 78.27.1 and 4. Artabanus accepted a good deal less than his original demand; the establishment of Tiridates on the Armenian throne, a Parthian nominee crowned by Rome, was in the best Augustan tradition; but Tiridates had been the choice of Vologaeses, though in Roman custody for the last three years. The terms are far from a victory for the Parthians or Artabanus, indicating that the battle had not been as disastrous to M. as Dio suggests, but more as H. describes it. H.'s account tends to be confirmed by the Syriac source, Mšiha Zkha (quoted in Debevoise, *Polit. Hist. of Parthia* 267n, Mingana, *Sources syriaques* 104).

5 μηδέ τις ἀπαξιούτω ἢ τύχης παῖσι νομιζέτω,  
 ὅτι δὴ ὄντα με ἐκ τῆς ἰππάδος τάξεως ἐπὶ τοῦτο  
 ἤγαγε.<sup>1</sup> τί γὰρ ὄφελος εὐγενείας, εἰ μὴ χρηστός  
 καὶ φιλόανθρωπος συνουκεῖ τρόπος; τὰ μὲν γὰρ  
 τῆς τύχης δῶρα καὶ ἀναξίους περιπίπτει, ἢ δὲ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἀρετὴ ἰδίαν ἐκάστω δόξαν περιτίθησιν.  
 εὐγένεια δὲ καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μακαρίζε-  
 6 ἐπιείκεια δὲ καὶ χρηστότης ἅμα τῷ θαυμάζεσθαι  
 καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐς αὐτόν τινα ἔχει  
 τὸν κατορθοῦντα. τί γοῦν ὑμᾶς ἄνησεν ἢ Κομόδου  
 εὐγένεια ἢ Ἀντωνίνου ἢ πατρῶα διαδοχὴ; οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ ὡσπερ ὄφλημα κληρονομίας εἰληφότες ἀπο-  
 χρῶνται τε καὶ ἐνυβρίζουσιν ὡς ἄνωθεν ἰδίῳ  
 κτήματι. οἱ δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν λαβόντες χάριτός τε

<sup>1</sup> ἤγαγε θεός· A

<sup>1</sup> Aristocracy in contrast to tyranny is simply another aspect of the theme of the ideal kingship of popular Stoic doctrine; under the enlightened despotism of the *princeps*, the senate and the *amici* hold an honourable position, contributing their advice and authority to the imperial decisions; this was *respublica* contrasted with *regnum*; cf. 2.3.10 (Pertinax), 2.14.3 (Severus), 6.1.2 (Alexander); a theme of obvious advantages to the new man and especially to the lowly born equestrian emperor; cf. Tac. *A.* 2.35.2, *H.* 4.9, Dio 52.32.1, Pliny, *Paneg.* 66 (*commune imperium*); emphasized by sophists, Dio of Prusa, *περὶ βασιλ.* 1.32. Ps. Aristides *Or.* 35 (Keil) 5; contrasted with Commodus, 1.5.5.

<sup>2</sup> Anticipating the senatorial opposition that is illustrated by Dio's class-conscious remarks, 78.11.1-4. Remarks about

of the aristocracy rather than a tyranny.<sup>1</sup> No one 5  
 should think I am unworthy or consider it a mistake  
 of fortune that I have risen from the equestrian  
 order to this position.<sup>2</sup> What is the good of noble  
 birth, if integrity and human behaviour do not go  
 with it? The gifts of good fortune are showered  
 even on those who do not deserve them, but the  
 goodness of a man's heart confers upon each per-  
 son his own individual reputation.<sup>3</sup> Nobility and  
 wealth and such like are considered lucky, but they  
 are not qualities one praises, because they are in-  
 herited from someone else. But fairness and hon- 6  
 esty, while being admirable qualities, also attract  
 praise for the person who successfully practises  
 them. For instance, what benefit to you were  
 Commodus' noble birth or Antoninus' succession to  
 his father's rule? Some get possession of the empire as  
 though it were an inheritance they were owed; then  
 they misuse and make a mockery of it like a private  
 family heirloom. But others who receive the  
 power from you are always indebted to your

equestrian emperors are very relevant if H. was writing during the time of Philip; see Introduction, p.xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 8 on the *vetus doctrina* of the capriciousness of fortune and the counter-theme of *virtus*; the contrast between *virtus* and *nobilitas* is dominant in the historical writings of Sallust and Tacitus; cf. Earl, *Polit. Thought of Sallust* 32-5, Roberts, *G & R* 6 (1936) 9-17. In the period after Nerva, which made a virtue out of the necessity of succession by adoption, the practice was made philosophically respectable by hackneyed arguments of the kind used by H. here; cf. Tac. *H.* 1.16.2 (the danger of succession by birth, *nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum*). But the philosopher-emperor M. Aurelius chose his own son, as did every earlier emperor (except Claudius) who had a son.

αἰδίου εἰσὶ χρεῶσται καὶ πειρῶνται ἀμείψασθαι  
 7 τοὺς εὐεργεσίαις προειληφότας. καὶ τῶν μὲν  
 εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέων τὸ εὐγενὲς ἐς ὑπεροψίαν  
 ἐκπίπτει καταφρονήσει τῶν ὑπηκόων<sup>1</sup> ὡς πολλὴ  
 ἐλαττόνων· οἱ δὲ ἐκ μετρίων πράξεων ἐπὶ τοῦτο  
 ἐλθόντες περιέπουσιν αὐτὸ<sup>2</sup> ὡς καμάτῳ κτηθέν,  
 αἰδῶ τε καὶ τιμῇ ἀπονέμουσιν, ἣν εἰώθεσαν, τοῖς  
 8 ποτὲ κρείττοσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ σκοπὸς μηδὲν τι πράτ-  
 τειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης, κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ  
 συμβούλους ἔχειν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεως.  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν<sup>3</sup> ἀδείᾳ καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ βιώσεσθε, ὧν  
 ἀφηρέθητε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέων, ἀπο-  
 δοῦναι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπειράθησαν πρότερον<sup>4</sup> μὲν Μάρκος  
 ὕστερον δὲ Περτίναξ, ἕξ ἰδιωτικῶν σπαργάνων  
 ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντες. γένους γὰρ ἔνδοξον ἀρχὴν  
 αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν καὶ τῷ ὑστέρω γένει ἄμεινον ἢ  
 κλέος προγονικὸν παραλαμβάνοντα τρόπου φαυλό-  
 τητι καταισχύναί.”

<sup>1</sup> πολλῶν A

<sup>2</sup> om O

<sup>3</sup> om V μὲν for δὲ ἐν A

<sup>4</sup> πρώτον

<sup>1</sup> Severus also stressed the theme; cf. 2.14.3. M. was able to save a certain consular, Aurelianus, from execution by the soldiers on the plea that it was “not right to kill a senator,” Dio 78.12.2 (very fragmentary, cf. Boissevain 3. 414–15).

favour and try to repay you for the benefits they  
 received. Nobility of birth in the case of patrician 7  
 emperors degenerates into haughtiness, because  
 they have a contempt for their subjects and think  
 them vastly inferior to themselves. But those who  
 reach the power from moderate means treat it care-  
 fully as a reward for their labour, and continue to  
 respect and honour, as they used to, those who were  
 once more powerful than themselves. It is my in- 8  
 tention to do nothing without your approval. I  
 shall make you my partners and advisers in the ad-  
 ministration of the state. You shall live in secur-  
 ity and freedom,<sup>1</sup> the rights which you lost under  
 the nobly born emperors but which Marcus first and  
 then Pertinax, both of them men who were born  
 of common cloth before they came to power, tried  
 to restore to you.<sup>2</sup> It is better to be the distin-  
 guished founder of a line and leave this to one's de-  
 scendants than to inherit a glorious past from one's  
 ancestors and disgrace it by corrupt behaviour.”

Later, however, M. was unable or unwilling to save him, and thereby roused senatorial hostility; Dio 78.19.1. Note the stress on *aequitas Aug(usti)* and *δικαιοσύνη* on coins of M.; Vogt, *Alex. Münzen* 1.173 ff.

<sup>2</sup> M. Aurelius was hardly a new man, but he was an adopted heir (see above for the importance of this). SHA, *Macr.* 11.2, says M. wished to bear the names of Severus and Pertinax, but only Severus appears, and his son is named Antoninus; thus a greater stress on the continuity with the Severans than with Pertinax and M. Aurelius; SHA, *Macr.* 5.6–7, 12.1, Petrikovits, *RE* (Opellius 2) 552. This was partly necessitated by the popularity of Caracalla among the soldiers, who demanded another Antoninus; Dio 78.19.2; also the reason why there was no *damnatio memoriae* of Caracalla; Dio 78.9.2, 78.17.2–3, SHA, *Macr.* 5.9.



2. ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστολῆς, εὐφημεῖ τε αὐτὸν ἢ σύγκλητος καὶ τὰς σεβασμίους τιμὰς πάσας ψηφίζεται. οὐχ οὕτως δὲ εὐφρανε πάντας ἢ Μακρίνου διαδοχῆ, ὡς ὑπερήδοντό τε καὶ πανδημεὶ ἐώρταζον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀντωνίνου ἀπαλλαγῇ. ἕκαστός τε ᾤετο, μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει τινὶ ἢ πράξει καθεστώτων, ξίφος ἀποσεσεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> τοῖς αὐχέσιν ἐπαιωρούμενον. συκοφάνται τε ἢ δοῦλοι, ὅσοι<sup>2</sup> δεσπότης κατήγγελλον,<sup>3</sup> ἀνεσκολοπίσθησαν· ἢ τε Ῥωμαίων πόλις καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἢ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους οἰκουμένη καθαρθεῖσα πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν μὲν κολασθέντων τῶν δὲ ἐξωσθέντων, εἰ δὲ τινες καὶ ἔλαθον, δι' εὐλάβειαν ἡσυχάζόντων,<sup>4</sup> ἐν ἀδείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ εἰκόνι ἐλευθερίας ἐβίωσαν ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους οὐ μόνου ὁ Μακρίνος ἐβασίλευσε. 3 τοσοῦτον δὲ ἤμαρτεν ὅσον μὴ διέλυσεν εὐθέως τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἀποπεσεῖσθαι Oa<sup>2</sup> ὅσα φ om A<sup>3</sup> κατήγγελλον Ai<sup>4</sup> ἡσυχάζοντες ἦσαν A

<sup>1</sup> H. has confused two letters; the first sent on M.'s accession in April 217 (news of which was in Rome by the middle of May, 5.1.1n), in which M. committed the indiscretion of claiming imperial titles not yet voted to him; Dio 78.16.2, 78.17.1. The second was in 218 after the peace with Artabanus, claiming a Parthian victory; Dio 78.27.3. The titles of M. (according to Dio) were *imperator Caesar pius felix Augustus procos.* as well as the name Severus; he does not mention *trib. pot.* or *pontifex maximus* (SHA, *Macr.* 7.2); coins do not show *pius* and *felix* but inscriptions do (*ILS* III (index) 291); patrician

2. After the reading of this letter,<sup>1</sup> the senate acclaimed him emperor and voted him all the honours of an Augustus.<sup>2</sup> It was not Macrinus' accession that pleased them all, so much as their universal exultation and celebration at the fall of Antoninus. The feeling of everyone, but particularly of those of high distinction and office, was that a sword which was hanging over their heads had been removed. Informers and slaves who had denounced their masters were crucified. Rome itself and nearly the whole of the Roman empire was purged of criminals; some were punished, some were exiled and, if some actually escaped, they were careful not to advertise themselves. Men lived in security and the semblance of freedom for that single year while Macrinus was emperor. But he 3

status and priesthoods were almost automatic; SHA, *Macr.* 7.1, *CIL* VI. 1984, 2009 5-8. Discussed by Salama (next note).

<sup>2</sup> Dio 78.13.1-2 says the senate voted M. *ornamenta consularia* as soon as he acceded, raising him from equestrian to senatorial status (cf. 4.12.1n); M. properly declined to count this as a true consulship in his titles (i.e. *cos.* II does not appear at first), and in theory in 218 his consulship with Adventus counted as his first. But coins of 218 appear with *cos.* II, *BMC* V. 503-4, indicating a change in resolve. Coins are in a series, with *trib. pot.* alone, *trib. pot. cos.*, *trib. pot. II cos.*, *trib. pot. II cos. II*, which might simply mean a change of *trib. pot.* on 10th December (like M. Aurelius) and normal assumption of *cos.* II on 1st January. But it could confirm Dio, if M. renewed his *trib. pot.* on 1st January; it is possible that in face of growing senatorial unpopularity, M. discarded constitutional scruples and attempted to raise his prestige by *cos.* II and a Parthian victory; the *victoria* coins appear in 218; a single inscription shows M. with *cos.* II and Parthicus Maximus, but, since it is on a milestone in Mauretania Caesariensis, this may be only local enthusiasm; Salama, *REA* 66 (1964) 334-52.

στρατόπεδα καὶ ἑκάστους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ποθοῦσαν ἐπέιχθη, τοῦ δήμου ἑκάστοτε καλοῦντος μεγάλας βοαῖς, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβε γένειόν τε ἀσκῶν, βαδίζων τε πλέον τοῦ δέοντος ἡρεμαίως, βραδύτατά τε καὶ μόλις τοῖς προσιούσιν ἀποκρινόμενος ὡς μῆδ' ἀκούεσθαι πολλάκις διὰ τὸ καθειμένον τῆς φωνῆς. <sup>4</sup> ἔξῃλου δὲ ταῦτα ὡς δὴ Μάρκου ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν βίον οὐκ ἐμμήσατο, ἐπεδίδου δὲ ἑκάστοτε ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίατον, ὄρχηστῶν τε θείας καὶ πάσης μούσης κινήσεώς τε εὐρύθμου <sup>1</sup> ὑποκριταῖς σχολάζων, τῆς τε τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεως ἀμελῶς ἔχων. προῆει τε πόρπαις καὶ ζωστήρι χρυσῷ τε <sup>2</sup> πολλῶ καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις πεποικιλμένος, <sup>3</sup> τῆς

<sup>1</sup> εὐθύμου α κιν. τε εὐρ. del Lange

<sup>2</sup> Nauck om φί και χρ. Δ

<sup>3</sup> πεποικιλμένους κεκοσμημένους i cf. 5.3.4

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 4.15.9n for an explanation of why M. did not return to Rome at once and disband his army.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 5.5.1n; support for M. at the *ludi Martiales* of 14th May, but against M. at the *natalia* of Diadumenianus of 14th September. No doubt much of this swing in feeling was due to the organization by outraged senators; cf. Dio 78.15.1 ff., 78.18.4 (for Dio's feelings); SHA, *Macr.* 2.4, 4.1 ff. But there is no need to suppose that all senators thought in the same way as Dio, as Dio himself admits; 78.13.1, 78.15.2; senators who benefited from M. would have been his supporters; e.g. the elder and younger Pomponius Bassus, since the latter had been restored from exile (*Albo* 421, 422; from the heart of the old Antonine families through the wife of the elder Bassus, Annia Faustina; cf. Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 1326, 1573, for the estate of the Ormelais); Q. Anicius Faustus (*Albo* 27); Domitius Florus (*Albo* 204); a certain Flaccus (*Albo* 219).

was wrong in not disbanding his army at once <sup>1</sup> and posting every man home, and in not making for Rome himself where he was wanted and the people were continually calling for him in noisy demonstrations. <sup>2</sup> He should not have wasted his time in Antioch cultivating his beard <sup>3</sup> and walking about the place more than necessary at a slow pace and speaking to people at audiences very slowly and laboriously so that frequently he could not even be heard because of his low voice. These were supposedly imitations <sup>4</sup> of Marcus' characteristics, <sup>4</sup> but the resemblance did not extend to the rest of his life. He indulged regularly in a life of luxury by wasting his time on mime shows <sup>5</sup> and performers of all the arts and rhythmic dancing. Meanwhile he neglected government business. He used to go out wearing brooches and a belt and all decked out in gold and precious

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 5.4.7 for M.'s beard; coins show the beard dressed in the archaic fashion (*barba promissa*), confirming H.'s suggestion of an imitation of M. Aurelius; *BMC* V. cexiii ("too unflattering to be regarded as an idealized portrait"). Beards as a fashionable claim to wisdom caused Lucian to remark that "if cultivating one's beard is acquiring wisdom, a goat with a good beard is a fine Plato," *Epigr.* 45.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 5.1.8n. M.'s dilemma was to court the favour of the soldiers by stressing his continuity with Caracalla, but to retain the loyalty of the senators who hated Caracalla by repealing many of the burdensome taxes of C. In the event he pleased no one.

<sup>5</sup> Dancing was part of the mime shows. Assessments of M.'s character vary widely; luxurious living (Dio 78.15.3, SHA, *Macr.* 13.4), cruelty (SHA, *Macr.* 12.1 ff., *Elag.* 2.3) austerity and old-fashioned severity (SHA, *Macr.* 11.1, Victor, *Caes.* 22.3). Dio 78.40.3-41.4 is not unfair but is the view of an outraged senator. H. is too concerned to find a moral cause of failure.

τοιαύτης πολυτελείας παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων<sup>1</sup> στρα-  
 τιώταις οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης, βαρβάρου δὲ μᾶλλον  
 5 καὶ θηλυπρεποῦς εἶναι δοκούσης. ἄπερ ὄρωντες  
 οἱ στρατιῶται οὐ πάνυ τι ἀπεδέχοντο, ἀπηρέσκοντό  
 τε αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ ὡς ἀνειμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ'  
 ἄνδρα στρατιωτικόν· παραβάλλοντες δὲ τὴν μνήμη  
 τῆς<sup>2</sup> Ἀντωνίνου διαίτης ἐπιστραφείσης τε καὶ  
 στρατιωτικῆς γενομένης,<sup>3</sup> κατεγνώσκον τῆς Μακ-  
 6 ρίνου πολυτελείας. ἔτι<sup>4</sup> τε ἡγανάκτουν αὐτοὶ μὲν  
 ὑπὸ σκηναῖς καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ διαιωόμενοι, ἔσθ'  
 ὅτε καὶ σπανίζοντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,<sup>5</sup> ἔς τε τὰ  
 ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἐπανιόντες εἰρήνης εἶναι δοκούσης·  
 ὄρωντες δὲ τὸν Μακρῖνον ἐν<sup>6</sup> χλιδῇ καὶ τρυφῇ  
 διαιωόμενον, ἀφηνιάζοντες ἤδη πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 αὐτὸν κακῶς ἡγόρευον, προφάσεώς τε ὀλίγης  
 λαβέσθαι εὔχοντο ἔς τὸ ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὸ λυποῦν.

3. ἐχρῆν δὲ ἄρα Μακρῖνον ἐνιαυτοῦ μόνου τῇ  
 βασιλείᾳ ἐντρυφήσαντα ἅμα τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν καταλῦσαι, μικρὰν καὶ εὐτελῆ πρόφασιν  
 τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔς ἃ ἐβούλοντο τῆς τύχης παρα-

<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαίους Mendelssohn

<sup>2</sup> τῇ φη

<sup>3</sup> διαίτη ἐπιστραφείση (ἐπιστραφεῖ Β) τε καὶ στρατιωτικῆ  
 γενομένη Oī corr Stav following Steph (ἐπιστρεφούς)

<sup>4</sup> ὅτι φη

stones. Such extravagance is not admired by the  
 Roman troops, appearing to be more appropriate to  
 barbarians and women. When the soldiers saw this, 5  
 they did not approve at all and were angry at  
 Macrinus' way of life because they thought it too  
 dissolute for a military man.<sup>1</sup> As they recalled  
 Antoninus' disciplined military habits in comparison,  
 they censured Macrinus' extravagance. They were 6  
 also angry because, while they were still living in  
 tents in a foreign country, sometimes even on short  
 supplies and not returning to their own countries in  
 spite of apparently peaceful conditions, Macrinus,  
 they noticed, was living in the lap of luxury. In  
 this state of unrest, and bitterly criticizing him  
 among themselves, they longed to find a slight  
 excuse for getting rid of the cause of their trouble.

3. After only one year of a life of ease as emperor  
 it was obviously inevitable that Macrinus would  
 lose the empire, and his life too, whenever chance  
 provided a small, trivial excuse for the soldiers to

<sup>1</sup> M.'s failure to win the army is emphasized in all sources;  
 Dio 78.19.2—M. forced to curry favour by naming his son  
 Antoninus; Dio 78.28.1—29.2—M.'s attempt to reduce the pay  
 and privileges causes discontent, magnified by his failure to  
 disperse the troops; SHA, *Macr.* 12—a highly coloured descrip-  
 tion of M.'s military discipline; Dio 78.34.2—3—M. was forced  
 to restore privileges and to promise a donative of 5,000  
 denarii, cf. SHA, *Macr.* 5.7; Dio 78.36.3—M. complains of the  
 impossibility of maintaining high rates of pay: the pre-  
 dominance of *fides militum* type coins, *BMC* V. 494, 497, 505.  
 There is no reason to believe the dress of M. offended the  
 soldiers, since many of them later supported Elagabalus who  
 was more extreme.

<sup>5</sup> ἀναγκαίων Jo

<sup>6</sup> Jo om Oī

2 *σχοῦσης*. Μαῖσα ἦν τις ὄνομα, τὸ γένος Φοίνισσα, ἀπὸ Ἑμέσου<sup>1</sup> καλουμένης οὕτω πόλεως ἐν Φοινίκη.<sup>2</sup> ἀδελφὴ δὲ ἐγγεγόνει Ἰουλίας τῆς Σεβήρου μὲν<sup>3</sup> γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίνου δὲ μητρός. παρὰ πάντα οὖν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς βίον ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ διέτριβεν αὐτῇ χρόνου πολυετούς, παρ' ὃν<sup>4</sup> Σεβήρος τε καὶ Ἀντωνίνος ἐβασίλευσαν. τὴν δὲ Μαῖσαν ταύτην ὁ Μακρίνος, μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς τελευτὴν Ἀντωνίνου δὲ ἀναίρεσιν, προσέταξεν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανελθοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις καταβιῶναι, πάντα ἔχουσαν τὰ ἑαυτῆς. πλείστων δὲ ἦν χρημάτων ἀνάπλεως ἄτε μακρῷ χρόνῳ βασιλικῇ<sup>3</sup> ἐξουσίᾳ ἐντεθραμμένη. ἐπανελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτὴ τις διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῇ θυγατέρες δύο. Σοαμίς μὲν ἡ πρεσβυτέρα ἕκα-

<sup>1</sup> ἑμέσης A<sup>3</sup> Bekk<sup>2</sup> μὲν τῆς Σεβ. Οι<sup>2</sup> ἐν φων. om Jo<sup>4</sup> οὗ O

<sup>1</sup> Julia Maesa; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 678; former wife of Julius Avitus (cf. 5.7.3), who had been suffect consul under Severus and pro-consul of Asia, before serving under C. in some capacity in Mesopotamia and Cyprus (Dio 78.3.2). Another of the same family (brother?) was C. Julius Avitus Alexianus, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 192, *AE* (1963) 42, an important and powerful *comes* of Severus and Caracalla (in Britain 209-11). Thus the family had many opportunities for building a strong client following among soldiers and court officials. Maesa was the real power behind the throne after 218 until her death (6.1.4n); she was named Augusta as early as 30th May 218 (this date is on the records of the *fratres Arvales*, *CIL* VI. 2104 23—obviously retro-

have their way. There was a woman called Maesa,<sup>1</sup> 2 a Phoenician from Emesa (which is the name of a city in that country). She was the sister of Julia, the wife of Severus and Antoninus' mother. For the whole time her sister was alive during the many years of the rule of Severus and Antoninus, Maesa lived at the imperial court. After the death of the sister and the assassination of Antoninus, Macrinus ordered her to return to her own country and live among her own people, though in full possession of her property. After a long period of association with imperial power Maesa was an extremely wealthy person. The old lady returned<sup>3</sup> home and lived on her property. But she had two daughters, Soaemis (the elder)<sup>2</sup> and Mamaea (the

spectively noted; cf. 5.4.5n) and *mater castrorum* in 218 (*AE* (1955) 260).

<sup>2</sup> Julia Soemias Bassiana; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 704; the name varies in the sources, but probably derives from the Syrian *Suhaim* (cf. Symiamira, *SHA*, *Macr.* 9.2, etc.). Her husband (probably dead in 217) was the powerful equestrian, Sex. Varius Marcellus, for whose career see *ILS* 478, 8687, Dio 78.30.2, *Klass*, *RE* (Varius 16), Pflaum, *Carrières* no. 237; a native of Apamea, he rose through the procuratorial service, often (suggests Pflaum) acting in special responsibility posts as agent for the absent emperor; e.g. *procurator aquarum* in Rome while S. was in the East c. 195/6, procurator of Britain after Albinus' defeat 197 (3.8.2n), *procurator rationis privatae* and *vice praefect(orum) praetorio et urbi* during the absence of S. in Britain; adlected into the senate by C. (to reduce his power, says Pflaum), c. 211-17 he was made *praeses* of the recently formed (see 3.10.2n) province of Numidia. Thus another of the Syrian families with influence at the court. Soaemis never seems to have been of great influence; she was alleged to be having an affair with Gannys, Dio 79.6.2-3; cf. 5.8.8n.

λείτο, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα Μαμαία.<sup>1</sup> παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν τῇ μὲν πρεσβυτέρα Βασιανὸς ὄνομα, τῇ δὲ νεωτέρα Ἀλεξιανός. ὑπὸ δὲ ταῖς μητράσι καὶ τῇ μάμμῃ ἀνετρέφοντο, ὁ μὲν Βασιανὸς περὶ ἕτη γεγωνὸς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξιανὸς δεκάτου ἔτους<sup>2</sup> ἐπιβεβηκώς. ἰέρωντο<sup>3</sup> δὲ αὐτοὶ θεῶ ἡλίω· τοῦτον γὰρ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσι, τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ Ἐλαιαγάβαλον<sup>3</sup> καλοῦντες. νεὼς δὲ αὐτῷ μέγιστος κατεσκευάσθη, χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκοσμημένος λίθων τε πολυτελείᾳ. θρησκεύεται δὲ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ γειτνιώντες σατράπαι τε καὶ βασιλεῖς βάρβαροι φιλοτίμως πέμπουσι τῷ θεῶ ἑκάστου τοῦ<sup>4</sup> ἔτους<sup>5</sup> πολυτελῆ ἀναθήματα. ἄγαλμα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις, οὐδὲν ἔστηκε χειρο-

<sup>1</sup> Oi but many edit Μαμαία also Βασσιανός (below) cf. Dio 78.30.3 etc.

<sup>2</sup> ἰερῶντο A Jo  
<sup>3</sup> ἔλεγ. A cf. ἔλεγ. ἔλεγ. Dio *Heliog.* SHA and Eutrop  
<sup>4</sup> om i

<sup>1</sup> Julia Avita Mamaea; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 649; her husband Gessius Marcianus was another Syrian (from Arca), had also risen through the procuratorial service (Dio 78.30.3) but possibly not given senatorial status by Caracalla (*Dig.* 1.9.12 (Ulpian)); these families, very close to the emperor, are a remarkable illustration of the changed social status of the equestrian service under Severus; Stein, *Ritterstand* 193. For Mamaea, see 6.1.8n.

<sup>2</sup> Dio 78.30.2 uses the name Avitus, i.e. Varius Avitus; Lambertz, *RE* (Varius 10) 393, thinks H. has made an error;

younger),<sup>1</sup> both of whom had sons, called Bassianus<sup>2</sup> and Alexianus<sup>3</sup> respectively. The two boys, Bassianus, aged about fourteen, and Alexianus, just turned nine, were being raised by their mothers and grandmother. Both boys were dedicated<sup>4</sup> to the service of the sun god whom the local inhabitants<sup>4</sup> worship under its Phoenician name of Elagabalus. There was a huge temple built there, richly ornamented with gold and silver and valuable stones. The cult extended not just to the local inhabitants either. Satraps of all the adjacent territories and barbarian princes tried to outdo each other in sending costly dedications to the god every year.<sup>5</sup> There was no actual man-made statue of the god, the sort Greeks and Romans put up; but there was an enor-

but it seems possible that Elagabalus (as he is wrongly called) deliberately stressed the name of his maternal great-grandfather, Julius Bassianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 202, *Epit. de Caes.* 23.2), in order to publicize his link with Caracalla through their common ancestor. According to Dio 79.20.2 (if exact), the boy was born about March 204 (cf. 5.7.4n).

<sup>3</sup> Named Bassianus by Dio 78.30.3, etc.; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1610. Possibly the same as the *frater Arvalis* called M. Julius Gessius Bassianus (*CIL* VI. 2086, 2103 dated 213-14, but more likely this is a brother or an uncle); there is nothing improbable about the name Alexianus, a family name (5.3.2n). The birth date of 1st October 208 is consistent with what is said here (cf. 5.7.4n), wrongly translated often as though he were already ten now, but the Greek means "he had entered upon his tenth year." Other dates are late and untrustworthy.

<sup>4</sup> Jo's reading (*app. critic.*) means the boys "were being trained" (see below).

<sup>5</sup> The cult of Baal of Emesa is discussed at length by Gross, *Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum* IV. 987 ff. (Elagabal); the cult was administered by the priest-kings of the principality (descended from the Arab sheik, Samsiceramus) even after the absorption of the state into Syria by Domitian.

ποίητον, θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δέ τις ἔστι μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερῆς, λήγων ἐς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἢ χροιά. διοπετῆ<sup>1</sup> τε αὐτὸν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν, ἕξοχάς τε τινὰς βραχείας καὶ τύπους δεικνύουσιν, εἰκόνα τε ἡλίου ἀνέργαστον εἶναι θέλουσιν, οὕτω βλέποντες.<sup>2</sup>  
 6 τούτῳ δὴ τῷ θεῷ ὁ Βασιανὸς ἱερώμενος<sup>3</sup> (ἅτε γὰρ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐκεῖνῳ ἐγκεχειρίστο ἢ θρησκεία<sup>4</sup>) προῆει τε σχήματι βαρβάρῳ, χιτῶνας χρυσοῦφεῖς καὶ ἄλουργεῖς<sup>5</sup> χειριδιωτοὺς καὶ ποδήρεις ἀνεζωσμένους, τά τε σκέλη πάντα σκέπων ἀπ' οἰκῶν ἐς μηρούς ἐσθῆσιν ὁμοίως χρυσῶ καὶ πορφύρα πεποικιλμέναις. τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐκόσμηι στέφανος λίθων πολυτελῶν χροιά διηθησμένους. ἦν δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν<sup>6</sup> ἀκμαῖος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ὠραιότατος μειρακίων πάντων. ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ συνόντων κάλλους σώματος, ἡλικίας ἀκμῆς, ἀβροῦ σχήματος, ἀπέικασεν ἂν τις τὸ μειράκιον Διονύσου καλαῖς εἰκόσιν.

<sup>1</sup> διοπετῆ A διηπετῆ φ

<sup>2</sup> βλέπ(εω ἐθέλ)οντες Gedike Schwartz cf. 5.4.4

<sup>3</sup> ἱερώμενος (ἱερώμαι) Whit ἱερωμένος (ἱερώω) Oi

<sup>4</sup> θυσία O

<sup>5</sup> Aa g<sup>1</sup> (over -οῖς) -γοῖς I -γέσι B -γίδας V -γίδα Jo

<sup>6</sup> τῆ ἡλικία O

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated on coins of E.; e.g. *BMC* V. 546, 560, no. 197-8 (pl. 89.7); the coins types are associated with the legend *conservator*, an epithet of Jupiter.

<sup>2</sup> My emendation means that E. was already priest of the cult; cf. 5.3.3n.

<sup>3</sup> The flowing long-sleeved tunic of Ionian and eastern dress, discarded by most Greeks in the fifth century in favour of the

mous stone, rounded at the base and coming to a point on the top, conical in shape and black.<sup>1</sup> This stone is worshipped as though it were sent from heaven; on it there are some small projecting pieces and markings that are pointed out, which the people would like to believe are a rough picture of the sun, because this is how they see them. Bassianus, the 6 elder of the two boys, was a priest<sup>2</sup> of this god (as the elder of the two he had been put in charge of the cult). He used to appear in public in barbarian clothes, wearing a long-sleeved "chiton" that hung to his feet and was gold and purple.<sup>3</sup> His legs from the waist down to the tips of his toes were completely covered similarly with garments ornamented with gold and purple. On his head he wore a crown of precious stones<sup>4</sup> glowing with different colours. Bassianus was in the prime of his youth and the 7 most handsome of all the young men of his time.<sup>5</sup> With this combination of good looks, youth and splendid dress there was a possible resemblance between the young man and the magnificent statues of Dionysus.

short Dorian tunic (cf. Thuc. 1.6). H. stresses the dress and appearance of E., partly because the barbarities of dress are used as means to characterize emperors; e.g. 1.3.3 ff. (tyrants), 1.14.8 (Commodus), 4.7.3, etc. (Caracalla), 5.2.4 (Macrinus). The classic literary model of effeminacy and vice was the semi-mythical king Sardanapalus; e.g. Dio of Prusa, *περι βασιλ.* 1.3, 4.109-13, which must have influenced H. in his description of E., especially since Cassius Dio frequently calls him Sardanapalus, e.g. 79.1.1.

<sup>4</sup> The language is similar to Lucian, *Bis Acc.* 16.

<sup>5</sup> The good looks of E. are noted by SHA, *Macr.* 9.3, but are not confirmed by the portrait on the coins, *BMC* V. pl. 87.

- 8 ἱερουργούντα δὴ τοῦτον, περὶ τε τοῖς βωμοῖς  
 χορεύοντα νόμῳ βαρβάρων ὑπὸ τε αὐλοῖς καὶ  
 σύριγγι παντοδαπῶν τε ὀργάνων ἤχῳ, περιεργότε-  
 ρον ἐπέβλεπον οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα  
 οἱ στρατιῶται, εἰδότες γένους ὄντα βασιλικοῦ, καὶ  
 τῆς ὥρας αὐτοῦ πάντων τὰς ὄψεις ἐς εαυτὴν  
 9 ἐπιστρεφούσης. ἐγεινίαζε δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ τότε  
 μέγιστον στρατόπεδον, ὃ τῆς Φουνίκης προήσπιζεν·  
 ὕστερον δὲ μετηρέχθη, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν.  
 φοιτῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκάστοτε ἐς τὴν  
 πόλιν, ἐς τε τὸν νεῶν ἰόντες θρησκείας δὴ χάριν, τὸ  
 μειράκιον ἠδέως<sup>1</sup> ἔβλεπον. ἦσαν δὲ τινες ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ<sup>2</sup> πρόσφυγες οἰκεῖοί τε τῆς Μαίσης,  
 10 πρὸς οὓς ἐκείνῃ θαυμάζοντας τὸν παῖδα, εἶτε  
 πλασαμένη εἶτε καὶ ἀληθεύουσα, ἐξείπεν ὅτι ἄρα  
 Ἄντωνίνου υἱὸς ἐστι φύσει, τῇ δὲ ὑπολήψει ἄλλου  
 δοκοῖη· ἐπιφοιτῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ταῖς θυγατρῶσιν

<sup>1</sup> om l

<sup>2</sup> om O

<sup>1</sup> Legio III Gallica, stationed at Raphanea; the other garrisons were at Antioch and Apamea. The legion was later transferred with E. to Nicomedia (Dio 79.7.1-3) and then disbanded (ILS 2657; cf. 2314-17), but H. omits to mention it again; another example of unrevised or hasty work, 4.8.5n. The *legatus* of this legion may have been the Verus who later ascended to the purple himself (Dio 79.7.1).

<sup>2</sup> The Greek is not clear; *πρόσφυγι* is explained by Stephanus, *Theo. Ling. Graec.*, q.v., as a client who seeks protection; but does this mean some soldiers had fled from Rome (cf. Politian, *Roma profugi*)? H. probably has in mind Gannys, who had

As Bassianus performed his priestly duties, dancing at the altars to the music of flutes and pipes and all kinds of instruments in the barbarian fashion, everyone, especially the soldiers, viewed him with fairly close interest because they knew he was a member of the imperial family (apart from the fact that his beautiful appearance attracted everyone's attention). At the time there was a large military garrison near the city of Emesa acting as a defence for Phoenicia, though later it was transferred, as we shall see.<sup>1</sup> The soldiers used to go regularly to the city and to the temple, supposedly to worship, but they enjoyed watching the lad. Some of them were clients of Maesa and people who had fled to her for protection.<sup>2</sup> Because they admired the boy, she told them (what may or may not have been true) that he was actually the natural son of Antoninus,<sup>3</sup> although it was assumed he had a different father. Antoninus, she said, had slept with her daughters when they were young and able to bear children, at

been brought up in the household of Maesa; Dio 79.6 (but fragmentary; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 74, which does not accept the identification of Gannys with Eutythianus); Gannys must have had a remarkable influence over the soldiers to become one of their commanders, Dio 78.38.3-4; there were only a few freedmen and soldiers (and some equestrians?) and Emesan citizens who began the plot, Dio 78.31.3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 5.4.3, SHA, *Car.* 9.2, *Macr.* 9.4, 14.2, 15.2, *Elag.* 1.4, Dio 78.31.3, 78.32.2-3 (who says that there was some physical likeness). The early coinage of E. stressed his descent from Caracalla, as did his name of M. Aurelius Antoninus; *BMC* V. ccxxi-ii. The story had obvious political advantages; e.g. SHA, *Elag.* 3.1 (*omni populo ad nomen Antoninum . . . desiderium factum est*); cf. the inscriptions with *divi magni Antonini f(i)lius divi Severi nepos*, etc., *ILS* III (index) 292.

αὐτῆς νέαις τε οὔσαις καὶ ὠραίαις, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν  
 ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ διέτριβεν. ὅπερ  
 ἐκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες, τοῖς συστρατιώταις<sup>1</sup> κατ'  
 ὀλίγον ἀπαγγέλλοντες διαβόητον ἐποίησαν τὴν  
 11 φήμην, ὡς ἐς πᾶν χωρῆσαι τὸ στρατιωτικόν. τῇ  
 δὲ Μαίση ἐλέγετο σωροὺς εἶναι χρημάτων, ἐκείνην  
 δὲ ἐτόιμω<sup>2</sup> πάντα προέσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, εἰ  
 τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ γένει ἀνανεώσαιτο.<sup>3</sup> ὡς<sup>4</sup> δὲ  
 συνέθεντο,<sup>5</sup> νύκτωρ εἰ κατέλθοιεν λαθόντες, ἀνοίξειν  
 τὰς πύλας καὶ δέξεσθαι<sup>6</sup> πᾶν τὸ γένος ἔνδον  
 βασιλέα τε καὶ υἱὸν ἀποδείξειν Ἀντωνίνου, ἐπέδω-  
 κεν ἑαυτὴν ἢ πρεσβῦτις, ἐλομένη πάντα κίνδυνον  
 ἀναρρῖφαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἰδιωτεύειν καὶ δοκεῖν ἀπερ-  
 ρῖφθαι. νύκτωρ τε λάθρα τῆς πόλεως ὑπέξῆλθε  
 12 σὺν ταῖς θυγατράσι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις. καταγαρόν-  
 των τε αὐτοὺς τῶν προσφυγόντων στρατιωτῶν  
 γενόμενοι πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ῥᾶστα  
 ὑπεδέχθησαν. εὐθέως τε τὸν παῖδα πᾶν τὸ

<sup>1</sup> στρατιώταις O

<sup>2</sup> ἐτόιμω< ἔχειν> conj Mendelss cf. 7.3.6

<sup>3</sup> -σαιτο i

<sup>4</sup> iac before ὡς conj Mendelss cf. 7.3.6

<sup>5</sup> -θετο i

<sup>6</sup> δέξασθαι AV ag

<sup>1</sup> As it happens there is evidence of Soaemias in Rome in 204 near the date of E.'s birth; she took part in the Secular Games *inter mulieres equestres*, *AE* (1932) 70.

<sup>2</sup> The night of 15th May 218. For the chronology of these

the time when she was living in the palace with her sister.<sup>1</sup> When the soldiers heard this, they passed the news on gradually to their fellow soldiers, and soon made it so publicized that it got round the whole army. The story went that Maesa had loads 11 of wealth, all of which she was willing to distribute to the soldiers if they restored the empire to her family. The soldiers agreed that, if the family came secretly during the night, they would open the gates to take them all in and would declare the son of Antoninus emperor. The old woman agreed to this because she would rather have risked any danger than live as an ordinary person, apparently rejected. Quietly at night she slipped out of the city with her daughters and their children.<sup>2</sup> Guided by the 12 soldiers who were under her protection, the party reached the camp walls and were received without the slightest trouble. Immediately the whole garrison saluted him as Antoninus<sup>3</sup> and, putting the im-

events, see Petrikovits, *Klio* 31 (1938) 105-7; the eclipse of the sun which Dio 78.30.1 says happened just before these events must be an error (5.4.11n). Dio 78.31 is very fragmentary, but suggests that only Gannys (probably the same person as Eutychanus, see Boissievain 3.438), accompanied E. to the camp, but SHA, *Macr.* 9.6, says Maesa and her household went too; the immediate execution of a daughter and son-in-law of Mamaea by Macrinus' prefect, Ulpianus Julianus, shows that Maesa and her daughters must have been in the camp very soon after.

<sup>3</sup> The full name and titles taken by E. (though perhaps not until after the final defeat of Macrinus) were *M. Aurelius Antoninus pius felix Augustus* (cf. 5.5.1). Dio calls him Avidus or Pseudantoninus or Assyrius or Sardapanalus or Tiberinus. The date of this salutation is given by Dio 78.31.4 as 16th May 218.



στρατόπεδον Ἀντωνίνων προσηγόρευσαν, τῇ τε πορφύρᾳ<sup>1</sup> χλαμύδι περιβαλόντες εἶχον ἔνδον. πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ὅσα τε<sup>2</sup> εἶχον ἐν κώμαις ἢ ἀγροῖς τοῖς πλησίον, εἰσκομίσαντες, τὰς τε πύλας ἀποκλείσαντες, παρεσκευάζον ἑαυτοὺς ὡς, εἰ δέοι, ὑπομενοῦντες πολιορκίαν.

4. ὡς δὲ<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρίβοντι, ἣ τε φήμη διέδραμεν ἀνὰ τὰ λοιπὰ στρατόπεδα ὅτι τε Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸς εὐρέθη καὶ ὅτι ἡ Ἰουλίας ἀδελφὴ χρήματα δίδωσι, πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ ἐνδεχόμενα καὶ ἀληθῆ<sup>2</sup> πιστεύσαντες εἶναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐξεπτόητο. ἐνῆγε δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέπειθεν ἐς πραγμάτων καινοτομίαν τό τε Μακρίνου μῖσος καὶ<sup>4</sup> τὸ<sup>5</sup> Ἀντωνίνου τῆς μνήμης πάθος,<sup>4</sup> καὶ πρό γε πάντων ἢ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλπίς ὡς πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτομολοῦντας φοιτᾶν πρὸς τὸν νέον Ἀντωνίνον. ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος καταφρονῶν τοῦ πράγματος ὡς παιδαριώδους, χρώμενός τε τῇ συνήθει ῥαθυμία,<sup>6</sup> αὐτὸς μὲν οἴκοι μένει, πέμπει δὲ ἕνα τῶν <ἐπ>αρχόντων<sup>7</sup> τοῦ στρατοπέδου, δύναμιν δούς ὄσσην ᾤετο ῥᾶστα

<sup>1</sup> Αἰο τὴν τε πορφύραν Οἰ

<sup>2</sup> Ἰο δὴ Οἰ

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἡ ἀντ. μνήμη καὶ ὁ πάθος Α

<sup>4</sup> om Ogl

<sup>5</sup> Mendelssohn ἀρχόντων Οἰ ἐπάρχων Ἰο

<sup>2</sup> om φgl καὶ ὅσα Α

<sup>6</sup> Ἰο προθυμία Οἰ

perial purple cloak on him, they kept him in the camp. Then they moved all their supplies and children and wives from the settlements and land near by into the camp, before shutting the gates and preparing to withstand a siege if necessary.

4. As the news reached Macrinus while he was delaying in Antioch, the rumours also spread throughout the rest of the army that a son of Antoninus had been found and that the sister of Julia was distributing money. The soldiers accepted the likelihood of all the rumours and believed them true. So their spirits rose. But it was their hatred for Macrinus and devotion to the memory of Antoninus which was a persuasive inducement for them to rebel. And, of course, there was the lure of money, above all else, which resulted in many of them going as deserters to join the new Antoninus. Macrinus discounted the affair as child's play and carried on with his usual life of leisure,<sup>1</sup> personally remaining at home and sending one of his prefects with a force he thought was enough to wipe out the rebels easily.

<sup>1</sup> A good example of the way in which the stereotype of the unsuccessful emperor distorts the truth. In fact M. seems to have reacted immediately the news from Raphanae reached him about 18th May (ninety miles from Antioch); a message was sent to the prefect Julianus who was in the vicinity of Raphanae, but he had already taken action and been defeated (next note); this news probably reached M. about 20th May, and he at once left for Apamea to secure the loyalty of legio II Parthica. But soon after reaching Apamea he discovered Julianus had been murdered (Dio 78.34.4) so he returned to Antioch about 27th May (three days march each way and a day at Apamea). This gave M. less than two weeks to collect his forces for the final battle; cf. Petrikovits, *Klio* 31 (1938) 105-7 who varies from these dates slightly.

3 ἐκπορθήσεν τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας. ὡς δ' ἦλθεν Ἰουλιανός (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ἐπάρχῳ) καὶ προσέβαλε<sup>1</sup> τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἔνδοθεν οἱ<sup>2</sup> στρατιῶται ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τε τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τὸν τε παῖδα τῷ ἔξωθεν πολιορκοῦντι στρατῷ ἐδείκνυσαν, Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν εὐφημοῦντες, βαλάντια τε χρημάτων μεστὰ<sup>3</sup> δέλεαρ προδοσίας αὐτοῖς<sup>4</sup> ἐδείκνυσαν.<sup>4</sup> οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες Ἀντωνίνου τε εἶναι τέκνον καὶ ὁμοιότατόν γε (βλέπευ γὰρ οὕτως ἦθελον) τοῦ μὲν Ἰουλιανοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνουσι καὶ πέμπουσι τῷ Μακρίνῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντες ἀνοιχθεισῶν αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδέχθησαν. οὕτως ἡ δύναμις αὐξηθεῖσα οὐ μόνον ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολιορκίαν<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ συστάδην καὶ ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀξιοχρεως· ἔτι τε καὶ τῶν αὐτομόλων τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάστοτε, εἰ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσιόν, τὴν δύναμιν ἠϋΐησεν.

<sup>1</sup> -βαλλε φι<sup>2</sup> οἱ ἔνδοθεν Jo ἔνδον οἱ A<sup>3</sup> μετὰ α<sup>4</sup> ἐδείκνυσαν Jo<sup>5</sup> Schwartz πολιορκία Oi

<sup>1</sup> Ulpius Julianus; Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 288; like his colleague, Julianus Nestor, he had been *praefectus peregrinorum* (Dio 78.15.1), then *a censibus* (perhaps in Syria) and had been part of the *factio* that supported M. (4.12.8n). The details of the attack are vividly recounted by Dio 78.32, who says that

When the prefect (whose name was Julianus)<sup>1</sup> arrived at the camp, he made an assault on the walls, but the troops inside came up on to the turrets and battlements, and displayed the boy to the besieging army, honouring him with the title of son of Antoninus and also showing the attackers their purses full of money as a bait to make them desert. As<sup>4</sup> Macrinus' troops were convinced that the boy was the son of Antoninus and even resembled him closely (since this was what they wanted to see), they cut off Julianus' head and sent it back to Macrinus,<sup>2</sup> while the gates of the camp were thrown open and the troops welcomed in. As a result, the forces there were increased to a size which was able not only to keep off a siege but also to fight a pitched battle at close quarters. Every day the number of deserters increased the total force, even though they came in small groups.

the camp might have been taken if Julianus had pressed home the advantage gained from his Moroccan soldiers; these soldiers, specially raised by Caracalla, and naturally loyal to their countryman, Macrinus, are probably the (*seniores* and) *iuniores* regiments of *equites* and *pedites* recorded on *ILS* 1356; cf. Pflaum, *Carrières* 810-11. Julianus was already near Raphanae, Dio 78.31.4.

<sup>2</sup> Julianus managed to escape from the battle, but on arriving at Apamea was murdered by the soldiers of the legio II Parthica; M. was shown the head soon after his arrival at Apamea; Dio 78.34.4-5. The Parthian legion was rewarded for its defection by the title of Antoniniana and later c. 220 with *pia fidelis felix aeterna*; Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1479 ff., *CIL* XIV. 2257. Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 290, plausibly suggests (though on very little evidence) that the *praefectus* of the legion was P. Valerius Comazon, later promoted to praetorian prefect, consul and three times urban prefect; Dio 79.4.1-2 (who says he was "prefect of the camp").

5 ὁ δὲ Μακρίνος ὡς ταῦτα ἐπυνθάνετο, ἀθροίσας πάντα ὃν εἶχε στρατόν. ἐπήγει<sup>1</sup> ὡς δὴ πολιορκήσων τοὺς ἐκείνῳ προσκεχωρηκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος, οὐκ ἀναμενόντων τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν πολιορκηθῆναι, θαρρησάντων δὲ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐξελθεῖν τε καὶ ὑπαντῶμενοι τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἐξάγει τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν. συμμίξαντα δὲ ἀλλήλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίας ἐν μεθορίοις, οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου προθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο, δεδιότες, εἰ ἠττηθεῖεν, τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν τιμωρίαν ἀναδέξασθαι· οἱ δὲ σὺν τῷ Μακρίνῳ ῥαθυμότερον προσεφέροντο τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀποδιδράσκοντες καὶ μετιόντες 7 πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνίνον. ἄπερ ὄρων ὁ Μακρίνος, φοβηθεῖς τε μὴ παντάπασι γυμνωθεῖς τῆς δυνάμεως

<sup>1</sup> ἀπήγει Jo

<sup>1</sup> For M.'s movements, see 5.4.1n; on arrival at Apamea he tried to win the Parthian legion by naming his son, Diadumenianus, Augustus and distributing a massive donative (5.2.5n), as well as promising to restore privileges and ration allowances; Dio 78.34.2 ff. The soldiers took the money and then showed M. the head of Julianus. M. at once returned to Antioch and the Parthian legion soon after joined the troops at Raphanea (perhaps the date was 30th May, recorded later by the *fratres Arvales* in honour of E. and Maesa; *CIL* VI. 2104 b. 23). M. must have sent for reinforcements from the other Syrian legions, but, apart from the fact that they were also canvassed by Elagabalus (Dio 78.34.6-7), the nearest

After the news of this further development, 5 Macrinus mustered his entire army<sup>1</sup> and advanced with the intention of laying siege to the soldiers who had defected. But Antoninus brought his force out of the camp because the troops, without waiting for the siege, were full of enthusiasm and confidence about marching out to meet Macrinus in a pitched battle. The two armies met on the borders of Phoenicia and 6 Syria.<sup>2</sup> Antoninus' forces put up an intense resistance because they were afraid that, if they were defeated, they would be punished for their past action. Macrinus' troops by contrast brought little energy to the fight and changed sides as deserters to Antoninus.<sup>3</sup> When he saw this, Macrinus was afraid 7 that, abandoned by all his troops, he would be taken

legion, IV Scythica, was 120 miles away at Zeugma; XVI Flavia was at Samosata.

<sup>2</sup> While M. mustered support in Antioch, E. was joined by legio II Parthica and then marched North, obviously with the intention of bringing M. to battle before reinforcements could arrive; the battle was not on the border of Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice, but at a village twenty-four miles outside Antioch (Honigmann, *RE* (Syria) 1692, conjectures Immae). Downey, *Hist. of Antioch* 249-50, argues from Dio 78.34.5 that there were two battles, but Dio explicitly says M. avoided battle when in Apamea. The battle on 8th June 218 is described by Dio 78.37.3-39.1.

<sup>3</sup> M. probably relied mainly on the praetorian cohorts and the special bodyguard of *equites singulares*, though he could call upon the Moroccan auxiliaries too (5.4.3n). E. was supported mainly by two legions, probably slightly outnumbering the opposition. Dio 78.38.4 says that E.'s troops, led by Gannys, showed lack of fighting spirit, and would have been defeated but for the flight of M. Is this credible? Much more probably M. left the field after an indecisive battle in order to rally support in Antioch (Dio 78.39.1), but the praetorians defected in his absence.

αιχμάλωτός τε ληφθείς αίσχίστως ὑβρισθείη, ἔτι τῆς μάχης συνεστώσης, ἐσπέρας ἤδη προσιούσης,<sup>1</sup> ἀπορρίψας τὸ χλαμύδιον καὶ εἶ τι σχῆμα βασιλικὸν περιέκειτο, λαθῶν ἀποδιδράσκει σὺν ὀλίγοις ἑκατοντάρχαις, οὓς πιστοτάτους ᾤετο, τὸ γένειον ἀποκειράμενος, ὡς μὴ γνωρίζοιτο, ἐσθῆτά τε ὁδοιορικὴν λαβὼν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αἰεὶ σκέπων.  
8 νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὠδοιοῖρε, φθάνων τὴν φήμην τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης, τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων μεγάλη σπουδῇ τὰ ὀχήματα ἐπειγόντων, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ Μακρίνου ἔτι βασιλεύοντος ἐπὶ τινα σπουδαία πεμφθέντων.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ἔφυγεν, ὡς εἴρηται· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἑκατέρωθεν ἐμάχοντο, ὑπὲρ μὲν <sup>2</sup> τοῦ Μακρίνου οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ δορυφόροι, οὓς δὴ πραιτωριανούς καλοῦσιν, οἱ γενναίως ἀνθεστήκεσαν παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἅτε ὄντες μέγιστοί τε καὶ ἐπίλεκτοι· τὸ δὲ ἐπίλοιπον πᾶν πλήθος ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
9 Ἀντωνίνου ἠγωνίζοντο. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸν Μακρίνον οὐκ ἔβλεπον οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα, διηπόρουσιν δὴ <sup>3</sup> ποῦ ποτὲ ἄρα εἶη, πότερον ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν κειμένων ἢ ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο, ἠγνῶσιν τε πῶς χρήσονται τῷ πράγματι· οὔτε γὰρ μάχεσθαι ἤθελον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παρόντος, παραδοῦναι δὲ <sup>4</sup> αὐτοὺς ἐκδότους

prisoner and badly molested. So, while the battle still continued, towards evening he took off his cloak and the various imperial insignia he was wearing, shaved off his beard to avoid recognition and put on the clothes of an ordinary traveller,<sup>1</sup> keeping his head covered all the time. With a few centurions who he believed were completely trustworthy he quietly ran away. Journeying night and day, he travelled 8 further than the news of his own disaster. The centurions energetically urged on the carriage as though Macrinus were still emperor and had dispatched them upon an important mission.

After Macrinus' flight (mentioned above) both armies continued the battle. On Macrinus' side the personal bodyguard and the palace soldiers (called praetorians),<sup>2</sup> who were very tall, picked soldiers, fought magnificently against the opposing army. Otherwise the mass of soldiers took Antoninus' side. But when, after a period, Macrinus' troops 9 failed to see him or the imperial standards, they were in a quandary, wondering where he could be, and whether he was among the many dead or had taken to his heels. And how were they to react in that case, since they were not willing to fight a battle for someone not there, and were ashamed to surrender

<sup>1</sup> The black *paenula*, a cloak worn by private citizens and plebeians. The disguise was that of a *tabellarius*, thereby giving M. access to the imperial post.

<sup>2</sup> If this is not a gloss in the text, what kind of an audience would not have known about the praetorian guard? Cf. I.12.6 for H.'s commendable care in trying to distinguish different bodies of imperial guard.

<sup>1</sup> ἐσπέρας—προσιούσης om P

<sup>2</sup> om φι

<sup>3</sup> δὲ Bi om A

<sup>4</sup> τε A

10 καὶ <sup>1</sup> ὡσπερ αἰχμαλώτους ἡδούντο. ὡς δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπύθετο Ἀντωνίνος τὴν τοῦ Μακρίνου φυγὴν, πέμψας κήρυκας διδάσκει αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάτην ὑπὲρ ἀνάνδρου καὶ φηγάδος μάχονται, ἀδειάν τε καὶ ἀμνηστίαν ἐνόρκως ὑπισχνεῖται, καλεῖ τε καὶ αὐτὸν δορυφορήσοντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πεισθέντες προσεχώρησαν,<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος πέμπει τοὺς διώξοντας <sup>3</sup> τὸν Μακρίνον πολὺ προκεχωρηκότα. ἐν Χαλκηδόνι γοῦν τῆς Βιθυνίας κατελήφθη, νοσῶν χαλεπώτατα ὑπὸ τε τῆς συνεχοῦς ὁδοιπορίας συντετριμμένος. ἔνθα αὐτὸν εὐρόντες ἐν τινι κρυπτόμενον προαστείω οἱ διώκοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἐλέγετο δὲ σπεύδειν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, θαρρῶν τῇ τοῦ δήμου περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ· περαιούμενον δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διὰ τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Προποντίδος πορθμοῦ, ἦδη τε τῷ Βυζαντίῳ προσπελάζοντα, φασὶν ἀντιπνοία χρήσασθαι, ἐπανάγον-  
12 τος αὐτὸν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς τὴν τιμωρίαν. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ Μακρίνος οὐκ ἐξέφυγε τοὺς διώξαντας, τέλει τε ἐχρήσατο αἰσχροῦ ὕστερον

<sup>1</sup> ἐκδότους καὶ οἱ φ

<sup>2</sup> προεχ. gl

<sup>3</sup> διώξαντας gl

as prisoners of war? When Antoninus heard from de- 10serters the news of Macrinus' flight, he sent heralds to tell the troops that they were wasting their time fighting for a cowardly fugitive. He gave a solemn undertaking that they would be pardoned under an amnesty, and called on them to serve him too as guards. Convinced by the offer, they joined his side, while Antoninus dispatched men to pursue Macrinus, by now well in advance of them. In the 11end he was captured at Chalcedon in Bithynia suffering severe exhaustion from the continuous travelling. His pursuers found him hiding in a district just outside the city and decapitated him.<sup>1</sup> The information has it that he was hurrying to Rome, confident of popular support for himself. But, they say, after he had set sail for Europe across the narrow straits of Propontis and had practically reached Byzantium, he met a contrary wind which blew him back to his fate; so near was Macrinus to escaping 12his pursuers. The unhappy end he met was after he later decided to do what he should have done in the

travelling through Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia and Bithynia to Eribolon, the port of Nicomedia, from where he sailed to Chalcedon. Arrested in Chalcedon, M. was escorted back, but killed by one of his guard in Cappadocia. At the least M.'s death must have been one month after the battle of 8th June; Dio 78.40.1 says the body was seen by E. on the march northwards to winter quarters in Bithynia with two legions (III Gallica and IV Scythica) some months later. A later tradition says M. was killed at Archelais in Cappadocia; cf. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I. 147, 435, etc. This suggests M. was on the run for a long time, and may explain Dio's reference to an eclipse of the sun (7th October 218); cf. 5.3.11n. It would also explain why E. was so long returning to Rome (5.5.8n).

<sup>1</sup> Dio 78.39.1 ff. says M. returned first to Antioch, claiming a victory; when news of the praetorians' collapse came he left,

θελήσας ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνελθεῖν, δέον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· ὁμοῦ δὲ ἔπταισε καὶ γνώμη καὶ τύχη.

τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτω Μακρῖνος ἐχρήσατο, συναναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ παιδός, ὃν ἦν ποιήσας Καίσαρα, Διαδουμενιανὸν<sup>1</sup> καλούμενον· ὅ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε στρατὸς πᾶς μετελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνίνον προσεῖπε βασιλέα, τά τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεδέξατο,<sup>2</sup> διοικηθέντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων ὑπὸ τε τῆς μάμμης καὶ τῶν συνόντων φίλων (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν νέος τε τὴν ἡλικίαν, πραγμάτων τε καὶ παιδείας<sup>3</sup> ἄπειρος), οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου διατρίψας εἶχε περὶ ἕξοδον, σπευδούσης μάλιστα τῆς Μαίσις ἐς τὰ συνήθη<sup>4</sup> βασιλεία Ῥώμης. ὡς δὲ τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ τὰ πραχθέντα ἐδηλώθη, δυσφόρως μὲν πάντες ἤκουσαν, ὑπήκουον δὲ ἀν-

<sup>1</sup> διαδομενιανὸν Ο

<sup>2</sup> <ἐκείνος> ὑπεδέξ. Steph

<sup>3</sup> καὶ παιδείας om P

<sup>4</sup> ἐαυτῆς Ο

<sup>1</sup> See 4.15.9n for an explanation of M.'s delay. The conjecture that M. went to the Danube provinces is improbable; but he did send two of his most trusted supporters, Aelius Tricicianus and Marcius Agrippa (cf. 4.14.2n) to Pannonia and

first place by returning to Rome.<sup>1</sup> Both his judgement and his luck failed.

And so Macrinus died. With him was executed his son Diadumenianus, whom he had made Caesar.<sup>2</sup> 5. After the whole army had changed its allegiance to Antoninus and proclaimed him as emperor,<sup>3</sup> he accepted the rule. The immediate business in the East was dealt with by his grandmother and his circle of advisers because he was young and without administrative experience or education. But he did not delay long in setting out for Rome,<sup>4</sup> where Maesa particularly was anxious to get to the imperial palace she had been used to. When a report of the events<sup>2</sup> reached the senate and people of Rome, there was general gloom at the news, but they were forced to

Dacia; Dio 78.13.3, cf. 78.27.5; his interest in the frontier may also be illustrated by the appearance of a woman representing Moesia Inferior on coins; Gerassimov, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* 27 (1946) 251-3; cf. Mattingly, *Studies D. M. Robinson* II. 965.

<sup>2</sup> M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus was given the title of Caesar and Antoninus in 217 (5.1.1n); H. seems not to know of his elevation to Augustus, which had taken place hurriedly at Apamea (5.4.5n); although the title Augustus appears on coins, it was probably never confirmed by the senate before M.'s defeat; the *congiarium* recorded by SHA, *Diad.* 2.9, and *Chronog. of 354* (and on coins) was almost certainly distributed in Antioch; *BMC* V. 511, no. 95, McDonald, *Coins in the Hunterian Coll.* III. 174-5.

<sup>3</sup> The term used by H. is *basileus*; strictly the soldiers would have declared him *imperator*; cf. 2.2.9n.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 5.4.11n. Dio 79.3.1 says E. remained in Antioch for some months. He seems to have been in no hurry either to get to Asia Minor, or to leave Nicomedia for Rome; 5.5.8n, Dio 79.3.2. The formal "haste" to get to Rome is noted in 1.7.2.

ἀγκη τοῦ στρατοῦ ταῦτα ἤρημένον. κατεγίνωσκόν τε τοῦ Μακρίνου ῥαθυμίαν τε καὶ τρόπων χανότητητα, αἰτιὸν τε οὐκ ἄλλον ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ γεγενῆσθαι ἔλεγον.

3 ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνίνος ἀπάρας τῆς Συρίας ἐλθὼν τε 1 ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐχειμαζε, τῆς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους οὕτως ἀπαιτούσης. εὐθέως τε ἐξεβακχεύετο,<sup>2</sup> τὴν τε ἱερωσύνην τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ, ἣ ἐντέθραπτο, περιεργότερον ἐξωρχεῖτο,<sup>3</sup> σχήμασί τε ἐσθήτος πολυτελεστάτοις<sup>4</sup> χρώμενος, διὰ τε πορφύρας <καὶ><sup>5</sup> χρυσοῦ ὑφάσμενους<sup>6</sup> περιδεραίους τε καὶ ψελίους κοσμούμενος, ἐς εἶδος δὲ<sup>7</sup> τιάρας στεφάνην<sup>8</sup> ἐπικείμενος χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλην<sup>4</sup> τιμίαις.<sup>9</sup> ἦν τε αὐτῷ τὸ σχῆμα μεταξύ Φουίσισης

<sup>1</sup> Steph δὲ Oi

<sup>2</sup> ἐξ εβἀκχευεν Jo

<sup>3</sup> Sylb ἐξώρχητο Oi

<sup>4</sup> Sylb -της Oi

<sup>5</sup> Irmisc cf. 5.8.6 διαχρύσεις τε πορφύρας Reisk

<sup>6</sup> Irmisc ὑφάσμασι Oi

<sup>7</sup> om O

<sup>8</sup> Steph -άνους Ogl -άην a

<sup>9</sup> Steph ποικίλοις τιμίαις i ποικίλοις O

<sup>1</sup> Dio 79.1.2 says a letter was immediately sent to the senate (soon after the battle of 8th June) in which E. reviled M. and claimed for himself the titles of *imperator Caesar Antonini filius Severi nepos pius felix Augustus* and *procos. trib. pot.* before they were voted by the senate; the date of E.'s co-optation into the *fratres Arvales* is given as 14th July 218 (*CIL* VI. 2104 b. 33), which may be the *dies imperii* of the senate's confirmation of titles; cf. *CIL* VI. 2001, 2009 for the titles of *procos.* and *pius felix* on the priestly records. The consular title of M. was assumed by E., says Dio 79.8.1-2, though the coins seem to indicate this did not happen at once; *BMČ* V. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Initial enthusiasm for E. (SHA, *Elag.* 3.1 ff.) wore off by

submit to the course decided by the army.<sup>1</sup> They blamed Macrinus' lack of energy and moral fibre and said he had no one to blame but himself.

Setting out from Syria, Antoninus reached Nico-<sup>3</sup> media, where he was forced by the season of the year to spend the winter.<sup>2</sup> Straight away he began to practise his ecstatic rites and go through the ridiculous motions of the priestly office belonging to his local god in which he had been trained. He wore the most expensive types of clothes, woven of purple and gold, and adorned himself with necklaces and bangles. On his head he wore a crown in the shape of a tiara glittering with gold and precious stones. The effect <sup>4</sup>

the winter (Dio 78.39.4). The disturbed state of the legions in the East is recorded by Dio 79.7.1-3; legio III Gallica, legio IV Scythica and the fleet at Cyzicus all produced claimants for the purple; Gannys, E.'s original supporter and choice for Caesar, was executed; legio III Gallica was disbanded (5.3.9n); legio IV Scythica was given an extraordinary equestrian legatus (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 293, a *comes* and *amicus* of E. who later became praetorian prefect). There was a wholesale removal of M.'s supporters from office for fear of armed rebellion—Fabius Agrippa (legatus of Syria Coele), Pica Caerianus (legatus of Arabia), Claudius Attalus (proconsul of Cyprus), Aelius Triccianus (legatus of Pannonia Inferior), M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis (legatus of Cappadocia). In Rome a number of the old aristocracy were executed—Seius Carus, L. Valerius Paetus, M. Silius Messala, Pomponius Bassus; two were from the old Antonine junta, two had strong connections in the East (cf. Introduction, p. lxxx). In their places the Syrian princesses put a number of their own new equestrians; e.g. Ulpius Victor as procurator *agens vice praesidis* in Dacia Porolissensis (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 257), M. Aedinius Julianus procurator *agens vice praesidis* in Aquitania (Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 35-9), C. Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus, the later prefect, as procurator *agens vice praesidis* in Arabia (Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 317).

ιέρως στολῆς καὶ χλιδῆς Μηδικῆς. Ῥωμαϊκὴν δὲ ἢ Ἑλληνικὴν<sup>1</sup> πᾶσαν ἐσθήτα ἐμυσάττετο, ἐρίου φάσκων εἰργάσθαι, πράγματος εὐτελοῦς· τοῖς δὲ Σηρῶν<sup>2</sup> ὑφάσμασι μόνοις ἠρέσκετο. προήει τε ὑπὸ αὐλοῖς καὶ τυμπάνοις, τῷ θεῷ δῆθεν ὀργιάζων.  
 5 ἢ δὲ Μαῖσα ταῦτα ὄρωσα πάνν ἤσχαλλε, πείθειν τε λιπαροῦσα ἐπειράτο μεταμφέσασθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων στολὴν μέλλοντά [τε]<sup>3</sup> ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελεύσεσθαι, μὴ ἀλλοδαπὸν ἢ παντάπασι βάρβαρον τὸ σχῆμα ὀφθῆν εὐθύς λυπήσῃ τοὺς ἰδόντας, ἀήθεις τε ὄντας καὶ οἰομένους τὰ τοιαῦτα καλλωπίσματα οὐκ  
 6 ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ θηλείαις πρέπειν. ὁ δὲ καταφρονήσας τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος λεχθέντων, μηδ' ἄλλω τινὶ πεισθείς (οὐδὲ γὰρ προσίετο εἰ μὴ τοὺς ὁμοιοτρόπους τε καὶ κόλακας αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀμαρτημά-

<sup>1</sup> Steph ῥωμαικῆς δὲ ἢ ἑλληνικῆς Οἰ

<sup>2</sup> συρῶν a <sup>3</sup> om Jo Mendelss

<sup>1</sup> The name Mede may indicate that H. is recalling a classical model such as Xen. *Cyrop.* 1.3.2 or 4.5.54, which suggests to him the vocabulary he is using (cf. 4.2.10n). Similar passages are suggested by Irmisch *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese name for silk was "sir", from which was derived the name for both Chinese (*Seres*) and silk (*sericum*). In Rome (*sericum*) was not always pure silk, but a combination of silk, linen and cotton. Caligula appeared in public wearing this silk (Suet. *Gaius* 52) which had been forbidden by Tiberius (Tac. *A.* 2.33.1). SHA, *Elag.* 26.1, says E. appeared wearing pure silk.

<sup>3</sup> The dominant position of Maesa is noted by all sources;

was something between the sacred garb of the Phoenicians and the luxurious apparel of the Medes.<sup>1</sup> Any Roman or Greek dress he loathed because, he claimed, it was made out of wool, which is a cheap material. Only seric silk was good enough for him.<sup>2</sup> He appeared in public accompanied by flutes and drums, no doubt because he was honouring his god with special rites.

Maesa<sup>3</sup> was extremely worried when she saw this, 5 and continually tried to persuade him to change into Roman clothes now that he was going to come to Rome and enter the senate house. If he was wearing a strange, completely barbarous dress, he would straight away offend the spectators who were not used to it<sup>4</sup> and considered this kind of finery more appropriate for women than men. But Antoninus 6 rejected the advice of the old woman and anyone else's attempts to persuade him. No one was admitted to his presence except men of similar habit and those who flattered his faults. However, he was

Dio (Xiph.) 79.17.2, SHA, *Elag.* 12.3 (4.2 seems an error), *BMC* V. cxxxxiii (the only Augusta to issue double denarii). She was named *mater castrorum* in 218; *AE* (1955) 260.

<sup>4</sup> There was nothing strange about eastern religious practices in Rome; cf. Caracalla's forshadowing of *sol* Elagabalus and Athena (Allāt), the moon goddess, by his coin issues; *BMC* V. 465, no. 195 (cf. Dio (Xiph.) 77.10.3, 486, no. 283. The solar symbol of a radiate lion may even be a particular reference to C.'s visit to Emesa in 215 (*BMC* V. ccvii, *RIC* IV. 3.204-5). E.'s real fault lay in making no concession to Roman tradition when introducing the local Syrian cult. Supersession of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, introduction of cult practices like circumcision, absterction from pork and foreign dress were bound to offend upper-class sensibilities.



των). βουλόμενος ἐν ἔθει γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ  
 σχήματος ὄψεως τὴν τε σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον  
 Ῥωμαίων, ἀπόντος τε αὐτοῦ πείραν δοθῆναι πῶς  
 φέρουσι τὴν ὄψιν [τοῦ σχήματος],<sup>1</sup> εἰκόνα μεγίστην  
 γράφιας παντὸς ἑαυτοῦ, οἶος προῶν<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ  
 ἱερουργῶν ἐφαίνετο, παραστήσας τε ἐν τῇ γραφῇ  
 τὸν τύπον τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καλλιερῶν<sup>3</sup>  
 7 ἐγέγραπτο, πέμψας τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐκέλευσεν  
 ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς συγκλήτου τόπῳ ὑψηλοτάτῳ  
 τε τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνατεθῆναι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ  
 ἀγάλματος τῆς νίκης, ᾧ<sup>4</sup> συνιόντες ἐς τὸ βου-  
 λευτήριον λιβανωτόν τε θυμιῶσιν ἕκαστος καὶ  
 οἶνους<sup>5</sup> σπένδουσι. προσέταξέ τε πάντας τοὺς  
 Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντας, καὶ εἴ τινες δημοσίας θυσίας  
 ἐπιτελοῦσι, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλῶν θεῶν οὐς δὴ καλοῦσιν  
 ἱερουργοῦντες,<sup>6</sup> ὀνομάξῃν τὸν νέον θεὸν Ἐλαιαγα-  
 βαλον.<sup>7</sup> ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο τῷ προ-  
 ειρημένῳ σχήματι, οὐδὲν παράδοξον εἶδον οἱ  
 8 Ῥωμαῖοι, τῇ γραφῇ ἐνεπισημένοι. δούς δὲ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> om? Mendelss πείραν—σχήματος om A

<sup>2</sup> Steph προῶν Oi

<sup>3</sup> καλλιερῶν Bi

<sup>4</sup> Mendelss ὡς Oi

<sup>5</sup> οἶνου a

<sup>6</sup> P -οῦντας Oi

<sup>7</sup> Stav ἐλεγάβαλον Oi

anxious that the senate and people of Rome should get used to seeing his dress, and to test out their reactions to the sight before he arrived. So an enormous picture was painted of him as he appeared in public performing as a priest. Also in the picture was a portrait of the Emesene god, to whom he was represented making a favourable sacrifice. The picture was sent to Rome with orders that it should hang right in the middle of the senate house, very high up over the head of the statue of Victory.<sup>1</sup> This was where all the members, on arrival for meetings at the house, burn an offering of incense and make a libation of wine. Instructions were also issued to every Roman magistrate or person conducting public sacrifices that the new god Elagabalus' name should precede any of the others invoked by the officiating priests.<sup>2</sup> When Antoninus arrived at Rome, dressed as has been described, the Romans, conditioned by the painting, found nothing strange in the sight. He paid the people the cash bonus normal at the ac- 8

<sup>1</sup> The statue of victory probably rested on the plinth discovered in the *curia Julia* on the podium of the presidential seat, just inside the doors; cf. Bartoli, *Rend. Pont. Accad.* 27 (1951/2) 47-54, who discusses a mutilated inscription to the *domus divina* set up perhaps in the senate at the same time. The religious "programme" coins do not begin in Rome until 220, though in the East the *sol* propaganda starts in 218/9; *BMC V.* 574 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This desire for supremacy of the Emesene god motivates most of E.'s policy, but not with any obvious political intention; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 79.11.1 (greater than Jupiter), SHA, *Elag.* 3.4, 6.7, 7.4 (other gods as slaves and E.'s desire for monotheism); hence the symbolic unions of various gods and the transfer of cult objects to Elagabalus; but E. never seems to envisage the cult as a means to imperial unity. See Gross, *Real. f. Antike u. Christentum* IV. 993-4.

συνήθεις τῷ δήμῳ νομάς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βασιλείας  
 διαδοχῇ, φιλοτίμως τε καὶ πολυτελῶς <sup>1</sup> ἐπιτελέσας  
 παντοδαπὰς θέας, νεῶν τε μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον  
 κατασκευάσας τῷ θεῷ, βωμούς τε πλείστους περὶ  
 τὸν νεῶν ἰδρύσας, ἐκάστοτε προῦν ἕωθεν ἑκατόμ-  
 βας τε ταύρων καὶ προβάτων πολὺ πλῆθος  
 κατέσφαττε τοῖς τε βωμοῖς ἐπετίθει, παντοδαποῖς  
 ἀρώμασι σωρεύων, οἴνου τε τοῦ παλαιοτάτου καὶ  
 καλλίστου πολλοὺς ἀμφορέας τῶν βωμῶν προχέων,  
 ὡς ρεῖθρα φέρεσθαι οἴνου τε καὶ αἵματος μεμιγμέ-  
 9 νου. περὶ τε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐχόρευεν ὑπὸ παν-  
 τοδαποῖς ἤχοις ὀργάνων, γύνιαά τε ἐπιχώρια  
 ἐχόρευε σὺν αὐτῷ, περιθέοντα τοῖς βωμοῖς,  
 κύμβαλα ἢ τύμπανα μετὰ χεῖρας φέροντα· περιει-  
 στήκει δὲ πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν τάγμα  
 ἐν θεάτρῳ σχήματι. τὰ δὲ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἱερουρ-  
 γηθέντων τά τε ἀρώματα ἐν χρυσοῖς σκεύεσιν  
 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οὐκ οἰκέται δῆ <sup>2</sup> τινες ἢ εὐτελεῖς  
 10 ἄνθρωποι ἔφερον, ἀλλ' οἳ τε ἔπαρχοι τῶν στρα-  
 τοπέδων καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις πράξεσιν,

<sup>1</sup> Bekk<sup>2</sup> Bergl φιλοτίμως (also Jo) τε καὶ πολυτελεῖς Oi P  
 (omnifariam)

<sup>2</sup> Steph δὲ φὶ om A

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 5.6.9n. The *congiarium* is recorded on late coins of 219  
 as *liberalitas* II, the first distribution being in E.'s absence at  
 his accession; *BMC* V. 546, 661 ff. Evidence for the date of  
 E.'s return to Rome is weak; Eutropius 8.22 says it was in  
 July 219, but a dedicatory altar set up by the *equites singulares*

cession of a new emperor,<sup>1</sup> provided lavish and various  
 spectacles to win favour and built an enormous and  
 magnificent temple to his new god, around which he  
 set up many altars.<sup>2</sup> Each day at dawn he came out  
 and slaughtered a hecatomb of cattle and a large  
 number of sheep which were placed upon the altars  
 and loaded with every variety of spices.<sup>3</sup> In front of  
 the altars many jars of the finest and oldest wines  
 were poured out, so that streams of blood and wine  
 flowed together. Around the altars he and some 9  
 Phoenician women danced to the sounds of many dif-  
 ferent instruments, circling the altars with cymbals  
 and drums in their hands. The entire senate and  
 the equestrian order stood round them in the order  
 they sat in the theatre. The entrails of the sacrificial  
 victims and spices were carried in golden bowls,  
 not on the heads of household servants or lower-class  
 people, but by military prefects and important officials 10  
 wearing long tunics in the Phoenician style down to

is dated 29th September *ob reditum domini nostri* (*ILS* 2188);  
*adventus* coins continue into the types of 220 but are undated,  
*BMC* V. cxxxvii, 560, nos. 195-6, 608, *RIC* IV. 2.42, nos.  
 184-5.

<sup>2</sup> Not apparently the temple mentioned in 5.6.6. This  
 temple here seems to be the temple on the Palatine noted in  
 SHA, *Elag.* 3.4 (i.e. the Heliogabalium); another temple on  
 the site of the old temple of Orcus (SHA, *Elag.* 1.6) is other-  
 wise unknown. Cf. Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I. 147, for the  
 Heliogabalium.

<sup>3</sup> There are numerous representations of the emperor  
 sacrificing on coins, together with titles such as *sacerd(os) dei*  
*solis Elagab(al)i)*, *summus sacerdos Aug(ustus)*, etc., *BMC* V.  
 564-5, 569, 571. The Roman title of *pontifex maximus* is  
 superseded and disappears. Cf. also the title *sacerdos*  
*amplissimus dei invicti solis Elagabali* on inscriptions, *ILS* 473,  
 475, *AE* (1908) 202; Jantsch, *JÖAI* 29 (1935) 265-8.

ἀνεζωσμένοι [οἱ]<sup>1</sup> μὲν χιτῶνας ποδήρεις καὶ χειριδιωτοὺς νόμῳ Φοινίκων, ἐν μέσῳ φέροντες μίαν πορφύραν· ὑποδήμασι δὲ<sup>2</sup> λίνου πεποιημένοις ἐχρῶντο, ὥσπερ οἱ κατ' ἐκείνα τὰ χωρία προφητεύοντες. ἐδόκει δὲ τιμὴν μεγίστην νέμειν οἷς ἐκοινῶναι τῆς ἱερουργίας.

6. πλὴν καίτοι χορεύειν αἰεὶ καὶ ἱερουργεῖν δοκῶν, πλείστους ἀπέκτεινε τῶν ἐνδόξων τε καὶ πλουσίων, διαβληθέντας αὐτῷ ὡς ἀπαρεσκομένους καὶ σκώπτοντας αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον. ἠγάγετο δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν εὐγενεστάτην Ῥωμαίων, ἣν Σεβαστὴν ἀναγορεύσας μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀπεπέμψατο, ἰδιωτεύειν κελεύσας καὶ τῶν τιμῶν παρελόμενος. μετ' ἐκείνην δὲ προσποιησάμενος ἐρᾶν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πράττειν δοκοίη, παρθένου τῇ Ῥωμαίων Ἑστία<sup>3</sup> ἱερωμένης ἀγνεύειν τε πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων κελευομένης καὶ μέχρι τέλους τοῦ βίου παρθενεύεσθαι, ἀποσπᾶσας αὐτὴν τῆς Ἑστίας καὶ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> om Steph and perhaps μὲν also

<sup>2</sup> Reisk from P (*sed et*) τε Οἱ

<sup>3</sup> Steph τῆς ῥῶμ. ἐστίας Οἱ

<sup>1</sup> The *kalasiris*, described by Hesychius as a tunic with a broad stripe; it was sometimes completely purple or purple with a white stripe; the stripe ran from head to toe.

<sup>2</sup> The *phaikas* or *phaikasion* worn in Athens and Egypt, Appian *BC* 5.11, Plut. *Ant.* 33 (not always made of linen). The reference to *prophetai* by H. may be just a loose term for priests.

their feet, with long sleeves and a single purple stripe in the middle.<sup>1</sup> They also wore linen shoes of the kind used by local oracle priests in Phoenicia.<sup>2</sup> It was considered a great honour had been done to anyone given a part in the sacrifice.

6. Although the emperor seemed to spend all his time dancing and performing sacrifices, he executed very many distinguished and wealthy men, after information was laid that they disapproved and made fun of his way of life. He married a woman from the most aristocratic family in Rome, whom he named as Augusta;<sup>3</sup> but soon he divorced her and, depriving her of her honours, told her to return to private life. Then, in order to provide a semblance of his virility,<sup>2</sup> he pretended to fall in love with a Vestal Virgin, a priestess of the Roman goddess Vesta, bound by sacral law to remain a pure virgin to the end of her life.<sup>4</sup> This girl was taken away from Vesta's service and the

<sup>3</sup> Julia Cornelia Paula; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 660; her name appears on Alexandrian coins before the end of August 219 (year 2 of E.) and continues until 220/1 (year 4); thus she married E. almost as soon as his return (5.5.8n), but since E.'s next wife also appears in year 4, she may have been divorced as early as September 220; cf. Dio (*Xiph.*) 79.9.1-3; it seems improbable from what H. says that she was related to the jurist (and later prefect?) Julius Paulus.

<sup>4</sup> Julia Aquila Severa; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 648; the fact that she was a Vestal Virgin doubtless provided E. with an opportunity to claim that the marriage with this *innupta Minerva* corresponded to the sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) of the god Elagabalus; but E.'s claim to be in love with her is supported by her return to being his wife after Annia Faustina. E. first married her in year 4 of the Alexandrian coin series (i.e. before September 221), perhaps late in 220; the re-marriage was in year 5, probably between September and November 221; cf. Lederer, *Num. Chron.* (6) 3 (1943) 94-6.

ἱεροῦ παρθενῶνος γυναικα ἔθετο, ἐπιστείλας τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ παραμυθησάμενος ἀσέβημά τε καὶ ἀμάρτημα τηλικούτον, φήσας ἀνθρώπωνόν τι πεπονθέναι πάθος· ἔρωτι γὰρ τῆς κόρης ἔαλωκέναι, ἀρμόζοντά τε καὶ σεβάσιμον εἶναι γάμον ἱερέως τε καὶ ἱερείας. πλὴν καὶ ταύτην αὐ<sup>1</sup> μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπεπέμψατο, τρίτην δὲ πάλιν ἠγάγετο, ἀναφέρουσαν τὸ γένος ἐς Κόμοδον.

3 ἔπαιζε δὲ γάμους οὐ μόνον ἀνθρωπέιους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ ἱεράτευε, γυναικα ἐξήτει· καὶ τῆς τε Παλλάδος τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃ κρυπτόν καὶ ἀόρατον σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάλαμον μετήγαγε· καὶ μὴ κινήθην ἐξ οὐπερ ἦλθεν ἀπὸ Ἰλίου, εἰ μὴ ὅτε πυρὶ κατεφλέχθη ὁ νέως, ἐκίνησεν οὗτος, καὶ πρὸς γάμον δὴ ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλήν τῷ θεῷ  
4 ἀνήγαγε. φήσας δὲ ἀπαρέσκεσθαι αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ὡς πάντα ἐν ὄπλοις καὶ πολεμικῇ θεῷ, τῆς Οὐρανίας τὸ ἄγαλμα μετεπέμψατο, σεβόντων αὐτὸ ὑπερφυῶς Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην

<sup>1</sup> Stroth οὐ Oi om Syll

<sup>2</sup> Gedike αὐτὸν ἢ αὐτῇ g<sup>2</sup> (mg) αὐτῷ Oi

<sup>1</sup> Annia Aurelia Faustina; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 710; daughter of Ti. Claudius Severus Proculus (*cos.* 200) and Annia Faustina (daughter of Ummidius Quadratus, *cos.* 167; cf. 1.8.4n), both parents being related to M. Aurelius; her husband Pomponius Bassus was executed by E. (5.5.3n). Some scandalous detail about this marriage is recounted by Dio 79.5.3-5, but is cut short by a lacuna. The marriage was in Alexandrian year 4

women's quarters of the temple to be installed as his wife. He sent a letter to the senate excusing his great impiety and sin, but saying he had fallen victim to manly passion and was smitten with love for the girl; marriage between a priest and a priestess, he added, was fitting and sacred. However, soon afterwards this girl too was sent away, and he made a third marriage with a woman who traced her family back to Commodus.<sup>1</sup>

It was not just human marriage that he made a mockery of. In an effort to find a wife for the god he served, he transferred the statue of Pallas to his own quarters. This statue is revered by the Romans but kept hidden out of sight and never moved since it came from Troy (apart from when the temple caught fire).<sup>2</sup> Now the emperor moved it and conducted it to the imperial palace to be married, one imagines, to his god. But then he declared that his god was displeased with such a war-like goddess who was always armed, and sent for the statue of Urania who is worshipped widely among the Carthaginians and

(before September 221) and lasted just into year 5 (one coin with this date). Dio (Xiph.) 79.9.4 says there was a fourth and fifth marriage before E. returned to Aquila Severa. If so, they must have been very brief.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1.14.4n; according to Servius (on *Aen.* 7.188) there were seven *pignora* kept in the *penus Vestae*, which included the Palladium and the *ancilia* of the Salii; cf. SHA, *Elag.* 3.4, 6.6-9 (and Magie's note in the Loeb edition). Magie (*ibid.*) suggests that unpopularity in Rome forced E. to abandon the sacred marriage of Pallas (and his own with a Vestal Virgin) and to turn to Carthaginian and Syrian goddesses. The interest in Vesta and the other goddesses was part of the syncretism E. intended, to establish a monotheistic worship of which he was the head and the incarnation.

ἀνθρώπων. φασι δὲ αὐτὸ Διδῶ τὴν Φοίνισσαν ἰδρύσασθαι, ὅτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Καρχηδόνα πόλιν ἔκτισε, βύρσαν κατατεμοῦσα.<sup>1</sup> Λίβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δὲ Ἄστρο-  
 5 ἀρχην<sup>2</sup> ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες. ἀρμό-  
 ζειν τοῖνυν λέγων ὁ Ἄντωνινος γάμον ἡλίου καὶ  
 σελήνης τό τε ἄγαλμα μετεπέμψατο καὶ πάντα τὸν  
 ἐκεῖθεν χρυσόν, χρήματά τε πάμπλειστα τῇ θεῷ<sup>3</sup>  
 ἔς προῖκα δὴ<sup>4</sup> ἐπιδοῦναι ἐκέλευσε. κομισθέν τε  
 τὸ ἄγαλμα συνώκισε<sup>5</sup> δὴ τῷ θεῷ, κελεύσας  
 πάντας τοὺς κατὰ Ῥώμην καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀνθρώπους  
 εὐορτάζειν παντοδαπαῖς τε εὐφροσύναις καὶ εὐχάϊαις  
 χρῆσθαι δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὡς δὴ γαμουόντων  
 θεῶν.

6 κατεσκεύασε<sup>6</sup> δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ νεῶν

<sup>1</sup> Steph -σαν Oi

<sup>3</sup> AP τὴν θεὸν φι

<sup>5</sup> συνωκίσει O

<sup>2</sup> Ἀσάττην Reisk

<sup>4</sup> om O

<sup>6</sup> κατασκευάσαι Oi

<sup>1</sup> Known also as Tanit and *Caelestis Afrorum dea* (cf. Salambo also associated with this goddess, SHA, *Elag.* 7.3). It is possible that Severus had already built a temple to the goddess in Rome (cf. *ILS* 4438 for the temple later, *CAH* XII. 413 (Nock)). *Venus Caelestis* appears on the coins of Julia Soaemias, *BMC* V. cccxxxiii. Child sacrifices, formerly a feature of this Carthaginian cult, are said by Dio to reappear under E. (Xiph.) 79.11—but Dio is very unreliable on the period, and depends chiefly on colourful stories from authors hostile to E.

other people in Libya.<sup>1</sup> Tradition says that Dido the Phoenician set up the statue at the time, presumably when she founded the ancient city of Carthage, after cutting up the hide.<sup>2</sup> The name used by Libyans for the goddess is Urania, by the Phoenicians Astroarche;<sup>3</sup> they would also have it that she is the moon goddess. A marriage between the sun<sup>5</sup> and the moon, Antoninus declared, was very appropriate, and he sent for the statue together with all the gold from her temple. He also issued orders that a very large sum of money should be contributed, supposedly as a dowry. When the statue had been brought, he married it to the god, giving instructions that all the inhabitants of Rome and Italy should celebrate in public and private with all kinds of festivities and banquets, as though this were a real marriage of the gods.

In the outlying district of the city he constructed a 6 vast, magnificent temple<sup>1</sup> to which he brought the

<sup>2</sup> The story is told by Virgil *A.* 1.367-8 describing the founding of Carthage's citadel of Byrsa (Phoenician Bosra), supposedly named after the ceremony of measuring the land with an ox hide (*byrsa*), but the etymology is incorrect. The point of interest here is that, in spite of almost childlike explanations about Roman antiquities earlier, H. expects his readers to understand this reference. The use of *δή* suggests that this is a marginal gloss that has crept into the text, but it may be a sign of incompleteness, cf. 4. 8. 5n.

<sup>3</sup> Astarte (or Astargatis), often called *dea Syria* and like *dea Caelestis* often equated with Magna Mater, Aphrodite, Venus; a moon goddess, whose temple is described by Lucian, *de Syr. dea* 4, not far from Emesa, at Sidon. The goddess was specially venerated by Nero (Suet. *Nero* 56) and, also like *dea Caelestis*, had a temple built at Rome. The spread of oriental cults to the West, often by soldiers, is discussed in *CAH* XII. 427 ff. (Nock).

μέγιστόν τε καὶ πολυτελέστατον, ἐς ὃν ἐκάστων  
 ἔτους κατῆγε<sup>1</sup> τὸν θεὸν ἀκμάζοντος θέρους.  
 πανηγύρεις<sup>2</sup> τε παντοδαπὰς συνεκρότει, ἵππο-  
 δρόμους τε κατασκευάσας καὶ θέατρα,<sup>1</sup> διὰ τε  
 ἡμιοχείας καὶ πάντων θαυμάτων τε καὶ ἀκροαμά-  
 των<sup>3</sup> πλείστων εὐωχοῦμενον τὸν δήμον καὶ παν-  
 νυχίζοντα εὐφραίνεν ᾤετο. τὸν τε θεὸν αὐτὸν  
 ἐπιστήσας ἄρματι χρυσῷ τε καὶ λίθοις τιμιωτάτοις  
 πεποικιλμένῳ<sup>4</sup> κατῆγεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ  
 7 πρόστειον. τὸ δὲ ἄρμα ἦγεν ἐξάπυλον, ἵππων  
 λευκῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ ἀσπίλων, χρυσῷ πολλῷ  
 καὶ φαλάροις ποικίλοις κεκοσμημένων,<sup>5</sup> τὰς τε  
 ἡνίας κατεῖχεν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ<sup>6</sup> τοῦ ἄρματος  
 ἄνθρωπος ἐπέβαινε, αὐτῷ δὲ περιέκειντο ὡς  
 ἡμιοχοῦντι δὴ τῷ θεῷ. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνίνος ἔθεε<sup>7</sup>  
 πρὸ τοῦ ἄρματος ἀναποδίζων ἐς τοῦπίσω, ἔς τε  
 τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπων καὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς ἀντέχων  
 τῶν<sup>8</sup> ἵππων· πᾶσάν τε τὴν ὁδὸν<sup>8</sup> ἦννε τρέχων  
 ἔμπαλιν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφορῶν τε ἐς<sup>9</sup> τὸ πρόσθεν τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> κατάγε (A<sup>1</sup> κατῆγε over κατάγε) O

<sup>2</sup> πανηγύρεις τε καὶ αὐτοῦ παντοδαπὰ συνεκρότει (ἐνεκρότει A)  
 θέατρα κατασκευάσας καὶ θέατρα O

<sup>3</sup> ἀκουσμάτων i <sup>4</sup> P -μένον Oi

<sup>5</sup> AP -μένον Oi (A<sup>1</sup> over correct -μένων)

<sup>6</sup> Σταγ οὐδέτω δὲ Oi τὰς τε ἡνίας κατεῖχεν om P and continues  
*neque enim quisquam mortalium eum inscenderat currum*

<sup>7</sup> ἔθει Mendelssohn <sup>8</sup> τῶν—ὁδὸν om O

<sup>9</sup> ἔμπαλιν ἑαυτοῦ ἦννε τρέχων ἀφορῶντος εἰς A εἰς τὸ  
 πρόσω ἦννε (ἦννε B) τρέχων ἔμπαλιν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφορῶν τε εἰς φ

<sup>1</sup> Nothing else is known of this temple, at one time thought to be in the suburb, *ad spem veterem*, on the eastern side of the city near the Porta Maggiore; this is now discounted, Platner-

god each year at mid-summer. He instituted many different festivals and constructed circuses (for horse-racing) and theatres, imagining that, if he provided chariot races and all kinds of spectacles and entertainments, and if he feasted the people all night long, he would be popular. The god was set up in a chariot studded with gold and precious stones and driven from the city to the suburb.<sup>2</sup> The chariot was<sup>7</sup> drawn by a team of six large, pure white horses which had been decorated with lots of gold and ornamented discs. No human person ever sat in the chariot or held the reins, which were fastened to the god as though he were driving himself. Antoninus ran along in front of the chariot, but facing backwards as he ran looking at the god and holding the bridles of the horses.<sup>3</sup> He ran the whole way backwards like this

Ashby, *Top. Dict. Rome* 199. It was in this district that E. was found by the soldiers in the first mutiny of 221, SHA, *Elag.* 13.5. The only known temple of Elagabalus was on the Palatine (5.5.8n). The short length of E.'s reign gives rise to doubts about the magnificence of such a construction; possibly the towers, mentioned in 5.6.9, were part of the structure like the corner towers of the temple of the sun at Kasr Raba in Arabia, suggests Domaszewski; quoted by Gross, *Real. f. Antike u. Christentum* IV. 995. The temple cannot have been completed much before the mid-summer of 221. Cf. Nash, *Pict. Dict. Anc. Rome* II. 384, for the large villa, amphitheatre and circus built in the gardens of Spes Vetus.

<sup>2</sup> The procession accompanying the black stone is recorded on Roman and Alexandrian coins in 220/1, Vogt, *Alex. Münz-* 1.181 f.; it is possible therefore that H. is only describing a single event (see previous note).

<sup>3</sup> Altheim, *Niedergang d. alt. Welt* II. 268, notes a relief from Palmyra on which a camel is carrying a sacred stone, and the man accompanying the animal is facing backwards.

8 θεοῦ. πρὸς τε τὸ μὴ πταίσει <sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἢ διωλι-  
 σθαίνειν,<sup>2</sup> οὐχ ὀρώντα ὅπου βαίνει, γῆ τε ἢ  
 χρυσίζουσα παμπλείστη ὑπέστρωτο, οἷ τε προ-  
 ασπίζοντες ἐκατέρωθεν ἀντεῖχον, τῆς ἀσφαλείας  
 τοῦ τοιούτου δρόμου προνοούμενοι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος  
 ἐκατέρωθεν παρέθει μετὰ παντοδαπῆς <sup>3</sup> δαδουχίας,  
 στεφάνους καὶ ἄνθη ἐπιρριπτοῦντες· ἀγάλματά τε  
 πάντων θεῶν, καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς ἀνάθημα <ἦ> <sup>4</sup>  
 τίμιον, ὅσα τε τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα ἢ πολυτελεῆ  
 κειμήλια, οἷ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ ὁ <sup>5</sup> στρατὸς πᾶς προ-  
 9 ἐπόμπειον τοῦ θεοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ καταγαγεῖν  
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδρῦσαι ἐν τῷ ναῶ <sup>6</sup> τὰς τε προειρημέναις  
 θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπετέλει, πύργους τε μεγί-  
 στους καὶ ὑψηλοτάτους κατασκευάσας, ἀνιῶν τε  
 ἐπ' αὐτούς,<sup>7</sup> ἐρρίπτει τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἀρπάζειν πᾶσιν  
 ἐπιτρέπων, ἐκπώματά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ  
 ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ὀθόνας παντοδαπάς, ζῶά τε πάντα,  
 ὅσα ἡμερα, πλὴν χοίρων· τούτων γὰρ ἀπέιχετο

<sup>1</sup> πέσαι φ πεσεῖν A

<sup>2</sup> διωλισθαίνει φ-σθέειν A

<sup>3</sup> Steph -oūs Agl -oūs aJo -ās φ

<sup>4</sup> Schwartz <καὶ> Steph τίμιον om Mendelss

<sup>5</sup> om φι

<sup>6</sup> νεῶ A

looking up at the front of the god. But to stop him <sup>8</sup>  
 tripping and falling while he was not looking where  
 he was going, lots of sand gleaming like gold was put  
 down, and his bodyguard supported him on either side  
 to make sure he was safe as he ran like this. Along  
 both sides of the route the people ran with a great  
 array of torches, showering wreaths and flowers on him.  
 In the procession, in front of the god, went images of  
 all the other gods and valuable or precious temple  
 heirlooms. Also the cavalry and all the army joined  
 in.<sup>1</sup> After the god had been conducted and installed in <sup>9</sup>  
 the temple, the emperor carried out the festival  
 sacrifices described above. Then he climbed on to  
 some very large high towers that had been con-  
 structed <sup>2</sup> and threw down on to the crowd, for any-  
 one to catch, gold and silver cups, all kinds of clothes  
 and fine, linen garments and every kind of domestic  
 animal,<sup>3</sup> except pigs, which he did not touch by

<sup>1</sup> Obviously of the Roman garrison only.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 5.6.6n.

<sup>3</sup> A practice of Gaius and Nero at the circus; the larger  
 objects were obviously distributed by tokens (*missilia*); cf.  
 Suet. *Gains*. 18.2, *Nero* 11.2, SHA, *Elag*. 22.2 (calls them *sortes*).  
 Although these distributions are said to be for the sport of  
 seeing people scramble, they were also a means of reaching a  
 lower-class public than the *plebs frumentaria* who benefited  
 from the *congiaria*; E. distributed a *congiarium* every year of  
 his reign. See van Berchem, *Distribution de Blé et d'Argent*  
 129 and 161. The event described here took place, according  
 to SHA, *Elag*. 8.3, on E.'s entry into his consulship (i.e. either  
 January 220—*cos.* III, or 222—*cos.* IV), but H. is explicitly  
 contradictory, saying mid-summer was the date.

<sup>7</sup> αὐτοῦ Vg αὐτοῖς al

10 Φοινίκων νόμῳ. ἐν δὴ ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς πολλοὶ διεφθείροντο, ὑπὸ τε ἀλλήλων πατούμενοι καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τῶν στρατιωτῶν<sup>1</sup> περιπίπτοντες, ὡς τὴν ἐκείνου ἐορτὴν πολλοῖς φέρειν συμφορὰν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐβλέπετο πολλὰκις ἡμιοχῶν ἢ ὀρχούμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ λανθάνειν ἤθελεν ἀμαρτάνων. προῆει τε ὑπογραφόμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς περειαὶς ἐρυθραίων,<sup>2</sup> φύσει τε πρόσωπον ὠραῖον ὑβρίζων βαφαῖς ἀσχήμοισιν.

7. ὀρώσα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Μαῖσα, ὑποπτεύουσα τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπαρέσκεσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ τοῦ βασιλέως βίῳ, καὶ δεδοικυῖα μὴ τι ἐκείνου παθόντος πάλιν ἰδιωτεύῃ, πείθει αὐτόν, κούφον ἄλλως καὶ ἄφρονα νεανίαν, θέσθαι υἱὸν Καίσαρά τε<sup>3</sup> ἀποδεῖξαι<sup>4</sup> τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀνεψιὸν ἐκείνης δὲ

<sup>1</sup> στρατῶν i

<sup>2</sup> ἐρυθραίων AJo

<sup>3</sup> Steph δὲ Oi

<sup>4</sup> καίσι, τε ἀποδεῖξαι om P

<sup>1</sup> The worship of Elagabalus, like that of most semitic cults, demanded abstention from pork, circumcision and other rituals of purification and orgiastic mysticism; the Galli of Astartis and Cybele castrated themselves; temple prostitution and homosexuality were common; astrology and astronomy and the reliance on Chaldean *magi* were at the heart of the solar cults; cf. *CAH* XI. 643 ff. (Cumont). None of the sources attempts to make any sense of the lurid and obscene tales about E. which fall within these rituals; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 79.11.1-2, 79.13.2-4, 79.17.1 (cf. Leo, p. 287), SHA, *Elag.* 5.1-6.5, 8.1-2, 8.6, 24.2, etc. The origin of these stories is only conjectural and obviously more than one (ex *Gracis Latinisque*, SHA, *Elag.* 35.1, 18.4); Marius Maximus is mentioned (SHA, *Elag.* 11.6) and was probably hostile after

Phoenician law.<sup>1</sup> In the scramble lots of people were 10 killed, trampled to death by one another or impaled on the spears of the soldiers. Thus the festival of Elagabalus was fatal for many people. The emperor himself was often to be seen driving his chariot or dancing,<sup>2</sup> making no attempt to conceal his vices. He used to go out with painted eyes and rouge on his cheeks,<sup>3</sup> spoiling his natural good looks by using disgusting make-up.

7. As she viewed these developments, Maesa suspected that the soldiers were revolted by this kind of behaviour by the emperor.<sup>4</sup> Her fears were that, if anything happened to him, she would again be reduced to the status of an ordinary person. So, since he was in most matters a thoughtless, silly young man, she persuaded him by flattery to adopt and appoint as

to being dismissed from the office of *praefectus urbi*; Claudius Aelianus, the sophist author, wrote an *Indictment of Gynnus* after E.'s death (Philos. *VS* 2.31.625(01)); cf. Barbieri, *RFC* 32 (1954) 65.

<sup>2</sup> E. drove in the uniform of the Greens, Dio (Xiph.) 79.14.2. For E.'s dancing, see SHA, *Elag.* 32.8, and Dio (Xiph.) 79.14.3. A number of E.'s favourites were charioteers and athletes.

<sup>3</sup> For the phrase, cf. Pollux, 5.102, Lucian, *Bis Acc.* 31, Athen. *Deipn.* 12.7.529A. But H. may have in mind a classical model like Xen. *Cyrop.* 1.3.2. Various materials were used for cosmetics—such as antimony (*stibium*) on the eyes, and on the face the root of anchusa and white lead (*psimythion*).

<sup>4</sup> The cult of *sol* was not offensive in itself, since it continued to be popular; the coinage of Severus Alexander continues to show the predominance of the cult (though not connected with Elagabalus), *BMC* VI. 30. The chief cause of the soldiers' complaint was over the extraordinary appointments of E. and the influence of men like Hierocles and Zoticus (5.7.6n); Dio (Xiph.) 79.16.1, SHA, *Elag.* 15.1-2.



ἔγγονον<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας θυγατρὸς Μαμαίας,  
<sup>2</sup> εἰποῦσα αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα, ὡς ἄρα χρηρῆ ἐκεῖνον  
 μὲν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ σχολάζειω τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 βακχεΐαις καὶ ὀργίοις τοῖς τε θείοις ἔργοις ἀνακει-  
 μενον, εἶναι δὲ ἕτερον τὸν τὰ ἀνθρώπεια διοικοῦντα,  
 ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ παρέξοντα τῆς βασιλείας τὸ ἀνενόητόν  
 τε καὶ ἀμέριμνον· μὴ δεῖν τοίνυν ξένον ζητεῖν  
 μηδ' ἀλλότριον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνεψιῷ ταῦτα ἐγχειρίσαι.  
<sup>3</sup> μετονομάζεται δὴ ὁ Ἀλεξιανός, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος  
 καλεῖται, παραχθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ παππῶου<sup>2</sup> ὀνόμα-  
 τος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνοσ ὡς πάνυ τε ἐνδόξου καὶ  
 τιμηθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δοκοῦντος πατρὸς ἀμφοτέρων  
 εἶναι· τὴν <γὰρ><sup>3</sup> Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Σεβήρου  
 παιδὸς μοιχείαν ἀμφότεραι αἱ Μαισῆς θυγατέρες  
 αὐτῆ τε ἢ πρεσβύτις ἐσεμύνετο πρὸς τὸ τοὺς  
 στρατιώτας στέργειν τοὺς παῖδας, υἱοὺς<sup>4</sup> ἐκεῖνου  
 δοκοῦντας εἶναι.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἔγγονον Ai<sup>2</sup> Sylb πάππου Oi<sup>3</sup> Steph<sup>4</sup> υἱός—εἶναι om P υἱός om I

<sup>1</sup> The formal adoption took place in the senate, and seems to have had full juridical validity (whatever the political intentions); cf. Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 13-14. The date of the event is disputed; a lacunose reading in the *Feriale Duranum* shows the date as probably 26th June 221; [*vi kal.] iulias quod dominus nost[er] [m]arcus aure[us] iulius severus alex[ander] cae[sar] appe[llat]us sit*; A. also assumed the  *toga virilis* on the same day, though not yet in his fourteenth year. But *CIL* VI. 3069 is a dedication by the *vigiles* to *imperatores* (sic) *Antonino et Alex[essandro]* which is dated 1st June 221—possibly an error or back-dated. *CIL* VI. 2001 shows A.'s co-option into the *sodales Antoniniani* on the 10th July. Coins showing M. Aurelius Alexander Caesar and *princeps*

Caesar his cousin, her own grandchild by her daughter Mamaea. Her argument was that of course the emperor should keep himself free to carry out his priestly office and worship the god, since he was dedicated to his ecstatic and orgiastic rites and his divine duties. Someone else should look after worldly affairs so as to leave him free from the cares and worries of the principate. This being so, rather than looking for an outsider from another family, the task should be put in the hands of his cousin.<sup>1</sup> Alexianus changed his name from that inherited from his grandfather to Alexander,<sup>2</sup> the name of the Macedonian so admired and honoured by the alleged father of the two cousins. Both the daughter of Maesa, and the old lady herself, used to boast of the adultery of Antoninus (Severus' son), to make the troops think the boys were his sons and so favour them.

*iuventutis* are undated, but are probably from 221 to 222, *BMC* V. cexl, 571, 614. The tradition that A. was made Caesar in 218 (e.g. SHA, *Alex.* 1.2, Victor *Caes.* 23.3) is erroneous; cf. Jardé, *Études . . . Sévère Alexandre* II.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 5.3.3n for A.'s name; Perhaps H.'s information is garbled and, although he knew A. was named after his grandfather, he was unaware that the common name was Bassianus. But "grandfather" here may mean "ancestor", since Alexianus or Alexio was a dynastic name of the Emesene priest-kings. If so, H. appears unaware that Alexander was already an accepted Hellenized alternative; cf. C. Julius Alexio, father of C. Julius Samsigeramus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 143), C. Julius Avitus Alexianus, perhaps a brother of Mamaea (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 192), Alexander, king of Emesa and brother of Iamblichus who gained Roman citizenship from Augustus (Dio 51.2.2). Note that the Julius Alexander, executed by Commodus for conspiracy, was also from Emesa, Dio (Xiph.) 72.14.1, SHA, *Comm.* 8.3. The name was proposed by E.

4 ἀποδείκνυται δὴ <sup>1</sup> Καῖσαρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὑπατός τε σὺν αὐτῷ <sup>2</sup> Ἀντωνίνῳ. κατελθὼν τε εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ταῦτα ἐκύρωσε, γελιοῦτάτα ψηφισαμένων πάντων ἃ ἐκελεύοντο, <sup>3</sup> πατέρα μὲν ἐκείνον δοκεῖν ἔτη γεγονότα περί που <sup>4</sup> ἑκκαίδεκα, <sup>5</sup> τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ υἱὸν τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἐπιβαίνοντα. ὡς δὲ Καῖσαρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπεδείχθη, ὁ Ἀντωνίνος αὐτὸν ἐβούλετο τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδεύειν ἐπιτηδεύματα, ὀρχεῖσθαι τε καὶ χορεύειν τῆς τε ἱερωσύνης κοινωνεῖν καὶ σχήμασι καὶ ἔργοις ὁμοίοις. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτὸν ἢ Μαμαία ἀπῆγγε μὲν τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ ἀπρεπῶν βασιλευσὶν ἔργων, διδασκάλους δὲ <sup>6</sup> πάσης παιδείας λάθρα μετεπέμπετο, τοῖς τε σώφροσιν αὐτὸν ἤσκει μαθήμασι, παλαιότραις τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρῶν γυμνασίοις εἶθιζε, παιδεῖαν τε τῆν

<sup>1</sup> P δὲ Oi

<sup>2</sup> τῷ i

<sup>3</sup> ἐκελεύετο O

<sup>4</sup> περί που om V

<sup>5</sup> ἑκκαίδεκατον (ἐξκ. A ἐξκ. B) O *quatuordecim* P

<sup>6</sup> Bergl τε OiJo

<sup>1</sup> The joint consulship was in 222. A.'s exact status is not clear. Military *diplomata* of 7th January 222 record A. with the *praenomen imperatoris* as well as the title of Caesar; *AE* (1964) 269 confirming *CIL* XVI. 140, 141; Dušanić, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 490, believes the reading *imper. Caes.* is a genitive referring to E., but cf. *CIL* XVI. 135 (Severus and Caracalla in 208) for a parallel. I agree with Forni, *Archiv. stor. Lodigiano* (1959) 12 ff., and Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 3 f., that A.'s name on the *diplomata* argues a legal status with secondary *imperium*. Cf. 5.7.5n for *consors imperii*. A.'s name alone on edicts as *imp. Alexander* before E.'s death (*Cod. Just.* 9.1.3, 4.44.1, 8.44.6) might be a retrospective addition.

<sup>2</sup> The ages given here are inconsistent with those in 5.3.3; the former ages are partially confirmed by Dio (Xiph.) 79.20.2

Alexander was appointed Caesar and shared the <sup>4</sup> consulship with Antoninus.<sup>1</sup> When the latter entered the senate to have it ratified, everyone made a complete farce of it by voting as they were told and declaring the emperor himself to be a father at his age of about sixteen, and Alexander his son, when now in his twelfth year.<sup>2</sup> After Alexander's appointment as Caesar, Antoninus wanted him to be trained in his own pursuits of leaping and dancing, and to share in his priesthood by wearing the same dress and following the same practices. But his <sup>5</sup> mother, Mamaea,<sup>3</sup> removed him from contact with such activities which were shameful and unbecoming for emperors. In private she summoned teachers of all the arts, and trained him in the exercise of self-control, introducing him to the wrestling schools and manly exercises, and gave him both a Latin and a

who says E. was eighteen when he died (in March 222). Although there are some verbal similarities between this passage (especially 5.7.1) and Dio (Xiph.) 79.17.2 ff., in his account Dio expressly states that his information is second-hand (Dio (Xiph.) 80.1.2 ff.). According to Dio's account it was E. who made a farce of the occasion, not the senate.

<sup>3</sup> Although later Christian writers praise Julia Mamaea for her care of A. (e.g. Nicephoras Callistus 5.17), they are biased in her favour by her supposed conversion to Christianity (Syncell. 1.675 (B), Orosius 7.18.7), a story based on her contact with Origen (Euseb. *HE* 6.21, etc., though the date was not in 226 but 231-3). All sources make clear that the dominant influence at this stage was Maesa, whose sponsorship of A. was part of a palace struggle to overthrow Soaemias and E.; Herzog, *RE* (Julia Maesa) 942-3. Thus Ulpian was probably the choice of Maesa, not Mamaea (cf. SHA, *Alex.* 51.4) and advanced to become *praefectus annonae* (*Cod. Just.* 8.37.4 dated a few days after E.'s death) and tutor to A. until removed by E. (see below).

Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαίδευεν. ἐφ' οἷς Ἀντωνῖνος πάνυ ἤσχαλλε, καὶ μετεγίνωσκε θέμενος αὐτὸν υἱὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς. τοὺς τε οὖν διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπεσόβει τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς, τινάς τε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν οὓς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν, αἰτίας γελοιοτάτας ἐπιφέρων, ὡς διαφθείροιεν αὐτῷ τὸν δοκοῦντα υἱόν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντες χορευεῖν ἢ βακχεύεσθαι, σαφρονίζοντες<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν διδάσκοντες.<sup>1</sup> ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐξώκειλε παρουνίας<sup>2</sup> ὡς πάντα<sup>3</sup> τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν δημοσίων θεάτρων μεταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν βασιλικῶν πράξεις, καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατοπέδοις ἔπαρχον ἐπιστήσασαι ὀρχηστὴν τινα γεγονότα καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> Mendels -οντας Oī

<sup>2</sup> παρουνίας i

<sup>3</sup> ὡς ἂν πάντα Jo ὡς δὴ πάντα Suda

<sup>1</sup> SHA, *Alex.* 3.2-3, provides a list of teachers, but the whole of the *vita* has to be treated with great caution, because of its tendentious and "programmatically" features (cf. especially Baynes, *The Historia Augusta* 57-67, 118-44, even if his thesis is unproven, Momigliano, *Studies in Historiography* 158-9, 171). One name provided is Julius Frontinus, perhaps the sophist, Fronto of Ēmesa, centre of a literary group in Athens during H.'s time of writing; also he was a teaching rival of Philostratus, *Suda* s.v. Φρόντων, Wellmann, *RE* (Fronto 13). Another is said to be Scaurinus, perhaps the son of L. Verus' tutor. The name of Silvinius is given by SHA, *Elag.* 16.4, as one who was executed. Possibly Ulpian, the later prefect, was employed at this stage too (cf. SHA, *Alex.* 51.4, *pro tutore habuit* and *Cod. Just.* 4.65.4.1, naming him as *parens meus*), but was driven away by E.; SHA, *Elag.* 16.4.

<sup>2</sup> The title *consors imperii* has been proposed for the lacuna in *CIL* VI. 2001 and the military *diplomata* (5.7.4n), but *AE* (1964) 269 contains the curious title *Caesar(ar) imperii(i) et sacer-*

Greek education.<sup>1</sup> Antoninus was absolutely furious about this and regretted the adoption of Alexander and his participation in the empire.<sup>2</sup> He cleared out all Alexander's teachers from the court, executing some of the extremely distinguished ones and driving others into exile. Ridiculous charges were brought against them, that they were corrupting his adopted son by not allowing him to dance or go into a frenzy, but teaching him moderation and manly arts. The emperor was driven to such extremes of lunacy that he took men from the stage and the public theatres and put them in charge of most important imperial business.<sup>3</sup> A man, who in his youth had

*dotis co(n)s(ul)*; explained by Dušanić, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 495 ff., as a special title "Caesar of the state and Elagabalus," but what does this mean? Far easier to assume the omission of *consors* by haplography. If so, this confirms H. here and 5.7.4 (a share in the priesthood), and adds support to the argument that A. held some kind of secondary *imperium*. Cf. *Orac. Sib.* 12.269 (ἐνθ' ὅτε νηπιόχλος Καῖσαρ δὸν τῷ βασιλευδῆ).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 5.5.3n for some of the appointments as rewards to supporters after the fall of Macrinus (Dio (Xiph.) 79.15.3); these were mostly equestrian posts. Names and details of the more extraordinary appointments are provided by Dio (Xiph.) 79.15-16, 79.21, SHA, *Elag.* 6.1-5, 10.2 ff., 11.1, 12.1, 15.1-2. Protagenes (charioteer) became a close associate, Cordius (or Gordius) (charioteer) became *praefectus vigilum*, Aurelius Zoticus Avitus (son of a cook) became a *cubiculo*, though later dismissed and possibly appeared again under Alexander as *nomenclator a censibus* (*CIL* XIV. 3553, Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 59), Claudius (barber) became *praefectus annonae*, perhaps in place of Ulpian when he was dismissed in 221, Aurelius Eubulus became *procurator summarum rerum*, a mule driver, a courier, a locksmith became *procuratores vicesim. heredit.*; above all, Hierocles (charioteer) was considered as a candidate for Caesar. It is almost impossible to tell which of these appointments are genuine.

Ῥωμαίων θεάτρῳ ὀρηγσάμενον, ὅτε ἦν νέος·  
 7 πάλιν δὲ ἕτερον ὁμοίως <ἐκ><sup>1</sup> τῆς σκηνῆς  
 βαστάσας,<sup>2</sup> παιδείας τῶν νέων καὶ εὐκοσμίας τῆς  
 τε ὑποστάσεως<sup>3</sup> τῶν<sup>4</sup> ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλήν  
 ἢ τὸ ἵππικὸν τάγμα κατατασσομένων προέστησεν.  
 ἠνιόχοις τε καὶ κωμωδοῖς καὶ μίμων ὑποκριταῖς  
 τὰς μεγίστας τῶν βασιλείων πίστεων ἐνεχείρισε.  
 τοῖς<sup>5</sup> δὲ δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀπελευθέρους, ὡς ἔτυχεν  
 ἕκαστος ἐπ' αἰσχρῶ τινὶ εὐδοκίμῆσας,<sup>6</sup> τὰς  
 ὑπατικὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξουσίας ἐνεχείρισε.<sup>5</sup>

8. πάντων δὲ οὕτως τῶν πάλαι δοκούντων  
 σεμνῶν ἐς ὕβριν καὶ παροιμίαν ἐκβεβακχευμένων,

<sup>1</sup> Stav <ἀπὸ> Steph

<sup>2</sup> ἀποστήσας Stroth

<sup>3</sup> ἐξετάσεως Sylb

<sup>4</sup> Sylb τῆς Oi

<sup>5</sup> τοῖς—ἐνεχείρισε om O

<sup>6</sup> ἕκαστοις . . . εὐδοκίμασαι i but corrected from P

<sup>1</sup> A clear reference to P. Valerius Comazon (Eutychianus?); Hanslik, *RE* (Valerius 134); probably from a family of professional dancers and actors, if the name is correct, though he may not have actually been one himself, since he served, when young (in the fleet?), in Thrace c. 181–3, where he was punished by Claudius Attalus (3.1.6n); later he gained influence at court (probably accounting for the term *Caesarianus* applied to him) and rose to be “prefect of the camp”—either *praefectus castrorum* or prefect of the Parthian legion (cf. 5.4.4n; Howe, *Praet. Pref.* 97 ff., wrongly c. 182). In 218 he was made praetorian prefect, and in 219 adlected *inter consulares* replacing Marius Maximus as urban prefect; he was consul in 220 (*cos. II* in *CIL* VI. 866 probably on the basis of his earlier *ornamenta consularia*), but replaced by Leon as

been a dancer in public in the theatre at Rome, was appointed military prefect.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, another was<sup>7</sup> raised from the stage and put in charge of the training and morals of the youth and the census qualifications of members of the senatorial and equestrian orders.<sup>2</sup> He assigned positions of the highest responsibility in the empire to charioteers and comedy actors and mimers. His slaves and freedmen, who perhaps excelled in some foul activity, he appointed as governors of consular provinces.<sup>3</sup>

8. When all that was once held in respect was reduced in this way to a state of dishonour and frenzied madness, everyone, and particularly the soldiers,

urban prefect (Dio (Xiph.) 79.14.2, though no date); a second tenure of the urban prefecture followed, perhaps in 221, but he was replaced by Fulvius (Diogenianus?; cf. 5.8.8n), whom he in turn replaced in A.’s reign.

<sup>2</sup> The function of *praefectura morum*, inherent in the censorial powers of the emperor (cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 45.4–6) was given to a *procurator ad census* (or a *censibus*; the terms are synonymous; cf. *ILS* 1387 and *AE* (1945) 80, against Hirschfeld, *Kais. Verwalt.* 67n); this officer appears under the Antonines, but his grade was enhanced by Severus to eliminate equestrian opposition (cf. 2.11.6n, though Oliver, *AJP* 67 (1946) 316, doubts any new function). E. possibly extended this equestrian officer’s functions to review senators also.

<sup>3</sup> This seems an exaggeration; slaves and freedmen certainly attained a degree of social mobility hitherto unprecedented, but I can find no example of a freedman appointed directly to a consular province; but there are some unusual appointments, such as that of Claudius Aelius Pollio, from centurion to governor of Germania Inferior (Dio 78.40.1—the executioner of Diadumenianus) Dio 79.3.1, *CIL* XIII. 6807. Cf. Stein, *Ritterstand* 206 and 262, for the breakdown of distinctions between senators and equestrians, though the tendency to adlect and use equestrian procurators for military commands had been growing.

οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ στρα-  
 τιώται ἤχθοντο καὶ ἐδυσφόρου· ἐμυσάττοντο δὲ  
 αὐτὸν ὀρώντες τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον καλλωπιζόμενον  
 περιεργότερον ἢ κατὰ γυναικα σώφρονα, περι-  
 δεραίοις δὲ χρυσίοις<sup>1</sup> ἐσθήσι τε ἀπαλαῖς ἀνδρῶς  
 κοσμούμενον, ὀρχούμενόν τε οὕτως ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων  
 2 ὄρασθαι. ἐπιρρεπεστέρας τοίνυν τὰς γνώμας πρὸς  
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον, καὶ ἐλπίδας κρείττους ἐν  
 παιδί κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως ἀνατρεφομένῳ.<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐφρούρου τε αὐτὸν παντοίως ὀρώντες ἐπιβουλεύ-  
 ὀμενε ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου. ἦ τε μήτηρ Μαμαία  
 οὔτε ποτὸν οὔτε ἐδώδιμόν τι εἶα τὸν παῖδα  
 προσφέρεσθαι τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεμπομένων· ὄψο-  
 ποιῶν τε καὶ οἰνοχοῶν ὁ παῖς ἐχρήτο οὐ τοῖς  
 βασιλικοῖς καὶ ἐν κοινῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τυγχάνουσιν,  
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπιλεχθεῖσι πιστοτάτοις  
 3 τε εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ χρήματα λαμβά-  
 νουσα διανέμεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις κρύβδην, ὅπως  
 αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὖνοιαν καὶ διὰ  
 χρημάτων, ἐς ἃ μάλιστα ἀποβλέπουσιν, οἰκει-  
 ὴσηται.<sup>3</sup>

ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πυνθανόμενος παντὶ  
 τρῶπῳ ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ  
 αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς πάσας ἀπέιργε τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> χρυσοῖς Jo<sup>2</sup> ἀναστρεφ. O<sup>3</sup> -σεται O

<sup>1</sup> The account of the palace struggle between Soaemias and Maesa is given by SHA, *Elag.* 13-15, a section of the *vita* which is circumstantial and generally believed to be accurate; Lambert, *RE* (Varius 10) 402-3, Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 10 ff.

began to grow bitterly angry. They were revolted at the sight of the emperor with his face made up more elaborately than a modest woman would have done, and effeminately dressed up in golden necklaces and soft clothes, dancing for everyone to see in this state. So they inclined more favourably to-<sup>2</sup> wards Alexander, expecting better things of a boy who was receiving such a modest and serious education. And, realizing that Antoninus was plotting against the boy, they kept a close watch over him. Mamaea, his mother, would not allow him to taste any food or drink sent by the emperor. The boy did not make use of cooks and cupbearers who were in general employment in the palace—only men selected by Mamaea and approved for their complete loyalty. Mamaea also privately handed over some<sup>3</sup> money for a clandestine distribution to the soldiers. In this way she hoped to capture the loyalty of the soldiers with money as well, always the most attractive inducement for the men.<sup>1</sup>

When Antoninus discovered this activity he began a full-scale campaign to plot against Alexander and his mother. But all his plans were frustrated and checked by Maesa, the two young men's grand-

If so, the first mutiny of the soldiers took place in late 221. It seems probable also that the dismissal of Ulpian (5.7.5n), Zoticus (whose name Avitus shows he was a freedman of Maesa) and Comazon (5.7.6n) had all taken place in 221 in an attempt by E. and Soaemias to supersede the authority of Maesa. Although E. was saved by the intervention of the praetorian prefect, Antiochianus (otherwise unknown), he was forced to dismiss some of his favourites, acknowledge A. as his true Caesar (i.e. not Hierocles, 5.7.6n) and permit a special guard for A., Mamaea and Maesa.

ἐκώλυεν <sup>1</sup> ἢ κοινὴ μάμμη ἀμφοτέρων Μαίσα, γυνὴ  
καὶ ἄλλως ἐντρεχῆς καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ αὐτῇ πολλῶν  
ἐτῶν ἐνδιατηθεῖσα [ἄτε τῆς Σεβήρου γυναικὸς  
Ἰουλίας ἀδελφῆ γενομένη καὶ τὰ πάντα σὺν αὐτῇ  
<sup>4</sup> ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρέψασα].<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν οὖν αὐτὴν  
ἐλάνθανε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου βουλευομένων,  
φύσει τε χαίνου τὸν τρόπον ὄντος, καὶ ἀφειδῶς  
πάντα καὶ φανερώς ἃ ἐβουλεύετο λέγοντος καὶ  
πράττοντος. ὡς δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ οὐ  
προεχώρει, παραλῦσαι τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμῆς  
ἠθέλησε τὸν παῖδα, καὶ οὔτε ἐν ταῖς προσαγο-  
ρεύσειν <sup>3</sup> οὔτε ἐν ταῖς προόδοις Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι  
<sup>5</sup> ἐωρᾶτο.<sup>4</sup> οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπέζητουν τε αὐτόν,  
καὶ ἠγανάκτουν ὅτι δὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλυθείη.  
διεσκέδασε δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίνος καὶ φήμην ὡς τοῦ  
Ἀλεξάνδρου τεθνήξασθαι μέλλοντος, ἐποιεῖτό τε  
ἀπόπειραν ὅπως οἴσουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ θρυ-  
λούμενον. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ μήτε <sup>5</sup> τὸν παῖδα ἔβλεπον  
ὑπὸ τε τῆς φήμης τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτρώθησαν, ἀγανακτῆ-  
σαντες οὔτε τὴν συνήθη φρουρὰν ἔπεμψαν τῷ  
Ἀντωνίνῳ, κατακλείσαντές τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ  
στρατοπέδῳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν <τῷ> <sup>6</sup> ἱερῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπεσώβει O

<sup>2</sup> interpol conj Mendelss cf. 5.3.2, 5.3.10

<sup>3</sup> προαγορ. Ai

<sup>4</sup> AJo ἐτιμάτο φι

<sup>5</sup> μηκέτι Sylb

<sup>6</sup> Sylb

mother. She was a woman who, in addition to being enterprising had many years of experience of living at the imperial palace [as the sister of Julia, Severus' wife with whom she spent her entire time at the palace].<sup>1</sup> She missed none of Antoninus' machina- <sup>4</sup> tions, since his behaviour was naturally unsubtle and he was totally indiscreet about his plans in words and actions. With the failure of his contrivances, Antoninus planned to remove the boy from his position as Caesar, and no longer was he to be seen at public salutations or at the head of processions.<sup>2</sup> But the <sup>5</sup> soldiers demanded his presence, and were angry that he had been removed (so they said) from power. Antoninus spread a report to the effect that Alexander was on the point of dying, in an attempt to see how the soldiers would take the rumour. Since they failed to see the boy and were deeply upset by the news, the soldiers angrily refused to mount their usual guard over Antoninus. They shut themselves up in the camp and demanded Alexander's visible presence at their

<sup>1</sup> The repetitive phrase τὰ πάντα . . . βασιλείοις, and the use of a very similar phrase in 5.3.2 and 5.3.10 make it probable that Mendelssohn is correct in regarding this as a gloss.

<sup>2</sup> E. regretted the adoption and attempted to abrogate A.'s title of Caesar; after the first mutiny of the soldiers (see above) he continued to intrigue against A., and refused to participate in the consular procession on 1st January 222, when both were consuls, and should have been formally inducted at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol. H., as he frequently does, generalizes from a particular incident. Coins of 222 show the *processus consularis* but E. and A. appear separately and alone; the cold war between the two extended to their rival *officinae* in the minting of coins; cf. *BMC V.* ccxli, 614-15, nos. 453, 456.

6 ἤξιόν ιδεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἐν δέει πολλῶ  
 γενόμενος, παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, συγκαθ-  
 εσθεῖς αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ φορέϊω, ὅπερ διὰ <sup>1</sup>  
 χρυσοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ λίθων τιμίων πεποίκιλτο,  
 κατήλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον [σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρῳ].<sup>2</sup> ὡς δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέξαντο  
 αὐτοὺς ἕς τε τὸν νεῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἦγαγον,  
 τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερφύως ἠσπάζοντό τε καὶ  
 7 εὐφήμιον, τῷ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ ἀμελέστερον προσεφέ-  
 ροντο. ἐφ' οἷς ἐκείνος ἀνακατῶν, καὶ διανυκτε-  
 ρεύσας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, πάνυ ἠσχαλλε  
 καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠργίζετο· ἐκέλευέ <sup>3</sup> τε τοὺς  
 παρασήμους <sup>4</sup> καὶ ὑπερφύως τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 εὐφημήσαντας, τοὺς δὲ <sup>5</sup> αἰτίους δῆθεν στάσεως  
 8 καὶ θορύβου, συλλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς τιμωρίαν. οἱ  
 δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀνακατήσαντες, ἄλλως  
 μὲν μισοῦντες τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ ἀποσκευάσασθαι  
 θέλοντες ἀσχημονοῦντα βασιλέα, τότε δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
 συλλαμβανομένοις <sup>6</sup> ἐπαμύνειν δεῖν ἠγούμενοι, και-  
 ρὸν εὐκαιρον καὶ πρόφασιν δικαίαν νομίζοντες, τὸν  
 μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα Σοαιμίδα  
 (παρῆν γὰρ ὡς Σεβαστή τε καὶ μήτηρ) ἀναιροῦσι,

<sup>1</sup> δῆ 1<sup>3</sup> ἐκέλευσε AJo<sup>5</sup> δὲ om Agl ὡς instead of τοὺς δὲ Steph τοὺς—θορύβου  
 spurious? Mendelss<sup>2</sup> del Whit<sup>4</sup> σ<sup>2</sup> (mg) παρασήμους Oi<sup>6</sup> AJo λαμβ. φί

shrine.<sup>1</sup> Antoninus in absolute terror got hold of Alex- 6  
 ander, sat beside him in the imperial litter, (which was  
 richly inlaid with gold and precious stones) and went  
 to the camp [with the boy]. The soldiers opened  
 the gates to receive them, before conducting  
 them to the camp shrine. But, whereas they greeted  
 Alexander with enthusiastic shouts of good wishes,  
 they ignored Antoninus. He was furious at such 7  
 treatment, and, after spending a night fuming and  
 raging at the soldiers in the camp shrine, he began to  
 issue orders that those who had openly and enthusi-  
 astically acclaimed Alexander should be seized for  
 punishment, as well as those supposedly guilty of  
 sedition and riot. This inflamed the soldiers, who were 8  
 already antagonistic to Antoninus and anxious to be  
 rid of an emperor who was a disgrace. Now they  
 also thought that they should give help to those  
 who were being held as prisoners. Believing the  
 opportunity was right and their case just, they  
 killed Antoninus and Soaemis (who was with him as  
 Augusta and his mother) and all his retinue<sup>2</sup> that

is illustrated on a coin of Claudius, and a priest is recorded on  
*ILS* 2090. The increased importance of the cult of Mars in  
 this period inside the camp was perhaps a reaction to the  
 oriental cults (like that of Elagabalus) being introduced out-  
 side. The demand for A.'s presence at the shrine therefore  
 had a special point. See Durry, *Cohortes prēt.* 321-3 and  
 pl. III B (a coin of Claudius).

<sup>2</sup> With E. were killed Hierocles, Aurelius Eubulus, Fulvius  
 (Diogenianus?) the urban prefect, and the praetorian prefects;  
 Dio 79.21.1. The names of the prefects are not certain;  
 Antiochianus (5.8.3n) may still have been in office; another  
 possible man is one whose name has been lost (. . . atus) but  
 who had been a close supporter of E. since 218, Pflaum,  
*Carrières*, no. 293.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 4.4.5; the temple of Mars, where the standards and the  
 statues of the emperors were kept, Tac. *H.* 1.36. The temple

τούς τε περὶ αὐτὸν πάντας, ὅσοι ἔνδον κατελήφθησαν<sup>1</sup> ὑπέρεται τε καὶ συνεργοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. τὰ δὲ σώματα τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου καὶ τῆς Σοαιμίδος παρέδωσαν σύρειν τε καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν τοῖς βουλομένοις· ἅπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ πάσης<sup>2</sup> τῆς πόλεως συρέντα τε καὶ λωβηθέντα ἐς τοὺς ὄχετοὺς ἀπερρίφθη<sup>3</sup> τοὺς ἐς τὸν Θύβριν ποταμὸν ῥέοντας.

10 Ἀντωνίνος μὲν οὖν ἐς ἕκτον ἔτος ἐλάσας τῆς βασιλείας καὶ χρυσάμενος τῷ προειρημένῳ βίῳ,

<sup>1</sup> ΔΤο κατελείφ. φι and Α<sup>1</sup> (over ἦ)

<sup>2</sup> μέσης Το

<sup>3</sup> -ερρίφη ΔΤο

<sup>1</sup> From H.'s language, one would expect this to mean that the supporters had entered the camp with E. Dio (Xiph.) 79.20.1 seems to confirm H. that the murder of the emperor, his mother and the supporters took place in the camp, but SHA, *Elag.* 17.1, says that the assassination happened in the palace (a reliable section of the *vita*). H. almost ignores the importance of Soaemias, yet much of the crisis of 221 was probably due to her attempts to shake off the influence of Maesa, who now sponsored Mamaea and Alexander. Right up to the last the two sisters were vying for the favour of the soldiers (Dio, *ibid.*). Soaemias appeared in the senate when A. was named as Caesar (Dio (Xiph.) 79.17.2); she is named on inscriptions as *mater Augusti* (e.g. *AE* (1954) 28—an erased name), as *consors imperii* (*AE* (1936) 39) and perhaps even as *mater senatus* (*AE* (1956) 144, Benario, *TAPA* 90 (1959) 11 ff.), an obvious challenge to Maesa's position.

were caught inside,<sup>1</sup> who were thought to be the attendants and confederates in his crimes. The 9 bodies of Antoninus and Soaemis were handed over to those who wished to drag them around and desecrate them. After being dragged through the city for a long time and mutilated, they were thrown into the sewers which run down to the River Tiber.<sup>2</sup>

So in the sixth year of his rule,<sup>3</sup> after a life such as 10 has been described above, Antoninus and his mother

<sup>2</sup> Dio (Xiph.) 79.20.2 ff. (cf. Zos. 1.11), SHA, *Elag.* 17.4-7; the ancient punishment for criminals. Only E.'s body was thrown into the Tiber. For the principle of *poena post mortem*, see Vittinghoff, *Staatsfeind in d. röm. Kaiserzeit* 43-6.

<sup>3</sup> The chronology of H. for the reigns of E. and A. are a puzzle. Both here and in 6.1.7 and 6.2.1 he appears completely to miscalculate the lengths of the reigns, but in 6.9.3 and 6.9.8 he is well aware of the correct date of A.'s death. Some errors may be explained by H.'s method of episodic narrative (cf. 6.2.1n), though that is impossible here. Either these are straightforward errors by a historian writing twenty-five years later, or the figures in the text have been corrupted by unskillful copyists (i.e. *ς'* for *ε'*). But it is interesting to note that all the figures are correct if calculated from the date of the death of Caracalla (April 217); thus E. would be in his sixth regnal year in 222 and A. in his fourteenth regnal year in 230. Although (as far as I am aware) never an official method of calculating regnal years, contemporaries may have been encouraged to date in this fashion by the *damnatio memoriae* of both Macrinus and E. (Dio 79.2.1-6, SHA, *Elag.* 17.4, *Alex.* 1.2) which propagated the fiction that the predecessor had never been emperor; e.g. *nec imperator nec Antoninus*, SHA, *Alex.* 7.4 (admittedly untrustworthy); cf. E.'s assumption of a fictional back-dated consulship belonging to Macrinus (5.5.2n), and his refusal to wait for senatorial confirmation of titles; this may also be the origin of the error that A. had been Caesar since 218 in Victor *Caes.* 23.3, SHA, *Alex.* 1.2.



οὕτως ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ κατέστρεψεν.<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ<sup>2</sup>  
στρατιῶται αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναγο-  
ρεύσαντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ἀνήγαγον, κομιδῇ νέον  
καὶ πάνυ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ μάμμῃ παιδ-  
αγωγούμενον.

<sup>1</sup> aJo -στρεψαν Ogl

<sup>2</sup> P τε Oi

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<sup>1</sup> The *dies imperii* is probably recorded on the *Feriale Duranum* as 13th March (222), by the vote of the soldiers; on the following day perhaps the senate added its vote of the titles of Augustus, *pater patriae*, and *pontifex maximus* (Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 85 ff., though see the reservations

were murdered. Alexander, though extremely young and very much under the tutelage of his mother and grandmother, was greeted as emperor by the soldiers<sup>1</sup> and conducted up to the palace.<sup>2</sup>

of Hoey about two separate days, *ibid.* 93-4). Dio 79.3.3 is in agreement that E. died on 13th March (see *YCS* 7 (1940) 86n for the method of calculation). SHA, *Alex.* 6.2 (dated 6th March), is incorrect. A.'s full name of M. Aurelius Severus Alexander probably dates from now (cf. *CIL* VI. 1454 dated 13th April), perhaps at the wish of the praetorians (SHA, *Alex.* 12.4, may be partially true).

<sup>2</sup> H. does not mention the senate's vote (cf. 2.6.13n) noted in SHA, *Alex.* 1.3. The interpretation of the *Feriale Duranum* which supposes two separate days for the vote of the soldiers and the senate is slightly supported by H.'s omission.

**BOOK SIX**

## BIBΛION EKTON

1. Ὅποιῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ὁ νέος<sup>1</sup> Ἀντωνίνος ἐχρήσατο, ἐν τοῖς προειρημένους δεδήλωται.<sup>2</sup> παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ <μὲν><sup>3</sup> σχῆμα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκείνῳ περιέκειτο, ἢ μέντοι διοικήσεις τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἰκονομία ὑπὸ ταῖς γυναιξὶ διωκεῖτο, ἐπὶ τε τὸ<sup>4</sup> σωφρονέστερον καὶ σεμνότερον πάντα<sup>2</sup> μετάγειν ἐπειρῶντο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοὺς δοκοῦντας καὶ ἡλικία σεμνοτάτους καὶ βίῳ σωφρονεστάτους ἑκκαίδεκα ἐπελέξαντο συνέδρους εἶναι καὶ συμβούλους τοῦ βασιλέως· οὐδὲ τι ἐλέγετο ἢ ἐπράττετο, εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνοι αὐτὸ ἐπικρίναντες σύμψηφοι ἐγένοντο. ἤρεσκε τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ

<sup>1</sup> μέγας φgl maior P

<sup>3</sup> Bekk

<sup>2</sup> δηλωθεῖς a

<sup>4</sup> <αἰ> ἐπὶ τὸ Reisk

<sup>1</sup> A. was only thirteen years old; cf. 5.3.3n, 5.7.4n.

<sup>2</sup> Well illustrated by the title of A. on an inscription as *Juliae Mamaeae Aug(ustae) filio Juliae Maesae Aug(ustae) nepote*, *AE* (1912) 155. The coins issuing from the *officina* of Maesa lay stress on *pudicitia*; *BMC* VI. 51.

## BOOK SIX

1. In the previous book a description was given of the death of the young Antoninus. After Alexander's accession to power<sup>1</sup> he possessed the trappings and the name of emperor, but the control of administration and imperial policy was in the hands of his womenfolk,<sup>2</sup> who tried to bring back a complete return to moderate dignified government. The first<sup>2</sup> reform was to choose sixteen senators as councillors and advisers to the emperor,<sup>3</sup> men who presented the appearance of greatest dignity in years and the most moderate way of life. No statement was made or action taken without their considered approval. This form of the principate, which changed from a high-handed tyranny to an aristocratic type of

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zon. 12.15 (perhaps from Dio); the same body is referred to in 7.1.3, where they are said to be elected by the senate; although there are many references to the work of the *consilium* in the *vita*, it is suspect and in some case demonstrably false. Dio's references to the *consilium* in the famous speech of Maecenas, 52.15.1–4, 33.3–4 (which Millar unconvincedly says was addressed to Caracalla and not Alexander) were by definition describing a council not in existence. The council remained, as before, essentially an *ad hoc* advisory body drawn from the wider group of *amici*; if there were special committees of experts, their greater importance was not due to an increase in *de jure* powers, but to A.'s more pliable (and weaker) rule; see Crook, *Consilium Principis* 86–91, Millar, *Cassius Dio* 102 ff.

βουλῆ, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκ τυραννίδος ἐφύβριστου ἐς ἀριστοκρατίας τύπον μεταχθείσης.

- 3 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν, ἅπερ ἔτυχεν ἐκείνος κινήσας καὶ μεταγαγών, ἔπεμψαν ἐς τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ ἀρχαίους ναοὺς τε καὶ σηκοὺς· τοὺς τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἀλόγως, ἢ ἐφ' οἷς εὐδοκμήκεσαν ἀμαρτήμασιν, ἐς τιμὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας προαχθέντας τῶν δοθέντων ἀφείλοντο, ἐκάστους κελεύσαντες ἐς τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν ἐπάνειναι τῆς ἀξίας
- 4 αἴρειν. τὰς τε πράξεις ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς διου-

<sup>1</sup> If A.'s "aristocratic" policy is to be seen in such principles as that *nihil tamen tam proprium imperii est ut legibus vivere* (Cod. Just. 6.23.3) and in the observance of the elaborate protocol which permitted the senate a dignified appearance (e.g. Dig. (Ulpian) 1.9.1, SHA, Alex. 17.3-4, 18.2-3, 27.3, 43.1), it was also in A.'s reign that the autocratic position of the emperor was formally defined by such principles as *licet lex imperii sollemnibus iuris imperatorem solverit* (Cod. Just. 6.23.3) and *princeps legibus solutus est* (Dig. (Ulpian) 1.3.31). The super-prefecture of Domitius Ulpianus (not even mentioned by H.), who became praetorian prefect by 1st December 222 (Cod. Just. 4.65.4), and the tight control of administration under the regency of Maesa and Mamaea could not be concealed by the adlection of the praetorian prefect *inter consulares*, supposedly to maintain the propriety *ne quis non senator de Romano senatore iudicaret*; Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 35 ff., doubts whether other prefects were senators after Ulpian, but Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 39 ff., argues for T. Lorenus Celsus, L. Didius Marinus, L. Domitius Honoratus and M. Aedinius Julianus as senatorial prefects; cf. Stein, *Eunomia* 1 (1957) 6, for the last two after 223.

<sup>2</sup> Restoration of buildings and shrines occupies a prominent place in the coinage of A.; e.g. the completion of the restoration of the Colosseum in 223 (cf. SHA, *Elag.* 17.8, Alex. 24.3, BMC VI. 128-9, nos. 156-8); the Nymphaeum in 226; the Mint in 228. The temple of Elagabalus on the Palatine may

government, was approved by the people and the soldiers as well as the senate.<sup>1</sup>

For a start the statues of the gods, which the previous emperor had moved from their places, were returned to their original ancient temples and shrines.<sup>2</sup> Those who had been advanced to positions of honour and power without justification, or who had been promoted for their notoriety in crimes, were deprived of their benefices and all instructed to return to their previous status and occupation.<sup>3</sup> All civil and legal 4

have been rededicated to Jupiter Ultor; Brown, *AJA* 42 (1938) 129, BMC VI. 57, though doubted by Ziegler, *RE* (Palatium). Dio (Xiph.) 79.21.2 says that the god Elagabalus was banished from Rome (though destined to return under Gallienus and Aurelian).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. SHA, Alex. 15.1-2. Some examples of men restored to positions of importance, previously dismissed or idle under E. are Marius Maximus (dismissed from the urban prefecture in 218, now made cos. II in 223), Comazon (dismissed by E. from the urban prefecture in 221, now re-employed as urban prefect for the third time in 222, 5.7.6n), perhaps the later emperor M. Antonius Gordianus, though his earlier career is almost unknown. (7.5.2n), Julius Flavianus, praetorian prefect 218, now restored to the same position (Pippidi, *Epig. Beitr. z. Gesch. Histrias* 163-77). But the break in continuity should not be exaggerated. Cassius Dio, said by Millar, *Cassius Dio* 25-7, to have been unemployed under E. must (according to the new date of Ulpian's downfall in 223/4, *P. Oxy.* 2565) have served in Africa and Dalmatia under E., but was given an important military province of Pannonia Superior c. 222/3 (cf. Dio (Xiph.) 80.4.2). Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 60n, gives a list of men serving both emperors, and the *album* of patrons of Canusium in 223 (some senators "les plus en vue" in the new régime) contains many previously honoured by E., and some who had been executed by the senate after the death of Caracalla; Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 37-49. The continuity came from the Syrian Augustae.

κήσεις, τὰς μὲν πολιτικὰς καὶ ἀγοραίους ἐνεχείρισαν τοῖς ἐπὶ λόγοις εὐδοκιμωτάτοις καὶ νόμων ἐμπείροις, τὰς δὲ <sup>1</sup> στρατιωτικὰς τοῖς ἐξετασθεῖσι τε καὶ εὐδοκμήσασιν ἐν εὐτάκτοις τε καὶ πολεμικαῖς πράξεσιν.

ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικουμένης, ἡ μὲν Μαῖσα πρεσβύτις ἤδη οὖσα ἀνεπαύσατο τοῦ βίου, ἔτυχέ τε βασιλικῶν τιμῶν, καὶ ὡς νομίζουσι <sup>5</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐξεθειάσθη· ἡ δὲ Μαμαία μόνη τῷ παιδί καταλειφθεῖσα ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ ἄρχειν τε καὶ κρατεῖν ἐπειράτο. ἤδη τε ὄρωσα ἐν ἀκμῇ <sup>2</sup> τὸν νεανίαν γενόμενον, καὶ δεδοικυῖα μὴ ἄρα ἡλικία ἀκμάζουσα ὑπηρετούσης ἀδείας τε καὶ ἐξουσίας ἔστι τῶν γενικῶν <sup>3</sup> ἀμαρτημάτων ἐξοκεῖλη, πανταχόθεν ἐφρούρει τὴν αὐλήν, <sup>4</sup> οὐδέ τινα εἶα προσίεναι τῷ μεираκίῳ τῶν ἐπὶ φαύλῳ βίῳ διαβεβλημένων, μὴ πως τὸ ἦθος διαφθαρείη, προκαλεσαμένων αὐτοῦ τῶν κολάκων τὰς ὀρέξεις

<sup>1</sup> P (*autem*) τε Oi

<sup>3</sup> συγγενικῶν Steph προγονικῶν Reisk

<sup>2</sup> Bekk<sup>1</sup> ἀρχῆ Oi

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχὴν Jo

<sup>1</sup> Consultation with *prudentes* (some of whom were jurists) had always been the practice of emperors, and from Hadrian's time *iuris periti* had regularly been on the *consilium*; the great jurist prefects, Ulpian and Julius Paulus were inevitably close advisers *ex officio* (cf. SHA, *Alex.* 31.2-3). There may therefore have been a legal committee of the council (SHA, *Alex.* 16.1, looks like an anachronism).

<sup>2</sup> Like the legal experts, the *amici militares* were represented among the advisers on the council; there is therefore nothing

business and administration was put in the charge of the men with the highest rhetorical reputation and legal skill.<sup>1</sup> Military affairs were entrusted to men of proved reputations for maintaining discipline and waging wars.<sup>2</sup>

After a long period of this type of government in the empire, Maesa, already an old woman, died and received imperial honours and deification,<sup>3</sup> according to Roman practice. Mamaea, left alone with <sup>5</sup> her son, still tried to control and dominate him. Realizing that he was now a young man in his prime, she was also afraid that his youthful vigour might perhaps be encouraged by his unrestricted position of power and drive him to commit some of the crimes associated with his forebears.<sup>4</sup> Therefore the palace was put under strict guard and no one with a reputation for loose living was allowed to come near the young lad, for fear his morals would be corrupted if sycophants directed his vigorous enthusiasms towards

improbable about a committee of such men to deal with military matters and advise on action; cf. Crook, *Consilium Principis* 114, Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 37. Discipline in Rome and the provinces did not improve under the experts (6.4.7n).

<sup>3</sup> H. appears to have exaggerated the length of time before Maesa died. The weight of evidence shows that she died sometime after November 224 (she does not appear deified in the *acta Arvalium* of that date), but before August 226 (the latest for A.'s marriage to Orbiana); the evidence is collected by Fink-Hoey-Snyder, *YCS* 7 (1940) 22 and 113 f.; *consecratio* coins are undated, but come about 225, *BMC* VI. 135 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This meaning of the much disputed Greek *genikos* is justified by Stroth; other suggestions are "sexual crimes" or "general (i.e. greater) crimes." See the discussion in Irmisch, *Herod. Hist. ad loc.*

6 ἀκμαζούσας ἐς αἰσχρὰς ἐπιθυμίας. δικάζειν [τε] <sup>1</sup>  
 οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἔπειθε συνεχέστατα καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον  
 τῆς ἡμέρας, ὡς ἂν ἀσχολούμενος περὶ τὰ κρείτ-  
 τονα καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἀναγκαῖα μὴ ἔχοι καιρὸν ἐς  
 τὸ ἐπιτηδεύειν τι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὑπῆρχε δέ  
 τι καὶ φυσικὸν ἦθος πρᾶον καὶ ἡμερον τῷ Ἀλεξ-  
 ἀνδρῷ ἕς τε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον πάνυ ἐπιρρεπές, ὡς  
 7 ἔδῳλωσε καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας προχωρούσης. ἐς τεσ-  
 σαρεσκαιδέκατον γοῦν <sup>2</sup> ἐλάσας τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος  
 ἀναμωτὶ ἠρξεν [οὐδέ τις εἰπεῖν ἔχει ὑπ' ἐκείνου  
 φονευθέντα].<sup>3</sup> καίτοι τινῶν μεγίσταις αἰτίαις ὑπο-  
 πεσόντων, ὅμως ἐφέισατο ὡς μὴ φονεῦσαι, οὐ  
 ῥαδίως τοῦτο ἄλλου βασιλέως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 ποιήσαντος ἢ παραφυλάξαντος μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου  
 ἀρχήν. ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι  
 ἢ μνημονεῦσαι ἐν ἔτεσι τοσοῦτοις ἀκρίτως <sup>4</sup>  
 φονευθέντα.

8 ἡτιᾶτο δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ πάνυ ἤσχαλλεν  
 ὄρων αὐτὴν οὖσαν φιλοχρήματον καὶ περὶ τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> om Bekk<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν Jo

<sup>3</sup> om Jo Mendelssohn(?)

<sup>4</sup> ἀκριβῶς A

<sup>1</sup> See 5.8.10n for the problem of chronology.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to senators, as was understood by the author of SHA, *Alex.* 52.2, quoting H.; perhaps the word *βουλευτὴν* has dropped out, but, in view of what follows, I agree with Mendelssohn that this clause is an interpolation. In view of the execution recorded in 6.1.10, H. may only mean (as is stated more generally below) that A. never executed a senator *without trial*.

low desires. His mother urged him to occupy him- 6  
 self continually with judicial work for most of the  
 day, hoping that while he was busy on extremely  
 important business, essential to imperial rule, he  
 would have no chance to turn his attention to any  
 vice. Alexander's character was naturally gentle  
 and docile, always inclined to show sympathy. This  
 he demonstrated as he grew older. Certainly, up 7  
 to the fourteenth year <sup>1</sup> of his reign he ruled without  
 bloodshed [and one could not name anyone executed  
 by him].<sup>2</sup> Even though some people were guilty of  
 very serious crimes, Alexander spared them from  
 execution, an ideal which no other emperor of our  
 time has found easy to practise or preserve since  
 Marcus' reign.<sup>3</sup> But throughout the many years of  
 Alexander's rule it would be impossible to recall the  
 name of a person executed without trial.

Alexander also found fault with his mother <sup>4</sup> and 8  
 was very much upset to see her avarice and absolute

<sup>3</sup> Some confirmation is to be found in *Cod. Just.* 9.8.1 which lightened the law of *maiestas*. The legislative activity of this reign is illustrated by about 450 edicts and constitutions in the *Codex*, not all of them in the direction of leniency.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 5.3.3n, 6.5.9n. Herodian implies that Mamaea's domination did not occur until after the death of Maesa. Zon. 12.15 is too general (he does not mention Maesa) to be understood as more than that Mamaea's power increased after the death of E.; Mamaea's titles indicate that up to 224 she was on a par with Maesa (*mater Augusti et castrorum*), but that by 227 she had increased her prestige considerably (*mater Augusti et castrorum et senatus et patriae* and later *mater universi generis humani*). Mamaea had probably intrigued to obtain special powers for the praetorian prefect, Ulpian, whom Zos. 1.11.2 says she intended to be *custos et consors imperii*; cf. Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 41-4.

ὑπερφυῶς ἐσπουδακυῖαν. προσποιουμένη γὰρ ἀθροίζειν αὐτὰ ἵνα ἔχοι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀφθόνως καὶ ραδίως ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος χαρίζεσθαι, ἰδίᾳ ἐθησαύριζε· καὶ διέβαλλεν ἔσθ' ὅπῃ<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν, αὐτοῦ ἄκοντός τε καὶ ἀσχάλλοντος οὐσίας τινῶν καὶ κληρονομίας ἐξ ἐπηρείας ὑφαρπασάσης ἐκεῖνης.

9 ἠγάγετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκα τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, ἣν συνοικοῦσαν καὶ ἀγαπωμένην μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν βασιλείων ἐδίωξεν· ἐνυβρίζουσα τε καὶ βασιλισσα εἶναι μόνη θέλουσα, φθονοῦσα τε τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκεῖνη, ἐς τοσοῦτον προεχώρησεν ὕβρεως ὡς τὸν πατέρα τῆς κόρης, καίτοι ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου γαμβροῦ ὄντος πάνυ τιμώμενον, μὴ φέροντα τὴν Μαμαίαν ἐνυβρίζουσαν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ, φυγεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, τῷ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

<sup>1</sup> ὅποι A

<sup>1</sup> Gneia Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana; her full name appears on Alexandrian coins in the years 225/6 and 226/7; Vogt, *Alex. Münzen* 1.127-8; cf. *ILS* 486. Roman coins of c. 225 (special marriage issue) name her as Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, *BMC* VI. 142 ff. The family may be connected with a Herennius Orbianus (under Pius) or Seius Fuscianus (*amicus* of M. Aurelius) or the Barbii of Aquileia; Fink, *AJP* 60 (1939) 329 ff., Pflaum, *Rev. Arch.* (1953) 72-6. Nothing is known of a daughter of Macrinus (-rianus?) recorded in SHA, *Alex.* 49.3 (supposedly Dexippus), or of Sulpicia Memmia in SHA, *Alex.* 20.3; cf. *Alex.* 58.1 (Varius Macrinus, *adfinis eius*) and *ILS* 1355 (Q. Sallustius Macrianus, rejected by Pflaum, *Carrières*, no. 227).

<sup>2</sup> Tentatively identified as Seius Caesar on the *Feriale Duranum* by Fink, *AJP* 60 (1939) 326-32 (who gives him the full name of L. (Cn.?) Seius Herennius Sallustius Barbuius,

obsession with money. She alleged that she was saving it in order to enable Alexander to make a generous *ex gratia* payment to the troops without difficulty. But she was making a private hoard. This cast a certain cloud upon his reign, though Alexander opposed and deplored her forcible confiscation of some people's inherited property.

His mother provided a wife<sup>1</sup> for him from a patrician family but, though he lived with her and loved her, Mamaea banished her from the palace with insults. Wishing to be the only empress, Mamaea was jealous of the title of Augusta going to the girl. The abuse went to such lengths that the father of the girl,<sup>2</sup> in spite of his high position of honour as father-in-law to Alexander, could not stand the insults Mamaea offered him and his daughter. He took refuge in the military camp<sup>3</sup> and, though he acknowledged his gratitude to Alexander for his

though the identification is open to doubt; Weinstock, *JRS* 32 (1942) 128). If true that A.'s father-in-law was given the name of Caesar, this may have been what Dexippus referred to in SHA, *Alex.* 49.3-4; *CIL* VIII. 15524 (Thugga) is a damaged inscription of c. 224/5 recording someone as Caesar. *ILAlq* I.2095, which may also refer to the father-in-law, is too badly damaged to restore with any certainty; cf. *Albo* 340.

<sup>3</sup> The second attempt in the reign to rouse the praetorians to riot. In 223 or early 224 (see *P.Oxy.* 2565 for the date) there were three days of rioting between guards and populace, from "some small cause," Dio (Xiph.) 80.2.2-4, Zon. 12.15; though probably due to discontent caused by Ulpian's removal of the prefects Julius Flavianus and (Geminius?) Chrestus, Zos. 1.11. Control over the praetorians appears to have been tenuous in 229, when Alexander advised Cassius Dio, consul for that year, not to spend his time in Rome for fear of his unpopularity with the guards. Evidently the reign was far from the ideal described by H.

χάριν εἰδότα ἐφ' οἷς ἐτιμᾶτο, τὴν δὲ Μαμαίαν  
 10 αἰτιώμενον ἐφ' οἷς ὑβρίζειτο. ἐκεῖνη δὲ ἀνανακτή-  
 σασα αὐτόν τε ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν  
 κόρην ἐκβληθείσαν τῶν βασιλείων εἰς Λιβύην  
 ἐφυγάδευσε. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπράττετο ἄκοντός τε καὶ  
 ἀναγκαζομένου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἦρχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ <sup>1</sup>  
 ὑπερβαλλόντως ἢ μήτηρ, καὶ πᾶν τὸ κελεύομενον  
 ἐκείνος ἐποίει. τοῦτο δ' ἂν τις μόνον ἔσχεν  
 ἐγκαλέσαι αὐτῷ, ὅτι δὴ ὑπὸ περιττῆς πραότητος  
 καὶ αἰδοῦς πλείονος ἢ ἐχρῆν τῇ μητρὶ, ἐν οἷς  
 ἀπηρέσκετο, ὅμως ἐπειθετο.

2. ἐτῶν μὲν οὖν τρισκαίδεκα <sup>2</sup> οὕτως, ὅσον ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ, τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμέμπτως διώκησε· τῷ δὲ  
 [τεσσαρεσκαι]δεκάτῳ <sup>3</sup> ἔτει αἰφνιδίως ἐκομίσθη  
 γράμματα τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν τε καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν  
 ἡγεμόνων, δηλοῦντα ὅτι Ἀρταξέρξης <sup>4</sup> ὁ Περσῶν  
 βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὸ Παρθναίους καθελεῖν καὶ τῆς  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀρχῆς παραλῦσαι, Ἀρτάβανόν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ καὶ αἴφ

<sup>2</sup> originally γ' (i.e. 3) corrupted to γ' (i.e. 13) and (below)  
 δ' (i.e. 4) corrupted to ιδ' (i.e. 14) conj Dändliker

<sup>3</sup> [τεσσαρεσκαι] om Cassola τῷ τεσσ. ἔτει om P

<sup>4</sup> Ἀρταξέρξης Stav (throughout) from Agathias *Hist.* 2.26 f.,  
 4.23 f. but Dio (Xiph.) 80.3.2 as here

<sup>1</sup> I have accepted the emendation of Cassola, *RAAN* 38  
 (1963) 141-3, though with some hesitation; cf. 5.8.10n. In  
 6.9.3 and 6.9.8 H. knows that A. ruled for fourteen years; it is  
 inconceivable therefore that he imagined two major campaigns,  
 against Persia and the Germans, to have taken place within  
 one year (even if he had not been a contemporary). It is  
 also typical of H.'s technique that he allows the episodic  
 narrative to overlap with the chronological, which a copyist,

honours, he laid charges against Mamaea for her  
 insults. Furious at this, the empress ordered him 10  
 to be executed and the girl, already turned out of  
 the palace, was exiled to Libya. These actions were  
 done in face of the opposition of Alexander, who was  
 compelled to acquiesce. Completely dominated by  
 his mother, he did exactly as he was told. This was  
 the one thing for which he can be faulted; that he  
 obeyed his mother in matters of which he dis-  
 approved because he was over-mild and showed  
 greater respect to her than he ought to have done.

2. So for thirteen years Alexander ruled without  
 cause for complaint as far as he himself was con-  
 cerned. But in his tenth <sup>1</sup> year unexpected letters  
 came from the governors of Syria and Mesopotamia  
 with information that Artaxerxes, king of the  
 Persians, had defeated the Parthians, broken up their  
 eastern kingdom and killed Artabanus, the previous  
 great king who wore the double crown.<sup>2</sup> He had also

failing to understand, has attempted to rationalize. But the  
 error may simply be due to careless writing and two different  
 chronological systems. The year mentioned here was 230,  
 the year in which A. celebrated his *decennalia* (even though  
*trib. pot.* IX), reckoning from 221 as Caesar, *BMC* VI. 74.

<sup>2</sup> In 208 Ardashir (= Artaxerxes) seized control over the Sass-  
 anians in Persis, a vassal state under the Arsacids, and began to  
 expand his power over neighbouring states, doubtless assisted  
 by the rivalry between Artaban V and Vologaes V for the Par-  
 thian throne. Artaban established his primacy at Susa by 5th  
 September 221, the date of a recently discovered relief  
 (Girshman, *Mon. et Mém. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lett.* 44 (1950)  
 97-107). Almost immediately he engaged Ardashir in a  
 series of battles and was finally defeated in early 224 (6.2.7n).  
 Since the coinage of Vologaes in Seleucia terminates  
 abruptly in 222/3, it can be assumed he too had been defeated  
 by Ardashir the year before.



τε τὸν πρότερον καλούμενον μέγαν<sup>1</sup> βασιλέα καὶ  
 δυοὶ διαδήμασι χρώμενον ἀποκτείνει, πάντα τε τὰ  
 περίοικα βάρβαρα χειρώσασθαι καὶ ἐς φόρου  
 συντέλειαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι,<sup>2</sup> οὐχ ἡσυχάζει οὐδ' ἐντὸς  
 Τίγριδος ποταμοῦ μένει, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὄχθας ὑπερβαί-  
 νων καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὄρους Μεσοπο-  
 2 ταμίαν τε κατατρέχει καὶ Σύροις ἀπειλεῖ, πᾶσάν  
 τε τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἤπειρον Εὐρώπῃ καὶ διαι-  
 ρουμένην Αἰγαίῳ τε καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ τῆς Προποντί-  
 δος, Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν καλουμένην προγονικὸν  
 κτῆμα ἡγούμενος τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἀνακτήσασθαι  
 βούλεται, φάσκων ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν ἐκ Μήδων ἐς Πέρσας μεταστήσαντος μέχρι  
 Δαρείου τοῦ τελευταίου Περσῶν βασιλέως, οὐ τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καθεῖλε, πάντα  
 μέχρις Ἰωνίας καὶ Καρίας ὑπὸ σατράπαις Περσι-  
 κοῖς διακῆσθαι· προσήκειν οὖν αὐτῷ Πέρσαις  
 ἀνανεώσασθαι πᾶσαν ὀλόκληρον, ἣν πρότερον  
 ἔσχον, ἀρχῆν.

<sup>1</sup> τὸν μέγαν φι

<sup>2</sup> Steph ὑπάγεσθαι Oi

<sup>1</sup> Ardashir had to contend with the sons of Artaban, by whom he was temporarily checked in Media and Armenia (Dio (Xiph.) 80.3.3); after this he was preoccupied with conquest of the eastern territories of the Parthian kingdom; *CAH* XII. 109-10 (Christensen). It is difficult to believe that Vologaeses actually reoccupied Seleucia in 228/9, as suggested by Simonetta, *Num. Chron.* (6) 16 (1956) 77-82; cf. *BM Parthia* 241-3, nos. 1-36. The interval between Artaban's death in 224 and the apparent "year of accession" of Ardashir

gained complete control over the neighbouring barbarians and reduced them to tributary status.<sup>1</sup> He was causing unrest by refusing to be contained by the River Tigris and was crossing the banks which were the boundary of the Roman empire. Mesopotamia was being overrun and Syria threatened.<sup>2</sup> Believing that the entire mainland facing Europe contained<sup>2</sup> by the Aegean Sea and the Propontis Gulf (the whole of what is called Asia) belonged to him by ancestral right, he was intending to recover it for the Persian empire. He alleged that from the rule of Cyrus, who first transferred the kingdom from the Medes to the Persians, up to Darius, the last of the Persian kings, whose kingdom Alexander of Macedon had destroyed, the whole country as far as Ionia and Caria had been under the government of Persian satraps.<sup>3</sup> So it was his right to restore and reunite the whole empire as it had once been.

c. 227 may perhaps be explained by the time spent in securing his conquests; the chronological difficulties are discussed by Taqisadeh and Henning, *Asia Major* 6 (1957) 106-21, summarized by Walser-Pekáry, *Krise d. röm. Reiches* 36.

<sup>2</sup> Zon. 12.15 and Syncellus 1.674 (Bonn) say that Ardashir advanced into Cappadocia and captured Nisibis and Carrhae in Mesopotamia, but he failed to take Hatra (Dio (Xiph.) 80.3.2). It is not clear whether the northern Mesopotamian cities were recovered; the absence of coinage from them under Maximinus suggests that they were not; cf. SHA, *Gord.* 26.6, *BM Arabia* 88 ff., 120 ff.

<sup>3</sup> From Cyrus the Great in the sixth century B.C. to the final defeat of Darius at Gaugamela in 331 B.C. Ardashir's claims are repeated in Dio (Xiph.) 80.4.1, though Dio suggests the threat of the Persians was only serious because of serious disorder among the Roman troops, many of whom joined the Persians, rather than fight. A mutiny in Mesopotamia resulted in the assassination of the governor (6.4.7n).

3 τοιαῦτα <sup>1</sup> τοίνυν δηλωσάντων καὶ ἐπιστειλάντων τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἡγεμόνων, πρὸς τὴν αἰφνίδιον καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα κομισθεῖσαν ἀγγελίαν οὐ μετρίως ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐταράχθη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰρήνην ἐκ παίδων ἐντραφεῖς <sup>2</sup> καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αἰὲν σχολάσας τρυφῇ. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ κοινωσαμένῳ τοῖς φίλοις πρεσβείαν πέμψαι καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κωλύσαι <sup>3</sup> τὴν ὁρμὴν <sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐλπίδα τοῦ βαρβάρου. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰ γράμματα <sup>4</sup> δεῖν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἰδίων ὄροις καὶ μὴ καινοτομεῖν μηδὲ ματαίαις αἰωρούμενον <sup>5</sup> ἐλπίσι μέγαν ἐγείρειν πόλεμον, ἀγαπητῶς δ' <sup>6</sup> ἔχειν ἕκαστον τὰ αὐτοῦ· μηδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίαν ἔσσεσθαι μάχην αὐτῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οἷαν σχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς γειτνιώντας καὶ ὁμοφύλους βαρβάρους. ὑπεμίμησε δὲ τὰ γράμματα τῶν τε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τοιαῦτά τινα AgI

<sup>2</sup> Steph ἐκτρ. OI

<sup>3</sup> λύσαι A καταλύσαι conj Mendelssohn from Thuc. 2.89.8

<sup>3-4</sup> κωλύσαι—γράμματα om φ

<sup>5</sup> αἰωρούμενον (-μοιρ- V) φ

<sup>6</sup> δὲ α τε Wolf

<sup>1</sup> There is no real evidence of any important campaigns in A.'s reign before this date, though there are military themes and *victoria* type coins in 225; cf. Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 76n, *BMC* VI. 60, 61. From 229 A. bore the title of *invictus* (e.g. *AE* (1899) 7), but this may be an attempt by A. to give himself a military image in a period of dangerous military insubordination. There was probably some minor activity on the northern frontier; SHA, *Alex.* 58.1, *CIL* XIII. 8017.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 6.7.10 for A.'s love of chariot-racing and luxury.

With this news from the dispatches of the eastern <sup>3</sup> governors, Alexander was badly upset at the suddenness and unexpectedness of the report that had come. Since childhood he had been brought up in conditions of peace <sup>1</sup> and had always been attached to the comforts of the city.<sup>2</sup> Therefore his first decision after communicating with his councillors was to send a diplomatic representative, and put a halt to the aggression of the barbarian and check his expectations by means of a letter.<sup>3</sup> In it he said Artaxerxes <sup>4</sup> must remain in his own territory without stirring up trouble; he must not incite a war because he was carried away by foolish optimism; everyone should be content with their lot; for he would not find a war against the Romans the same proposition as one against neighbours and barbarians like himself. The letter further reminded the king of the victories

<sup>3</sup> Because of the cowardice of A. is part of H.'s explanation for the failure of A.'s rule, he tends to underestimate the extent of A.'s resistance to Ardashir (6.6.6n). There are indications of a vigorous reaction to the crisis; an outbreak of piracy in the Mediterranean, probably as a result of Rome's damaged prestige, led to the appointment of a special officer to ensure troop and supply movements and overall control of all sea operations; *IGRR* IV. 1057 (P. Sallustius Sempronius; cf. Domaszewski, *RhM* 58 (1903) 384). The extensive issue of silver coins in Syria indicates the size of the military concentration; Bellinger, *Dura-Europos, Final Report* VI. 207-8. The appointment of Rutilius Pudens Crispinus to Syria Phoenice may be another preparatory move, since he was a competent soldier (6.5.2n). Note also the appointment of the later praetorian prefect, C. Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus, as procurator of Palestine and organizer of the supply train for the expedition (*ILS* 1330, *exactori reliquor(um) annon(ae) sacrae expeditionis*); cf. 5.5.3n, 6.7.6n, Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 55-6.

τῶν<sup>1</sup> Τραϊανοῦ Λουκίου τε καὶ Σεβήρου κατ' αὐτῶν τροπαίων. τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ τινα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστείλας ᾗετο πείσειν ἢ φοβήσειν ἐς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τὸν βάρβαρον· ὁ δ' οὐδέν τι φροντίζων τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων, ὅπλοις ἀλλ' οὐ λόγοις οἰόμενος δεῖν τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖσθαι, ἐνέκειτο ἄγων καὶ φέρων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντα, κατατρέχων τε καὶ καθιππεύων Μεσοποταμίαν λείας τε ἀπήλαυνε, καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα στρατόπεδα ταῖς ὄχθαις τῶν ποταμῶν προασπίζοντά τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐπολιόρκει. φύσει δ' ὦν ἀλαζών, καὶ ταῖς παρ' ἐλπίδας εὐπραγίαις ἐπαυρόμενος, πάντα ραδίως χερῶσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> προσεδόκα. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ ἀναπεύθοντα οὐ μικρὰ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρχῆς μελίζονος. πρῶτος γὰρ<sup>3</sup> ἐτόλμησε τῇ Παρθυαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπιθέσθαι Πέρσαις τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνανεώσασθαι. μετὰ γὰρ Δαρεῖον τὸν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλυθέντα, παμπλείστοις ἐν ἔτεσι Μακεδόνες μὲν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι τῶν<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐθνῶν καὶ<sup>5</sup> κατ' Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν, νειμάμενοι<sup>4</sup> κατὰ χώρας, ἐβασίλευσαν. ἑκείνων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερομένων, πολέμοις τε συνεχέσι τῆς Μακεδόνων δυνάμεως ἔξασθενούσης, πρῶτος Ἀρσάκης λέγεται, τὸ γένος Παρθυαῖος, ἀναπεῖσαι τοὺς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρους ἀποστῆναι

won over them by Augustus, Trajan, Lucius and Severus.<sup>1</sup> With this letter Alexander hoped to persuade or frighten the barbarian into docility. But 5 Artaxerxes paid no attention to what was written, since he believed that it was weapons not words that must settle the issue. He pressed forward, ravaging the entire Roman territory, overrunning Mesopotamia with infantry and cavalry, and carrying off plunder. The garrison on the river banks to protect the Roman empire were besieged. Naturally vain, and elated by his unexpected successes, Artaxerxes assumed that everything would easily fall under his control. There were important considerations 6 which encouraged his ambitions for a bigger empire; he was the first that dared to attack the Parthian kingdom and restore it to the Persians. After Darius had lost the kingdom to Alexander the Macedonian, the nations of the East and throughout Asia were divided up and ruled for very many years by the Macedonians and Alexander's successors. But as 7 they fell out with each other and Macedonian strength was sapped by continual wars, the Parthian Arsaces, according to accounts, was the first to urge the barbarians in those countries to rebel from Mace-

<sup>1</sup> The recovery of the Parthian standards by Augustus, 20 B.C., Trajan's capture of Ctesiphon, A.D. 115, L. Verus' triumph for his Parthian victory, A.D. 166. All of these events were against the Parthians. It is ironic that Augustus' diplomatic triumph should be called a victory by H., since one of the themes of his history is the need for military action against barbarians.

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ΑΒΙ

<sup>2</sup> Mendelss -σασθαι Οἱ (cf. gloss Α φειρώσεσθαι)

<sup>3</sup> πρῶτος γὰρ περῶν Ο

<sup>4</sup> τῶν—νειμάμενοι om O

<sup>5</sup> om a ἐθνῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν Sylb

Μακεδόνων· περιθέμενός τε τὸ διάδημα ἐκόντων Παρθυαίων καὶ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων αὐτός τε ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ πλείστον παρέμενε<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἀρχή, μέχρις Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενομένου, ὃν Ἀρταξέρξης ἀποκτείναντες Πέρσαις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεκτήσατο, τά τε γειτνιῶντα ἔθνη βάρβαρα χειρωσάμενος ῥαδίως ἤδη καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ<sup>2</sup> ἐπεβούλευσεν.

3. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐδηλώθη διατρέβοντι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τολμώμενα, οὐκ ἀνασχετὰ ἡγούμενος, καλούντων δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐκείσε ἡγεμόνων, ἀσχάλλων μὲν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, ὅμως δ' ἔσχε περὶ ἕξοδον. ἔκ τε οὖν αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πάντων ἔθνῶν λογάδες ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἠθροίζοντο, ὅσοι σώματος εὐεξία<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἡλικίας ἀκμῇ ἐς μάχην ἐπιτῆδευοι ἐνομίζοντο.

<sup>1</sup> -έμενε Ο

<sup>2</sup> τὴν Ῥ. ἀρχὴν Ο

<sup>3</sup> εὐεξιάς φ εὐεξία Α

<sup>1</sup> "The day on which the dominion of the Parthians, the sons of mighty Arsaces, came to an end" was 28th April 224 according to the Chronicle of Arbela, though Agathias 4.24 says Artashir seized power in 225 (the fourth year of A.'s rule). Dio (Xiph.) 80.3.2 says there were three battles before Artaban was defeated, which is confirmed by the Chronicle of Tabari (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Arab. Zeit d. Sassanides* 12). The scene of the final battle is depicted on a relief in the gorge at Firouzabad.

<sup>2</sup> Preparations for a campaign were under way by 230; the coinage of 230 shows a preponderance of military themes, including *adlocutio Augusti* (not necessarily to be taken literally,

donia. As it was the wish of the Parthians and the neighbouring barbarians, Arsaces himself ruled as their crowned head. Power remained in the hands of his heirs for a very long time, right up to our contemporary Artabanus. By killing him Artaxerxes gained the throne for the Persians.<sup>1</sup> Now, after subduing the neighbouring barbarian people, it was a natural step to make plans to subvert the Roman empire.

3. While Alexander was lingering in Rome the news of the bold action of the barbarian in the East came to him. Such acts, he believed, could not be tolerated, and his eastern governors were demanding his presence. So, though he regretted the decision which went against his inclinations, he made preparations to leave.<sup>2</sup> From Italy<sup>3</sup> and all the Roman provinces special levies were recruited for the army, all of men passed as physically fit and of the

but perhaps indicating that the speech before A. left Rome is not simply a rhetorical device of H.; cf. SHA, *Alex.* 53.1, for a speech in Antioch); *BMC* VI. 75. Signs of road repairs in Cilicia and Cappadocia are evident in 230-1; Magie, *R. Rule in Asia Minor* 694, 1560.

<sup>3</sup> A badly damaged inscription recording A.'s appointment of a certain L. Fulvius Gavius Numisius Petronius Aemilianus may be correctly restored *ad [dilect(um) habend(um)] per regionem Tra[ns]padanum*; if so, the levy was probably on this occasion; but obviously this cannot be counted as strong evidence, *ILS* 1173. The recruiting does not imply the formation of a new legion, as has been suggested on the basis of the appearance of a legio IV in SHA, *Max.* 5.5; rightly rejected by Instinsky, *Klio* 34 (1942) 118-20. More probably A. was bringing the existing legions up to full strength (cf. 6.8.8n), but see the arguments in Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1329-30, who favours the formation of a legio IV Italica (based on *ILS* 487; but see 8.4.1n).

- 2 κινήσεις τε μεγίστη πάσης <sup>1</sup> τῆς <sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, δυνάμειω ἰσορρόπου ἀθροισομένης πρὸς τὸ ἀγγελλόμενον τῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων <sup>3</sup> βαρβάρων πλήθος. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιώτας, συνελθεῖν <sup>4</sup> τε πάντας κελεύσας ἐς τὸ σὴνηθες πεδῖον, ἐπὶ βήματος <sup>5</sup> ἀνελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε.
- 3 “ ἔβουλόμην μὲν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, τοὺς σὴνηθεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, δι’ ὧν αὐτὸς τε ἐκοσμούμην δημηγορῶν ὑμᾶς τε ἀκούοντας εὐφραῖνον· εἰρήνης γὰρ πολυετοῦς ἀπολαύσαντες εἴ τι καιρὸν νῦν <sup>6</sup> ἀκούετε, ἴσως ἂν ὡς <sup>7</sup> παρ’
- 4 ἐλπίδα λεχθέντι ἐκπλαγεῖητε. χρή δ’ ἄνδρας γενναίους τε καὶ σώφρονας εὐχεσθαι μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὰ βέλτιστα, φέρειν δὲ <sup>8</sup> τὰ προσπίπτοντα· τῶν μὲν γὰρ δι’ ἡδονῆς πραττομένων ἢ ἀπόλαυσις γλυκεῖα, τῶν δ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατορθουμένων ἔνδοξος ἢ ἀνδρεία. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων ἔργων οὐκ εὐγνώμονα ἔχει τὴν πρόκλησιν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας <sup>9</sup> ἀποσεῖσθαι ἐκ τε τῆς ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως ἔχει τὸ θαρραλέον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ
- 5 ἀδικεῖν ἀλλ’ ἀμύνεσθαι ὑπάρχει τὸ εὖλεπι. Ἄρτα-

<sup>1</sup> Schwartz following edit. Ox (mg) πᾶσι Oi

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς φλ

<sup>4</sup> ἐξελεθεῖν V

<sup>6</sup> om O

<sup>8</sup> P (sed) τε Oi

<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐπιτρ. om OP

<sup>5</sup> βῆμα Mendelss

<sup>7</sup> om O

<sup>9</sup> ὀχλοῦν. iA

right age for battle. The whole Roman empire was 2 in a state of complete upheaval,<sup>1</sup> gathering together a force to match the reported size of the barbarian invasion. Alexander mustered the Roman garrison with orders to meet on the usual open space. Then, mounting the tribunal, he said:<sup>2</sup>

“ Fellow soldiers, I would have preferred to make 3 the usual kind of speech to you which would be a credit to my ability as a speaker and a pleasure for you to listen to. After enjoying peace for many years, you may possibly be astounded to hear something novel on this occasion coming unexpectedly in my speech. But brave and balanced men must 4 hope for the best while taking what comes. One gets fine pleasure from doing what one enjoys, but the reputation for bravery is won from successfully carrying out a necessary task. To be the initiator of an unjust action is not the way to offer a sound challenge. Conversely, the elimination of trouble-makers creates confidence because one is acting with a good conscience. Optimism is bred from not committing a wrong but preventing one. Artaxerxes, 5

<sup>1</sup> The vocabulary refers back to the words of the *prooemium*, 1.1.4; cf. 1.7.1, 3.7.7. The language may also be an unconscious or conscious reflection of the famous introduction in Thuc. 1.1.2, though the context is very different there; Stein, *Dexip. et Herod.* 141.

<sup>2</sup> Needless to say, the string of aphorisms in this speech are a display of the rhetoric of H. not of A. This is one of only two speeches in Books 4-6, probably a sign that the work was intended for further revision before final publication; cf. 2.1.6n. The *campus* where A. addressed the soldiers was probably that adjoining the *castra praetoriana*, Tac. *A.* 12.36, Durry, *Cohortes præt.* 54 ff.

ξέρξης<sup>1</sup> ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην Ἀρτάβανον ἀποκτείνας τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐς Πέρσας μεταστήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων<sup>2</sup> ὄπλων καταθαρρήσας καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δόξης καταφρονήσας, πειρᾶται κατατρέχειν καὶ λυμάνεσθαι τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας<sup>2</sup> ἀρχῆς κτήματα. τοῦτον ἐπειράθη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γράμμασι καὶ πειθοὶ παῦσαι τῆς ἀπλήστου μανίας καὶ τῆς ἀλλοτριῶν ἐπιθυμίας· ὁ δὲ βαρβάρῳ φερόμενος ἀλαζονεία οὔτε μένειν οἴκοι βούλεται, προκαλεῖται τε ἡμᾶς ἐς μάχην. μὴ δὴ μέλλωμεν μηδὲ ὀκνῶμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πρᾶσιβυτροι ὑμῶν ὑπομνήσατε ἑαυτοὺς<sup>3</sup> τροπαίων ἃ μετὰ Σεβήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἠγγείρατε πολλάκις κατὰ βαρβάρων, οἱ δ' ἐν ἀκμῇ ὄντες δόξης καὶ κλέους ἐπιθυμήσαντες δείξατε<sup>4</sup> ὅτι ἄρα καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν<sup>5</sup> πρᾶως καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς ἐπίστασθε καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ τῆς χρείας ἀπαιτούσης<sup>7</sup> γενναίως κατορθοῦτε. τὸ δὲ βάρβαρον πρὸς μὲν τὰ ὑπέικοντα καὶ ὀκνοῦντα θρασύνεται,<sup>6</sup> τῷ δ' ἀντιπίπτοντι οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀντέχει, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκ συστάσεως αὐτοῖς ἢ μάχῃ<sup>7</sup> κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὑπισχνεῖται τὸ εὐέλπι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἢ φυγῆς κερδαίνειν νομίζουσιν ὅπερ ἂν σχῶσι δι' ἀρπαγῆς. ἡμῖν δὲ<sup>8</sup> καὶ τὸ εὐτακτον ἅμα τῷ κοσμίῳ ὑπάρχει, καὶ νικᾶν αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ δεδιδαγμεθα."

4. τοιαυτὰ τινα εἰπόντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀνευφήμησε, προθυμίαν τε πᾶσαν ἐς τὸ

the Persian, murdered his own master, Artabanus, and transferred the rule to the Persians; but then he gained confidence against our own armed power and, contemptuous of our reputation, is trying to overrun and plunder the possessions of our empire. I attempted first by letters and persuasion to deter him from this utter madness and greed for other people's property. But because of his barbarian vanity, he refused to stay in his own land. He is challenging us to battle. We must not hesitate or falter. Those of you who are more senior, remember the many triumphs you won against the barbarians under Severus or Antoninus, my father. And you in the prime of your youth, who are longing to win fame and glory, show them that, although you can be gentle and respectful in keeping the peace, you are successful and brave in war, if that is what necessity demands. Barbarians are bold when others retreat<sup>7</sup> or hesitate, but put up a very different fight if met by resistance. The reason for this is that it is not from set battles that they expect success against an enemy. They believe that it is from hit and run tactics that they gain what plunder they get. We believe in properly disciplined battle tactics and we have learned how to defeat them every time."

4. As Alexander finished speaking, the whole army cheered him, promising him their full support in the

<sup>3</sup> *illum* P

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιθυμήσατε δείξαντες i

<sup>5</sup> ἄγειν ἔχειν O

<sup>6</sup> θαρσύνεται i θρασύνεται Macar

<sup>7</sup> ἢ ἐκ συστ. μάχῃ αὐτοῖς conj Mendelss

<sup>8</sup> P (at) τε Oi

<sup>1</sup> ἀρταξάρης gl (cf. 6.2.1)

<sup>2</sup> ὑμετέρων Δι and ὑμετέρας i

πολεμῆν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ὁ δ' ἐπιδούς αὐτοῖς χρήματα μεγαλοφρόνως, εὐτρεπίζεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἕξοδον ἐκέλευσε.<sup>2</sup> κατελθὼν τε ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν, καὶ τοῖς προειρημένους ὁμοία διαλεχθεῖς, ἐπήγγειλε 2 τὴν ἕξοδον.<sup>2</sup> καταλαβούσης δὲ τῆς ὠρισμένης ἡμέρας θύσας τε τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἕξόδοις<sup>3</sup> νενομισμένας ἱερουργίας, παραπεμφθεῖς τε ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου, τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆρην, ἐπιστρεφόμενος αἰὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ δακρύνων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν δημοτῶν ἦν τις ὃς ἀδακρυτὶ παρέπεμπεν αὐτόν· πόθον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ πλήθει ἐμπεποιήκει ἀνατραφεῖς τε ὑπ' αὐτοῖς<sup>4</sup> καὶ μετρίως 3 ἄρξας τοσοῦτων ἐτών. μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ σπουδῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν, τὰ τε Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα ἐπελθὼν, πλείστην τε δύναμιν κἀκεῖθεν ἀθροίσας, ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμε-

<sup>1</sup> εὐτρεπίζει Ὁ εὐτρεπίζεν? Whit

<sup>2</sup> ἐκέλευσε—ἕξοδον om Ὁ

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ—ἕξόδοις om P

<sup>4</sup> αὐτῶν AP (ab ipsis)

<sup>1</sup> Probably like a popular *acclamatio* in response to the *contio*; cf. 3.6.8 for similar wording. On acclamations in general, see Hammond, *Ant. Monarchy* 284-5, and the references there quoted.

<sup>2</sup> An issue of coins and medallions in 231 record the *profectio* and a series of military slogans; *RIC* IV. 2.112, no. 524, 124, no. 666A; *BMC* VI. 76-9. The title of proconsul which appears in the *acta Arealia* in 231 (*CIL* VI. 2108; also on another inscription, *AE* (1950) 154) may denote that the emperor had left Rome, though the title appears earlier also (*AE* (1941) 163 from Cappadocia; but I am sceptical about this inscription which records *trib. potest. imp. II* (sic) *cos.* also; the *II* has been misplaced and should stand after *cos.*,

war.<sup>1</sup> For his part he made a generous distribution of money to them and ordered preparations for departure to be put in hand. He went to the senate and announced his departure to them in terms similar to what he had already said to the soldiers. Then, 2 as the planned date came, he made the proper sacrifices for departures and, escorted by the senate and all the people, he set out from Rome,<sup>2</sup> continually looking back to the city with tears in his eyes. Not one of even the ordinary people in the procession was without tears either. Brought up under their eyes<sup>3</sup> and after so many years of fair rule, he had made himself loved by the people. The journey was 3 completed with all speed, first to the garrisons in the Illyrian provinces, where he collected a large force; then on to Antioch.<sup>4</sup> On arrival in Antioch he made

thus dating the inscription to 226-8, though omitting *trib. pot.* numerals). A. probably left Rome in late spring 231, arriving in Antioch by the late summer.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1.7.4 for the same observation about Commodus.

<sup>4</sup> Attempts to trace the route of A. and to define his troops by means of dedications for the emperor's well-being are rightly regarded by Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 78n, with scepticism; nor can much confidence be placed in SHA, *Alex.* 50.5, describing A.'s special Macedonian phalanx dressed in special Macedonian armour. The presence of an officer of legio XXX Ulpia (from Vetera on the Rhine) in Ephesus c. 232-5 may be an indication of *vevillationes* from that legion, *AE* (1957) 161. At least some of the soldiers from the legio VII Claudia in Moesia Superior took part in the expedition, since the grave of one of them records him as *interfectus in expeditione Partica et Ar(meniaca)*; *JÖAI* 8 (1905) 19, no. 58; cf. Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1332. Signs of A.'s presence in Thrace are claimed by Instinsky, *Sitzungsb. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. philol.-hist. Kl.* (1938) 421-2 on the grounds that a milestone appears there with the name of Mamaea upon it—

νος τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξήρτυε, γυμνάζων τε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀσκῶν.

4 ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ πρεσβείαν πάλιν πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας διαλέγεσθαι· ἤλπιζε γὰρ αὐτὸν πείσειν ἢ φοβήσειν αὐτὸς παρών. ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέπεμψε ἀπράκτους, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τετρακοσίους Περσῶν τοὺς μεγίστους, ἐσθῆσί τε πολυτελέσι καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένους ἵππων τε καὶ τόξων παρασκευῇ, πρέσβεις ἐπέμψε δὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καταπλήξεν οἰηθεὶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῇ τε ὄψει καὶ τῷ σχήματι τῶν  
5 Περσῶν. ἔλεγε δ' ἡ πρεσβεία ὅτι<sup>1</sup> κελεύει μέγας βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξέρξης<sup>2</sup> ἀφίστασθαι Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Συρίας τε πάσης τε<sup>3</sup> Ἀσίας τῆς Εὐρώπῃ<sup>4</sup> ἀντικειμένης, εἶσαι δὲ ἄρχειν Πέρσας μέχρις Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Καρίας καὶ ὅσα Αἰγαίῳ καὶ Πόντῳ<sup>5</sup> ἔθνη διαιρεῖται· εἶναι<sup>6</sup>  
6 γὰρ αὐτὰ Περσῶν<sup>7</sup> προγονικὰ κτήματα.<sup>6</sup> τοιαῦτά τινα τῶν τετρακοσίων πρέσβεων ἀπαγγειλάντων, κελεύει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς τετρακοσίους συλληφθῆναι, καὶ παρελόμενος πάσης τῆς περικειμένης σκευῆς ἐς Φρυγίαν ἐξέπεμψε, δούς κώμας τε οἰκῶν καὶ χώραν γεωργεῖν, τοσαύτην αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι δὴ i  
<sup>2</sup> ἀρταξέρξης g (cf. 6.2.1)  
<sup>3</sup> Mendelss from 6.2.2. and Zon. 12.15B πάσης ἀσίας τε Oi  
<sup>4</sup> εὐρώπης AVg  
<sup>5</sup> πάντα l προσποντίδι conj Mendelss from 6.2.2  
<sup>6</sup> εἶναι—κτήματα om P  
<sup>7</sup> περσικὰ A om φ

preparations for war, training the soldiers and practising manoeuvres.

He decided to send another diplomatic mission<sup>4</sup> to the Persians to discuss a peaceful alliance, in the hopes of persuading them or frightening them by his actual presence. But the barbarian king sent back the representatives empty-handed, and in return chose four hundred of his tallest Persians, decked in gold and sumptuous clothing and equipped with horses and bows, whom he sent supposedly as his diplomatic representatives to Alexander, thinking that the sight of Persians and their equipment would overawe the Romans. The mission<sup>5</sup> declared that by order of the great king the Romans and their ruler must abandon Syria and the whole of Asia opposite Europe, allowing Persian rule to extend as far as Ionia and Caria and the peoples contained within the Aegean-Pontus seaboard. For these were the traditional possessions of Persians. Upon hearing<sup>6</sup> this ultimatum from the four hundred emissaries, Alexander ordered them all to be seized. They were stripped of their equipment and sent to Phrygia, where they were permitted to settle in villages and farm the land.<sup>1</sup> They were punished only to the

probably Rutilius Pudens Crispinus, who then accompanied A. to Syria (6.5.2n). SHA, *Alex.* 50.5, may contain a garbled reference to six legions moved from the northern frontier for the war, suggests Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1330-1. The several references to *exauctoratio* (Eutrop. 8.23, SHA, *Alex.* 52.3, 54.7) probably refer to cuts in the army before this date for economic rather than disciplinary reasons; cf. Domaszewski (in 6.8.8n).

<sup>1</sup> This piece of information, repeated by Zon. 12.15 (probably from H.), may well be local information picked up by H. while in retirement.

the first recorded case of a milestone with the name of an empress. The governor of Thrace before the expedition was



ἐπιθεῖς τιμωρίαν ὡς οὔκαδε μὴ ἐπάνελθεῖν· ἀποκτεῖναι γὰρ ἀνόσιον καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἀνδρεῖον ἡγήσατο μήτε μαχομένους καὶ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν δεσπότητος ἀγγείλαντας.

7 τούτων δὴ οὕτως πραττομένων, παρασκευαζομένου τε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ διαβῆναι τοὺς ποταμοὺς εἰς τε τὴν βάρβαρον γῆν τὸν στρατὸν διαγαγεῖν, ἐγένοντό τινες καὶ ἀποστάσεις στρατιωτῶν, ἀπὸ τε Αἰγύπτου ἐλληλυθόντων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν, καινοτομησάει τινα ἐπιχειρησάντων περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· οἱ ταχέως φωραθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τινα τῶν στρατοπέδων μετέστησεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς ἕτερα χωρία, ἐπιτηδειότερα δοκοῦντα εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομάς.

5. τούτων δὴ αὐτῷ διοικηθέντων, τῆς τε στρατιᾶς παμπληθοῦς συνειλεγμένης, ὅτε <sup>1</sup> δὴ ἀντίπαλα καὶ ἰσόρροπα ᾤθηται εἶναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματα τῷ πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων, σκεψάμενος σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἔνευε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας,

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι φ

<sup>1</sup> The Euphrates and the Tigris, though the geographic details are so vague it is difficult to know whether A. actually crossed the Tigris at all.

<sup>2</sup> The presence of Egyptian troops from legio II Traiana is confirmed by the log book of the *stratēgos* of the nome of Ombos and Elephantine, Wilcken, *Chrest.* no. 41, dated 232/3.

extent of not being allowed to return home, since Alexander believed it would violate their sacrosanctity and be rather cowardly to execute them when they were not combatants and simply delivering their master's message as ordered.

After this the emperor prepared to cross the 7 rivers<sup>1</sup> and invade barbarian territory with his army. But some of the Egyptian-based troops,<sup>2</sup> joined by some of the Syrians, mutinied in an attempt to cause a change of emperor.<sup>3</sup> The rebels were quickly caught and punished; but Alexander transferred some of the army to other countries where he thought there was more gainful employment for them in checking barbarian raids.

5. After completing these arrangements and collecting together a vast army, Alexander finally estimated that his force was equal in strength to meet the numbers of the enemy.<sup>4</sup> Meeting with his coun-

<sup>3</sup> H. may have misplaced here the mutiny of the Mesopotamian troops, in which the commander Flavius Heraclio was killed; noted by Dio (Xiph.) 80.4.1-2 and apparently dated c. 228; but Dio (Xiph.) 80.3.1 says there were many other revolts. Zos. 1.12 tells of a certain Antoninus who was proclaimed emperor by the troops; also a man called Uranius made a bid for the purple; Syncellus 1.674-5 (Bonn) indicates Edessa as the centre of the trouble. Later writers record another pretender, Taurinus (*Epit. de Caes.* 24; *Polemii Silvii laterculus*, Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* I. 521). The conspirators may all have been one and the same person, though the names are suspiciously like the pretender of 253/4, L. Julius Aurelius Sulpicius Uranius; cf. Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 66.

<sup>4</sup> On the preparatory measures, see 6.2.3n. The preliminary movements occupied most of 231, and the main expedition was probably launched in 232. The hasty repair of roads into Cappadocia in 231 was doubtless ordered as A. passed through Asia (see below).

καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὰ ἀρκτῶα μέρη ἀφορῶσαν, δι' Ἀρμενίας ἐπελθοῦσαν φίλιου Ῥωμαίων δοκούσης, κατατρέχειν τὴν Μήδων χώραν·<sup>2</sup> τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὰ ἑῶα<sup>1</sup> μέρη τῆς βαρβάρου γῆς βλέπουσαν, ἔνθα συρρέοντας τὸν Τίγρητα καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἔλη πυκνότατα ὑποδέχεσθαι λέγουσι καὶ λανθάνειν ποταμῶν ἐκείνων μόνων<sup>2</sup> διὰ τοῦτο τὰς ἐκβολάς· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν καὶ γενναιοτάτην τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτὸς ἔχων ὑπέσχετο ἐπάξειν τοῖς βαρβάροις κατὰ μέσσην τὴν πορείαν.<sup>3</sup> οὕτω γὰρ ᾤετο διαφόροις ἐφόδοις ἀφυλάκτως τε καὶ ἀπροόπτως αὐτοῖς ἐπελεύσεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Περσῶν αἰεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας

<sup>1</sup> ἀρκτῶα φι

<sup>2</sup> ἐκείνων μόνων Α (but -ων μόνων Α<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>3</sup> μέσση τὴν πορείαν (πορίαν Β) Οἱ Μεσοποταμίαν Mendelssohn

<sup>1</sup> The similarity between this strategy and that of Severus in 195 does not prove it is untrue; cf. Dio (Xiph.) 75.2.3. The question of how H. gained his information is impossible to answer, but his account is the most detailed one we possess, and seems trustworthy. He may have had access to the *ephemerides* of A. (cf. *ILS* 1575 recording a freedman Theoprepes who was *procurator ab ephemeride*) or H. may have been present himself in the East; the latter seems more probable in view of his criticisms of A.'s conduct of the war.

<sup>2</sup> The northern column probably crossed the Euphrates near Melitene, judging from the repairs carried out on the Amaseia-Melitene road in 231; *AE* (1905) 132-3, Wilson, *Anatolian Studies* 10 (1960) 135. According to Msiha Zkha (Mingana, *Sources syriaques* 105) the son of Artabanus (Artavasdes) who had been resisting in the mountains of Armenia and Media

cil he divided the army into three columns,<sup>1</sup> the first with orders to reconnoitre the northern regions and, marching through Armenia (ostensibly Roman allies), to overrun the territory of Media.<sup>2</sup> The second was sent to spy out the eastern marches of the barbarian territory, where reports say the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates at their confluence drain into extensive marshes, making them the only rivers whose mouths are concealed.<sup>3</sup> The third column, the cream of the army, Alexander undertook to accompany and lead in person against the barbarians by the central route.<sup>4</sup> He reckoned that by these different lines of advance he would catch the enemy off their guard when they were not expecting him. Also, the Persian force would be con-

(Zon. 12.15) had been captured and executed some years before this (cf. 6.2.1n).

<sup>3</sup> The second column was probably intended to sail down the Euphrates from Dura-Europos; the appearance of a *dux ripae* at Dura about this time was perhaps connected with this activity; Welles-Fink-Gilliam, *Dura-Europos, Final Report V. I.23-4*. It may have been intended to bypass Ardashir's reconstructed capital of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (Veh-Ardashir) and enter Elymais and Persis from the flank (cf. 6.5.6-7).

<sup>4</sup> Almost nothing is heard of this column. A.'s presence at Palmyra (*ἐπιδημία θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*) and the service of Aurelius Zenobius with his Palmyrene cohorts under the governor of Syria Phoenice, Rutilius Pudens Crispinus (*IGRR* III. 1033), suggest that A. did not intend to enter north Mesopotamia, but to cross the difficult terrain to Hatra. The Roman presence at Hatra and record of work on the road from Singara to the Khabur River in 232 (Oates, *Sumar* 11 (1955) 39-43) confirm that Hatra, which had come under attack from Ardashir in c. 229, was now a Roman ally and received a garrison of Moroccan auxiliaries.

διαιρούμενον ἀσθενέστερόν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀτακτό-  
 3 τερον<sup>1</sup> μαχεῖσθαι.<sup>2</sup> οὐ γὰρ δὴ μισθοφόροις χρω-  
 νται στρατιώταις οἱ βάρβαροι ὥσπερ Ῥωμαῖοι,  
 οὐδὲ στρατόπεδα ἔχουσι συνεστώτα καὶ μένοντα,  
 πολέμου τέχναις ἐγγεγυμνασμένα· ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ  
 πλήθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔσθ' ὅπη καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν,  
 ἐπὶ κλεύσει βασιλεύς, ἀθροίζεται. διαλυθέντος  
 δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἕκαστος ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπανέρχεται,  
 τοσοῦτον ἀποκερδήσας ὅσα ἂν ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς αὐτῷ  
 4 περιγένηται. τόξοις τε καὶ ἵπποις οὐκ ἐς τὸ  
 πολεμεῖν μόνον χρωῖνται ὥσπερ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ  
 παιδῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρέφονται<sup>3</sup> καὶ θηρῶντες  
 διαιτῶνται, οὔτε τὰς φαρέτρας ποτὲ ἀποτιθέμενοι  
 οὔτε τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντες, αἰεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 χρώμενοι ἢ κατὰ πολεμίων ἢ κατὰ θηρίων.

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν, ὡς ᾤετο, ἄριστα βεβού-  
 5 λευτο· ἔσφηλε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἢ τύχην. τὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ πεμφθὲν δι' Ἀρμενίας στρατιωτικόν,  
 μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ὑπερβαλὸν τὰ τῆς χώρας ὄρη  
 τραχύτατά τε ὄντα καὶ κρημνωδέστατα (πλὴν ἔτι  
 θέρουσ ὄντος ἀνεκτὴν εἶχε τὴν πορείαν), ἐμβαλὸν

<sup>1</sup> -τερα Ogl

<sup>2</sup> Steph -εσθαι Oi

<sup>3</sup> ἀνατρέφ. ABi

<sup>1</sup> The army was based on the feudal society, with peasant-soldiers providing infantry forces for the feudal lord and an

stantly split facing the invading forces, and thus be weaker and less co-ordinated in battle. It should <sup>3</sup> be explained that the barbarians do not have a paid army like the Romans, nor do they have permanent, standing garrisons,<sup>1</sup> trained in military techniques. Instead there is a general muster of all males, and sometimes women, too, when the king gives the order. At the end of the war everyone returns to his own home enriched by his share of the plunder. They do not use their horses and their bows only in <sup>4</sup> war as the Romans do, since they are brought up using both from childhood; they spend their lives hunting animals, and never let their quivers out of their hands or get off their horses. Both are in constant use, whether in war or in hunting.

Alexander believed he had devised a sound plan of campaign. But chance upset his calculations.<sup>2</sup> The <sup>5</sup> force which had been sent through Armenia, after an almost impossibly difficult crossing of the country's mountain ranges, which were extremely rough and precipitous (though, because it was still summer,<sup>3</sup>

aristocratic class of warriors (artēshtārān) providing the skilled horsemen; cf. *CAH* XII. 114-15 (Christensen).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1.13.6n on the use of fortune and chance in H. This passage provides a good contrast between chance as opposed to human calculations. But later H. attributes the failure of A. to lack of care, cowardice and lack of discipline; the army accused A. of failing to carry out his plan; then in 6.6.3 H. reverts to his original theme, saying that the destruction of the army was due to bad luck and bad judgement.

<sup>3</sup> If A. left Rome in early 231, he would have arrived in Antioch in late summer; the rest of the year was spent in diplomatic exchanges and training. The summer mentioned here was that of 232.

ἐς τὴν Μηδῶν χώραν ἐπόρθει τε αὐτὴν καὶ πολλὰς <sup>1</sup>  
 ἐνέπηρσε κώμας λείαν τε ἀπήγαγεν. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης  
 μαθὼν ἐπήμυνε κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀπείργειν δὲ τοὺς  
 6 Ῥωμαίους οὐ πᾶν τι ἐδύνατο· τραχεία γὰρ οὖσα  
 ἡ χώρα τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς καὶ τὴν βᾶσιν εὐπαγῆ καὶ  
 τὴν πορείαν εὐμαρῆ παρέιχεν, ἡ δ' ἵππος τῶν  
 βαρβάρων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ὄρων τραχύτητος ὁμοῦ  
 καὶ πρὸς δρόμον ἐπέιχετο <sup>2</sup> καὶ καθιππεύειν ἢ  
 ἐπιέναι <sup>3</sup> ἐκωλύετο. ἦγον <sup>3</sup> δὲ τινες ἀγγέλλοντες  
 τῷ Πέρσῃ ὡς ἄρα φαίνοιτο Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς  
 ἕτερος ἐν τοῖς ἐώοις μέρεσι Παρθυαίων, τὰ τε  
 7 πεδία κατατρέχουσι. διόπερ φοβηθεὶς ἐκείνος <sup>4</sup> μὴ  
 τὰ ἐν Πάρθοις ῥαδίως λυμηνάμενοι ἐς Περσας  
 ἐμβάλωσι, καταλιπὼν τινα δύναμιν, ὅσῃν αὐτάρκη  
 ᾤετο ῥύεσθαι Μηδίαν, αὐτὸς σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ  
 ἐς τὰ ἐῶα μέρη ἠπείγετο. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατιὰ τὴν πορείαν ἀμελέστερον ἐποιεῖτο μήτε  
 τινὸς φαινομένου μήτε ἀνθεστῶτος, ἠλπίζε τε τὸν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον σὺν τῇ <sup>5</sup> τρίτῃ μοίρᾳ, γενναιοτάτῃ  
 οὐσῇ καὶ μεγίστῃ, ἐς μέσους ἐμβεβληκέναι τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους, κάκεινους ἀνθελκομένους αἰὲ πρὸς τὸ  
 ἐνοχλοῦν σχολαιτέραν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀδεεστέραν παρ-  
 8 ἕξειν τὴν ἔφοδον. προεῖρητο γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς στρα-  
 τοῖς ὑπερᾶραι εἰς τὴν <γῆν>, <sup>6</sup> καὶ τόπος ὄριστο ἐς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολλὰς om φP<sup>2</sup> ἠπείγετο A<sup>3</sup> ἐπιέναι κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιῶν ῥαδίως οὐχ εἶχε ἦγον A<sup>4</sup> ἐκείνα Oag<sup>5</sup> om φI

the route was traversible), broke through into Media and devastated the country, burning and plundering many settlements. The Persian king was kept informed and resisted as forcibly as he could, but was not really able to block them because the terrain <sup>6</sup> was broken. This provided firm and easy going for infantry movement, but the barbarian horses were stopped by the rough mountainous ground from galloping, and so prevented from making any cavalry attacks and charges. Then came the news to the king that yet another Roman army had appeared in eastern Parthia and was sweeping through the territory.<sup>1</sup> Fearing that the Romans, after devastating <sup>7</sup> the Parthian lands without difficulty, would invade Persia, the king left behind what he considered an adequate force to defend Media and hurried off to the eastern districts at the head of his entire army. Since there was no sign of anyone or any resistance, the Roman army began to grow somewhat careless on the march, expecting that Alexander with the third column (which was the strongest and biggest group) had invaded the central sector of the barbarians, and that, because the enemy were being diverted to the trouble-spot all the time, it would leave them an easier and safer advance. All the troops had pre- <sup>8</sup>viously been instructed to make a flanking move-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 6.5.2n.

<sup>6</sup> Whit from Stav (<πολεμῖαν> for <γῆν>) ὑπερᾶριστῃ (two words B or hyphen V) γλφ ὑπερτρέχειν α στρατοῖς, ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς δηλώσῃ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ βαρβάρων ἔφοδον, τότε ἤδη προσγγίξειν αὐτῷ ἐκότερα τὰ στρατεύματα, παρ' ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν. ἔσφηλε interpol A

ὄν [καὶ ὅπου] <sup>1</sup> συνελθεῖν ἔδει, παντὰ τὰ ἐμπί-  
 τουτα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ χειρουμένους. ἔσφηλε δὲ  
 αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μῆτε εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν στρατὸν  
 μῆτε εἰσελθὼν, ἢ διὰ δέος, ἵνα μὴ δὴ αὐτὸς κινδυνέ-  
 νοι ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς,  
 ἢ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπισχούσης γυναικεία δειλία καὶ  
 9 ὑπερβαλλούση φιλοτεκνία. ἤμβλυε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰς  
 πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ὀρμάς, πείθουσα δεῖν ἄλλους ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτὸν παρατάττεσθαι.  
 ὅπερ τὸν εἰσελθόντα Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἀπώλεσεν.  
 ὁ γὰρ Πέρσης σὺν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἐπελθὼν οὐ  
 προσδοκῶντος τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐκπεριελθὼν καὶ  
 ὥσπερ σαγηνεύσας, πανταχόθεν τε τοξέων, διέ-  
 φθειρε τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὀλίγων τε πρὸς  
 πολλοὺς ἀνθίστασθαι μὴ δυναμένων, καὶ αἰεὶ τὰ  
 γυμνά ἑαυτῶν, ἐς ἃ ἐτοξεύοντο, φραττόντων τοῖς  
 10 ὅπλοις· ῥύεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ σώματα, οὐ  
 μάχεσθαι ἀγαπητὸν ἦν· ἔστε δὴ πάντες ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ  
 συναλισθέντες καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀσπίδων προβολῇ ὥσπερ  
 τειχίσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἐν σχήματι πολιορκίας  
 καὶ <sup>2</sup> πανταχόθεν βαλλόμενοι καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι,

<sup>1</sup> [καὶ ὅπου] φῖ del Steph [καὶ] ἀπαντας Stav αὐτοὺς Wolf

<sup>2</sup> om i

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 6.1.8 for Mamaea's dominant position. It is typical of H.'s interpretation of history that he should look for the moral causes underlying the failure of A., whose rule was, after all, one of which he approved. A ready answer lay to hand in the domination exercised over A. by his mother; this is the reason why such a disproportionate number of

ment into the territory, and a rendezvous had been fixed where they should meet, once the territory between them was also under control. But Alexander failed them by not invading with his army. Perhaps it was due to fear—no doubt he wanted to avoid risking his own life and limb for the Roman empire. Or his mother may have restrained him because of her womanly timidity and excessive love for her son.<sup>1</sup> She used to blunt Alexander's efforts to behave bravely by convincing him that it was other people's job to take risks for him, not his to get involved in the battle. It was this which brought about the end of the invading Roman army. The Persian king attacked the army with his entire force, catching them by surprise and surrounding them in a trap. Under fire from all sides, the Roman troops were destroyed, because they were unable to stand up to the superior numbers and were continually having to shield with their weapons their exposed sides that formed a target for the enemy.<sup>2</sup> Under the circumstances saving one's skin was preferable to fighting. In the end they were all driven into a 10 huddle and fought from behind a wall of shields, as though they were in a siege. Bombarded from every angle and suffering casualties, they held out bravely for as long as they could. But finally they were all

chapters are devoted to the last four years of A.'s life, compared to the single chapter covering the first nine years of rule.

<sup>2</sup> While there is no reason to doubt the general facts of this defeat of the Roman column the actual battle is described in conventional clichés; thus, "few against many" (cf. 1.12.7 for a similar jingle); exposed sides in battle was a typical feature of hoplite warfare (cf. Xen. *de Rep. Lac.* 11.9); a "wall of shields," etc.

ἀντισχόντες ἐς ὅσον ἐνεδέχεται ἀνδρείως, τὸ τελευ-  
 ταιὸν πάντες διεφθάρησαν. μεγίστη τε αὐτῆ  
 συμφορὰ καὶ οὐ ραδίως μνημονευθεῖσα Ῥωμαίους  
 ἐπέσχε, δυνάμειος μεγίστης διαφθοαίσεως, γνώμη  
 καὶ ῥώμη μηδεμιᾶς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποδεούσης· τὸν  
 τε Πέρσῃ ἐς ἐλπίδα μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἐτύφωσε  
 τηλικούτων ἔργων εὐπραγία.

6. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐδηλώθη χαλε-  
 πῶς νοσοῦντι εἴτε διὰ δυσθυμίαν εἴτε διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 ἀέρος ἀήθειαν, αὐτὸς τε δυσφόρως ἤνεγκε, καὶ ὁ  
 λοιπὸς στρατὸς ἠγανάκτησε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 καὶ ἐχαλέπαινε, ὅτι δὴ ψευσαμένου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ  
 τηρήσαντος τὰ συνθήματα προδοθείη ὁ εἰσελθὼν  
 2 στρατὸς. πλὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος μήτε τὴν νόσον  
 φέρων καὶ τὸ πνιγῶδες τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ τε στρατοῦ  
 παντὸς νοσοῦντος, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν, οἱ ὑγρῶ καὶ χειμερίῳ ἀέρι ἐνεπισημέ-  
 νοι τροφὰς τε πλείονας συνήθως εἰσφερόμενοι  
 χαλεπῶς νοσοῦντες διεφθείροντο, ἐπανελθεῖν τε ἐς  
 τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐβουλεύσατο, καὶ πέμψας τὸν ἐν  
 3 Μηδία στρατὸν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν  
 ὁ στρατὸς ἐπανιῶν πλείστος ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διεφθάρη,  
 καὶ ἠκρωτηριάσθησαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν δυσχειμέρῳ  
 χώρᾳ, ὡς ὀλιγίστους<sup>1</sup> πάνυ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπανελθεῖν·  
 τὸ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ πλήθος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανήγαγε, πολλῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς  
 μοίρας ἀπολωλότων, ὡς μεγίστην ἐνεγκεῖν δυσθυ-  
 μίαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀδοξίαν, σφαλέντι

<sup>1</sup> ὀλίγους α

destroyed. This terrible disaster, which no one  
 likes to remember, was a set-back to the Romans,  
 since a vast army, matching anything in earlier genera-  
 tions for courage and toughness, had been destroyed.  
 Success in this important engagement fired the Per-  
 sians with greater ambition.

6. The news came to Alexander while he was  
 seriously ill, either from melancholia or lack of ac-  
 climatization to the atmosphere,<sup>1</sup> and made him  
 bitterly depressed. But the rest of the army was  
 absolutely furious with Alexander because the in-  
 vading army had been betrayed by his deception and  
 failure to keep to the plan. But the emperor could 2  
 not bear his illness or the stifling atmosphere. His  
 whole army was suffering from sickness, but par-  
 ticularly the Illyrian troops, who were seriously ill and  
 dying because they were used to a healthy, wintry  
 climate and normally ate more food. So he decided  
 to return to Antioch, and sent orders to the army in  
 Media to return. But very few of the many soldiers 3  
 in this army survived the return trip, most of them  
 dying in the mountains and several suffering mutila-  
 tion of the hands and feet from the wintry condi-  
 tions of the country. Alexander led his own body of  
 men back to Antioch, but many of this section too had  
 died, causing both the soldier's morale and the em-  
 peror's reputation to sink to their lowest point. Both  
 Alexander's judgement and his luck had failed, with

<sup>1</sup> For the diseases of the atmosphere, see Hippoc. *de nat. hom.* 9; those in colder climates eat more, Hippoc. *de aer.* 3-4. Quoted by Leisner in Irmisch, *Herod. Hist. ad. loc.* (with many other examples of current medical views); cf. Arist. *de gen. anim.* 4.2.767a for diet and climate.

καὶ γνώμη καὶ τύχη, καὶ τῶν τριῶν μοιρῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ ὧν ἔνειμε τὸ πλεῖστον ἀποβαλόντι διαφόροις συμφοραῖς, νόσω πολέμῳ <sup>1</sup> κρύει.

<sup>4</sup> γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς τε ῥαδίως ἐπερρώσθη τῷ εὐψυχεῖ καὶ ἐνύδρῳ <sup>2</sup> τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τὸν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ ξηρὸν αὐχμὸν, τοὺς τε στρατιώτας ἀνεκτάτο, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς λελύπηντο παρεμυθεῖτο μεγαλοδωρία χρημάτων· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον ἐς εὐνοίας ἀνάκτησιν στρατιωτῶν ἐνόμιζε φάρμακον. δύναμίν τε ἤθροιζε καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ὡς δὴ πάλιν ἐπάξων <sup>3</sup> Πέρσαις, <sup>5</sup> εἰ ἐνοχλοῖεν καὶ μὴ ἡσυχάζοιεν. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Πέρσης λύσας τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐκάστους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀποπέμψας. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος ὑπέρτεροι <sup>4</sup> ἐδόκουν <sup>5</sup> γεγενῆσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι, πλὴν ὄμως ἐτετρύχωντο ταῖς τε κατὰ Μηδίαν πολλάκις γενομέναις συμβολαῖς τῇ τε ἐν Παρθίᾳ μάχῃ, πολλῶν μὲν πεσόντων παμπλείστων δὲ τετρωμένων. οὐ γὰρ ἀνάνδρως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι <sup>6</sup> ἠττήθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔσθ'

<sup>1</sup> λιμῶ? cf. SHA *Alex.* 57.3

<sup>2</sup> ἐνύδρω Δ

<sup>3</sup> ἐπανήξων Ο

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ὑπερ. Ο

<sup>5</sup> om φ

<sup>6</sup> γεναῖοι φ ἐκείνοι Α

<sup>1</sup> SHA, *Alex.* 57.3, claims to be quoting H. in saying that the army died by hunger, cold and disease (cf. *app. critic.*); but

the result that of the three originally established army groups he had lost the greater part in a series of different disasters, disease, war <sup>1</sup> and cold.

On his return to Antioch <sup>2</sup> Alexander made an easy <sup>4</sup> return to health in the refreshing atmosphere of the city with its plentiful water supply after the arid drought of Mesopotamia. He attempted to restore the morale of the soldiers and passify their annoyance by a generous distribution of money, believing this to be the only remedy which would restore his popularity with them. He also mobilized a force in preparation for another attack on the Persians if they gave trouble and did not remain peaceful. But a <sup>5</sup> report came that the Persian king too had demobilized his troops, dispersing them all to their respective homes. Even though the barbarians seemed to have emerged the victors by some superior force,<sup>3</sup> yet they had been damaged by the frequent skirmishes in Media and the battle in Parthia, because of the heavy list of losses and even greater number of wounded. The Romans, far from having retreated ignominiously, had in some cases actually inflicted

the *vita* claims this is contrary to the general reports, which were that A. had won a great victory (*Alex.* 55.1).

<sup>2</sup> During the winter of 232/3. It was probably during this time that Julia Mamaea met Origen, from whom, according to Eusebius, she received instruction while he stayed at court; Euseb. *HE* 6.21.3-4, Downey, *Hist. of Antioch* 305-6.

<sup>3</sup> An ambiguous phrase which editors have taken mean either "by some divine aid" (*forte quadam divinitus*); Bergler, Leisner, Stephan; or "from superior force of arms" (*ex meliore*); cf. Irmisch for references. Though the latter is tautologous, it is typical of H. to repeat himself. But cf. 8.3.9 for the claim that divine force had intervened if one was worsted in battle.

ὅπη κακώσαντες, παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολόμενοι παρ' ὅσον πλήθει ἐλάττους εὐρέθησαν, ὡς σχεδὸν ἰσαριθμοὺς γενομένου τοῦ ἑκατέρωθεν πεσόντος στρατοῦ τὸ περιλειφθὲν τῶν βαρβάρων πλήθει ἄλλ' οὐ δυνάμει δοκεῖν<sup>1</sup> νενικηκέαι. δειγμα δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μικρὸν τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων κακώσεως· ἐτῶν γοῦν τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡσύχασαν οὐδ' ἐν ὅπλοις ἐγένοντο. ἄπερ μανθάνων ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ αὐτὸς<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβεν· εὐθυμότερος δὲ καὶ ἀδεέστερος γενόμενος ἀνειμένης αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὴν πολεμικὰ φροντίδος, ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐσχόλαζε τρυφαῖς.

7. οἰομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν <μῆ> συγκειμένη<sup>3</sup> ἡσύχάζειν, ἔχειν<sup>4</sup> δὲ ἀνακωχὴν καὶ μέλλησω τῷ βαρβάρῳ πρὸς τὸ πάλιν ἐπάγειν τὸν στρατόν, ὃς ἅπασα διαλυθεὶς οὐ ραδίως ἡθροίζετο ἅτε<sup>5</sup> μὴ συντεταγμένος μηδὲ συνεστῶς, ἄλλ' ὄχλος μᾶλλον ἢ στρατὸς ὑπάρχων, καὶ τῶν ἐπισιτισμῶν αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτων ὄντων ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστος ἀφικνούμενος πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ χρειῶδες ἐπενέγκηται, καὶ δυσασοσπάστως τε καὶ δυσόκνως

<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ Aa

<sup>2</sup> Syll οδτος Οαg οδτ' 1

<sup>3</sup> Whit τὰ ἐν π. ἐν εἰρήνῃ συγκείμενα (-κείμενος I) OI ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν οὐ κείμενα corr Steph <μῆ> μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ συγκειμένη Schwartz

<sup>4</sup> παρέχειν Lang Mendelss <sup>5</sup> ὅτε φ οὔτε A

<sup>1</sup> Very similar to the language of Herodot. 2.169, though it is clear that H. is not directly copying Herodotus. Once again it is as though H. has a model in mind which uncon-

serious damage too on the enemy, and had only been destroyed in so far as they were fewer in number.<sup>1</sup> Practically the same number of soldiers fell on each side, making the barbarian survivors appear to have won by force of numbers and not sturdiness. Fairly clear evidence of the damage to the barbarians lies in the fact that for three or four years they remained quiet without resorting to arms.<sup>2</sup> Learning of this, Alexander also stayed in Antioch and devoted himself to the pleasures of the city, growing more cheerful and more confident as his worries about the war relaxed.

7. The emperor calculated that, since Persian affairs were dormant in an unofficial peace, this acted as an obstacle to the barbarian king and caused him to hesitate in making a second invasion with his army. For, if once the Persian disbanded his army, it was difficult to reassemble, because it was not an organized standing force. Being really a horde of men rather than an army, with as much food supplies as each person on arrival brought for his own needs, they were difficult

sciously suggests to him a train of vocabulary; cf. 4.2.10n for another Herodotean model.

<sup>2</sup> Indicating that A.'s campaign had not been entirely unsuccessful. H. was probably alive to witness, and here refers to, the serious danger caused by the invasion of the Roman empire by Shapur, successor of Ardashir, c. 241/2. Unfortunately H.'s vague "three or four years" make it impossible to place much confidence in this, one of the few pieces of evidence H. produces for the length of his own lifetime. Cf. 2.15.7n and Introduction, pp. xii-xix. SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 13.4-5, and Zon. 12.18 suggest that the Persians were again active in the reign of Maximinus, but the case is far from proved; cf. *CAH* XII. 130 (Ensslin).



καταλειπόντων<sup>1</sup> τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν  
<sup>2</sup> οἰκειάν χώραν, αἰφνιδίως ἄγγελοι τε καὶ γράμματα  
 ἐτάραξε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐς μείζονα φροντίδα  
 ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπιστειλάντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπεπιστευμέ-  
 νων τὴν Ἰλλυρίδος ἡγεμονίαν ὅτι ἄρα Γερμανοὶ  
 Ῥῆγον καὶ Ἴστρον διαβαίνοντες<sup>2</sup> τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 πορθοῦσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις στρα-  
 τόπεδα ἐπικείμενα πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας πολλῇ  
 δυνάμει κατατρέχουσι, εἴη τε οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ  
 κινδύνῳ τὰ Ἰλλυρικά ἔθνη ὁμοροῦντα καὶ γειντι-  
<sup>3</sup> ὦντα Ἰταλία· δεῖσθαι τοίνυν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας  
 καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὃς ἦν σὺν αὐτῷ. δηλωθέν-  
 τα δὴ ταῦτα τὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἐτάραξε καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐκ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ στρατιώτας ἐλύπησε,<sup>3</sup> διπλῆ  
 δοκοῦντας κεχρῆσθαι συμφορᾷ,<sup>3</sup> ἔκ τε ὧν πεπόν-  
 θεσαν Πέρσαις μαχόμενοι, ἔκ τε ὧν ἐπυθάνοντο  
 τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστοι ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ἀπολωλότας.

<sup>1</sup> P -λιπόντων Oi<sup>2</sup> διαβάαντες Jo<sup>3</sup> ἐλύπησε—συμφορᾷ om A

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 6.5.3n; the reference is evidently to the feudal, peasant-farmer infantry force used by the Persians.

<sup>2</sup> For the ambiguity of the term "Illyrian," see 2.9.9, but H. evidently refers here to the dangers threatening Noricum and Raetia, territories which were sometimes included in the term "Illyrian"; cf. Appian *Ill.* 6. Yet judging from the first point of A.'s expedition (later completed by Maximinus) it was the Rhine not the Danube where the more serious danger lay. Nevertheless H. is correct about the extensiveness of the crisis on the front. The destruction of the forts of Zugmantel and Saalburg on the Taurus salient and of Pfünz and Böhming just west of Regensburg in the years c. 233/4 show that the entire

and reluctant to be torn away and leave their wives and families or their own land.<sup>1</sup> But no <sup>2</sup> sooner had Alexander made this calculation than dispatch-carriers and their communicués demoralized him and threw him in a greater state of anxiety. The message from the governors in Illyria was that the Germans were on the march across the Rhine and Danube, devastating the Roman empire, over-running the garrisons on the river banks, and also the cities and villages, with a large force and putting the Illyrians who bordered Italy as neighbours in considerable danger.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, they <sup>3</sup> said, the presence of Alexander and the entire army he had with him was essential. This news dismayed Alexander and caused distress to the soldiers transferred from Illyricum. They felt they had suffered a double tragedy, first in their misfortunes of the Persian war and then in the reports they received individually about the destruction of their families by the Germans.<sup>3</sup> They turned their anger

Rhine-Danube link was in danger of collapse through the intrusion of the Alamanni; cf. Franke, *Saalburg-Jahrb.* 15 (1956) 5-28, Forni in Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.* (limes) 1216. Later Maximinus was preoccupied with the lower Danube tribes who may also have broken through at this time.

<sup>3</sup> The regional attachments of the legions had always been strong; cf. Tac. *H.* 2.80 (the Syrian legions' fear of being transferred to Germany). Severus' reforms accelerated the process of localization and the growth of permanent military attachments (3.8.5n). One of the causes of the discontent of the Rhine troops in 235 was a fear that they might be transferred to the East (SHA, *Alex.* 63.5-6, *Max.* 7.5-6). Signs of local frontier militia in the Odenwald and Wetterau along the German *limes* as early as the late second century and the same along the African frontier (probably about the same date) does

ἡγανάκτουν οὖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον ἐν αἰτία ὡς τὰ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς δι' ἀμέλειαν ἢ δειλίαν προδεδωκότα, πρὸς τε τὰ ἀρκτῶα μέλλοντα  
 4 καὶ ὀκνοῦντα. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δέος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῖς τε συνοῦσι φίλοις ἤδη καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἡγοῦντο τὸν ἐκ Περσῶν κίνδυνον οἶον τὸν<sup>1</sup> ἐκ Γερμανῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς κατοικοῦντες, μακρᾷ γῆ καὶ θαλάττῃ πολλῇ διηρημένοι, τὴν Ἰταλῶν χώραν μόλις ἀκούουσι, τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ δὲ ἔθνη στενὰ ὄντα καὶ οὐ πολλὴν ἔχοντα<sup>2</sup> τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν, παρὰ τοσοῦτον ὁμόρους καὶ γείτονας ποιεῖ Γερμανοῦς  
 5 Ἰταλιώταις.<sup>3</sup> ἐπαγγέλλει δὴ ἄκων μὲν καὶ ἀσχάλλων τὴν ἕξοδον, πλὴν τῆς ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν κα-

<sup>1</sup> A om φι<sup>2</sup> ἀπέχοντα A<sup>3</sup> γερμανοῦς τοῖς ἰταλιώταις, παρ' ὅσον αἱ ἄλλαι ἀλλήλους διαφράττουσιν. ἐπαγγέλλει A

not, of course, support the statement of SHA, *Alex.* 58.4, that A. began the system of hereditary *limitanei*; cf. Schliegmacher, *Bericht d. röm-germ. Kommission, 1942-50* (1953) 146-8; Baradez, *Fossatum Africae* 165 ff.

<sup>1</sup> An important statement for understanding part of the reason for H.'s explanation of Roman institutions to his audience.

<sup>2</sup> The reading may be corrupt here; the sense is that the territory held by the Illyrians within the Roman empire is so narrow that the frontier with the Germans is close to the borders of Italy. The interpolation by the Monacensis MS (A) assumes that H. is discussing the area of Raetia and

on Alexander, blaming him for his betrayal of their cause in the East through his negligence or cowardice and his hesitant procrastination over the northern crisis. Alexander and the advisers who accompanied **4** him were by this time even concerned about Italy, rating the German menace as very different from the Persians. The inhabitants of the eastern territories, separated as they are by a wide stretch of land and sea, hardly hear about Italy.<sup>1</sup> But the Illyrian provinces are a narrow stretch of land that do not occupy much of Roman territory.<sup>2</sup> This makes the Germans practically adjacent neighbours of the Italians. Reluctantly and sadly (through sheer necessity) Alex- **5** ander issued the proclamation of an expedition.<sup>3</sup> A

Noricum. The original home of the Illyrians in Bohemia, Moravia and N. Hungary lay across the Danube from Raetia and Noricum. They had been driven from their homes southwards and eastwards, or assimilated by the invading Celts and Germans over the centuries. Cf. Anderson, *Tacitus, Germania* 216-17, Fluss *RE* suppl. 5 (Illyrioi) 312-26.

<sup>3</sup> H. fails to make clear that A. returned to Rome in 233, when he celebrated a triumph and distributed his fifth *congiarium*. Although A. did not assume a title, he is described on an African milestone as *Partico max(imo)* [*Persico*] *max(imo)*; Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 81-2. The references to *Mars ultor* on coins, reminiscent of Augustus' dedication of the Parthian standards, may reflect a genuine victory (cf. SHA, *Alex.* 56.7 *signis relictis*). Acclamations of the senate are purported to have taken place on 23rd September 233 (*ibid.* 56.2); cf. Victor *Caes.* 24.2, Eutrop. 8.23, which allege victories. A medallion of 233 shows the emperor crowned by victory and trampling on the Tigris and Euphrates, Gnecci, *Medagl. Rom.* II. 81, no. 17. A number of inscriptions also mention victory (collected by Jardé, *op. cit.* 83n; e.g. *CIL* VI. 186 *pro salute et reditu et victoria*); cf. *BMC* VI. 82 f., SHA, *Alex.* 56.1, 57.1. The German expedition did not begin until 234.

λόυσης. καταλιπών τε δύναμιν ὄσπν ᾤετο αὐτάρκη  
 ῥύεσθαι τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὄχθας, τά τε στρατόπεδα  
 καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐπιμελέστερον τειχίσας καὶ  
 πληρώσας ἕκαστα τοῦ ὠρισμένου στρατοῦ, αὐτὸς  
 ἐς Γερμανοὺς ἠπέιγετο ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ πληθίει.  
 6 ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐπέστῃ  
 ταῖς τοῦ Ῥήνου ὄχθαις, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Γερμανι-  
 κὸν<sup>1</sup> πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο, τὸν τε ποταμὸν  
 ναυσὶ διελάμβανεν, ὧν<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ἀλλήλας συνδεθεισῶν  
 γεφυρωθέντα εὐμαρῆ τὴν διάβασιν τοῖς στρατιώταις  
 παρέξευ ᾤετο. μέγιστοι γὰρ δὴ οὗτοι ποταμῶν  
 ὑπ' ἄρκτω ῥέουσι, Ῥηνός τε καὶ Ἰστρος, ὁ μὲν  
 Γερμανοὺς ὁ δὲ Παίονας παραμείβων· οἱ θέρουσ

<sup>1</sup> om P<sup>2</sup> Steph διαλαμβάνων ὡς Oi

<sup>1</sup> A change in the disposition of the legions was made to cover the route from south Mesopotamia; legio III Gallica (reconstituted after Elagabalus) went nearer Palmyra (Danada); VI Ferrata went to Syria Phoenice from Palestine, Dura was probably strengthened and Hatra received a garrison (6.5.2n). On the strength of the legions see 6.8.8n.

<sup>2</sup> Signs of A.'s activities are evident in the Taunus salient, north of Moguntiacum, where the frontier had been strengthened as early as 223 and again after 229; cf. Schleiermacher, *op. cit.* and *Hist.* 2 (1953/4) 103-4, Forni in Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.* (limes) I198. Timesitheus, who had organized some of the supply lines for A. in the Persian war, is recorded about this time as *proc(urator) patrimoni(i) prov(inci)arum Belgic(ae) et duarum Germaniar(um) ibi vice praesid(is) prov(inci)ae German(iae) inferior(is)*, a remarkable office for an equestrian official during the German war, and indicating the extent to which A.'s doctrinaire devotion to senatorial appointments

force was left behind, sufficiently large, in his opinion, to defend the Roman side of the river; the camps and outposts were given more efficient defences<sup>1</sup> and their full complement of soldiers. The rest of the force Alexander himself took with him and marched against the Germans. After completing the journey at 6 great speed, the emperor reached the banks of the Rhine,<sup>2</sup> where he began to prepare for the German war. The river was filled with boats, which, when lashed together, he believed would provide the troops with a convenient crossing by way of a bridge.<sup>3</sup> The Rhine and the Danube are the two largest northern rivers, the one bordering Germany and the other Pannonia.<sup>4</sup> In summer their depth and breadth pro-

was modified in practice; *ILS* 1330, Domaszewski, *RhM* 58 (1903) 227-8.

<sup>3</sup> The use of *διαλαμβάνω* in the sense of "intersect" is frequently used by Herodotus with the word "river"—thus to divide up and fill up the river (e.g. 1.190, 1.202, etc.). A medallion of 235 (*trib. pot. xiv*) shows A. crossing a bridge of boats; the obverse portrays both A. and Mamaea with the legend *mater Aug(usti)*; *BMC* VI. 209, no. 967 (pl. 31). In 7.1.7 H. appears to forget that A. has already bridged the Rhine and makes Maximinus build another bridge; but I doubt whether we know enough of the circumstances to affirm that this is another sign of lack of revision on H.'s part, since a bridge of boats might well have been dismantled and reconstructed in a relatively short space of time; cf. Poblocki, *de Herod. vita* 22.

<sup>4</sup> A.'s activities appear to be confined to the Rhine, though Maximinus later went on to the Danube. All of the information about the two rivers is simply repetition of literary commonplaces; e.g. Ovid, *Trist.* 3.10.29 ff. (*undas frigore concretas ungula pulsat equi*), *Pont.* 1.2.80, 4.7.9-10, Pliny, *Paneg.* 12.3, 82.4-5 (*eadem illa nunc rigentia gelu flumina aut campis superflua*); later repeated by Claudian, *Bell. Get.* 338, Rutil. *de red.* 1.485 (see next note).

μὲν νασίπορον ἔχουσι τὸ ρεῖθρον διὰ βάθος τε  
καὶ πλάτος, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παγέντες <sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ  
7 κρύους ἐν πεδίου σχήματι καθιππεύονται. ἀντιτυ-  
πὲς δὲ οὕτω καὶ στερρὸν γίνεται τό ποτε ρεῖθρον  
ὡς μὴ μόνον ἵππων ὀπλαῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀντέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀρύσασθαι θέλοντας μὴ  
κάλπεις ἐπ' αὐτὸ <sup>2</sup> μηδὲ κοῖλα σκευή φέρειν,  
πελέκεις δὲ καὶ δικέλλας, ἵν' ἐκκόψαντες γυμνόν τε  
σκεύους ἀράμεινοι τὸ ὕδωρ φέρωσιν ὡσπερ λίθον.  
8 φύσις μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν αὕτη· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος  
Μαυρουσίους <sup>3</sup> τε πλείστους καὶ τοξοτῶν  
ἀριθμὸν πολλὸν ἐπαγόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς <sup>3</sup> ἔκ-  
τε τῆς Ὀσροηνῶν χώρας, καὶ εἴ τινας Παρθυαίων  
αὐτόμολοι ἢ χρήμασιν ἀναπεισθέντες ἠκολούθηκε-  
σαν <sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ βοηθήσοντες, ἐξήρτυε δὴ <sup>5</sup> Γερμανοῖς  
ἀντιτάξων. μάλιστα γὰρ τοιοῦτος στρατὸς ὀχληρὸς  
ἐκείνοις γίνεται, τῶν τε Μαυρουσίων πόρρωθεν  
ἀκοντιζόντων καὶ τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τὰς τε ἀναχωρή-  
σεις κούφως ποιουμένων, τῶν τε τοξοτῶν ἐς  
γυμνὰς τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ σώματα ἐπιμήκη  
ῤῆστα καὶ πόρρωθεν κατὰ <sup>6</sup> σκοποῦ τοξευόντων.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> παγέντος Ogl<sup>2</sup> Reisk αὐτῷ φη ἐς αὐτὸ A<sup>3</sup> Μαυρουσίους—ἀνατολῆς om A<sup>4</sup> ἠκολούθησαν O<sup>5</sup> δὲ Oag<sup>6</sup> <ὡς> κατὰ Steph<sup>7</sup> lacuna after τοξευόντων Mendelssohn Stav

<sup>1</sup> A typical conceit of the kind favoured by the sophistic schools (cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 3.10.23-4), who delighted in expanding

vide a navigable channel, but in winter they are frozen over because of the low temperatures, and are used by horses as though they were firm ground. So hard <sup>7</sup> and solid does the river, at one time a flowing current, now become that it does not just support the weight of horses' hooves and men's feet but, if anyone wants to draw water, they do not bring water-jugs and empty bowls but axes and mattocks to hack it out and carry it home like a stone in their hands without a bowl.<sup>1</sup>

So much for the description of the rivers. Alexander had brought with him very many Moroccans and a huge force of archers from the East;<sup>2</sup> the latter came from Osroene, though some were Parthian deserters and mercenaries that had enlisted to serve the emperor. This force Alexander began to train to use against the Germans. An army of this kind is particularly harassing to them because the Mauretians, with their long-range javelin throwing, used their tactics of light-armed attack and withdrawal, and the archers found the Germans' bare heads and large bodies an easy long-distance target for their arrows.

a theme by means of these picturesque *schemata ennoias*. The whole of this passage on the rivers (which is not obviously relevant to the history—winter on the Danube?) bears all the character of a *melete* (a practice declamation) with its use of antithesis, *parisa*, assonance and chiasmus. The inclusion of this material was not to give information to an ignorant audience but to please a sophisticated public. Cf. Introduction, pp. xxviii ff.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence of the presence of eastern troops is confirmed by *CIL* XI. 3104, XIII. 6677a (the name of the Osroenians has been obliterated, probably because of their subsequent revolt, 7.1.9-10). For other troops, see 7.2.3n.

ἐπιθέοντες δὲ πρὸς <sup>1</sup> τὴν συστάδην <sup>2</sup> μάχην, ἀντιτυπεῖς <sup>3</sup> καὶ ἰσόρροποι πολλάκις Ῥωμαίους ἐγίνοντο.<sup>4</sup>

9 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· πλὴν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖαν πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης διαλέγεσθαι. πάντα τε ὑπισχνεῖτο παρέξειν ὅσων δέονται, καὶ χρημάτων ἀφειδῶς ἔχειν.<sup>5</sup> τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα Γερμανοὶ πείθονται, φιλάργυροί τε ὄντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην αἰεὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χρυσίου καπηλεύοντες· ὅθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπειράτο ὠνήσασθαι μᾶλλον τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς <sup>6</sup> σπονδὰς ἢ διὰ πολέμου κινδυνεύειν. οἱ μέντοι στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον διατριβῆς τε ματαίας ἐγγυνομένης, καὶ μηδὲν τι γενναῖον ἢ πρόθυμον ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν παρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ' ἠνιοχεῖαι καὶ τρυφαῖς προσέχοντος,<sup>7</sup> δέον ἐπεξελεθεῖν καὶ τιμωρῆσασθαι Γερμανοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς προτετολμημένοις.<sup>8</sup> 8. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῷ στρατῷ Μαξιμίνος

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιθέοντες δὲ πρὸς Stroth ἐπέθεόν τε πρὸς φῖ ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄντες πρὸς A ἐπέθεόν (<εἰθ' ὅτε>) πρὸς Syll

<sup>2</sup> συσταδὸν i <sup>3</sup> <ἐν ἧ> ἀντιτυπ. Steph <sup>4</sup> ἐγένοντο Aal

<sup>5</sup> ἔξειν Steph perhaps ὑπισχ. ὅσων δέονται χρημ. καὶ ἀφειδῶς παρέξειν Whit

<sup>6</sup> αὐτοῦ φ <sup>7</sup> σχολάζοντος Jo <sup>8</sup> τετολμ. VI

<sup>1</sup> The phrase may refer to the Germans, not the *auxilia*; cf. *app. critic.* for a conjectured lacuna in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1.6.9 for the same implied criticism of Commodus and the same comments on barbarian avarice. SHA, *Alex.* 63.5-6, *Max.* 7.5-6, expand the theme to a typical rumour that A. and his mother were anxious to return to the East. The story, says the *vita*, was put out by the *amatores Maximini*. A's problem must have been to gain time along a frontier which had been penetrated in several places (cf. 6.7.2n).

If they charged into close combat, they were stubborn fighters and often the equals of the Romans.<sup>1</sup>

Such was Alexander's position. He decided, <sup>9</sup> however, to send a mission to the Germans to discuss peace terms, with a promise to meet all their requirements and saying that he had plenty of money.<sup>2</sup> This was the most effective bargaining counter with the Germans, who were avaricious and always ready to trade peace with the Romans in exchange for gold. That was why Alexander attempted to buy terms from them rather than risk the danger of war. But <sup>10</sup> the soldiers bitterly resented this ridiculous waste of time. In their opinion Alexander showed no honourable intention to pursue the war and preferred chariot-racing and a life of ease, when he should have marched out to punish the Germans for their previous insolence.

8. In the army there was a man called Maximinus,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> C. Julius Verus Maximinus; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 407. The *vita* draws heavily upon H. but may contain some information from Dexippus, a near contemporary, and other less trustworthy sources. M. was born c. 172/3 (Zon. 12.16), probably a non-citizen (next note), who was recruited into the *auxilia* (cf. SHA, *Max.* 2.2 ff., for the possibility of transfer into the *equites singulares* in 196, though the passage is suspect, 3.6.9n). At some stage he gained his citizenship, perhaps for service in the field under the governor of Dacia c. 198/203, C. Julius Maximinus (*CIL* III. 1127). He transferred to the legions (by 211, SHA, *Max.* 4.4), rising through the ranks to be perhaps a *primus pilus*; from this position he may well have been transferred to the equestrian rank and a tribunate in the praetorian guard (cf. Birley, *R. Britain and the R. Army* 119-24, for the normality of such a progression), as suggested by SHA, *Max.* 5.1, under Elagabalus. After a number of equestrian *praefecturae* (see below), he was appointed *praefectus tironibus*. Although this was an age in which distinctions

ὄνομα, τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν ἐνδοτάτω Θρακῶν καὶ  
 μιζοβαρβάρων, ἀπὸ τινος κώμης, ὡς ἐλέγετο,<sup>1</sup>  
 πρότερον μὲν ἐν παιδί ποιμαίνων, ἐν ἀκμῇ δὲ τῆς  
 ἡλικίας γενόμενος διὰ μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχύν σώματος  
 ἐς τοὺς ἰππεύοντας στρατιώτας καταταγείς,<sup>2</sup> εἶτα  
 κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν χειραγωγούσης τῆς τύχης ἐλθὼν  
 διὰ πάσης τάξεως στρατιωτικῆς, ὡς στρατοπέδων  
 τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν τε ἀρχὰς πιστευθῆναι.  
 2 τὸν δὲ Μαξιμῖνον τοῦτον διὰ τὴν προειρημένην  
 στρατιωτικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέστησε  
 πάσῃ τῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ νεολαίᾳ, ὡς ἀσκοίη τε αὐτοὺς  
 τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ πολεμῆν ἐπιτηδείους  
 παρασκευάζοι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ποιού-

<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἐλέγ. om P

<sup>2</sup> ταγείς Jo καταλεγείς lex Vindob

between senators and equestrians were rapidly losing their rigidity, there is no good reason for believing M. ever reached the rank of senator; all his posts can be explained in terms of equestrian military appointments; Bang, *Hermes* 41 (1906) 300-3.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek almost exactly corresponds to the Latin in *pueritia*. A list of H.'s Latinisms proves not that he drew upon a Latin source, but that he was influenced by Latin; cf. I.12.2n. There is no reason to mistrust the story of M.'s lowly origin, though H. (7.1.7) later admits it is a scandalous story. The Greek "semi-barbarous" means semi-Romanized, says Hohl, *Klio* 34 (1942) 264-89, and tales of Gothic or German parentage are later inventions; cf. SHA, *Max.* 1.6 (parents called Micca and Hababa, corruption of *mixo-barbaros*), Syncellus 1.674, 681 (Bonn) says he was a *Mysos* = Moesian,

from one of the semi-barbarous tribes of the interior of Thrace. He is reported to have come from a village where he was a shepherd-boy<sup>1</sup> once. As he grew to manhood, he was drafted into the army as a horseman because of his size and strength. Soon, with the help of a bit of luck, he progressed through all the ranks in the army and was given charge of legions and commands over provinces.<sup>2</sup> Because of this military experience, Alexander put<sup>2</sup> Maximinus in charge of all the recruits to give them military training and turn them out fit for battle. He discharged his trust extremely conscientiously,

which Altheim, *RhM* 91 (1942) 350-3 relates to a native of the *ripa Thracica* in the Dobrudja, but this seems unlikely.

<sup>2</sup> The exact offices held by M. are difficult to determine from H.'s Greek. The best interpretation seems to be that after the praetorian tribunate M. became an auxiliary *praefectus* or *tribunus* (cf. Zos. 1.13 which says M. was *praefectus alae* in 235); then he probably became a kind of local military governor, perhaps *praefectus civitatium Moesiae et Treballiae* (cf. *ILS* 1349 for the office and Victor, *Caes.* 25.1, describing M. as *praesidens Trebellicae*), which might be described generically as *praefectus gentium*, an office held by ex-auxiliary officers (cf. *ILS* 2750 *tribunus militiis perfunctus procurator Aug(usti) ad curam gentium*); about 230 M. may have been appointed as *praefectus legionis II Traianae* in Egypt, an office sometimes described as *praefectus castrorum* and not infrequently held by an ex-*primus pilus* (Passerini in Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.* (legio) 580-5); there is some evidence for M. and his son in Egypt in 232 in Wilken, *Chrest.* no. 41, though only a restored text. From Egypt M. went to Mesopotamia either as *praefectus legionis* or *praefectus castrorum* (the terms are used much as in Egypt), the latter possibly indicating that M. co-ordinated the legions in the province. The office of *praefectus castrorum* was an important post in this period, one grade below a praetorian prefect (*CIL* III. 99; cf. Vegetius 2.9-10). See the discussion in Dobson-Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* xxxi-iv.

μενος τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα εὐνοίαν πολλήν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκήσατο, οὐ μόνον διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὰ ποιητέα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις πάντων προηγούμενος, ὡς μὴ μαθητὰς εἶναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ζηλωτὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τῆς ἐκείνου ἀνδρείας.

3 ἔτι τε καὶ δώροις αὐτοὺς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς τιμαῖς ὤκειώσατο. ὅθεν οἱ νεαῖαι, ἐν οἷς ἦν τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος Παιόνων μάλιστα, τῇ μὲν ἀνδρεία τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ἔχαιρον, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπέσκωπτον ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς <sup>1</sup> ἀρχόμενον, καὶ διοικουμένον τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπ' ἐξουσίας τε καὶ γνώμης γυναικός, ῥαθύμως τε καὶ ἀνάνδρως τοῖς πολεμικοῖς προσφερομένον ἐκείνου. ὑπεμίμησκον δὲ ἀλλήλους τῶν τε ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς διὰ μέλλησιν αὐτοῦ παισμάτων, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἀνδρεῖον μηδὲ

4 νεανικὸν <sup>2</sup> παρέχουτο ἐς Γερμανοὺς ἔλθῶν. ὄντες οὖν καὶ ἄλλως πρὸς τὸ καινοτομεῖν ἐπιτήδειοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν παρὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς βαρὺ διὰ μήκος ἐξουσίας ἡγούμενοι ἀκερδῆς τε ἤδη πάσης προαηλωμένης

<sup>1</sup> τε μητρὸς φαg<sup>2</sup> μηδὲ νεανικὸν om Jo

<sup>1</sup> The office of *praefectus tironibus*, apart from being concerned with training of recruits, may well have been of much wider responsibilities; it was sometimes connected with the census; cf. Ensslin, *RE* (*praefectus*) 1336. But in this case M. may have been responsible for mustering the forces required for the campaign; cf. *ILS* 487 which records a body of M.'s recruits who had been engaged on improving the communications to Aquileia, a key town for the Danube front—*viam quoque geminam a porta usque ad pontem per tirones iuventutis novae Italicae suae dilectus . . . munivit* (sc.

earning great popularity among the troops because he did not confine himself only to teaching them what to do but also took the lead in all the tasks.<sup>1</sup> As a result they were not just pupils but copied his example of courage.<sup>2</sup> He also won their allegiance <sup>3</sup> still more by awarding them prizes and all kinds of honours. So the young men, of whom the greater majority were Pannonians, admired Maximinus' courage and despised Alexander for being under his mother's control and for the fact that business was conducted on the authority and advice of a woman, while he himself presented a picture of negligence and cowardice in his conduct of war.<sup>3</sup> They reminded themselves of the eastern disasters due to his procrastination and how he had shown no sign of bravery or enthusiasm when he came to Germany. On top of their general inclination to revolt, the <sup>4</sup> soldiers found the current state of the empire annoying because of the length of Alexander's rule, and unprofitable now that all his munificence had

*Maximinus*) ac restituit—though the date may be after M. became emperor; cf. 8.4.1n.

<sup>2</sup> A hackneyed rhetorical antithesis; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1.6.3, *Isoc. ad Dem.* 12 (Drerup), Joseph, *BJ* 5.314.

<sup>3</sup> There is little reason to believe that one of the causes of the mutiny was A.'s excessive severity, which is part of the idealized portrait of A. in the *vitae*; SHA, *Alex.* 12.5, 25.2, 50.1, 59.6, *Max.* 7.6. In fact A. seems to have been unable to exercise any real discipline over the troops (e.g. SHA, *Max.* 7.2); cf. 6.4.7n. Although it is stated that M.'s initial support came from the Pannonian recruits, Syncellus 1.674 (Bonn) speaks of the Celtic army (i.e. the German Rhine army) as supporters of M. In this context, note that another equestrian, Timesitheus, was controlling the legions of the lower Rhine (6.7.6n, 7.1.4n).

φιλοτιμίας, τὸ δὲ μέλλον καὶ προσιὸν ἕς τε <sup>1</sup> τὸ κερδαλέον αὐτοῖς εὐελπι καὶ τῷ κτωμένῳ παρὰ προσδοκίαν τίμιόν τε <sup>2</sup> καὶ περισπούδαστον, ἐβουλεύσαντο ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀνειπεῖν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Σεβαστὸν τὸν Μαξιμίνον, συστρατιώτην τε αὐτῶν ὄντα καὶ σύσκημον, ἕς τε τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον δι' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ <sup>5</sup> ἀνδρείαν ἐπιτήδειον δοκοῦντα. ἀθροισθέντες οὖν ἔς τὸ πεδίον ὠπλισμένοι ὡς δὴ ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη γυμνάσια, προελθόντα καὶ ἐπιστάνα αὐτοῖς τὸν Μαξιμίνον, εἴτε ἀγνοοῦντα <sup>3</sup> τὸ πραττόμενον εἴτε καὶ λάθρᾳ τοῦτο προκατασκευάσαντα, πορφύραν ἐπιβαλόντες <sup>4</sup> βασιλικὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορεύου- <sup>6</sup> σιν. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρητέτο καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ἀπερρίπτει· ὡς δὲ ἐνέκειντο ξιφῆρεις ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλοῦντες, τοῦ παρόντος κινδύνου τὸν μέλλοντα <sup>5</sup> προελόμενος ἀνεδέξατο τὴν τιμὴν, πολλάκις αὐτῷ πρότερον, ὡς ἔλεγε, χρησμῶν καὶ ὄνε ι ράτων τὴν τσσαύτην τύχην προειρηκότων, ἐπιὼν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅτι ἄκων μὲν καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος ἀναδέχεται, πειθόμενος τῇ ἐκείνων

<sup>1</sup> ἔσται φι<sup>2</sup> τι ο<sup>3</sup> P Steph καὶ νοοῦντα Oi<sup>4</sup> πορφύρα περιβαλόντες Jo<sup>5</sup> Jo τὸ μέλλον Oi

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively translated, "... and unprofitable because his sense of ambition had spent itself". But, since H. indicates (6.3.1.) that A. never possessed military ambitions, it is more consistent to regard this as another reference to the parsimony of the reign (cf. 6.8.8n). Clearly a reduction of largess was not the concern of new recruits alone.

<sup>2</sup> For the *commilito* theme, see, e.g., 1.5.3, 4.14.4, etc.

dried up.<sup>1</sup> But they were optimistic that the near future would be profitable for them and bring desirable honours to the man who unexpectedly benefited. They planned to do away with Alexander and declare Maximinus emperor and Augustus, because he was their fellow soldier and camp-mate,<sup>2</sup> and seemed the ideal choice for the present war with his experience and courage. They gathered in the open, <sup>5</sup> wearing their armour as though for their usual training, and, as Maximinus came forward to supervise them, they threw the purple, imperial cloak over him and proclaimed him emperor, though it is not clear whether Maximinus himself was unaware of what was happening or whether he had planned this secretly. His <sup>6</sup> first reaction was to refuse <sup>3</sup> and throw off the purple cloak, but when they insisted at the point of the sword, threatening to kill him, he preferred to avoid the immediate danger rather than one in the future, and accepted the honour (though the story is that oracles and dreams had frequently in the past predicted such a fortune for him). He addressed his soldiers and advised them that, although he accepted under protest in spite of himself, because he bowed <sup>7</sup> to their desire, they must back up their decisions by

<sup>3</sup> H. rightly expresses some scepticism over the refusal of power, though no doubt it was considered a means for testing the enthusiasm and real support a candidate possessed among the troops; cf. 2.3.4n. A number of sources record that the revolt was not initiated by M., but by some officers; SHA, *Max. 7.4 (tribuni barbari)*. Zos. 1.13.1 says that the revolt began among the legions from Pannonia and Moesia, who had already taken up a hostile attitude to A. (6.7.3n). Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 90n, believes that Zosimus' account derives in part from Dexippus.



7 βουλῆσει, παραγγέλλει δ' αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ βεβαιῶσαι  
 τὰ δόξαντα ἀραμένους τε τὰ ὄπλα σπεύδειν  
 ἐπιστῆναι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀγνοοῦντι, τὴν φήμην  
 φθάσαντας, ἵν' ἐκπλήξαντες τοὺς συνόντας ἐκείνῳ  
 στρατιώτας καὶ φρουροὺς τοῦ σώματος ἢ πείσαιεν  
 ὁμογνωμονῆσαι ἢ ῥᾶστα βιάσαιτο ἀπαρασκευoύς  
 8 τῷ μηδὲν προσδοκᾶν. ὡς δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς εὐνοίαν καὶ  
 προθυμίαν πάνν<sup>1</sup> προκαλέσαιτο,<sup>2</sup> τά τε σιτηρέσια  
 ἐπεδιπλασίασε, νομάς τε καὶ δόσεις μεγίστας  
 ὑπέσχετο, τιμωρίας τε καὶ κηλίδας πάσας αὐτοῖς  
 ἀνῆκεν, ἐπὶ τε τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγαγεν· οὐ πολὺ δ'  
 ἀφειστήκει τὸ χωρίον ἔνθα ἐσκήνου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος  
 καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.

<sup>1</sup> μάλλον A

<sup>2</sup> (or προσ-) Nauck προκαλέσατο Vag προκαλέσατο A  
 προσεκαλέσατο I προσκαλέσαντο B

<sup>1</sup> Very similar vocabulary is used by Zos. 1.13.1, indicating that the writer was at least attempting to amalgamate H. with his other sources. If so, he has misunderstood the significance of the Pannonian references and assumed that M. was actually in Pannonia when the revolt broke out. He then adds that when A., who was on the Rhine, heard of the news he set out for Rome, forgave the conspirators, was joined by Mamaea and the prefects from Rome, who had come to settle the mutiny, and was finally killed. But there is no reason to believe this is true, since it stems from an explanation of how it was that M., who was in Pannonia, and A., who was in Germany, could have met.

<sup>2</sup> On the question of rises in pay and the meaning of *siteresio*, see 3.8.4-5n, 4.4.7n. The three kinds of military payments described here seem to be the *stipendium* (pay,

action. They must get hold of their arms and quickly overpower Alexander before the news arrived, while he was still in the dark. The object was to overcome his attendant soldiers and his bodyguard, and either persuade them to acquiesce or compel them to do so without difficulty, catching them unprepared by the unexpectedness of the event.<sup>1</sup> To assure his popularity and their enthusiasm, Maximinus doubled their pay,<sup>2</sup> promised an enormous bonus of cash and kind, and cancelled all punishments and marks of disgrace against them. Then he marched them out on their journey. The position of the camp of Alexander and his retinue was not far away.<sup>3</sup>

*siteresio*), *donativum* (bonus cash payments) and other kinds of *dona* (originally called *congiaria*, but the term was usually reserved for payments to the city populace) which were payments in kind, such as oil, wine, etc. It is impossible that M. doubled the salary, that had already been raised so high by Caracalla. Therefore Domaszewski, *RhM* 58 (1903) 383, suggested that Alexander and Mamaea had reduced the *stipendium* to pre-Caracalla levels, thereby being able to afford to bring the legions up to full strength (cf. 6.7.5); a measure unsuccessfully attempted by Macrinus (5.2.5n). The theory is attractive because it explains the reasons for Mamaea's reputation for miserliness (6.1.8, 6.9.4) and the serious unrest among the legions (6.8.3n). But Passerini, *Athen.* 24 (1946) 158, discounts the theory, and believes that H. here means that the recipients of double pay were limited to the mutinous legions, who thus became *duplicarii*, as had perhaps happened to the soldiers who had supported Elagabalus in 217 (cf. *CIL* VIII. 2584). In either case the increased military expenditure was responsible for an added severity on the part of provincial procurators in collections of taxes and the *annona militaris*, as in Africa (7.4.4n).

<sup>3</sup> SHA, *Max.* 7.4, says the camp was *non longe ab urbe quadam* in Gaul (i.e. Germany); the town was Moguntiacum; cf. 6.9.8n, Syncellus 1.674 (Bonn).

9. ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐν<sup>1</sup> μέγιστη ταραχῇ γενόμενος καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἐκπλαγείς, προπηθήσας τῆς βασιλείου σκηνῆς ὡσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, δακρυρροῶν καὶ τρέμων τοῦ τε Μαξιμίνου ὡς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀχαρίστου κατα-  
<sup>2</sup>θείσας πρὸς αὐτοῦ διηγούμενος, τοὺς τε νεανίας<sup>2</sup> ἠτιᾶτο ὡς προπετῶς καὶ ἐπιόρκως ταῦτα τετολημκότας, δώσειν τε πάντα ὑπισχνεῖτο ὧν δέοντο, καὶ ἐπανορθώσεσθαι<sup>3</sup> εἴ τι μέμφωτο. οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιῶται ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας εὐφημήσαντες αὐτὸν παρέπεμψαν, ὑποσχόμενοι  
<sup>3</sup>παντὶ σθένει προασπίσειν<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ. τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ διαδραμούσης, κατὰ τὸ περιόρθρον ἀγγελιάντων τινῶν ὅτι δὴ Μαξιμίνος πρόσεισι<sup>5</sup> κόνις τε πόρρωθεν ἐγειρομένη φαίνεται βοῆς τε ἤχος πλήθους ἐξακουέται, πάλιν προελθὼν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, συγκαλέσας τε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐδεῖτο προμαχεῖν καὶ σώζειν ὃν ἀνεθρέψαντο καὶ ὑφ' ᾧ βασιλεύοντι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἀμέμπτως βεβιώκεσαν, πάντας τε ἐς οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον προκαλούμενος<sup>6</sup> ὀπλίζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν καὶ ἐξελθόν-  
<sup>4</sup>τας ἀντιτάττεσθαι. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὑπισχνοῦντο, κατ' ὀλίγους<sup>7</sup> δὲ ἀνεχώρου οὐδ' ὄπλα λαβεῖν ἤθελον. οἱ δὲ τινας τὸν ἐπάρχοντα<sup>8</sup> τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους Ἀλεξάνδρου

9. When Alexander was told what had happened, he was panic-stricken and utterly dumbfounded by the extraordinary news. He came rushing out of the imperial tent like a man possessed, weeping and trembling and raving against Maximinus for being unfaithful and ungrateful, recounting all the favours that had been showered upon him. He blamed the  
<sup>2</sup>recruits for daring to do such a rash thing in violation of their oaths of allegiance; he promised he would give them anything they wanted and put right any complaint. All that day Alexander's own soldiers stood by him with expressions of loyalty and promising they would protect him with all their strength. After the passage of the night, at dawn  
<sup>3</sup>reports came in to say that Maximinus was approaching, because there was a cloud of dust in sight a long way off and a sound could be heard from the shouts of a sizeable body of men. Going out on to the parade ground again, Alexander mustered his troops and begged them to fight for him and protect the emperor whom they had brought up<sup>1</sup> and under whose rule they had lived for fourteen years without complaint. After appealing to everyone's sympathy and pity, he gave the order to arm and take up positions out in the battle line. In spite of their first  
<sup>4</sup>promises, the soldiers began to back out one by one and refuse to take up their weapons. Some of them demanded the execution of the military prefect and

<sup>1</sup> ἀπηγγέλη τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν α

<sup>2</sup> JoP νεανίας συστρατιώτας Oi

<sup>3</sup> -σασθαι A -θῶσαι φ

<sup>4</sup> Steph -ζειν Oi

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 6.4.2, 1.7.4.

<sup>5</sup> AP (*adesse*) πρόσεισι φι

<sup>6</sup> προσκαλούμενος i

<sup>7</sup> ὀλίγων from P (*paulatim*)

<sup>8</sup> ἐπάρχον τε αὐτῷ ἐπάρχον τε g (ἐ over erasure g<sup>2</sup>)

ἦτουν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν, πρόφασιν ποιούμενοι αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως γεγενῆσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐμέμφοντο ὡς φιλάργυρον καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποκλείουσαν, διὰ τε μικρολογίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδόσεις ὀκνηρὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεμισημένου.<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>5</sup> καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῶς τοιαῦτα διαφόρως βοῶντες προσέμενον· ὡς δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ὁ <sup>2</sup> στρατὸς ἤδη τε ἐν ὄψεσιν ἦν, καὶ <sup>3</sup> βοῶντες οἱ νεανίαὶ προουκαλοῦντο τοὺς <sup>3</sup> συστρατιώτας <sup>4</sup> καταλιπεῖν μὲν γύναιον μικρολόγον καὶ μειράκιον δειλὸν <sup>5</sup> μητρὶ δουλεῖον, προσίειναι δὲ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ σώφρονι συστρατιώτῃ τε ἐν ὄπλοις αἰεὶ καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις διητημένῳ, πεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλιμπάνουσιν,<sup>6</sup> αὐτοὶ δὲ προσίασι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ, αὐτοκράτωρ τε <sup>6</sup> ὑπὸ πάντων ἐκεῖνος ἀναγορεύεται. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τρέμων καὶ λιποψυχῶν <sup>7</sup> μόλις ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπανέρχεται· τῇ τε μητρὶ περιπλακείς, καὶ ὡς φασιν, ἀποδυρόμενός τε καὶ αἰτιώμενος ὅτι δι' ἐκείνην ταῦτα πάσχει,<sup>8</sup> ἀνέμενε τὸν φονεύσοντα.<sup>9</sup> ὁ δὲ Μαξιμίνος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ Σεβαστὸς

<sup>1</sup> *quae . . . invisum cunctis Alexandrum reddiderit* P (leading to many emendations) ὀκνηρὸν <αἰτίαν> τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μίσους Mendels

<sup>2</sup> Aa om φgl <sup>3</sup> καὶ—τοὺς om i but not P

<sup>4</sup> στρατιώτας i *comilitones* P <sup>5</sup> μικρὸν i

<sup>6</sup> καταλείπουσι ag (but καταλιμπάνουσι g<sup>1</sup> in mg)

<sup>7</sup> Bekk<sup>2</sup> λειποψυχῶν Oi <sup>8</sup> a -ειεν A-oi φgl

<sup>9</sup> -σαντα φJo

Alexander's household<sup>1</sup> on the grounds that they had been responsible for the retreat. Others criticized his mother's rapacity and miserliness over money.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this parsimonious attitude and unreadiness to distribute largess Alexander was disliked. Thus the soldiers remained where they were for some 5 time shouting out different complaints. Maximinus' army was by now in sight and the young recruits began to call out, urging their fellow soldiers to desert their "mean little sissy" or "their timid little lad tied to his mother's apron strings" and to come over to the side of a man who was brave and moderate, always their companion in battle and devoted to a life of military action. The soldiers were persuaded, and abandoning Alexander, they joined Maximinus, who was universally acclaimed as emperor. Trembling and terrified out of his wits, <sup>6</sup> Alexander just managed to get back to his tent. There, the reports say, he waited for his executioner, clinging to his mother and weeping and blaming her for his misfortunes. After Maximinus had been hailed with the title of Augustus by the whole army,

<sup>1</sup> H.'s language does not make it clear whether it is the praetorian prefect who was the subject of hatred or another official, though one naturally assumes it was the former. Names of A.'s later prefects are not known; perhaps the jurist, Julius Paulus was in office at this time; Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 44 ff., thinks he was the successor of Ulpian, though there is no proof that he was ever prefect (Howe, *Praef.* Pref. 105 f.). Possibly M. Attius Cornelianus, prefect about 230 was still in office and is the prefect referred to on *CIL* II. 2664 (234); cf. Howe, *op. cit.*, no. 39. Zos. 1.13.2 says that the prefects (i.e. both) were killed in 235.

<sup>2</sup> For a possible explanation of Mamaea's motives, see 6.8.8n.

προσαγορευθεὶς πέμπει χιλιάρχην ἑκατοντάρχας τέ  
 τινας τοὺς φονεύσοντας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν  
 μητέρα καὶ εἶ<sup>1</sup> τινες ἀνθίσταντο τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.  
 7 οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ἐπιπηδήσαντες τῇ σκηνῇ  
 αὐτὸν τε ἀναιροῦσι καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ<sup>1</sup> εἶ τινες  
 ἐδόκουν ἐκείνῳ φίλοι καὶ τίμοι, πλὴν τῶν πρὸς  
 ὀλίγον φυγεῖν ἢ λαθεῖν δυνηθέντων, οὓς πάντας  
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ Μαξιμίνος συλλαβῶν ἀπέκτεινεν.  
 8 τέλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 [καὶ τὴν μητέρα],<sup>2</sup> βασιλεύσαντα ἔτεσι τεσσαρεσ-  
 καίδεκα, ὅσον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀμέμπτως  
 καὶ ἀναιμωτί· φόνων τε γὰρ καὶ ὠμότητος  
 ἀκρίτων τε ἔργων ἀλλότριος ἐγένετο, ἔς τε τὸ  
 φιλάνθρωπον καὶ εὐεργετικώτερον<sup>3</sup> ἐπιρρηπής.  
 πάνν γοῦν ἂν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεία εὐδοκίμησεν  
 ἐς τὸ ὀλόκληρον, εἰ μὴ διεβέβλητο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς  
 μητρὸς ἐς φιλαργυρίαν τε καὶ μικρολογίαν.

<sup>1</sup> εἶ τινες—καὶ om A

<sup>2</sup> om Cassola

<sup>3</sup> εὐεργετικὸν AJo

<sup>1</sup> Cassola, *RAAN* 38 (1963) 143, rightly points out that the phrase “and his mother” has crept in from 6.9.6 and 6.9.7, through the hand of a careless copyist. It does not fit here grammatically.

<sup>2</sup> The exact date is not known for A.'s death. SHA, *Alex.* 59-60 (corrected by Lécirvain, *Études sur l'Histoire Aug.* 229) means he died on 22nd March (235) at Bretzenheim bei Mainz; the other literary evidence for the length of his reign is col-

he sent a tribune with some centurions to kill Alexander and his mother and any of his entourage that showed resistance. On arrival they burst into the 7 tent and slaughtered the emperor, his mother and all those thought to be his friends or favourites. Some of them managed to escape or hide for a brief time, but Maximinus soon caught them and killed them all.

So Alexander [and his mother]<sup>1</sup> met his end after 8 a rule of fourteen years which, as far as his subjects were concerned, was without fault or bloodshed.<sup>2</sup> Murder, cruelty and injustice were not part of his nature; his inclination was towards humane and benevolent behaviour. Indeed, his reign would have been notable for its complete success, but for the blame he incurred through his mother's faults of avarice and meanness.

lected in *CIL* XIII. 2.1, p. 298, though Eutrop. 8.23, Victor, *Caes.* 24.7, and *liber generationis* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1.138) all more or less agree that A. ruled almost exactly thirteen years from the death of Elagabalus. An attempt by van Sickle, *CP* 22 (1927) 315-17, and Schwartz, *CE* 30 (1955) 124-6, to date A.'s death to 8th January 235 is based on the insecure evidence of *P.Oxy.* 912, whose date is partially missing. News of Maximinus' accession was known in Rome by 25th March (*CIL* VI. 2001), in Numidia by 3rd May (*AE* (1948) 209), but not known—or at least unrecorded—in Egypt on 4th April (*Stud. Pal.* 20, no. 35) nor in Dura-Europos on 21st June (*Dura-Europos, Prelim. Report* V. 1.298). A date about 10th March would be consistent with the evidence; cf. Gilliam, *CE* 31 (1956) 149-51.

## BOOK SEVEN

## BIBΛION EBΔOMON

1. Τίνι μὲν βίῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐχρήσατο τέλει τε ὁποῖω βασιλεύσας ἐτῶν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐδηλώσαμεν· ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν <sup>1</sup> πολλὴν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο, τραχύτατα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ φόβου τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρώμενος, ἔκ τε πραείας καὶ πάνυ ἡμέρου βασιλείας ἐς τυραννίδος ὠμότητα μετὰγειν πάντα <sup>2</sup> ἐπειρᾶτο, δυσμένειαν <sup>3</sup> ἑαυτῷ συνειδώς, ὅτι <sup>4</sup> πρῶτος ἐξ εὐτελείας τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐς τοσαύτην <sup>2</sup> τύχην ἤλασε. φύσει δὲ ἦν τὸ ἦθος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γένος, βάρβαρος· τό τε φονικὸν πάτριον ἔχων καὶ ἐπιχώριον, πρόνοιαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' ὠμότητος βεβαιῶσαι, δεδιὼς μή τι τῇ <sup>5</sup> συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐκαταφρόνητος γένηται, οὐκ ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτοῦ τύχην ἀφορῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τῆς γενέσεως <sup>6</sup> εὐτελεῖ σπάργανα. τεθρῦλητο γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ διεβέβλητο, ὅτι δὴ ποιμαίνων

<sup>1</sup> iJo βασιλειαν O      <sup>2</sup> om O

<sup>3</sup> δυσγένειαν Sylb cf. SHA Max. 8.9 *propter humilitatem generis barbari a nobilitate contemneretur*

<sup>4</sup> ὅτι τε ι      <sup>5</sup> μήτε τῇ α μή τοι τῇ A μή τῇ τε g

<sup>6</sup> γενήσεως φ

## BOOK SEVEN

1. In the last book I described the life and death of Alexander in a reign of fourteen years.<sup>1</sup> Once Maximinus had taken over the empire, he caused a great change, exercising his power cruelly and causing widespread fear. He tried to make a complete transformation from a mild tolerant autocracy to a savage tyranny,<sup>2</sup> conscious of the hatred against him for being the first man to rise from the most humble origins to such a fortunate position. But by his birth and normal behaviour he was a barbarian. Possessing the bloodthirsty temperament derived from his ancestors and his country, he devoted himself to strengthening his rule by cruel actions. He was afraid that the senate and his subjects would despise him, forgetting his present good fortune and fixing their attention on the humble circumstances of his birth. There was a scandalous story widely circulated that he was supposed

<sup>1</sup> For the recapitulation of chapter headings, see 3.1.1n.

<sup>2</sup> H. is at pains to fit M. into the schematic form of ideogrammatic language that he has used throughout the history; cf. I.1.4n. So he contrasts *tyrannos* and *basileus*, savagery and gentleness, barbarian and Roman, military and senatorial. The subject was obviously one of political importance as H. wrote, and therefore H. is in danger of exaggerating the extent of the *metabole* that took place in the empire. See the comments of Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 52 ff., and Introduction, pp. lxxii ff.

ἐν τοῖς Θρακίοις ὄρεσιν, ἐπίδους τε αὐτὸν διὰ μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχὸν σώματος ἐς<sup>1</sup> εὐτελῆ καὶ ἐπιχώριον στρατείαν, ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐπὶ τὴν<sup>3</sup> Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν κεχειραγωγῆτο. εὐθέως οὖν τοὺς τε φίλους πάντας, οἱ συνῆσαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σύνεδροί τε<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ<sup>3</sup> τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπιλεχθέντες, ἀπεσκευάσατο, καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέπεμψε, τινὰς δὲ ἐπὶ προφάσει διοικήσεως ἀπεσεύασατο, μόνος εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ μηδένα<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ παρῆναι ἐκ συνειδήσεως εὐγενοῦς κρείττονα, ἀλλ' ἕν' ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ παρόντος ᾧ<sup>5</sup> νέμειν αἰδῶ ἀνάγκην ἔχει, τοῖς τῆς τυραννίδος ἔργοις σχολάζουσι. τὴν τε

to have been a shepherd in the Thracian mountains until he offered himself for service in the small, local army because of his physical size and strength.<sup>1</sup> It was the hand of chance that had brought him to rule the Roman empire. He immediately disposed of<sup>3</sup> all the friends accompanying Alexander, members of his council selected by the senate;<sup>2</sup> some were sent to Rome, others he removed from the administration on some excuse. He wanted to be left on his own surrounded by his army,<sup>3</sup> without anybody being near him who had the advantage of being aware of their own nobility. Like a man living in a fortress untroubled by the presence of anyone to whom he would have to pay respect, he could then be free to carry out his tyrannous activities. The en-<sup>4</sup>

that both the *comites* and the members of the *consilium* were part of the same group chosen by the senate, or whether it is only the latter who were chosen for A.

<sup>3</sup> H. does not clarify the issue of whether the senate officially recognized M.'s principate, though it is almost inconceivable he should fail to mention so important a matter if there were anything but the normal procedure. Bersanetti, *Massimino* 9-20, believes the senate recognized M.'s usurpation, and only in 238 repudiated his title; but Altheim, *Niedergang d. alt. Welt* II. 236, is sceptical about senatorial recognition, basing his view upon Victor, *Caes.* 25.1, *primus e militaribus potentiam cepit suffragiis legionum*; but Victor's interests in the case render him more, not less, suspect. *CIL* VI. 2001, 2009 both record M.'s inclusion in the *sodales Antoniniani* (though the name is later erased) with the title *pro cos ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)*. Nor is there any reason to doubt that M.'s son received the title of Caesar in 236 and M.'s wife, Caecina Paulina, was deified soon after in the usual way with senatorial decrees; cf. *RIC* IV. 2.153, *AE* (1964) 220 and 236. Victor also says that the senate recognized M., *dum periculosum existimant inermes armato resistere*.

<sup>1</sup> P καὶ Oi

<sup>2</sup> om Reisk but see Crook, (*Consilium Principis* 87)

<sup>3</sup> ἀπό Mendelss

<sup>4</sup> μηδὲν φδο μηδέν' Mendelss

<sup>5</sup> ὄν AV

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 6.8.1, where the same details are related as facts; it is clear that H. accepts them as true, since they fit in with his stereotype. M. would have enlisted in the *auxilia*, since Thrace was technically a *provincia inermis*. The famous petition by the villagers of Skaptopare in Thrace show the rapacity of these troops in 238, *IGRR* 1.674. A large number of Thracian auxiliaries also served outside the province; cf. Cheesman, *Auxilia of the R. Army* 178-9 and 81 (*equites singulares*).

<sup>2</sup> See 6.1.2n and Crook, *Consilium Principis* 87. It is not clear from H.'s rather loose construction whether he means

θεραπείαν πάσαν, ἣ συγγεγόνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 τοσοῦτων ἐτών, τῆς βασιλείου αὐτῆς ἀπέπεμψε.  
 τοὺς δὲ πλείστους αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπιβουλὰς  
 ὑποπτεύων· ἦδει γὰρ ἀλογούντας ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνου  
 ἀναιρέσει.

ἔτι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐς ἀμόγητα καὶ τὴν  
 πρὸς ἅπαντας ὀργὴν προυκαλέσατο συνωμοσία τις  
 διαβληθεῖσα κατ' αὐτοῦ συγκροτουμένη, πολλῶν  
 τε ἑκατοντάρχων συμπνεόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 5 βουλῆς ἀπάντων. Μάγνος τις ὄνομα ἦν τῶν  
 εὐπατριδῶν τε καὶ ὑπατευκότων· οὗτος διεβλήθη  
 συνάγειν κατ' αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καὶ στρατιώτας τινὰς  
 πείθειν ἐς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν μετάγειν. ἡ δὲ  
 συσκευὴ τοιαύτη τις ἐλέγετο ἔσεσθαι. γεφυρώσας  
 τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ Μαξιμῖνος ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ Γερμανοῦς  
 6 διαβήσεσθαι· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν  
 εὐθέως πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἤρξατο, καὶ διὰ σώματος

<sup>1</sup> There is a danger of exaggerating the break. Though not a servant, Quartinus was alive later (7.1.9n); several of A.'s senatorial supporters continued to serve in office (7.3.4n). One of A.'s most trusted equestrian partisans, Timesitheus (cf. 5.5.3n, 6.2.3n, 6.7.6n), though removed from the German legions, was promoted to an extensive procuratorial office in Bithynia and Pontus which included acting as governor of the (senatorial?) province; he later went on to a similar position in Asia, controlling the entire finances of the province and acting as proconsul; *ILS* 1330, Dobson-Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* 273, Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 65 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Almost certainly C. Petronius Magnus; *Albo* 1125, whose name is still legible, though erased, on the famous *album* of the patrons of Canusium that was set up in 223 (*CIL* IX.

tire serving staff, who had been with Alexander for many years, were dismissed from the court. Most of them were executed on suspicion of treason since Maximinus knew they mourned the loss of Alexander.<sup>1</sup>

The disclosure of a plot formed against him, in which many centurions and people from the senate downwards joined, encouraged him to show still more brutality and bitterness towards everyone. A man <sup>5</sup> called Magnus,<sup>2</sup> a patrician consular, was accused of gathering together a group round himself and prompting some soldiers to transfer power to himself. It was alleged that his plan was to be as follows. Once Maximinus bridged the river,<sup>3</sup> he was on the point of crossing to attack the Germans. For no <sup>6</sup> sooner had he gained power, than he began his military campaign. Since he had apparently been

338 = *ILS* 6121); the list of senators prominent immediately after the accession of A. provides a rough guide to the group who now supported Magnus, though there is a danger of exaggerating their homogeneity (cf. Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* 37 ff., Jardé, *Sévère Alexandre* 123-5). Among them are several members of the old Antonine aristocracy (Appius Claudius Julianus, L. Bruttius Crispinus, C. Bruttius Praesens), some of the new Severan élite (L. Didius Marinus—who married M. Aurelius' daughter, Cornificia, L. Aedinius Julianus, L. Domitius Honoratus, L. Lucilius Priscillianus), ex-equestrians adlected into the senate. Magnus is probably the praetor in the reign of Caracalla mentioned in the *Dig.* 23.4.30. Cf. SHA, *Max.* 10.1, *Trig. Tyr.* 32.1.

<sup>3</sup> See 6.7.6n for the bridge over the Rhine. H. seems to assume that the enemy lay immediately across the Rhine, whereas the Taunus front was some fifteen miles north of the river; criticized by Sievers, *Philol.* 31 (1872) 658, but it is now known that the Taunus frontier posts had been damaged and may well have been overrun; cf. 6.7.6n.



μέγεθος καὶ ἰσχύον [στρατιωτικὴν]<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐμπειρίαν  
πολεμικὴν δοκῶν ἐπιλελέχθαι ἔργοις τὴν δόξαν καὶ  
τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπόληψιν ἐπιστοῦτο,<sup>2</sup> τὴν τε  
Ἄλεξάνδρου μέλλησιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ πολεμικὰ  
ἔργα δευλίαν ἐλέγχειν ἐπειράτο εἰκότως κατ-  
εγνωσμένην. ἀσκῶν τε οὖν καὶ γυμνάζων τοὺς  
στρατιώτας οὐ διέλειπεν,<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς τε ἐν ὄπλοις ὢν  
7 καὶ τὸν στρατὸν<sup>4</sup> παρορμῶν. τότε τοῖνυν τὴν  
γέφυραν ζεύξας ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ Γερμανοὺς διαβήσε-  
σθαι. ὁ δὲ Μάγνος ἐλέγετο στρατιωτῶν μὲν<sup>5</sup>  
ὀλίγους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐξοχωτάτους καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς  
τὴν φρουρὰν τῆς γεφύρας καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν  
πεπιστευμένους,<sup>6</sup> ἀναπεῖσαι μετὰ τὸ διαβῆναι τὸν  
Μαξιμίον λύσαντας τὴν γέφυραν προδοῦναι τοῖς  
βαρβάροις, οὐχ ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ ἐπανόδου· πλάτει  
γὰρ καὶ βάθει μέγιστος ὁ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἄβατος  
<ἄν><sup>7</sup> αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, οὔτε νεῶν οὐσῶν ἐν ταῖς  
8 πολεμιαῖς ὄχθαις τῆς τε<sup>8</sup> γεφύρας λυθείσης. ἡ  
μὲν τῆς διαβολῆς<sup>9</sup> φήμη τοιαύτη ἐγένετο, εἴτε  
ἀληθὴς ὑπάρξασα εἴτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίου συσκευα-  
σθεῖσα· ἀκριβὲς δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐ ράδιον, ἐπεὶ ἔμμενον

<sup>1</sup> del Mendelss Stav<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦτο A<sup>3</sup> old correction Mendelss for διέλειπεν Oi<sup>4</sup> στρατὸν ἀεὶ i<sup>5</sup> Steph οὐκ Oi<sup>6</sup> Steph from P (*custodia pontis . . . fuerat demandata*)  
πεποιτημένους Oi<sup>7</sup> Mendelss<sup>8</sup> om i<sup>9</sup> ἐπιβουλῆς Reisk<sup>1</sup> One of the many passages which is translated almost  
literally by the SHA, *vitae Max. duo* (cf. *Max. 10 passim*);

selected for his size, strength and military experience, he wanted to confirm his reputation and the soldiers' opinion of him by action, thus attempting to prove that Alexander's hesitation and timidity over military operations had been justifiably censured. As a result he never stopped training and exercising the men, even getting into arms himself and urging the troops on. That was the position when he 7 completed the bridge and was set to cross over against the Germans.<sup>1</sup> Magnus was alleged to have influenced some soldiers, not many of them, but key men whose particular duty was to keep a vigilant watch over the bridge; the men were induced to cut the bridge after Maximinus' crossing and betray him to the barbarians by denying him his return route. The tremendous breadth and depth of the river's course would have made a crossing impossible for Maximinus, since he would be without boats on the enemy shore and the bridge would be broken. 8 Such was the story of the plot, which may have contained some truth, or was possibly manufactured by Maximinus. It is difficult to say with accuracy,<sup>2</sup> because it remains unproven. Maximinus gave no

the author is believed by Homo, *Rev. Hist.* 131 (1919) 209-64 and 132 (1919) 1-38 to be following a Latin summary of H., but there seems no good reason why the author of the *vita* himself should not be summarizing H. and unskillfully conflating him with other sources; cf. Pasoli, *L'Uso di Erod. nella V. Max.* 16. SHA, *Trig. Tyr.* 32.1, which also mentions this episode, quotes Dexippus, but little confidence can be placed in authors quoted in the *vitae*; the episode is not mentioned in Zosimus or Zonaras.

<sup>2</sup> A conventional tribute to an historiographic ideal; e.g. Caes. *BG* 7.5, etc.

ἀνεξέλεγκτος. μήτε γὰρ κρίσεώς <sup>1</sup> τιμι μεταδοὺς  
μήτε ἀπολογίας, <sup>2</sup> πάντας οὖς ὑπώπτευεν αἰφνιδίως  
συναρπασθέντας ἀφειδίως ἐφόνευσεν.

9 ἐγένετο δέ τις καὶ Ὀσροηνῶν τοξοτῶν ἀπόστασις,  
οἱ πάνυ ἀλγοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ,  
περιτυχόντες τῶν ἀπὸ ὑπατείας καὶ φίλων Ἀλε-  
ξάνδρου τιμί (Κουαρτίνος <sup>3</sup> δὲ ἦν ὄνομα, ὃν  
Μαξιμίμος ἐκπέμφας ἦν τοῦ στρατοῦ) ἀρπάσαντες  
ἄκοντα καὶ οὐδὲν προειδῶτα στρατηγὸν ἑαυτῶν  
κατέστησαν, πορφύρα <sup>4</sup> τε καὶ πυρὶ προπομπεύ-  
οντι, <sup>5</sup> δλεθρίοις τιμαῖς, ἐκόσμησαν, ἐπὶ τε τὴν  
10 ἀρχὴν ἦγον οὐ τι βουλόμενον. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐν  
τῇ σκηνῇ καθεύδων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς νύκτωρ αἰφνι-  
δίως ἀνηρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ καὶ δοκοῦντος  
φίλου, τῶν τε Ὀσροηνῶν πρότερον ἡγουμένου  
(Μακεδῶν ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), καίτοι τῆς ἀρπαγῆς  
καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγοῦ καὶ ὁμογνώμονος <sup>6</sup>  
τοῖς Ὀσροηνοῖς γενομένου· ὃς οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν

<sup>1</sup> Steph κρίσει Oi

<sup>2</sup> ἀπολογία i

<sup>3</sup> κουαρτίνω Jo (κουαρτίνω?)

<sup>4</sup> -φυραν al

<sup>5</sup> Steph from P πομπεύοντα Oag πομπεύσαντα I

<sup>6</sup> καὶ ὁμογ. om OP

<sup>1</sup> According to SHA, *Max.* 8.6, 4,000 were executed, a ludicrous exaggeration.

<sup>2</sup> Some evidence of the trouble among the Osrhoenian auxiliaries is provided by the erasure of their name from *CIL* XIII. 6677a, and the name of the centurions from a cohort on *CIL* XI. 3104. But the Osrhoenians were used during the German campaign, and, unless one supposes that M. disgraced them later after the expedition, which seems improbable, the

one a chance to make a defence before a court, since everyone under suspicion was suddenly seized and ruthlessly executed.<sup>1</sup>

There was also trouble among the Osrhoenian archers,<sup>2</sup> who bitterly regretted Alexander's death. When they found one of Alexander's consular friends called Quartinus,<sup>3</sup> who had been dismissed from the army by Maximinus, they seized upon him, and, even though it was against his wishes and unplanned, they set him up as their leader. He was fitted out with the fatal trappings of power, the purple and a procession of fire,<sup>4</sup> and, in spite of his wishes, brought to imperial rule. While he was sleeping in his tent 10 one night, he was suddenly and treacherously assassinated by his companion, who was supposedly one of his friends, and formerly the leader in charge of the Osrhoenians. This man, whose name was Macedo,<sup>5</sup> had been the ringleader in the mutinous seizure of Quartinus, working in co-operation with the Osrhoenians. Yet, in spite of this, and with-

incident of the mutiny was later, possibly in 236, and misplaced by H. who is following a cataloguing rather than chronological order. Though unreliable, SHA, *Trig. Tyr.* 32.1, says the revolt lasted six months, though ending just after Magnus' plot.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Titius Quartinus; *Albo* 1144, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 327; the name of a *legatus* of legio I Minervia in Germania Inferior has been erased some time after 225, perhaps the name of Quartinus. If so, he may have been a provincial governor by 235 when removed by M.; cf. SHA, *Trig. Tyr.* 32, *Max.* 11.1-6, *Jardé, Sévère Alexandre* 89, *CIL* XIII. 8728, 8811.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2.3.2n.

<sup>5</sup> Nothing is known of him; he was perhaps *praepositus numeri sagittariorum Osrhoenorum*, suggests Stein, *RE* (Macedo) 127.

ἔχθρας οὐδὲ <sup>1</sup> μίσους ἔχων ἀπέκτεινεν ὃν αὐτὸς <sup>2</sup> ἤρπασέ τε καὶ ἀνέπεισεν, οἰόμενός τε μεγάλη χαρίζεσθαι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν  
 11 ἐκόμισεν. ὁ δὲ ἦσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, στερηθεὶς δὴ <sup>3</sup> πολεμίου, ὡς ᾤετο. ἐκείνον μέντοι, <sup>4</sup> καίτοι μεγάλη ἐλπίζοντα καὶ δοκοῦντα ἀμοιβῆς ἐξαιρέτου τεύξεσθαι, ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως γεγονότα ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ἀποκτείναντα ὃν αὐτὸς ἄκοντα ἀνέπεισεν, ἄπιστόν τε γενόμενον περὶ τὸν φίλον.

12 τοιαῦται μὲν δὴ τινες αἰτίαι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τραχύτητα καὶ ἀμότητα ἠκόνθησαν τὴν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ψυχὴν, καὶ πρότερον οὕτω πεφυκυῖαν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φοβερώτατος, καὶ μέγιστος τὸ σῶμα, ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως αὐτῷ τινὰ μήτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν σωμασκούντων μήτε βαρβάρων τῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἐξισοῦσθαι.

2. διοικήσας δὲ τὰ προειρημένα, πάντα τε τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν, καὶ διαβὰς ἀφόβως τὴν γέφυραν, εἶχετο τῆς πρὸς Γερμανοὺς μάχης. μέγα

<sup>1</sup> Nauck οὔτε Oi

<sup>2</sup> Reisk from P αὐτὸς ὃν ABi (αὐτὸν V)

<sup>3</sup> A om a δὲ φgl

<sup>4</sup> μέντοι A μὲν φi ᾤετο <φλαύρου> or <εὐκαταφρονήτου>, ἐκείνον, καίτοι Reisk ᾤετο <οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτου>. ἐκείνον μέντοι, καίτοι conj Mendels

<sup>1</sup> M. had some justification for bitterness after the plots since he appears to have tried to placate the senate; coins were

out any reason for his hostility or hatred, he murdered the man he had forcibly persuaded to become emperor. Assuming that Maximinus would be enormously grateful, he cut off Quartinus' head and took it to him. The emperor was pleased at the <sup>11</sup> action, believing, as he did, that he was rid of a personal enemy, but, though Macedo had high hopes and expectations of gaining a fine reward, Maximinus executed him on charges of being a ringleader of the mutiny, of murdering the unwilling victim of his own prompting and proving to be a false friend.

This sort of provocation embittered Maximinus' <sup>12</sup> feelings,<sup>1</sup> making him even harsher and more savage than he was instinctively before. He was in any case a man of such frightening appearance and colossal size that there is no obvious comparison to be drawn with any of the best-trained Greek athletes or warrior élite of the barbarians.<sup>2</sup>

2. After settling the business mentioned above, Maximinus crossed the bridge <sup>3</sup> confidently with his whole army, determined to fight the Germans. It

issued with *indulgentia Aug(usti)* and *Mars pacifer*. There is no evidence to show that M. discarded "all pretence of constitutionality" as Hammond says, *MAAR* 24 (1956) 124; cf. 7.1.3n. M. would hardly have bothered to send letters to the senate if this were so. According to Amm. Marc. 14.1.8 M.'s wife exercised a considerable restraining influence over him, though she died soon after his accession (7.1.3n).

<sup>2</sup> Some magnificent stories of M.'s size are provided in SHA, *Max.* 6.8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably in the vicinity of Mainz, where A. had been murdered; the repair of the forts of Zugmantel and Saalburg (6.7.2n) in the Taunus salient were the work of M. The troops with M. are discussed by Ritterling, *RE* (legio) 1333 ff.

δέ τι πλήθος καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων<sup>1</sup>  
 δύναμιν σὺν ἑαυτῷ εἰσήγαγε, Μαυρουσίων τε  
 ἀκοντιστῶν ἀριθμὸν πάμπλειστον καὶ τοξοτῶν<sup>2</sup>  
 Ὀσροηνῶν τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ μὲν ὑπή-  
 κοοι οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ εἴ τινες  
 Παρθυαίων ἢ χρήμασι πεισθέντες καὶ αὐτομολή-  
 σαντες ἢ ληφθέντες αἰχμάλωτοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐδούλευ-  
 2 ον. τὰ δὲ πλήθη ταῦτα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πρότερον  
 ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἠθροιστο, ηὔξηθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 Μαξιμίνου καὶ ἐς πολεμικὴν ἄσκησιν συγκεκρότητο.  
 μάλιστα τε<sup>3</sup> οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξόται πρὸς τὰς  
 Γερμανῶν μάχας ἐπιτήδειοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐπιτρέχοντές  
 τε αὐτοῖς κούφως οὐ προσδοκῶσι καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες  
 3 ῥαδίως. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ Μαξιμίνος  
 πολλὴν γῆν ἐπήλθεν, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ ἀνθεστώτος,  
 ἀλλὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνακεχωρηκότων. ἐδήγου τε οὖν  
 πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, μάλιστα τῶν ληίων ἀκμαζόντων,  
 τὰς τε κώμας ἐμπιπρὰς διαρπάζειν ἐδίδου τῷ  
 στρατῷ. εὐμαρέστατα γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐπινέμεται τὰς

<sup>1</sup> *barbarorum* P<sup>2</sup> *τοξότην* i<sup>3</sup> δὲ P (*ceterum*) om A

<sup>1</sup> SHA, *Max.* 12.1, says that M. advanced a distance of about thirty or forty miles into hostile territory; but he seems to have moved south along the frontier from the Taunus Mountains to the area of Württemberg; there are signs of the graves of men from an oriental *ala kataphractaria* at both Rödelheim bei Frankfurt and Cannstatt (cf. *ILS* 9148,

was an enormous host that he was leading, practically the entire Roman fighting strength. Added to them was a very large number of Mauretanian spearmen and Osrhoenian and Armenian archers, some of whom were there as subjects and others under the terms of a friendly alliance; also some Parthians, either serving for pay or deserters and captured prisoners of war, now slaves of the Romans. This <sup>2</sup> large body of troops had been assembled earlier by Alexander, but then augmented and trained up to war fitness by Maximinus. The most effective troops against German tactics seem to be the spearmen and archers who make their surprise, light-armed raids and then retire without difficulty. Once he had <sup>3</sup> reached hostile territory, Maximinus advanced deep into the country,<sup>1</sup> not meeting any resistance because the barbarians had fallen back in front of him. He devastated all the countryside, particularly the ripening corn,<sup>2</sup> and set fire to the villages, which he allowed his army to plunder. Fire spreads very

Goessler, *Germania* 15 (1931) 10 ff.; Persian cataphracts were said by SHA, *Alex.* 56.5; to be part of A.'s force). M.'s presence is also supported by inscriptions from near Tübingen, *CIL* XIII. 6375, 9083. From here the forts near Regensburg were repaired (cf. 6.7.2n for references). The whole Rhine-Danube *limes* was repaired, *CIL* XIII. 6547, 9121.

<sup>2</sup> In 7.1.6 H. says that M. postponed to set out on his expedition as soon as possible after A.'s assassination; i.e. about April; there may have been a delay after the conspiracy of Magnus, so that it was not until mid-summer that M. invaded Germany, as is suggested here. This would be consistent with a major battle late in 235 (as suggested in 7.2.6n); there is nothing to suggest M. postponed the invasion of Germany until 236, as stated by Schmidt, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Stämme* II. 1.246 ff.

τε πόλεις αὐτῶν ὡς ἔχουσι, καὶ τὰς οἰκίσεις ἀπάσας·  
 4 λίθων μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ πλίνθων ὀπτῶν σπάνις,  
 ὕλαι δ' εὐδενδροι,<sup>1</sup> ὅθεν ξύλων οὐσης ἐκτενείας συμ-  
 πηγνύντες αὐτὰ καὶ ἀρμόζοντες σκηνοποιοῦνται. ὁ  
 δὲ Μαξιμίνος ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν προεχώρησε, πράττων  
 τε τὰ προειρημένα καὶ λείας ἀπελαύνων, διδούς τε  
 5 τὰς ἀγέλας τῷ στρατῷ αἰς περιετύγγανον. οἱ δὲ  
 Γερμανοὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πεδίων, καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν  
 χῶραι ἄδενδροι, ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὕλαις  
 ἐκρύπτοντο περὶ τε<sup>2</sup> τὰ ἔλη διέτριβον, ὡς ἐκεῖ  
 τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους ποιοῦντο,<sup>3</sup> τῆς συνεχείας  
 τῶν φυτῶν ἀπασχολούσης ἐς ἑαυτὴν τὰ βέλη καὶ  
 τὰ ἀκόντια τῶν πολεμίων, τοῦ τε ἀγχιβαθοῦς τῶν  
 ἐλῶν Ῥωμαίοις μὲν δι' ἀγνοίαν τῶν τόπων ἐπισφα-  
 λοῦς ἐσομένου, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ δι' ἐμπειρίαν τῆς  
 χώρας<sup>4</sup> ἐγνωκόσι τὰ<sup>5</sup> ἄβατα καὶ ἀντιτυπῆ τῶν  
 τόπων ἐς γόνυ τε βρεχομένοις διατρέχειν ῥάδιον.<sup>6</sup>  
 6 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ νήχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένοι ἅτε  
 μόνῳ λουτρῷ τοῖς ποταμοῖς χρώμενοι.

περὶ ἐκείνα οὖν μάλιστα τὰ χωρία αἱ συμβολαὶ  
 ἐγίνοντο· ἔνθα καὶ γενναϊότατα αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς

<sup>1</sup> εὐδενδροι O

<sup>2</sup> P δὲ OI

<sup>3</sup> ἐποιοῦντο O

<sup>4</sup> χώρας <συμμάχου ὡς> Reisk

<sup>5</sup> om φι

<sup>6</sup> ῥαδίως Aa (over -ου) ῥάδια Reisk

<sup>1</sup> After mentioning villages, H. suddenly changes to cities; Tac. *Germ.* 16 denies there were cities in Germany in his day; also he states that the houses in Germany were not built

easily through such cities<sup>1</sup> and through all the houses as the Germans have, because they are short of stone<sup>4</sup> and baked bricks. However, there are thick forests, and from them there is a plentiful supply of wooden beams that are built up into a frame and jointed together to make a house.<sup>2</sup> Maximinus advanced a long way, acting as described, carrying off plunder and giving the flocks they came across to his soldiers. The Germans retreated from the plains and any un-<sup>5</sup> wooded areas, but hid in the forests and waited in the marshes, so as to launch their attack and fight in this area. Here the thick foliage formed a barrage against the arrows and missiles of the enemy, and the deep marshes were dangerous for the Romans because they were unfamiliar with the locality. For the Germans, with their experience of the country and their knowledge of which places were unfordable and which provided firm standing, it was easy to cross by wading up to their knees in water. They were<sup>6</sup> also adept swimmers, since the rivers were the only places they used for washing.

It was mostly in these regions that the skirmishes took place, and here that the emperor took charge

contiguously in order to prevent fires spreading. It is probable that H. was influenced in his description by the account of the sack of Sardis in Herod. 5.101 (*πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ ἄστυ*).

<sup>2</sup> A description of daub-and-wattle houses, either round or rectangular, which have been found in excavations in the middle west and south-west of Germany; cf. Anderson, *Tacitus, Germania* 102-3. The word *ἐκτένεια* is disapproved of by Pollux 3.119, but quoted by Cic. *Att.* 10.17.1 and used in New Testament *koine* (e.g. *Acta* 26.7); for the relationship between H. and Pollux, see 1.2.1n.

τῆς μάχης ἤρξεν. ἐπὶ γάρ τινι ἔλει μεγίστω, τῶν μὲν Γερμανῶν ἐς αὐτὸ <sup>1</sup> ἀναχωρούντων ἐς φυγὴν, ἐς δίωξιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεισελθεῖν ὀκνούντων, πρῶτος ὁ Μαξιμίνος ἅμα τῷ ἵππῳ ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὸ ἔλος, καίτοι ὑπὲρ γαστέρα τοῦ. ἵππου βρεχομένου, 7 τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ἐφόνευσε βαρβάρους, ὡς τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν αἰδεσθέντα προδοῦναι μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν <sup>2</sup> βασιλέα τολμησαί τε καὶ τοῖς ἔλεσι <sup>2</sup> ἐπεισελθεῖν, πολὺ δέ τι πλῆθος ἐκατέρωθεν πεσεῖν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν <πολλοὺς> <sup>3</sup> τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων <sup>4</sup> σχεδὸν τὴν τότε παροῦσαν δύναμιν, <sup>4</sup> ἀριστεύοντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὸ τέναγος <sup>5</sup> σωμαίων πληρωθῆναι, τὴν τε λίμνην αἵματι κερασθεῖσαν πεξομαχοῦντι στρατῷ ναυμαχίας ὄψιν παρασχεῖν. 8 ταύτην τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν ἀριστείαν αὐτοῦ οὐ μόνον διὰ γραμμάτων τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐδήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραφῆναι κελεύσας

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν φη

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν θρασύτερον τολμησαὶ κὰν τῷ βάθει τῶν ἐλῶν (sic) ἐπεισ. Α

<sup>3</sup> οἱ <οὐκ ὀλίγους> Stroth <συχρόν> Sylb Ῥωμ. μένον P

<sup>4</sup> βαρβάρων ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σχεδὸν (sic) τε τὴν τότε παρ. δύν. αὐτῶν A perhaps καὶ Ῥωμ.—δύναμιν interpol Whit

<sup>5</sup> τό τε ἔλος a

<sup>1</sup> There is no specific geographic feature that identifies the site of this major battle, which could equally well be in

of the battle in person with great bravery.<sup>1</sup> At a very large swamp, to which the Germans were retreating in flight and the Romans were hesitating to follow them, Maximinus took the lead by plunging into the marsh on horse-back (even though the level of the water came over the horse's belly), and killed many of the barbarians that resisted. The effect of his action was that 7 the rest of the army grew ashamed to betray an emperor who was fighting for them, and they gained the courage to wade into the swamp. Both sides lost a lot of men, many Romans but practically the whole existing army of the barbarians, as a result of Maximinus' distinguished action. The shallow water was filled with bodies and, as the swamp became stained with blood, it looked like a naval battle <sup>2</sup> to the infantry fighting there. The emperor made 8 a report on the battle and his own distinguished part in a dispatch to the senate and the people. But

Germany or in the Bohemian plain. It is usually assumed that H. is describing the climax to his campaign in the Württemberg area, where there are signs of his presence (7.2.3n). If so, the date of the battle was probably late 235, though the first evidence of M.'s *imp.* II salutation and the title of *Germanicus Maximus* do not appear until 236 (7.2.8n); Bersanetti, *Epig.* 3 (1941) 7-8, Carson, *ANS Centennial Public.* (1958) 192-3, *BMC* VI. 92. This does not prove that the German expedition was waged in 236 and is consistent with a victory late in the year 235. If M. was to go on and fight a campaign on the Danube in 236, it would seem best to assume he left the Germanies after 235.

<sup>2</sup> A classical *locus communis* with a difference; cf. Thuc. 1.49 (a land battle by sea), Diod. Sic. 13.16 (the same). Since this is so characteristic of H., I do not agree with Mendelssohn's suggestion that the passage is an interpolation.

μεγίσταις εικόσιν ἀνέθηκε πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἀκούειν τὰ γενόμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ βλέπειν ἔχῃσι Ῥωμαῖοι. τὴν δ' εἰκόνα ὕστερον καθείλεν ἢ σύγκλητος μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ τιμῶν. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι συμβολαί, ἐν αἷς ὡς αὐτουργός τε καὶ αὐτόχειρ τῆς μάχης ἀριστεύων 9 τε πανταχοῦ ἐπηρείτο. πολλοὺς δὲ χειρωσάμενος αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ λείαν ἀπελάσας, χεიმῶνος ἤδη καταλαμβάνοντος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Παίονας, ἐν τε Σιρμῖω διατρίβων, τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐκεῖ πόλει δοκούσῃ, τὰ πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον ἐς τὸ ἔαρ παρεσκευ-

<sup>1</sup> This naturally poses the question of how much of H.'s own description derived from seeing these pictures; his description falls roughly into four scenes: (1) crossing the bridge; (2) burning the villages; (3) barbarians hiding in the forests and marshes; (4) M. and the battle of the marshes. None of the scenes are described with the kind of detail to suggest H. had been present himself or had a first-hand informant. Cf. 1.7.5n, 2.9.4, 2.9.6, 3.9.12, 5.5.6-7, SHA, *Max.* 12.10.

<sup>2</sup> The title of *Germanicus* was officially recognized in Rome. It is recorded on *CIL* VI. 2001 (see 7.1.3n) when M.'s son was elected to the sacerdotal colleges in 236; although it is conceivable that the title was only given to the heir to start with, it seems likely that the senate officially voted the honour to M. as well. It was probably at the same time that M.'s son (see 8.4.9n) was formally recognized as Caesar. The *abolitio* of these honours took place in 238 (7.7.2n).

<sup>3</sup> H. has characteristically compressed two or three years' campaign into a few words (cf. 4.7.2n); the chronology of the German and Dacian-Sarmatian wars of M. are perhaps as follows: at Moguntiacum spring 235; in the Wetterau mid-summer 235 (7.2.3n); in the Württemberg area late 235, where he probably spent the winter 235/6 (Regensburg?); move to the lower Danube and a major campaign in 236, after

he went further, and ordered huge pictures<sup>1</sup> of it to be painted and set up in front of the senate house, so that Romans would be able to see as well as hear about his exploits. Later the picture was destroyed by the senate along with the rest of his honorary dedications. There were other engagements, too, in which Maximinus personally took a leading part in the battle and was always commended for bravery.<sup>2</sup> After capturing many prisoners and loads of plunder, 9 he returned to Pannonia because winter had set in.<sup>3</sup> At Sirmium,<sup>4</sup> which is considered to be the biggest town, he spent his time making preparations for his

which he assumed the titles *Dacicus Maximus* and *Sarmaticus Maximus* with the *imp.* III salutation (all appear on *CIL* III. 10649 with M.'s *trib. pot.* II; cf. V. 8076, XI. 1176), and possibly also the *imp.* IV salutation (cf. Bersanetti, *Epig.* 3 (1941) 9); therefore winter at Sirmium 236/7; more fighting against the Sarmatians and Dacians in 237 and addition of *imp.* V and perhaps *imp.* VI salutations; after which M. "returned" to Sirmium for winter 237/8. A different view is put forward by Siena, *RFIC* 33 (1955) 281, who prefers to believe that *imp.* II and the *Germanicus* title were won in 235, that M. then "returned" to Sirmium (where he had been *praefectus tirorum* before 235) and fought against the Dacians and Sarmatians for two full years. Against this view is the fact that not a single coin or inscription shows the *Germanicus* title or *imp.* II in 235, indicating that the battle occurred too late in the year for inclusion in the titles, or that it was not fought until spring 236, but in neither case making it plausible that M. would winter at Sirmium 235/6; cf. *CIL* III. 5742, 11316; *RIC* IV. 2.139, no. 4, 143, nos. 35-6; but *BMC* VI. 224, nos. 25-30 give examples of *victoria Aug(usti)* on undated coin types of 235.

<sup>4</sup> Increasingly used as the permanent base by emperors on the Danube; the city on the River Save controlled the major routes along the Danube frontier, and was an obvious base for operations in the Hungarian plain.

άετο. ήπειλει γάρ (καί ποιήσειν έμελλεν) έκκόψειν τε καί ύποτάξειν τά μέχρις ώκεανού Γερμανών έθνη βάρβαρα.

3. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολεμικὰ τοιοῦτος ἦν· καί ἐς δόξαν ἤρθη ἂν ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις καί τοῖς ὑπηκόοις βαρύτερος ἐγεγονέει καί φοβερώτερος.<sup>1</sup> τί γάρ ἦν ὄφελος βαρβάρων ἀναιρουμένων, πλείονων γινομένων<sup>2</sup> φόνων ἐν αὐτῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καί τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἔθνεσιν; ἢ λείας <καί><sup>3</sup> αἰχμαλώτους<sup>4</sup> ἀπάγειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γυμνοῦντα<sup>2</sup> καί τὰς οὐσίας ἀφαιρούμενον τῶν οἰκείων; ἀνεσίς [τε]<sup>5</sup> γάρ πᾶσα, μᾶλλον δὲ καί πρόκλησις δέδοτο συκοφάνταις<sup>6</sup> ἐς τὸ ἐπηρεάζειν καί κινεῖν πράγματα προγοικᾶ, εἰ τύχοι, καί ἄγνωστα καί ἀνεξέλεγκτα. μόνον τέ τις κληθεῖς ἐς δικαστήριον ὑπὸ συκοφάντου εὐθέως ἡττημένος ἀπῆει καί τῶν<sup>3</sup> ὑπαρχόντων πάντων στερηθεῖς. ἐκάστης γοῦν ἡμέ-

<sup>1</sup> φοβ. <ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις> translated P

<sup>2</sup> Steph from P γενομ. Οι <sup>3</sup> Reisk <ἦ> from P (aut)

<sup>4</sup> om Wolf <sup>5</sup> om Reisk

<sup>6</sup> συκ. <τε καί δούλοις> perhaps in Jo cf. Exc. Val. 833

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1.5.6n for the expression in relation to the expeditions of M. Aurelius and Commodus. The same phrase is quoted by SHA, *Max.* 13.3-4, where the allegation is made that H. was biased in favour of M.—a most improbable proposition. Although the phrase had a wide rhetorical currency, it is possible that M. intended to revive the plan of M. Aurelius to open up a frontier line north of the Danube.

spring offensive. He intended (and would have achieved) the total defeat and subjection of all the German barbarian tribes as far as the ocean.<sup>1</sup>

3. So much for Maximinus' military exploits. His achievement would have won him a reputation, if he had not proved so oppressive and fearsome to his own people and his subjects. There is little point in destroying barbarians, if even more people are being murdered actually in Rome and the subject nations;<sup>2</sup> nor in carrying off prisoners and plunder from the enemy, when the people at home are stripped bare of their possessions.<sup>3</sup> Informers were given<sup>2</sup> complete licence, even encouragement, to damage people and stir up old troubles, if there was a chance, without the cases being heard or any real evidence. A person simply had to receive a court summons from an informer, and straight away he lost his case and his property was confiscated. Men<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For the various meanings of *elthnos*, in addition to that of "province", see 1.1.3n.

<sup>3</sup> The rapacity of M. is mentioned in every source, but is very much part of the stereotype of the tyrant; H. discards the obvious military necessity for added money (7.3.3) because he is obsessed with questions of individual morality. It is no coincidence that the emperors who most successfully maintained the frontiers (Severus, Caracalla, Maximinus) also had to rely on confiscations to pay the bill. There is little evidence to suggest a deliberate policy by M. to exterminate the bourgeois urban classes (Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE* 452), but no doubt that the growing pluralism of the Roman empire made M. less sympathetic to the established interests of the prosperous middle classes (of whom H. himself was one); coin hoards, such as those found at Cologne or in Britain do not prove M.'s rapacity; *RIC* IV. 2.130, *Num. Chron.* (6) 6 (1946) 147-51.



ρας ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς χθὲς πλουσιωτάτους τῆς ἐπιούσης μεταιτοῦντας· τοσαύτη τις ἦν τῆς τυραννίδος ἡ φιλοχρηματία ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας χρημάτων συνεχοῦς χορηγίας· ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὡσὶ κοῦφος ἐς διαβολάς, ἡλικίας τε καὶ ἀξιώματος ἀφειδῶς ἔχων. πλείστους γοῦν τῶν ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα πεπιστευμένων, μετὰ ὑπατείας τιμῆν ἢ δόξαν ἐπὶ τροπαίοις προσγενομένην, ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς διαβολῆς ἀναρπᾶστος ἐποίει, 4 καὶ ἐκέλευε <sup>1</sup> τε <sup>2</sup> ἄνεν ὑπηρεσίας μόνους ὀχῆμασιν ἐπιτεθέντας <sup>3</sup> ἄγεσθαι νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὀδεύοντας ἐξ ἀνατολῶν ἢ δύσεως, εἰ τύχοι, ἀπὸ τε μεσημβρίας ἐς Παίονας, ἔνθα διέτριβε· σκύλας δὲ καὶ ὑβρίσας φυγαῖς ἢ θανάτοις ἐζημίου.

ἐς ὅσον μὲν οὖν ἐς <sup>4</sup> τοὺς καθ' ἓνα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο καὶ μέχρις οἰκείων <sup>5</sup> ἔμενεν ἡ συμφορά, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς δήμοις τῶν πόλεων ἢ τοῖς ἔθνεσι <sup>5</sup> διέφερε· τὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐδαιμονεῖν <sup>6</sup> δοκούντων ἢ πλουσίων πταίσματα πρὸς τῶν ὄχλων οὐ μόνον ἀμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ τινὰς τῶν κακοήθων καὶ φαύλων ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ εὐφραίνει φθόνῳ τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευσέ φη

<sup>2</sup> γε or om Steph

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτιθ. φα

<sup>4</sup> om φη

<sup>5</sup> οἰκων conj Gedike ἰδιωτῶν Mendelss corrupt Stav

<sup>6</sup> εὐδοκιμεῖν Exc. Val. from Jo perhaps

who were rich one day and beggars the next were a daily sight, so tremendous was the tyrant's greed for wealth, though he pretended he needed a continuous supply of money to pay the troops. His ears were quick to pick up charges, sparing neither a person's age or position. Many men in posts of trust in the provinces and the army, who had held the honourable office of consul or earned the distinction of a triumph, he caused to be whisked away on some stifling, petty charge. Orders <sup>4</sup> were issued that they should be put in a carriage on their own, without any attendants, and brought to him, travelling night and day from East or West, as the case might be, or from the South to Pannonia where he was staying. Then, after tormenting and insulting them, he punished them with exile or death.

As long as this treatment was confined to individuals,<sup>1</sup> and the tragedy went no further than the immediate household, it made little difference to the people in the cities or the provinces. Disasters that <sup>5</sup> occur to those who are apparently fortunate and rich do not concern the common people and sometimes even cause pleasure to certain worthless, malicious individuals, because they envy the powerful and

<sup>1</sup> Christians in both Rome and the provinces had been persecuted in the reign of M., including the deportation of Hippolytus and Pontianus from the church in Rome and threats being offered to Origen; cf. Zon. 12.16, Zos. 1.13.3, Euseb. *HE* 6.28. But there is no evidence that this was more than a reaction to the political favour enjoyed by certain Christians under A. and localized action in the provinces due to civil unrest (as in Cappadocia); cf. *CAH* XII. 75 ff. (Ensslin), Besnier, *Hist. Rom.* IV. 144 f., Grégoire, *Les persécutions dans l'empire rom.* 40-2.

εὐτυχοῦντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μαξιμίνος τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐνδόξων οἰκῶν ἐς πενίαν περιστήσας,<sup>1</sup> ἃ δὴ μικρὰ καὶ ὀλίγα οὐδ' αὐτάρκη τῇ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει ᾤετο, μετήλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια, καὶ εἴ τινα ἦν χρήματα πολιτικὰ ἐς εὐθηνίας ἢ νομὰς τῶν δημοτῶν<sup>2</sup> ἀθροιζόμενα<sup>3</sup> εἴτε θεάτροις ἢ πανηγύρεσιν ἀνακεείμενα, ἐς ἑαυτὸν μετῆγε, ναῶν τε ἀναθήματα θεῶν τε ἀγάλματα καὶ ἡρώων τιμάς, καὶ εἴ τις ἦν κόσμος δημοσίου ἔργου ἢ καλλώπισμα<sup>4</sup> πόλεως ἢ ὕλη νόμισμα ποιῆσαι δυναμένη,<sup>10</sup> πᾶν ἐχωνεύετο. ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς δῆμους 6 ἐλύπησε.<sup>5</sup> πένθος τε δημόσιον ἐνεποιεῖ δίχα

<sup>1</sup> περισ. <καὶ χρήματα ἀφελόμενος> Reisk

<sup>2</sup> πολιτῶν a

<sup>3</sup> ἠθροισμένα Jo

<sup>4</sup> καλλωπίσματος πόλεως ἢ ὕλης . . . δυναμένης Oī corr Bekk<sup>2</sup> Sylb

<sup>5</sup> ἐλύπει Jo

<sup>1</sup> An indication of the economic and political interests of H. and the audience for whom he was writing; H. was not in sympathy with those who stimulated the events of 7.10.5, calling forth lower-class plebeian support; cf. 1.14.3n, 7.12.6 and Cassola, *NRS* 41 (1957) 221-3.

<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful whether by these acts of oppression M. extended his attention as widely as H. suggests, or that he had a conscious policy of *Gleichhaltung*. Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 58 ff., argues that M. intended the elimination of the senate and of all supporters of the previous regime. But note that L. Marius Perpetuus (son of a staunch Severan and supporter of A., 6.1.3n) was made *cos. ord.* in 237; Rutilius Pudens Crispinus, who had served A. loyally and was to lead

prosperous.<sup>1</sup> But after Maximinus had reduced most of the distinguished families to penury,<sup>2</sup> he then began to think it was an unimportant, insignificant activity and not enough to satisfy his desire. So he turned to the public treasury and began to expropriate any money in the city being collected for food supply<sup>3</sup> and cash distribution to the common people, and funds put aside for theatres and festivals. Temple dedications, statues of the gods, honorary presentations to the heroes, any ornamentation on public buildings or city decorations, or material that could be turned into coin was all melted down. That was what the people particularly 6

the opposition at Aquileia (6.5.2n, 8.2.5n), was perhaps *cos. suff.* in 235/6 and certainly allowed to be proconsul of Achaia; L. Flavius Honoratus Lucilianus, who was one of the patrons of Canusium in 223 (supposedly the "party" of A.; 7.1.5n) was appointed by M. to the key military province of Moesia Inferior in 237 (see *Albo* 1042 for references); T. Clodius Saturninus Fidus, appointed governor of Thrace by M., went on to serve Gordian III in Cappadocia (*Albo* 1008); cf. Bersanetti, *Massimino* 83 L, for a list of unharmed senators. If M. had adopted an outright policy of suppression many of these would not have been appointed, a mistake for which M. paid (as is demonstrated by the events in Africa, where an appointee of A. was left in command; 7.5.2n). Cf. Spigno, *Rend. Accad. Linc.* (Cl. sc. moral. stor. filol.) 3 (1948) 127-9.

<sup>3</sup> Translated by Politian as *ad annonam* and supported by Irmisch, *Herod. Hist. ad loc.*; cf. *IG* IV. 795 and *Thes. Ling. Lat.* "annona" IV. This money may be not only that in the official treasuries but also the private contributions of poorer people to *collegia* funds that were also stored in temples, and were distributed as *sportulae*. Hence the anger of the *plebs infima* in addition to the opposition of the middle class; cf. Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 359-60, Waltzing, *Corporations professionnelles* 1.234-5, *CIL* VI. 10234, 12-13 (the *collegium* of Aesculapius and Hygeia).

μάχης καὶ ἄνευ ὄπλων ὄψις<sup>1</sup> πολιορκίας, ὡς  
τινας τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ χεῖρας ἀντιθεῖναι<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
τοὺς νεῶς φρουρεῖν, ἐτοίμως τε ἔχειν πρότερον  
ἀναιρεθέντας πρὸ τῶν βωμῶν πεσεῖν ἢ σκύλα τῶν  
πατρίδων ἰδεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τε  
πόλεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη διοιδανον τῶν ὄχλων αἱ  
ψυχαί. ἀπηρέσκοντό τε καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς  
πραττομένοις, δνειδιζόντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθόνως συγ-  
γενῶν τε καὶ οἰκείων ὡς δὴ δι' αὐτοὺς ταῦτα  
πράττοντος τοῦ Μαξιμίνου.

4. αἰτία μὲν δὴ αὐταί, οὐτι γε ἄλογοι, ἐς μῖσος  
καὶ ἀπόστασιν τοὺς ὄχλους<sup>3</sup> παρωξύνον. καὶ  
πάντες μὲν εὐχοντο καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἀδικουμένους  
ἐπεκάλουν, ἄρξασθαι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα, ἔσπε  
συμπληρουμένης αὐτῷ τριετοῦς βασιλείας ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> ὄψις fglJo

<sup>2</sup> ἀνατιθ. a ἀνατιθῆναι φ *contra resistere* P καὶ εἰς χεῖρας  
ἐλθεῖν Jo ἀνατείνειν Wolf

<sup>3</sup> τοὺς πάντας O ἅπαντας Jo

<sup>1</sup> Exploitation of the provinces was nothing new under M.  
CIL VIII. 17639 from Numidia is a complaint by the in-  
habitants against the rapacity of fiscal and military officials  
of the province in the time of Alexander; Birley, *JRS* (1950)  
60-8.

<sup>2</sup> An important consideration in the political attitude of  
the soldiers must have been the attitude of their wives and  
families; cf. 8.5.8 for the way the Alban legion was affected;  
Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 364n. How far the Severan  
reform legalizing cohabitation for soldiers had increased this  
pressure (3.8.5n) is illustrated by these references.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "as his third year of rule was being filled out."  
Taken literally this would mean a date in early March 238,  
though little confidence can be placed in H.'s precision. The  
whole discussion about the chronology of the year 238 is based

resented; the appearance of a siege, when there  
was no fighting and no one armed, caused public  
concern. Some of the lower classes turned to opposi-  
tion and set a guard round the temples, prepared to  
be slaughtered and killed in front of the altars rather  
than see their country plundered. Throughout the  
cities and the provinces<sup>1</sup> popular emotion rose to  
a high pitch at this point. The soldiers were not in  
favour of what was happening either, because their  
relatives and families bitterly upbraided them, alleg-  
ing that it was their fault that Maximinus was acting  
in this way.<sup>2</sup>

4. These provocations quite justifiably accentu-  
ated the bitterness and unrest among the populace.  
Although everyone began praying and calling upon  
the injured gods, none had the courage to take any  
initiative until Maximinus was nearing the end of his  
third year of reign,<sup>3</sup> and then for a trivial, insigni-

on inadequate evidence and arbitrary interpretations; the best  
collection of the evidence is in Townsend, *YCS* 1 (1928)  
231-8, *AJP* 51 (1931) 62-6; cf. Carson, *ANS Centennial  
Publication* (1958) 134-57, more or less repeating Townsend;  
van Sickle, *CP* 24 (1929) 285-89, produces no new evidence  
but shows how arbitrary the interpretations are; Vitucci,  
*RFIC* 32 (1954) 372-82, examines some of the inscriptions  
and papyri and concludes they are inconclusive. The  
following points are important: (1) only one date is certain—  
29th August 238, by which time Gordian III was sole Augustus;  
Vogt, *Alex. Münz*-1.193, *P.Oxy.* 1433.ii; hence the chronology  
of Piganiol, *Hist. de Rome* (4) 430 cannot be accepted; (2)  
Egyptian papyri dates are only reliable for a *terminus ante  
quem* of an emperor's reign; (3) the time taken for news to  
travel from Africa-Egypt-Pannonia-Rome is no precise guide  
since it varied by the season, climate and urgency; (4) the  
headings of the rescripts in the *Codex* are unreliable and only  
give a rough indication of an emperor's date by their accumu-

μικρὰς καὶ εὐτελοῦς προφάσεως, οἶα τυραννίδος σφάλματα, πρῶτοι ὄπλα ἐκίνησαν ἕς τε ἀπόστασιν εὐσταθῶς ὤρμησαν Λίβυες, ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε.  
 2 ἐπετρόπενε τις τῆς Καρχηδονίας χώρας τραχύτατα, καὶ μετὰ πάσης ὠμότητος καταδίκας τε ἐποιεῖτο καὶ χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις, βουλόμενος εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ. ἐκεῖνός τε γάρ, οὓς ἦδει ἀρμόζοντας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώμῃ, ἐπελέγετο· οἱ τε προεστῶτες τοῦ ταμείου<sup>1</sup> τότε, εἰ καὶ σπανίως χριστοὶ ἐμπεπτώκεσαν, τόν τε κίνδυνον προὔπτον ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοχρηματιᾶν εἰδότες,  
 3 ἄκοντες ὅμως τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐμμιούντο. ὁ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπίτροπος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι<sup>2</sup> βιαίως προσεφέρετο, καὶ νεανίσκους τινὰς τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις εὖ γεγονότων καὶ πλουσίων καταδίκαις περιβαλὼν εἰσπράττειν τὰ χρήματα εὐθέως ἐπειρᾶτο, πατρῶων τε καὶ προγονικῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγγήσαντες οἱ νεανίσκοι τὰ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο, τριῶν ἡμερῶν αἰτήσαντες ἀνάθει· συνωμοσίαν

<sup>1</sup> ταμείου i<sup>2</sup> om i

lation; (5) no confidence can be placed in the dates in the SHA *vitae*. For what it is worth, I believe the revolt of Gordian took place in the last days of February or early March (cf. 7.5.7, 7.6.5).

<sup>1</sup> For M.'s avarice, see 7.3.1n, SHA, *Max.* 13.5, *Epit. de Caes.* 25.1-2, *Zos.* 1.13.3, *Zon.* 12.16. In time of economic emergency Africa Proconsularis provided easy pickings and naturally the richer landowners suffered first.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from being the chief landowners, the local African aristocracy also controlled the organizations of the *iuventutes*,

significant reason—the kind of thing that proves the undoing of a tyrant. The Libyans were the first to take up their weapons and steadily move towards rebellion. The causes of defection stemmed from<sup>2</sup> a severe procurator in the district of Carthage, who used to exact absolutely savage sentences and confiscations from the people, hoping his name would be favourably noted by Maximinus, since the emperor used to select men known to be in accord with his own policy. Even if the imperial treasury officials of this period were honest (which was rarely the case), they reluctantly copied the rest, because of the danger they faced and their knowledge of the emperor's avarice.<sup>1</sup> As part of the Libyan pro-<sup>3</sup> curator's generally coercive behaviour was his attempt to extort quick money from some young men belonging to rich, noble Carthaginian families, whom he had fined in the courts, and to strip them of their ancestral, family property.<sup>2</sup> Smarting under this treatment, the young men undertook to pay him the money, but asked for a postponement of

evidence of which is found in several African towns; e.g. *AE* (1928) 38—Saldac, *IL Alg.* II. 3606—Cirta, *AE* (1913) 22 and 159—Cuicul, *AE* (1921) 21—Thuburnica, etc.; these groups of men of military age were probably the younger men, who served in a kind of ephebate, acting as a local militia, guarding the grain routes, and checking raiders. Their hostility could have paralysed M.'s supplies and therefore he attempted to control them, breaking their domination by the hostile aristocracy. Significantly, Gordian I is said to have cultivated the support of such groups in Italy (cf. 7.10.7n); SHA, *Gord.* 4.6. They are discussed at length, in relation to evidence found at Mactar, by Picard, *Karthago* 8 (1957) 77-95. It is against this background that the hostility of the young nobles of Carthage and Thyrsdrus should be seen.

δὲ ποιησάμενοι, πάντας τε οὐς ἤδεσαν ἢ πεπονηότας  
 τι δεινὸν ἢ παθεῖν δεδοικότας ἀναπέισαντες,  
 κελεύουσι νύκτωρ κατελθεῖν<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀργῶν  
 [νεανίσκου],<sup>2</sup> ξύλα τε καὶ πελέκεις ἐπιφέρεισθαι.  
 4 οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες κελεύουσι τοῖς δεσπόταις πρὸ τῆς  
 ἔω συνηλθον<sup>3</sup> ἐς τὴν πόλιν, κρύπτοντες ὑπὸ ταῖς  
 ἐσθήσιν ἃ ἔφερον αὐτοσχεδίου πολέμου ὄπλα.  
 μέγα δὲ τι πλήθος ἠθροίσθη· φύσει γὰρ πολυ-  
 ἄνθρωπος οὐσα ἡ Λιβύη πολλοὺς εἶχε τοὺς τὴν γῆν  
 5 γεωργοῦντας. ἅμα δὲ τῷ παραδραμεῖν τὸ περίορθ-  
 ριον<sup>4</sup> προελθόντες<sup>5</sup> οἱ νεανίσκοι τὸ μὲν πλήθος  
 τῶν οἰκετῶν κελεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἔπεισθαι ὡς ὄντας  
 μέρος τοῦ λοιποῦ ὄχλου, προστάξαντες τότε  
 ἀποκαλύπτειν ἃ (ἐπ)εφέροντο<sup>6</sup> ὄπλα καὶ γενναίως  
 ἀνθεστάναι, εἴ τινας ἢ στρατιωτῶν ἢ δημοτῶν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπίοιεν ἔκδικοι τοῦ γενησομένου ἔργου·

<sup>1</sup> ἐπελθεῖν O<sup>2</sup> om Whit οἰκέτας Gedike<sup>3</sup> συνηλθόντες O<sup>4</sup> iJo -ορθρον O<sup>5</sup> Reisk προσελ. Oi<sup>6</sup> Mendelss ἔφερον Oag cf. 7.4.4

<sup>1</sup> H. makes clear below that the supporters were not just young men, but the tenant farmers (*coloni*) of the landowners; cf. SHA, *Gord.* 7.3-4 (*rusticos vel Afros* and *plebem rusticam*); possibly support also came from local peasants. The *coloni* and peasants had long been exploited by both imperial agents and rich landowners (cf. 7.3.6n and e.g. the complaints of the tenants of the saltus Burunitanus or at Henchit Mettich; Kotula, *Eos* 50 (1959/60) 264 ff.). Though the rift between urban and rural society was growing wider (cf. Friend, *Donatist Church* 99 ff., for Numidia) H. demonstrates

three days. A conspiracy was formed of all those who were known to have suffered ill-treatment or feared they would in the future. They told their [young]<sup>1</sup> supporters from the countryside to come into town by night, armed with clubs and axes. In obedience<sup>4</sup> to the orders of their landlords, the country folk gathered in the city, hiding the weapons for their improvised war under the clothes they were wearing. A very large crowd gathered, for Libya is a heavily populated country with many farmworkers on the land.<sup>2</sup> Soon after dawn the young men appeared<sup>5</sup> and told their mass of retainers to follow them as though they were part of the rest of the crowd, but, they added, the men should keep the weapons they had brought hidden for the time being and firmly resist any soldier<sup>3</sup> or common person who might attack them in revenge for the deed they were

that the grievances of the lower classes in the rural area could be used to political effect by the wealthier decurion class; cf. 7.5.3n.

<sup>2</sup> The increasing burdens placed on the agricultural workers by the *annona militaris* and compulsory service in the construction of the Severan *limes* must have been the basic cause of the unrest; e.g. *AE* (1948) 109 from Banasa, showing the back payments of taxes that were due. By raising the soldiers' pay (6.8.8n), M. had yet further imposed upon the farmers. Kotula, *Eos* 50 (1959/60) 200 ff., believes that under M. the extensive repair of roads leading to Carthage, Hadrumetum and Leptis Magna were in order to facilitate the speedier transport of higher corn levies; thus conditions were ripe for revolt, as H. says, 7.3.6. Cf. Romanelli, *Province rom. Africa* 447 f.

<sup>3</sup> Probably members of the Carthaginian urban cohort; SHA, *Max.* 14.1, says that the defenders of the procurator were so *in honorem Maximini*, though later they appear to have joined Gordian (7.6.2n).

6 αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια ὑποκόλπια προσίασι τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὡς δὴ περὶ τῆς ἀποδόσεως τῶν χρημάτων διαλεξόμενοι, προσπεσόντες τε αἰφνιδίως οὐ προσδοκῶντα παίσαντες φονεύουσι. τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιωτῶν γυμνωσάντων τὰ ξίφη τῷ τε φόνῳ ἐπέξελθεῖν θελούντων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατεληλυθότες προβαλόμενοι <sup>1</sup> τὰ τε ξύλα καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις, ὑπερμαχόμενοι τῶν δεσποτῶν, τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ραδίως ἐτρέψαντο.

5. οὕτως δὴ προχωρήσαντος τοῦ ἔργου, οἱ νεανίσκοι ἅπαξ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει <sup>2</sup> γενόμενοι μόνην ἤδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπάρχουσαν, εἰ τὰ τολμηθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀξήσαιεν ἔργοις μείζουσι καὶ κοινῶν τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν ἠγούμενον τοῦ ἔθνους παραλάβοιεν, πᾶν τε τὸ ἔθνος ἀναπέοιαιεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν· ὅπερ ἤδεσαν πάλαι μὲν εὐχεσθαι <sup>3</sup> 2 μίσει Μαξιμίνου, φόβῳ δὲ κωλύεσθαι. σὺν παντὶ τοίνυν τῷ πλήθει ἤδη μεσαζούσης ἡμέρας <sup>4</sup> ἐπίασιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπατεύοντος οἰκίαν. Γορδιανὸς δὲ <sup>5</sup> ἦν ὄνομα, κλήρῳ

<sup>1</sup> Bekk -βαλλόμενοι Oi

<sup>2</sup> ἀπογνώσει AIP

<sup>3</sup> εὐχ. <πάντας> translated P

<sup>4</sup> nocte intempesta P

<sup>5</sup> Jo μὲν Oi

<sup>1</sup> The governors of senatorial provinces were still normally chosen by lot; in the case of Africa and Asia the choice was made from consulars who had held the consulship some twelve to fifteen years earlier; Mommsen, *StR* (3) 2.1.255-6, Waddington, *Fastes d. prov. asiatiques* 13, Thomasson, *Statthaller d. röm. Prov. Nordafrikas* 1.30 f. SHA, *Max.* 14.2. says that G. had been appointed in the reign of Alexander *ex senatus consulto*, but this is unlikely to be true; cf. SHA, *Gord.* 2.4, 5.2, where a forged letter shows the weakness of the informa-

going to do. They themselves went up to the procurator with daggers under the folds of their garments, pretending they were going to discuss the payment of their fines. Then they rushed at him all of a sudden, while he was off his guard, and stabbed him to death. As the procurator's guards drew their swords in an effort to avenge the assassination, the labourers in from the countryside brandished their clubs and axes in defence of their masters and easily routed the opposition.

5. After this success, once the young men had examined their position, they realized there was only one way to save themselves, which was to add to their audacity by still more extreme actions. They must make the provincial governor a partner in their predicament and induce the whole province to revolt. They knew that such a move had been approved for a long time because people hated Maximinus, although they were restrained by fear of him. It was mid-day when they reached 2 the proconsul's house, accompanied by the whole crowd. Gordian, the name of the governor who had obtained the proconsulship by sortition,<sup>1</sup> was an

tion. M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus was born c. 159 (if H. is right about his age; cf. Zon. 12.17); his family was related to that of Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, the Athenian millionaire (Philos. *VS* praef. 480(01), but otherwise no details are known of his life and career except what is contained in the untrustworthy *vita*. In spite of his nobility, he did not reach the consulship until late in life (SHA, *Gord.* 18.5; the information about the dates of two consulships in SHA, *Gord.* 4.1, is not confirmed by any inscriptions). His presence in Antioch, where he met Philostratus for a literary discussion, probably indicates G. was *comes* of Caracalla and friend of

μὲν τὴν ἀνθυπατείαν λαχὼν, πρεσβύτης δὲ ἐς ἔτος ἤδη περί που ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἐλληλακῶς, πολλῶν δὲ πρότερον ἄρχας ἐθνῶν ἐν τε πράξεσι μεγίσταις ἐξετασθεῖς. ὅθεν αὐτὸν τε ἠδέως ὑποδέξασθαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀρχὴν ᾗοντο ὥσπερ κορυφαῖον τέλος τῶν προγενομένων πράξεων, τὴν τε σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἀσμένως δέξασθαι<sup>1</sup> ἄνδρα εὖ γεγονότα καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἡγεμονιῶν ὥσπερ κατ'<sup>3</sup> ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθόντα. συνέβαινε δὲ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, οἴκοι τὸν Γορδιανὸν διατρίβειν ἡσυχάζοντα, δεδωκότα τοῖς καμάτοις ἀνάπαυλαν ἀργίαν τε ταῖς πράξεσιν. οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι ξιφῆρεις σὺν παντὶ τῷ πλήθει, βιασάμενοι τοὺς ταῖς αὐλείαις<sup>2</sup> ἐφεστῶτας, εἰσηγήσαντες καταλαμβάνουσι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τινος σκιμπιδίου ἀναπαυόμενον, περιστάντες δὲ χλαμῦδι πορφυρᾷ περιβάλλουσι σεβασμίαις<sup>3</sup> τε τιμαῖς προσαγορεύουσι.<sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκπλαγείς, ἐνέδραν καὶ συσκευὴν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ νομίζων, ῥίψας ἀπὸ τοῦ σκίμποδος ἐς γῆν αὐτὸν ἐδεῖτο φειδῆσθαι γέροντος μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσαντος, σώζεις δὲ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν

<sup>1</sup> Steph -ασθαι OI    <sup>2</sup> Wolf αὐλείαις OI    <sup>3</sup> -οις Mendelss

<sup>4</sup> πάσαις γεραίρουσιν conj Mendelss

Julia Domna c. 214-17. If so, he may have owed his late advance to the favour of the Syrian empresses Julia Domna, Maesa and Mamaea (cf. the career of Cassius Dio). Possibly praetorian *legatus* of Britannia Inferior in 216, proconsul of Achaia (cf. Philos. *VS loc. cit.*) and suffect consul in 222; for dates and references, see recently A. Birley, *Britain and Rome* 56 ff., who also suggests Asian origins. On the tendentious

old man of about eighty. He had held many other previous provincial commands and proved his ability in important achievements. It was assumed therefore that he would be glad to accept the empire as the crowning achievement of his eventful career, and that the senate and people of Rome would welcome a man who was nobly born and had held many commands in a sort of regular promotion. It so happened<sup>3</sup> on the day of the event that Gordian was spending time quietly at home,<sup>1</sup> having a break from work and giving himself some time off from his business. Forcing their way past the guards in the outer courtyard, the young men and the mob<sup>2</sup> burst in with drawn swords and caught the governor resting on a couch. Crowding round him, they clothed him in a purple cloak and hailed him with the titles of Augustus. Gordian was shattered by the surprise<sup>4</sup> event, and thought that a treacherous intrigue had been planned against him. He threw himself off the couch down at their feet and begged them to spare the life of an innocent old man, remembering his

biographical details in the *vita Gordianorum*, see Syme, *H.-A. Colloquium Bonn 1964/5* 268 ff.

<sup>1</sup> It has been plausibly suggested that G. himself held property at Thyndrus and had been responsible for the construction of the vast theatre (holding about 25,000-30,000 people) in the city; Lézine, *Cahiers de Tunisie* 8 (1960) 29-50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 7.4.3n for the question of the extent to which this was a genuine mass movement; here and elsewhere H. seems to make it clear that the revolt was primarily a well-organized group of wealthy landowners of the decurion class. A leader called Mauricius is described as *potens apud Afros decurio* in SHA, *Gord.* 7.5, 8.1-4 (though the name is obviously suspect). Later the *plebs urbana* of Thyndrus and Carthage joined in the movement (7.5.7, 7.9.4).

τῷ βασιλεύοντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν ξιφήρεις ἐνέκειντο, ἐκείνος δὲ <sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀγνοίας <sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἤδει τὸ πεπραγμένον οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς παρουσίας τύχης αἴτιον, εἰς τῶν νεανίσκων, ὃς ἦν αὐτῶν γένει καὶ δυνάμει λόγων προύχων, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατασιγάσας ἡσυχάζειν τε προστάξας, <sup>3</sup> ἔχων πρόκωπον <sup>4</sup> τὴν δεξιὰν <sup>5</sup> ἔλαξε πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιάδε· “ δύο κινδύνων προκειμένων, τοῦ μὲν παρόντος τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἤδη προδήλου τοῦ δὲ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τύχῃ, ἐλέσθαι <sup>5</sup> σε δεῖ σήμερον σώζεσθαι μεθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ πιστεῦσαι σεαυτὸν ἐλπίδι κρείττονι, ἢ πάντες πεπιστεύκαμεν, ἢ τεθνάναι ἤδη πρὸς ἡμῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ παρόντα ἔλοιο, πολλὰ τὰ ἐφόδια ἐς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας, τό τε Μαξιμίνου παρὰ πᾶσι μῖσος, πόθος <sup>6</sup> τε τυραννίδος ὠμῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς, <sup>7</sup> καὶ ἐν ταῖς προγενομέναις πράξεσιν εὐδοκίμησις, <sup>8</sup> ἔν τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δῆμῳ γνῶσις <sup>9</sup> οὐκ <sup>6</sup> ἄσῃμος καὶ τιμῇ <sup>10</sup> ἔνδοξος ἀεὶ. ἀντειπὸντι δέ σοι καὶ μὴ συμπνεύσαντι ἡμῖν τήμερον <sup>11</sup> τέλος ἐπικέσεται· ἀπολούμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοί, εἰ δέοι, προαπολέσαντες <sup>12</sup> <σέ>. <sup>13</sup> ἔργον γὰρ ἡμῖν τετόλμηται μείζονος ἀπογνώσεως δεόμενον· κείμεν γὰρ ὁ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπῆρέτης, καὶ δίκας ὠμότητος παρέσχε φονευθεὶς ὑφ’ ἡμῶν. ἐφ’ οἷς ἦν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> τε Agl

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀγν. Οἱ ἀπεμάχετο, οὐ γὰρ ἤδει conj Mendelss καταγνόμενος? Whit

loyalty and goodwill to the emperor. As they pressed around him with their swords, the governor was in a state of panic and ignorance, without any idea of what had happened or the reason for this present turn of events.<sup>1</sup> One of the young men, noted for his high birth and rhetorical ability, made them quiet by calling for silence, and then, with his sword held at the ready, he said to Gordian, “ There <sup>5</sup> are two risks you face, one here, the other in the future; one clearly predictable, the other open to the vagaries of chance. You must choose today whether you are to be safe with us and put your trust in the brighter prospects we all believe in, or whether you are going to die now at our hands. If you choose safety now, we have plenty of advantages to make us optimistic—the universal unpopularity of Maximinus, the desire to be rid of a cruel tyranny, the reputation of your past record, your celebrated name among the senate and people of Rome and your long distinguished position of honour. But, if you refuse <sup>6</sup> to join us, then this day will be your last, even though we have to die ourselves. For we have undertaken a deed of daring that needs a still greater act of desperation. The servant of the tyrant

<sup>1</sup> The extent to which the revolt was a spontaneous outburst or a carefully laid plot is discussed in 7.5.7n.

<sup>3</sup> ἡσυχ. τε προστάξας om Nauck

<sup>5</sup> ἐλεύσεσθαι l γενέσθαι A

<sup>7</sup> Mendelss ἀπαλλαγῆση A -λάξεις φι

<sup>8</sup> Sylb -μήσεις Oi

<sup>10</sup> Steph τιμῆς Oi

<sup>12</sup> προσαπ. O

<sup>4</sup> πρόκωπον φι

<sup>6</sup> Reisk πάθος Oi

<sup>9</sup> ἀλλάξως Bekk

<sup>9</sup> γνῶση O

<sup>11</sup> σήμερον Wolf

<sup>13</sup> Stroth from P



ἡμῶν <sup>1</sup> συνάρη καὶ κοινωνὸς τῶν κινδύνων γένη,<sup>2</sup>  
αὐτός τε τῆς ἐν βασιλείᾳ τιμῆς ἀπολαύσεις, τό τε  
ἡμῶν προκείμενον ἔργον ἐπαινεθήσεται καὶ οὐ <sup>3</sup>  
κολασθήσεται.”

7 τοιαυτὰ τινα λέγοντος τοῦ νεανίσκου οὐκ ἀνασχό-  
μενον τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, συνδραμόντων <sup>4</sup> ἤδη καὶ  
πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειδὴ διεφοίτησεν ἡ  
φήμη,<sup>4</sup> Σεβαστὸν Γορδιανὸν ἀναγορεύει. παραι-  
τούμενος δὲ καὶ γῆρας προῖσχύμενος ἐκείνος,  
ἄλλως δὲ φιλόδοξος ὢν, οὐδὲ ἀηδῶς ὑπέστη,  
εὐλόμενος μᾶλλον τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον ἢ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν i

<sup>2</sup> om gl

<sup>3</sup> om φ

<sup>4</sup> συνδραμόντες ἤδη πάντες ἐπειδὴ διεφοίτησε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν  
ἡ φήμη O

<sup>1</sup> That is, the *plebs urbana* of Thysdrus, a population variously estimated as between 15,000 and 25,000 inhabitants; cf. SHA, *Gord.* 7.4, *Max.* 14.3.

<sup>2</sup> For the date of this event, see 7.4.1n. The olive season lasted from December to about February each year in Tunisia (see 7.6.1n); Despoise, *Tunisie Orientale* 358. SHA, *Gord.* 23.2, says that an eclipse of the sun took place soon after Gordian III became Caesar; since the only eclipses in 238 took place on 2nd April and 25th September (Ginzler, *Speziel. Kanon d. Sonn. u. Mondfinsternisse* 83, 207) it is usually assumed the *vita* has made an error, and that the eclipse of 2nd April coincided with the arrival of the news of the African revolt in Rome; i.e. that this revolt took place about 20th March. But there is nothing inconsistent in H. or inscriptions, etc., with assuming that the date in 7.4.1. is correctly stated and that the revolt in Africa took place about 1st March, that the

has been struck down, paying the penalty for his cruelty by his murder at our hands. If you join us as a partner in our risks, your own reward will be the office of emperor, and we shall be praised, not punished, for the deed we propose to do.”

By now the whole population of the city <sup>1</sup> had <sup>7</sup> quickly gathered as the news spread. And when the young man finished his speech, the rest of the crowd, without waiting, acclaimed Gordian as Augustus.<sup>2</sup> Although Gordian declined the offer on the grounds of his old age, he was actually ambitious for power and not reluctant to accept it,<sup>3</sup> partly because he preferred to accept the future

Gordiani I and II were dead by 22nd March and the news reached Rome on 1st April, causing the election and elevation of Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordian III. It is only the other dates in the *vitae* and later chronicles which contradict such a chronology.

<sup>3</sup> G.'s willingness to accept the purple provides fuel for the theory of long planning and connivance in the plot to elevate Gordian. Several of the prominent protagonists of the events in Rome had African connections; e.g. L. Caesonius Lucilianus Macer Rufinianus had served as *legatus* and *vice proconsulis* in the province and under Gordian III went back as proconsul; L. Flavius Honoratus Lucilianus was probably a native of Cuicul; an unnamed senator who may have been a member of the XXviri is honoured on an African inscription (*ILS* 8980), P. Aelius Secundinus probably originated from Thugga, Appius Claudius Julianus (if correctly associated with these events) had been *legatus* and proconsul in Africa. About 14% of senators were African in origin, but this does not necessarily prove an African faction in Rome began the revolt; on the other hand, the vigour of the action in Rome as soon as the revolt was announced would certainly argue for a planned revolt; cf. 7.10.3n for the names of the vigintivirate and Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 49-105, for a discussion of the planning.

παρόντα, ἐν τε γήρα ἑσχάτῳ οὐ πάνυ τι δεινὸν νομίζων, εἰ δέοι, ἐν βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τελευτῆσαι. πᾶν δὲ τὸ Λιβύων ἔθνος εὐθέως ἐδεδόνητο, καὶ τὰς μὲν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς καθήρουν, εἰκόσι δὲ καὶ ἀνδριαῖσι Γορδιανοῦ τὰς πόλεις ἐκόσμου, τῷ τε κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι προσθέντες Ἀφρικανὸν ἐκάλεσαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· οὕτω γὰρ Λίβυες ὑπὸ <sup>1</sup> με σ ημβρίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καλοῦνται.

6. ὁ δὲ Γορδιανὸς ἐνδιατρίψας τῇ Θύστρω, ἔνθα ταῦτα ἐπράχθη, ἡμερῶν τινῶν, ἧδη φέρων βασιλέως

<sup>1</sup> <οι> ὑπὸ Bekk

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 6.8.6 for the same phrase. The whole scene of the *refus de pouvoir* described here has similarities with that involving Maximinus—the surprise offer, the forcible acceptance, the preference for present safety to the future risk. But in the case of M. it is suggested that he might have contrived the event.

<sup>2</sup> The effaced and mutilated inscriptions in the African provinces are listed by Bersanetti, *Massimino* 68, Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 80; the cities which carried out this *abolitio* were punished later (7.9.11, SHA, *Max.* 19.4, *Gord.* 9.3); note *CIL* VIII. 757. 10047 with the name of M. obliterated and then reinscribed.

<sup>3</sup> Roman coinage for both G. and his son gives them this title; *imp. M. Ant(onium) Gordianus Afr(icanus) Aug.* and *imp. Caes. M. Ant(onium) Gordianus Afr(icanus) Aug.*; *BMC* VI. 114, Vogt. *Alex. Münz.* 1.190. In Asia and perhaps Africa the title *Romanus* also appears (cf. *ILS* 493), perhaps a family name (Birley, *Britain and Rome* 59 f.) but useful to publicize the claims G. made to be the true legal emperor against a barbarian usurper (cf. *Romae aeternae* on coins). About 90%

danger to the present one,<sup>1</sup> and partly because, being now an extremely old man, he did not find the prospect of a possible death while holding imperial honours such a terrible thing. The whole of Libya was immediately rocked by revolt. All the honorary dedications to Maximinus were torn down,<sup>2</sup> and in their place the cities were adorned with portraits and statues of Gordian. In addition to his own title they gave him the name of Africanus after themselves,<sup>3</sup> the name given to Libyans in the south by those who speak the language of the Romans.<sup>4</sup>

6. For a few days Gordian remained at Thysdrus <sup>5</sup> where the events had taken place, by this time with

of senators came from Italy, Africa and the Greek-speaking provinces; Barbieri, *Albo* pp. 447, 453.

<sup>4</sup> The only place in the whole history that H. uses the name *Africanus* rather than the term Libyan for inhabitants of Africa. It is not clear whether (accepting the emendation of Bekker) H. is repeating Mela 1.4 that all the Libyans who live in the territory south of the Mediterranean are called Africans in Latin; or whether (as in the MSS) H. means this is the name that Latin-speaking Africans call themselves in the south, and that this was the origin of the name. In fact, the origin of the name *Africa* cannot be traced, though some have argued for a Berber source. It was used by the Romans, as the Greeks used the name *Libya*, either to refer to the political boundaries of the province, or as a general name for the whole Maghreb, or sometimes to mean the whole continent. See Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord* VII. 2-8.

<sup>5</sup> El-Djem in present-day Tunisia, the centre of a rich agricultural region, producing chiefly olives and acting as the entrepôt for produce that was exported from Hadrumetum and Thaeanae. The presence of the procurator was probably due to the collection of the *annona* levy of oil, the market for which was over by February each year. The proconsul would have been present to investigate complaints; Picard, *Karthago* 5 (1954) 212.

ὄνομα καὶ σχῆμα, ἀπάρας τε <sup>1</sup> τῆς Θύστρου ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἠπείχθη, ἣν ἦδει μεγίστην τε οὖσαν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ἢ ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πάντα πράττοι· ἡ γὰρ <sup>2</sup> πόλις ἐκεῖνη καὶ δυνάμει χρημάτων καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων καὶ μεγέθει μόνῃς Ῥώμῃς ἀπολείπεται, φιλονεικοῦσα πρὸς τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν περὶ <sup>2</sup> δευτερείων. εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἡ βασιλικὴ πομπή, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν, οὗτινες <sup>3</sup> ἦσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμηκεστέρων νεανίσκων ἐν σχήματι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην δορυφόρων προϊόντων· αἱ τε ῥάβδοι ἐδαφηφόρου, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἐς τὸ διαγνῶναι τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ιδιωτικῶν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ προεπόμπευεν, ὡς ὄψιν καὶ τύχην ἔχει πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰκόνι,<sup>4</sup> τῆς Ῥώμῃς τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὴν πόλιν.

<sup>3</sup> ὁ τε Γορδιανὸς γράμματά τε πάμπλειστα ἐπέμπει πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην πρωτεύειν δοκούντων, τοῖς τε τῆς συγκλήτου

<sup>1</sup> del Lange

<sup>2</sup> γοῦν i

<sup>3</sup> aP εἰ τινες Ogl

<sup>4</sup> ὥσπερ ἐν εἰκόνι del Lange

<sup>1</sup> In 4.3.7 Antioch is compared to Alexandria as the rival for second city in the empire.

<sup>2</sup> A cohort of the urban troops was stationed at Carthage (7.4.5); the main legionary force was in Numidia under the

the title and style of emperor. Then he left Thysdrus and marched to Carthage, the largest and most heavily populated city (as Gordian knew), so that he could act exactly as if he were in Rome. The city is the next after Rome in wealth, population and size, though there is rivalry for second place between it and Alexandria in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> With him <sup>2</sup> went the whole imperial escort, the soldiers stationed there <sup>2</sup> and the tallest young men in the city acting like the bodyguard in Rome.<sup>3</sup> The *fasces* were garlanded with laurel, (a sign that distinguishes an emperor from an ordinary man) and fire was carried before him in procession,<sup>4</sup> so that for a short time the city of Carthage was a kind of replica of Rome in its prosperous appearance.

Gordian sent out a great many messages to all <sup>3</sup> whom he considered leading citizens in Rome, including letters to the most distinguished senators,

governor Capellianus, though a cohort of that legion probably served the proconsul of Proconsularis; Cagnat, *L'armée rom. d'Afrique* 57 ff., 211 ff. In 7.8.5 the speech of M. suggests that none of the legionaries had defected to G., though there was a later tradition that some did; SHA, *Max.* 13.6, 14.1, *Gord.* 7.2, Zon. 12.16, Victor, *Caes.* 26.1, Eutrop. 11.2. In order to explain how the tradition arose Townsend suggests that it was veterans who joined G. that gave rise to the misunderstanding; *YCS* 14 (1955) 61n; cf. 7.9.4n, 7.9.6n.

<sup>3</sup> The *iuvenes* (7.4.3n) were formed into a praetorian guard, over whom, says Victor, *Caes.* 27.1, Gordian's son was made prefect. This may be a confusion with the title of *princeps iuventutis*, for which there is no direct evidence, but *IL Tum.* 111 (from Thysdrus) gives the heir the title *iunior*; (cf. Victor, *Caes.* 26.7—*conscriptis iunioribus* in Italy).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1.8.4n.

δοκιμωτάτοις ἐπιστέλλει, ὧν ἦσαν αὐτῷ πλείστοι φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ δημόσια γράμματα πρὸς τε τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, δι' ὧν τὴν τε Λιβύων ἐδήλου ἐς ἑαυτὸν σύμπνοιαν, τῆς τε Μαξιμίνου ὠμότητος κατηγορεῖ  
 4 σφοδρότατα εἰδὼς μισουμένην, αὐτὸς τε πᾶσαν πραότητα ὑπισχνεῖτο, συκοφάντας τε πάντας φυγαδεύων καὶ παλινδικίαν<sup>1</sup> διδοὺς τοῖς ἀδίκως κατακριθεῖσι, τοὺς τε φυγάδας ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἐπανάγων· τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ὑπέσχετο ἐπίδοσιν χρημάτων ὅσην οὐδεὶς πρότερον. τῷ τε δήμῳ νομὰς ἐπήγγειλε. προυνοήσατο δὲ τοῦ πρότερον ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην τῶν στρατοπέδων προεστώτα· Βιταλιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ. τοῦτον ἤδει<sup>2</sup> τραχύτατα καὶ ὠμότατα πράττοντα, φίλτα-  
 5 τόν τε ὄντα<sup>3</sup> καὶ καθωσιωμένον τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ. ὑποπτέυων οὖν μὴ τοῖς πραττομένοις γενναίως ἀντιστῆ καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου φόβῳ μηδεὶς αὐτῷ συνάρηται, πέμπει τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ ἔθνους, νεανίσκον

<sup>1</sup> ψῆφον δικαίαν A<sup>2</sup> ᾄδη i<sup>3</sup> om O

<sup>1</sup> Urgent news might travel direct from Carthage to Rome in two to three days in the summer sailing season (Pliny, *NH* 19.3), but at this season must have gone by the Sicilian route in seven to ten days; cf. 7.4.1n, 7.8.1n. The almost immediate issue of coinage in Rome in the name of the Gordians (in a reign of about three weeks) suggests that the dies were already prepared and therefore that the revolt was anticipated, says

many of whom were his friends and relatives,<sup>1</sup> and a public dispatch to the senate and people of Rome. In the letters he informed them of his unanimous support<sup>2</sup> in Libya and condemned the brutality of Maximinus, which he knew they heartily loathed. He promised that he would exercise great 4 clemency, send all informers into exile, grant retrials to all who had been unjustly condemned and restore exiles to their countries.<sup>3</sup> To the soldiers he promised a bigger donative than ever before and to the people he gave notice of a distribution of money. First, he took precautions to have the commander of the forces in Rome destroyed, a man called Vitalianus.<sup>4</sup> Gordian was aware of the harsh, cruel behaviour of this man, a completely devoted friend of Maximinus, and he suspected that he would rigor- 5 ously resist his present activities; also, that no one would join his own side for fear of Vitalianus. So he

Carson, *BMC* VI. 96-7; but it seems at least possible that issues of the Gordians could have gone on after their death.

<sup>2</sup> The only occasion on which H. uses the word *συμπνοία*, which exactly translates the Latin *consensus*; its stress underlines the importance of the ideology of the Republican principate in G.'s propaganda, while providing the senate with the higher legality needed to justify the outlawing of M.; cf. Goodenough, *YCS* I (1928) 90 ff., for Hellenistic parallels. Was H. here copying some document he had seen?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2.14.3n for the regular formula expected of the *basileus* in contrast to the *tyrannus*. But G. also had to promise donatives and *congiaria*.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps P. Aelius Vitalianus; if so, he was equestrian governor of Mauretania Caesariensis until at least 236; *AE* (1957) 278. The doubts about his status as praefect given by Howe, *Praet. Praef.* no. 40 seem ill founded. The main body of the praetorians and the other praefect were with M. at Sirmium (8.5.9n).

φύσει εὐτολμον καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἀγεννή καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντα, πρόθυμόν τε ἐς τὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ<sup>1</sup> κίνδυνον, παραδοῦς αὐτῷ ἑκατοντάρχας καὶ στρατιώτας τινάς, οἷς ἔδωκε κατασεσημασμένα γράμματα ἐν πτυκτοῖς<sup>2</sup> πῖναξι, δι' ὧν τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτά ἀγγέλματα τοῖς βασιλευσιν ἐπιστέλλεται. κελύει δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἔω ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κατελθοῦσιν ἐπιστῆναι ἔτι ἰδιάζοντι<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἀνακεχωρηκότι τῷ Βιταλιανῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου οἰκίσκῳ, ἔνθα μόνος τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτά δοκοῦντα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἠρεῦνα τε καὶ ἐξήταζε, δηλώσαι τε ὅτι φέρουσι γράμματα πρὸς Μαξιμίνου<sup>4</sup> ἀπόρρητα, ἐπὶ τοῦτό τε παρ' αὐτοῦ<sup>5</sup> πεμφθῆναι<sup>6</sup> ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τοῦ βασιλέως.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ O                      <sup>2</sup> πτυκτοῖς φ al (g<sup>1</sup> in mg) πτυκτοῖς A

<sup>3</sup> Stroth δικάζοντι Oi ἥδη δικάζοντι Gedike                      <sup>4</sup> -ῖνον Oa

<sup>5</sup> παρὰ τοῦ gl παρά του α                      <sup>6</sup> παραπεμφθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> Zos. I.14.1 says that among those sent to Rome by Gordian was (P. Licinius) Valerianus, a man of consular rank, who later became emperor (A.D. 253). Valerian is also mentioned by SHA, *Gord.* 9.7, who says that he was *princeps senatus*. Both statements are dubious, since a man of such seniority is unlikely to have served as a *legatus* of Gordian in Africa. But even if he had (just as G.'s son is said to have been *legatus* to his father and of consular status, SHA, *Gord.* 18.5), he would surely not have been sent from Africa and thus draw attention to the conspiracy. A suffect consul (De-grassi, *Pasti Consolari* 66) would not be *princeps senatus*. Later Valerian's bid for the purple was supported by detachments of legio III Augusta (reformed after its dispersal by Gordian III; *ILS* 531, 2296) which now opposed and crushed the Gordiani in Africa.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 3.5.4 for the same attempted method of assassination. If the revolt of G. took place on 1st March (7.4.1n, 7.5.7n), the

sent his provincial quaestor,<sup>1</sup> a young man who was inherently brave, physically tough and in the prime of his youth. He was also an enthusiastic supporter for his cause. Gordian transferred to his command some centurions and soldiers, to whom he gave a letter sealed in folding tablets, the normal method used by the emperor to send private, secret messages.<sup>2</sup> The 6 men were told to arrive before daybreak in Rome and appear before Vitalianus while he was still on his own, but after he had gone to the small room of the public court in which he used to scrutinize carefully what purported to be the private, secret dispatches concerning the safety of the emperor. They were to inform him that they were bringing secret instruction from Maximinus, sent by him<sup>3</sup> on this mission con-

news would have reached Rome about 11th March, and Sirmium about 21st March (7.8.1n). The earliest rescript headings of 238 with the name of Gordian are dated to 1st Jan. (*Cod. Just.* 5.70.2), 21st March (*ibid.* 7.26.5) and 29th March (or 29th July, *ibid.* 7.43.2); the first must be an error, but the other two might belong to Gordian I. P. Yale 156, which records the name of the Gordians (I and II) on 20th June, was written long after they were dead; but papyri scribes were notoriously slow to react to changes in emperors. The detailed knowledge of events that H. displays probably indicates that he was in Rome in 238.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear from the Greek in the MSS (see *app. critic.*) by whom the messages were purported to have been sent; the emendations and adopted reading makes it clear that the message was supposed to have come from Maximinus to Vitalianus; cf. SHA, *Gord.* 10.6—*ficlae sunt litterae Maximini*. It is almost inconceivable that Vitalianus would otherwise have exposed himself to a private meeting (cf. the reaction of Albinus, 3.5.4). SHA, *Gord.* 10.5, most improbably places the murder of Vitalianus after the senatorial decree recognizing the Gordiani, and on the instructions of the senate.

7 προσποιήσασθαι δὲ βούλεσθαι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι αὐτῷ ἰδιαίτερον ἀπαγγεῖλαι τε τὰ ἐντεταλμένα διασχιλουμένῳ δὲ ἐκείνῳ περὶ <sup>1</sup> τὴν τῶν σφραγιδῶν ἐπίγνωσιν προσποιουμένους <sup>2</sup> ὡς δὴ ἐροῦντάς τι, οἷς εἶχον ὑποκολπιδίοις ξίφεσι φονεῦσαι. ἅπερ πάντα προухώρησεν ὡς ἐκέλευσεν. ἔτι γὰρ νυκτὸς οὔσης, ὡσπερ <sup>3</sup> ἐκείνος εἰώθει πρὸ ἡμέρας προΐεναι, <sup>3</sup> ἐπέστησαν αὐτῷ ἰδιάζοντι, μηδὲ πολλοῦ 8 πλήθους παρόντος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προεληλύθεσαν, οἱ δὲ προσαγορεύσαντες <sup>4</sup> πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνακεχωρήκεσαν, ἡσυχίας τε <sup>5</sup> οὖν οὔσης ὀλίγων <sup>6</sup> τε πρὸ τοῦ οἰκίσκου, δηλώσαντες αὐτῷ τὰ προειρημένα ῥαδίως εἰσεδέχθησαν· ἐπιδόντες δὲ τὰ γράμματα, ἐκείνου ταῖς σφραγῖσι τὰς ὄψεις ἐπιβάλλοντος προβαλόντες τὰ ξιφίδια καὶ παΐσαντες φονεύουσιν, ἔχοντές τε 9 αὐτὰ πρόκωπα <sup>7</sup> προπηδῶσιν. οἱ δὲ παρόντες ἐκπλαγέντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἰόμενοι Μαξιμίνου τὴν κέλευσιν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐποίει τοῦτο πολλάκις καὶ περὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι φιλάτους. κατελθόντες δὲ διὰ μέσης τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ προτιθέασιν τὰ πρὸς

cerning a matter of imperial security. They were 7 further instructed to pretend they wanted a private interview with Vitalianus to pass on their instructions. Then, while he was busy examining the seals, they were to act as if they were going to say something, and kill him with the swords hidden under their clothes. Everything went according to the instructions. While it was still dark (Vitalianus normally left his house before daybreak), they appeared before him while he was on his own, and no great number of people were about. Some people had not yet come 8 out, and others had already gone home after making their morning calls before dawn.<sup>1</sup> While the place was quiet, and only a few people stood in front of the chamber, the soldiers had no difficulty in getting an audience by showing their letter. They gave Vitalianus the letter, and while his attention was turned to the seals, they drew their swords and stabbed him to death. After this they rushed out of the room with the swords in their hands. The by- 9 standers ran away in fright, because they thought the murder was on Maximinus' orders—a not infrequent action against even his supposedly closest friends. The soldiers ran down the middle of the Sacred

<sup>1</sup> There are numerous references in Roman writers to the early morning greetings (*salutatio matutina*). Poor clients had the duty of paying a pre-dawn call (*officium antelucanum*) by the first two hours of the day, Mart. 4.8.1; this often necessitated rising in the middle of the night to be punctual, Juv. 3.127, Luc. *Nig.* 22; cf. Hug, *RE* (*salutatio*). In the third hour of the day the business of the courts began, according to Martial, 4.8.1. H. here seems to be saying that the visit to the prefect was after the time for *salutatio* but before the business of the day began.

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς O1

<sup>2</sup> παρισταμένους conj Mendelss προσπ.—τι om P

<sup>3</sup> ὡσπερ—προΐεναι del Mendelss

<sup>4</sup> -εὔοντες O

<sup>5</sup> om i

<sup>6</sup> ὀλίγον O

<sup>7</sup> πρόκωπα i

τὸν δῆμον τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ γράμματα, τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα διδώσαι· διασκεδάννυται τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν φήμη ὡς ἄρα καὶ Μαξιμίνος εἶη ἀνηρημένος.

7. ὡς δὲ διεφοίτησε ταῦτα, εὐθέως πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ὡσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν διέθει πανταχοῦ· καὶ πάντες μὲν γὰρ ὄχλοι κοῦφοι πρὸς τὰ καινοτομούμενα, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐν πλήθει μεγίστω καὶ ποικίλῳ συγκλύδων τε ἀνθρώπων πολὺ καὶ ῥάδιον<sup>1</sup> ἔχει τὸ τῆς γνώμης εὐκίνητον.  
2 πᾶσαι ἀνδριάντες οὖν καὶ εἰκόνες τιμαί τε τοῦ Μαξιμίνου κατεσπῶντο, καὶ τὸ κρυπτὸν πρότερον διὰ φόβον μίσος ἀδεῆς καὶ αὐτεξούσιον γενόμενον ἀκωλύτως ἐξεχέιτο. ἧ τε σύγκλητος

<sup>1</sup> *longe ceteris mobilibus* P πολὺ ῥᾶον Syll

<sup>1</sup> The praefect had a tribunal at the *principia* of the Viminal camp, Durry, *Cohortes præt.* 54, but the reference to a public court (7.6.6) indicates that the court sessions (*auditoria*) were being held in one of the courts of the city, perhaps that of the urban praefect in the Forum Augusti; Carcopino, *Daily Life in Anc. Rome* (Penguin) 189, though it might have been in the imperial basilica on the Palatine (as is suggested by H.'s words "ran down"); cf. SHA, *Gord.* 10.7, which mentions a portico, and Dio (Xiph.) 69.18.2-4, recording the early morning judicial hearings in the palace, which were held by Marcius Turbo, praefect under Hadrian. The bystanders were probably other soldiers of the praefect's escort. The age of the Severi was the high-water mark of the judicial functions of the praetorian

Way<sup>1</sup> and displayed the letter written by Gordian to the people, giving the consuls and the others their messages, too. And they spread the rumour that Maximinus had been destroyed as well.

7. As the rumour gained currency, the populace at once began to rush around like people possessed. Although every lower-class mob is quick to revolt, the Roman population, made up of a vast, heterogeneous conglomeration of human beings, can change its allegiances frequently and capriciously.<sup>2</sup> All the<sup>2</sup> statues, pictures and honorific dedications of Maximinus were torn down, letting loose a flood of hatred, unrestrained by fear, but previously kept hidden through intimidation. At a meeting of the senate,<sup>3</sup>

praefect, who, in addition to his own area of jurisdiction, acted *vice imperatoris* (for the emperor), particularly with reference to provincial affairs, and therefore as a final court of appeal; Passerini, *Coorti præt.* 223-51, Durry, *op. cit.* 171-4. It is no accident that during Maximinus' absence the praetorian praefect was given more legislative power; *Cod. Just.* 1.26.2, wrongly ascribed to Alexander.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Salač, *Listy Filol.* 68 (1941) 206-8, who uses this passage to prove that H. was using a source that was Roman and hostile to provincial immigrants. One need not accept the argument of a proto-Herodian to find traditional comments of this sort about the Roman plebs; e.g. Sallust, *Cat.* 37.2-3, *id adeo more suo* (sc. *plebs*) *videbatur facere. nam semper in civitate . . . odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditioibus sine cura aluntur*, etc. The same comment about foreign immigrants is made in 1.12.1. What H. does indicate is a middle class outlook.

<sup>3</sup> According to SHA, *Gord.* 12.1, which claims to come from Junius Cordus (who is probably fictitious, though Pasoli, *L'Uso di Erod. nella V. Max.* 13 ff. believes he existed), the decree of recognition was a *senatus consultum tacitum*. This may be a misinterpretation of what H. says in 7.10.3, since secret decrees are otherwise unknown.

συνελθοῦσα πρὶν τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰδέναι περὶ τοῦ  
Μαξιμίνου, ἐκ τῆς παρούσης τύχης τὰ μέλλοντα  
πιστεύσαντες τὸν Γορδιανὸν ἅμα τῷ υἱῷ Σεβαστοῦς  
ἀναγορεύουσι, τὰς δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς ἀνατρέ-  
3 πουςι. συκοφάνται τε οὖν καὶ οἱ γενόμενοι τινῶν  
κατήγοροι ἢ ἐφευγον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδικηθέντων  
ἀνηροῦντο, ἐπίτροποί τε καὶ δικασταὶ οἱ τῆς  
ἐκείνου ὠμότητος ὑπῆρται συρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ  
ὄχλου ἐς τοὺς ὀχετοὺς ἐρριπτοῦντο. φόνος τε οὐκ  
ὀλίγος ἐγένετο καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικησάντων ἀνθρώπων·  
δανειστὰς γὰρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ καὶ ἀντιδίκους ἐν πράγμασι  
ἀγοραίοις, καὶ εἴ τις πρὸς τινα βραχέϊαν αἰτίαν  
εἶχε μίσους, ἐπαναβαίνοντες ταῖς<sup>1</sup> οἰκήσεσιν  
ἀπροσδοκίῳ, ἐπηρεάζοντες ὡς συκοφάντας ἐσύ-  
4 λησάν τε καὶ ἐφόνευσαν. ἐν προσχῆματι ἐλευθε-  
ρίας ἀδείας τε εἰρηνικῆς ἔργα πολέμου ἐμφυλίου  
ἐγένετο, ὡς καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρχοντα μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> τε φ ἰ

<sup>1</sup> The collegality of G. and his son is attested on inscriptions and coins; see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 833 and 834. On one coin (*BMC* VI. 247, no. 18 = pl. 42) and one inscription (from Bordeaux perhaps, *ILS* 493) the son is given the title of *pontifex maximus*; if genuine this is the first example of complete collegality, but it is believed the coin is a hybrid and the inscription could refer to Gordian III. H. says nothing about G. II being hailed as Augustus in Africa, though SHA, *Max.* 14.3, says this happened at Thysdrus, and *Gord.* 9.6 says it took place at Carthage; the latter is said to derive from Dexippus by Homo, *Rev. Hist.* 131 (1919) 227-32.

<sup>2</sup> The declaration of M. and his son as *hostes publici* is recorded on *ILS* 1188 (restored in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 622—see 7.12.1n). The formal deposition of a living emperor had happened only to Nero and Julianus before this; H. makes it clear that there

before detailed information about Maximinus was available, they bestowed the title of Augustus on Gordian and his son<sup>1</sup> and stripped Maximinus of his honours,<sup>2</sup> confident of the future as a result of the present fortunate event. Informers and accusers<sup>3</sup> or were destroyed by the victims of their crimes. Procurators and jurymen who had acted as agents of Maximinus' brutality were seized by the mob and thrown into the sewers. There was widespread slaughter, even of innocent people, such as creditors or law-suit rivals or any person against whom one had a trivial reason for a grudge. Their homes were broken into without warning and they were insulted, robbed and murdered as informers. Ostensibly<sup>4</sup> in conditions of freedom and the security of peacetime, acts of civil war took place. When the urban prefect, named Sabinus,<sup>3</sup> a much experienced senior

was a formal *abrogatio imperii* and *hostis iudicatio*, the necessary preliminaries to declaration of *iustum bellum*. The questionable legality of such a step had to be justified in terms of *tyrannus (dominus)* ideology; cf. the discussion by Vittinghoff, *Staatsfeind in d. röm. Kaiserzeit* 99-101.

<sup>3</sup> His identity is not known, though he is certainly not Vettius Sabinus (a misnomer by SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 2.1, for C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus, *Albo* 523). Nor is it clear whether he was killed for being a partisan of M. or simply while trying to maintain order (cf. *percussus in populo*, SHA, *Max.* 15.1); SHA, *Gord.* 13.2-9, implies that Sabinus was M.'s agent in Rome, but the passage is quite untrustworthy, and H.'s favourable description here would imply that he was not. There were several senior consulars named Sabinus: C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus, *amicus* of Caracalla (4.7.2n), *cos.* 214 (but he may be the *cos.* II of 240; cf. *CIL* VI. 37061 mutilated); L. Mantennius Sabinus, *cos. suff.* before 229, *legatus* of Moesia in 229 and son of an Egyptian prefect; Fabius Sabinus, said to have been an *amicus* of



πράξεις πολλὰς ὑπατικὰς (Σαβίνου δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ), βουλόμενον κωλύσαι τὰ γινόμενα, ξύλῳ παισθέντα κατὰ τοῦ κρανίου τελευτήσῃαι.

καὶ ὁ μὲν δήμος ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἅπαξ ἀναρριφθέντος κινδύνου φόβῳ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου πάντα ἔπραττεν ἐς τὸ ἀποστήσῃαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη.  
 5 πρεσβεῖαι τοῖνυν πανταχοῦ πρὸς πάντας ἡγουμένους ἐξεπέμφθησαν, ἐπιλεχθέντων ἀνδρῶν ἕκ τε τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος οὐκ ἀδοκίμων, γράμματά τε πρὸς πάντας τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην δηλοῦντα,<sup>1</sup> προτρέποντά τε τοὺς <μὲν><sup>2</sup> ἡγουμένους συναίρεσθαι <τοῖς><sup>3</sup> τῇ κοινῇ πατρίδι καὶ συνεδρίῳ βουλευούσι,<sup>4</sup> τὰ δ' ἔθνη πείθεσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὧν  
 6 καὶ ὑπήκοα ἐκ προγόνων. οἱ πλείστοι μὲν οὖν προσήκαντο τὴν πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἀποστήσαντες ῥαδίως μίσει τῆς Μαξιμίνου τυραννίδος,

<sup>1</sup> om O<sup>2</sup> Bekk<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup> Whit corrupt Stav<sup>4</sup> βουλῆ Steph

Severus Alexander (SHA, *Alex.* 68.1, though a poor authority; cf. SHA, *Elag.* 16.2-3); P. Cadius Sabinus, *cos.* II in 216 (*Albo* 126). Perhaps two Sabini are confused, one appointed after Pupienus and Balbinus became emperors (*Max. et Balb.* 4.4) and this man killed earlier. The solution may be in Victor, *Caes.* 26.5, who says that this riot occurred as a result of the encouragement given by a certain Domitius after the news of Gordian's death; i.e. the incident caused by Domitius Gallicanus in 7.11.3. If so, the problem is resolved, and

consular, attempted to put a stop to this, he was struck on the head with a club and killed.

With the populace in this state, the senate, once having risked the danger, from fear of Maximinus did their best to rouse the provinces.<sup>1</sup> Delegations<sup>2</sup> of special senatorial representatives<sup>3</sup> and well-known members of the equestrian order were sent in all directions to visit all provincial governors. Letters<sup>3</sup> also went out to explain the position of the Romans and the senate, and to urge governors to join sides with those who were planning for their common state and its senate; the provincial population was told to remain loyal to the Romans; the Roman people, they said, had exercised power<sup>4</sup> from ancient times while they, the provincials, had been friendly subjects from the time of their forefathers. As the<sup>6</sup> delegations were generally well received, the provincials rebelled from Maximinus unhesitatingly be-

Sabinus here was a supporter of the senatorial emperors who died in the rioting caused by the partisans of Gordian III, but three weeks after this date. Cf. the discussion by Cassola, *Att. Accad. Pont.* 6(1956/7)201-207.

<sup>1</sup> Replies from these delegations cannot have reached Rome before the death of the Gordiani (7.9.10).

<sup>2</sup> Often assumed to be the *vigintiviri*, but see 7.10.4n. This may, however, account for the appearance of the designation *a senatu electus* (?) which appears on an inscription to an unknown senator in Africa, *ILS* 8980.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the letter is purported to be in SHA, *Max.* 15.6 ff., but is an evident forgery; similarly, the date of the senate's meeting (26th June) under the presidency of a suffect consul called Junius Silanus (*Max.* 16.1 ff.) is also fictitious. Hohl, *Maximini duo* (Kleine Texte f. Vorlesung, u. Übung, 1949) quotes Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* VII. 308, 351, for the signs of invention.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2.8.4n.

τούς τε ἐκέισε πρᾶττοντας, εἰ τὰ Μαξιμίνου φρονοῖεν, ἀποκτείναντες προσέθεντο Ῥωμαίοις· ὀλίγοι δέ τινας ἢ διεχρήσαντο τοὺς ἐλθόντας πρέσβεις ἢ μετὰ φρουρᾶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον παρέπεμψαν, οὓς συλλαμβάνων ὠμῶς ἐκόλαζεν.

8. τὰ μὲν <sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν τε καὶ γνώμην τοιαῦτα ἦν· ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ τὰ πεπραγμένα, σκυθρωπός τε ἦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλαις φροντίσι, προσεποιεῖτο δὲ <sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖν. τῆς μὲν οὖν πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ἔνδον ἔμεινεν ἡσυχάζων καὶ τοῖς φίλοις περὶ τοῦ πρακ-  
2 τέου κοινούμενος. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον πᾶν τὸ σὺν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ μὲν Jo τὰ μὲν οὖν A

<sup>2</sup> P τε Oi

<sup>1</sup> The extent of provincial reactions for or against M. cannot be judged with any confidence by erased inscriptions or coins issued in the name of the Gordiani, since in some cases these were done retrospectively, after the death of M. However, Bersanetti, *Massimino* ch. IV, provides the following list: the name of M. remained on inscriptions in Gallia Lugdunensis, Aquitania, Hispania Tarrac., Lusitania, Baetica, Mauretania Caesariensis, Arabia, Syria Palaestina, Cappadocia, who also erased the names of P. and B. after their deaths; by contrast inscriptions and coins of Gordian and his son exist from Africa Proconsularis, Pontus-Bithynia, Galatia, Lycia-Pamphylia, Egypt, Asia, Cilicia. Warning about accepting such evidence as an accurate guide is given by Barbieri, *Epig.* 4 (1942) 90-3, and Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 67, believes that it can be shown that the Pannonias remained loyal to M., that Cappadocia, Palestine, Arabia, Macedonia, Achaia, Syria,

cause they hated his tyranny.<sup>1</sup> They executed the officials in the province who supported him, and they joined the side of the Romans. But a few provinces put the emissaries to death when they arrived, or sent them under guard to Maximinus, who punished them viciously as he got hold of them.

8. While this was the condition of the city and the state of opinion in Rome, news of the events reached Maximinus, making him an angry and extremely worried man,<sup>2</sup> though he pretended to think them of little importance. For the first two days he remained inactive, in consultation with his council as to the best course of action.<sup>3</sup> The whole of Maximinus' army 2

Thrace, Moesia Inferior went over to P. and B.; in Thrace and Moesia Inferior, however, the governors' defection to the senatorial side (cf. 8.5.3n) caused resistance from the troops (e.g. 7.12.1n—the reluctance of legio VII Claudia, and in Thrace the disturbances at Scaptopare, *IGRR* 1.674). Needless to say this is very speculative.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from any repercussions in Rome, Africa was vital for the supply of corn and oil that came to Rome; Kotula, *Eos* 50 (1959/60) 198. SHA, *Max.* 17, and *Gord.* 13.3 ff., agree substantially with H., but elaborate with fictitious nonsense about M.'s rage; according to the *vita Max.*, M. was angry with his son also, maintaining that, had he been in Rome, there would have been no revolt.

<sup>3</sup> The news from Africa must have reached M. about ten days after it reached Rome; so M. must have heard about the revolt at just about the same time that the Gordiani were actually being defeated in Africa, i.e. about 21st March (7.9.10). Since M. decided to march on Rome almost immediately (it was publicly announced on the "third day" = 23rd March), the news of G.'s death and M.'s advance must have arrived in Rome almost simultaneously; this much is made clear in the confused chronology of SHA, *Gord.* 10, which says that the envoys of M. were present in Rome at the same time as the selection of the *XXviri* (see 7.10.4n).

αὐτῶ οἱ τε ἐπέκεια πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔγνωσαν μὲν τὰ διαγγελθέντα, καὶ διοίδαινον πᾶσιν αἱ ψυχὰι τηλικούτων ἔργων εὐτόλμῳ<sup>1</sup> καινοτομία, οὐδέ τις πρὸς τινα ἔλεγέ τι οὐτ' εἰδέναι τι προσεποιεῖτο· τοσοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Μαξιμίνου φόβος ὡς μηδὲν αὐτὸν λανθάνειν, παραφυλάττεσθαι δὲ πάντων οὐ μόνον τὰ διὰ φωνῆς καὶ γλώττης προφερόμενα<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δι' ὄψεως νεύματα. ὁ μέντοι Μαξιμίνος συγκαλέσας πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίον, προελθὼν<sup>3</sup> τε τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ἀνελθὼν τε ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἐπιφερόμενος τὸ βιβλίον ὅπερ ἦσαν αὐτῶ συντάξαντές τινες τῶν φίλων, ἐξ ἀναγνώσεως ἔλεξε τοιαύδε·

4 “ ἅπιστα μὲν οἶδα καὶ παράδοξα λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ οἶομαι, οὐ θαύματος ἀλλὰ χλεύης καὶ γέλωτος ἄξια. ὄπλα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀνδρείαν οὐ<sup>4</sup> Γερμανοὶ αἶρονται,<sup>5</sup> οὓς πολλάκις ἐνίκησαμεν, οὐ Σαυρομάται οἱ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐκάστοτε ἰκετεύοντες· Πέρσαι τε

<sup>1</sup> Steph εὐτόλμων Οἱ<sup>2</sup> προφερόμενα Οἰαγ (eras in g)<sup>3</sup> προσελθὼν φῖ<sup>4</sup> οἱ Ο <sup>5</sup> αἶρονται ἰ

<sup>1</sup> A contrivance by H. to put a highly articulate and rhetorical speech into the mouth of a supposedly “barbarian” emperor; SHA, *Max.* 18.1, records a very brief *contio militaris* and *Gord.* 14.1-4 presents a quite different speech (which is supposed to be Dexippus?). There is no reason to think these speeches bore much relationship to the actual words of M., but artistically the question of appropriateness was an important consideration; e.g. Luc. *How to*

and the local population knew the reports, and everyone's spirits were in a ferment at the bold, revolutionary character of these important actions. But not a word was spoken and everyone feigned ignorance. Maximinus was so nervous that he let nothing go unnoticed, keeping a close watch not only on people's speeches and conversations but even on the flicker of their eyes. On the third day Maximinus summoned the entire army to the parade ground in front of the city and went out to address them. After he went up on to the rostrum, carrying a document which some of his advisers had composed for him,<sup>1</sup> he read out the following speech:

“ I am sure what I am going to say to you will be<sup>4</sup> incredible and unexpected; it is not in my opinion so much a matter for astonishment as for laughter and ridicule. Someone is pitting his arms against you and your courage. But not the Germans, whom we have defeated on many occasions, nor the Sarmatians, who regularly come to beg for peace.<sup>2</sup> The Per-

*Write History* 58—the speech must be appropriate to the person's character and his subject (cf. Dion. Hal. *de Thuc.* 37, Quint. 10.1.101). Therefore the need for H.'s device here. In 6.8.7-8 H. solves the problem by using indirect speech.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion shows that H. knew about the campaigns of M. on the lower Danube in 236-7 (7.2.9n); although the *expeditio Dacica* (*CIL* III. 3336, etc.) is recorded on inscriptions, and the titles *Sarmaticus Maximus* and *Dacicus Maximus* are included on M.'s titles from 236, the total absence of reference to the expeditions on M.'s coinage (apart from his salutations as *imperator*) may indicate that the battles were only to restore the frontier and had insufficient importance to warrant special note. As far as H. is concerned, his main object was to show that M. was a good general, Cassola, *Att. Accad. Pont.* 6 (1956/7) 192.

οἱ πάλαι Μεσοποταμίαν κατατρέχοντες νῦν ἡσυχάζουσιν, ἀγαπητῶς ἔχοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν, δόξης τε τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀρετῆς τε,<sup>1</sup> πείρα τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων, ἃς ἔγνωσαν ὅτε τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις στρατοπέδων ἡγούμην, ἀνεχούσης αὐτούς.<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ γὰρ (μή τι ἄρα καὶ καταγέλαστον εἰπεῖν) Καρχηδόνιοι μεμῆνασι, καὶ πρῆβυτον ἄθλιον, ἐν ἐσχάτῳ γῆρα παραφρονούντα, πείσαντες ἢ βιασάμενοι ὥσπερ ἐν πομπαῖς παίζουσι βασιλείαν,<sup>3</sup> τίνι θαρροῦντες στρατῷ, παρ' οἷς ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἡγουμένου ὑπηρεσίαν ἀρκοῦσι ῥαβδοῦχοι; ποῖα φέροντες ὅπλα, παρ' οἷς οὐδὲν πλὴν<sup>4</sup> δορατίων οἷς<sup>5</sup> πρὸς θηρία μονομαχοῦσι; τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτοῖς γυμνάσια χοροὶ καὶ σκώμματα καὶ ῥυθμοί. μηδέ τινα ὑμῶν ἐκπληττέτω τὰ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα. Βιταλιανὸς μὲν ἀνηρέθη δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ ληφθεὶς, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δήμου τὸ κοῦφον καὶ εὐμετάβολον οὐκ<sup>6</sup> ἀγνοεῖτε καὶ μέχρι βοῆς θρασύ· εἰ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπίστας ἴδουεν

<sup>1</sup> del Bekk<sup>3</sup> βασιλεύειν? Whit<sup>5</sup> οἱ O<sup>2</sup> edit. Basil ἀτῆς Oi<sup>4</sup> Sylb πλέον Oi<sup>6</sup> οὐκ εἶναι O

<sup>1</sup> Unless M. is being made deliberately to falsify, H. knows nothing of a further Persian invasion of Mesopotamia in the reign of M. (6.6.6n). The absence of coinage from Nisibis and Carrhae in his reign may be because Alexander never liberated those cities (6.2.1n).

<sup>2</sup> See 6.8.1n. It is possible H. here refers to the post of *praefectus castrorum*—a term applied to legionary com-

sians, after their invasion of Mesopotamia some time ago,<sup>1</sup> are now quiet and content with their own possessions. Keeping them in check is your reputation for bravery in fighting and their knowledge and experience of my activities when I was a commander of legions on the frontier banks of the river.<sup>2</sup> It is not they (and this surely is ludicrous news) but the Carthaginians who have gone mad. They have persuaded or forced a feeble, old man, who has taken leave of his senses in the extremity of old age, to be emperor, as though it were a game in a procession. But what sort of army are they relying on, when lictors are enough for them as attendants on their governor?<sup>3</sup> What sort of weapons will they use, when they have nothing but the lances used by gladiators in single combat against wild animals? Their only combat training is in choruses or witty speeches and rhythmic dances.<sup>4</sup> No one should be disturbed by the news from Rome.<sup>6</sup> Vitalianus was caught and murdered by a deceitful trick, and you know perfectly well about the fickle infidelity of the Roman populace. But their bravery only extends to shouting. They have only to see

manders in Mesopotamia—or even *praefectus Mesopotamiae* (if *στρατοπέδων* is taken as truly plural), who commanded two legions; cf. Hohl, *RE* (Julius Verus 526) 857, *CAH* XII. 74 (Ensslin). But this may mean that M. held a special post during A.'s Persian Wars—as *dux ripae*, Gilliam, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 122.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 7.6.2n. M.'s speech would naturally underrate the military support for Gordian.

<sup>4</sup> A reference to the various dramatic, rhetorical and musical contests that went to make up the *iuvenalia* (or *lusus iuvenum*) which constituted one of the activities of the municipal *iuventus*; cf. 7.4.3n.

μόνον, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι τε καὶ πατούμενοι, φεύγων ἕκαστος τὸν ἴδιον κίνδυνον τοῦ κοινοῦ 7 ἀμελῶς ἔχει. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τις ὑμῶν <sup>1</sup> διήγγειλε, μὴ θαυμάζετε εἰ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον σῶφρον τραχὺ αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ, τὸ δ' ὁμότροπον ἐν ἀκολάστῳ βίῳ ἐκείνου προτιμᾶται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ σεμνὰ τῶν ἔργων φοβερά προσαγορεύουσι, τὰ δ' ἀνεμμένα καὶ ἐκβεβακχευμένα ὡς ἡμερα δι' ἡδονῆς ἔχουσι· διόπερ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀρχὴν οὖσαν ἐπιστρεφῆ καὶ κόσμιον ἀλλοτρίως διάκεινται, ἥσθησαν δὲ τῷ Γορδιανοῦ ὀνόματι, οὐδ 8 τὸν διαβεβλημένον βίον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε. πρὸς τούτους καὶ τοιούτους <sup>2</sup> ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος, εἴ τις οὕτως αὐτὸν καλεῖν βούλοιο. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι ὡς οἱ πλείστοι καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες, εἰ μόνον Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίημεν, ἱκετηρίους <sup>3</sup> θαλλοὺς καὶ τέκνα προτείναντες ὑποστρώσουσιν <sup>4</sup> αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ποσίν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διὰ δειλίαν καὶ φαυλότητα φεύζονται, ὡς ὑπάρξαι ἐμοὶ τε [καὶ] <sup>5</sup> ὑμῶν τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα δοῦναι, ὑμῶν τε ἀδεῶς λαβοῦσι καρποῦσθαι."

9 τοιαυτὰ τινα εἰπὼν, βλάβσημά τε πολλὰ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον δι' ὧν παρεφθέγγετο ἀπορρίψας, ταῖς τε διὰ χειρὸς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ τραχέσι προσώπου νεύμασιν ὡς πρὸς παρόντας ὀργισθεῖς, ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν ἔξοδον. διανείμας τε αὐτοῖς πάμπλειστα χρήματα, μιᾶς

two or three armed soldiers to be pushing and trampling on each other, as each man runs away from the threat to his own person, without a thought for the common danger. If some of you have heard 7 about the senate's reactions, you should not be surprised that our disciplined moderation is aggravating for them, and that they prefer Gordian who shares their dissolute habits. They say that courageous, sober deeds are intimidation, whereas they favour undisciplined incontinence as though it is toleration. So, they are hostile to my rule because it is strict and well-regulated, but welcome the sound of Gordian's name—and you know the scandal of his past life. These are the kinds of people against whom we 8 are at war, if war is the right name for it. I am convinced that we only have to set foot in Italy for almost everyone to hold out olive branches and bring their children to us, begging for mercy and falling at our feet. The rest will run away because they are poor cowards. Then I shall be able to distribute all their property to you, and you can take it and enjoy it without restraint."

After this speech Maximinus made some passing 9 remarks, in which he abused Rome and the senate roundly. Then, moving his hands around in threatening gestures and nodding his head ferociously, as though he were venting his anger on the people in front of him, he announced his departure for Italy. A day later, after he had made an enormous cash

<sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν ἰ<sup>2</sup> τοὺς τοιούτους<sup>3</sup> Sylb ἱκετηρίας Οἰ<sup>4</sup> Sylb προτείναντας ὑποστρώσειεν Οἰ<sup>5</sup> del Sylb

ἡμέρας διαλιπών, τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶχετο, πολὺ τι πλήθος  
 ἐπαγόμενος στρατοῦ, τὴν τε <πᾶσαν><sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ  
 10 Ῥωμαίοις δύναμιν. εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γερμανῶν  
 οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος ἀριθμὸς, οὓς τοῖς ὅπλοις  
 κεχείρωτο ἢ πείσας ἐς φίλιαν καὶ συμμαχίαν  
 ἐπήκτο, μηχαναῖ τε καὶ πολεμικὰ ὄργανα, καὶ  
 ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἰὼν<sup>2</sup> ἐπεφέρετο. αὐτὸς  
 μὲν σχολαιτέραν τὴν ὁδοπορίαν ἐποιεῖτο διὰ τὴν  
 τῶν ὀχημάτων καὶ ἐπιτηδείων πανταχόθεν συγ-  
 11 κομιδὴν· αἰφνιδίου γὰρ γενομένης τῆς ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν  
 ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἐξ  
 αὐτοσχεδίου καὶ ἐπειγούσης ὑπηρεσίας τὰ χρειώδη  
 τῷ στρατῷ ἠθροίζετο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ προ-  
 πέμψαι τὰς τῶν Παιόνων φάλαγγας· ἐκείνοις γὰρ  
 μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν, οὔτερ αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτοι

<sup>1</sup> Whit δὴ <πᾶσαν> Lange τε om O *universas* . . . *copias* P

<sup>2</sup> Steph ὦν l ὦν Oag

<sup>1</sup> M. set out from Sirmium, where he was still in winter quarters; 7.2.9n, SHA, *Max.* 13.3. There is no reason to believe that Victor, *Caes.* 27.3, is correct in saying M. began his march from Thrace. The extent to which the northern frontiers were denuded of troops can be judged from the serious threat that developed in 238 from the invasions of the Carpi and Goths in Moesia, and the attack on Istros in the Dobrudja; SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 16.3, Stein, *Legaten v. Moesien* 99, *CIL* III. 12455.

<sup>2</sup> That is, that the 300 (approx.) miles from Sirmium to

distribution to his men, he set out on his march at the head of a very large body of troops, the entire Roman force.<sup>1</sup> Quite a considerable number of 10 Germans were under his command as well, people he had defeated in battle or whom he had persuaded to make a friendly treaty of alliance. Also, artillery and mechanical devices of war, all the equipment he was using in his expedition against the barbarians. The march was somewhat slow because of all the baggage carts and supplies choking all the roads.<sup>2</sup> The reason for this was that his expedition into Italy 11 was a sudden decision without the usual advance planning; supplies for the army were being collected *en route* as aid was being rushed to him. So Maximinus decided to send ahead the Pannonian legions, in whom he had special confidence (they were the ones that first recognized him as emperor)<sup>3</sup> and who

Aquileia were completed at a much slower pace than the fast twenty miles per day commonly achieved by the Severan army. Including a difficult crossing of the Alps before the end of the winter snow, the journey cannot have taken less than twenty-five to thirty days. If M. left Sirmium about 24th March (7.8.1n), he would have reached Aquileia towards the end of April.

<sup>3</sup> The crasure of M.'s name from inscriptions in Pannonia and Dacia is stated by Bersanetti, *Massimino* 63 ff., to have occurred after the election of Pupienus and Balbinus; but it seems much more likely that the *abolitio* was a prudent measure after the death of M. later; Barbieri, *Epiq.* 4 (1942) 91. The Pannonian troops supported M. to the end (8.6.1). The conclusion of Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 72-4, that Dacia, Thrace and Moesia went over to the senate almost immediately, though not without resistance from the soldiers, goes much further than the evidence permits, but is at least possible if the main forces had been withdrawn for the march to Italy.

ἀνείπον βασιλέα ἐθελονταί τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύειν<sup>1</sup> ὑπισχοῦντο. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς φθάσαι τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χωρία προκαταλαβεῖν.

9. καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Μαξιμίον ὠδοιπόρου, ἐν δὲ τῇ Καρχηδόνι οὐχ ὡς ἠλπίκεσαν τὰ πράγματα προχώραει. Καπελιανὸς<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ἦν τις ὄνομα, τῶν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου, ἡγεῖτο δὲ Μαυρουσιῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις, Νομάδων δὲ καλουμένων. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος στρατοπέδοις πέφρακτο διὰ τὸ περικείμενον πλῆθος Μαυρουσιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἂν ἐπέχει αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> τὰς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγὰς. εἶχεν οὖν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ<sup>4</sup> δύναμιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον στρατιωτικῆν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Καπελιανὸν τοῦτον ὁ<sup>5</sup> Γορδιανὸς ἀπεχθῶς διέκειτο<sup>6</sup> ἄνωθεν ἔκ τινος ἀγοραίου διαφορᾶς. τότε τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος ὀνόματι

<sup>1</sup> -ευσειν Mendels

<sup>2</sup> om φ τε A

<sup>3</sup> Οἶο καπελλιανὸς ag καπετολιανὸς lg<sup>1</sup> in mg (throughout)

<sup>4</sup> -τοῦ V -ὄν A (ὡ over ὄν A<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>5</sup> καὶ ὁ ἰ

<sup>6</sup> Syll προσέκειτο Οἱ

<sup>1</sup> Apart from his association with this incident in H. and the SHA, only *ILS* 8499 (see 7.9.11n) makes any reference to Capellianus. He may be connected with the senator in the age of Antoninus Pius, C. Iulius Gemin(i?)us Capellianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 339), who in turn may be connected with the African senatorial family of Geminus from Cirta, but both are dubious.

<sup>2</sup> Both SHA, *Max.* 19.1 and *Gord.* 15.1, make the error of supposing Capellianus was governor of one of the provinces of Mauretania (probably misled by what H. says here); only H. gives the information that Capellianus was a senator and *legatus* of Numidia. The organization of Numidia as a separate province by Septimius Severus, c. 198/9 is noted in 3.10.2n.

<sup>3</sup> The main legionary force was stationed at Lambaesis, but

had volunteered to take on a dangerous mission for him. They were instructed to proceed in advance of the main force and to be the first to occupy positions in Italy.

9. As Maximinus and his army made their march, events in Carthage had not gone as had been expected. A senator called Capellianus<sup>1</sup> was the commander of the part of Mauretania under Roman jurisdiction called Numidia.<sup>2</sup> The province was protected by military garrisons because of the numerous barbarian Mauretians who lived all round the borders, the intention being to prevent them making marauding raids.<sup>3</sup> Thus Capellianus had<sup>2</sup> at his disposal a considerable army. Gordian was an old enemy of Capellianus over some legal dispute,<sup>4</sup> and, when he assumed the title of emperor, he

detachments of legionaries and *auxilia* were stationed in the various fortified outposts along the frontier, which had been extensively strengthened by Severus and Alexander. In one such fort on the southern Numidian frontier evidence shows that under A. it had been mainly garrisoned by oriental auxiliaries, who under M. had been replaced by detachments of legio III Augusta; Picard, *Castellum Dimmidi* 83, 115 ff. From this it is argued that one reason for the legion's hostility to Gordian was the fear that he would revert to A.'s policy of giving pride of place to *auxilia*. But the *auxilia* had been withdrawn already, probably by A. in order to fight his wars; if the Severan system of defence in depth was gradually being replaced by fortified farms and auxiliary units it was *faute de mieux* through financial stringency rather than preference.

<sup>4</sup> All the sources state that the antagonism was personal and long-standing. The legionaries in Numidia apparently began by recognizing G., and only subsequently restored the inscriptions of Maximinus that had been first erased; Romanelli, *Province rom. Africa* 454 f., Picard, *Castellum Dimmidi* 115 ff.

διάδοχόν τε <sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξελλθεῖν  
 3 ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τε ταῦτα ἀγανακτήσας, τῷ  
 τε Μαξιμίνῳ καθωσιωμένος,<sup>2</sup> ὑφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν  
 ἡγεμονίαν πεπίστευτο, πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἀθροί-  
 σας <sup>3</sup> ἀναπέισας τε Μαξιμίνῳ <sup>4</sup> τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν  
 καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, κατήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα  
 δύναμιν ἄγων μεγίστην τε καὶ γενναίων <sup>5</sup> ἀνδρῶν  
 ἡλικίας ἀκμάζουσας, καὶ παντοδαπῇ ὄπλων  
 παρασκευῇ ἐξηρτυμένην, ἐμπειρία τε πολεμικῇ καὶ  
 τῆς <sup>6</sup> πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης συνηθεία  
 ἐτοίμην <sup>7</sup> πρὸς μάχας.

4 ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Γορδιανῷ ὁ στρατὸς προσῶν  
 τῇ πόλει, αὐτὸς τε ἐν ἐσχάτῳ δέει ἦν, οἱ τε  
 Καρχηδόνοιοι ταραχθέντες, οἰόμενοι <sup>8</sup> ἐν πλήθει  
 ὄχλου, οὐκ ἐν εὐταξίᾳ στρατοῦ τὸ εὐελπι τῆς  
 νίκης εἶναι, πανδημεῖ πάντες ἐξίασιν ὡς δὴ τῷ  
 Καπελιανῷ ἀντιταξόμενοι. Γορδιανὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ  
 πρᾶσβύτης, ὡς τινὲς φασιν, ἅμα τῷ <sup>9</sup> τῆς Καρχηδό-  
 νος ἐπιβῆναι ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενος, ἐννοῶν τὴν  
 δύναμιν Μαξιμίνου, οὐδὲν δὲ ὄρων ἐν Λιβύῃ  
 ἀξίωμαχον ἰσόρροπον, ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτὸν βρόχῳ.  
 5 κρυπτομένης δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν υἱὸν

<sup>1</sup> om O<sup>2</sup> Steph καθωσιούμενος Oi Suda<sup>3</sup> συναθ. O<sup>4</sup> μαξιμῶ A<sup>5</sup> -an Ogl<sup>6</sup> τῇ Bi om A<sup>7</sup> corr in old edition Mendelss ἐτοίμη Oi<sup>8</sup> οἰόμενοι τε Jo<sup>9</sup> <τὸν Καπελιανόν> τῷ Mendelss<sup>1</sup> On the troops of Capellianus, see 7.9.6n.<sup>2</sup> That is, the *plebs urbana* of Carthage, which had joined

sent a replacement for the commander, order-  
 ing him out of the province. The Numidian gover-  
 3 nor, a devoted servant of Maximinus, by whom he  
 had been entrusted with his command, was angry at  
 this treatment and concentrated all his troops to-  
 gether,<sup>1</sup> urging them to maintain their oath of  
 loyalty to Maximinus. Then he marched against  
 Carthage with a large force made up of excellent,  
 tough young men, all in the prime of life. They  
 were also fitted out with a full range of equipment and  
 ready for battle because of their war experiences in  
 regular fighting against the barbarians.

The news of the army's advance on the city reduced <sup>4</sup>  
 Gordian to a complete panic and the Carthaginians to  
 a state of indiscipline. Imagining that their best  
 hope of victory lay in the size of their rabble <sup>2</sup> and not  
 in an army's discipline,<sup>3</sup> there was a mass exodus to  
 oppose Capellianus, as they imagined. Some sources  
 say that the moment the attack on Carthage took  
 place, Gordian grew desperate, because he knew the  
 power of Maximinus and the lack of any obviously  
 equal force capable of fighting against him in Libya,  
 and hanged himself.<sup>4</sup> His death was concealed, <sup>5</sup>

Gordian; cf. SHA, *Gord.* 15.1, *omnis Carthaginiensium populus.*

<sup>3</sup> The extent of military support for Gordian was small (see 7.6.2n). The para-military organizations of the *iuventes* (7.4.3n) was probably the only sizeable disciplined force he possessed.

<sup>4</sup> This version does not appear in any of the other sources; it proves that H. had access to anti-Gordian sources; and by repeating the story H. shows he is far from being a committed supporter of G. himself, as is assumed by Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 51 ff. Zos. 16.1, Zon. 12. 17D have other improbable tales of G.'s death by shipwreck or after arrival in Rome.



αὐτοῦ στρατηγήσοντα δὴ τοῦ πλήθους εἴλοντο.  
 γενομένης δὲ συμβολῆς οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι ὄχλω  
 πλείους ἦσαν, ἄτακτοι δὲ καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔργων  
 ἀπαίδευτοι ἄτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθεῖα τεθραμμένοι  
 ἑορταῖς τε καὶ τρυφαῖς σχολάζοντες αἰεὶ, γυμνοί  
 6 τε ὄπλων καὶ ὀργάνων πολεμικῶν. ἕκαστος δὲ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐπεφέρετο οἴκοθεν ἢ ξιφίδιον ἢ πέλεκυν δοράτια  
 τε ἐκ κυνηγεσίων· βύρσας<sup>2</sup> τε τὰς ἐμπεσοῦσας  
 περιτεμόντες καὶ ξύλα καταπρίσαντες ἐς τὰ παρα-  
 τυχόντα σχήματα, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, πρό-  
 βλημα τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. οἱ δὲ Νομάδες  
 ἀκοντισταὶ τε εὖστοχοι καὶ ἵππεῖς ἄριστοι, ὡς καὶ  
 χαλινῶν ἄνευ ῥάβδω μόνῃ τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἵππων  
 7 κυβερνᾶν. ῥᾶστα οὖν ἐτρέψαντο τῶν Καρχηδονίων  
 τὸ πλήθος, οἵπερ οὐχ ὑπομείναντες αὐτῶν τῆν

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ conj Mendelss from *nam P*

<sup>2</sup> Wolf *χάρακας* Irmisch *βαρέας* Osi

<sup>1</sup> The MSS reading is unintelligible, since it means either "flat-bottomed boats" or "towers." Politian uses the word *sudes* (stakes), which makes good sense, but he compresses the passage and may be translating the next words only. Irmisch, following Politian, suggests *χάρακας*, meaning "vine-props."

<sup>2</sup> A *verillatio Maurorum Caesariensium* was stationed at Lambaesis; Cagnat, *L'Armée rom. d'Afrique* 206-7, *CIL VIII*. 2716; but Capellianus may have recruited the local *coloni* of the imperial estates in Numidia; cf. *ILS* 1400 (from Mauretania), *ala I Aug(usta) Gem(ina) colonorum* and *ILS* 9177 for

and his son chosen to lead the people. In the engagement that took place the Carthaginians had the advantage of numbers but were in disorder and untrained for war. They had been brought up in absolutely peaceful conditions, forever whiling away their time in festivals and easy living, completely divorced from weapons and instruments of war. Every man brought from home 6 a small sword, an axe and hunting spears. They cut up available skins,<sup>1</sup> and sawed up wood into any old shape, as best they could, to make shields for themselves. The Numidians were crack spearmen and expert riders, able to control their horses at the gallop without reins and using only a riding crop.<sup>2</sup> They had no difficulty at all in 7 routing the Carthaginian mob, who threw away all

a man who served in the reign of the Severi as *praepositus coh(ortis) II Fl(avia) Afr(orum) et n(umeri) col(onorum)*. The accomplishment of riding without reins is mentioned by a number of authors in connection with Numidian horsemen; e.g. Caes. *Bell. Afr.* 19.4. Moroccan horsemen are represented on Trajan's column with a spear, a small round buckler and riding their horses without saddles or bridles, though there is a halter round the neck of the horses; Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Rom. Imp. Army* 128-9. The emphasis that H. gives to the Numidian auxiliaries, rather than the legionaries (though they are mentioned below) gives colour to the theory that the legion was not wholly in support of Capellianus. But SHA, *Gord.* 15.1, which talks of a *tumultuaria manus*, is based on the assumption that Capellianus was governor of the *provincia inermis* of Mauretania; there is no evidence here to suggest a conflict between legion and *auxilia*, as suggested by Pflaum, *Jour. Sav.* (1949) 55-62. The disbanding of legio III Augusta by Gordian III and its title of *pia vindex Maximiniana* show the dominant part played by the legion in suppressing Gordian I; cf. *ILS* 4194.

ἐμβολήν, πάντα ῥύψαντες, ἔφυγον.<sup>1</sup> ὠθούμενοι δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πατούμενοι, πλείους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου πλήθους<sup>2</sup> ἐφθάρησαν ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ υἱὸς ἀπώλετο οἷ τε περὶ αὐτὸν πάντες, ὡς διὰ πλήθος πτωμάτων μήτε νεκρῶν ἀναίρεισιν πρὸς ταφὴν γενέσθαι δυναθῆναι μήτε τὸ τοῦ νέου Γορδιανοῦ σῶμα εὔρεθῆναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φεύγοντες, ὅσοι τε ἦσαν εἰσρυνέτες εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὅσοι τε λαθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, σκεδασθέντες εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, οὔσαν μεγίστην τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπον,<sup>3</sup> ὀλίγοι ἐκ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος περὶ ταῖς πύλαις στενοχωρούμενον, παρεισδύναι σπουδάζοντος ἐκάστου, βαλλόμενον τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν<sup>4</sup> διεφθείρετο. πολλὴ δὲ οἰμωγὴ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδιῶν,<sup>5</sup> ὧν ἐν ὄψει οἱ φίλτατοι ἀπώλοντο. ἕτεροι δὲ φασιν, ὡς δὴ ταῦτα οἴκοι μεμενηκότε διὰ γῆρας τῷ πρεσβύτῃ Γορδιανῷ ἀπηγγέλη ὅ τε Καπελιανὸς εἰσελαύνων εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐδηλώθη, ἐν ἀπογνώσει δὴ<sup>6</sup> πάντων γενόμενος, εἰσελθὼν μόνος εἰς τὸν οἰκίσκον ὡς δὴ καθευδήσων, ἐξαρτήσας ἧς ἐπέφερετο ζώνης τὸν τράχηλον ἐν βρόχῳ, τοῦ βίου ἀνεπαύσατο.

10 τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει Γορδιανὸς ἐχρήσατο, βιώσας τὰ πρῶτα εὐδαιμόνως, ἐν εἰκόνι τε βασιλείας τελευτήσας· ὁ δὲ Καπελιανὸς εἰς

their equipment and ran without waiting for the charge. Pushing and trampling on each other, more were killed by their own side than by the enemy. In the battle Gordian's son and his entourage fell, but, because of the many dead, their bodies could not be brought back for burial, and the son's body was never found. A few of the many fugitives who were able 8 to dash back to Carthage and hide themselves by scattering throughout the large, populous city were saved. The remaining mass were picked off by the spearmen and butchered by the infantry as they crowded round the gates, each desperately trying to get inside. The whole city, women and children, mourned 9 their loved ones, cut down before their eyes. Different sources say that the news of these events and of Capellianus' entry into Carthage reached the elder Gordian at his house, where he had stayed behind because of his old age. In total despair he retired privately to his room, pretending that he was going to rest, and there he committed suicide by strangling himself in a noose made out of the girdle he was wearing.

So Gordian, to whom life had been fortunate in its 10 early stages, met his end masquerading as an emperor.<sup>1</sup> On his entry into Carthage, Capellianus

<sup>1</sup> The length of G.'s reign was twenty days according to the *Chronog. of 354* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1.147) and twenty-two days according to Zon. 12.17; assuming his accession was 1st March, he died about 22nd March (see 7.5.7n). The victory of Capellianus was probably the occasion for the *imp.* VII salutations of M., all of which are recorded in the year 238; Bersanetti, *Epig.* 3 (1941) 12. But the coins of 238 which record victories must relate to M.'s *imp.* VI salutation (which had been won in late 237 and is commemorated on

<sup>1</sup> ἔφυγον AJo

<sup>3</sup> Mendelssohn πολλῶν Οἱ

<sup>5</sup> παίδων ἐγένετο Jo

<sup>2</sup> πάθους A

<sup>4</sup> πολιτῶν φ πελταστῶν A

<sup>6</sup> δε φ i

Καρχηδόνα εἰσελθὼν πάντας τε τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπέκτεινεν, εἴ τινας καὶ ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐφείδετό τε οὔτε ἱερῶν συλήσεως οὔτε χρημάτων 11 ἰδιωτικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων ἀρπαγῆς. ἐπιῶν τε τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ὅσαι τὰς Μαξιμίμου τιμὰς καθηρήκεσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἐξέχοντας ἐφόνευε, τοὺς δὲ δημότας ἐφυγάδευεν, ἀγροὺς τε καὶ κώμας ἐμπιπράναι λεηλατεῖν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεπε, προσποιούμενος μὲν τιμωρίαν εἰσπράττειν ἐφ' οἷς ἐς Μαξιμίμον ἡμαρτήκεσαν, λανθανόντως δὲ εὐνοίαν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μνώμενος, ἵν' εἴ τι πταίσειεν τὰ Μαξιμίμου πράγματα, αὐτὸς ἔχων δύναμιν εὐνοοῦσαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιήσαιτο. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

10. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδηλώθη ἡ τοῦ πρεσβύτου <sup>1</sup> τελευτή, ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ἀφασίᾳ ὁ τε δῆμος ἦν ἢ τε σύγκλητος μάλιστα, Γορδιανοῦ <sup>2</sup> τετελευτηκότος ἐς ὃν ἠλπίζεσαν ἤδεσαν γὰρ <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> γορδιανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβ. AP

<sup>2</sup> om P Wolf

<sup>3</sup> lacuna after γὰρ supplied by A τὸν Μαξιμίον ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς ἀσπονδον οὔτε τινας (sic) φεισόμενον

inscriptions of both 237 and 238) since M. would not have had access to the Roman mint after the revolt.

<sup>1</sup> One such person is recorded from near Theveste, *ILS* 8499, *L. Aemilius Severinus qui et Philyrio v(icit) a(n)nis* LXVI p(lus) m(inus) et pro amore Romano quievit ab hoc Capelliano captus. Once again the propaganda emphasized that the cause of Gordian was the true Roman cause against the barbarian; cf. 7.5.8n, Kotula, *Eos* 50 (1959/60) 214. The

massacred any prominent person who had escaped the battle, and had no compunction about robbing temples or confiscating private and public funds. He also attacked other cities that had destroyed dedications to Maximinus, killing the leading citizens<sup>1</sup> and driving the lower class out of the territory. Fields and villages<sup>2</sup> were turned over to his soldiers for burning and plunder, on the grounds that this was punishment for their offences against Maximinus, though in fact Capellianus was quietly canvassing the loyalty of the troops for himself. If anything were to take a wrong turn in Maximinus' fortunes, he intended to make a bid for the empire himself with the aid of a loyal force of soldiers.<sup>3</sup>

After the events in Libya (10.) the news of the old emperor's death reached Rome. The fact that Gordian, on whom they had relied, was dead caused stunned consternation among the people and especially among the senate. For they knew

*principes civitatum* executed by Capellianus (SHA, *Max.* 19.4) were the decurion class who had started the revolt (7.5.3n).

<sup>2</sup> Kotula (*op. cit.*) wrongly supposes this mention of villages indicates extensive peasant support for Gordian; *vici* commonly existed on private estates, inhabited by tenants and clients of the owner; Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE* 685. SHA, *Gord.* 7.5, in describing one of the leaders, says he canvassed support *in agro suo*. Whether the farmer was a *colonus* or not, the power of the patronage of rich landowners was bound to be effective. There is a danger in trying to make Gordian's revolt into an African nationalist movement; but the lists of the legio III Augusta in 236/7 show that many recruits were from local African cities, particularly from newly enfranchised citizens; Picard, *Castellum Dimmidi* 116.

<sup>3</sup> The fate of Capellianus is unknown, but the legion was disbanded.

. . . αὐτὸν οὔτε φεισόμενον τινός· ὃς <sup>1</sup> γὰρ καὶ φύσει ἀλλοτρίως καὶ ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διέκειτο, τότε <sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐπ' εὐλόγους αἰτίαις ὡς ὁμολογου-  
<sup>2</sup> μένους ἐχθροῖς εἰκότως ὠργίζετο. ἔδοξεν οὖν συνελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων σκέψασθαι, ἅπαξ τε ἀναρρίψαντας κίνδυνον πόλεμον ἄρασθαι, προστησαμένους ἑαυτῶν χειροτονηθέντας βασιλέας, οὓς <sup>3</sup> ἠθέλησαν μερίσαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς μὴ παρ' ἐνὶ οὐσα ἡ ἐξουσία ἐς τυραννίδα πάλιν <sup>4</sup> ἐξοκεῖλη.<sup>5</sup> συνήλθον οὖν οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῆνηθες συνέδριον ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νεῶν <τοῦ> <sup>6</sup> Καπετωλίου, ὃν <sup>3</sup> σέβουσι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. συγκλείσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ σηκῷ μόνους, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ Διὶ καὶ συνέδρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ τε τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Schott ὡς Oi

<sup>2</sup> τότε δέ Α διέκειτό τε καὶ αἰ διέκει τό τε καὶ φ

<sup>3</sup> εἰς οὓς Α

<sup>4</sup> Stroth and Bekk μὴ πάλιν (πολλὴν Α) ἰούσαν ἐξουσίαν Oi

<sup>5</sup> ἐξωκεῖλη O <sup>6</sup> Bekk<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A lacuna in the text (see *app. critic.* p. 222); MS Monacensis (A) interpolates the words "they knew that Maximinus was an implacable enemy of theirs and . . ."

<sup>2</sup> The *cella* of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, where the ancient *curia calabra* was held to announce the calendar and induct new magistrates each year, though it was frequently used on other occasions. The senate met here after the murder of Gaius (Suet. *Cal.* 60), the occasion when there was discussion about the restoration of a republic; which suggests that the meeting-place had a special significance on this occasion too; doubted by Mommsen, *StR* (3) 3.2.928. SHA,

that he (Maximinus) . . . and would spare no one.<sup>1</sup> Not only was he naturally antagonistic and hostile to them but he now had good reason to be angry with them, since they were openly declared enemies. They were resolved to hold <sup>2</sup> a meeting to discuss practical measures, for, now they had staked their bid, they must fight a war. First, they must choose and elect for themselves emperors, whom they proposed should share the rule, to prevent the power reverting to a tyranny in the hands of one man. The meeting therefore took place, not in their normal chamber, but in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus,<sup>2</sup> the god whom the Romans worship on their citadel. They held a closed session <sup>3</sup> in the inner sanctuary,<sup>3</sup> witnessed as it were by Jupiter as their fellow councillor and guardian of

*Max. et Balb.* I.1, says that this meeting took place in the temple of Concordia on 9th July (238), but is certainly incorrect about the date and possibly about the place (next note).

<sup>3</sup> Private sessions behind closed doors were not unknown under the republic, for which the *cella* of a temple proved particularly convenient; cf. *Cic. Phil.* 2.44.112, 5.7.18 (in the temple of Concordia, thus no doubt giving rise to the error of SHA, *Max. et Balb.* I.1; the SHA are particularly susceptible to Ciceronian influence, 7.7.5n). On such occasions the clerical staff probably left the meeting (Mommsen wrongly quotes *Cic. Att.* 15.3.1). This is the basis of the description in SHA, *Gord.* 12.1 ff., of an otherwise unknown *s.c. tacitum* (7.7.2n), but H. says nothing about the passing of a resolution; cf. Mommsen, *StR* (3) 3.2.931n, 1016n, 1017. It is important to note that the *vita Gord.* places the *s.c. tacitum* after the news of G.'s accession, whereas H. is quite clear about the date here. It is ludicrous to argue, as Volkmann (see Introduction, pp. xix-xx) that knowledge of this meeting proves H. was a senator; information was bound to leak out, but this sooner than most, as H. himself tells us in 7.10.5.

πραττομένων, ἐπιλεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀξιώματι προυχόντων οὓς ἐδοκίμαζον κατὰ ψήφοφορίαν, ἐχόντων καὶ ἄλλων <sup>1</sup> ψήφους, διακριθεισῶν τε καὶ τοῦ πλείστου τῆς γνώμης Μάξιμόν τε καὶ Βαλβίνον <sup>2</sup> ἀνειπόντος <sup>3</sup> αὐτοκράτορας ἐποίησαν. <sup>4</sup> τούτων δ' ἦν ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ἐν τε πολλαῖς στρατοπέδων ἀρχαῖς γενόμενος, τῆς τε Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἑπαρχος καταστάς ἀνεπιστρόφως τε ἄρξας, καὶ ἐν ὑπολήψει παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις φρενῶν τε καὶ ἀγχινοίας καὶ βίου σώφρονος, ὁ δὲ Βαλβίνος γενόμενος μὲν εὐπατρίδης, ἐς δευτέραν τε ὑπατεῖαν ἐληλακῶς ἐθνῶν τε ἡγησάμενος ἀμέμπτως, τὸ δ' <sup>5</sup> ἦθος ἀπλούστερος.<sup>4</sup> τῆς οὖν χειροτονίας ἐκεί-

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλους O

<sup>2</sup> ἀλβῖνον O almost throughout

<sup>3</sup> Schott -όντες Oi

<sup>4</sup> ἀπαλώτερος Peter cf. SHA, *Max.* 20.1 (*moribus delicatiorum*)

<sup>1</sup> Almost certainly a reference to the *vigintiviri*, a committee of twenty consulars, chosen by the senate; although they are explicitly mentioned in two inscriptions and in later authors, it is usually assumed H. has omitted them; *ILS* 1186—L. Caseonius Lucillus Macer Rufinianus, *XXvir ex senatus consulto r(ei) p(ublicae) curandae*; *ILS* 8979—[V]alerius (or Galerius) Claud[us] (or -ianus) Acilius Priscilianus, *inter XX cos.*; SHA, *Max.* 32.3, *Gord.* 10.1–2, Victor, *Caes.* 26.7, Zos. 1.14.2 (also SHA, *Gord.* 14.3, 22.1, which simply repeat the earlier reference, once in a spurious speech). Of these references only the *vita Gord.* (supposedly relying on Dexippus) says unambiguously that the *XXviri* were appointed when news of Gordian's revolt reached Rome; but the *vita Max.* ex-

their acts. After a preliminary selection of candidates from the men of seniority and distinction,<sup>1</sup> a vote was taken on them. Though many received votes, they were eliminated, and the majority of opinions came down in favour of Maximus and Balbinus, who were then appointed emperors. Maximus<sup>2</sup> had held many military commands and the prefecture of the city, an office he had exercised without bias; public opinion considered him an intelligent and shrewd man of sober habits. Balbinus<sup>5</sup> came from a patrician family, had held two consulships and had been a provincial governor, without giving cause for complaint; he was rather simpler in character than Maximus. After the vote <sup>5</sup>

explicitly quotes Dexippus to agree with H.'s date, and SHA, *Gord.* 10.3–4, shows the confused chronology of the passage by stating that M.'s ambassadors were in Rome at the same time as the choice of the *XXviri*—which must mean about twenty days after news of G.'s revolt (ten days each way to Sirmium), just when news of G.'s death arrived. There is a danger of overestimating the significance of the committee, which H. may have considered like that of Alexander, elected by the senate (6.1.2n, 7.1.3n), but with added importance due to the emergency. Few names of *XXviri* are known for certain; a possible list is in Barbieri, *Albo* p. 791. Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 98–105, and Theodorides, *Lat.* 6 (1947) 31–43, discuss the evidence, but Townsend goes too far in accepting the *vita Gord.* and the names in the SHA; also he assumes that the partisans of Gordian must have been the same as those of Pupienus and Balbinus, which is contradicted by H. (7.10.5).

<sup>2</sup> The careers of Pupienus (Maximus) and Balbinus are discussed below. The choice of the senate seems to have been determined by the need for representatives of both the military and civil divisions of the senate; divisions that were becoming increasingly clear cut. Cf. G. Alföldi, *Legionslegaten d. röm. Rheinarmeen* 114.

νοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἀνειπούσης Σεβαστοὶ τε ἀνηγορεύθησαν, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς ἢ σύγκλητος διὰ δόγματος αὐτοὺς ἐκόσμησεν.

ὁ δὲ δῆμος τούτων ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ πρατομένων, εἴτε ὑποβαλόντων τῶν Γορδιανοῦ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων εἴτε γνόντες ὑπὸ φήμης, παρειστήκεσαν ταῖς πύλαις, φράξαντες πᾶσαν τὴν ἐς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἄνοδον τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὄχλων, λίθους τε καὶ ξύλα ἐπέφερόντο, ἀντιπράττοντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐψηφισμένοις, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν  
6 Μάξιμον παραιτούμενοι· στερρότερον <γὰρ ἦρξε><sup>2</sup> τῆς πόλεως, πολὺ τε τὸ ἐπιστρεφὲς ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς φαύλους καὶ κούφους τῶν ὄχλων. ὅθεν δεδιότες ἀπηρέσκοντο αὐτῷ ἐβῶν τε καὶ ἠπειλοῦν ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτούς· ἤξιον γὰρ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ

<sup>1</sup> A Schott ἐκείνης φι

<sup>2</sup> Reisk following <ἦρξέ τε γὰρ> στερρότερον Wolf

<sup>1</sup> A clear indication of the internal intrigues and lack of homogeneity among the opponents of M. The supporters of Gordian I (and Gordian III) were not the same as the partisans of Pupienus and Balbinus and the senatorial committee (see 7.10.3n). The faction of Gordian I was extensive says H. (7.6.3), but only the connection with the descendants of Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes is certain (7.5.2n); G.'s wife is said by SHA, *Gord.* 6.4, 17.4, to have been Fabia Orestilla, daughter of Annius (Se)verus, great-granddaughter of Antoninus (Pius?), but is untrustworthy—possibly she was related to the family of Ti. Claudius Celsus Orestianus (whose wife was Flavia Lycia); cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 230 stemma, *Albo* 521. The faction seems to have had strong control of the *plebs urbana* (cf. Gallicanus and Maecenas, 7.11.3n). H., who approved of the rule of Pupienus and Balbinus does not particularly favour Gordian I (7.9.4n) and distinctly disapproves of the manner of accession of Gordian III (8.8.7).

had selected these two, they were proclaimed as Augustus and by decree the senate invested them with full imperial honours.

During these transactions in the Capitol the people began to gather at the gates of the temple, possibly at the private prompting of some of Gordian's friends and relatives,<sup>1</sup> or because they had got wind of the rumour. The mob filled the entire approach road to the Capitol with their numbers, all carrying stones and sticks and showing their antagonism to the men selected by the senate's vote. They particularly disapproved of 6 Maximus,<sup>2</sup> who had been somewhat severe during his urban prefectship and very strict with the unstable rabble of the lower class. Because they were frightened of him, they did not like him, and began to shout and make threats to kill the emperors. They demanded that an emperor from Gordian's family

<sup>2</sup> The two emperors were M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1179, *Albo* 1006) and D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 126, *Albo* 99); both are stated by H. to be patricians, though Pupienus probably within his own lifetime and Balbinus for several generations (see 8.8.1n); remarkably few details of their careers, as related in the *vita Max. et Balb.*, can be substantiated, and some are improbable; the following are the least disputed. Pupienus was *legatus* of one of the Germanies (SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 5.9, says a special command) under Caracalla (8.6.6, 8.7.8); he became consul of Asia, probably under Alexander, c. 222/234 (*AE* (1902) 254 = *ILS* 8839); in 234 he became *cos.* II and probably *praefectus urbi* at the same time. Balbinus cannot be definitely assigned any provincial commands, not even that of Asia (*AE* (1909) 175 is now discredited by Calder, *CR* 27 (1913) 11), but he probably served in non-military commands under Severus and reached *cos.* II in 213; cf. SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 5.5-9, 7.1-2.

γένους βασιλέα αἰρεθῆναι, τό τε τῆς αὐτοκρατο-  
 ρικῆς ὄνομα ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ ὀνόματι <sup>1</sup>  
 7 μῆναι. ὁ δὲ Βαλβίνος καὶ Μάξιμος ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἵππικοῦ τάγματος νεανίας <sup>2</sup> τοὺς τε πάλαι στρα-  
 τιώτας <sup>2</sup> οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέτριβον, περιστήσαντες  
 ἑαυτοῖς <sup>3</sup> ξιφηφόρους προελθεῖν τοῦ Καπετωλίου  
 ἐβιάζοντο, ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους λίθων καὶ ξύλων  
 ἐκωλύθησαν, ἔστε δὴ ὑποβαλόντος <sup>4</sup> τινὸς  
 αὐτοῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐσοφίσαντο. ἦν τι παιδίον  
 νήπιον, τῆς Γορδιανοῦ θυγατρὸς τέκνον, τῷ  
 8 πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον. ἐπέμψαντες τοῦνν τῶν σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς τινὰς κελεύουσι τὸ παιδίον κομισθῆναι. οἱ  
 δὲ εὐρόντες αὐτὸ ἀθύρον <sup>5</sup> οἴκοι, ἀράμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ὤμων, διὰ μέσου τοῦ πλήθους, δεικνύντες τοῖς  
 ὄχλοις Γορδιανοῦ τε ἕγγονον <sup>6</sup> λέγοντες καὶ τῇ  
 αὐτοῦ <sup>7</sup> προσηγορίᾳ ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἀνάγουσιν ἐς  
 τὸ Καπετώλιον εὐφημούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ  
 9 φυλλοβολούμενον. τῆς τε συγκλήτου Καίσαρα  
 αὐτὸ ἀποδειξάσης, ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐχ

<sup>1</sup> μόνα A<sup>2</sup> Sylb τοὺς νεανίας πάλαι στρατιώτας τε Oi<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῖς i<sup>4</sup> Bekk ὑποβάλλοντος Oi lex Vindob<sup>5</sup> Steph ἀθύρον Oi<sup>6</sup> Bekk <sup>2</sup> ἕγγονον Oi<sup>7</sup> αὐτῆ φgl

<sup>1</sup> Similar to the action of another senatorial emperor, Galba, who enrolled a special bodyguard of equestrian youths, and enrolled the provincial *iuventutes*; Suet. *Galba* 10.3, discussed by Rostovtzeff, *Klio* Beiheft 3 (1905) 74-8; cf. 7.12.1n, Victor, *Caes.* 26.7 (*conscriptis iunioribus*), *ILS*

should be chosen, and that the imperial title should remain in that family with someone of that name. Balbinus and Maximus surrounded themselves with <sup>7</sup> all the young men <sup>1</sup> from the equestrian order and those with previous military experience who were in Rome, and with swords in hand they tried to force their way out from the Capitol. But they were checked by a shower of stones and sticks. Finally, at someone's suggestion, they in turn tricked the people.<sup>2</sup> There was a young lad, the son of Gordian's daughter, named after his grandfather. So the <sup>8</sup> emperors sent some of their supporters to fetch the boy, who was found playing at home. They lifted him up on to their shoulders and carried him through the crowd for the mob to see, proclaiming that this was their heir of Gordian and calling him by Gordian's name. As they made their way up to the Capitol, the boy was cheered by the people and showered with flowers. Once the senate had voted him the <sup>9</sup> title of Caesar (he was too young to be made head of

1188 (*tironibus legendis*) and the patronage of the *iuvenalia* by Gordian I (7.4.3n). It seems probable that this special guard drawn from the *iuventus* of equestrians (i.e. young men from senatorial families as well as *equites*) was a source of anger to the praetorians.

<sup>2</sup> Not clear how the people were tricked, perhaps because someone not called Gordian was found. The daughter of G. was Maecia Faustina, who had married the consular Junius Balbus (if SHA, *Gord.* 4.2, is correct), perhaps the son of the equestrian C. Junius Balbus, *subpraefectus vigilum* in 203 (*ILS* 2163). Dexippus apparently reported that the young Gordian (III) was the son of Gordian II (SHA, *Gord.* 23.1, Zos. 1.14.1), but inscriptions confirm H.; e.g. *ILS* 498, *M. Antonio Gordiano divi M. Antoni Gordiani nep(oti) divi Antoni Gordiani sororis fil(io)*; cf. *ILS* 500, *ILLun* 110, etc.

οἷός τε ἦν προΐστασθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, τῆς τε ὀργῆς ὁ δῆμος ἐπαύσατο, ἠνέσχοντό τε προελθεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὴν βασιλείον αὐλήν.

11. συνέβη δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους παῖσιμα ὀλέθριον τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει, ἀρχὴν καὶ πρόφασιν λαβὼν<sup>2</sup> ἐξ εὐτόλμου θράσους δύο ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου. συνεληλύθεσαν γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πάντες σκεψόμενοι περὶ τῶν καθ-  
<sup>2</sup> εστῶτων· μαθόντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται οὓς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Μαξιμίνος καταλελοίπει (ἤδη γὰρ<sup>3</sup> πρὸς ἄφεσιν<sup>4</sup> τῆς στρατείας ὄντες<sup>5</sup> καὶ δι' ἡλικίαν οἴκοι μεμενηκότες<sup>5</sup>) ἦλθον μέχρι τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς συγκλήτου, βουλόμενοι τὸ πραττόμε-  
<sup>3</sup> νον μαθεῖν, ὄπλων μὲν γυμνοί, ἐν λιταῖς δὲ ἐσθῆσι καὶ ἐφεστρίσι, ἐστήκεσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ  
<sup>3</sup> δήμου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἔμενον, δύο δὲ τινες<sup>6</sup> ἢ τρεῖς περιεργότερον ἐπακοῦσαι

<sup>1</sup> προσελθεῖν O

<sup>2</sup> λαβῶν I λαβῶν AB

<sup>3</sup> om Agl

<sup>4</sup> ἀφίξιν φι

<sup>5</sup> -τας Bergl

<sup>6</sup> om i

<sup>1</sup> The one and only *congiarium* that took place in the reign of Pupienus and Balbinus probably took place on this occasion in association with Gordian Caesar, who appears on the scene portrayed by the coins; *BMC* VI. 250, no. 5 = pl. 43, 251, no. 13 = pl. 43; cf. *RIC* IV. 2.177n and *BMC* VI. 252, no. 17A = pl. 44, where Gordian appears by himself with

state), the people's anger ended and they allowed the emperors to go to the imperial palace.<sup>1</sup>

11. But at this same time a fatal tragedy happened to the city of Rome, for which the impetuous bravado of two members of the senate was entirely to blame in the first instance. At the senate house there had been a mass gathering of people who wanted to find out about the current state of affairs. Some of the <sup>2</sup> soldiers belonging to the garrison left behind by Maximinus (men about to gain their discharge from the army, who had remained at Rome because of their age)<sup>2</sup> heard about the gathering and went up to the entrance of the senate house, hoping to find out what was going on.<sup>3</sup> They were unarmed, dressed in a simple uniform and cloak,<sup>4</sup> and standing with the rest of the people. Though most of the crowd <sup>3</sup> stopped at the entrance, two or three who were more

*liberalitas*, demonstrating the extent of the young boy's prestige. Gordian was thirteen years old (8.8.8).

<sup>2</sup> The discharge (*honesta missio*) of praetorians took place after sixteen years service, though sometimes postponed in times of emergency (as presumably on this occasion). These must be men left behind in 234 by Alexander; the main body of the guards was with M. in the North and at Aquileia (8.5.9), but, since they had declared allegiance to M., their comrades in Rome must have been viewed with suspicion.

<sup>3</sup> The mention of the senate house (*curia Julia*) shows that this was on a different occasion from the election of the emperors (7.10.2). Non-senators were barred from crossing the *curiae limen* (Livy 3.41.4) but could wait in *vestibulo curiae*, that is, outside the entrance doors. The statue of Victory was just inside the doors (5.5.7n). The doors of the senate house were normally left open while the senate was in session, and followers of individual senators often gathered at the doors; Mommsen, *StR* (3) 3.2.932.

<sup>4</sup> For praetorian dress, see 2.13.2n.



τῶν βουλευομένων<sup>1</sup> θελήσαντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον εἰσῆλθον, ὡς τὸν ἰδρυμένον βωμὸν τῆς νίκης ὑπερβῆναι τούτους. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ<sup>2</sup> ὑπατείας μὲν νεωστί, Γαλλικανὸς ὄνομα, Καρχηδό- νιος δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ ἕτερος στρατηγικὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα, Μαικίνας<sup>3</sup> καλούμενος, οὐδέν τι προσ- δοκῶντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἔχοντας δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ὑποκαθεμμένας ταῖς ἐφεστρίσι, παίουσι πληγαῖς κατακαρδίους, ξίφεσιν οἷς ἐπέφεροντο<sup>4</sup> ὑποκολπίοις·<sup>4</sup> πάντες γὰρ διὰ τὴν οὖσαν στάσιν τε καὶ ταραχὴν, οἱ μὲν φανερώς οἱ δὲ καὶ κρύβδην, ἐξιφηφόρου, ἀμυντήρια δῆθεν φέροντες ἑαυτῶν διὰ τοὺς αἰφνιδίως ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐχθρούς. τότε δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται πληγέντες καιρίως<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτως<sup>6</sup> προβαλεῖν οὐ δυνηθέντες<sup>6</sup> πρὸ<sup>5</sup> τοῦ βωμοῦ ἔκειντο. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται τοῦτο θεασάμενοι, ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ πάθει τῶν συστρατιωτῶν, φοβηθέντες τοῦ δήμου τὸ πλήθος

<sup>1</sup> βουλομένων i<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ Vi<sup>3</sup> Maecenas P μαικίνας (-νας A) O -ίνας i<sup>4</sup> οἷς - ὑποκολπίοις om P<sup>5</sup> Reisk καὶ πως φάλ καὶ πως καὶ A καὶ πῶς g<sup>6</sup> ἀπροσδοκῆτως - δυνηθέντες del Mendelss

<sup>1</sup> Probably L. Domitius Gallicanus Papinianus, whose career has been found on an inscription from near Carthage; *IL Afr.* 322, *SHA, Max.* 20.6, *Gord.* 22.8, *Victor, Caes.* 26.5. His consulship date is unrecorded, but after this he held three important military commands; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 148, *Albo* 1016. His

curious to hear the deliberations went so far inside the chamber that they passed beyond the altar of Victory which was standing there. One of the senators, a Carthaginian called Gallicanus,<sup>1</sup> who had recently held the consulship, and another of praetorian rank called Maecenas,<sup>2</sup> without any warning, while the soldiers had their hands under their cloaks, stabbed them in the heart with daggers they were carrying under the folds of their clothing. Because<sup>4</sup> of the rioting and unrest, everyone was carrying daggers, some openly and others secretly, alleging this was a protection against the sudden, treacherous attacks of their enemies. So, on this occasion the soldiers were fatally wounded while off their guard, without a chance to defend themselves, and lay there at the foot of the altar. When the other soldiers<sup>5</sup> saw this, they were horrified at the fate of their comrades, and ran away because they were apprehensive about the size of the crowd, while they were

Carthaginian origin seems to connect him with the original revolt of Gordian I; his present influence with the urban mob shows his association with the faction behind Gordian III.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise unknown; perhaps the name is an error for P. Messius Augustinus Maecianus, another African senator, *AE* (1932) 34, and son of a distinguished Severan lawyer (3.13.1n); *Albo* 799. (Note the reading of the *i* group of MSS.) In *SHA, Max. et Balb.* 9-10, the rioting is dated after Papienus had left Rome for the North and on two separate occasions; but the first incident seems to be a confusion with the elevation of Gordian as Caesar, and for the second there is no cause given for the outburst, though the *vita* may be correct in saying Papienus was absent from the city (cf. 7.12.1, according to H. he left during the unrest). *SHA, Gord.* 22.7-9 quite incorrectly places the incidents after the death of Papienus and Balbinus, and says that the *veterani* were unaware that Gordian III was by this time sole Augustus.

ἀνευ τε ὄπλων ὄντες ἔφυγον. ὁ δὲ Γαλλικανὸς ἐκδραμῶν τῆς συγκλήτου εἰς τὸν δῆμον μέσον, δεικνύς τε<sup>1</sup> τὸ ξίφος καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἤμαγμένην, διεκελεύετο διώκειν καὶ φονεύειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μὲν συγκλήτου καὶ Ῥωμαίων, φίλους δὲ καὶ<sup>6</sup> συμμάχους Μαξιμίνου. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ῥᾶστα πεισθεὶς τὸν μὲν Γαλλικανὸν εὐφῆμει, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὡς ἐδύναντο διώκοντες ἔβαλλον λίθοις. οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες, ὀλίγων τινῶν καὶ τρωθέντων, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καταφυγόντες καὶ τὰς πύλας κλείσαντες, ὄπλα τε ἀναλαμβάνοντες, ἐφρούρουν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὁ δὲ Γαλλικανὸς ἀπαξ τολμήσας ἔργον τηλικούτον, ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καὶ ὄλεθρον<sup>7</sup> μέγαν ἤγειρε τῇ πόλει. τὰς τε γὰρ δημοσίας ἀποθήκας τῶν ὄπλων, εἴ τινες ἦσαν πρὸς πομπὴν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχην ἐπιτήδαιοι, ἀναρρήξαι τοὺς ὄχλους ἔπεισε, τὸ τε σῶμα ἕκαστον<sup>2</sup> φράττεσθαι ὡς οἶός τε ἦν· τὰ τε τῶν μονομάχων καταγάγια ἀνοίξας ἐξήγαγε τοῖς οἰκείοις ὄπλοις ἕκαστον ἐξηρτυμένον.

<sup>1</sup> τε τοῖς ὄχλοις Α<sup>2</sup> ἕκαστος φῖ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 7.7.4n for the suggestion that it was on this occasion, rather than three weeks earlier, that Sabinus, the urban prefect was killed in the mob riots; this fits the evidence that Pupienus and Balbinus appointed an urban prefect called Sabinus, and it is plausible that he would have tried to quell the disorder caused by the Gordiani partisans with his urban cohorts.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cic. *pro Rab.* 7.20 for an occasion when weapons were distributed to the people *ex aedibus sacris armamentariisque*; *ILS* 333 records the clerks of the *armamentarium*, and *ILS* 5153 records a freedman in charge of the armoury at the Ludus Magnus. Apart from dedicatory weapons in the temples (and 236

unarmed. Gallicanus came running out of the senate house into the middle of the crowd, and showed them his blood-stained sword and hand, urging them to pursue and kill the enemies of the senate and Roman people who were friends and allies of Maximinus. The people were perfectly easily 6 persuaded, and cheered Gallicanus. They pursued the soldiers as far as they could with showers of stones. But the troops were too quick for them. In spite of a few casualties, they took refuge in their camp and shut the gates. Then they got hold of their weapons and defended the walls of the camp. Now that Gallicanus had dared to go so far, he began to stir up civil war and enormous destruction for the city.<sup>1</sup> He persuaded the mob to break into the public armouries (even though the weapons were meant for ceremonial purposes, not battles)<sup>2</sup> and to put on any protective covering they could. He threw open the gladiatorial barracks and marched all of them out armed with their individual weapons.<sup>3</sup> All spears, swords and

the armory in the praetorian camp) the public armouries were probably all in the gladiatorial schools.

<sup>3</sup> There were four main types of gladiators; the Samnites (*secutores*), the *murmillones* (*crupellarii*), the Thracians and the *retiarii*; cf. Dar.-Sag. (gladiator) 1583 ff., for a full discussion and illustrations. The gladiators were either freedmen or slaves, kept under strict discipline in the various schools. The main known schools were the Ludus Magnus, the Ludus Mututinus, the Ludus Dacicus and the Ludus Gallicus, all probably around the Colosseum in *regiones* II and III; the location of the Ludus Aemilius is not known; Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Rome* 319-20. The number of gladiators in Rome obviously varied according to the occasion; Otho transferred 2,000 into his army (Tac. *H.* 2.11). At various festivals 1,200, 1,600 and even 10,000 appeared.

ὄσα τε ἦν <ἐν><sup>1</sup> οἰκίαις ἢ ἐργαστηρίοις δόρατα  
 8 ἢ ξίφη πελέκεις τε, πάντα διηρπάζετο. ὁ τε  
 δῆμος ἐνθουσιῶν πᾶν τὸ ἐμπίπτον ὕλης ἀξιωμαχοῦ  
 ἐργαλεῖον ὄπλον ἐποιεῖτο. ἀθροισθέντες οὖν ἐπι-  
 ἦλθον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ὡς πολιορκήσοντες  
 αὐτὸ δῆθεν προσέβαλλον ταῖς τε<sup>2</sup> πύλαις καὶ τοῖς  
 τείχεσιν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται μετὰ πολλῆς ἐμπειρίας  
 ὠπλισμένοι τε <καὶ προβαλλόμενοι><sup>3</sup> τὰς ἐπάλξεις  
 καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας,<sup>4</sup> τόξοις τε αὐτοὺς βάλλοντες καὶ  
 δόρασι μακροῖς ἀπείργοντες τοῦ τείχους ἀπεδί-  
 9 ωκον. ὡς δὲ καμῶν ὁ δῆμος οἱ τε μονομάχοι  
 τιτρωσκόμενοι ἤδη καὶ ἐσπέρας προσιούσης ἐπαν-  
 ελθεῖν<sup>5</sup> ἠθέλησαν, θεασάμενοι αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ἀπεστραμμένους<sup>6</sup> καὶ τὰ νῶτα δεδωκότας ἀπιόντας  
 τε ἀμελέστερον, οἰομένους μὴ τολμήσειν ἐπεξελεθεῖν  
 ὀλίγους πλήθει τοσοῦτω, ἀνοίξαντες αἰφνιδίως τὰς  
 πύλας ἐπέδραμον τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τοὺς τε μονομάχους  
 ἀπέκτειναν, τοῦ τε δήμου μέγα τι πλήθος ἀπώλετο  
 ὠθούμενον. οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτον διώξαντες ὅσον μὴ  
 πολὺ τι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀποστήναι, πάλιν  
 ἐπανῆλθον ἐντὸς τε τοῦ τείχους ἔμενον.

12. ἐντεῦθεν μείζων ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ  
 τῆς συγκλήτου ἐγένετο. στρατηγοὶ τε οὖν κατελέ-

<sup>1</sup> Steph

<sup>3</sup> Steph sese . . . *protegentes* P

<sup>4</sup> ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐσκέπαζον A

<sup>6</sup> edit. Basil ἐπεστρ. φῖ ἐστρ. A

<sup>2</sup> Mendelssohn τε ταῖς Oī

<sup>5</sup> ἀπελθεῖν V ἐπελθ. Ba

<sup>1</sup> SHA, *Gord.* 10.2, says that the *vigintiviri* were each allocated a part of Italy to protect, probably referring to this occasion, though the date in the *vita* is put earlier (see

axes were commandeered from houses and work-  
 shops. If they came across any kind of tool made 8  
 of material suitable for battle, the people in a frenzy  
 turned them all into weapons. Then, in a mass they  
 marched on the camp and launched an attack on the  
 gates and the walls, no doubt with the intention of  
 taking it by storm. With the advantage of long  
 experience and the protection of the turrets of the  
 walls and their shields, the soldiers drove the people  
 away from the walls by firing arrows at them and  
 fending them off with their long spears. In the end 9  
 the people and the gladiators decided to withdraw,  
 because they were exhausted and wounded and the  
 evening was closing in. But seeing the people  
 turning about and retreating somewhat over-  
 confidently, with their backs turned, because they  
 never dreamed a few men would dare come out and  
 attack such a large crowd, the soldiers suddenly  
 flung open the gates and charged at the people.  
 They killed the gladiators, and a large number of  
 people were lost in the scramble. After chasing  
 them away from the camp for a short distance, the  
 troops returned and stayed shut up behind the walls.

12. As a result of this incident the fury of the senate  
 and people increased. Commanders were chosen<sup>1</sup>

7.10.3n). Victor, *Caes.* 26.7, calls these men *potestatum vices*,  
 implying formal commissions by the senate; Theodorides,  
*Lat.* 6 (1947) 41; confirmed by the title of Cripinus at Aquileia  
 (8.2.5n) who is recorded as [. . . *dux*] *ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)*;  
 cf. *ILS* 8980. These commanders may have been members  
 of the XXvirate, but were not necessarily so; it would be  
 more probable for the latter to remain beside the emperors as  
 advisers and *comites*; cf. *ILS* 8979 for the conjecture [*comes*  
*Augg.*] *nn. inter XX cos.* as the position of Aeilius Priscilianus.

γοντο ἕκ τε πάσης Ἰταλίας λογάδες, ἧ τε νεολαία<sup>1</sup>  
 πᾶσα ἠθροίζετο, ὅπλοις τε αὐτοσχεδίοις καὶ τοῖς  
 προστυχοῦσιν ὠπλίζετο. τούτων δὴ τὸ μὲν πλεῖσ-  
 τον μέρος ὁ Μάξιμος σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπήγαγεν ὡς<sup>2</sup>  
 δὴ Μαξιμίνῳ πολεμήσων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἔμειναν,  
 ὡς τὴν πόλιν φρουροῦέν τε καὶ προασπίζουεν  
 αὐτῆς. ἐκάστοτε οὖν τῷ τείχει τοῦ στρατοπέδου  
 ἐγίνοντο<sup>3</sup> προσβολαί, ἔπραττον δὲ οὐδὲν προμα-  
 χομένων ἄνωθεν τῶν στρατιωτῶν· οἱ δὲ βαλλόμε-  
 νοι καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι κακῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν. ὁ δὲ  
 Βαλβίνος οἴκοι μένων διάταγμά τε<sup>4</sup> προθεῖς  
 ἰκέτευε τὸν δῆμον ἐς διαλλαγὰς χωρηῖσαι, τοῖς τε  
 στρατιώταις ὑπισχνεῖτο ἀμνησίαν, ἄνεσίν<sup>5</sup> τε  
 πάντων ἐδίδου ἀμαρτημάτων. ἀλλ' οὐδετέρους  
 ἔπειθε, τὸ δὲ δεινὸν ἐκάστοτε ἠῤῥετο, τοῦ μὲν  
 τοσοῦτου δῆμου ἀπαξιούντος ὑπ' ὀλίγων καταφρο-

<sup>1</sup> ῥώμη A<sup>2</sup> εἰς B1<sup>3</sup> ἐγένοντο φ1<sup>4</sup> τι φ1<sup>5</sup> ἀφεςίν A

<sup>1</sup> Note ILS 1188 (the text is improved in PIR<sup>2</sup> A 622), a fragmentary and puzzling inscription, recording a senator in 242 named . . . . us Annianus, who had earlier had a commission *missus ad(versus) h(ostes) p(ublicos) in re[gionem] trans P[ad(um)] tir(onibus) legend(is) et arm(is) fabr(icandis) in [urb(e) Me]diol(anio)*; that is, a young senator (not yet a consul) who was sent to organize recruiting and arms supply in North Italy. He is wrongly believed by Townsend, YCS 14 (1955) 90, to be a member of the XX *viri*, but they were senior consulars (see above note). At this time also a certain Clodius Celsinus was sent to the *vexillationes Moesiae inferioris*

and recruits enrolled all over Italy.<sup>1</sup> All the youth groups<sup>2</sup> were called up and equipped with whatever makeshift weapons could be found. Maximus took most of the force with him to fight against Maximinus. The rest stayed behind to guard and protect the city. Regular attacks were made<sup>2</sup> against the camp fortifications, but without any success. The soldiers fought back from their superior height, and the attackers came off badly, as they were shot at and wounded. Balbinus, who had stayed behind, issued an edict begging the people to call a truce and promising the soldiers an amnesty, by offering them pardon for all their crimes. But<sup>3</sup> neither side listened, and every day the lawlessness grew worse. The people thought it a disgrace that

on a special mission to persuade them, after Maximinus had set out for Italy, to turn against him (*ad eradendum nomen saevissimae dominationis*); AE (1935) 164, Bersanetti, RFIC 20 (1942) 214-18.

<sup>2</sup> The exact relationship between the various organizations of young men is not certain; throughout Italy there were various *sodales*, *iuvenes*, *iuventutes* and *collegia iuvenum*; possibly the *iuventus* was only the young men within the wider *collegium* of *iuvenes* (all of military age); cf. at Mactar in Africa, where only sixty-nine names are on the *album* of the *collegium*; obviously not the whole extent of the *iuvenes* in the city; Picard, *Karthago* 8 (1957) 77-9. In Italy the importance of the *iuvenes* and *iuventutes* declined as the various *collegia iuvenum* on the Rhine, Danube and in Africa grew to meet the military requirements of the empire. In Rome the group of *νεανίσκοι* round the emperor (cf. 7.10.7) probably derived from the Hellenistic system of court pages, and was therefore encouraged by the emperors most influenced by the orient (Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla and Elagabalus); cf. 5.7.7 for a special officer under Elagabalus to control the equestrian *iuventus* at Rome; Rostovtzeff, *Klio, Beiheft* 3 (1905) 78.

νηθῆναι, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀγανακτούντων ὅτι δὴ ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὡς ὑπὸ βαρβάρων πάσχουσι.<sup>1</sup>

τὸ δὴ τελευταῖον, ἐπειδὴ τειχομαχοῦντες οὐδὲν ἔπραττον, ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐκκόψαι πάντας τοὺς εἰσρέοντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀγωγοὺς ὕδατος, σπάνει τε ποτοῦ καὶ ἐνδείᾳ ρείθρων αὐτοῦς<sup>4</sup> παραστήσασθαι.<sup>2</sup> προσπεσόντες οὖν πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἕτερα ρείθρα μετωχέτευον, ἐκκόπτοντες καὶ εἰσφράττοντες τὰς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰσόδους αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὄρωντες τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι, τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐπεξῆλθον· μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης καὶ φυγῆς τῶν δημοτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως διώκοντες οἱ στρατιῶται προῦβησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ταῖς συσταδῶν<sup>3</sup> μάχαις ἠτῶμενοι, ἀναπηδῶντες ἐς τὰ δωμάτια<sup>4</sup> τῶν τε κεράμῳ βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ λίθων βολαῖς τῶν τε ἄλλων ὀστράκων ἐλυμαίνοντο, ἐπαναβῆναι μὲν αὐτοῖς δι' ἄγνοιαν τῶν οἰκίσεων οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν οἱ στρατιῶ-

<sup>1</sup> ea se a Romanis passos quae vix umquam a barbaris expectassent P

<sup>2</sup> περιστήσαντες φgl παραστήσαντες a

<sup>3</sup> συστάδην V συσταδῶν B

<sup>4</sup> δώματα ABi

<sup>1</sup> The water supply in the city was carried by open water channels (*canales*), lead water pipes (*fistulae*) and ceramic pipes (*tubuli*); Vitruv. 8.6.1; according to SHA, *Max. et Balb.*

their vast numbers were being defied by so few soldiers, and the soldiers were furious that Romans were behaving towards them like barbarians.

Finally, after the assaults on the wall proved futile, the commanders decided to cut off all the channels of water supply into the camp, so as to bring the soldiers to submission by a shortage of drinking and running water. During the course of an attack they diverted<sup>4</sup> the camp water supply into new channels by cutting and blocking up the pipes leading into the camp.<sup>1</sup> The danger was obvious to the soldiers, and, being in a desperate position, they threw open the gates and made an attack. A fierce battle took place, ending in the people running away and the soldiers advancing far into the city to pursue them. Although the<sup>5</sup> mob was no match for the soldiers in hand-to-hand fighting, they swarmed up into the upper rooms of houses and caused casualties among the soldiers by showering them with tiles and a hail of stones and broken pots.<sup>2</sup> The soldiers did not dare climb up after the people because of their unfamiliarity with

10.6, it was the *fistulae* that were blocked. The main supply came to the camp in the aqua Julia-Tepula-Marcia, which terminated at the Porta Collina; from there it was carried in pipes across the *campus cohortium praetoriumum*. The action described here took place on the *campus*. Cf. Nash, *Pict. Dict. Anc. Rome* I.48 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of the repetition of the description of I.12.8, and the Thucydidean antecedents of the passage (Thuc. 2.4.2), there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of H.'s description, which elsewhere (see above note) indicates a first-hand knowledge of events. The construction of ancient cities with narrow streets and overhanging houses must have meant that this kind of scene was a not uncommon occurrence; cf. Sallust, *Jug.* 67.1.

ται, κεκλεισμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἔργαστηρίων ταῖς θύραις, καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν ξύλων ἐξοχαί (πολλαὶ δὲ αὐταὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν), πῦρ  
 6 προσετίθεισαν.<sup>1</sup> ῥᾶστα δὲ διὰ πυκνότητα τῶν συνοικιῶν ξυλείας<sup>2</sup> τε πλήθος ἐπάλληλον<sup>5</sup> μέγιστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πῦρ ἐνεμήθη, ὡς πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ πλουσίων ποιῆσαι πένητας, ἀποβαλόντας θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆ κτήματα, ἔν τε προσόδοις πλουσίαις καὶ ἐν ποικίλῃ<sup>3</sup> πολυτελείᾳ τίμια.  
 7 πλήθός τε ἀνθρώπων σύγκατεφλέχθη, φυγεῖν μὴ δυναθέντων διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐξόδους ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς προκατεϊληφθαι. οὐσίαι τε ὄλαι πλουσίων ἀνδρῶν διηρπάγησαν, ἐγκαταμιξάντων ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς τὸ ἀρπάζειν κακούργων καὶ εὐτελῶν δημοτῶν. τοσοῦτον δὲ μέρος τῆς πόλεως τὸ πῦρ ἐλυμήνατο ὡς μηδεμίαν τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων ὀλόκληρον δύνασθαι τῷ μέρει ἐξισωθῆναι.  
 8 καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην τοιαῦτα ἦν, ὃ δὲ Μαξιμίνος ἀνύσας τὴν ὁδοπορίαν ἐπέστη τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄροις, θύσας τε ἐπὶ τῶν μεθορίων βωμῶν τῆς ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν εἰσβολῆς εἴχετο, ἐκέλευσέ τε πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐν ὄπλοις εἶναι μετ' εὐταξίας προχωρεῖν.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> προσετέθησαν φ<sup>2</sup> ξυλ.—ἐπάλλ. om A<sup>3</sup> πάση A<sup>4</sup> AIP προσχωρεῖν φag

<sup>1</sup> In spite of building regulations to fire-proof walls of *insulae* (housing blocks), the upper stories frequently projected over the streets, making balconies (*maeniana*), usually part-

the houses, and the doors of the houses and shops were closed. So they set fire to the wooden balconies of such houses that possessed them (of which there were a lot in the city).<sup>1</sup> Because the buildings 6 adjoined each other very closely, and a great number of them in a row were made of wood, the fire very easily burned down most of the city. Many people who were rich were turned into paupers<sup>2</sup> by losing their magnificent accumulation of property, some of it valuable for the rich income it brought in, and some of it for its lavish workmanship. A great many 7 people were unable to run away because their escape route was cut off by the flames, and they were burned to death. The entire possessions of some rich men were looted by criminals and the lower class, who mixed with the soldiers in order to do just this. The section of Rome that burned down was wider in extent than the entire size of any of the largest cities elsewhere.

While this was going on in Rome, Maximinus had 8 completed his march and stood on the Italian frontier, where, after sacrificing on the altars at the border,<sup>3</sup> he began his invasion of Italy. Orders were given to the entire army to arm itself and proceed in good order.

timbered. Martial 1.86 says one could shake hands across the street from these upper floors; accidents often happened to passers by from objects thrown out of these rooms (Juv. 3.269) and in 368 a regulation was passed to prevent this kind of building (Amm. Marc. 27.9.10).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1.14.3n, 7.3.5n.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the altars of Fortuna Redux and Italia, both of which were publicized on imperial coinage as an emperor returned to Rome.

9 τὴν μὲν οὖν Λιβύης ἀπόστασιν καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον, τὰ τε Μαξιμίνῳ πραχθέντα καὶ τὴν ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ ἐδηλώσαμεν· τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς λεχθήσονται.

This is my account of the revolt in Libya, the civil war in Rome and of the activities of Maximinus up to his arrival in Italy. What followed will now be related in the next book.

**BOOK EIGHT**



## BIBAIION OΓΔOON

1. Τὰ μὲν δὴ Μαξιμίνῳ πραχθέντα μετὰ τὴν Γορδιανοῦ τελευτήν, ἣ τε εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἄφιξις αὐτοῦ, Λιβύης τε ἀπόστασις καὶ ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαφορά ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων λέλεκται· ὁ δὲ Μαξιμίνος ἐπιστὰς τοῖς ὄροις προύπεμψε σκοποὺς τοὺς ἐρευνήσοντας μή τινες ἐνέδραι<sup>1</sup> ἐν κοιλάσιν ὄρων ἢ λόχμαῖς ὕλαις<sup>2</sup> τε κρύφιοι εἶεν. αὐτὸς δὲ καταγαγὼν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸν στρατόν, τὰς μὲν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγας ἐς τετράγωνα ἔταξε σχήματα, ἐπιμήκεις<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ βαθείας,<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἂν πλείστον τοῦ πεδίου διαλάβοιεν· τὰ δὲ σκευοφόρα πάντα κτήνη<sup>3</sup> τε καὶ ὀχήματα<sup>3</sup> ἐν μέσῳ τάξας, αὐτὸς ἅμα τοῖς δορυφόροις<sup>3</sup> ὀπισθοφυλακῶν εἴπετο. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ παρέθειον αἶ τε τῶν καταφράκτων ἵππέων ἰλαι καὶ Μαυρού-

<sup>1</sup> ἐνέδραις V ἐν ἐνέδραις (sic) B

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιμήκ.—βαθείας om P

<sup>3</sup> κτήνη—ὀχήματα om P

<sup>1</sup> For this recapitulation, see 3.1.1n.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably H. means the plain of the R. Save, up which M. might have marched if he had been wintering at Sirmium (7.2.9). But in that case, it is difficult to see why the army should have marched so far in battle order, or from where they

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1. In the previous book the activities of Maximinus following upon Gordian's death, his arrival in Italy, the revolt in Libya and the struggle in Rome between the soldiers and the people were related.<sup>1</sup> As Maximinus stood on the border he sent scouts on ahead to reconnoitre and see whether there were any hidden ambushes laid in the deep mountain valleys or dense woods. He himself led his army down to<sup>2</sup> the plain<sup>2</sup> and arranged the legions of infantry in a shallow, rectangular formation rather than in depth, so as to extend right across the plain.<sup>3</sup> All the equipment, including pack animals and carts, were allocated the centre, while he brought up the rear himself with the guards. On the wings rode the<sup>3</sup> squadrons of heavy cavalry,<sup>4</sup> the Mauretanian and

had been "led down". The description is better suited to an approach from Sirmium up the Drave valley to Poetovio (perhaps to link up with the Upper Pannonian forces), and thence over the watershed to the Save valley, descending just north of Emona at the border post near Atrans; cf. Pavan, *Province rom. d. Pannonia Sup.* 429. This was in fact the main route from Sirmium, Mócsy, *RE* suppl. 9 (Pannonia) 661.

<sup>3</sup> Both SHA, *Max.* 21.1 and *Max. et Balb.* 2.4, says that M. came up to Emona in battle order (*quadrato agmine*), but the former assumes Emona is *post Alpes* and that M. has descended to the North Italian plain.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 6.7.8. The heavy cavalry cataphracts are noted in 7.2.3n, though the Osrhoenian cavalry had been disbanded (7.1.9n).

σιοι ἀκοντισταὶ τοξόται τε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς.  
καὶ Γερμανῶν ἰππέων μέγα τι πλήθος<sup>1</sup> ἐπήγετο  
συμμάχους· ἐκείνους γὰρ μάλιστα προυβάλλετο,  
ἕν' ἐκδέχωνται τῶν πολεμίων τὰς πρώτας ἐμβολάς,  
θυμοειδεῖς ὄντες καὶ εὐτολμοὶ ἐν ἀρχομένη μάχῃ,  
εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ κινδυνεύειν δέοι, εὐκαταφρόνητοι ὡς  
4 βάρβαροι. ὡς δὲ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον διήλθεν ὁ στρατὸς  
μετ' εὐκοσμίας τε καὶ εὐταξίας, ἐπέστησαν πρώτη  
Ἰταλίας πόλει ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἡμᾶν<sup>2</sup> οἱ ἐπιχώριοι·  
πρόκειται δὲ αὕτη ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ πεδίῳ ἰδρυμένη  
πρὸ τῆς ὑπερείας τῶν Ἀλπεων. ἔνθα ὑπαντώμε-  
νοι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ οἱ προφύλακες καὶ σκοποὶ τοῦ  
στρατοῦ ἤγγειλαν κενὴν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν  
πανδημεῖ τε πεφευγέναι ἐμπρήσαντας τὰς θύρας  
ἱερῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, πάντα τε, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ  
πόλει ἢ τοῖς<sup>3</sup> ἀγροῖς, ἃ μὲν ἐκφορήσαντας ἃ δὲ  
καταπρήσαντας, καὶ μήτε ὑποζυγίους μήτε ἀνθρώ-  
5 ποὺς καταλελείφθαι τροφάς. ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἦσθη  
μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν εὐθὺς φυγῇ, ἐλπίζων  
πάντας τοὺς δήμους τοῦτο ποιήσειν οὐχ ὑπομένον-  
τας τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθετο εὐθὺς  
ἐν ἀρχῇ λιμοῦ πειρώμενος. διανυκτερεύσαντες οὖν

<sup>1</sup> χρῆμα ἐπήγετο ὡς A

<sup>2</sup> ἦμαν A Ἡμαν Mendelssohn Ἡμων Mommsen

<sup>3</sup> ἦτοι φῖ

<sup>1</sup> The German *auxilia* are noted in 7.8.10 and 8.4.3.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Ljubljana (Laibach), on the River Save, at the foot of the Carnic Alps. The name of the city in ancient authors is usually given as Emona or (H)æmona; Ptolemy

Eastern archers and a large body of allied German cavalry.<sup>1</sup> The Germans occupied a prominent forward position to take the first impact of an enemy attack, because they were daring, spirited fighters in the early stages of a battle, though when it came to a dangerous mission, being barbarians, they were of negligible value. As they travelled right across<sup>4</sup> the plain in orderly formation, the army reached their first Italian city, locally named Hema,<sup>2</sup> situated at the highest point of the plain at the base of Alpine foothills. At this point the advance guard and scouts met Maximinus, bringing the information that the city was deserted and that the entire population had fled, after burning the doors of their temples and houses; everything in the town and the countryside had been either taken away or burned, leaving no food supplies for transport animals or men. Maxi-<sup>5</sup> minus was delighted that the Italians had fled from him straight away, and was optimistic that all the population would follow suit without waiting for his arrival.<sup>3</sup> But the army was annoyed that at the

2.14.5, Pliny, *NH* 3.18.128, etc. The city was given colonial status, probably by Tiberius (colonia Iulia Emona, *CIL* II. 6087). Situated on the main route from Sirmium to Aquileia, it was originally part of Pannonia but was probably included in Italy during the Marcomannian Wars, c. 170. H. provides the first evidence that it was part of Italy now; Degrassi, *Il confine nord-orient. d. Ital. rom.* 109-113.

<sup>3</sup> An important factor in M.'s optimism must have been the news which reached him of the death of Gordian in Africa; the news would have arrived while he was on the march from Sirmium to Emona (perhaps about 10th April, if Gordian I died about 22nd March, 7.9.10n); cf. SHA, *Max.* 20.7-8, which says there was a gap between the news of Gordian's death and the election of Pupienus and Balbinus.

οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐν ἀθύροις καὶ κεναῖς <sup>1</sup> πάντων οἰκίαις, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις ἠπείγοντο, ἅπερ ὄρη ὑπερμύκη ὡσπερ τεῖχος Ἰταλίας ἢ φύσις ἠγγειρεν, ὑπερνεφῆ μὲν τὸ ὕψος, ἐπιμηκέστατα δέ, ὡς πάσαν Ἰταλίαν διειληφότα καθήκειν ἐν μὲν τοῖς δεξιῶις Ἰταλίας μέρεσιν ἐς τὸ Τυρρηναιὸν πέλαγος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς 6 λαιοῖς ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον. σκέπεται δὲ ὕλαις δασείαις καὶ πυκναῖς, τὰς δὲ διεξόδους ἐστένωται ἢ διὰ κρημνοῦς <sup>2</sup> ἐς βάρους μέγιστον ἀπερρωγότας <sup>3</sup> ἢ διὰ πετρῶν τραχύτητα· στενωποὶ γὰρ εἰσι χειροποίητοι, μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου τοῖς πάλαι Ἰταλιώταις εἰργασμένοι. μετὰ δέους οὖν πολλοῦ διήει ὁ στρατός, ἐλπίζοντες τὰς τε ἄκρας κατειλῆφθαι πεφράχθαι τε τὰς διόδους ἐς κωλύμην τῆς αὐτῶν διαβάσεως. ἠλπιζον δὲ καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν εἰκότα, τῶν χωρίων τεκμαιρόμενοι τὴν φύσιν.

<sup>1</sup> κοιναῖς Oi many editions correct

<sup>2</sup> Steph κρημνοῦ Oi

<sup>3</sup> Ag (in g -as over erasure) ἀπορρωγότας a ἀπερρωγότως I ἀπορρωγότος φ

<sup>1</sup> H. is quoted (though not named) by SHA, *Max.* 21.3-5, which says another version related that Emona was prepared for a siege against M.; but that version is based on the erroneous assumption that because Emona was in Italy it was on the Italian side of the Alps.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2.11.8 for the commonplace; also Cic. *in Pis.* 81, *Prov. Cos.* 34, Virgil, *Geor.* 3.474, Pliny, *NH* 3.31 (*saluberrimis Romano imperio iugis*).

very start of the campaign they had to be short of food.<sup>1</sup> After a night spent by some inside the city in the totally empty, doorless houses, and by others outside on the plain, at dawn they made for the Alps. Nature has provided this long mountain range as a kind of fortification for Italy,<sup>2</sup> whose peaks reach above the clouds, and so extensive that it completely cuts off Italy, running from the Tyrrhenian Sea in the West to the Ionian Gulf in the East. The moun- 6 tains are covered with dense, thick forests, and have passes hemmed in by overhanging cliffs<sup>3</sup> that end abruptly in precipitous drops, or by rocky outcrops. The narrow paths are artificially constructed as a result of the laborious toil of the ancient Italians. The army went through the area with considerable apprehension because they expected the heights to be occupied and the passes to be fixed to block their passage. In view of the type of terrain, their expectations and fears were real possibilities.

<sup>3</sup> The route from Ljubljana via Longatico and Ajdovscina to the River Isontio (Gorizia) passes along the southern edge of the rocky escarpment of the Hrusica and Ternovan forests. Between Longatico and Ajdovscina there are two roads; the easier one along the Vipara valley, the watershed of which is only 2,000 feet, hardly fits the dramatic description given here by H. But it is probable that M. crossed the watershed by the steeper, more direct route through the Selva di Piro, that rises to a height of 4,300 feet, which was the main Augustan road to Pannonia; see *Stud. 3. d. Militärgrenzen Roms* (6 Int. Limeskongress in S.-Deutschland) tafel 11. The *Itin. Antonin.* and *Itin. Hierosol.* are no great help in solving the route precisely, but the latter, in describing the reverse route from the *mutatio Castra* to the *mansio Longatico*, says, *inde surgunt Alpes Iuliae ad Pirum summas Alpes*, which sounds like a description of the Selva di Piro; *Itin. Ant.* 128-9, *Itin. Hierosol.* 559-60, Mócsy, *RE* suppl. 9 (Pannonia) 659.

2. ὡς δὲ διέβησαν ἀκωλύτως μηδενὸς<sup>1</sup> ἐμποδῶν γενομένου,<sup>1</sup> καταβαίνοντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον<sup>2</sup> ἤδη ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν· ῥᾶστα τε αὐτῶ πάντα προχωρήσειν ὁ Μαξιμίνος ἤλπισεν Ἰταλῶν μηδὲ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τεθαρρηκότων, ἔνθα ἢ κρύπτειν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ σώζειν ἠδύναντο ἢ δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπιβουλεύσαι, μάχεσθαι τε ἄνωθεν ἐξ<sup>2</sup> ὑπερκειμένων χωρίων. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, οἱ σκοποὶ ἀπήγγειλαν πόλιν Ἰταλίας τὴν μεγίστην, Ἀκυληϊαν δὲ καλουμένην, κεκλεισθαι, τὰς δὲ προπεμφθείσας φάλαγγας τῶν Παιόνων προθύμως μὲν τειχομαχῆσαι, πολλάκις δὲ προσβαλούσας<sup>3</sup> ἀνύειν οὐδέν, ἀπαγορεύειν δὲ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν βαλλομένους<sup>4</sup> λίθοις τε καὶ δόρασι τόξων τε πλήθει. ὁ δὲ Μαξιμίνος ἀγανακτῆσας πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Παιόνων ὡς ἀμελεστερον μαχομένους, αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἠπέιγετο, ἐλπίζων ῥᾶστα αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν.

<sup>1</sup> μηδενὸς—γενομένου om Jo Mendels

<sup>2</sup> Αἰο στρατόπεδον φῖ

<sup>3</sup> προβαλ. φ

<sup>4</sup> βουλομένους V βουλλομένους B

<sup>1</sup> The resistance of Aquileia and its adherence to the senatorial cause may have been due to the influence of some of the Aquileian aristocracy, rich trading families with senatorial connections; e.g. the family of the Barbii (Calderini, *Aquileia romana* (index) 467-8), a leading trading house with

2. When, however, they reached the other side without interference or anyone trying to stop them, their spirits rose again as they descended to the plain, and they sang with triumph. Maximinus was hopeful of an easy, sweeping success, if the Italians were lacking confidence even in difficult terrain, when they could have been safe by hiding, or have planned an ambush and attacked him from a position on the heights. Once on the plain, his recon-<sup>2</sup> naissance force brought him the news that Aquileia, the largest Italian city, had closed its gates<sup>1</sup> and that, although the advance force of Pannonian legions were vigorously attacking the fortifications, their repeated assaults were unsuccessful; they were now growing tired and withdrawing under a hail of stones, spears and arrows. Maximinus was very angry with the Pannonian generals for not putting their hearts into the battle, and he hurried there in person with his army, expecting to take the city without any difficulty.

ramifications all over the western provinces, who produced a *cos. suff.* in 140 (*AE* (1953) 190), probably connected with the Fulvii Aemiliani (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 530, though doubted by Pflaum, in spite of the name of the consul, M. Barbii Aemilianus), one of whom served under Alexander as recruiting officer (6.3.1n) and another became consul under Gordian III (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 529); the family may also have been connected with the Bruttii Praesentes, partisans of Alexander (7.1.5n, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 541); also note A.'s wife, Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana (6.1.9n) from the Barbii family; cf. Pflaum, *Rev. Arch.* (1953) 72-6. Another important Aquileian family was the Statii (Calderini, *op. cit.* (index) 548-50), probably related to the senators M. Statius Longinus and M. Statius Patruinus, whose names also appear on the *album* of Canusium (see 7.1.5n, *Albo* 486, 1163-4).

3 ἡ δὲ Ἀκυληία καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἄτε μεγίστη πόλις, ἰδίου δήμου<sup>1</sup> πολυάνθρωπος ἦν, καὶ ὥσπερ τι ἐμπόριον Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ προκειμένη καὶ<sup>2</sup> πρὸ τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν ἔθνῶν πάντων ἰδρυμένη<sup>3</sup> τὰ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν κατακομιζόμενα παρείχεν<sup>3</sup> ἐμπορεύεσθαι τοῖς πλέουσι,<sup>3</sup> τὰ τε ἀπὸ θαλάττης τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ἀναγκαῖα, ὧν ἡ παρ' ἐκείνοις<sup>4</sup> χώρα διὰ χειμῶνας<sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἦν εὐφορος, ἀνέπεμπεν ἐς τὴν ἄνω γῆν· πρὸς οἶνόν τε μάλιστα πολύγονον χώραν γεωργοῦντες ἀφθονίαν ποτοῦ παρείχον<sup>6</sup> τοῖς ἄμπελον μὴ γεωργοῦσιν.

4 ἔνθεν πολὺ τι πλῆθος ἐπεδήμει οὐ πολιτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ ξένων τε καὶ ἐμπόρων. τότε δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπολυπλασιάσθη τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν ὄχλων πάντων ἐξ ἀγρῶν ἐκείσε συρρύντων,<sup>7</sup> πολίχνας τε καὶ κώμας τὰς περικειμένας καταλιπόντων, πιστευσάντων δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῷ προβεβλημένῳ τείχει, ὃ παλαιότατον <ὄν><sup>8</sup> ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> ἰδίου δήμου om P καὶ πάλα οὐσα A

<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρὸ—ἰδρυμένη om A

<sup>3</sup> παρείχεν εὐκόλως λαμβάνειν τοὺς πλέοντας A

<sup>4</sup> παρ' ἐκείνης V παροῦσα A

<sup>5</sup> Sy1b χειμῶνα A χειμῶνος φί

<sup>6</sup> Sy1b παρείχε O1

<sup>7</sup> συρρέοντων φί

<sup>8</sup> Bekk

<sup>1</sup> The importance of Aquileia as the first trading port of northern Italy dated from Augustus, after the Dalmatian and Danube lands were opened up as a market for goods from

Aquileia has always been an important city with a large local population. Sited as it is on the coast, commanding the hinterland of the Illyrian territories, it has acted as a trading port for Italy<sup>1</sup> by providing sea traders with a market for goods that come from inland by land and river.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, essential goods which cannot be produced in the Illyrian countryside because of the winters, come by sea and are sent from Aquileia up country to the people of the interior. They farm land which is particularly fertile for the vine, and export a great quantity of wine to people who do not grow grapes. As a result of this the city<sup>4</sup> is teeming with local citizens, aliens and traders. At the time of Maximinus' invasion, the size of the population was swollen by all the crowds swarming in from the countryside, who had abandoned the little towns and villages around Aquileia, seeking refuge in the city because of its size and defensive wall. Being very ancient, a large section of the wall had

Italy. A metal industry developed from the mines in Noricum, Raetia and Dalmatia; local sand produced high-quality glass; the amber trade with Central Europe and the Baltic increased. With an expanding market and excellent communications (Rivers Save, Drave, Danube and the sea) much of northern Italy turned from rearing pigs and sheep to viticulture, of which Aquileia was the centre; cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE* 548, 567, 610-11, for a full bibliography, Frank, *ESAR* V. 111-5, Panciera, *Vita econ. di Aquileia, passim*, esp. 101 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strabo 5.1.8 (214), "Aquileia has been given over as an emporium for those tribes of the Illyrians that live near the Danube; the latter load on wagons and carry inland the products of the sea, and wine stored in wooden barrels, and also olive oil, whereas the former get in exchange slaves, cattle and hides." Cf. Strabo 4.6.9-10 (207) and 7.5.2 (314).

τοῦ πλείστου μέρους πρότερον μὲν κατερήριπτο,<sup>1</sup>  
 ἄτε μετὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μηκέτι τῶν ἐν  
 Ἰταλία πόλεων ἢ τειχῶν ἢ ὄπλων δεθηθειῶν,  
 μετεिल्φειῶν δὲ ἀντὶ πολέμων εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν  
 καὶ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολιτείας κοινωνίαν·  
 5 πλὴν τότε ἢ χρεῖα ἤπειξε τὸ τεῖχος ἀνανεώσασθαι  
 τὰ τ' ἐρείπια ἀνοικοδομησαί, πύργους τε καὶ  
 ἐπάλξεις ἐγείραι. τάχιστα οὖν φράξαντες τῷ  
 τείχει τὴν πόλιν, τὰς τε πύλας κλείσαντες,  
 πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ'  
 ἡμέραν ἰδρυμένοι τοῖς προσιούσιν ἀπεμάχοντο.  
 ἐστρατήγουν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα εἶχον διὰ  
 φροντίδος ἄνδρες δύο, ἀπὸ ὑπατείας μὲν, ἐπιλε-  
 χθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου· ὧν ὁ μὲν Κρισπίνος  
 6 ὁ δὲ Μηρόφιλος<sup>2</sup> ἐκαλεῖτο. καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς  
 προνοίας τὰ [τε]<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτήδεια πάμπλειστα εἰσεκομί-  
 σαντο, ὡς ἐκτένεια εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ἐπιμηκεστέρα  
 γένοιτο πολιορκία. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ἀφθονία

<sup>1</sup> Sylb κατερήριπτο Oi

<sup>2</sup> μηρόφιλος φῖ Menophilus P μινόφ. Jo

<sup>3</sup> del Whit following οἱ καὶ μετὰ π. προν. πάμπλειστα  
 ἐπιτήδεια conj Mendelss

<sup>1</sup> H. seems not to know of the siege of Aquileia during the Marcomannian Wars (c. 170); Amm. Marc. 29.6.1, Lucian, *Alex.* 48, though the date is much disputed, Fitz, *Hist.* 15 (1966) 339-42. But there is no reason to doubt that since that date the walls had fallen into disrepair.

fallen into ruins by then because, after the extension of the Roman empire, the cities of Italy did not need walls or weapons any more, and in place of war enjoyed complete peace and a share of Roman citizenship.<sup>1</sup> Now through necessity the Aquileians were 5 forced to repair the wall by reconstructing the ruins and erecting towers and parapets. After very rapidly fortifying the city wall, they shut the gates, and, with the entire population posted night and day on the ramparts, they fought off the attacks of the enemy. Two consulars, selected by the senate, named Crispinus<sup>2</sup> and Menophilus,<sup>3</sup> were the military commanders with overall responsibility for the whole operation. With great foresight they had imported 6 a large stock of provisions into the city to ensure a plentiful supply, even if the siege proved to be a long one; there was unlimited water, too, from the many

<sup>2</sup> Rutilius Pudens Crispinus; *Albo* 1147, Stein, *Hermes* 65 (1930) 228-34. He had served in a military and civil career under Alexander (6.5.2n), since when he had been *cos. suff.* and proconsul of Achaia; the date of the last two offices is uncertain, but must have extended into the rule of Maximinus (7.3.5n). Crispinus' election by the senate to the defence of Aquileia is confirmed by an inscription, *AE* (1929) 158, [*electus dux?*] *ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) bello Aquil(eiensi)*; he was very probably a member of the vigintivirate, though this title is not included on the inscription. After the death of M. he was appointed to serve in Spain, where a resistance to the rule of Gordian III was continued for at least a year.

<sup>3</sup> Tullius Menophilus—the name now made certain; *AE* (1962) 265, *Albo* 1071, Bersanetti, *RFIC* 72/3 (1944/5) 197, quoting earlier references. Nothing is known of his earlier career except what H. says here—that he had been *cos. suff.*; it seems probable that he was a member of the vigintivirate, and after this he took command of the important province of Moesia Inferior until 241.

φρεατιαίου· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ δρύγματα ἐν τῇ πόλει·  
ποταμός<sup>1</sup> τε παραρρεῖ<sup>2</sup> τὸ τεῖχος, ὁμοῦ παρέχων  
τε προβολὴν τάφρου καὶ χορηγίαν ὕδατος.

3. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πόλει<sup>1</sup> οὕτω παρεσκευάστο·  
τῷ δὲ Μαξιμίνῳ ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγγέλη φρουρουμένη  
καὶ κεκλεισμένη γενναίως ἡ πόλις, ἔδοξε πέμψαι  
ἐν σχήματι πρεσβείας τοὺς κάτωθεν διαλεξομέ-  
νους, εἰ ἄρα πείσαιεν αὐτοὺς ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας.  
ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ χιλιάρχος ᾧ πατὴρ μὲν ἦ  
Ἀκυλῆια ἦν, τέκνα τε καὶ γυνὴ οἰκεῖοί τε πάντες  
<sup>2</sup> ἔνδον ἀποκέκλειντο. τοῦτον οὖν ἔπεμψε σὺν  
ἐτέροις ἑκατοντάρχαις, ἐλπίσας ῥᾶστα πείσειν ὡς  
πολίτην. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι  
ἄρα κελεύει Μαξιμίνος ὁ κοινὸς βασιλεὺς ὄπλα  
μὲν αὐτοὺς καταθέσθαι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, φίλον δὲ ἀντὶ  
πολεμίου δέχεσθαι, σπονδαῖς δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ  
θυσαῖς σχολάζειν ἢ φόνους, μηδὲ περιορᾶν πατρίδα  
μέλλουσιν ἄρδην καὶ ἐκ θεμελίων ἀπόλλυσθαι,  
ἐνὸν αὐτοῖς τε σώζεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σώζειν,

<sup>1</sup> ποταμός—πόλις om A

<sup>2</sup> from P cf. 8.5.7 περιρρεῖ φῖ

<sup>1</sup> The River Natiso, up which ships could sail to the city itself; Strabo 5.1.8 (214), Pliny, *NH* 3.127, Mela 2.4.15.

<sup>2</sup> The siege of Aquileia is discussed by Calderini, *Aquileia romana* (Publ. Univ. Cattol. Sac. Cuore (5), sc. stor. 10 (1930)) 53-61. Although the defence of the city was chiefly in the hands of the citizens, they also had the service of the *iuventutes* (see 8.4.1n) and some soldiers; SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 12.2, confirmed by an interesting inscription found at Aquileia,

wells dug in the city; while the river which flows by the walls provided a defensive moat as well as a water supply.<sup>1</sup>

3. This was the state of preparation in Aquileia when Maximinus was informed that the city was securely defended and enclosed.<sup>2</sup> He therefore decided to send some of his men, under the guise of a diplomatic mission, to enter into negotiations from the foot of the walls, in an effort to persuade the citizens to open the gates. In his army he had a tribune who was a native Aquileian, with a wife, children and entire family shut up inside the city.<sup>3</sup> He was sent with an <sup>2</sup> escort of centurions in the hopes that, as a citizen, he would persuade the people without any difficulty. When the mission arrived, they announced that Maximinus, the emperor they both acknowledged, ordered them to lay down their weapons peacefully and to receive him as a friend rather than an enemy. They should be occupied, he said, in making libations and sacrifices rather than participating in bloodshed. But they were warned not to forget that their city was on the point of being totally annihilated, though it

dedicated to Pupinus and Balbinus and Gordian Caesar by two equestrian officers, *F(avius) Servilianus a mil(itibus) et F(avius) Adiutor praef(ectus) coh(ortis) Ulpiae Galatarum praeposit(i) or -us) militum agentium in protensione Aquileia* (sic), the latter perhaps retired from service with his cohort in Palestine, or in Italy on special duties; Brusin, *Scavi di Aquileia* 73-6.

<sup>3</sup> That is, a member of the senatorial or equestrian order, and therefore from one of the aristocratic families of the city; see 8.2.2n for the importance of this. A number of inscriptions record officers from Aquileia who served in the northern legions, but none can be dated to this particular period or incident; e.g. *ILS* 2403, 2638 (both centurions).

διδόντος αὐτοῖς χρηστοῦ βασιλέως ἀμνηστίαν <sup>1</sup>  
 συγγνώμην τε τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦς  
 3 αἰτίους γεγενῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἄλλους. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 πρέσβεις τοιαῦτά τινα κάτω παρεστῶτες ἐβῶν,  
 ὡς ἐξάκουστα εἶη· ὁ δὲ πλείστος δῆμος τῷ τείχει  
 καὶ τοῖς πύργοις ἐφέστωσ, πλὴν τῶν τὰ λοιπὰ  
 μέρη φρουρούντων, ἐπήκουεν ἡσυχάζων τῶν λεγο-  
 4 μένων. ὁ δὲ Κρισπίνος φοβηθεὶς μή πως ἅτε  
 ὄχλος ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἀναπεισθεῖς, εἰρήνην τε  
 ἀντὶ πολέμου ἐλόμενος, ἀνοιξή τὰς πύλας, περιθέων  
 τὸ τείχος ἐδεῖτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει μένειν τε θαρραλέως  
 καὶ ἀντέχειν γενναίως, μηδὲ προδιδόναι τὴν πρὸς  
 τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ Ῥωμαίων <sup>2</sup> δῆμον πίστιν,  
 σωτήρας δὲ καὶ προμάχους Ἰταλίας πάσης  
 ἀναγραφῆναι, μὴ πιστεύειν δὲ ὑποσχέσεσι τυράννου  
 ἐπιόρκου τε καὶ ἀπατεῶνος, μηδὲ χρηστοῖς λόγοις  
 5 πιστεῦσαι πολέμου ἀμφιβόλῳ τύχῃ· πολλάκις γὰρ  
 καὶ ὀλίγοι πλείονων περιεγέροντο, καὶ δοκοῦντες  
 ἀσθενέστεροι καθεῖλον τοὺς ἐν ὑπολήψει ἀνδρείας

<sup>1</sup> ἀουλίαν A<sup>2</sup> τὸν Ῥωμαίων A

<sup>1</sup> The Aquileians might have been in two minds with good reason, since M. seems to have been exceptionally generous to the city in the past, among other things carrying out extensive repairs of the roads all round the city to the benefit of the city's trade; on the milestones M. was called *Aquileiensium restitutor et conditor* (*ILS* 487, *AE* (1953) 31) and on one

was in their power to save themselves and their home-  
 land by accepting the offer of an amnesty and a  
 pardon for their errors from a noble emperor. In any  
 case, he said, it was not the people of Aquileia who  
 were guilty, but others. As the emissaries stood at 3  
 the foot of the walls, shouting up these terms for all  
 to hear, most of the people (apart from those on other  
 guard duties) were on the walls and towers listening  
 in silence. Crispinus was afraid that perhaps, being 4  
 common people, they would be taken in by these  
 promises and open up the gates because they preferred  
 peace to war.<sup>1</sup> So he dashed round the ram-  
 parts, begging them again and again to stay firm,  
 keep up their fine resistance and not betray their  
 loyalty to the senate and Roman people. "In-  
 stead," he urged them, "earn yourselves the title  
 of saviours and defenders of all Italy. Do not  
 believe the promises of a tyrant who breaks his  
 word and deceives people. Do not be enticed by  
 fine words into surrendering yourselves to certain  
 destruction when you can rely upon even chances in  
 war. Numerically smaller sides often defeat bigger 5  
 armies; supposedly weaker sides frequently over-  
 throw those with a reputation for greater bravery.<sup>2</sup>

(nameless) he is said to have made other benefactions—*inter plurima indulgentiar(um) suar(um) in Aquileiens(es) providentissim(us) princeps*, *ILS* 5860. Therefore M. could have expected his offer of an amnesty to be accepted, and was all the more angry when it was rejected (8.4.1). Calderini, *Aquileia rom.* 59 f., assumes all this repair work was done by M.'s troops (*tirones*) during the siege for propaganda purposes—surely impossible in the short time.

<sup>2</sup> A universal commonplace; cf. Thuc. 5.102, Sall. *Cat.* 7.7, *Jug.* 67.2, Livy 21.43, etc.



μείζονος· μηδ' ἐκπλήττεσθαι τῷ πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ. “οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μαχόμενοι καὶ τῆς παρ' ἐτέρῳ<sup>1</sup> ἐσομένης εὐδαιμονίας, εἴπερ γένοιτο, μετριάζουσιν ἐν τῷ προθύμῳ τῆς μάχης, εἰδότες ὡς τῶν μὲν κινδύνων αὐτοὶ μεθέξουσι, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κορυφαῖα τῆς νίκης ἄλλος καρπώσεται· τοῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς<sup>2</sup> πατρίδος μαχομένοις καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίδες κρείττους, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τὰ ἄλλων λαβεῖν ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτῶν σώζειν εὐχονται. τό τε ἐς τὰς μάχας πρόθυμον οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλου κελεύσεως ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκείας ἀνάγκης ἔχουσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς νίκης πᾶς ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῖς περιγίνεται.”  
 7 τοιαῦτά τινά λέγων ὁ Κρισπίνος καὶ πρὸς ἐκάστους καὶ<sup>3</sup> κωμῆ, φύσει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως αἰδέσιμος ὢν, ἔν τε τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ εὐπρόσφορος<sup>4</sup> ἐν λόγοις, ἐπιεικῶς τε αὐτῶν προεστῶς, ἔπεισε μένειν ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις, τοὺς τε πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ τῇ ἐνστάσει τοῦ πολέμου ἐμμεμενηκέναι πολλῶν ἔνδον<sup>5</sup> ὄντων περὶ θητικήν τε καὶ ἡπατοσκοπίαν ἐμπεύρων, τὰ τε ἱερὰ αἴσια ἀπαγγελλόντων· μάλιστα γὰρ τῇ  
 8 σκέψει ταύτῃ πιστεύουσιν Ἰταλιῶται. καὶ χρησμοὶ δέ τινες <δι>εδίδοντο<sup>6</sup> ὡς δὴ τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ νίκην ὑπισχνουμένου· Βέλεν δὲ καλοῦσι τοῦτον,

<sup>1</sup> ἐτέρων Val<sup>3</sup> om fgl<sup>2</sup> om Agl<sup>4</sup> εὐπροφ. A

So do not be disconcerted by the size of their army. Those who are fighting for the benefit of another person, and have to depend on him for any future happiness that might occur, are only moderately enthusiastic for a fight, because they know that, though they will have their share of the danger, someone else will reap the greatest benefits from the victory. Those 6 who are fighting for their own land<sup>1</sup> can expect more from the gods, because they are asking not to appropriate others' property but to save their own. Their motivation to fight is not someone else's order, but their own essential interest, since the entire fruits of victory will be for them." Crispinus, who was a 7 man that won respect naturally, was a fluent Latin orator<sup>2</sup> and a fair commander to them. His speech to individuals and to the general gathering persuaded the Aquileians to stick to their resolution, and the emissaries were told to go away empty-handed. It is reported that Crispinus persevered in prosecuting the war because there were a lot of people inside the city who were experts in the art of reading omens and entrails, and who announced that the signs were auspicious. The Italians place particular faith in this kind of divination. There were also some oracles 8 spread around to the effect that the local god was promising the Aquileians victory. The god, whose

<sup>1</sup> The antithesis between patriots and mercenaries is another favourite rhetorical scheme. One has to remember that not only does H. write his speeches in rhetorical clichés but the speeches themselves were delivered in clichés.

<sup>2</sup> A curious remark to make about a senator of Italian birth; *Albo* 1147.

<sup>5</sup> om OP<sup>6</sup> Hercher *Hermes* 12 (1877) 150

σέβουσί τε ὑπερφύως, Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι ἐθέλοντες. οὐδὲ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἔλεγόν τινες τῶν Μαξιμίνου στρατιωτῶν φανῆναι πολλάκις ἐν ἀέρι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μαχομένην. ὅπερ εἴτε ἀληθῶς ἐφαντάσθη τισίν, ἢ καὶ βουλομένοις μὴ ἀσχημονεῖν τοσοῦτον στρατὸν πρὸς ὄχλον δημοτῶν πολὺ ἐλάττονα μὴ ἀντισχόντα, δοκεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων νενικῆσθαι, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω· τὸ δὲ παράδοξον τῆς ἀποβάσεως ποιεῖ πάντα πιστεῦσαι.

4. πλὴν τῶν πρέσβειων ἀπράκτων πρὸς Μαξιμίνον ἐπανελθόντων, ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ χρώμενος πλείονι μᾶλλον ἠπειγέτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο πρὸς τινι ποταμῷ μεγίστῳ, ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως σημεῖα ἑκκαίδεκα,<sup>1</sup> τὸ ρεῖθρον εὗρε διὰ τε μεγίστου βάθους καὶ πλάτους φερόμενον· τῶν γὰρ ὑπερκει-

<sup>1</sup> *duodecim* P

<sup>1</sup> Belinus or Belenus; a large number of inscriptions from Aquileia testify to the god's popularity and his identification with Apollo; *CIL* V. 732-55, 8212, etc., *ILS* 4867-74. Probably a Celtic deity, since he was worshipped widely in Noricum and Gaul; cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Rom.* (2) 297; according to SHA, *Mar.* 22.1, Menophilus used the oracles of the god to prevent the citizens of Aquileia from capitulating. The inscriptions are collected by Calderini, *Aquileia rom.* 95 ff., who also quotes (p. 61) two inscriptions to *Belenus defensor* and *Nemesis*, which he attributes to the divine aid the city is supposed to have received in 238, though there is nothing to prove such a date.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2.9.3 for H.'s scepticism about oracles and portents. Here he adopts the paradoxical attitude that the incident is

worship is extremely popular, is called Beles<sup>1</sup> and identified with Apollo. Some of Maximinus' soldiers said that his image appeared frequently in the sky fighting for the city. I am not sure whether the god<sup>9</sup> really appeared to some of the men or whether it was their imagination. They were anxious to avoid the disgrace of being unable to resist a crowd of townfolk that was numerically smaller, and wanted it to appear that they had been defeated by gods and not men. The unusualness of the incident makes anything credible.<sup>2</sup>

4. When the emissaries returned to Maximinus after their unsuccessful mission, he became more passionately angry and pressed on faster.<sup>3</sup> But when he arrived at a river sixteen miles distant from the city, he found the current deep and broad;<sup>4</sup> the 2

too incredible not to be believed, somewhat like the principle of *difficilior lectio*.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to indicate that, although the advance guard of Pannonian troops had left Emona immediately (8.1.5), M. and the rest of the army had remained in Emona until news of Italian reaction was received.

<sup>4</sup> The River Sontius (modern Isonzo); the bridge, where the town of Gorizia now stands is frequently mentioned by ancient writers. The road from Aquileia to this bridge, the *via Gemina*, was one of those repaired by M.'s orders by the recruits of the *iuventus*; *ILS* 487, *AE* (1953) 31, *viam quoque Geminam a porta usque ad pontem per tirones iuvent(utis) noxae Italicae suae dilectus posterior(is), longi temporis labe corruptam, munivit ac restituit*; this means that M. had used and perhaps tried to reorganize the *iuventutes* of Italy, gearing them to the same military purposes served by the *iuventutes* of the provinces; part of the resistance to M. in Italy and Aquileia may therefore be due to an aristocratic reaction against the loss of control and militarization (hard labour) of these traditionally equestrian strongholds; cf. 7.4.3n.

μένων ὀρών τὰς δι' ὄλου τοῦ χειμῶνος παγείσας χιόνας λύουσα ἢ τοῦ ἔτους ὥρα παμμεγέθη τὸν χειμάρρου ἐιργάζετο. ἄπορος οὖν ἦν ἢ <sup>1</sup> διάβασις τῷ στρατῷ· τὴν γὰρ γέφυραν, ἔργον μέγα καὶ κάλλιστον ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων γεγενημένον ἐκ τετραπέδων λίθων, στυλίσαι <sup>2</sup> κατ' ὀλίγον αὐξανομέναις <sup>3</sup> ὑπειλημμένον, διηρήκεσαν καὶ καταλέλυκεσαν οἱ Ἀκυλλήσιοι. οὔτε οὖν γεφύρας οὔσης οὔτε νεῶν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν ἀφασίᾳ καθειστήκει.

<sup>3</sup> Γερμανοὶ δέ τινας οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν <sup>4</sup> ποταμῶν τὰ σφοδρὰ καὶ καταρρηγνύμενα ρεύματα, οἰόμενοι δὲ σχολαίτερα ἐπινήχουσαι τοῖς <sup>5</sup> πεδίοις ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῖς (διὸ καὶ πῆγνυται ῥαδίως, μὴ σφοδρῶς κινουμένου τοῦ ρεύματος), ἐπισπηδήσαντες ἅμα τοῖς ἵπποις διανήχουσαι <sup>5</sup> εἰθισμένοι, παρενεχθέντες ἀπώλοντο.

<sup>4</sup> δύο μὲν οὖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν σκηνοποιησάμενος ὁ Μαξιμίνος, τάφρου τῷ στρατῷ <sup>6</sup> περιβληθείσης μὴ τινας ἐπέλλοιεν, ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν <sup>7</sup> ὄχθῃ, σκεψόμενος <sup>8</sup> ὅπως τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρώσῃ. <sup>9</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ ξύλων ἦν ἀπορία καὶ νεῶν, ἄς ἔδει ζευχθείσας <sup>9</sup> γεφυρῶσαι τὸ ρεῖθρον, ὑπέβαλόν <sup>10</sup> τινας τῶν τεχνιτῶν πολλὰ εἶναι κενὰ οἰνοφόρα σκεύη

<sup>1</sup> om φgl

<sup>2</sup> Gedike *pilis* P πολίσαι φi A<sup>1</sup> (in mg) πλωσι A

<sup>3</sup> -οις O

<sup>4</sup> ἰταλιωτικῶν gl

<sup>5</sup> τοῖς—διανήχουσαι om A

<sup>6</sup> στρατοπέδω conj Mendelss

<sup>7</sup> αὐτῶν Va αὐτῶν B

<sup>8</sup> from P (*deliberatundus*) σκεψάμενος Oi

<sup>9</sup> γεφυρώση—ζευχ. om φ

<sup>10</sup> Steph ἐπέβαλόν φi ἐπέβαλλοντό A

season of the year was melting the accumulated frozen snow of winter in the mountains overshadowing the city and turning it into a rushing torrent.<sup>1</sup> There was no way for the army to cross, because the Aquileians had dismantled and broken down the bridge—a very large beautiful structure which had been built by earlier emperors out of rectangular blocks of stone and supported on gradually tapering piers. Without a bridge or boats the army was faced with a problem. Some Germans were unfamiliar with the <sup>3</sup> swift, rushing currents of Italian rivers, which they thought flowed gently into the plain, as in their own country (it is this slow moving current, incidentally, that causes the rivers to freeze so easily). These men plunged into the river with their horses, which were used to swimming, but were swept away and lost.

Maximinus pitched camp and dug a ditch around <sup>4</sup> his force to prevent attacks. Then he paused for two or three days on his own bank to decide how to bridge the river. There was a shortage of timber, and ships would be needed to be joined together to bridge the torrent. Some of the engineers, however, made the suggestion to Maximinus that there were a lot of empty, rounded, wooden wine-barrels in the

<sup>1</sup> The melting of the winter snow confirms that the date of M.'s approach to Aquileia was about late April, and that the general chronological framework of the events must be earlier than most of the dates in the SHA *vitae*; cf. 7.5.7n. If M. had not reached Emona by 10th April (8.1.5n), he could not have been at Aquileia, allowing for the delay at the river and bad supply lines (7.8.10n), before about 20th April. This gave about three weeks for the senate to organize the resistance of the city, though Pupienus was still at Ravenna collecting forces when the siege was over (8.6.5).

περιφεροῦς ξύλου ἐν τοῖς ἐρήμοις ἀγροῖς, οἳς ἐχρῶντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐς ὑπηρεσίαν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς <sup>1</sup> παραπέμπειν τὸν οἶνον ἀσφαλῶς τοῖς δεομένοις· ἄπερ ὄντα κοῖλα δίκην νεῶν, ἀλλήλοις συνδεθέντα ἐπινήξεσθαι μὲν ἔμελλεν ὡσπερ σκάφη, μὴ παρενεχθήσεσθαι δὲ διὰ τε τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ ἐπάλληλον, φρυγάνων τε ἄνωθεν ἐπιβληθέντων, χοῦ <sup>2</sup> τε τῆς γῆς μετρίως ἐς αὐτὰ σωρευθέντος <sup>5</sup> χειρὶ πολλῇ καὶ σπουδῇ. ἐφεστῶτος οὖν αὐτοῦ διαβάς ὁ στρατὸς <sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει. τὰ μὲν <sup>3</sup> οἰκοδομήματα τῶν προστείων ἔρημα εὕρισκον, <sup>4</sup> ἀμπέλους μέντοι <sup>5</sup> καὶ δένδρα πάντα ἐξέκοπτον, <sup>6</sup> ἃ δὲ ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τὴν πρότερον τοῖς χωριοῖς ὑπάρχουσαν ὠραν κατήσχυνον. δένδρων γὰρ στοίχοις ἴσοις ἀμπέλων τε πρὸς ἀλλήλας δέσει <sup>7</sup> πανταχόθεν ἠρτημένων <sup>8</sup> ἐν ἑορτῆς σχήματι, στεφάνω <sup>9</sup> ἂν τις τὴν χώραν κεκοσμηθῆσαι ἐτεκμήρατο· ἄπερ πάντα ῥιζόθεν ἐκκόψας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὰ <sup>6</sup> τεῖχος ἠπέιγετο. κεκμηκότι δὲ αὐτῷ προσβαλεῖν εὐθέως οὐκ ἔδοξε· μέιναντες δὲ ἕξω τοξεύματος καὶ διαιρεθέντες κατὰ λόχους καὶ φάλαγγας περὶ πᾶν τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἐκάστοις κατὰ μέρος προστέτακτο, μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀναπαυσάμενοι, τοῦ λοιποῦ εἶχοντο τῆς πολιορκίας.

μηχανὰς τε οὖν παντοίας προσέφερον, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Irmisch καὶ Oi καὶ <εἰς τὸ> etc. conj Steph Reisk

<sup>2</sup> χοῦ—στρατὸς corrupt Mendelss

<sup>3</sup> μὲν <οὖν> conj Mendelss μέντοι? Whit

<sup>4</sup> εὕρισκων A <sup>5</sup> μὲν A <sup>6</sup> ἐξέκοπτεν V

<sup>7</sup> Steph δέσεις Oi <sup>8</sup> ἠρτυμένων φα ἠρτημένας A

<sup>9</sup> probably I Wolf στεφάνων φαg -οις A

deserted fields, which had previously been used by the local inhabitants for their own needs in transporting wine safely to the customer.<sup>1</sup> These barrels were rounded and hollow like vessels and, if tied together, were likely to float like ships. They would not be swept away, because they would be linked to each other after brushwood had been laid on top of them and soil piled up evenly on top of that by many willing helpers. Under Maximinus' supervision the <sup>5</sup> army got across and marched against the city of Aquileia. They found the houses in the outlying districts deserted, but they cut down and burned all the vines and trees, wrecking the natural beauty that once belonged to the countryside. The even rows of trees and the vines,<sup>2</sup> all linked and joined together, as in a festival procession, adorned the country like a crown, one might say. But all this was uprooted and cut down as the army advanced towards the city walls. It was decided that in their state of exhaus- <sup>6</sup> tion the army should not make an immediate assault; so they stayed out of bowshot range, and in their various sections and legionary divisions encircled the fortification, in the sector allocated to each. Then, after one day's rest they put the city under continuous siege.

After bringing up the complete range of siege

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 8.2.3n. Strabo says the barrels were larger than houses!

<sup>2</sup> Athen. *Deipn.* 3.82 C says that Aquileia was famous for apples; its olives were exported throughout the Danube basin; Strabo 5.1.8(214). The vines were grown in among the rows of trees, which then served as props for the tendrils.

τειχομαχοῦντες παντὶ σθένει οὐδὲν παρέλειπον  
 7 εἶδος πολιορκίας. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκάστης  
 ἡμέρας γινομένων<sup>1</sup> προσβολῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ  
 στρατοῦ ὡσπερ σαγηνεύσαντος<sup>2</sup> τὴν πόλιν, μετὰ  
 πολλῆς βίας καὶ προθύμου μάχης τειχομαχοῦντες  
 ἀντεῖχον οἱ Ἀκυλῆσιοι, νεῶς μὲν καὶ οἰκίας  
 ἀποκλείσαντες, πανδημεὶ δὲ ἅμα παισὶ καὶ  
 γυναιξὶν ἄνωθεν ἐξ<sup>3</sup> ἐπάλεξόν τε καὶ πύργων  
 ἀπομαχόμενοι. οὐδέ τις οὕτως<sup>4</sup> ἦν ἄχρηστος  
 8 μάχης. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρόσεται, καὶ εἰ τῶν  
 πυλῶν ἔξωθεν ἦν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου στρατοῦ  
 κατέστραπτο, τῇ τε ξυλείᾳ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων  
 ἐς τὰς μηχανὰς κατεκέρηντο. ἐβιάζοντο δὲ τοῦ  
 τείχους κἂν μέρος τι καθελεῖν, ἵν' ἐπισελθῶν ὁ  
 στρατὸς πάντα τε διαρπάσῃ καὶ κατασκάψῃ τὴν  
 πόλιν μηλόβοτον καὶ<sup>5</sup> ἔρημον τὴν χώραν κατα-  
 λίπῃ.<sup>6</sup> οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως<sup>7</sup> αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην  
 ὁδὸν εὐπρεπῆ καὶ ἔνδοξον ἔσσεσθαι, μὴ τῆς πρώτης  
 ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεως ἀντιστάσης καθαιρεθείσης.  
 9 ὑποσχέσεσσι τε οὖν δωρεῶν καὶ δεήσεων αὐτὸς τε  
 καὶ ὁ υἱὸς<sup>8</sup> αὐτοῦ, ὃν πεποιήκει Καίσαρα, περι-

<sup>1</sup> Bekk<sup>2</sup> γενομένων<sup>2</sup> σαγηνεύοντος Jo<sup>3</sup> om ABi<sup>4</sup> οὕτως φ<sup>5</sup> μηλόβ. καὶ φὶ καὶ πολιορκήσας A<sup>6</sup> καταλείπη φα<sup>7</sup> ἄλλως B ὄλως V<sup>8</sup> παῖς AJo

<sup>1</sup> The same simile is used by H. five times (2.13.5, 4.9.6, 4.15.4, 6.5.9).

<sup>2</sup> Conventional terms to describe total annihilation; Isoc. *Plataic*. 31 (302C), Appian *BC* 1.24 (Carthage) and perhaps the famous passage of Tac. *Agric*. 30.

<sup>3</sup> C. Julius Verus Maximinus; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 620. The name Maximinus is incorrectly given in the *SHA vitae* and Victor,

engines, they assaulted the fortifications in full strength, leaving no aspect of siege warfare untried. Practically every day there was a number of attacks<sup>7</sup> launched, and the entire army kept the city encircled in a tight net.<sup>1</sup> But the people of Aquileia fought back vigorously and enthusiastically from the walls; temples and houses were shut, and the entire population, including women and children, joined in the resistance from the battlements and turrets up on the wall. No one was too young or old to play a useful part in the defence of his country. Outlying districts and parts of the city outside the 8 walls had been levelled by Maximinus' army and timber taken from buildings was used for the siege engines. A strenuous attempt was made to break down at least a section of the wall so that the army could get inside and plunder the whole place. Then, when they had devastated the city, they would turn the whole region into deserted grazing land.<sup>2</sup> For if they did not demolish this, the first city in Italy to oppose them, they could not decently make their triumphant march on Rome. So Maximinus and 9 his son (whom he had made Caesar)<sup>3</sup> rode round the

*Caes.* 25.2. He was made Caesar officially in 236 (7.1.3n), though it seems possible that this was the date of senatorial confirmation of the title that had been given in 235 when M. won his second imperial salutation (7.2.9n). There is one instance of the title of Augustus for him alone on a bronze coin of Amisus (almost certainly incorrect; Babelon-Reinach, *Monnaies grec. d'Asie* 1.92, no. 130d), though he is frequently, according to current, occasional practice, called Augustus together with his father—which does not mean he had received the title; *BMC* VI. 95, 242, nos. 229-31, *ILS* 490; the same applied to the title of *imperator*, though he did receive the other honorifics of his father.

θέοντες ἵπποις ἐποχοῦμενοι, τὸν στρατὸν ἀνέπειθον  
 λιπαροῦντες ἐς προθυμίαν τε ἐγείροντες. οἱ δὲ  
 Ἀκυλῆσιοι λίθους τε ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν, καὶ κινρῶντες  
 θείῳ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πίσσαν ἔλαιόν τε,<sup>1</sup> κοίλοις  
 σκεύεσιν ἐμβαλόντες λαβὰς ἐπιμήκεις ἔχουσι καὶ  
 πυρώσαντες, ἅμα τῷ προσπελάζειν τοῖς τείχεσι  
 τὸν στρατὸν κατεσκεδάnuσαν, καταχέοντες ὄμβρου  
 10 δίκην ὀμοθυμαδόν. φερομένη δὲ ἡ πίσσα σὺν οἷς  
 προείρηται, δυομένη τε διὰ τῶν γεγυμνωμένων  
 μερῶν τοῦ σώματος, ἐς πᾶν ἐχείτο, ὥστε τοὺς  
 θώρακας αὐτοὺς πεπυρωμένους ἀπορρίπτειν καὶ  
 τὰ λοιπὰ ὄπλα, ὧν ὁ σίδηρος ἐθερμαίνεται, τά τε  
 ἐκ βурсῶν τε καὶ ξύλων ἐφλέγετο καὶ συνείλκετο.  
 ἦν γοῦν ἰδεῖν γεγυμνωμένους<sup>2</sup> τοὺς στρατιώτας  
 αὐτοὺς ὑφ'<sup>3</sup> ἑαυτῶν, καὶ σκύλων ὄψιν ὄπλα  
 παρεῖχεν ἐρριμμένα, σοφία τέχνης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνδρεία  
 11 μάχης περιηρημένα. ἔκ τε τοῦ τοιοῦτου πάμ-  
 πλειστον πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ τάς τε ὄψεις<sup>4</sup>  
 ἐπηρεῶντο<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἠκρωτηριάζετο,  
 τὰς χεῖρας<sup>4</sup> καὶ εἴ τι γυμνὸν ἦν τοῦ σώματος.  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς προσαγομέναις δᾶδας  
 ἐπέβαλλον<sup>6</sup> ὁμοίως πίσση καὶ ῥήτινῃ<sup>7</sup> δεδευμένας  
 ἐπὶ τε τῷ ἄκρῳ βελῶν ἀκίδας ἐχούσας· αἱ  
 ἀναφθεῖσαι φερόμεναι, ἐμπαγεῖσαι ταῖς μηχαναῖς  
 καὶ προσπεφυκυῖαι ῥαδίως αὐτὰς κατέφλεγον.

army on horseback making promises of rewards and  
 issuing appeals, trying constantly to encourage the  
 soldiers and keep up their enthusiasm. The Aquil-  
 eians fired down rocks from the walls and prepared  
 a concoction of pitch and oil mixed with sulphur and  
 bitumen, which they poured into empty jars with  
 long handles. As soon as the army approached the  
 walls, they set fire to the mixture and poured it out,  
 showering it all together like rain on the besiegers.  
 The pitch mixed with the other ingredients (see 10  
 above), when poured out, penetrated through the  
 exposed parts of the body and spread all over the  
 person. Men tore off their burning breast-plates and  
 other armour because the metal was getting red-hot,  
 and the leather and wooden parts were burning and  
 shrinking. And so one had the spectacle of soldiers  
 who had actually stripped themselves, and of weapons  
 that had been abandoned, looking like spoils of war—  
 all this achieved not by military prowess, but by  
 scientific skill. As a result of this incident a great 11  
 number of soldiers lost their eyesight; or their  
 faces and hands and any other exposed parts of  
 their bodies were disfigured. The townsfolk also fired  
 down torches soaked in pitch and resin, which were  
 tipped with arrow heads, against the siege machines  
 being brought up to the walls. After being lighted,  
 these arrows were fired off and embedded themselves  
 fast in the machines, thereby sending them up in  
 flames without any difficulty.

<sup>1</sup> Gedike Stroth πίτταν ἐλόντες Οἱ καὶ πίσση καὶ ἐλαίῳ Jo

<sup>2</sup> old correction Mendelss γυμνωμένους φα γυμνουμένους Agl

<sup>3</sup> ἐφ' a followed by ἑαυτοῖς A

<sup>4</sup> ὄψεις—τὰς χεῖρας om A corrupt passage cf. ὥστε . . .  
 διαφθεῖσθαι τὰ τε πρόσωπα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀκρωτηριζομένων  
 (sic) Jo <sup>5</sup> ἐπηρεῶτο Steph <sup>6</sup> ἐπέβαλον φgl <sup>7</sup> ῥήτινῃ φi

5. τῶν μὲν οὖν πρώτων ἡμερῶν ἀντίπαλός πως καὶ ἰδόροπος ἔμενεν ἢ τύχη τῆς μάχης· χρόνου δὲ ἐγγενομένου<sup>1</sup> ὃ τε στρατὸς τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ὀκνηρὸς ἐγένετο,<sup>2</sup> καὶ πταίων τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀθύμους διεκείτο· οὐς γὰρ ἠλπίκεσαν μηδεμίαν ὑπομενεῖν προσβολήν, τούτους εὔρισκον οὐκ ἀντέχοντας<sup>3</sup> μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθεστῶτας. οἱ δὲ Ἄκυλησιοι ἐπερρώννυτό τε καὶ προθυμίας πάσης ἐνεπίμπλαντο, τῇ τε συνεχείᾳ τῆς μάχης πείραν καὶ θάρσος ὁμοῦ προσλαμβάνοντες κατεφρόνου τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἀποσκώπτειν ἐς αὐτούς, ἐνυβρίζειν τε τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ περιουσοῦντι, ἔς τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπορρίπτειν δυσφήμους καὶ αἰσχρὰς βλασφημίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκείνος κε-<sup>3</sup>νούμενος ὀργῆς μᾶλλον ἐνεπίμπλατο. χρῆσθαι δὲ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὐ δυνάμενος, ἐκόλαζε τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἡγουμένων τῶν ἰδίων στρατιωτῶν<sup>3</sup> ὡς ἀνάνδρως καὶ ῥαθύμως προσφερομένου τῇ τειχομαχίᾳ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ περιεγένετο πρὸς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων μίσός τε καὶ ὀργή, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων πλείων ἢ καταφρόνησις.

συνέβαινε δὲ τοῖς Ἄκυλησίοις πάντα ὑπάρχειν ἔκπλα καὶ ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν, ἐκ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν πάντων σεσωρευμένων ὅσα ἦν ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήνεσιν ἐς τροφὰς καὶ ποτὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς πάντων <ἦν><sup>4</sup> ἐν σπάνει, τῶν τε καρποφόρων δένδρων ἐκκεκομ-<sup>4</sup>μένα καὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδωγμένης. μέ-

5. For the first few days each side had a fairly evenly divided share of the luck of the battle. But, as time went on, Maximinus' army became apathetic and dejected because its hopes were disappointed. The people whom they had not expected to stand up to a single attack were now found to be not only holding out but even fighting back. By contrast, the<sup>2</sup> inhabitants of Aquileia were growing stronger and becoming full of enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup> They were gaining experience and confidence from the continuous fighting, and began to become contemptuous of the army, shouting jibes at them and making fun of Maximinus as he rode around, by calling out terrible, foul insults against him and his son. Being devoid of all resources, Maximinus grew more and more angry, but could do nothing against the enemy. So he punished a great number of commanders on<sup>3</sup> his own side for cowardly lack of effort in their conduct of the siege. The result was that hatred and anger began to grow among his own soldiers and his enemies grew still more contemptuous.

It turned out that the people of Aquileia had no shortage of anything, but were well supplied because of their careful preparation in building up stocks in the city of all the provisions needed to feed and water men and beasts. The army, on the other hand, was suffering from a shortage of everything because the fruit trees had been cut down and the countryside devastated by themselves. Some of them were<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On three occasions the *SHA vitae* repeat the colourful but conventional story that the women of Aquileia supplied their hair as bow strings, a tale that derived from Dexippus; *Max. et Balb.* 16.5; cf. *ibid.* 11.3, *Max.* 33.1.

<sup>1</sup> Mendelss ἐγγινομένου Οἱ γενομένου Jo

<sup>2</sup> ἐγένετο φJo

<sup>3</sup> στρατῶν

<sup>4</sup> Wolf ὑπῆρχεν Jo

νοντες δὲ ὑπὸ σκηναῖς αὐτοσχεδίοις, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ὑπὸ γυμῶ τῷ ἀέρι, ὄμβρων τε καὶ ἡλίου ἠνείχοντο, λιμῶ τε διεφθείροντο, μηδὲ ἐπεισάκτου τροφῆς αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ὑποζυγίοις εἰσκομιζομένης. πανταχόθεν γὰρ τὰς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὺς παραφράξαντες ἦσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τειχιῶν τε ἐγέρσεσι καὶ πυλίδων ἀσκήσεσιν. ἀνδρας τε ὑπατευκότας ἐξέπεμψεν ἢ σύγκλητος σὺν ἐπιλέκτοις καὶ λογάσιν ἀπ' Ἰταλίας πάσης ἀνδράσιν, ἕν' αἰγιαλοὶ τε πάντες καὶ λιμένες φρουρῶνται καὶ μηδενὶ ἑκπλους συγχωρῆται, ὡς ἄπυστα<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἄγνωστα εἶναι Μαξιμίνῳ τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρατόμενα· αἱ τε λεωφόροι ὁδοὶ καὶ ἀτραποὶ πᾶσαι ἐφυλάττοντο ὡς μηδένα διαβαίνειν. συνέβαινε δὲ<sup>3</sup> τὸν στρατὸν δοκοῦντα πολιορκεῖν αὐτὸν πολιορκεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ μήτε τὴν Ἀκυληῖαν εἰλεῖν ἐδύνατο, μήτε ἀποστάς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην χωρῆσαι διὰ τε νηῶν καὶ ὀχημάτων ἀπορίαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ προκατεῖληπτο<sup>4</sup> καὶ συνεκέκλειστο. φῆμαι δὲ μείζους ἐξ ὑποψίας<sup>5</sup> ἀληθείας <δι>εδίδοντο,<sup>6</sup> ὅτι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὄπλοις εἴη, Ἰταλία τε πᾶσα συμπεπνευκοί, πάντα τε<sup>6</sup> ἔθνη Ἰλλυρικὰ καὶ βάρβαρα τὰ

under improvised shelters, but the majority were out in the open air, enduring the rigours of rain and sun, and dying of hunger because of the breakdown in supplies of even the imported food for themselves and the pack animals. The Romans had blockaded roads all over Italy by constructing barriers and operating gate controls. The senate sent ex-consuls<sup>5</sup> accompanied by selected men of distinction<sup>1</sup> from all over Italy, to ensure a guard over the coast and the ports and allow no one to sail out.<sup>2</sup> Maximinus was therefore without news or information of developments in Rome. All public highways and footpaths were guarded to prevent anyone passing through. Thus, the army supposedly mounting a siege was actually being besieged,<sup>3</sup> since it could not capture Aquileia, and yet could not leave and make for Rome without any ships or wagons. All of them had been previously commandeered and blocked. Exaggerated<sup>6</sup> rumours were spread, because there was a hint of truth, when it was said that the entire Roman people were up in arms and had been joined by the whole of

allocated sectors of Italy (7.12.1n); but SHA, *Max.* 23.3, says that the emissaries were *praetorios et quaestorios*, which follows what H. says here.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the *vigintiviri* were Italian and exercised patronage among the Italian communities; e.g. Rufinianus had been *curator* of the port of Puteoli sometime earlier (c. 228), *ILLS* 1186; Crispinus had estates at Ostia (*CIL* XV. 2192), and Pupienus himself was holding the naval base of Ravenna (8.6.5).

<sup>3</sup> A rhetorical commonplace; Thuc. 4.29.2, 7.11.4, Florus 4.2.27, etc. (see Irmisch, *Herod. hist. ad loc.*); although frequently quoted to prove H.'s imitation of Thucydides, Stein, *Dexip. et Herod.* 139, rightly says, *magis exercitationes rhetorum olent quam Thucydidis imitationem*.

<sup>1</sup> μηδὲν φ μηδεις A

<sup>2</sup> ἄπυστα O

<sup>3</sup> δὲ καὶ Jo δὴ P (ita)

<sup>4</sup> ἐξ ὑποψίας μείζους Leisn Stav

<sup>5</sup> Sylb ἐδίδοντο Oi

<sup>6</sup> old correction Mendelss πάντα τὰ φὶ καὶ πάντα τὰ A

<sup>1</sup> Some of the delegates were perhaps members of the vigintivirate (7.10.3n), who, according to the SHA, had been 280



τε ὑπ' ἀνατολαῖς καὶ μεσημβρίαις στρατὸν ἀγείρει,<sup>1</sup>  
 μιᾷ τε γνώμῃ καὶ ψυχῇ ὁμοίως Μαξιμίνος  
 μεμίσηται. ὅθεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει ἦσαν καὶ πάντων  
 σπάνει οἱ στρατιῶται, σχεδὸν καὶ ὕδατος αὐτοῦ.  
 7 ὁ γὰρ ἦν μόνον ἐκ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ  
 ποτόν, αἵματι καὶ φόνους μεμιασμένον ἐπινετο· οἷ  
 τε γὰρ Ἀκυλήσιοι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τελευτῶντας  
 οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅπως θάψωσιν, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν  
 ἀπερρίπτουν, οἷ τε ἐν τῷ στρατῷ φονευόμενοι ἢ  
 διαφθειρόμενοι νόσῳ ἐδίδοντο τῷ ρεύματι, οὐκ  
 ἐχόντων αὐτῶν τὰ πρὸς ταφὰς<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτήδεια.  
 8 παντοδαπῆς οὖν ἀπορίας καὶ δυσθυμίας τὸν  
 στρατὸν κατεχούσης, αἰφνιδίως ἀναπανομένου τοῦ  
 Μαξιμίνου ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης  
 ἐν ἀνέσει τοῦ πολέμου οὔσης, τῶν τε πλείστων εἰς  
 τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα τῆς φρουρᾶς  
 χωρία ἀνακεχωρηκότων, ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις  
 οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει στρατόπεδον εἶχον  
 ὑπὸ τὸ καλούμενον ὄρος Ἀλβανόν, ἔνθα παῖδας  
 καὶ γυναικας καταλελοίπεσαν, φονεῦσαι τὸν Μα-

Italy. Or, that the Illyrians<sup>1</sup> and the barbarian  
 nations in the East and South were raising an army.  
 Everyone, it was said, was animated by a single  
 thought—their hatred of Maximinus. As a result of  
 Roman action the soldiers were in a desperate posi-  
 tion, short of everything. They were practically  
 running out of water even, since their only supply of 7  
 drinking water, which came from the nearby river,  
 was being used while contaminated with blood and  
 dead bodies. The Aquileians were throwing those  
 who had died inside the city out into the river,  
 because they had no way of burying them. Members  
 of the army that were killed or died from sickness  
 were thrown into the river, too, because the troops  
 lacked the wherewithal for funerals.

These were the prevailing conditions of extreme 8  
 privation and low morale, when a sudden change  
 occurred. Maximinus was resting in his quarters,  
 and there was a break in the fighting that day. Most  
 of the soldiers, too, had retired to their shelters or to  
 the guard post allotted to their charge. Suddenly  
 the soldiers from the camp on Mount Alba near  
 Rome<sup>2</sup> (where they had left behind wives and chil-  
 dren)<sup>3</sup> decided to murder Maximinus, so that they

marry during their service was the pressures that could be  
 brought upon them by their wives and families (3.8.5n); Durry  
 alleges that praetorians did not share this privilege of legal  
*conubium*, but offers no dated evidence, and in any case co-  
 habitation was widespread; *Cohortes prēt.* 294 ff. In this  
 case, concerning the Parthian legion, one cannot doubt that  
 the families of the soldiers had been under pressure from the  
 recent rioting and anti-Maximinus feeling in Rome; cf.  
 Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 364n, for other examples of a  
 similar kind; cf. 7.3.6n.

<sup>1</sup> ἀγείροι a1

<sup>2</sup> g<sup>2</sup> (in mg) τροφὰς φῖ ταφὴν A *inopia ciborum confecti* P

<sup>1</sup> Note the senatorial delegate sent to Viminacium to  
 persuade the troops of Moesia Inferior to desert M., 7.12.1n.

<sup>2</sup> The legio II Parthica. Evidence of the legion at Aquileia  
 is provided by a soldier who died and is commemorated on an  
 inscription, probably dating from this time; *ILS* 2361,  
 Calderini, *op. cit.* 206.

<sup>3</sup> One of the long-range effects of permitting soldiers to

ξιμῶνον, ὡς παύσαιντο μὲν χρονίου καὶ ἀπεράντου πολιορκίας,<sup>1</sup> μηκέτι δὲ πορθοῖεν Ἴταλιαν ὑπὲρ 9 τυράννου <sup>1</sup> κατεγνωσμένου καὶ μεμισημένου. τολμήσαντες οὖν ἐπίασι τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ περὶ μέσσην ἡμέραν, συναραμένων δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν φρουρούντων δορυφόρων τὰς τε εἰκόνας ἐκ τῶν σημείων κατασπῶσι, καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ παιδὶ προελθόντα τῆς σκηνῆς, ὡς δὴ ἄρα διαλέξαιτο αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι ἀναιροῦσι. φονεύουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔπαρχον <sup>2</sup> τοῦ στρατοῦ <sup>3</sup> πάντας τε τοὺς ἐκείνῳ θυμῆρεις φίλους· ῥύψαντές τε τὰ σώματα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ πατεῖν εἴασαν κυσί τε καὶ ὄρنيσι βοράν. τοῦ δὲ Μαξιμίνου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν.

τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ὁ <sup>4</sup> Μαξιμῶνος καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐχρήσαντο,<sup>5</sup> δίκας πονηρᾶς ἀρχῆς ὑποσχόντες· 6. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς πᾶς ὡς ἐπίθετο τὰ γενόμενα, ἔν τε ἀφασίᾳ ἦσαν καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι <sup>6</sup> τῷπραχθέντι

<sup>1</sup> πολιορκίας—τυράννου om φ

<sup>2</sup> ἐπάρχοντα Jo

<sup>3</sup> στρατοπέδου conj Mendelssohn

<sup>4</sup> om Oag

<sup>5</sup> ἐχρήσαντο βασιλεύσαντες ἔτη γ' add Jo

<sup>6</sup> τοι AV

<sup>1</sup> The praetorians joined the Parthian legion in the revolt; they carried the *imagines* of the emperor on their standards; Durry, *Cohortes præt.* 206, 391. The rapprochement

could abandon the long, interminable siege, and stop laying waste Italy for the benefit of a tyrant who was condemned and hated. With great daring the 9 men went to Maximinus' tent about mid-day, and tore down his portrait from the standards with the assistance of the bodyguards.<sup>1</sup> When Maximinus and his son came out of their hut to try and negotiate, the soldiers killed them without listening. The military prefect<sup>2</sup> was also killed, and all Maximinus' close advisers. Their bodies were thrown out for anyone to desecrate and trample on, before being left to be torn to pieces by dogs and birds. The heads of Maximinus and his son were sent to Rome.

And so Maximinus and his son died, punished for their disgraceful rule.<sup>3</sup> 6. When the whole army heard the news, they were nonplussed and by no means all pleased at the event. This particularly

between praetorians and Parthian legion may have been due in some cases to close relatives serving in each organization; cf. *CIL* VI. 2579, 3277 for brothers in the two different troops.

<sup>2</sup> Unknown. The name Anolinus (Anullinus?) is only a gloss in the text of the *vita Max.*; cf. Passerini, *Coorti præt.* 332, Dessau, *Hermes* 29 (1894) 412. According to SHA, *Max.* 32.4-5, Dexippus related that the prefect and M.'s son were killed before M.'s eyes; other historians declared that M. himself committed suicide. But as the *vita* says earlier (31.4), there were a number of fictitious tales about the siege of Aquileia.

<sup>3</sup> The date cannot be fixed; calculations based on the inadequate evidence available are uncontrolled. Evidently the siege of Aquileia was not long because: (a) the supply line of the besiegers broke down rapidly, though there was plenty of food left in the city; (b) Maximus had still not left Ravenna, where he was mustering a force. I am inclined therefore to put the siege at about one month long, ending about late May (cf. 8.4.2n).

πάντες ἠρέσκοντο, καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ οἱ Παῖονες καὶ ὅσοι βάρβαροι Θραῖκες, οἳ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἐγκεχειρίκεσαν. πλὴν τοῦ ἔργου ἀπαξ γεγονότος ἄκοντες μὲν, ἔφερον δέ· ἀνάγκη τε ἦν συνήδεσθαι τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑποκρινομένοις.<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> καταθέμενοί τε τὰ ὄπλα ἐν εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι προσήεσαν τοῖς τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἀκυλησίων, ἀγγέλλοντες τὸν φόνον τοῦ Μαξιμίμου· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἀνοίγειν ἠξίουσαν, δέχεσθαι τε<sup>2</sup> φίλους τοὺς χθῆς<sup>3</sup> ἔχθρους. οἳ δὲ τῶν Ἀκυλησίων στρατηγὸς τὰς μὲν πύλας ἀνοῖξαι οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν, προθέντες δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας Μαξιμίμου καὶ Βαλβίνου Γορδιανοῦ τε Καίσαρος στεφάνοις καὶ δάφναις κεκοσμημένας αὐτοῖ τε εὐφήμουν,<sup>4</sup> καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠξίουσαν γνωρίσαι καὶ ἀνειπεῖν εὐφημησαί τε τοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ συγκλήτου ἀναδειχθέντας αὐτοκράτορας. Γορδιανούς δὲ ἔλεγον ἐκείνους ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ θεὸν<sup>5</sup> ἀνακεχωρηκέαι. προὔθεσάν τε ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν ἀγοράν, ὧνιον παρέχοντες πάντων<sup>6</sup> τῶν ἐπιτηδείων<sup>6</sup> τροφῶν τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ ποτῶν ἀφθονίαν, ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων, καὶ ὅσα ἐδύνατο παρέχειν ἐς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώποις πόλις<sup>4</sup> εὐδαιμονοῦσα καὶ ἀκμάζουσα. ὅθεν καὶ μάλλον ἐξεπλάγη ὁ στρατὸς, συνεῖς ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πάντα ἀνάρκη ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον πολιορκοῖντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν σπάνει πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων θᾶπτον<sup>7</sup> <ᾶν> διεφθάρησαν ἢ εἶλον πάντα ἔχουσαν πόλιν.

<sup>1</sup> -μένους Stav<sup>3</sup> πρὶν OP<sup>5</sup> θεοὺς conj Steph<sup>2</sup> ὡς A<sup>4</sup> ἠξίουσαν O

applied to the Pannonians and barbarian Thracians,<sup>1</sup> who had been responsible for Maximinus' elevation to power. But, now that the deed was done, they accepted it, however unwillingly. They had to pretend that they were pleased about what had happened. After putting aside their weapons, they<sup>2</sup> approached the walls of Aquileia, dressed as in peacetime, and told the inhabitants of Maximinus' murder, requesting them to open the gates and admit their former enemies as friends. The Aquileian commanders, however, refused to allow the gates to be opened. Instead they brought out pictures of Maximus, Balbinus and Gordian Caesar wreathed in crowns of laurel, which they cheered. Then they demanded that the soldiers too should acknowledge and recognize by acclaim the emperors elected by the senate and Roman people. The two older Gordians,<sup>3</sup> they declared, had gone to join the gods in heaven. The people then set up a market on the ramparts, and offered to sell any amount of every commodity, all kinds of food and drink, clothes and shoes—all the things a prosperous, flourishing city might offer to satisfy peoples wants. The troops were even more<sup>4</sup> astonished at this sight, because they realized that the Aquileians had plenty of supplies left to withstand a longer siege, while they themselves, suffering as they were from a shortage of all supplies, would

<sup>1</sup> "Barbarian" is used almost as a conventional epithet for Thracians, though they were Roman citizens; cf. 6.8.1n.<sup>6</sup> πάντων—ἐπιτηδείων del Bekk<sup>2</sup><sup>7</sup> om O <ᾶν> Bekk<sup>2</sup>

ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἔμενε περὶ <sup>1</sup> τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἔχων τὰ χρεῖώδη, ἅπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐλάμβανον, ὅσα ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο· διελέγοντό τε <sup>2</sup> ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἦν εἰρήνης μὲν καὶ φιλίας διάθεσις, σχῆμα δὲ ἔτι πολιορκίας, τῶν τειχῶν κεκλεισμένων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ διαιωμένων.

<sup>5</sup> τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀκυληίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς οἱ τὴν Μαξιμίνου κεφαλὴν κομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκυληίας ὀδοιπόρησάν τε <sup>3</sup> μετὰ λοιπὰς ἐπιέξεως, καὶ <sup>4</sup> ἐπιφουιῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀλλὰς πόλεις <αἱ> <sup>5</sup> πύλαι ἀνεῳγνυτο, <sup>6</sup> καὶ δαφνηφοροῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ δῆμοι ὑπεδέχοντο. ὡς δὲ διέπλευσαν τὰς τε λίμνας καὶ τὰ <sup>7</sup> τενάγη [μεταξὺ Ἀλτίνου <sup>8</sup> καὶ Ῥαβέννης] <sup>9</sup> περιέτυχον Μαξιμῶ αυτοκράτορι διατρίβοντι ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ, ἐνθα τοὺς τε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας <sup>6</sup> λογάδας ἤθροζεν. ἀφίκτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γερμανῶν

<sup>1</sup> παρὰ α

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ gl (but τε g<sup>2</sup> in mg)

<sup>3</sup> Stroth ὀδοιπορήσαντες μετὰ πάσης ἐπιέξεως i (though Stroth follows order μ. π. ἐπ. ὀδοιπορήσαντες O)

<sup>4</sup> οἷς α

<sup>5</sup> Bekk

<sup>6</sup> ἀνοίγν.φι

<sup>7</sup> om i τενάγη <τὰ> Reisk

<sup>8</sup> ἀκτίνου al

<sup>9</sup> del Whit

<sup>1</sup> The omission of the relative article (supplied by Reisk) and the repetition of the name of Ravenna indicate that this is a glossator's marginal explanation that has crept into the text; H.'s geography is rarely so exact. The marsh and lagoon are the present-day Laguna Veneta and the Valli di Comacchio. The horsemen embarked at Altinum near Venice and went by waterways to Ravenna; cf. Strabo 5.1.7 (214), Tac. *H.* 3.6, *Ilin. Ant.* pp. 126, 128, 244, 281. The same waterway is referred to again in 8.7.1 as the *septem maria*; cf. Pliny, *NH* 3.119.

have died before they captured this well-stocked city. The army remained in its position around the city walls, with all their individual needs supplied by their purchases from up on the walls. The two sides communicated with each other in conditions of peace and friendship, even though it looked like a siege still because the defences were kept shut and the army was all around them.

While this situation existed in Aquileia, the horse-<sup>5</sup> men bringing Maximinus' head were travelling as fast as they could from the city. As they reached other cities on their way, gates were opened, and the people welcomed them waving laurel branches. After they had been ferried across the marshes and lagoons [separating Altinum from Ravenna],<sup>1</sup> they found the emperor Maximus waiting in Ravenna, where he was mustering his special units from Rome and Italy. A number of German allies<sup>2</sup> joined him <sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The German  *vexillationes*  were probably part of the Rhine army auxiliaries, who had served under Pupienus when he was governor of one of the German provinces and were later used by him as a counterweight to the praetorians; 8.7.8, 8.8.2, 8.8.5, 8.8.7. They were not the same as Caracalla's specially recruited  *equites extraordinarii*  (4.13.6n). If the troop had come in response to the call for recruits soon after the accession of Pupienus and Balbinus in early April (7.12.1), they could not have arrived at Ravenna before mid-May (ten days for fast post from Rome to Germany, thirty days minimum for rapid light-armed troop movements from Germany to Ravenna); no doubt this was why Pupienus was delaying at Ravenna. Cf. Domaszewski,  *RhM*  57 (1902) 509-10, on the German troops. SHA,  *Max.*  24.6, says incorrectly that Pupienus dismissed the Germans as soon as he received news of M.'s death; but they are probably confused with the German auxiliaries of M.'s army (8.1.3n); Hohl,  *Maximini duo*  37.

οὐκ ὀλίγη συμμαχία, πεμφθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατ' εὐνοίαν ἢν εἶχον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν, ἐξ οὐπερ ἦν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἄρξας. παρασκευάζοντι οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν ὡς πολεμήσουσαν τῷ Μαξιμίνου στρατῷ προσίασιν οἱ ἱππεῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ τε Μαξιμίνου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς φέροντες, νίκην τε καὶ εὐπραγίαν ἀγγέλλοντες, ὅτι τε ἄρα ὁ στρατὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονεῖ, καὶ σέβει αὐτοκράτορας οὓς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐποίησε. τούτων δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀγγελέντων θυσίαι τε βωμοῖς εὐθύς προσήγοντο, καὶ νίκην ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες ἢν ἀκονιτὶ ἐνίκησαν· ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος καλλιερήσας ἐκπέμπει τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγγελοῦντάς τε τὰ πραχθέντα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίζοντας.<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰσέπεσόν τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν δευκύνντες τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ πολεμίου ἀνεσκολοπισμένην, ὡς πᾶσι περίοπτος εἶη, οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἔστι λόγῳ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν ἑορτήν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡλικία τις ἦν ἢ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἠπείγετο, οὔτε τις ἔμενεν οἶκοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες ἐφέροντο συνηδόμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον συνθέοντες ὥσπερ ἐκκλησιάζοντες <ἐν> τῷ<sup>2</sup> χωρίῳ. ὁ δὲ Βαλβίνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκατόμβας

<sup>1</sup> Οι Jo κομοῦντας Mendels

<sup>2</sup> Whit following <ἐν ἐκείνῳ> τῷ Steph τῷ χώρῳ A χωρίῳ φιλ<εἰώθησαν ἐν τῷδε> τῷ Sylb ὥσπερ—χωρίῳ spurious Mendels

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is suspected by Mendelssohn, but the circus was frequently used as a meeting-place for the *plebs urbana*; cf.

there, sent by their states because of their warm feeling for Maximus ever since his conscientious term as their governor. While he was in the middle of these preparations against Maximinus' army, the horsemen arrived carrying the head of Maximinus and his son. They passed on the news about the successful victory, and told him that the army now agreed with Rome and recognized the emperors elected by the senate. This unexpected news was at once celebrated with sacrifices on the altars, and everyone joined in singing hymns for a victory they had won without any effort. After favourable omens in the sacrifice Maximus sent the horsemen on to Rome with the heads, to tell the people the news. It is impossible to describe the scenes of celebration that day after the arrival of the messengers, and their sudden entry into the city with the head of the enemy stuck on a pole for all to see. People of all ages ran to the altars and the temples; no one stayed indoors. They were swept along as though a spirit was in control of them, congratulating each other and all rushing together to the circus, as though there were a public assembly there.<sup>1</sup> Balbinus actually in

2.7.5 and Whittaker, *Hist.* 13 (1964) 348-69, esp. 362. SHA, *Max.* 25.3 ff., says that the message arrived three days after leaving Ravenna and reached Rome during some *dies ludorum*, when it was taken to Balbinus and Gordian at the theatre; immediately after the games the senate met to record its acclamations. Though the wording of the *acclamatio* is suspect, the circumstantial detail may be substantially true; the mover of the motion is said to have been Cuspidius Celerinus, perhaps Cuspidius Flaminius Severus, who became governor of Cappadocia in this year under Pupienus and Balbinus; Hohl, *Maximini duo* 38, *Albo* 1011, 1544.

ἔθνευ, ἀρχαί τε πᾶσαι καὶ σύγκλητος, ἕκαστός τε ὡσπερ ἀποσεισάμενος πέλεκυν τοῖς αὐχέσιν ἐπικείμενον ὑπερευφραίνετο.<sup>1</sup> ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκες δαφνηφόροι διεπέμποντο.

7. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἑορτῆς<sup>2</sup> εἶχεν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥαβέννης <ἀ>ράρας<sup>3</sup> ἐπέστη Ἀκυληία, διαβὰς τὰ τενάγη, ἃ ὑπὸ τε<sup>4</sup> Ῥιριδανοῦ ποταμοῦ πληρούμενα καὶ τῶν περικειμένων ἑλῶν ἐπὶ τὰ στόμασιν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκχεῖται· ἔθνευ καὶ τῇ <ἰδίᾳ> φωνῇ<sup>5</sup> καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Ἐπτὰ πελάγη τὴν λίμνην ἐκείνην.  
2 εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ Ἀκυληῖοι τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ὑπεδέχοντο, αἶ τε ἀπὸ<sup>6</sup> Ἰταλίας πόλεις πρεσβείας

<sup>1</sup> -φραίνοντο O

<sup>2</sup> om l Mendelss

<sup>3</sup> Mendelss

<sup>4</sup> Steph ἃ τε ὑπὸ Oi

<sup>5</sup> e.g. M. (ἐαυτῶν) or <πατρίῳ> from *patria lingua* P

<sup>6</sup> del Mendelss ἀπὸ τῶν a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 11.4-7, for a learned but incorrect discussion on hecatombs. The word was applied to a large sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the delegation noted in SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 12.4, sent to congratulate Pupienus (again twenty men, whose names were supposedly recorded by Junius Cordus). It was probably soon after this that there was a major reappraisal of provincial appointments, since many changes occurred in 238, of which some must have been made by Pupienus and Balbinus. This means that some of the provincial governors would have been supporters of the senatorial emperors but not of Gordian III, between whom there was an uneasy compromise. Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 83-96, quite wrongly

person sacrificed hecatombs,<sup>1</sup> while all the magistrates, the senate and every ordinary man was bursting with joy, as though he had shaken off a sword that was hanging over his head. Messengers and agents wearing laurel wreaths were sent out to the provinces.<sup>2</sup>

7. While the scene in Rome took on the appearance of a festival, Maximus left Ravenna and came to Aquileia by going through the lagoons into which the River Eridanus and the surrounding swamps empty, before they flow into the sea by seven channels. The local inhabitants call the lake the Seven Seas (in their own language).<sup>3</sup> The Aquileians opened their gates straight away and welcomed

assumes that supporters of Pupienus and Balbinus must be identical with those of Gordian III (see 7.10.5, 8.8.7), dismissing the *abolitio memoriae* of the names of the former as only "strange." Yet many of the men appointed to the provinces in 238 disappear from any office by 241, the date when Gordian III and his prefect father-in-law, Timesitheus, were strong enough to establish their independence of the senate; e.g. M. Asinius Sabinianus, who probably replaced Timesitheus himself in Asia (7.1.4n; Timesitheus was demoted to *procurator* in Gaul), replaced c. 240/1; Cuspidius Flaminus Severus (see above note), no further career known; Menophilus (8.2.6) appointed to Moesia and replaced in 241; Crispinus (8.2.6) appointed to Hispania Superior-Gallaecia and then no further governorship; L. Vettius Juvenis appointed to Thrace, no further career known; Q. Axius Aelianus stayed on in office in Dacia Apulensis, then no further career known; M. Domitius Valerianus appointed to Arabia, no further career known. Naturally some of these were quite ready to serve any emperor or were replaced normally. On the counter-revolution under Timesitheus, see Introduction, pp. xiv and xxix.

<sup>3</sup> See 8.6.5. The allusion to "their own language" may mean dialect, or simply be Latin.

ἔπεμπον τῶν πρωτευόντων παρ' <sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν, οἱ λευχειμονοῦντες καὶ δαφνηφόροι θεῶν πατρίων ἕκαστοι προσεκόμιζον ἀγάλματα καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν στέφανοι χρυσοῦ ἐξ ἀναθημάτων, εὐφήμουν τε καὶ ἐφυλλοβόλουν <sup>2</sup> τὸν Μάξιμον. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ <sup>3</sup> τὴν Ἀκυληίαν πολιορκήσας <sup>4</sup> προῆει <sup>5</sup> καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι δαφνηφόρος, οὐκ ἐξ ἀληθοῦς μὲν διαθέσεως πᾶς, προσποιήτῳ δὲ εὐνοία καὶ τιμῇ διὰ τὴν παρούσαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῆς βασιλείας

<sup>3</sup> τύχην. οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἠγανάκτουν καὶ λανθανόντως ἤλγουν τὸν <sup>6</sup> μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεχθέντα βασιλέα <sup>7</sup> καθηρημένον, κρατοῦντας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ συγκλήτου ἡρημένους. ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος ἐν τῇ Ἀκυληίᾳ γενόμενος πρώτης μὲν καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας ἱερουργίαις ἐσχόλαζε, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν συγκαλέσας ἐς τὸ πεδίον πάντα τὸν στρατὸν, βήματός τε αὐτῷ κατασκευασθέντος, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

<sup>4</sup> “ ὅσον μὲν ὑμᾶς ὦνησε μεταγνόντας τε καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονήσαντας, πείρα μεμαθήκατε, ἀντὶ πολέμου μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχοντες πρὸς θεοῦς <sup>8</sup> οὓς ὁμωμόκατε, καὶ <sup>9</sup> νῦν φυλάσσοντες τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, ὅς ἐστι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς σεμνὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Ο

<sup>2</sup> -βολοῦντο ι

<sup>3</sup> om φι

<sup>4</sup> παρθήσας Jo

<sup>5</sup> PJo προσήει Oi

<sup>6</sup> <ὄρωντες> τὸν Mendels from Jo

<sup>7</sup> βασιλεύει Jo

<sup>8</sup> <δὲ> θεοῦς Wolf

<sup>9</sup> del Stav

<sup>1</sup> The Greek *mysterion* and Latin *sacramentum* are both used in the sense of “secret.” The military *sacramentum*, normally taken *in nomen principis*, was, if not reinforced by a *iusiurandum* (as Livy suggests, 22.38.1-5, and apparently

Maximus in. The Italian cities sent delegations of their prominent citizens dressed in white, wearing laurel wreaths and all bringing with them the statues of their local gods and any golden crowns that were among their dedications. They paid their homage to Maximus and showered him with flowers. The army that had been besieging Aquileia came out, too, dressed for peace and carrying laurel branches. Not all of them acted from genuine feeling, but they pretended to show their loyalty and to honour the emperor of necessity, because of the prevailing conditions in the principate. The majority were resentful and <sup>3</sup> privately angry that their own choice of emperor had been destroyed, while the senatorial choices were in power. For the first two days in Aquileia Maximus did nothing except perform sacrifices. On the third day he marshalled the whole army on the plain, and then mounted a specially constructed dais to give them the following address:

“ You now know from experience the value of <sup>4</sup> changing your minds and falling into line with Roman policy. In place of war you are at peace with the gods in whose name you took your oaths, and you are now being true to your military vow, which is the sacred secret of the Roman empire.<sup>1</sup> For the

confirmed here by H.), regarded by this time as having the force of a formal oath, the violation of which rendered the culprit *nefas* (liable to execution). The oath was taken *in nomen* of the emperor, but in 69 a mutinous legion had demanded to take the oath *in nomen senatus*, Suet. *Galba* 16; there is therefore nothing new or strange about the constitutional principle involved in the oath demanded by Papienus here; suggested by Mullens, *G & R* 17 (1948) 76. For the military oath, see Dar.-Sag. (*sacramentum*) 951-2.

μυστήριον. χρῆ δ' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ διὰ παντὸς τούτων ἀπολαύειν, τὰ πιστὰ τηροῦντας Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ συγκλήτῳ καὶ αὐτοκράτορσιν ἡμῖν, οὓς ἐξ εὐγενείας καὶ πολλῶν πράξεων [καὶ] <sup>1</sup> μακρὰς διαδοχῆς ὡσπερ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀναβάντας <sup>2</sup> κρίναντες ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ <sup>3</sup> σύγκλητος ἐπελέξαντο. οὐ γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἴδιον κτήμα ἢ ἀρχή, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δῆμου ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει ἢ τῆς βασιλείας <sup>3</sup> ἴδρυται τύχη· ἡμεῖς δὲ διοικεῖν καὶ διέπειν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς σὺν ὑμῖν ἐγκεχειρισμένα. <sup>4</sup> ταῦτα δὲ <sup>5</sup> μετ' εὐταξίας τε καὶ κόσμου τοῦ πρέποντος, αἰδοῦς τε καὶ τιμῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὑμῖν μὲν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πάντων ἀνευδεῖ παρῆξει βίον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τε ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις εἰρήνην καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους πειθῶ. βιώσεσθ<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> τε [καὶ] <sup>7</sup> κατὰ γνώμην ἐν τοῖς <sup>6</sup> οἰκείοις, οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ κακοπαθοῦντες. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα ἡσυχάζειν ἔθνη, διὰ φροντίδος ἡμεῖς ἔξομεν. δύο μὲν γὰρ ὄντων

future you must always enjoy these benefits by keeping your pledges to the Romans and the senate and to us your emperors. The senate and the Roman people decided to choose us because of our noble birth and many achievements in a long series of offices, which we held like graded promotions before reaching this final position.<sup>1</sup> The empire is not <sup>5</sup> the private property of a single man but by tradition the common possession of the Roman people.<sup>2</sup> It is in the hands of the city of Rome that the fate of the principate is placed. We have been given the task to govern and administer the empire with your assistance. If this is done in a disciplined and properly ordered way, with respect and honour shown to the rulers, you will find a pleasant life which lacks nothing. And in the provinces and cities everyone will live in peace and obedience to their governors. You will live as you want in your own homes, not in foreign lands undergoing privations. It will be <sup>6</sup> our care to see that the barbarian nations keep the peace.<sup>3</sup> There are two of us emperors, so there will

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2.8.4, 5.1.6 for the contrast between the *tyrannus* who rules the empire "as though it were his private property" and the *optimus princeps* who regards his rule as a *commune imperium*, a public *tutela* that the *princeps* exercises on behalf of the people. Inevitably under the régime of the two senatorial *principes*, Papienus and Balbinus, the slogans of the *libera res publica* appear in the speech. Cf. Wickert, *RE* (princeps) 2080 ff., on "Prinzipat und Freiheit." The great defect in the rule of Papienus and Balbinus was the breakdown of their *concordia* (8.8.4).

<sup>3</sup> Closely parallel to the civil concept of *tutela* and *cura* was the military ideology of the *princeps* who kept to his *statio* (guard post); cf. Béranger, *Recherches* 184-6, Wickert, *RE* (princeps) 2230.

<sup>1</sup> del Wolf

<sup>2</sup> ἀναβάντες O-των I

<sup>3</sup> ἢ τῆς βασιλείας i ἀς φ καθ' ἦν A

<sup>4</sup> -ισμένα O

<sup>5</sup> ταῦτα δὲ <γινόμενα> Reisk

<sup>6</sup> βιώσεσθαί Ogl

<sup>7</sup> del Bergl lacuna after τε Steph perhaps βιώσεσθαί δ' ἔσται Whit (δὲ from *autem* P)

<sup>1</sup> See 7.10.6n for what is known of Papienus' career. H.'s stress upon a *cursus honorum* leading to the principate, as an alternative qualification to high birth (cf. 7.5.2—Gordian I), represents a theoretical compromise between *virtus* and *nobilitas* suited to the new Antonine and Severan aristocracy of his own day; cf. Wickert, *RE* (princeps) 2194, 2205.



βασιλέων εὐμαρέστερον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
διοικῆσεται καὶ εἴ τι <sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἐπέιγοι,<sup>2</sup>  
πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν αἰεί του<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὰ καλοῦντα  
ῥαδίως παρόντος. μηδέ τις ὑμῶν οἰέσθω τῶν  
πεπραγμένων εἶναι τινα μνήμη, εἴτε ὑφ' ἡμῶν  
(ἔκελεύεσθε <sup>4</sup> γὰρ) εἴτε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, οἱ ἀδικούμενοι ἀπέστησαν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
ἔστω πάντων ἀμνηστία, καὶ σπονδαὶ <sup>5</sup> φιλίας  
βεβαίου, εὐνοίας τε καὶ εὐκοσμίας πίστις αἰώνιος.”

<sup>7</sup> τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Μάξιμος, νομάς τε  
χρημάτων μεγαλοφρόνως αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγείλας,  
ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν διατρίψας <sup>6</sup> ἐν τῇ Ἀκυληῖα τὴν ἐς  
Ῥώμην ἐπάνοδον συγκροτεῖ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο  
στρατιωτικὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ  
οἰκεία στρατόπεδα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὴν  
Ῥώμην σὺν τε <sup>7</sup> τοῖς δορυφόροις, οἱ τὴν βασιλείου  
φρουροῦσιν αὐλήν,<sup>8</sup> σὺν τε τοῖς ὑπὸ Μαξιμίνω  
<sup>8</sup> ἔστρατευμένοις.<sup>9</sup> ἐπανῆλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Γερμα-

<sup>1</sup> τις ο

<sup>2</sup> ἐπέιγοιτο ο

<sup>3</sup> Wolf αἰεί τοῦ Οἱ αἰεί τοῦ <ἐτέρου> Steph

<sup>4</sup> ἐκέλευσε

<sup>5</sup> σπονδαὶ φ

<sup>6</sup> ἐνδιατρίψας i

<sup>7</sup> om ο

<sup>8</sup> ἀρχὴν i

<sup>9</sup> Whit (see notes) βαλβίνω στρατευομένοις Οἱ

<sup>1</sup> According to SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 13.5, there were plans for two military expeditions during the brief rule; one was to be against the “Germans,” the other against the “Parthians,” the first led by Balbinus and the other by Pupienus. The “Germans” refer to the Carpi and Goths, who Dexippus says had attacked Istros (SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 16.3; cf. Pick, *Antik. Münz. v. Moesien u. Dacien* 1.147) and Marcianopolis (Müller, *FGH* Dexippus frag. 18, *Jord. Get.* 16.92). But the only confirmation of a “Parthian” (= Persian) crisis is Zon.

be more efficient rule at Rome and abroad if any emergency arises. One of us will always be quickly on the spot for service as it is demanded.<sup>1</sup> None of you should imagine that there is any recrimination for the past on our part (since you were under military orders), nor on the part of the Romans or the rest of the nations that rebelled when they were unjustly treated. There must be a complete amnesty, a firm treaty of friendship and a pledge of loyalty and discipline for ever.”<sup>2</sup>

With these words Maximus announced a generous <sup>7</sup> distribution of money. Then, after a few days’ wait in Aquileia, he organized the return trip to Rome. Most of the army was returned to the provinces where they had their own camps, but Maximus took the palace guards and those who had served under Maximinus <sup>3</sup> back on his return trip. With him also <sup>8</sup>

12.18, who says that they had occupied Nisibis and Carrhae; this is contrary to 7.8.4, apart from it being improbable that two campaigns would be planned within one and a half months.

<sup>2</sup> The coins of Pupienus and Balbinus lay stress on *pauc publicia* and the constitutional aspects of the rule (*patres senatus*) which are emphasized in this speech; *BMC* VI. 100-103. The double principate, however, forms the main theme of the issues (8.8.4).

<sup>3</sup> The MSS all read “those serving under Balbinus,” which I have emended as above. There is no other reference to troops under Balbinus, who must be assumed to have stayed in Rome. Here there are two parallel clauses—“the guards who protect the palace” and “those . . . under Maximinus (or Balbinus)”; the former are the praetorians and perhaps the *equites singulares*; the others are the Parthian legion, who did not guard the palace but who did return to Rome. The phrase was however misunderstood by SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 12.7, which says that Pupienus took Maximinus’ army with him to Rome. The German *auxilia* are discussed in 8.6.6n.

νίας ἐληλυθότες σύμμαχοι· ἐθάρσει γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἄτε καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπεικῶς πρότερον ἄρξας, ὅτε ἰδιώτευεν. εἰσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὃ τε Βαλβίνος ὑπῆντετο, ἐπαγόμενος Γορδιανὸν Καίσαρα, ἣ τε σύγκλητος καὶ ὁ δῆμος εὐφημοῦντες ὥσπερ θριαμβεύοντα <sup>1</sup> ὑπεδέχοντο.

8. ἤρχον δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας τε καὶ εὐταξίας, ἰδία τε καὶ δημοσία πανταχοῦ εὐφημούμενοι· ἔχαιρέ τε ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς, σεμννόμενος εὐπατρίδαις καὶ ἀξίοις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοκράτορσιν. οἱ μέντοι στρατιῶται διαίδαινον τὰς ψυχάς, καὶ οὔτε ταῖς εὐφημίαις τοῦ δήμου ἠρέσκοντο, ἐβαροῦντό τε αὐτῶν αὐτὴν τὴν εὐγένειαν, καὶ ἠγανάκτουν ὅτι ἄρα ἔχοιεν ἐκ <sup>2</sup> συγκλήτου βασιλείας. ἐλύπουν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ

<sup>1</sup> Jo -οντας i -σαρτες O

<sup>1</sup> A longer account of the administration of Pupienus and Balbinus is given in SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 13.4-5, including the publication of laws and military dispositions. But there can have been very little time for all this (8.8.4n). The re-introduction of the double denarius, abandoned by Alexander, perhaps indicates the inflationary tendency of the period; it was tariffed at about twenty to the aureus probably, an attempt to return to the real value of the silver content because of loss of confidence in the poor denarii in circulation; *BMC VI.* 20n.

<sup>2</sup> All sources (except a manifest error in Eutrop. 9.2.1) are agreed on the patrician status of Balbinus; he was probably

went the German auxiliary allies, in whose loyalty Maximus was confident because of his fair administration as governor of the territory at an earlier period before becoming emperor. As he approached Rome, Balbinus with Gordian Caesar came to meet him, accompanied by the senate and people, who welcomed him back with cheers as though he were celebrating a triumph.

8. From now on the emperors ruled the city extremely efficiently and sensibly,<sup>1</sup> which was well appreciated by individuals and by the state as a whole. The people liked them because they respected emperors of patrician status<sup>2</sup> who were also worthy of the principate. The soldiers, however, were seething with anger inside; they disliked the acclaim given by the people, actually disapproved of the noble birth of the two men and hated having emperors chosen by the senate. The presence of <sup>2</sup>

descended from the Spanish family of the Coelii, related to the emperors Trajan and Hadrian, under whom they had achieved patrician rank; the Coelii were also related to the Greek senatorial family of the Vibullii, who may have been related to the family of Herodes Atticus (as was the family of Gordian, 7.5.2n); cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1241, *Albo* 652b; thus Balbinus stemmed from the heart of the Antonine aristocracy. Pupienus' status is contrasted with that of Balbinus, which probably gave rise to the stories that he was of low birth; SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 5.1, 14.1, 16.2, Eutrop. 9.2.1. But H. insists on his patrician rank in 238 and it is possible that the Clodii were an old Tibur family related to the Pinarii (cf. Pinarus Valens, SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 4.4, 5.5, alleged to be Pupienus' praetorian prefect) who were a senatorial family from Tibur; see Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955) 83n. But from his military career, it seems more probable that Pupienus was a *novus homo* who had been given patrician status in his own lifetime; see 8.8.4n.

Γερμανοὶ παρόντες τῷ Μαξίμῳ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
 διατρίβοντες· ἀντιπάλους γὰρ ἔξεν ἠλπίζον, εἶ  
 τι τολμῶεν, καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῖς ὑπώπτειον, εἶ  
 τινι δόλῳ ἀποζωσθεῖεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἄτε <sup>1</sup> παρόντες  
 ῥαδίως ὑποκατασταίεν· τό τε Σεβήρου ὑπόδειγμα,  
 ὃς τοὺς Περτίνακα ἀποκτείναντας ἀπέζωσεν,  
 εἰσῆει αὐτούς.

- 3 ἐπιτελουμένου δὲ ἀγῶνος τοῦ τῶν Καπετωλίων,  
 πάντων τε περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τὰς θέας  
 ἀσχολουμένων, αἰφνιδίως ἦν εἶχον γνώμην λανθά-  
 νουσαν ἐξέφηναν, καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ μὴ κρατήσαντες,  
 ὄρμη δὲ ἀλόγῳ χρῆσάμενοι, ἀνῆλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν  
 εἰς τὰ βασιλεία, τοῖς τε πρεσβύταις βασιλευσιν  
 4 ἐπεισῆλθον. συνέβαινε δὲ κἀκεῖνους μὴ πάντι  
 ἀλλήλοις ὁμονοεῖν, ἀλλ' οἷα περ μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία  
 καὶ τὸ ἀκουώνητον ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις εἴωθε

<sup>1</sup> Reisk ἐκεῖνο ἄτε Ο ἐκεῖνο ἄτε gl ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἄτε α

<sup>1</sup> Said in SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 14.8, to have had their quarters *extra urbem*. See 8.6.6n.

<sup>2</sup> The only more or less exact date given in H. for the whole sequence of events of 238 ironically cannot be identified. The games are almost certainly the quinquennial *agon Capitolinus* (i.e. held every four years; cf. 1.9.2n). Since 184, when H. records the games, they appear to have been held regularly; Dio 79.10.2 notes them in 220, and they would thus fall due in 238. But the day and month of the games is not known—if

the German troops at Maximus' side, living in Rome,<sup>1</sup> made them furious, because they expected them to constitute a counter force to any bold action by themselves. They also suspected that the emperors were on the watch to disarm them treacherously, and that the Germans would then easily take over the guard themselves, since they were on the spot. The example of how Severus disarmed the murderers of Pertinax served as a reminder to them.

The soldiers' hidden attitude became suddenly <sup>3</sup> clear during the celebrations of the Capitoline games, <sup>2</sup> while everyone was busy with the festival and the shows. No longer controlling their emotions, in a black fit of anger they all rushed to the palace and burst in on the old emperors. In practice the two <sup>4</sup> men were not in complete agreement; <sup>3</sup> it was a typical result of the desire for sole rule and the in-

there was a fixed day; Friedländer, *Sitt. Roms* (10) 2.150, Dar-Sag. (Iudi) 1377 (which gives the approximate date of June or July, but based on this incident). Victor, *Caes.* 27.7, says that the quinquennial games started by Nero (probably an error for Domitian) were enlarged by Gordian III (i.e. they were still in existence, which was not true of Nero's *quinquennialia*) and given a fixed date. This would refer to the *agon Capitolinus*, which commemorated the *dies imperii* of Gordian; cf. Hartke, *RE* (Neronia) 46-7.

<sup>3</sup> The theme of *concordia* figures largely in the coin issues, with slogans like *fides mutua*, *pietas mutua*, *amor mutuos*, *caritas mutua*. The equality of both men is shown by the fact that each held the title of *pontifex maximus* (cf. 7.7.2n). The rivalry between them broke out almost at once, before Pupienus even reached Rome; SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 12.5-6. Pupienus can hardly have reached Rome before late May or early June (8.6.6n) and a month later both emperors were dead. For H. this, and the concomitant unrest among the praetorians, were the flaws in the ideal rule.

ποιεῖν,<sup>1</sup> ἕκαστος πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν δύναμιν ἀνθειλκεν, ὁ μὲν Βαλβίνος κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ διπλὴν προάγουσαν ὑπατείαν πρωτεύειν<sup>2</sup> ἀξίων, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος διὰ τε τὸ ἑπαρχος<sup>3</sup> τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι καὶ ἔχειν ὑπολήψεις ἐμπειρίας πραγμάτων<sup>4</sup> [ἐκατέρωθεν τε εὐγενεῖς καὶ<sup>5</sup> εὐπατριδαὶ καὶ γένους πλῆθος αὐταρκες ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν μοναρχίας ἔπειθεν].<sup>6</sup> ὅπερ αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα γέγονεν ἀπωλείας αἴτιον. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθετο ὁ Μάξιμος ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐπ' ὀλέθρω αὐτῶν τοὺς πραιτωριανοὺς καλουμένους, ἐβούλετο μεταπέμψασθαι τοὺς Γερμανοὺς συμμάχους, ὄντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, αὐτάρκεις ἑσομένους ἀντιστήναι τοῖς ἐπιβουλευουσιν.<sup>7</sup> ὁ δὲ Βαλβίνος οἰόμενος δόλον τινα εἶναι καθ' αὐτοῦ<sup>8</sup> καὶ σόφισμα

<sup>1</sup> Jo εἴωθε ποιεῖν om Oi

<sup>2</sup> old correction Mendelss πρωτεύσειν Oi

<sup>3</sup> ἑπαρχον i

<sup>4</sup> γραμμάτων AB

<sup>5</sup> om i

<sup>6</sup> del Mendelss ἐκατέρωθεν τε εὐγενεῖς καὶ εὐπατρίδης καὶ γένους πλῆθος αὐταρκες ἔχων· τάντα ἑκάτερον ἔραν τῆς μοναρχίας ἔπειθεν A

<sup>7</sup> πραιτωριανοῖς AP

<sup>8</sup> καθ' αὐτοῦ ABagJo

<sup>1</sup> It was orthodox political doctrine that the supreme power could be shared but not divided, though the *sententia* is most commonly found in the condemnation of *regnum*; Tac. *A.* 12.47, Lucan 1.92-3, Sallust, *Cat.* 54.4, etc. But as the post-Trajanic principate took on the garments of Greek philosophy,

divisible nature of supreme power<sup>1</sup> that each man began a tug-of-war for personal power. Balbinus considered that he took precedence because of his noble birth and earlier second consulship, Maximus because of his term as urban prefect and his reputation as an experienced administrator. [Both men were of noble, patrician status, and the adequate size of their family backing persuaded them to aim for sole rule].<sup>2</sup> This proved the chief reason for their destruction.<sup>3</sup> When Maximus heard that the praetorians (as they were called) had come to kill him, he was all for summoning the German auxiliaries who were in Rome,<sup>3</sup> since they would be strong enough to resist the plot. But Balbinus was opposed to this because he thought

the term *princeps* was regarded both as the Roman republican *primus inter pares* (who did not rule at all) and the Stoic natural *basileus* (who by definition could not be equalled).

<sup>2</sup> The text has been corrupted by the intrusion of a marginal gloss that is historically incorrect; cf. 8.8.1n. Balbinus had been *cos. II* in 213, over twenty years before Pupienus reached his second consulship in 234. Although Zon, 12.17 says Balbinus was sixty and Pupienus seventy, their ages must be reversed to make sense; therefore Balbinus was the older man, a patrician of long-standing (cf. *CIL* VI. 1981 which records him as a member of the *Salli* some time after 191) and with more extended family ramifications among the senatorial aristocracy. Pupienus had risen through military service, probably as a *novus homo*, and had only become a patrician under Alexander, but his military reputation gave him greater prestige; in inscriptions and papyri his name always appears first.

<sup>3</sup> According to SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 14.3 ff. some of the German guard were actually on the Palatine at the time, but with Balbinus, who refused to send them to the aid of Pupienus; the *vita* does not make clear how Balbinus lost their protection after that.

(ἤδει γὰρ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς τῷ Μαξιμίῳ<sup>1</sup> εὐνοοῦν-  
 τας) ἐκώλυε, φάσκων οὐκ ἐς κωλύμην οὐδ' ἐς  
 ἀντίστασιν αὐτοὺς τῶν πραιτωριανῶν ἀφίξεισθαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ περιποιῆσαι τῷ Μαξιμίῳ τὴν μοναρχίαν.  
 6 ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ<sup>2</sup> τούτων διαφέρονται,<sup>3</sup> εἰσδραμόντες  
 οἱ στρατιῶται ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες, ἐκστάντων  
 αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ τὰς αὐλείους εἰσόδους φυλασ-  
 σόντων, ἀρπάξουσι τοὺς πρεσβύτας, περιρρήξαντες  
 δὲ ἅς εἶχον περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐσθῆτας λιτὰς ἅτ'  
 οἴκοι διατρίβοντες, γυμνοὺς τῆς βασιλείου αὐλήs  
 ἐξέλκουσι μετὰ πάσης αἰσχύνης καὶ ὕβρεως·  
 παῖοντές τε καὶ ἀποσκώπτοντες τοὺς ἀπὸ συγκλή-  
 του βασιλέας, γενεῖων τε καὶ ὀφρῶν σπαραγμοῖς  
 καὶ πάσαις τοῦ σώματος λώβαις ἐμπαρουοῦντες,  
 διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆγον,  
 οὐ θελήσαντες οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποκτεῖναι  
 ἀλλὰ ζῶσιν ἐνυβρίσαι, ἕν' ἐπὶ πλεόν ὦν πάσχουσιν  
 αἰσθίνοντο.

7 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι οἱ Γερμανοί, λαβόντες  
 ὄπλα, ἠπειγόνοτο ὡς ἀμνησθῆναι αὐτοῖς, μαθόντες  
 οἱ πραιτωριανοὶ ἀφικνουμένους φονεύουσιν ἤδη πᾶν

<sup>1</sup> Μαξιμίῳ V

<sup>2</sup> om Agl

<sup>3</sup> διεφέροντο JO τούτων δὴ περὶ τούτων διεριζόντων A

it was a clever trick designed against him, knowing that the Germans were loyal to Maximus. He alleged that the Germans would not come to stop or resist the praetorians, but to put the sole rule in the hands of Maximus. While they were arguing, the soldiers all 6 burst in together, as the guards at the entrance to the palace abandoned their posts.<sup>1</sup> The two old men were seized, stripped of the simple clothes they had on for indoor wear and dragged naked from the imperial palace, to the accompaniment of absolutely degrading indignities. After beating and jeering at these senatorial emperors, the praetorians maltreated them by pulling out their beards and eyebrows and mutilating their bodies, before dragging them through the city to their camp. They were not even prepared to kill them in the palace;<sup>2</sup> instead they wanted to torture them alive, so that they would feel their agony longer.

As the Germans heard the news, they collected 7 their weapons and rushed to the aid of the two men, but, after the praetorians were informed of their approach, they murdered the emperors, whose bodies

<sup>1</sup> That is the *auliculi*, or palace attendants; cf. 2.5.2-3. The whole description of the death of Pertinax in 2.5 must have been written with the events of 238 very much in mind.

<sup>2</sup> SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 5-6, substantially agrees with H., though it clearly derived some detail from another source. Victor, *Caes.* 27.6, Eutrop. 9.2 say that Papienus and Balbinus were killed in the palace. Thus there were at least two traditions upon which the *vita* drew, one Herodian and one behind the third-century Latin writers; cf. Homo, *Rev. Hist.* 132 (1919) 5-8, though he refuses to accept that the *vita* could have drawn direct from H., in spite of an almost exact similarity of one phrase (next note).

τὸ σῶμα λελωβημένους τοὺς βασιλέας. καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰ σώματα ἔρριμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς λεωφόρου, ἀράμενοι δὲ τὸν Γορδιανὸν Καίσαρα ὄντα, αὐτοκράτορά τε ἀναγορεύσαντες, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἄλλον οὐχ εὔρον, βοῶντές τε πρὸς τὸν<sup>1</sup> δῆμον ὅτι ἄρα εἴησαν ἀπεκτονότες οὓς ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἄρξαι, Γορδιανὸν τε ἐπελέξαντο ἐκείνου τε ἀπόγονον καὶ ὄν<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξεβίασαντο, ἔχοντες αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> ἀπελθόντες<sup>4</sup> ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, κλείσαντες<sup>5</sup> τὰς πύλας ἡσύχαζον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ μαθόντες ἀνηρημένους τε καὶ ἔρριμμένους ὦν χάριω ἠπείγοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι πόλεμον μάταιον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν τεθνηκότων, ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὸ ἑαυτῶν καταγώγιον.

8 τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτω ἐχρήσαντο ἀναξίω τε

<sup>1</sup> om Bi

<sup>2</sup> οἶον Jo

<sup>3</sup> οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ A

<sup>4</sup> ἀπήλθον Jo

<sup>5</sup> καὶ κλείσ. Jo

<sup>1</sup> Translated by SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 15.7, *quia non erat alius in praesens*. Thus Gordian was neither the choice of a large number of senators, nor was he a particular preference of the soldiers. How far the action of the soldiers was fomented by the partisans of Gordian must be a matter for speculation. If Zon. 12.17 is correct, the two senatorial emperors had been plotting the assassination of young Gordian. Jord. *Rom.* 282 says Gordian was responsible for the murder of the two emperors. After the murders, the names of Pupienus and Balbinus were erased (even in Aquileia), a sure sign of the revisionist character of the rule of Gordian III. SHA, *Gord.* 22.5-9, 23.1-3, is totally confused about the sequence of events, placing the incident of

were by now totally mutilated. Their bodies were left exposed out on the road, while the soldiers lifted up Gordian (who held the title of Caesar) and proclaimed him as the emperor, for want of someone else at this stage.<sup>1</sup> They shouted out to the people that the men whom the people did not want to rule in the first place were now dead, and that they had chosen Gordian as emperor, the descendant of the first Gordian, whom the Romans themselves had forced to rule. Then they took Gordian with them back to the camp, shut the gates and remained inactive. Once the Germans heard that the men to whose assistance they were hurrying were destroyed and lying out in the road, they saw no point in fighting a senseless war for dead men. They preferred to return to their own quarters.<sup>2</sup>

This was the end of Maximus and Balbinus,<sup>3</sup> a 8

Gallicanus (7.11.3) after the murder of Pupienus and Balbinus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 8.8.2n.

<sup>3</sup> The date was some time before 29th August 238, since coins of Alexandria with year 1 of Gordian's reign must have been issued before that date (and therefore the news from Rome had arrived before that date). The length of the rule of Pupienus and Balbinus is given by the *Chron. of 354* (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* 1.147) as ninety-nine days, and by the *Chron. Pasc.* (1.501 Bonn) as one hundred days; cf. Zon. 12.17 who says three months. If they had acceded on 1st April (7.5.7n), the date of their deaths would have been 8th/9th July—the date given by SHA, *Max. et Balb.* 1.1 (emended text), for the accession. If they had died on 9th July, the news would have been in Alexandria about 1st August (twenty-eight days for travel), allowing about twenty-eight days for the first coin issue after making new dies; since the first issue was very brief this fits with the small number of coins actually found.

ἄμα καὶ ἀνοσίῳ σεμνοὶ καὶ λόγου ἄξιοι πρεσβῦται,  
 εὐγενεῖς τε καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐληλυ-  
 θότες· ὁ δὲ Γορδιανὸς περὶ ἔτη που γεγονώς  
 τρισκαίδεκα αὐτοκράτωρ τε ἀνεδείχθη καὶ τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀνεδέξατο.

<sup>1</sup> This sombre conclusion to the history can hardly have been written during the reign of Gordian III. Furthermore, H. makes clear his dislike of very young emperors, against whom the philosophic objection (*dii avertant principes pueros* / SHA, *Tac.* 6.5) was reinforced by his own bitter experience of

death that was undeserved and desecrated for two respected and distinguished old men, who had come to power through their high birth and by their own merits. Gordian, aged about thirteen, was saluted as emperor and took over the Roman empire.<sup>1</sup>

Commodus, Caracalla, Elagabalus and even Alexander; the latter was corrupted by the domination of his mother, just as Gordian III was dominated by his mother; see Introduction, pp. xii ff.

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