The Scriptores historiae augustae

Susan Helen Ballou
THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
DAVID MAGIE, Ph.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

I

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MCMXXII
In the preparation of this book others have laboured and I have entered into the fruits of their labours. Their co-operation has been of inestimable service.

The translation of the biographies from Antoninus Pius to Pescennius Niger and from the Maximini to Maximus and Balbinus inclusive has been furnished by my friend Mr. Ainsworth O’Brien-Moore. In the translation of the other lives also his fine taste and literary discrimination have been responsible for many a happy phrase. But for the promise of his collaboration the task of preparing this edition had not been undertaken.

The Latin text of the first six biographies has been supplied by Miss Susan H. Ballou of Bryn Mawr College, who had in mind the preparation of a new text of these biographies, based on her study of the manuscripts. Unfortunately, however, other interests have claimed her time and her efforts and she has been unable to complete the work for this edition. It is to be earnestly hoped that she will yet publish a critical text of the entire series.

In the lack of Miss Ballou’s text I have been forced to base this edition, from the Commodus
PREFACE

onward, on the text of Hermann Peter, for the long-promised edition by Dr. Ernst Hohl has not yet appeared. Its aid would have been invaluable. While only too well aware of the inadequacies of Peter's text, I have not felt able to introduce many changes. The suggestions offered by various scholars since the appearance of Peter's second edition have been carefully considered, and a few have been adopted. The text, therefore, is that of the Codex Palatinus (P), with the introduction of a few emendations and whatever changes in punctuation and spelling might seem in accordance with modern usage. All the more important variations from P, as well as the most significant of the variant readings afforded by the later correctors of the manuscript, and, in addition, the divergencies from the text of Peter have been entered in the critical notes.

In the Introduction I have sought to give a brief account of the Historia Augusta, the authors, their method and style, and a summary of the study expended on it from the close of the classical period to the present and its use by later historians. A discussion of its authorship and sources and of the theories which have found in it a work of the late fourth or early fifth century has, for reasons of space, been reserved for the second volume.

The somewhat voluminous commentary has seemed necessary on account of the obscurity of the narrative and the abundance of technical terms. In the preparation of it I have tried to keep in mind not only the needs of the general reader but also those of the student of Roman History, and it is for the benefit of the latter that some of the more technical material has been included.
PREFACE

A list of the books and articles to which I am indebted would fill many pages. The greatest amount of aid has been furnished by Lessing’s Lexicon, Mommsen’s Römisches Staatsrecht, the Prosopographia Imperii Romani, and the admirable articles on the various Emperors that have appeared in the Real-Encyclopädie of Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll. In the commentary to the biography of Hadrian valuable assistance has been rendered by Wilhelm Weber’s Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian. A complete bibliography will be included in the second volume.

Of the work as a whole, perhaps it can be said: “Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria, sunt mala plura, quae legis hic”.

DAVID MAGIE.

Princeton, New Jersey,
15th June, 1921.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introduction</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. The Scope and Literary Character of the <em>Historia Augusta</em></td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Tradition of the <em>Historia Augusta</em></td>
<td>xxiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Manuscripts</strong></td>
<td>xxxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Editions and Translations</strong></td>
<td>xxxvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hadrian</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aelius</strong></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Antoninus Pius</strong></td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marcus Aurelius Antoninus</strong></td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lucius Verus</strong></td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Avidius Cassius</strong></td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commodus</strong></td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The page numbers are placeholders.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pertinax</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didius Julianus</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Septimius Severus</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pescennius Niger</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clodius Albinus</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

I

The Scope and Literary Character

of the

Historia Augusta

Among the remnants of Roman literature preserved by the whims of fortune is a collection of biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Carinus—the Vitae Diversorum Principum et Tyrannorum a Divo Hadriano usque ad Numerianum Diversis compositae, as it is entitled in the principal manuscript, the Codex Palatinus of the Vatican Library. It is popularly known, apparently for convenience' sake, as the Historia Augusta, a name applied to it by Casaubon, whereas the original title was probably de Vita Caesarum or Vitae Caesarum.¹ The collection, as extant, comprises thirty biographies, most of which contain the life of a single emperor, while some include a group of two or more, classed together merely because these emperors were either akin or contemporary. Not only the emperors who actually reigned, the "Augusti," but also the heirs

INTRODUCTION

presumptive, the "Caesares," and the various claimants to the empire, the "Tyranni," are included in the series.

According to the tradition of the manuscripts the biographies are the work of six different authors; some of them are addressed to the Emperor Diocletian, others to Constantine, and others to important personages in Rome. The biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Gordian are attributed to four various authors, apparently on no principle whatsoever, for not only are the lives of successive, or even contemporary, princes ascribed to different authors and those of emperors widely separated in time to the same writer, but in the case of two of the authors some lives are dedicated to Diocletian and some to Constantine.

In the traditional arrangement the biographies are assigned to the various authors as follows:

I. Aelius Spartanus: the vitae of Hadrian, Aelius, Didius Julianus, Severus, Pescennius Niger, Caracalla, and Geta. Of these, the Aelius, Julianus, Severus, and Niger are addressed to Diocletian, the Geta to Constantine. The preface of the Aelius\(^1\) contains mention of the Caesars Galerius Maximianus and Constantius Chlorus, and from this it may be inferred that the vitae of the Diocletian group were written between 293, the year of the nomination of these Caesars, and 305, the year of Diocletian's retirement. In the same preface\(^2\) Spartanus announces that it is his purpose to write the biographies, not only of the emperors who preceded Hadrian, but also of all the princes who followed, including the Caesars and the pretenders.

\(^1\) Ael., ii. 2.  
\(^2\) Ael., i. 1.
INTRODUCTION

II. Julius Capitolinus: the *vitae* of Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Verus, Pertinax, Clodius Albinus, Macrinus, the Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus. Of these, the *Marcus, Verus, and Macrinus* are addressed to Diocletian, while the *Albinus*, the *Maximini*, and the *Gordiani* are addressed to Constantine, evidently after the fall of Licinius in 324.1 Like Spartanus, Capitolinus announces his purpose of composing an extended series of imperial biographies.2

III. Vulcacius Gallicanus: the *vita* of Avidius Cassius, addressed to Diocletian. He too announces an ambitious programme—*the composition of biographies of all who have worn the imperial purple, both regnant emperors and pretenders to the throne. IV. Aelius Lampridius: the *vitae* of Commodus, Diadumenianus, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander. Of these, the last two are addressed to Constantine; according to the author, they were composed at the Emperor’s own request,4 and they were written after the defeat of Licinius at Adrianople in 323.5 Lampridius claims to have written the biographies of at least some of the predecessors of Elagabalus and to cherish the plan of composing biographies of the emperors who reigned subsequently, beginning with Alexander and including in his work not only Diocletian but Licinius and Maxentius, the rivals of Constantine.6

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1 *Gord.*, xxxiv. 5; see H. Peter, *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 35.
2 *Max.*, i. 1-3; *Gord.*, i. 1-5.
3 *Av. Cass.*, iii. 8.
4 *Helio*, xxxv. 1.
5 *Helio*, vii. 7; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 32.
6 *Helio*, xxxv.; *Alex.*, lxiv. 1.
INTRODUCTION

V. Trebellius Pollio: the vitae from Philip to Claudius; of his work, however, the earlier part, containing the biographies from Philip to Valerian, has been lost from the collection,\(^1\) and we have only the vitae of the Valeriani (in part), the Gallieni, the Tyranni Triginta, and Claudius. Pollio's biographies were dedicated, not to the emperor, but to a friend, apparently an official of high degree. His name has been lost, together with the preface which must have preceded the vita of Philip. The only clue to his identity is a passage in which he is addressed as a kinsman of an Herennius Celsus, a candidate for the consulship.\(^2\) The extant biographies were written after Constantius' nomination as Caesar in 293,\(^3\) and, in the case of the Tyranni Triginta, after the commencement of the Baths of Diocletian in 298.\(^4\) The collection was finished, according to his successor and continuer Vopiscus, in 303.\(^5\)

VI. Flavius Vopiscus: the vitae of Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, Firmus and his three fellow-tyrants, and Carus and his sons. These biographies, like those of Pollio, are not dedicated to any emperor, but to various friends of the author. Vopiscus wrote, he declares in his elaborate preface,\(^6\) at the express request of his friend Junius Tiberianus, the city-prefect. Tiberianus was city-prefect for the second time in 303-4,\(^7\) and, even granting that his conversation with the author as well as his promise of

\(^1\) These biographies were included in the collection by Pollio; see Aur., ii. 1.
\(^2\) Tyr. Trig., xxii. 12.
\(^3\) Gall., vii. 1 and elsewhere.
\(^4\) Tyr. Trig., xxi. 7; see Peter, Scriptores, p. 36 f.
\(^5\) Aur., ii. 1.
\(^6\) Aur., i.-ii.
\(^7\) B. Borghesi, Œuvres Complètes (Paris, 1862-97), ix. p. 392.
INTRODUCTION

the documents from Trajan's library are merely rhetorical ornaments, this date is usually regarded as marking the beginning of Vopiscus' work. It is confirmed by an allusion to Constantius as imperator (305-306) and to Diocletian as iam privatus (after 305). This collection was completed, according to internal evidence, before the death of Diocletian in 316, perhaps even before that of Galerius in 311. The series written by Vopiscus has been preserved in its entirety, for it was his intention to conclude his work with the lives of Carus and his sons, leaving to others the task of writing the biographies of Diocletian and his associates.

The plan to include in the collection not only "Augusti," but also "Caesares" and "Tyranni," has resulted in a double series of biographies in that section of the Historia Augusta which includes the emperors between Hadrian and Alexander. To the life of a regnant emperor is attached that of an heir-presumptive, a colleague, or a rival. In each case the minor vita stands in a close relationship to the major, and, in many instances, passages seem to have been transcribed bodily from the biography of the "Augustus" to that of the "Caesar" or "Tyrannus".

In the composition of these biographies the model used by the authors, according to the testimony of two of them, was Suetonius. The Lives of Suetonius are not biographies in the modern sense of the word, but merely collections of material arranged according

1 Peter, Scriptores, p. 39.
2 Aur., xlv. 5.
3 Aur., xliii. 2.
4 Car., xviii. 5; see Peter, Scriptores, p. 45 f.
5 Car., ix. 3.
6 Prob., i. 5; Bonos., xv. 10.
7 Max.—Balb., iv. 5; Prob., ii. 7; Firm., i. 2.
INTRODUCTION

to certain definite categories,¹ and this method of composition is, in fact, employed also by the authors of the Historia Augusta. An analysis of the Pius, the most simply constructed of the series, shows the general scheme most clearly.² This vita falls naturally into the following divisions: ancestry (i. 1-7); life previous to his accession to the throne (i. 8—v. 2); policy and events of his reign (v. 3—vii. 4); personal traits (vii. 5—xii. 3); death (xii. 4-9); personal appearance (xiii. 1-2); honours after death (xiii. 3-4).

A fundamental scheme similar to this, in which the several sections are more or less clearly marked, serves as the basis for all the biographies. The series of categories is compressed or extended according to the importance of the events to be narrated or the material that was available, and at times the principle of composition is obscured by the elaboration of a particular topic to an altogether disproportionate length. Thus the mention of the peculiar cults to which Commodus was addicted (the category religiones) leads to a long and detailed list of acts of cruelty,³ while nearly one half of the life of Elagabalus is devoted to an enumeration of instances of his luxury and extravagance,⁴ and in the biography of Severus Alexander the fundamental scheme is almost unrecognizable as a result of the confused combination of various narratives.⁵

¹ Proposita vitae eius velut summa partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar; Suetonius, Aug., ix.
³ Com., ix. 6—xi. 7.
⁴ Heliog., xviii. 4—xxxiii. 1.
⁵ Leo, p. 280 f.
INTRODUCTION

It was also characteristic of Suetonius that he amplified his biographies by means of gossip, anecdotes, and documents, but nowhere in his Lives are these used as freely as in certain of the vitae of the Historia Augusta. The authors take a peculiar delight in the introduction of material dealing with the personality of their subjects. Not content with including special divisions on personal characteristics, in which are enumerated the individual qualities of an emperor,¹ they devote long sections to elaborate details of their private lives, particularly before their elevation to the throne. For this more intimate detail there was much less material available than for the narration of public events. The careers of short-lived emperors and pretenders afforded little of public interest, and consequently their biographies were padded with trivial anecdotes. In fact, a comparison between a major vita and its corresponding minor biography shows that the latter contains little historical material that is not in the former. The rest is made up of amplifications, anecdotes, speeches, letters and verses, and at best these minor vitae represent little more than a working over of the material contained in the major biographies with the aid of rhetorical expedients and literary embellishments.

The model for the emphasizing of the private life of an emperor seems to have been not so much Suetonius as Marius Maximus, the author of a series of imperial biographies from Nerva to Elagabalus or Severus Alexander. Not content with the narration

¹ e.g. in the Pius, liberalitas et clementia (viii. 5—ix. 5); auctoritas (ix. 6-10); pietas (x. 1-5); liberalitas (x. 6-9); civitas (xi.); see Peter, Scriptores, p. 157.
of facts in the manner of Suetonius, Maximus sought to add interest to his biographies by the introduction of personal material. His lives are cited by the authors of the earlier *vitae* of the *Historia Augusta* as their sources for gossip, scandal, and personal minutiae,\(^1\) and he is probably justly referred to as *homo omnium verbosissimus qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit.\(^2\) In gossip and search after detail, however, Maximus seems to have been outdone by Aelius Junius Cordus, cited in the *vitae* of Albinus, Maximinus, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus. He made it a principle to describe the emperor's appearances in public, and his food and clothing,\(^3\) and the citations from him include the enumeration of the amounts of fruit, birds and oysters consumed by Albinus.\(^4\) Readers who desire further information on trivial or indecent details are scornfully referred to his biographies.\(^5\)

The manner of Marius Maximus and Cordus is most clearly reproduced in the lives attributed to Vopiscus. The more pretentious biographies of Aurelian and Probus especially\(^6\) contain a wealth of personal detail which quite obscures the scant historical material. After an elaborate preface of a highly rhetorical nature, there follows a description of the character of the emperor in which the emphasis is laid on his noble deeds and his virtues. These are illustrated by anecdotes and attested by "documents," much to the detriment of the narration

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\(^1\) *Hadr.*, ii. 10; *Ael.*, v. 4; *Avid. Cass.*, ix. 9; *Helioq.*, xi. 6.
\(^2\) *Firm.*, i. 2.
\(^3\) *Macr.*, i. 4.
\(^4\) *Cl. Alb.*, xi. 2-3.
\(^5\) *Cl. Alb.*, v. 10; *Max.*, xxix. 10; *Gord.*, xxi. 3.
\(^6\) *Leo*, p. 291 f.
INTRODUCTION

of facts. No rhetorical device is neglected and the whole gives the impression of an eulogy rather than a biography.

The method employed by Marius Maximus and Cordus was, however, productive of a still more detrimental element in the Historia Augusta—the alleged documents which are inserted in many of the vitae. Suetonius, as secretary to Hadrian, had had access to the imperial archives and thus obtained various letters and other documents which he inserted in his biographies for the illustration or confirmation of some statement. His practice was continued by his successors in the field of biographical literature. Thus Marius Maximus inserted documents, both speeches and letters, in the body of his text and even added them in appendices.¹ Some of these may have been authentic; but since the references to them in the Historia Augusta indicate that they were very numerous, and since there is no reason to suppose that Maximus had access to the official archives, considerable doubt must arise as to their genuineness. Cordus, too, inserted in his biographies letters alleged to have been written by emperors² and speeches and acclamations uttered in the senate-house,³ but, to judge from the specimens preserved in the Historia Augusta, these “documents” deserve even less credence than those of Maximus.

The precedent thus established was followed by some of the authors of the Historia Augusta. The collection contains in all about 150 alleged documents, including 68 letters, 60 speeches and proposals

¹ Marc., xxv. 8; Com., xviii. 1; Pert., ii. 8; xv. 8; see Peter, Scriptores, p. 108 f.
² Cl. Alb., vii. 2-6; Max., xii. 5. ³ Gord., xi.
INTRODUCTION

to the people or the senate, and 20 senatorial decrees and acclamations. The distribution of these, however, is by no means uniform. Of the major *vita* from Hadrian to Elagabalus inclusive, only the *Commodus* and the *Macrinus* are provided with "documents," and these have but two apiece. On the other hand, the group of *vita* of the Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus contains in all 26 such pieces, and Pollio's *Valeriani, Tyranni Triginta* and *Claudius* have together 27. It is, however, Vopiscus who heads the list, for his five biographies contain no less than 59 so-called documents of various kinds.

In a discussion of the genuineness of these documents a distinction must be drawn between the speeches, on the one hand, and the letters and senatorial decrees and acclamations on the other. Since the time of Thucydides it had been customary for an historian to insert speeches in his history, and it was an established convention that they might be more or less fictitious. Accordingly, none would question the right of the biographer to attribute to the subject of his biography any speech that he might wish to insert in his narrative. With the letters and decrees, however, the case is different. Like those cited by Suetonius, these claim to be actual documents and it is from this claim that the question of their authenticity must proceed. In spite of occasional expressions of scepticism, the genuineness of these documents was not seriously questioned until 1870, when C. Czwalina published an examination of the letters contained in

2 *Com.*, xviii.-xix.; xx.; *Macr.*, ii. 4-5; vi. 2-9.
3 There are none in the *Gallienus*.  

xx
INTRODUCTION

the vita of Avidius Cassius. He showed that various letters, professedly written by different persons, show the same style and tricks of expression, that they were all written with the purpose of praising the clemency and generosity of Marcus, and that they contain several historical errors. He thus reached the conclusion that they were forgeries, but not composed by the author of the vita since his comments on them are inconsistent with their content.

A similar examination of the letters and documents in the other biographies, particularly in those attributed to Pollio and Vopiscus, reveals the hand of the forger even more plainly. They abound not only in errors of fact that would be impossible in genuine documents, but also in the rhetorical bombast and the stylistic peculiarities that are characteristic of the authors of these series. The documents cited by Pollio, moreover, show the same aim and purpose as his text—the glorification of Claudius Gothicus as the reputed ancestor of Constantius Chlorus and the vilification of his predecessor Gallienus,—while the documents of Vopiscus show the same tendency to sentimentalize over the past glories of Rome and over the greatness of the senate that is characteristic of his own work, and, like those cited by Pollio, they too have a purpose—the praise of Vopiscus’ hero Probus.

An entirely different type of spurious material is represented by the frequent interpolations in the text. These consist of later additions, of passages

1 De Epistolarum Actorumque quae a Scriptoribus H. A. pro-
2 e.g. ix. 10 and xiv. 8; see Peter, Scriptores, p. 197 f.
3 Peter, Scriptores, p. 156 f.
INTRODUCTION

introduced by editors of the whole series, and of notes added by commentators, presumably on the margins, and subsequently incorporated in the body of the work. Frequently they are inserted with utter disregard to the context, so that the continuity of a passage is completely interrupted. They vary in size from passages of several pages to brief notes of a few lines. The most extensive is a long passage in the vita of Marcus, which is inserted between the two main portions of the biography. It consists of an epitome of the events of the latter part of his reign, enumerated again and at greater length in the second main portion of the vita. That this epitome is an interpolation is evident not only from the double narrative of certain events, but also from the fact that it agrees closely with the narrative of Marcus' reign which is found in Eutropius.

An extensive interpolation has been made also in the Vita Severi. Here, however, the problem is less simple. The detailed narrative of the earlier part of Severus' reign is followed by a brief summary of the events of the whole period of his rule, closing with a long address to Diocletian. This summary is little more than a duplicate of the account of Severus' reign as given by Aurelius Victor in his Caesares.

1 Peter has attempted in his second edition of the text to distinguish the various types by different kinds of parentheses; see his Praefatio, p. xxxiv.
2 c. xv. 3.—xix. 12.
3 Breviarium, viii. 11-14. Eutropius' material is generally supposed to have been taken from an extensive history of the empire, now lost, which is usually termed the "Imperial Chronicle" (Kaiserchronik); see A. Enmann, Eine Verlorene Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser, Philologus, Suppl. Band iv. (1884), pp. 337-501.
4 c. i.—xvii. 4.
5 c. xvii. 5—xix.
6 c. xx.—xxi.
7 Caes., xx. 1-3.

xxii
INTRODUCTION

and either it has been taken directly from Victor or it is a parallel excerpt from his source, the "Imperial Chronicle". It, in turn, is followed by a section containing the narration of single incidents, frequently repetitions of what has preceded, forming a loosely composed and ill connected appendix to the whole.¹

Similar additions are to be found in the vita of Caracalla;² they contain repetitions and elaborations of previously narrated incidents and are evidently not the work of the writer of the bulk of the life. Besides these longer and more obvious interpolations there are countless others of varying extent, consisting of entries of new material and corrections and comments of later writers. Many of these have been inserted in the most inappropriate places, to the great detriment of the narrative, and the excision of these passages would contribute greatly to the intelligibility of many a vita.

The literary, as well as the historical, value of the Historia Augusta has suffered greatly as a result of the method of its composition. In the arrangement in categories of the historical material, the authors did but follow the accepted principles of the art of biography as practised in antiquity, but their narratives, consisting often of mere excerpts arranged without regard to connexion or transition, lack grace and even cohesion. The over-emphasis of personal details and the introduction of anecdotal material destroy the proportion of many sections, and the insertion of forged documents interrupts the course of the narrative, without adding anything of historical value or even of general interest. Finally, the

¹ c. xxii.-xxiv. ² c. vii.-viii.; x. 1—xi. 4.

xxiii
INTRODUCTION

later addition of lengthy passages and brief notes, frequently in paragraphs with the general content of which they have no connexion, has put the crowning touch to the awkwardness and incoherence of the whole, with the result that the oft-repeated charge seems almost justified, that these biographies are little more than literary monstrosities.

II

THE TRADITION

OF THE

HISTORIA AUGUSTA

In spite of its defects in style, its deliberate falsifications, and the trivial character of much of its content, the Historia Augusta has always been a subject for scholarly research and an important source for the history of the second and third centuries. At the beginning of the sixth century it was used by Aurelius Memmius Symmachus,¹ the last member of a famous family, in his Historia Romana, the sole extant fragment of which² cites at considerable length the vita of the Maximini. Later, several selections from it were included in the elaborate Collectaneum,³ or col-

¹ Consul in 485.
² Preserved in Jordanes, de Rebus Geticis, xv. 83.
³ Preserved in a manuscript of the twelfth century in the library of the Hospital of St. Nicholas at Cues, near Trier, to which it was bequeathed by the famous collector of manuscripts, Nicholas of Cues (Nicolaus Cusanus), on his death in 1464; see L. Traube, Abh. d. Bayer. Akad., xix. 2 (1891), p. 364 f., and S. Hellman, Sedulius Scottus, in L. Traube, Quellen u. Unters. z. lat. Philol. d. Mittelalters, i. (1906).
INTRODUCTION

lection of excerpts, made at Liège about 850 by the Irish scholar Sedulius Scottus, and citations from the Marcus, the Maximini, and the Aurelian are contained in Sedulius’ Liber de Rectoribus Christianis, written about 855.

During the period in which Sedulius was compiling his Collectaneum there was copied at the monastery at Fulda our chief manuscript, the Codex Palatinus, now in the Vatican Library (No. 899). This manuscript, written in the ninth century in the Carolingian minuscule of that period,\(^1\) represents a recension of the text which is somewhat different from that of the excerpts preserved in the Collectaneum.\(^2\) As early, then, as the ninth century there were two editions of the Historia Augusta, depending, of course, on a common original, but exhibiting minor differences in the text.

Such was the interest in Germany in the Historia Augusta that not long after this Fulda manuscript was finished a copy of it was made, now preserved in the library at Bamberg, written in Anglo-Saxon characters and dating from the ninth or tenth century. About the same period, also, another manuscript was made either from the original of the Fulda manuscript or from this codex itself. This was contained in the library of the Abbey at Murbach in the eleventh century, in the catalogue of which it is listed as Codex Spartiani. It was the fate of this manuscript to be sent to Erasmus to be used in the preparation of the Froben edition of the Historia Augusta, published at

\(^1\) H. Dessau, Hermes, xxix. (1894), p. 397 f.


xxv
INTRODUCTION

Basel in 1518.\(^1\) The first half of the biographies, however, had been printed before its arrival, and accordingly it could be used for this portion only as a source for variant readings, while for the later \textit{vitae}, from the \textit{Diadumenus} onward, it served as the basis of the text. Unfortunately, however, it then disappeared, and as early as 1738 no trace of it could be found.

At some time between the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century the Fulda Codex was taken to Italy and was placed in the library of the Cathedral of Verona.\(^2\) Here it was used by Giovanni de Matociis in the preparation of his \textit{Historia Imperialis}, written at Verona at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in the \textit{de Originibus Rerum} of Guglielmo da Pastrengo of Verona.\(^3\) Moreover, excerpts from it were included in the so-called \textit{Flores Moralium Auctoritatum}, transcribed in 1329, and still preserved in the Cathedral library.

While in Verona the codex containing the \textit{Historia Augusta} came to the notice of Petrarch, presumably through Pastrengo, his friend and correspondent. That it came into the actual possession of the great humanist and formed part of his library has been asserted\(^4\) and denied\(^5\) with equal vehemence. It is conceded by all, however, that he inscribed on its

\(^3\) Sabbadini, p. 15 f.
INTRODUCTION

margins many notes and comments, and that he had a copy of it made at Verona in 1356, to which he later added many a comment and correction. The results of his study of the biographies, furthermore, appear in his works. Thus in his letter de Militia Veterum, he cites the Hadrian, the Pescennius, the Avidius Cassius, the Maximini, and the Probus; and in the de Re Publica bene administranda he quotes from the Hadrian, the Avidius Cassius, the Elagabalus, the Alexander, and the Aurelian.

After the death of Petrarch, the Fulda Codex, it has been maintained, came into the possession of Coluccio Salutati, and many of the marginal corrections which it bears are said to be his. On the other hand, it has been asserted with equal vigour that Coluccio did not even see this manuscript. However this may be, the Historia Augusta was well known to Coluccio, and his letters written in the years 1381-93 cite the vitae of Hadrian, Pius, Marcus, and Alexander; moreover, the fact that in one letter he names the six authors of the Historia Augusta in the order in which they are contained in the manuscript seems to indicate that he had a first-hand acquaintance with the text.

1 Codex Parisinus 5816.
2 Epist. de Rebus Familiaribus, xxii. 14 (written in 1360); see also de Reb. Fam., xx. 4.
3 Epist. Seniles, xiv. 1 (1373); see also Ep. Sen., ii. 1; xv. 3.
5 Coluccio's use of this codex is denied by Hohl, l.c., p. 158, and Klio, xv. (1918), p. 87 f.
7 Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati, ed. by F. Novati (Rome, 1891-6), vol. ii., p. 299.

xxvii
INTRODUCTION

In the fifteenth century the famous codex passed into the hands of the merchant and theologian Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459). His possession is attested by the presence of his name on the first page,¹ and he too is supposed to have shown his interest in the Historia Augusta by inscribing many a note on the margins. Later, probably in 1587,² with other of Manetti's books, the codex containing the Historia Augusta passed to the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, there to be known as the Codex Palatinus and there to remain until, with the rest of that famous collection, it was sent to Rome in 1628 by Maximilian of Bavaria, and placed in the library of the Vatican.

The general interest in the Historia Augusta in the fifteenth century is well attested by the number of manuscripts that were made in that period.³ Among them was the copy of the Codex Palatinus which was made by the famous Poggio Bracciolini with his own hand and is still preserved in Florence.⁴

The same interest in the Historia Augusta that led to the multiplication of the manuscripts was responsible for its early appearance in printed form. One of the recent copies of the Codex Palatinus⁵ came into the hands of Bonus Accursius and from this was made the Editio Princeps, published in Milan in 1475. This was soon followed by an Aldine edition published

¹ H. Dessau, l.c., p. 409.
² S. H. Ballou, p. 40.
³ See Peter's text, 2nd Ed. Praefatio, p. xxiii. f.
⁴ The Codex Riccardianus 551; see S. H. Ballou, p. 29.
⁵ Usually supposed to have been the Codex Vaticanus 5301; see Dessau, l.c., p. 400 f. It has been maintained by Miss S. H. Ballou (p. 82 f.), however, that Accursius used Petrarch's manuscript, the Parisinus 5816.
INTRODUCTION

at Venice in 1516, and by the more famous text edited by Erasmus, and published by Froben in Basel in 1518.

In these early editions the emphasis had been laid on the Latin text, but in the seventeenth century the work of the editors included not only textual emendation, but comment and illustration. Of these editions the first was that of Casaubon, published in 1603. It was not unnatural that these biographies should have attracted the editor of Suetonius and Polybius and the scholar who wrote in the preface to his edition of the *Historia Augusta* that “political philosophy may be learned from history, and ethical from biography”.¹

Casaubon’s edition was soon followed by that of Gruter, published at Hanover in 1611. As professor in Heidelberg, Gruter had access to the *Codex Palatinus* and based his text on this manuscript. It is therefore not unnatural that he should have concerned himself most of all with the text. Yet his notes are by no means confined to a discussion of the readings of his manuscript, but include comment on the narrative and the citation of parallels from other classical authors. Yet his commentary lacks the scope of Casaubon’s, and in many a note he refers the reader to the work of his great predecessor, *amicissimus noster*, as he calls him.²

The work of Casaubon and Gruter was carried on by the great Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise) in his edition published in 1620. His contribution consisted, not in the text, which was merely a re-publi-

²*e.g.* note to *Hadr.*, ii. 5.
INTRODUCTION

cation of Casaubon's, but in his commentary. As might be expected from one of his great learning, he included in his edition notes of wide scope and vast erudition, and little was left unnoticed that the knowledge of the age afforded.¹

So far, the Historia Augusta had been a subject for textual criticism and comment rather than a source for Roman history. The historical researches of the humanistic period dealt almost exclusively with the Roman Republic, or, at the latest, with Augustus;² and left these imperial biographies untouched. Besides Giovanni de Matocii and Guglielmo da Pastrengo, only Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola³ in his Romuleon, a compendium of Roman history from the founding of Rome to the period of Constantine, written soon after 1360, seems to have been largely dependent on the Historia Augusta for the history of the second and third centuries. In the later Renaissance, when the interest of scholars concerned itself with antiquarian,⁴ rather than strictly historical, research, the biographies would be valuable only for incidental information⁵ rather than for historical material. In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, they received serious attention. The de

¹ The notes of Casaubon, Gruter, and Salmiasi are all incorporated in the variorum edition, published at Leyden in 1671.
³ Used by Casaubon and erroneously cited by him as Robertus a Porta Bononiensis, e.g., note to Hadri., i. 1; see E. Hohl, Berl. Philol. Woch., xxxv. (1915), 221 f.
⁵ e.g., the Antiquititates Romanae of J. Rosinus (Basel, 1585 f.), where the vitae are frequently cited.
INTRODUCTION

*Historicis Romanis* of G. J. Vossius, published in 1627, devoted considerable space not only to the six biographers themselves, their respective dates, and the problem of the distribution of the various *vitae* among them, but also to the authors cited by them, especially Marius Maximus and Junius Cordus. Of much more importance, however, was their use by Lenain de Tillemont in his *Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers Siècles de l'Eglise*. In spite of his general denunciation of the biographers as unworthy of the name of historian, and his occasional strictures on their self-contradictions, the chronological inexactness of Spartanianus, and the crime-inspiring character of Lampridius' work, the *Historia Augusta* was a main source, together with Cassius Dio, for that part of his work which dealt with the second and third centuries.

Similarly important was the place that the *Historia Augusta* occupied among the sources used by Gibbon. Although his critical acumen detected many an instance of historical inaccuracy, and although he did not hesitate to score single instances with characteristic vigour, he accepted in general the information that it offered and even the point of view of the biographer.

1 See *ib.* ii., cap. 2 f. 2 In five volumes. Paris, 1690 f.
3 *ib.*, vol. iii. p. 217.
4 *e.g.*, *ib.* iii. p. 447 (Spartianus); iii. p. 489 f. (Capitolinus); iii. p. 526 (Pollio.)
7 *e.g.*, his contrast between Cassius Dio who spoke “as a senator who had supped with the emperor” and Capitolinus who spoke “like a slave who had received his intelligence from one of the scullions”; Gibbon-Bury, vol. i. p. 99.
8 *e.g.*, his erroneous judgment on Gallienus, due to the *vita*; see Gibbon-Bury, vol. i. p. 446.
INTRODUCTION

In the nineteenth century the work of the biographers was still accorded respectful, though not uncritical, consideration. Thus Merivale held that "we may perhaps rely upon them generally for the account of the salient events of history and their views of character; but we must guard against the trifling and incredible anecdotes with which they abound,"¹ and, true to his principle, he constantly cites them as sources. Schiller, too, while observing that the later biographies are inferior to the earlier ones and that the value of their information varied with the source employed, regarded the material that they afford as useful for the political history of the empire,² and used them as sources, considering them, apparently, as important as Dio and Herodian. Even Mommsen in his Römische Staatsrecht does not disdain these biographies, but cites them among his authorities in his reconstruction of the public law and administration of imperial Rome. It was left for the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth to bring the charge of utter spuriousness against the Historia Augusta and to assert that it is the work of a forger ³—a charge which, in return, has led to a somewhat fanciful attempt to trace through many of the biographies the purple thread of an otherwise unknown historian of prime importance.⁴


xxxii
THE MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts of the Historia Augusta are divided into two main classes, each of which has such definite characteristics that the distinction between them is sharp and clear. Both classes are, indeed, derived from a common original, made after the loss of the vitae of the emperors from Philip to Valerian and of considerable portions of the vitae of the Valeriani and the Gallieni. On the other hand, there is a conspicuous difference between the two classes in the manner in which the text has been treated. In one class, usually designated as Class II, the treatment has been most conservative. The text has been preserved free from all interpolations or additions, and especially the lacunae in the biographies of the Valeriani and the Gallieni have been carefully indicated by dots marking the missing letters. This class is also characterised by a confusion in the order of the biographies between Verus and Alexander and by the misplacement of two long passages from the Alexander and the Maximini (Alex., xliii. 7—lviii. 1, and Max., v. 3—xviii. 2), each of which corresponds to a quire of the original which became loose and and was then inserted in a wrong place. A similar

1 See Intro., p. xiv.
THE MANUSCRIPTS

transposition occurs in the Carus, where c. xiii. 1—xv. 5 has been inserted in c. ii.

The manuscripts of the other class, designated as Class Σ, differ from those of Class Π in that the text has been treated with the utmost freedom. In many places, where the original was corrupt, drastic emendations have been made, and where none seemed possible, the corrupt parts have been omitted altogether. This is especially conspicuous in the lacunae in the vitae of the Valeriani and the Gallieni, where all trace of the loss has been covered up by the insertion of words and the formation of a continuous text. In all this the aim has been to construct a smooth and easily readable narrative. In other places, such as the end of the Caracalla and of the Maximus-Balbinus and the beginning of the Valeriani, additions have been made to the text; and in the case of the Marcus considerable sections have been shifted about and then connected in their new places by arbitrary changes in the context. It is also characteristic of this class that the vitae (with the single exception of the Avidius Cassius) are arranged in chronological order and that the sections transposed in Class Π are in their rightful places.

The manuscripts of Class Π were supposed by Peter to consist of three main groups, all derived from the same archetype, and represented respectively by the Codex Palatinus 899 (P); the Codex Bambergensis (B); and the Codex Vaticanus 5301 with others. Peter accordingly regarded the Palatinus and the Bambergensis as equally authoritative. More recent investigation, however, as carried on by Mommsen and Dessau, has shown that the Codex

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Palatinus is the parent manuscript, and that all the others of Class II are only direct or indirect copies of it. All contain errors and omissions which can be due only to a transcription of the Palatinus, over faithful or unskilful, as the case may be. Accordingly, only the Palatinus can be regarded as authoritative in this class, and the others may be used only for the purpose of confirmation or supplement.

The tradition contained in the manuscripts of Class Σ, though regarded as untrustworthy by Peter, was admitted by him to be possibly independent of that of Class II. This independence is more strongly maintained by Dr. Ernst Hohl. He points to the chronological order of the vitae and to the correct arrangement of the quires transposed in the manuscripts of Class II as evidence for his conviction that the manuscripts of this class represent a tradition different from that of Class II, although, as the various omissions show, derived from a common original. He has, furthermore, cited in proof of his theory various passages in the biographies of Alexander and Aurelian contained in the manuscripts of Class Σ but not in the Codex Palatinus, and argues that these were excised from the original of the latter because of allusions to pagan deities. These considerations, together with a number of readings which are better than those of the Palatinus, have convinced him that the Σ manuscripts are derived ultimately from an original at least as old as the Palatinus and retaining more correctly many of the readings of their common archetype. On the other hand,

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Miss Susan H. Ballou,¹ following the opinion expressed by Dessau, argues that these divergencies from the tradition of Class Π are of such a character that they can be merely the work of a clever, though unscrupulous, redactor. She holds that this man made his transcription from the Codex Palatinus, having before him all the corrections and additions that had been introduced by all the later correctors, and taking from all of them as many as suited his purpose. This transcription, she believes, was the original of the extant Σ manuscripts, which, accordingly, represent, not an independent tradition, but merely the work of an editor, who, by means of intelligent and original treatment of the material contained in the Palatinus and by the unscrupulous use of interpolation and re-arrangement, created a readable but unsound version of the text.

With only the present evidence available the problem of the value of the manuscripts of Class Σ must be regarded as still unsolved. The arguments advanced by Dr. Hohl are not altogether convincing, and it has not yet been fully demonstrated that the tradition of the Σ manuscripts is independent of those of Class Π. For the present, therefore, any constitution of the text must be based on the readings of the Codex Palatinus.

¹The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Augusta, Leipzig, 1914.
EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

EDITIONS—

Editio Princeps: edited by Bonus Accursius, Milan, 1475.
Venice Editions: printed by Bernadinus Ricius (Rizus), 1489, and J. Rubens de Vercellis, 1490.
Desiderius Erasmus: published by Froben, Basel, 1518.
Janus Gruter: Hanover, 1611.
Claudius Salmasius; containing also Casaubon’s notes: Paris, 1620; London, 1652.
C. Schrevel: Leyden, 1661.
Ulrich Obrecht: Strassburg, 1677.
J. P. Schmidt, with preface by J. L. E. Puettmann: Leipzig, 1774.
Panckouke, 3 vols.: Paris, 1844-1847.
Thomas Vallaurius: Turin, 1853.

TRANSLATIONS—

GERMAN—

J. P. Ostertag, 2 vols.: Frankfurt a. Main, 1790, 1793.

FRENCH—


SPANISH—

F. Navarro y Calvo, 2 vols.: Madrid, 1889-1890.
SCRIPTORES
HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

VOL. I.
AELII SPARTIANI

DE VITA

HADRIANI

I. Origo imperatoris Hadriani vetustior a Picentibus, posterior ab Hispaniisibus manat; si quidem Hadria ortos maiores suos apud Italicam Scipionum tempori-bus resedisse in libris vitae suae Hadrianus ipse commemorat.¹ Hadriano pater Aelius Hadrianus cognomento Afer fuit, consobrinus Traiani imperato-ris; mater Domitia Paulina Gadibus orta, soror Paulina nupta Serviano, uxor Sabina, atavus Marullinus, qui primus in sua familia senator populi Romani fuit.

3 Natus est Romae VIII kal. Feb. Vespasiano septies

¹ commenorat P corr.; commemoret P¹, Petschenig.

¹ For the Autobiography of Hadrian, now lost, cf. c. xvi. It seems to have been written toward the close of his life, and, to judge from scanty citations from it, its purpose was to con-tradict current statements about himself which he considered derogatory to his reputation and to present him in a favour-able light to posterity.

² An ancient town of Picenum, which became a Roman colony, probably about the time of Sulla.

³ In Hispania Baetica, on the Baetis (Guadalquivir),
HADRIAN

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. The original home of the family of the Emperor Hadrian was Picenum, the later, Spain; for Hadrian himself relates in his autobiography that his forefathers came from Hadria, but settled at Italica in the time of the Scipios. The father of Hadrian was Aelius Hadrianus, surnamed Afer, a cousin of the Emperor Trajan; his mother was Domitia Paulina, a native of Cadiz; his sister was Paulina, the wife of Servianus, his wife was Sabina, and his great-grandfather's grandfather was Marullinus, the first of his family to be a Roman senator.

Hadrian was born in Rome on the eighth day before the Kalends of February in the seventh consul-
HADRIAN

4 et Tito quinquies consulibus. ac decimo aetatis anno patre orbatus Ulpium Traianum praetorium tunc,\textsuperscript{1} consobrinum suum, qui postea imperium tenuit, et Caelium Attianum equitem Romanum tutores habuit. 5 imbutusque impensius Graecis studiis, ingenio eius sic ad ea declinante ut a nonnullis Graeculus II. diceretur. quintodecimo anno ad patriam rediit ac statim militiam iniit, venandi\textsuperscript{2} usque ad reprehensionem studiosus. quare a Traiano abductus a patria et pro filio habitus nec multo post decemvir litibus iudicandis datus atque inde tribunus secundae 3 Adiutricis legionis creatus. post hoc in inferiorem Moesiam translatus extremis iam Domitian\textsuperscript{3} temporibus. ibi a mathematico quodam de futuro imperio id dicitur compersisse quod a patruo magno Aelio Hadriano peritia caelestium callente praedictum esse 5 compererat. Traiano a Nerva adoptato ad gratulationem exercitus missus in\textsuperscript{4} Germaniam superiorem

\textsuperscript{1} tunc P\textsuperscript{1}; uirum P corr. \textsuperscript{2} uenandi Novak; uenando P, Peter. \textsuperscript{3} domitianis P\textsuperscript{1}, Petschenig. \textsuperscript{4} in omitted by P\textsuperscript{1}, added by P corr.

\textsuperscript{1} Trajan was praetor about 85, and so, until he became consul, in 91, was a \textit{vir praetorius}.

\textsuperscript{2} The name Cælius is an error. His name was Acilius Attianus, as it appears on an inscription from Elba; see \textit{Röm. Mitt.}, xviii. 63-67. He became prefect of the guard under Trajan and seems to have been instrumental in securing the throne for Hadrian. On his retirement from the prefecture, see c. viii. 7; ix. 3-5.

\textsuperscript{3} The \textit{decemviri stilitibus iudicandis} had originally, in the republican period, the duty of determining disputed claims to freedom. Augustus removed suits for freedom from their jurisdiction, and gave them the conduct of the court of the \textit{Centumviri}, which dealt with suits for inheritances. Appointment to this, or to one of five other minor magistrial
ship of Vespasian and the fifth of Titus. Bereft of his father at the age of ten, he became the ward of Ulpius Trajanus, his cousin, then of praetorian rank, but afterwards emperor, and of Caelius Attianus, a knight. He then grew rather deeply devoted to Greek studies, to which his natural tastes inclined so much that some called him “Greekling.” II. He returned to his native city in his fifteenth year and at once entered military service, but was so fond of hunting that he incurred criticism for it, and for this reason Trajan recalled him from Italica. Thenceforth he was treated by Trajan as his own son, and not long afterwards he was made one of the ten judges of the inheritance-court, and, later, tribune of the Second Legion, the Adjutrix. After this, when Domitian’s principate was drawing to a close, he was transferred to the province of Lower Moesia. There, it is said, he heard from an astrologer the same prediction of his future power which had been made, as he already knew, by his great-uncle, Aelius Hadrianus, a master of astrology. When Trajan was adopted by Nerva, Hadrian was sent to convey to him the army’s congratulations and was at once boards constituting the vigintiviri, was the first step in a career of public office.

4 So called because it had been recruited (by Vespasian) from an auxiliary force of marines. At this time it was serving probably in the province of Pannonia Inferior.

5 As tribune of the Fifth Legion, the Macedonica. This command is listed among his other offices in an inscription set up in his honour at Athens in 112 (C.I.L., iii. 550 = Dessau, Inscr. Sel., 308), and it is known that this legion was quartered in Moesia Inferior at this time.

6 Trajan was governor of the province of Germania Superior; he seems to have been appointed by Nerva in 96.
HADRIAN

6 translatus est. ex qua festinans ad Traianum, ut primus nuntiaret excessum Nervae, a Serviano, sororis viro, (qui et sumptibus et aere alieno eius prodito Traiani odium in eum movit) diu detentus fracto-que consulte vehiculo tardatus, pedibus iter faciens 7 eiusmodem Serviani beneficiarum antevenit. fuitque in amore Traiani, nec tamen ei per paedagogos puerorum quos Traianus impensisius diligebat, . . .
8 Gallo favente 1 defuit. quo quidem tempore cum sollicitus de imperatoris erga se iudicio, Vergilianas sortes consuleret,
Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae sacra ferens? nosco crines incanaque menta regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra missus in imperium magnum, cui deinde subibit . . .
sors excidit, quam alii ex Sibyllinis versibus ei prove-9 nisse dixerunt. habuit autem praesumptionem im- perii mox futuri ex fano quoque Nicephorii Iovis manante responso, quod Apollonius Syrus Platonicus 10 libris suis indidit. denique statim suffragante Sura ad amicitiam Traiani pleniorem redit, nepte per

1 Lacuna suggested by Gemoll; diligebat Gallo favente de-fuit P.

1 As tribune of the Twenty-second Legion, the Primigenia Pia Fidelis, according to the Athenian inscription (see p. 5, n. 5).
2 A beneficiarius was a soldier who had been relieved of active service by some commandant and was attached to the suite of this official.
3 For similar consultations, cf. Cl. Alb., v. 4; Alex., iv. 6; xiv. 5; Claud., x. 4f.
4 Aen., vi. 808-812. The passage refers to Numa Pompilius.
5 Perhaps the place of this name near Pergamon.
6 Unknown.
transferred to Upper Germany. When Nerva died, Oct., 97. he wished to be the first to bring the news to Trajan, but as he was hastening to meet him he was detained by his brother-in-law, Servianus, the same man who had revealed Hadrian's extravagance and indebtedness and thus stirred Trajan's anger against him. He was further delayed by the fact that his travelling-carriage had been designedly broken, but he nevertheless proceeded on foot and anticipated Servianus' personal messenger. And now he became a favourite of Trajan's, and yet, owing to the activity of the guardians of certain boys whom Trajan loved ardently, he was not free from . . . which Gallus fostered. Indeed, at this time he was even anxious about the Emperor's attitude towards him, and consulted the Vergilian oracle. This was the lot given out: 

But who is yonder man, by olive wreath
Distinguished, who the sacred vessel bears?
I see a hoary head and beard. Behold
The Roman King whose laws shall establish Rome
Anew, from tiny Cures' humble land
Called to a mighty realm. Then shall arise . . .

Others, however, declare that this prophecy came to him from the Sibylline Verses. Moreover, he received a further intimation of his subsequent power, in a response which issued from the temple of Jupiter at Nicephorium and has been quoted by Apollonius of Syria, the Platonist. Finally, through the good offices of Sura, he was instantly restored to a friendship with Trajan that was closer than ever, and

L. Licinius Sura was consul for the third time in 107. He commanded the army in the wars in Dacia and received the triumphal insignia and other high honours.
HADRIAN

sororem Traiani uxore accepta favente Plotina, Traiano leviter, ut Marius Maximus dicit, volente.

III. Quaesturam gessit Traiano quater et Articuleio consulibus, in qua cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset, usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit. post quaesturam acta senatus curavit atque ad bellum Dacicum Traianum familiarius prosecutus est; quando quidem et induluisse vino se dicit Traiani moribus obsequentem atque ob hoc se a Traiano locupletissime muneratum. tribunus plebis factus est Candido et Quadrato iterum consulibus, in quo magistratu ad perpetuam tribuniciam potestatem omen sibi factum adserit, quod paenulas amiserit, quibus uti tribuni plebis pluviae tempore solebant, imperatores autem numquam. unde hodieque imperatores sine paenulis a togatis videntur. secunda expeditione Dacia Traianus eum primae legioni Minerviae praeposuit secumque duxit; quando quidem multa egregia eius facta claruerunt. quare adamante gemma quam Tra-

1 Vibia Sabina, the daughter of L. Vibius and Matidia, who was the daughter of Marciana, Trajan’s sister. Plotina was Trajan’s wife.

2 L. Marius Maximus was the author of biographies of the emperors from Nerva to Elagabalus, frequently cited in these Vitae; see Intro., p. xvi f. He is probably the senator of the same name who held many important administrative posts under Septimius Severus and his successors.

3 He is called in the Athenian inscription quaestor imperatoris Traiani, i.e. he was one of the quaestors detailed to transact business for the emperor, and particularly to convey his messages to the senate and read them before the house.

4 The official known as curator actorum senatus or ab actis senatus drafted the record of the senate’s transactions.
he took to wife the daughter of the Emperor's sister —a marriage advocated by Plotina, but, according to Marius Maximus, little desired by Trajan himself.

He held the quaestorship in the fourth consulship of Trajan and the first of Articuleius, and while holding this office he read a speech of the Emperor's to the senate and provoked a laugh by his somewhat provincial accent. He thereupon gave attention to the study of Latin until he attained the utmost proficiency and fluency. After his quaestorship he served as curator of the acts of the senate, and later accompanied Trajan in the Dacian war on terms of considerable intimacy, seeing, indeed, that falling in with Trajan's habits, as he says himself, he partook freely of wine, and for this was very richly rewarded by the Emperor. He was made tribune of the plebs in the second consulship of Candidus and Quadratus, and he claimed that he received an omen of continuous tribunician power during this magistracy, because he lost the heavy cloak which is worn by the tribunes of the plebs in rainy weather, but never by the emperors. And down to this day the emperors do not wear cloaks when they appear in public before civilians. In the second Dacian war, Trajan appointed him to the command of the First Legion, the Minervia, and took him with him to the war; and in this campaign his many remarkable deeds won great renown. Because of this he was presented with a diamond which

5 The first Dacian war (101-102). The inscription cited above reads: Comes expeditionis Dacicae, donis militaribus ab eo (Traiano) donatus bis.

6 An allusion to the tribunician power held by the emperors, which was regarded as the basis of their civil powers; see note to Marc., vi. 6.
HADRIAN

ianus a Nerva acceperat donatus ad spem successionis erectus est. praetor factus est Suburano¹ bis et Serviano iterum consulibus, cum sestertium iterum² vicies ad ludos edendos a Traiano accepit. legatus postea praetorius in Pannoniam inferiorem missus Sarmatas compressit, disciplinam militarem tenuit, procuratores latius evagantes coercuit. ob hoc consul est factus. in quo magistratu ut³ a Sura comperit adoptandum se a Traiano esse, ab amicis Traiani contemni desit ac neglegi. et defuncto⁴ quidem Sura Traiani ei familiaritas crevit,⁵ causa praecipue orationum quas IV. pro imperatore dictaverat. usus Plotinae quoque favore, cuius studio etiam legatus expeditionis Parthicae tempore destinatus est. qua quidem tempestate utebatur Hadrianus amicitia Sosii Papi et Platorii⁶ Nepotis ex senatorio ordine, ex equestri

¹ Suburano Mommsen; sub surano P, Peter. ² iterum deleted by Mommsen. ³ ut P corr.; et P¹. ⁴ defuncto P corr.; definito P¹. ⁵ creuit P corr.; creavit P¹; crebuit Peter. ⁶ Plator Borghesi; pletori P.

¹ Due to a precedent established by Augustus, who, when ill in 23 B.C., gave his ring to Agrippa, apparently intending him to be his successor; see Dio, liii, 30.
² The reading of P is impossible, for no such person as Suranus is known, but it is difficult to emend the text satisfactorily, since Suburanus was consul for the second time in 104, and Servianus was consul for the second time in 102. The consuls of 107, in which year Hadrian was probably praetor, were Sura, for the third time, and Senecio, for the second time.
³ This province was one of the "imperial provinces," which were governed in theory by the emperor but in practice by a deputy appointed by him with the title legatus Augusti pro praetore. The governor of the province under the control of the senate, on the other hand, had the title of proconsul.
Trajan himself had received from Nerva, and by this gift he was encouraged in his hopes of succeeding to the throne. He held the praetorship in the second consulship of Suburanus and Servianus, and again received from Trajan two million sesterces with which to give games. Next he was sent as praetorian legate to Lower Pannonia, where he held the Sarmatians in check, maintained discipline among the soldiers, and restrained the procurators, who were overstepping too freely the bounds of their power. In return for these services he was made consul. While he was holding this office he learned from Sura that he was to be adopted by Trajan, and thereupon he ceased to be an object of contempt and neglect to Trajan's friends. Indeed, after Sura's death Trajan's friendship for him increased, principally on account of the speeches which he composed for the Emperor. IV. He enjoyed, too, the favour of Plotina, and it was due to her interest in him that later, at the time of the campaign against Parthia, he was appointed the legate of the Emperor. At this same time he enjoyed, besides, the friendship of Sosius Papus and Platorius Nepos, both of the

Hadrian is called here le-gatus praetorius because he held this position as a vir praetorius, i.e. one who had been praetor but not yet consul.

4 The procurator was charged with the collection of taxes and other sources of revenue in an imperial province and their transmission to the fiscus, or privy purse.

5 Cf. c. iii 10.

6 The appointment as legate refers to his governorship of Syria; see § 6.

7 A. Platorius Nepos was prominent under Trajan as a magistrate at Rome and the governor of several important provinces and was consul with Hadrian in 119. He afterward incurred Hadrian's enmity; see c. xv. 2; xxiii. 4.
HADRIAN

autem Attiani, tutoris quondam sui, et Liviani et 1 Turbonis. in adoptionis sponsonem venit Palma et Celso, inimicis semper suis et quos postea ipse insecutus est, in suspicionem adfectatae 2 tyrannidis lapis. secundo consul favore Plotinae factus totam praescriptionem adoptionis emeruit. corrupisse eum Traiani libertos, curasse delicatos eosdemque sepelisse 3 per ea tempora quibus in aula familiarior 4 fuit, opinio multa firmavit.

6 Quintum iduum Augustarum diem legatus Syriae litteras adoptionis accepit; quando et natalem adptionis celebrari iussit. tertium iduum earundem, quando et natalem imperii statuit celebrandum, excessus ei Traiani nuntiatus est.

8 Frequens sane opinio fuit Traiano id animi fuisse ut Neratium Priscum, non Hadrianum, successorem relinqueret, multis amicis in hoc consentientibus, usque eo ut Prisco aliquando dixerit: "commendo tibi provincias, si quid mihi fatale contigerit". et multi quidem dicunt Traianum in animo id habuisse, ut exemplo Alexandri Macedonis sine certo success-

1 T. Claudius Livianus was prefect of the guard under Trajan and held a command in the first Dacian war; see Dio, lxix. 9.
2 For the career of Q. Marcius Turbo under Trajan and Hadrian see c. v-vii. He was finally appointed prefect of the guard; see c. ix. 4.
3 A. Cornelius Palma and L. Publilius Celsus held important offices under Trajan and statues were erected in their
senatorial order, and also of Attianus, his former guardian, of Livianus, and of Turbo, all of equestrian rank. And when Palma and Celsus, always his enemies, on whom he later took vengeance, fell under suspicion of aspiring to the throne, his adoption seemed assured; and it was taken wholly for granted when, through Plotina's favour, he was appointed consul for the second time. That he was bribing Trajan's freedmen and courting and corrupting his favourites all the while that he was in close attendance at court, was told and generally believed.

On the fifth day before the Ides of August, while 9 Aug., he was governor of Syria, he learned of his adoption by Trajan, and he later gave orders to celebrate this day as the anniversary of his adoption. On the third day before the Ides of August he received the news 11 Aug., of Trajan's death, and this day he appointed as the anniversary of his accession.

There was, to be sure, a widely prevailing belief that Trajan, with the approval of many of his friends, had planned to appoint as his successor not Hadrian but Neratius Priscus, even to the extent of once saying to Priscus: "I entrust the provinces to your care in case anything happens to me". And, indeed, many aver that Trajan had purposed to follow the example of Alexander of Macedonia and die without naming a successor. Again, many others declare that

honour. Nothing is known of the suspicion alluded to here, but the two men, together with Nigrinus and Lusius Quietus, were later accused of a conspiracy against Hadrian and put to death; see c. vii. 1-3.

4 L. Neratius Priscus was a famous jurist and his works were used in the compilation of Justinian's Digest. He was a member of Trajan's imperial council, and later was one of Hadrian's advisers in legal questions; see c. xviii. 1.
HADRIAN

sore moreretur, multi ad senatum eum orationem voluisse mittere petiturum, ut, si quid ei evenisset, principem Romanae rei publicae senatus daret, additis dum taxat nominibus ex quibus optimum idem senatus eligeret. nec desunt qui factione Plotinae mortuo iam Traiano Hadrianum in adoptionem adscitum esse prodiderint, supposito qui pro Traiano fessa voce loquebatur.¹

V. Adeptus imperium ad priscum se statim morem instituit et tenenda per orbem terrarum paci operam impendit.² nam deficientibus iis nationibus quas Traianus subegerat, Mauri lacessebant, Sarmatae bellum inferebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana dicione non poterant, Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya³ denique ac Palæstina rebelles animos efferebant. quare omnia trans Euphraten ac Tigrim reliquit exemplum, ut dicebat, Catonis, qui Macedones liberos pronuntiavit, quia tueri non poterant.⁴ Parthamasirin,⁵ quem Traianus Parthis regem fecerat,

¹ loqueretur P corr. ² impendit P corr., Petschenig, Novak, and Lessing; intendit Pⁱ, Peter. ³ Libya Cas.; licia P. ⁴ Parthamasirin, see Prosop. III, p. 13; sarmatosirin P; Partomasirin Peter².

¹ Augustus had bequeathed as a policy the consilium coercedi intra terminos imperii (Tacitus, Annals, i. 11), these natural boundaries being the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. This policy had been abandoned by Trajan in his conquests of Dacia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Hadrian’s new policy is proclaimed in the legends on his coins, Iustitia (Cohen, ii², p. 179, No. 874 f.) and Pax (Cohen, ii², p. 190, No. 1011 f.).
² Cf. § 8 and c. vi. 7. ³ Cf. c. vi. 6.
⁴ i.e. Alexandria, where the Jews were rioting, incited perhaps by the example of their fellow-countrymen in Palestine. ¹⁴
HADRIAN IV. 10—V. 4

he had meant to send an address to the senate, requesting this body, in case aught befell him, to appoint a ruler for the Roman empire, and merely appending the names of some from among whom the senate might choose the best. And the statement has even been made that it was not until after Trajan’s death that Hadrian was declared adopted, and then only by means of a trick of Plotina’s; for she smuggled in someone who impersonated the Emperor and spoke in a feeble voice.

V. On taking possession of the imperial power Hadrian at once resumed the policy of the early emperors,¹ and devoted his attention to maintaining peace throughout the world. For the nations which Trajan had conquered began to revolt; the Moors, moreover, began to make attacks,² and the Sarmatians to wage war,³ the Britons could not be kept under Roman sway, Egypt ⁴ was thrown into disorder by riots, and finally Libya ⁵ and Palestine ⁶ showed the spirit of rebellion. Whereupon he relinquished all the conquests east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, following, as he used to say, the example of Cato, who urged that the Macedonians, because they could not be held as subjects, should be declared free and independent.⁷ And Parthamasiris,⁸ appointed king

¹ i.e. the Cyrenaica, where at the end of Trajan’s reign the Jews had risen and massacred many Greeks and Romans; see Dio, lxviii. 32.
² Cf. § 8.
³ This measure was apparently advocated in a speech made before the senate in 167 B.C. after the defeat of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, at Pydna (see Livy, xlv. 17-18). Macedonia was divided into four independent districts, an arrangement which proved untenable.
⁴ An error for Parthamaspates. This prince had deserted his cousin, the Parthian king, and sided with Trajan in the
HADRIAN

quod eum non magni ponderis apud Parthos videret, proximis gentibus dedit regem.

5 Tantum autem statim clementiae studium habuit: ut, cum sub primis imperii diebus ab Attiano per epistolas esset admonitus, ut et Baebius Macer praefectus urbis, si reniteretur eius imperio, necaretur et Laberius Maximus, qui suspectus imperio in insula exsulabat, et Frugi Crassus, nominem laeder et; quamvis Crassum postea procurator egressum insula, quasi res novas moliretur, iniusso¹ eius occiderit. militibus ob auspicia imperii duplicem largitionem dedit. Lusium Quietum sublatis gentibus Mauris, quos regebat, quia suspectus imperio fuerat, exarmavit, Marcio Turbone Iudaeis compressis ad deprimendum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato.

9 Post haec Antiochia digressus est ad inspiciendas

¹ iniusso P, accepted by Petschenig; iniusso Peter².

Parthian war; he was rewarded by being made king after Trajan’s victory in 116-117. The Parthians deposed him, and Hadrian accordingly assigned to him, at least for a time, the district of Osroene in north-western Mesopotamia. Cf. c. xxi. 10, and Dio, lviii. 30 and 33.

¹ The biography is anticipating here. This letter was doubtless written after Attianus had returned to Rome with Trajan’s ashes; see § 10.

² Baebius Macer was one of the friends and correspondents of the younger Pliny; see Pliny, Epist., iii. 5. The prefect of the city was in command of the three cohorts which were responsible for the maintenance of order in Rome.

³ M. Laberius Maximus seems to have held a command in the first Dacian war, and was consul for the second time in 103. Nothing further is known of these “designs”.

⁴ C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi conspired against Nerva and was banished to Tarentum. He was later brought to trial on the charge of conspiring against Trajan and was condemned (Dio, lviii. 3 and 16).

⁵ Lusius Quietus, a Moor by birth and a captain of a squad-

16
of the Parthians by Trajan, he assigned as ruler to the neighbouring tribes, because he saw that the man was held in little esteem by the Parthians.

Moreover, he showed at the outset such a wish to be lenient, that although Attianus advised him by letter in the first few days of his rule ¹ to put to death Baebius Macer,² the prefect of the city, in case he opposed his elevation to power, also Laberius Maximus,³ then in exile on an island under suspicion of designs on the throne, and likewise Crassus Frugi,⁴ he nevertheless refused to harm them. Later on, however, his procurator, though without an order from Hadrian, had Crassus killed when he tried to leave the island, on the ground that he was planning a revolt. He gave a double donative to the soldiers in order to ensure a favourable beginning to his principate. He deprived Lusius Quietus ⁵ of the command of the Moorish tribesmen, who were serving under him, and then dismissed him from the army, because he had fallen under the suspicion of having designs on the throne; and he appointed Marcias Turbo, after his reduction of Judæa, to quell the insurrection in Mauretania.

After taking these measures he set out from Antioch to view the remains of Trajan,⁶ which were ron of Moorish horse, had been a commander in Trajan's Parthian war. He had subsequently been appointed governor of Judæa by Trajan. The dismissal of the Moorish troops was a preliminary to the enforced retirement of Quietus, since he was now unable to offer any resistance to Hadrian. He was afterwards accused of conspiring against Hadrian and was put to death; see c. vii. 1-3.

⁶ Probably to Seleucia, whither Trajan's body was brought from Selinus in Cilicia, the place of his death. Here the body was burned and the ashes sent to Rome; cf. Victor, Epit., xiv. 12.
HADRIAN

reliquias Traiani, quas Attianus, Plotina et Matidia 10 deferebant. quibus exceptis et navi Romam dimissis ipse Antiochiam regressus praepositoque Syriae Catilii Severo per Illyricum Romam venit.

VI. Traiano divinos honores datis ad senatum et quidem accuratissimis litteris postulavit et cunctis volentibus meruit, ita ut senatus multa, quae Hadrianus non postulaverat, in honorem Traiani sponte decerneret. cum ad senatum scriberet, veniam petiit, quod de imperio suo iudicium senatui non dedisset, salutatus scilicet praepropere a militibus imperator, quod esse res publica sine imperatore non posset. cum triumphantium ei senatus, qui Traiano debitus erat, detulisset, recusavit ipse atque imaginem Traiani curru triumphali vexit, ut optimus imperator ne post mortem quidem triumphi amitteret dignitatem. patris patriae nomen delatum sibi statim et iterum postea distulit, quod hoc nomen Augustus sero meruisset. aurum

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1 See note to c. ii. 10.
2 L. Catilius Severus was a friend and correspondent of Pliny; see Pliny, Epist., i. 22; iii. 12. He became consul for the second time in 120, was proconsul of Asia, and in 138 prefect of the city; see c. xxiv. 6-8. He was the great-grandfather of Marcus Aurelius; see Marc., i. 4.
3 Used here to denote the provinces along the southern bank of the Danube. His route lay across Asia Minor, and it was probably in this region that he received the news of the war threatened by the tribes north of the river; cf. c. vi. 6. He arrived in Moesia in the spring of 118, and finally reached Rome in July, 118; cf. c. vii. 3.
4 Acclamation by the army constituted a strong de facto claim to the imperial power, but it is now generally recognized (in spite of Mommsen's theory to the contrary) that only the senate could legally confer the imperium.
5 This triumph was commemorated by coins bearing on the obverse the head of Trajan with the legend Divo Traiano Parth
being escorted by Attianus, Plotina, and Matidia. He received them formally and sent them on to Rome by ship, and at once returned to Antioch; he then appointed Catilius Severus governor of Syria, and proceeded to Rome by way of Illyricum.

VI. Despatching to the senate a carefully worded letter, he asked for divine honours for Trajan. This request he obtained by a unanimous vote; indeed, the senate voluntarily voted Trajan many more honours than Hadrian had requested. In this letter to the senate he apologized because he had not left it the right to decide regarding his accession, explaining that the unseemly haste of the troops in acclaiming him emperor was due to the belief that the state could not be without an emperor. Later, when the senate offered him the triumph which was to have been Trajan's, he refused it for himself, and caused the effigy of the dead Emperor to be carried in a triumphal chariot, in order that the best of emperors might not lose even after death the honour of a triumph. Also he refused for the present the title of Father of his Country, offered to him at the time of his accession and again later on, giving as his reason the fact that Augustus had not won it until late in life. Of the crown-

(ico) Aug(usto) Patri and on the reverse a four-horse chariot driven by the Emperor who holds a laurel-branch and a sceptre, with the legend triumphus Parthicus; see Cohen, ii, p. 78, No. 585.

This title was conferred on Augustus in 2 B.C., twenty-five years after he received the imperium and the name of Augustus. In the case of the Julio-Claudian emperors after Tiberius (who never held this title) about a year was allowed to elapse before the honour was conferred. Hadrian finally accepted it in 128; see note to c. xiii. 4. The precedent of a postponement was also followed by Pius (Pius, vi. 6), and Marcus (Marc., ix. 3).
HADRIAN

coronarium Italiae remisit, in provinciis minuit, et quidem difficultatibus aerarii ambitiose ac diligenter expositis.
6 Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxolanorum praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petiiit. Marcium Turbonem post Mauretanicum¹ praefecturae infulis ornatum Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit.
8 cum rege Roxolanorum, qui de inminutis stipendiis querebatur, cognito negotio pacem composit.

VII. Nigrini insidias, quas ille sacrificanti Hadriano conscio sibi Lusio et multis aliis paraverat, cum etiam successorem Hadrianus sibimet destinasset, evasit.
2 quare Palma Tarracinis, Celsus Baiis, Nigrinus Faventiae, Lusius in itinere senatu iubente, invito 3 Hadriano, ut ipse in vita sua dicit, occisi sunt. unde statim Hadrianus ad refellendam tristissimam de se

¹Mauretaniam Peter; mauratanae P; mauritaniae P corr.

¹A contribution for the purpose of providing gold wreaths (in imitation of laurel) which were held over the head of the general in his triumph. Such contributions were originally voluntary, but soon became obligatory. Augustus had remitted them (Mon. Anc., c. 21), but his example does not seem to have been followed by his immediate successors. Partial remission is recorded in the cases of Pius (Pius, iv. 10) and Alexander (Alex., xxxii. 5), and proclamations of remission by Trajan and Marcus are preserved in a papyrus (Fayoum Towns and their Papyri, No. 116).
²The compressed style of the narrative combines those two tribes here, but they must be carefully distinguished. The Roxolani lived at the mouth of the Danube; they had been constituted a vassal-state by Trajan. On the other hand, the term Sarmatae is used to denote the independent Iazyges
money for his triumph he remitted Italy's contribution, and lessened that of the provinces, all the while setting forth grandiloquently and in great detail the straits of the public treasury.

Then, on hearing of the incursions of the Sarmatians and Roxolani, he sent the troops ahead and set out for Moesia. He conferred the insignia of a prefect on Marcius Turbo after his Mauretanian campaign and appointed him to the temporary command of Pannonia and Dacia. When the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he investigated his case and made peace with him.

VII. A plot to murder him while sacrificing was made by Nigrinus, with Lusius and a number of others as accomplices, even though Hadrian had destined Nigrinus for the succession; but Hadrian successfully evaded this plot. Because of this conspiracy Palma was put to death at Tarracina, Celsus at Baiae, Nigrinus at Faventia, and Lusius on his journey homeward, all by order of the senate, but contrary to the wish of Hadrian, as he says himself in his autobiography. Whereupon Hadrian entrusted who lived in the great plain between the Theiss and the Danube.

This was an extraordinary command, for Pannonia and Dacia, like other imperial provinces, were always assigned to senatorial legates, and Turbo was a knight. The only instance of an equestrian governor was the prefect of Egypt, the viceroy of the emperor (who in theory was king of Egypt), and this appointment of a knight to govern the provinces on the Danube seemed to have a precedent in the prefecture of Egypt (cf. c. vii. 3).

Probably C. Avidius Nigrinus, mentioned by Pliny in Epist. ad Traian., lxxv. and lxxvi. On the other conspirators see notes to c. iv. 3, and v. 8.

Now Faenza; in the Po valley, about thirty miles S.E. of Bologna.
opinionem, quod occidi passus esset uno tempore quattuor consulares, Romam venit, Dacia Turboni credita, titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato, et ad comprimendam dei se famam congiarium duplex praesens populo dedit, ternis iam per singulos aureis se absente divisis. in senatu quoque excusatis quae facta erant iuravit se numquam senatorem nisi ex senatus sententia putniturum. statum\(^1\) cursum fiscalem instituit, ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur. ad colligendum autem gratiam nihil praetermittens, infinitam pecuniam, quae fisco deebatur, privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero etiam ex reliquiis ingentes summas remisit, syngraphis in foro divi Traiani,\(^2\) quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, incensis. damnatorum bona in fiscum privatum

\(^1\) statum Peter; statim P (defended by Herzog R. Stuf. II, 359, 1). \(^2\) hadriani P\(^1\); al' traiani P corr.

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1 As he had already done for the soldiers; see c. v. 7.
2 A gold coin of the value of 100 sesterces or 25 denarii, or (very approximately) five dollars.
3 It had long been a moot question whether the emperor had the right to put senators to death without formal trial and condemnation by the senate. Neither the later Julio-Claudian nor the Flavian emperors had recognized the right of a senator to trial by his fellow-senators only. Nerva, on the other hand, took an oath that he would not put a senator to death (Dio, lxviiii. 2), and Trajan seems to have followed his example (Dio, lxviiii. 5). For the practice of later emperors see Marc., x. 6; xxv. 6; xxvi. 13; xxix. 4.
4 Also called cursus vehicularius (Pius, xii. 3), and munus vehicularium (Sev. xiv. 2). Previous to Hadrian's reform the cost of the maintenance of the post had fallen on the provincial towns, but henceforth it was borne by the fiscus. The department was under the direction of an official of equestrian rank, known as the praefectus vehicularorum.
5 The sum remitted was 900,000,000 sesterces; see coins
the command in Dacia to Turbo, whom he dignified, in order to increase his authority, with a rank analogous to that of the prefect of Egypt. He then hastened to Rome in order to win over public opinion, which was hostile to him because of the belief that on one single occasion he had suffered four men of consular rank to be put to death. In order to check the rumours about himself, he gave in person a double largess to the people, although in his absence three aurei had already been given to each of the citizens. In the senate, too, he cleared himself of blame for what had happened, and pledged himself never to inflict punishment on a senator until after a vote of the senate. He established a regular imperial post, in order to relieve the local officials of such a burden. Moreover, he used every means of gaining popularity. He remitted to private debtors in Rome and in Italy immense sums of money owed to the privy-purse, and in the provinces he remitted large amounts of arrears; and he ordered the promissory notes to be burned in the Forum of the Deified Trajan, in order that the general sense of security might thereby be increased. He gave orders that the property of condemned persons should not accrue to the privy-

of 118, Cohen, ii, p. 208 f., Nos. 1210-1213, and an inscription found at Rome, C.I.L., vi. 967. He also issued an order providing for a similar cancelling every fifteen years; see Dio, lxix. 8, 1; cf. also Marc., xxiii. 3, and note.

Situated at the south-western corner of the Esquiline Hill, a part of which was cut away in order to provide sufficient space. It was surrounded by colonnades, portions of which are extant, and on its north-western side was the Basilica Ulpia; north-west of this was the column of Trajan, flanked by two buildings containing the Bibliotheca Ulpia. Just beyond was the Templum Divi Traiani et Plotinae, erected by Hadrian (c. xix. 9).
HADRIAN

redigi vetuit, omni summa in aerario publico recepta. pueris ac puellis, quibus etiam Traianus alimenta detulerat, incrementum liberalitatis adiecit. senatoribus, qui non vitio suo decoxerant, patrimonium pro liberorum modo senatoriae professionis explevit, ita ut plerisque in diem vitae suae dimensum sine dilatione praestiterit. ad honores explendos non solum amicis, sed etiam passim aliquantiss multa largitus est. feminas nonnullas ad sustentandam vitam sumptibus iuuit. gladiatorium munus per sex dies continuos exhibuit et mille feras natali suo edidit.

VIII. Optimos quosque de senatu in contubernium imperatoriae maiestatis adscivit. ludos circenses prae- ter natalicios decetos sibi sprevit. et in contione et in senatu saepe dixit ita se rem publicam gesturum ut scirent populi rem esse, non propriam. tertio consules, cum ipse ter fuisset, plurimos fecit, infinitos autem secundi consulatus honore cumulavit. ipsum autem tertium consulatum et quattuor mensibus

praestiterit Cas.; resteterit P1; restituerit P corr. scirent Ellis; sciret P, Peter.

1 The *alimenta* were grants of money paid by the imperial government to the children of the poor of Italy. The plan was made by Nerva but actually carried out by Trajan. For the purpose of the distribution of these grants Italy was divided into districts, often known by the name of the great roads which traversed them (see *Pert.*, ii. 2).

2 The sum necessary for the position of senator was 1,000,000 sesterces.

3 The custom had arisen that on important occasions in
purse, and in each case deposited the whole amount in the public treasury. He made additional appropriations for the children to whom Trajan had allotted grants of money. He supplemented the property of senators impoverished through no fault of their own, making the allowance in each case proportionate to the number of children, so that it might be enough for a senatorial career; to many, indeed, he paid punctually on the date the amount allotted for their living. Sums of money sufficient to enable men to hold office he bestowed, not on his friends alone, but also on many far and wide, and by his donations he helped a number of women to sustain life. He gave gladiatorial combats for six days in succession, and on his birthday he put into the arena a thousand wild beasts.

VIII. The foremost members of the senate he admitted to close intimacy with the emperor's majesty. All circus-games decreed in his honour he refused, except those held to celebrate his birthday. Both in meetings of the people and in the senate he used to say that he would so administer the commonwealth that men would know that it was not his own but the people's. Having himself been consul three times, he reappointed many to the consulship for the third time and men without number to a second term; his own third consulship he held for only four months, and during his term he often administered justice.

the reign of an emperor races in the Circus should be voted by the senate as a mark of honour. From the time of Augustus the birthday of the emperor was similarly celebrated, and in the case of some emperors, e.g. Pertinax and Severus, also the natalis imperii or day of the accession to the throne; see Pert., xv. 5, and Dio, lxxviii. 8. Pius followed Hadrian's example in accepting birthday-games only; see Pius, v. 2.
HADRIAN

6 tantum egit et in eo saepe ius dixit. senatui legitimo, cum in urbe vel iuxta urbem esset, semper interfuit. 7 senatus fastigium in tantum extulit, difficile faciens senatores ut, cum Attianum ex praefecto praetorii ornamentis consularibus praeditum faceret senatórem, nihil se amplius habere quod in eum conferri posset ostenderit. equites Romanos nec sine se de sena-
toribus nec secum iudicare permisit. erat enim tunc mos ut, cum princeps causas agnosceret, et senatores et equites Romanos in consilium vocaret et sententiam ex omnium deliberatione proferret. exsecratus est denique principes qui minus senatoribus detulissent. 11 Serviano sororis viro, cui tantum detulit ut ei venienti de cubiculo semper occurrerit, tertium consulatum, nec secum tamen, cum ille bis ante Hadrianum fuisse, ne esset secundae sententiae, non petenti ac sine precatione concessit.

IX. Inter haec tamen et multas provincias a Traiano adquisitas reliquit et theatrum, quod ille in Campo

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1 This did not include a seat in the senate, but consisted of the privilege of sitting with the senators of consular rank at the public festivals and at sacred banquets and of wearing the *toga praetexta* on such occasions. Since the time of Nero this honorary rank had often been bestowed on prefects of the guard on their retirement from office; see also *Pius*, x. 6.

2 See note to c. vii. 4.

3 The *consilium* of the emperor was a development from the old principle that a magistrate, before rendering an important decision, should ask advice from trusted friends. So Augustus
HADRIAN VIII. 6—IX.

He always attended regular meetings of the senate if he was present in Rome or even in the neighbourhood. In the appointment of senators he showed the utmost caution and thereby greatly increased the dignity of the senate, and when he removed Attianus from the post of prefect of the guard and created him a senator with consular honours, he made it clear that he had no greater honour which he could bestow upon him. Nor did he allow knights to try cases involving senators whether he was present at the trial or not. For at that time it was customary for the emperor, when he tried cases, to call to his council both senators and knights and give a verdict based on their joint decision. Finally, he denounced those emperors who had not shown this deference to the senators. On his brother-in-law Servianus, to whom he showed such respect that he would advance to meet him as he came from his chamber, he bestowed a third consulship, and that without any request or entreaty on Servianus' part; but nevertheless he did not appoint him as his own colleague, since Servianus had been consul twice before Hadrian, and the Emperor did not wish to have second place.

IX. And yet, at the same time, Hadrian abandoned many provinces won by Trajan, and also destroyed, and his successors had their boards of advisers. Until the time of Hadrian this board was not official or permanent, but from his reign on its members, the consiliarii Augusti, had a definite position and received a salary. Jurists of distinction were included in it; see c. xviii. 1.

4 If Servianus, who was consul for the second time in 102, were associated with Hadrian in the Emperor's second consulship in 118 or third in 119, he would by reason of his seniority outrank his imperial colleague; see Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, iii. p. 976, n. 4.

5 Cf. c. v. 3.
Martio posuerat, contra omnium vota destructit. et
haec quidem eo tristiora videbantur, quod omnia,
quae displicere vidisset\(^1\) Hadrianus, mandata sibi ut
faceret secreto\(^2\) a Traiano esse simulabat. cum At-
tiani, praefecti sui et quondam tutoris, potentiam
ferre non posset, nisus est eum obtruncare, sed revo-
catus est, quia iam quattuor consularium occisorum,
quorum quidem necem in Attiani consilia refundebat,
premebatur invidia. cui cum successorem dare non
posset, quia non petebat, id egit ut peteret, atque
ubi primum petiti, in Turbonem transtulit potesta-
tem; cum quidem etiam Simili alteri praefecto
Septicium Clarum successorem dedit.

Summotis his a praefectura, quibus debebat im-
perium, Campaniam petiti eiusque omnia oppida
beneficiis et largitionibus sublevavit, optimum quem-
que amicitia sui iungens. Romae vero praetorum
et consulum officia frequentavit, convivis amicorum
interfuit, aegros bis ac ter die et nonnullos equites
Romanos ac libertinos visitavit, solaciis refovit, con-

\(^1\) displicere uidisset P corr.; displicerentur uidisse P\(^1\).
\(^2\) secreto Mommsen; decreto P\(^1\); decreta P corr.

1 Cf. c. vii. 2-3.

2 The term of office of the prefect of the guard was un-
limited, and often was for life. This passage seems to show
that at least a form of voluntary resignation from the office
was customary. Attianus, according to precedent, was ad-
vanced to senatorial rank with the ornamenta consularia;
see c. viii. 7.

3 C. Sulpicius Similis was prefect of the grain-supply, of
Egypt, and, finally, of the praetorian guard. According to
Dio (lxix. 20), it was only with difficulty that he secured
Hadrian’s permission to retire.

4 From the time of Augustus the old republican principle
of colleagueship had been applied to the command of the
praetorian guard and there were ordinarily two prefects with
28
contrary to the entreaties of all, the theatre which Trajan had built in the Campus Martius. These measures, unpopular enough in themselves, were still more displeasing to the public because of his pretence that all acts which he thought would be offensive had been secretly enjoined upon him by Trajan. Unable to endure the power of Attianus, his prefect and formerly his guardian, he was eager to murder him. He was restrained, however, by the knowledge that he already laboured under the odium of murdering four men of consular rank, although, as a matter of fact, he always attributed their execution to the designs of Attianus. And as he could not appoint a successor for Attianus except at the latter’s request, he contrived to make him request it, and at once transferred the power to Turbo; at the same time Similis also, the other prefect, received a successor, namely Septicius Clarus.

After Hadrian had removed from the prefecture the very men to whom he owed the imperial power, he departed for Campania, where he aided all the towns of the region by gifts and benefactions and attached all the foremost men to his train of friends. But when at Rome, he frequently attended the official functions of the praetors and consuls, appeared at the equal powers. The principle, however, had been disregarded at times, e.g. in the case of Sejanus under Tiberius (Dio, lvii. 19). Under the later emperors there were sometimes three prefects; cf. Com., vi. 12; Did. Jul., vii. 5; Zosimus, i. 11.

5 C. Septicius Clarus was the friend of Suetonius, who dedicated to him his Lives of the Caesars. He also encouraged Pliny to publish his letters; see Plin., Epist., i. 1. On his retirement from the prefecture see c. xi. 3.

6 The following are attested by inscriptions of the years 121-122: Antium, Caiatia, Surrentum, and the road from Naples to Nuceria; see C.I.L., x. 6652, 4574, 676, 6939, 6940.

29
HADRIAN

siliis sublevavit, conviviis suis semper adhibuit. omnia
denique ad privati hominis modum fecit. socruisae
honores praeceptuos impendit ludis gladiatoriiis ceteris-
que officiis.

X. Post haec proiectus in Gallias omnes civitates
variis liberalitatibus sublevavit. inde in Germaniam
transit. pacisque magis quam bello cupidus militem,
quasi bellum immineret, exercuit tolerantiae docu-
mentis eum imbuens, ipse quoque inter manipula
vitam militarem magistrans, cibis etiam castrensibus
in propatulo libenter utens, hoc est larido caseo et
posca, exemplo Scipionis Aemiliani et Metelli et
auctoris sui Traiani, multos praemiis nonnullos honoris-
bus donans, ut ferre possent ea quae asperius iube-

1 ciuitates variis (libertatibus) Rob. Bonon., supported by
Rösinger and Damsté; casuariis P; causarios Peter.

1 By a largess of spices (see c. xix. 5), and by issuing coins
bearing the legend Divae Matidiae Socruii with a representa-
tion of a temple-like building in which Matidia is seated be-
tween niches holding statuettes of Victory; see Cohen, ii²,
p. 152, No. 550.

2 His first journey is described in c. x. 1—xi. 2 and xii. 1—
xiii. 3. It covered the years 121-125. Then followed a journey
to Africa and back in 128. This was followed by his second
journey, which included the eastern part of the empire only,
in 128-134; see c. xiii. 6—xiv. 6 (the portion of the journey
which fell after 130 is not included).

3 His visit was commemorated by coins with the legends
Adventui Galliae (Cohen, ii², p. 109 f., Nos. 31-35) and Re-
stitutor Galliae (Cohen, ii², p. 211, Nos. 1247-1257).

4 His journey probably lay along the road from Lugdunum
banquets of his friends, visited them twice or thrice a day when they were sick, even those who were merely knights and freedmen, cheered them by words of comfort, encouraged them by words of advice, and very often invited them to his own banquets. In short, everything that he did was in the manner of a private citizen. On his mother-in-law he bestowed especial honour by means of gladiatorial games and other ceremonies.¹

X. After this he travelled² to the provinces of Gaul,³ and came to the relief of all the communities with various acts of generosity; and from there he went over into Germany.⁴ Though more desirous of peace than of war, he kept the soldiers in training just as if war were imminent, inspired them by proofs of his own powers of endurance, actually led a soldier's life among the maniples,⁵ and, after the example of Scipio Aemilianus,⁶ Metellus, and his own adoptive father Trajan, cheerfully ate out of doors such camp-fare as bacon, cheese and vinegar. And that the troops might submit more willingly to the increased harshness of his orders, he bestowed gifts on many and honours on a few. For he re-established the discipline of the camp,⁷ which since (Lyon) to Augusta Treverorum (Trier), which was repaired in 121; see Brambach, Corp. Inscr. Rhen., 1936. His visit to the German armies was commemorated on coins with the legend Exercitus Germanicus; see Cohen, ii, p. 156, Nos. 573 and 574.

¹ Used here merely to denote the common soldiers; the "maniple" consisted of two centuriae.
² i.e. Scipio Africanus the younger, conqueror of Carthage.
⁴ Hadrian's reforms are also described in Dio, lxxix. 9. They are commemorated by coins with the legend Disciplina Aug(usti); see Cohen, ii, p. 151 f., Nos. 540-549.
HADRIAN

3bat; si quidem ipse post Caesarem Octavianum labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum retinuit. ordinatis et officiis et impendiis, numquam passus aliquem a castris iniuste abesse, cum tribunos non favor militum sed iustitia commendaret. exemplo etiam virtutis suae ceteros adhortatus, cum etiam vicena milia pedibus armatus ambularet, triclinia de castris et porticus et cryptas et topia dirueret, vestem humillimam frequenter acciperet, sine auro balteum sumeret, sine gemmis fibula stringeret, capulo vix eburneo spatham clauderet, aegros milites in hospitiis suis videret, locum castris caperet, nulli vitem nisi robusto et bonae famae daret, nec tribunum nisi plena barba faceret aut eius aetatis quae prudentia et annis tribunatus robor impleret, nec pateretur quicquam tribunum a milite accipere, delicata omnia undique summoveret, arma postremo eorum supellectilemque corrigeret. de militum etiam aetatibus iudicabat, ne quis aut minor quam virtus posceret, aut maior quam pateretur humanitas, in castris contra morem veterem versaretur, agebatque, ut sibi semper noti essent, et XI. eorum numerus sciretur. laborabat praeterea, ut condita militaria diligenter agnosceret, reditus quoque provinciales sollerter explorans, ut, si 1 alicubi quip-piam deesset, exploreret. ante omnes tamen enite-batur, ne quid otiosum vel emeret aliquando vel pasceret.

1 si omitted by P¹, added by P corr.
the time of Octavian had been growing slack through the laxity of his predecessors. He regulated, too, both the duties and the expenses of the soldiers, and now no one could get a leave of absence from camp by unfair means, for it was not popularity with the troops but just deserts that recommended a man for appointment as tribune. He incited others by the example of his own soldiery spirit; he would walk as much as twenty miles fully armed; he cleared the camp of banqueting-rooms, porticoes, grottos, and bowers, generally wore the commonest clothing, would have no gold ornaments on his sword-belt or jewels on the clasp, would scarcely consent to have his sword furnished with an ivory hilt, visited the sick soldiers in their quarters, selected the sites for camps, conferred the centurion's wand on those only who were hardy and of good repute, appointed as tribunes only men with full beards or of an age to give to the authority of the tribuneship the full measure of prudence and maturity, permitted no tribune to accept a present from a soldier, banished luxuries on every hand, and, lastly, improved the soldiers' arms and equipment. Furthermore, with regard to length of military service he issued an order that no one should violate ancient usage by being in the service at an earlier age than his strength warranted, or at a more advanced one than common humanity permitted. He made it a point to be acquainted with the soldiers and to know their numbers. XI. Besides this, he strove to have an accurate knowledge of the military stores, and the receipts from the provinces he examined with care in order to make good any deficit that might occur in any particular instance. But more than any other emperor he made it a point not to purchase or maintain anything that was not serviceable.
HADRIAN

2 Ergo conversis regio¹ more militibus Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correst murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.

3 Septicio Claro praefecto praetorii et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro multisque aliis, quod apud Sabinam uxorem iniussu eius² familiarius se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit, uxorem etiam ut morosam et asperam dimissurus, ut ipse dicebat, si privatus fuisset. et erat curiosus non solum domus suae sed etiam amicorum, ita ut per frumentarios occulta omnia exploraret, nec adverterent amici scire ab imperatore suam vitam, priusquam ipse hoc imperator ostenderet. unde non iniucundum est rem inserere, ex qua con-

⁴stet eum de amicis multa didicisse. nam cum ad quendam scripsisset uxor sua, quod voluptatibus

¹ egregio Novak; rigido Frankfurter; recto Baehrens. ² iniussu eius P corr. (uniussu P¹), defended by Bitschofsky (meaning "without his consent"); in usu fius Peter², following Petschenig.

¹ From Germany he visited the provinces of Raetia and Noricum, and then returned to the lower Rhine, where his presence is commemorated in the name Forum Hadriani (near Leyden). From Holland he crossed to Britain. The legend Adventui Aug. Britanniae appears on coins; see Cohen, ii², p. 109, No. 28.

² This fortification extended from Wallsend at the mouth of the Tyne to Bowness on the Firth of Solway, a distance of 73½ English miles. Its remains show that it consisted of two lines of embankment with a moat between them, and a stone wall running parallel on the north. In the space between the embankment and the wall were small strongholds about a mile apart with an occasional larger stronghold, all
HADRIAN XI. 2-6

And so, having reformed the army quite in the manner of a monarch, he set out for Britain, and 122. there he corrected many abuses and was the first to construct a wall, eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

He removed from office Septicius Clarus, the prefect of the guard, and Suetonius Tranquillus, the imperial secretary, and many others besides, because without his consent they had been conducting themselves toward his wife, Sabina, in a more informal fashion than the etiquette of the court demanded. And, as he was himself wont to say, he would have sent away his wife too, on the ground of ill-temper and irritability, had he been merely a private citizen. Moreover, his vigilance was not confined to his own household but extended to those of his friends, and by means of his private agents he even pried into all their secrets, and so skilfully that they were never aware that the Emperor was acquainted with their private lives until he revealed it himself. In this connection, the insertion of an incident will not be unwelcome, showing that he found out much about his friends. The wife of a certain man wrote to her husband, complaining that he was so preoccupied by connected by a military road; see inscriptions dating from Hadrian's time, C.I.L., vii. 660 f., 895.

3 See c. ix. 5.
4 The author of the de Vita Caesarum and the de Viris Illustribus.
5 The frumentarii, at first petty-officers connected with the commissary of the army, became, probably under Trajan, couriers charged with the conveyance of military dispatches; see Max.-Balb., x. 3; Victor, Cass., xiii. 5, 6. Many of them were then attached to the imperial service as a sort of secret police; see also Macr., xii. 4 and Claud., xvii. 1.
HADRIAN

detentus et lavacris ad se redire nollet, atque hoc Hadrianus per frumentarios cognovisset, petente illo commeatum Hadrianus ei lavacra et voluptates ex-
probravit. cui ille: "num et tibi uxor mea, quod et
mihi, scripsit?" et hoc quidem vitiosissimum putant
atque huic adiungunt quae de adulterorum amore ac
nuptarum adulteriis, quibus Hadrianus laborasse
dicitur, adserunt, iungentes quod ne amicis quidem
servaverit fidem.

XII. Compositis in Britannia rebus transgressus in
Galliam Alexandrina seditione turbatus, quae nata est ob Apidem, qui, cum repertus esset post multos
annis, turbas inter populos creavit, apud quem
deberet locari, omnibus studiose certantibus. per
idem tempus in honorem Plotinae basilicam apud
Nemausum opere mirabili extruxit. post haec
Hispanias petiiit et Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu
suo aedem Augusti restituit. omnibus Hispanis
Tarraconenem in conventum vocatis dilectumque

1 The sacred bullock of the Egyptians, begotten, according
to their belief, by a ray of light from heaven (Herodotus, iii.
28). He was recognized by certain markings, including repre-
sentations of the sun and the moon, and his appearance was
the occasion of great rejoicing. It was apparently customary
at this period to keep the young Apis, for a time at least, in the
locality in which he appeared (Aelian, Nat. An., xi. 10). The
riot was checked by a severe letter from Hadrian (Dio, lxix.
8, 1, frag. from Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 109).

2 According to Dio, lxix. 10, 3, the building was erected in

36
pleasures and baths that he would not return home to her, and Hadrian found this out through his private agents. And so, when the husband asked for a furlough, Hadrian reproached him with his fondness for his baths and his pleasures. Whereupon the man exclaimed: "What, did my wife write you just what she wrote to me?" And, indeed, as for this habit of Hadrian's, men regard it as a most grievous fault, and add to their criticism the statements which are current regarding the passion for males and the adulteries with married women to which he is said to have been addicted, adding also the charge that he did not even keep faith with his friends.

XII. After arranging matters in Britain he crossed over to Gaul, for he was rendered anxious by the news of a riot in Alexandria, which arose on account of Apis; for Apis had been discovered again after an interval of many years, and was causing great dissenion among the communities, each one earnestly asserting its claim as the place best fitted to be the seat of his worship. During this same time he reared a basilica of marvellous workmanship at Nîmes in honour of Plotina. After this he travelled to Spain and spent the winter at Tarragona, and here he restored at his own expense the temple of Augustus. To this place, too, he called all the inhabitants of Spain for a general meeting, and when honour of Plotina after her death, which occurred about this time.

3 See the coins with the legend Adventui Aug(usti) Hispaniae, Cohen, ii, p. 110, Nos. 36-41. His benefactions and public works were commemorated by coins inscribed Restitutor Hispaniae, Cohen, ii, p. 211 f., Nos. 1258-1272.

4 Made a Roman colony in 45 B.C. and the chief city of Hispania Tarraconensis.
HADRIAN

ioculariter, ut verba ipsa ponit Marius Maximus, retractantibus Italicis, vehementissime ceteris prudenter et 1 caute consuluit. quo quidem tempore non sine gloria gravissimum periculum adiit apud Tarraconom spatians per viridiaria servo in se hospitis cum gladio furiosius intruente. quem retentum ille ministris adcurrentibus tradidit et, ubi furiosum esse constitit, medicis curandum dedit in nullo omnino commotus.

6 Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexitis barbaros separatit. Germanis regem constituit, motus Maurorum compressit et a senatu supplicationes emeruit. bellum Parthorum per idem tempus in motu tantum fuit, idque Hadriani conloquo repressum est.

XIII. Post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaian

1 et omitted by P, added by B3.

1 Levies from these Italian settlers seem to have been forbidden by Trajan; see Marc., xi. 7.
2 Just such a palisade has been found on the German frontier where the rivers Main and Neckar do not constitute a natural boundary; see the Limesblatt of the Imperial German Limeskommission for 1894, pp. 302, 488 f., and Pelham, Essays on Roman History, p. 200 f.
3 Although not necessarily in person; see C.I.L., viii. praef. p. xxi.
HADRIAN XII. 5—XIII.

they refused to submit to a levy, the Italian settlers 1 jestingly, to use the very words of Marius Maximus, and the others very vigorously, he took measures characterized by skill and discretion. At this same time he incurred grave danger and won great glory; for while he was walking about in a garden at Tarra-gona one of the slaves of the household rushed at him madly with a sword. But he merely laid hold on the man, and when the servants ran to the rescue handed him over to them. Afterwards, when it was found that the man was mad, he turned him over to the physicians for treatment, and all this time showed not the slightest sign of alarm.

During this period and on many other occasions also, in many regions where the barbarians are held back not by rivers but by artificial barriers, Hadrian shut them off by means of high stakes planted deep in the ground and fastened together in the manner of a palisade. 2 He appointed a king for the Germans, suppressed revolts among the Moors, 3 and won from the senate the usual ceremonies of thanksgiving. The war with the Parthians had not at that time advanced beyond the preparatory stage, and Hadrian checked it by a personal conference. 4

XIII. After this Hadrian travelled by way of Asia and the islands to Greece, 5 and, following the 123-125.

4 The process of abbreviation has obscured the narrative by omitting the description of Hadrian's journey from Spain to Syria in the spring of 123. This journey was almost certainly made by sea from Spain to Antioch. The danger of the Parthian war seems to have been connected with the overthrow of the Romanized pretender, Parthamaspates (see note to c. v. 4), and the restoration of the legitimate dynasty in the person of Osrhoes (cf. c. xiii. 8).
5 His route lay from the Euphrates across Asia Minor to Ancyra in Galatia (cf. I.G.R., iii. 209) and thence to Bithynia,
navigavit et Eleusinia sacra exemplo Herculis Philippine pique suscepit, multa in Athenienses contulit et pro agonotheta resedit. et in Achaia quidem etiam illud observatum ferunt quod, cum in sacris multi cultros habenter, cum Hadriano nullus armatus ingressus est. post in Siciliam navigavit, in qua Aetnam montem conscendit, ut solis ortum videret arcus specie, ut dicitur, varium. inde Romam venit atque ex ea in Africam transit ac multum beneficiorum provinciis Africanis adtribuit. nec quisquam fere principum tantum terrarum tam celeriter peragravit. Denique cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim

1 *tam* Peter; *tantum* P, Petschenig.

where his arrival is commemorated on coins inscribed *Ad- ventui Aug(usti) Bithyniae* (Cohen, ii p. 109, Nos. 26 and 27) and *Restitutori Bithyniae* (id., p. 210 f., Nos. 1238-1246). He then travelled through Mysia, founding the town of Hadriano- therae (see c. xx. 18), to Ilium and thence southward to Ephesus. From here he sailed to Rhodes (see an inscription from Ephesus, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², No. 388), northwest through the Aegean to Samothrace and Thrace (see an inscription from Callipolis of 123-124, *C.I.G.*, 2013). Thence he visited the provinces of Moesia and Dacia (see Weber, p. 150 f.), and travelled southward through Macedonia and Thessaly to Athens, where he arrived probably in September, 124.

¹ Father of Alexander the Great.

² Admitted to the lower grade of *µυστής*. On his second visit to Athens in 128-129 he was initiated into the higher grade, of *ἐπιστής*; see Dio, lxxix. 11. An epigram inscribed on the base of a statue erected in honour of the priestess who initiated him is extant (*I.G.*, iii. 900 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 684).

³ The Dionysia, in March, 125. Previous to this he had made a journey through the Peloponnesus, visiting the principal cities; dedications to him are recorded in extant inscriptions, and various benefactions of his are mentioned by Pausanias.

40
example of Hercules and Philip, had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. He bestowed many favours on the Athenians and sat as president of the public games. And during this stay in Greece care was taken, they say, that when Hadrian was present, none should come to a sacrifice armed, whereas, as a rule, many carried knives. Afterwards he sailed to Sicily, and there he climbed Mount Aetna to see the sunrise, which is many-hued, they say, like the rainbow. Thence he returned to Rome, and from there he crossed over to Africa, where he showed many acts of kindness to the provinces. Hardly any emperor ever travelled with such speed over so much territory.

Finally, after his return to Rome from Africa, he immediately set out for the East, journeying by

1 Travelling by way of the Corinthian Gulf, he visited Delphi (cf. C.I.G., 1713), Actium, and Dyrrhachium, and sailed thence to Sicily. His arrival was commemorated by coins inscribed Adventui Aug(usti) Siciliae (Cohen, ii, p. 112, No. 75), and Restitutori Siciliae (id., ii, p. 214, Nos. 1292-1295.

5 In the summer of 125. Coins commemorating his return bear the legend Adventui Aug(usti) Italiæ (Cohen, ii, p. 110, Nos. 42-50).

6 Here a period of over three years is omitted, in which Hadrian built many public buildings in the towns of Italy. Early in 128 he finally accepted the title of Pater Patriae (cf. note to c. vi. 4); see Eckhel, D.N., vi. 515 f.

7 See the coins inscribed Adventui Aug(usti) Africae and Restitutori Africae (Cohen, ii, p. 107 f., Nos. 8-15, and p. 209 f., Nos. 1221-1232), and Adventui Aug(usti) Mauretaniae (Cohen, ii, p. 111, Nos. 63-71). His stay in Africa lasted about four months in the spring and early summer of 128. On the Kalends of July was delivered his famous allocutio or address to the troops at Lambaesis, fragments of which are now in the Louvre.
HADRIAN

ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit atque opera, quae apud Athenienses coeperat, dedicavit, ut Iovis Olympii aedem et aram sibi, eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens templum sui nominis consecravit. 7 deinde a Cappadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit. toparchas et reges ad amicitiam invitavit, invitato etiam Osdroe rege Parthorum remissaque illi filia, quam Traianus ceperat, ac promissa sella, quae 9 itidem capta fuerat. cumque ad eum quidam reges venissent, ita cum his egit ut eos paeniteret, qui venire noluerunt, causa speciatim Pharasmanis qui 10 eius invitationem superbe neglexerit. et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit, ita severe ut accusatores per se XIV. crederetur immittere. Antiochenses inter haec ita odio habuit ut Syriam a Phoenice separare voluerit, ne tot civitatum metropolis Antiochia diceretur.

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1 His stay in Athens was from September 128 to March 129.
2 The Olympieon, on the southern edge of the city near the Ilissos. After the dedication of this building in 131-132, Hadrian accepted the title 'Ολυμπίος and received divine honours in the temple (Dio, lxix. 16, 1); hence the ara mentioned here.
3 They were later called simply "Hadrian's temples," and it was asserted that he had intended to consecrate them to Christ; see Alex., xliii. 6. They were, in fact, temples dedicated to the cult of the emperors, including Hadrian himself, who was worshipped in the cities of Asia Minor as well as in the Olympieon at Athens. In inscriptions he has the cult-name Olympios or Zeus Olympios.
4 The camp of a Cappadocian legion (12th., Fulminata) was at Melitene, near the upper Euphrates. Hadrian probably travelled thither from Antioch. His visit to the camp was commemorated by coins inscribed Exercitus Cappadocicus (Cohen, ii, p. 153, No. 553).
5 More correctly Osrhoes; see also note to c. xii. 8.
6 Antoninus Pius refused to keep this promise; see Pius, ix. 7.
way of Athens. Here he dedicated the public works which he had begun in the city of the Athenians, such as the temple to Olympian Jupiter and an altar to himself; and in the same way, while travelling through Asia, he consecrated the temples called by his name. Next, he received slaves from the Cappadocians for service in the camps. To petty rulers and kings he made offers of friendship, and even to Osdroes, king of the Parthians. To him he also restored his daughter, who had been captured by Trajan, and promised to return the throne captured at the same time. And when some of the kings came to him, he treated them in such a way that those who had refused to come regretted it. He took this course especially on account of Pharasmanes, who had haughtily scorned his invitation. Furthermore, as he went about the provinces he punished procurators and governors as their actions demanded, and indeed with such severity that it was believed that he incited those who brought the accusations. XIV. In the course of these travels he conceived such a hatred for the people of Antioch that he wished to separate Syria from Phoenicia, in order that Antioch might not be called the chief city of so many communities. At this time also the

7 King of the Hiberi, who inhabited part of the district which is now Trans-Caucasia. On the gifts exchanged by him and Hadrian see c. xvii. 11-12 and xxi. 13.

8 The statement that Hadrian hated Antioch seems to be contradicted by the fact that he built many public buildings there; see Malalas, p. 278 B. It may be a deduction from the fact that he did raise three other cities of Syria, Tyre, Damascus and Samosata, to the rank of μητρόπολις. The actual division of Syria into two provinces, Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice, took place under Severus in 194. The object of the division was to lessen the power of the governor of so important a province.
moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia. sed in monte Casio, cum videndi solis ortus gratia nocte ascendisset, imbre orto fulmen decidens hostiam et victimarium sacrificanti adflavit. peragrata Arabia Pelusium venit et Pompeii tumulum magnificentius extruxit. Antinowm suum, dum per Nilum navigat, perdidit, quem muliebriter flevit. de quo varia fama est, aliis eum devotum pro Hadriano adserentibus, aliis quod et forma eius ostentat et nimia voluptas Hadriani. et Graeci quidem volente Hadriano eum conescraverunt, oracula per eum dari adserentes, quae Hadrianus ipse composuisse iactatur.

1 According to Dio, lxix. 12-14, probably a more correct account, the outbreak of the war was due to the anger of the Jews at the dedication of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Temple of Jehovah. This was done in connection with the “founding” of the new colony in 130; accordingly, this sentence is not in chronological order. The war was actually begun after Hadrian’s departure from Egypt, and finally necessitated his return. The outbreak was quelled, after much bloodshed, in 134.

2 Probably the mountain of this name at the mouth of the river Orontes. This incident is also narrated as having happened to Hadrian at Antioch immediately after he became emperor; see Dio, lxix. 2, 1.

3 See the coins inscribed Adventui Aug(usti) Arabiae (Cohen, ii², p. 108 f., Nos. 20-23). He seems to have travelled thither by way of Palmyra and Damascus. His visit to Gerasa (mod. Djerash), in the north-western part of the province of Arabia, is attested by an inscription of 130 (I.G.R., iii. 1347). From here he went probably by way of Philadelphia (mod., ‘Ammân) to Jerusalem, which he “founded” as the Colonia Aelia Capitolina.

4 According to Dio, lxix. 11, 1, Hadrian offered a sacrifice to the manes of Pompey and in a line of poetry expressed his sorrow at the meanness of the tomb.

5 He also visited Alexandria, and his arrival was commemorated by coins of the city struck in 130; see also the
Jews began war, because they were forbidden to practise circumcision. As he was sacrificing on Mount Casius, which he had ascended by night in order to see the sunrise, a storm arose, and a flash of lightning descended and struck both the victim and the attendant. He then travelled through Arabia and finally came to Pelusium, where he rebuilt Pompey's tomb on a more magnificent scale. During a journey on the Nile he lost Antinous, his favourite, and for this youth he wept like a woman. Concerning this incident there are varying rumours; for some claim that he had devoted himself to death for Hadrian, and others—what both his beauty and Hadrian's sensuality suggest. But however this may be, the Greeks deified him at Hadrian's request, and declared that oracles were given through his agency, but these, it is commonly asserted, were composed by Hadrian himself.

Roman coins with the legend *Adventui Aug(usti) Alexandriae* (Cohen, ii, p. 108, Nos. 15-18).

6 This beautiful youth was a native of Bitynnum in Bithynia; see Dio, lxix. 11. He died near Besa, near the southern end of the Heptanomis. Here Hadrian founded a new city, called Antinoe or Antinoopolis, and consecrated a shrine to him.

7 According to Dio, lxix. 11, Hadrian claimed in his autobiography (see note to c. i. 1) that Antinous was drowned in the Nile; he then adds that the true cause of his death was his voluntary sacrifice of himself, apparently in consequence of some prophecy, in order to save the Emperor's life.

8 Here the narrative of Hadrian's journey breaks off abruptly. After a visit to Thebes, where he and Sabina heard "the singing Memnon" (*I.G.R.*, i. 1186 and 1187), he returned to Alexandria, and thence travelled, apparently by ship (Cat. of Coins in the Brit. Mus., *Alex.*, p. 101, No. 871), to Syria and Asia Minor. During a stay at Athens he dedicated the Olympieion (cf. note to c. xiii. 6) in 131-132; see Dio, lxix. 16, 1. He was then called to Judaea on account of the long duration of the Jewish revolt (see note to c. xiv. 2). He finally returned to Rome early in 134.
HADRIAN

8 Fuit enim poematum et litterarum nimium studiosissimum. arithmeticae geometriae picturae peritissimus. iam psallendi et cantandi scientiam praedae se ferebat. in voluptatibus nimius; nam et de suis dilectis multa versibus composuit. amatoria carmina scripsit.\(^1\) idem armorum peritissimus et rei militaris scientissimus, gladiatoria quoque arma tractavit. idem severus comis, gravis lascivus, cunctator festinans,\(^2\) tenax liberalis, simulator simplex,\(^3\) saevus clemens, et semper in omnibus varius.

XV. Amicos ditavit et quidem non petentes, cum petentibus nihil negaret. idem tamen facile de amicis, quidquid insusurrabatur, audivit atque ideo prope cunctos vel amicissimos vel eos, quos summis honoribus exexit, postea ut hostium loco habuit, ut Attianum et Nepotem et Septicium Clarum. nam Eudaemonem prius conscium imperii ad egestatem perduxit, Polaenum et Marcellum ad mortem voluntariam coegit, Heliodorum famosissimis litteris lacesivit, Titianum ut conscium tyrannidis et argui passus est et proscribi, Ummidium Quadratum et Catilium

\(^1\) Probably merely a gloss. \(^2\) So Novak, deleting as a gloss for comis laetus, which follows severus in \(P\), and adding festinans to offset cunctator; Peter divides: severus laetus, comis grauis, lasciuous cunctator. \(^3\) simplex, omitted in \(P\), is supplied by Peter\(^2\), following Reimarus ad Dio LXIX, 5, p. 652; uerus Peter\(^1\), Novak.

\(^1\) But see c. viii. 7, and ix. 4. \(^2\) See c. iv. 2, and xxiii. 4. \(^3\) Probably C. Publicius Marcellus, governor of Syria about 132. \(^4\) Apparently the philosopher mentioned in c. xvi. 10, and 46
HADRIAN XIV. 8—XV. 7

In poetry and in letters Hadrian was greatly interested. In arithmetic, geometry, and painting he was very expert. Of his knowledge of flute-playing and singing he even boasted openly. He ran to excess in the gratification of his desires, and wrote much verse about the subjects of his passion. He composed love-poems too. He was also a connoisseur of arms, had a thorough knowledge of warfare, and knew how to use gladiatorial weapons. He was, in the same person, austere and genial, dignified and playful, dilatory and quick to act, niggardly and generous, deceitful and straightforward, cruel and merciful, and always in all things changeable.

XV. His friends he enriched greatly, even though they did not ask it, while to those who did ask, he refused nothing. And yet he was always ready to listen to whispers about his friends, and in the end he treated almost all of them as enemies, even the closest and even those whom he had raised to the highest of honours, such as Attianus¹ and Nepos² and Septicius Clarus. Eudaemon, for example, who had been his accomplice in obtaining the imperial power, he reduced to poverty; Polaenus and Marcellus³ he drove to suicide; Heliodorus⁴ he assailed in a most slanderous pamphlet; Titianus⁵ he allowed to be accused as an accomplice in an attempt to seize the empire and even to be outlawed; Ummidius Quadratus,⁶ Catilius Severus, and Turbo he persecuted

probably to be identified with Avidius Heliodorus, the father of Avidius Cassius; see Av. Cass., i. 1.

¹ Probably either T. Attilius Rufus Titianus, consul in 127, or Attilius Titianus, who was accused affectati imperii under Pius and condemned; see Pius, vii. 3.

² Mentioned as a juvenis egregiae indolis by Pliny the younger (Epist., vi. 11; vii. 21). He was consul with Hadrian in 118.
HADRIAN

8 Severum et Turbonem graviter insecutus est, Servianum sororis virum nonagesimum iam annum agentem, ne sibi supervixeret, mori coegit; libertos denique et nonnullos milites insecutus est. et quamvis esset oratione et versu promptissimus et in omnibus artibus peritissimus, tamen professores omnium artium semper ut doctior risit contempsit obtrivit. cum his ipsis professoribus et philosophis libris vel carminibus invicem editis saepe certavit. et Favorinus quidem, cum verbum eius quondam ab Hadriano reprehensum esset, atque ille cessisset, arguentibus amicis, quod male cederet Hadriano de verbo quod idonei auctores usurpassent, risum iucundissimum movit. ait enim: "Non recte suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum doctorem omnibus credere, qui habet triginta legiones".

XVI. Famae celebris Hadrianus tam cupidus fuit ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis dederit, iubens ut eos suis nominibus publicarent. nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur. Catachannas libros obscurissimos Antimachum imitando scripsit. Floro poetae scribenti ad se:

1 A well-known rhetorician, a native of Arelate (Arles) in Gaul. He was a friend of Plutarch and of Aulus Gellius, whose Nocles Atticae are full of allusions to him.

2 On the autobiography see note to c. i. 1. The ruse described in this passage was not successful, for the true authorship of the autobiography was known to the writer of the present biography (see c. i. 1; iii. 3 and 5; vii. 2), and also to Cassius Dio (lxix. 11, 2).

3 Antimachus of Colophon about 400 B.C.; the author of
vigorously; and in order to prevent Servianus, his brother-in-law, from surviving him, he compelled him to commit suicide, although the man was then in his ninetieth year. And he even took vengeance on freedmen and sometimes on soldiers. And although he was very deft at prose and at verse and very accomplished in all the arts, yet he used to subject the teachers of these arts, as though more learned than they, to ridicule, scorn, and humiliation. With these very professors and philosophers he often debated by means of pamphlets or poems issued by both sides in turn. And once Favorinus,\(^1\) when he had yielded to Hadrian's criticism of a word which he had used, raised a merry laugh among his friends. For when they reproached him for having done wrong in yielding to Hadrian in the matter of a word used by reputable authors, he replied: "You are urging a wrong course, my friends, when you do not suffer me to regard as the most learned of men the one who has thirty legions".

XVI. So desirous of a wide-spread reputation was Hadrian that he even wrote his own biography; this he gave to his educated freedmen, with instructions to publish it under their own names.\(^2\) For indeed, Phlegon's writings, it is said, are Hadrian's in reality. He wrote Catachannae, a very obscure work in imitation of Antimachus.\(^3\) And when the poet Florus\(^4\) wrote to him:

an epic, the Thebais, and of an elegiac poem, on the death of his wife Lyde. In general, his style was considered obscure, and his poems were full of learned allusions. According to Dio, lxix. 4, Hadrian preferred him to Homer. Nothing is known of the Catachannae.

\(^1\) Probably the poet Annius Florus, some of whose verse is preserved in the Codex Salmasianus, a collection of miscellaneous poetical selections; see Riese, Anthologia Latina, i., Nos. 87 and 245-252.

49
HADRIAN

Ego nolo Caesar esse,
ambulare per Britannos,
latitare per . . . 1
Scythiscas pati pruinias,

rescripsit:

Ego nolo Florus esse,
ambulare per tabernas,
latitare per popinas,
culices pati rotundos.

amavit praeterea genus vetustum dicendi. contro-
versias declamavit. Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio
Ennium, Sallustio Caelium praetulit eademque iacta-
tione de Homero ac Platone iudicavit. mathesin sic
scire sibi visus est ut vero 2 kalendis Ianuariis scrip-
serit, quid ei totò anno posset evenire, ita ut eo anno
quo periit usque ad illam horam qua est mortuus
scripserit quid acturus esset.

Sed quamvis esset in reprehendendis musicis
tragicis comicis grammaticis rhetoribus facilis, tamen
omnes professores et honoravit et divites fecit, licet
eos quaestionibus semper agitaverit. et cum ipse
auctor esset, ut multi ab eo tristes recederent,
dicebat se graviter ferre, si quem tristem videret.
in summa familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum
philosophos et, ne nominatim de omnibus dicam,
grammaticos rhetores musicos geometras pictores
astrologos habuit, prae ceteris, ut multi adserunt,

1 Omitted in P, but to be supplied from § 4 (where Spengel
would delete latitare per popinas, Abh. d. bayer. Akad. hist.
phil. Kl. IX, p. 317). 2 uero Meursius; sero P.

1 L. Caecilius Antipater, an historian living in the second
century B.C., who wrote a history of the Second Punic War.
2 According to Ael., iii. 9, this statement is made on the
authority of Marius Maximus.

50
“I don’t want to be a Cæsar,  
Stroll about among the Britons,  
Lurk about among the . . . .  
And endure the Scythian winters,”
he wrote back
“ I don’t want to be a Florus,  
Stroll about among the taverns,  
Lurk about among the cook-shops,  
And endure the round fat insects.”

Furthermore, he loved the archaic style of writing, and he used to take part in debates. He preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Vergil, Cælius¹ to Sallust; and with the same self-assurance he expressed opinions about Homer and Plato. In astrology he considered himself so proficient that on the Kalends of January he would actually write down all that might happen to him in the whole ensuing year, and in the year in which he died, indeed, he wrote down everything that he was going to do, down to the very hour of his death.²

However ready Hadrian might have been to criticize musicians, tragedians, comedians, grammarians, and rhetoricians, he nevertheless bestowed both honours and riches upon all who professed these arts, though he always tormented them with his questions. And although he was himself responsible for the fact that many of them left his presence with their feelings hurt, to see anyone with hurt feelings, he used to say, he could hardly endure. He treated with the greatest friendship the philosophers Epicurus³ and Heliodorus, and various grammarians, rhetoricians, musicians, geometricians—not to mention allbyname—painters and astrologers; and among

³ The well-known Stoic philosopher.
eminente Favorino. doctores, qui professioni suae inhabiles videbantur, ditatos honoratosque a professione dimisit.

XVII. Quos in privata vita inimicos habuit, imperator tantum neglexit, ita ut uni, quem capitalem habuerat, factus imperator diceret “Evasisti”. Iis quos ad militiam ipse per se vocavit equos mulos vestes sumptus et omnem ornatum semper exhibuit. saturnalia et sigillaria frequenter amicis inopinantibus misit et ipse ab his libenter acceptit et alia invicem dedit: ad deprehendendas obsonatorum fraudes, cum plurimis sigmatibus pasceret, fercula de aliis mensibus etiam ultimis sibi iussit adponi. Reges munerus suis vicit. Publice frequenter et cum omnibus lavit. ex quo ille iocus balnearis notum: nam cum quodam tempore veterum quendam notum sibi in militia dorum et ceteram partem corporis vidisset aderere parieti, percontatus, cur se marmoribus destringendum daret, ubi audivit hoc idcirco fieri quod servum non haberet, et servis eum donavit et sumptibus. verum alia die cum plures senes ad provocandum liberalitatem principis parieti se adverterent, evocari eos iussit et alium ab alio invicem defricari. fuit et plebis iactantissimus amator. peregrinationis ita cupidus ut omnia quae legerat de locis orbis terrarum praesens vellet addis-

1 sibi iussit adponi Mommsen; quibusque (qui P) adponi P1; quibusque iussit adponi P corr.; quibusque adponit Peter. 2 parieti inserted here by Kellerbauer and accepted by Peter; omitted in P.

1 The name Sigillaria was given to the last days of the Saturnalia, in which it was customary to send as gifts little figures (sigilla) of pottery or pastry.
them Favorinus, many claim, was conspicuous above all the rest. Teachers who seemed unfit for their profession he presented with riches and honours and then dismissed from the practice of their profession.

XVII. Many whom he had regarded as enemies when a private citizen, when emperor he merely ignored; for example, on becoming emperor, he said to one man whom he had regarded as a mortal foe, "You have escaped". When he himself called any to military service, he always supplied them with horses, mules, clothing, cost of maintenance, and indeed their whole equipment. At the Saturnalia and Sigillaria he often surprised his friends with presents, and he gladly received gifts from them and again gave others in return. In order to detect dishonesty in his caterers, when he gave banquets with several tables he gave orders that platters from the other tables, even the lowest, should be set before himself. He surpassed all monarchs in his gifts. He often bathed in the public baths, even with the common crowd. And a jest of his made in the bath became famous. For on a certain occasion, seeing a veteran, whom he had known in the service, rubbing his back and the rest of his body against the wall, he asked him why he had the marble rub him, and when the man replied that it was because he did not own a slave, he presented him with some slaves and the cost of their maintenance. But another time, when he saw a number of old men rubbing themselves against the wall for the purpose of arousing the generosity of the Emperor, he ordered them to be called out and then to rub one another in turn. His love for the common people he loudly expressed. So fond was he of travel, that he wished to inform himself in
HADRIAN

9 cere. frigora et tempestates ita patienter tulit ut 10 numquam caput tegeret.¹ regibus multis plurimum detulit, a plerisque vero etiam pacem redemit, a 11 nonnullis contemptus est; multis ingerita dedit munera, sed nulli maiora quam Hiberorum, cui et elephantum et quinquaginaram cohortem post 12 magnifica dedit dona. cum a Pharasmane ipse quoque ingerita dona² accepisset atque inter haec auratas quoque chlamydes, trecentos noxios cum auratis chlamydibus in arenam misit ad eius munera deridenda.

XVIII. Cum iudicaret, in consilio habuit non amicos suos aut comites solum sed iuris consultos et prae- cipue Iuventium³ Celsum, Salvium Iulianum, Neratium Priscum aliosque, quos tamen senatus omnis 2 probasset. constituit inter cetera, ut in nulla civitate domus aliqua⁴ transferendae ad aliam urbem ullius⁵ 3 materiae causa dirueretur. liberis proscriptorum

¹ tegeret Exc. Cus. and P corr.; texeret P¹; texerit Peter. ² ingerita munia dona P; munia deleted by Petrarch; munia dono Peter. ³ Iuventium Cas.; iulium P. ⁴ aliqua . . . dirueretur Petschenig; aliqua . . . dirueretur P¹; diruerentur P corr. ⁵ ullius P corr. (so Peter, but conj. illius); ullis P¹; utilis Cornelissen; utilis Mommsen.

¹ Especially in connection with his conference with the minor potentates of the Orient; see c. xiii. 8. ² Pharasmanes; see also c. xiii. 9 and note. ³ See c. viii. 9 and note. ⁴ His Digesta in thirty-nine books were used in the compilation of the Digest of Justinian. ⁵ Famous as the compiler of the Edictum Perpetuum, a systematized collection of praetors’ edicta, or statements of
person about all that he had read concerning all parts of the world. Cold and bad weather he could bear with such endurance that he never covered his head. He showed a multitude of favours to many kings, but from a number he even purchased peace, and by some he was treated with scorn; to many he gave huge gifts, but none greater than to the king of the Hiberi, for to him he gave an elephant and a band of fifty men, in addition to magnificent presents. And having himself received huge gifts from Pharasmanes, including some cloaks embroidered with gold, he sent into the arena three hundred condemned criminals dressed in gold-embroidered cloaks for the purpose of ridiculing the gifts of the king.

XVIII. When he tried cases, he had in his council not only his friends and the members of his staff, but also jurists, in particular Juventius Celsus, Salvius Julianus, Neratius Priscus, and others, only those, however, whom the senate had unanimously approved. Among other decisions he ruled that in no community should any house be demolished for the purpose of transporting any building-materials to another city. To the child of an outlawed person he granted

the principles to be used in administering justice; see Eutrop., viii. 17, and Codex Iust., vi. 61, 5. His Digesta in ninety books are cited in Justinian's Digest. See also Serv., xvii. 5.

6 See note to c. iv. 8.

7 This prohibition is an application of the general principle laid down in a senatus consultum of 44 (Bruns, No. 51), that no building in Italy shall be demolished with a view to making profit out of the demolition. The destruction of buildings for any purpose except their immediate reconstruction, unless permission has been given by the curia, is prohibited in the various laws of the coloniae and municipia; see Lex Col. Genetivae, c. 75, Lex Mun. Malac., c. 62, and Lex Mun. Tarrent., c. 4.
HADRIAN

4 duodecimas bonorum concessit. maiestatis crimina
5 non admisit. ignotorum hereditates repudiavit nec
6 notorum accepit, si filios haberent. de thesauris ita
cavit ut, si1 quis in suo repperisset, ipse potiretur,
si quis in alieno, dimidium domino daret, si quis in
7 publico, cum fisco aequabiliter partiretur. servos a
dominis occidi vetuit eosque iussit damnari per
8 iudices, si digni essent. lenoni et lanistae servum
9 vel ancillam vendi vetuit causa non praestita. de-
cociores bonorum suorum, si suae auctoritatis essent,
catomidiari in amphitheatro et dimitti iussit. ergastula
10 servorum et liberorum tulit. lavacra pro sexibus
11 separavit. si dominus in domo interemptus esset,
non de omnibus servis quaestionem haberì sed de iis
qui per vicinitatem poterant sentire praecipit.

XIX. In Etruria praeturam imperator egit. per

1 si lacking in P1, added by P corr.

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1 It was a principle of Roman law that the property of those
executed or exiled should be confiscated; see Digest., xlviii.
20, 1 pr. It had become customary, however, to allow to the
children a certain proportion. In the first century this often
amounted to a half (see Tac., Ann., iii. 17; xiii. 49); in the
time of Theodosius I, the law established this amount, except
only in cases of treason, in which the children were to receive
one sixth; see Cod. Theod., ix. 42, 8 and 24 = Cod. Iust., ix.
49, 8 and 10. The amount prescribed by Hadrian must be
regarded as a minimum.

2 Originally the principle seems to have been that the
finder of treasure became the owner; so Hor., Sat., ii. 6, 10 f.
HADRIAN XVIII. 4—XIX.

a twelfth of the property. Accusations for lèse majesté he did not admit. Legacies from persons unknown to him he refused, and even those left to him by acquaintances he would not accept if they had any children. In regard to treasure-trove, he ruled that if anyone made a find on his own property he might keep it, if on another’s land, he should turn over half to the proprietor thereof, if on the state’s, he should share the find equally with the privy-purse. He forbade masters to kill their slaves, and ordered that any who deserved it should be sentenced by the courts. He forbade anyone to sell a slave or a maidservant to a procurer or trainer of gladiators without giving a reason therefor. He ordered that those who had wasted their property, if legally responsible, should be flogged in the amphitheatre and then let go. Houses of hard labour for slaves and free he abolished. He provided separate baths for the sexes. He issued an order that, if a slave-owner were murdered in his house, no slaves should be examined save those who were near enough to have had knowledge of the murder.

XIX. In Etruria he held a praetorship while em-

Hadrian’s modification was adopted by Marcus and Verus (Just., Digest., xlix. 14, 3, 10), and by Severus Alexander (Alex., xlvi. 2), and was finally incorporated in Justinian’s Institutes (ii. 1, 39).

A senatus consultum Silanianum of A.D. 10 had ordained that on the murder of a slave-owner by a slave, all the slaves present in the house should be examined by torture; see Just., Digest., xxix. 5. This was extended by a senatus consultum of 57 to include all freedmen present in the house; see Tac., Ann., xiii. 32. For an instance of such a murder see Tac., Ann., xiv. 42-45.

He held the honorary post of chief magistrate of various towns. Praetor was the original title of this magistrate (the Roman consuls also were originally called praetores), and many towns retained the old name.
HADRIAN

Latina oppida dictator et aedilis et duumvir fuit, apud Neapolim demarchus, in patria sua quinquennalis et item Hadriae quinquennalis, quasi in alia patria, et Athenis archon fuit.

2 In omnibus paene urribus et aliquid aedificavit et ludos edidit. Athenis mille ferarum venationem in stadio exhibuit. ab urbe Roma numquam ullum venatorem aut scaenicum avocavit. Romae post ceteras immensissimas voluptates in honorem socrus suae aromatica populo donavit, in honorem Traiani balsama et crocum per gradus theatri fluere iussit. 6 fabulas omnis generis more antiquo in theatro dedit, 7 histriones aulicos publicavit. in Circo multas feras et saepe centum leones interfecit. militares pyrrhas populo frequenter exhibuit. gladiatores frequenter spectavit. cum opera ubique infinita fecisset, numquam ipse nisi in Traiani patris templo nomen suum scripsit. Romae instauravit Pantheum, Saepta, Basil-

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1 The Duoviri iure dicundo were the chief magistrates of a colony, analogous to the consuls at Rome, and gradually most of the municipalities adopted this form of government. It was customary for the emperors to hold this magistracy as a compliment to the town.

2 Naples, which was a Greek city, retained the original title of its chief magistrate, δημαρχός; see Strabo, v. p. 546 and many inscriptions extending down to the fourth century.

3 Italica in Hispania Baetica; see c. i. 1.

4 In 112, before he became emperor; see the inscription from Athens, C.I.L., iii. 550 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 308.

5 See c. ix. 9 and note.

6 Originally a war-dance, but sometimes used in pantomimes (cf. Suet., Nero, xii. 2).

7 See note to c. vii. 6.

8 Originally built by Agrippa in 27 B.C. The present building bears the inscription of Agrippa, M. Agrippa L. f. consul ter(tium) fecit, but an examination of the bricks used in its
peror. In the Latin towns he was dictator and aedile and duumvir,¹ in Naples demarch,² in his native city³ duumvir with the powers of censor. This office he held at Hadria, too, his second native city, as it were, and at Athens he was archon.⁴

In almost every city he built some building and gave public games. At Athens he exhibited in the stadium a hunt of a thousand wild beasts, but he never called away from Rome a single wild-beast-hunter or actor. In Rome, in addition to popular entertainments of unbounded extravagance, he gave spices to the people in honour of his mother-in-law,⁵ and in honour of Trajan he caused essences of balsam and saffron to be poured over the seats of the theatre. And in the theatre he presented plays of all kinds in the ancient manner and had the court-players appear before the public. In the Circus he had many wild beasts killed and often a whole hundred of lions. He often gave the people exhibitions of military Pyrrhic dances,⁶ and he frequently attended gladiatorial shows. He built public buildings in all places and without number, but he inscribed his own name on none of them except the temple of his father Trajan.⁷ At Rome he restored the Pantheon,⁸ the Voting-enclosure,⁹ the Basilica of Neptune,¹⁰ very construction has revealed the fact that it is wholly the work of Hadrian.

¹ In the Campus Martius, where the centuries gathered for voting. The building was begun by Julius Caesar but finished by Agrippa and called Saepta Julia in 27 B.C. (Dio, liii. 29). It was burned under Titus (Dio, lxvi. 24) but rebuilt under Domitian.

² North of the Saepta. Built by Agrippa in 25 B.C. to commemorate the victories over Sextus Pompeius and Antony (Dio, liii. 27) and burned under Titus. The north wall of Hadrian's building and eleven columns are extant, and form part of the façade of the modern stock-exchange.
HADRIAN

icam Neptuni, sacras aedes plurimas, Forum Augusti, Lavacrum Agrippae; eaque omnia propriis auctorum 1
11 nominibus consecravit. fecit et sui nominis pontem
et sepulchrum iuxta Tiberim et aedem Bonae Deae.
12 transtulit et Colossum stantem atque suspensum per
Decianum architectum de eo loco in quo nunc Tem-
plum Urbis est, ingenti molimine, ita ut operi etiam
13 elephantos viginti quattuor exhiberet. et cum hoc
simulacrum post Neronis vultum, cui antea dicatum
fuerat, Soli consecrasset, aliud tale Apollodoro archi-
tecto auctore facere Lunae molitus est.

XX. In conloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus
fuit, detestans eos qui sibi hanc voluptatem humani-
tatis quasi servantes 2 fastigium principis inviderent.
2 apud Alexandriam in Museo multas quaestiones pro-
fessoribus proposuit et propositas ipse dissolvit.
3 Marius Maximus dicit eum natura crudelem fuisse

1 auctorum Peter, from Suet. Domit. 5; ueterum P. 2 ser-
vantes Roos, Mn. 41, p. 144; servantis P.

1 North-west of the Forum Romanum, and containing the
temple of Mars Ultor.
2 Immediately south of the Pantheon, built by Agrippa in
25 B.C. (Dio, liii. 27). These baths were burned under Titus
but rebuilt under Domitian (Martial, iii. 20 and 36).
3 The Mausoleum Hadriani, on the right bank of the Tiber,
now the Castel S. Angelo. The bridge named after him
Pons Aelius led to it. The Mausoleum was finally completed
by Antoninus Pius in 199; see Pius, viii. 2, and C.I.L., vi. 984
= Dessau, Ins. Sele., 322.
4 The Aedes Bonae Deae Subsaxanae was on the slope of
the eastern peak of the Aventine Hill (the Remuria or
Saxum); for its legend see Ovid, Fast., v. 155.

60
many temples, the Forum of Augustus, the Baths of Agrippa, and dedicated all of them in the names of their original builders. Also he constructed the bridge named after himself, a tomb on the bank of the Tiber, and the temple of the Bona Dea. With the aid of the architect Decianus he raised the Colossus and, keeping it in an upright position, moved it away from the place in which the Temple of Rome is now, though its weight was so vast that he had to furnish for the work as many as twenty-four elephants. This statue he then consecrated to the Sun, after removing the features of Nero, to whom it had previously been dedicated, and he also planned, with the assistance of the architect Apollodorus, to make a similar one for the Moon.

XX. Most democratic in his conversations, even with the very humble, he denounced all who, in the belief that they were thereby maintaining the imperial dignity, begrudged him the pleasure of such friendliness. In the Museum at Alexandria he propounded many questions to the teachers and answered himself what he had propounded. Marius Maximus says that

5 A colossal statue of Nero which stood in the vestibule of Nero’s Golden House; see Suet., *Nero*, xxxi. 1. According to Suetonius it was 120 feet high, according to Pliny (N.H., xxxiv. 45) 106½ feet. The statue was moved by Hadrian to a place immediately north-west of the Colosseum, where a portion of its base is still preserved.

6 The Temple of Venus and Rome, built by Hadrian in 135 from a plan made by himself; see Dio, lxix. 4. It stood on the Velia at the highest point of the Sacra Via on a part of the site of Nero’s Golden House. The western portion is built into the church of S. Francesca Romana, the eastern portion is partly extant.

7 An academy founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus in imitation of the schools of Plato and Aristotle at Athens.

61
HADRIAN

et idcirco multa pie fecisse quod timeret, ne sibi idem quod Domitianus accidit eveniret.

4 Et cum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Cartha-

5 ginenem et Athenarum partem. aquarum ductus etiam

6 infinitos hoc nomine nuncupavit. fisci advocatum

primus instituit.

7 Fuit memoriae ingentis, facultatis immensa; nam

ipse et orationes dictavit et ad omnia respondit.

8 ioca eius plurima exstant; nam fuit etiam dicacus.

unde illud quoque innotuit quod, cum cuidam canes-

centi quiddam negasset, eodem iterum petenti sed

infecto capite respondit: "Iam hoc patri tuo negavi ".

9 nomina plurimis sine nomenclatore reddidit, quae

semel et congesta simul audiverat, ut nomenclatores

saepius errantes emendarit. dixit et veteranorum

nomina, quos aliquando dimiserat. libros statim

1 lectos et ignotos quidem plurimis memoriter reddidit.

1 uno tempore scripsit dictavit audivit et cum amicis

fabulatus est, si potest credi. omnes publicas

rationes ita complexus est ut domum privatam quisvis

paterfamilias diligentis non satis novit. equos et canes

1 So P; strictim Peter; raptim Novak. 2 si potest

(potes P) credi removed by the edd., so Haupt, Opusc. III.
p. 421, but Vahlen (ind. lect. Ber. hib. 1880/1, p. 18) would

retain, joining to the following. 3 non satis novit P, which

Haupt would remove (loc. cit.); non setius notit Mommsen,

Peter 2.

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1 Domitian was assassinated by some palace-attendants.
2 This portion of the city lay east of the Acropolis, between
the old wall of Themistocles and the Ilissus. A gate in the
old wall was replaced by a new one, bearing on its two sides
respectively the lines:—

ΑΠΟ εἰσ’ Ἀθηναὶ Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις.
ΑΠΟ εἰσ’ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ οὔχ Ἡθσέως πόλις.

(I.G., iii. 401).
he was naturally cruel and performed so many kindnesses only because he feared that he might meet the fate which had befallen Domitian.¹

Though he cared nothing for inscriptions on his public works, he gave the name of Hadrianopolis to many cities, as, for example, even to Carthage and a section of Athens;² and he also gave his name to aqueducts without number. He was the first to appoint a pleader for the privy-purse.³

Hadrian's memory was vast and his ability was unlimited; for instance, he personally dictated his speeches and gave opinions on all questions. He was also very witty, and of his jests many still survive. The following one has even become famous: When he had refused a request to a certain gray-haired man, and the man repeated the request but this time with dyed hair, Hadrian replied: "I have already refused this to your father". Even without the aid of a nomenclator he could call by name a great many people, whose names he had heard but once and then all in a crowd; indeed, he could correct the nomenclators when they made mistakes, as they not infrequently did, and he even knew the names of the veterans whom he had discharged at various times. He could repeat from memory, after a rapid reading, books which to most men were not known at all. He wrote, dictated, listened, and, incredible as it seems, conversed with his friends, all at one and the same time. He had as complete a knowledge of the state-budget in all its details as

³The *advocatus fisci* represented the interests of the privy-purse in law-suits in which it became involved. The office was held by knights and constituted the first step in the equestrian *cursus honorum*.
HADRIAN

13 sic amavit ut iis sepulchra constitueret. oppidum Hadrianotheras in quodam loco, quod illic et feliciter esset venatus et ursam occidisset aliquando, constituit.

XXI. De iudicibus omnibus semper cuncta scrutando tamdiu requisivit quamdiu verum inveniret. libertos suos nec sciri voluit in publico nec aliquid apud se posse, dicto suo omnibus superioribus principalibus vitia imputans libertorum, damnatis omnibus libertis suis, quicumque se de eo iactaverant. unde exstat etiam illud severum quidem sed prope ioculare de servis. nam cum quodam tempore servum suum inter duos senatores e conspectu ambulare vidisset, misit qui ei colaphum daret diceretque: "Noli inter eos ambulare quorum esse adhuc potes servus". inter cibos unice amavit tetrapharmacum, quod erat de phasiano sumine perna et crustulo.

5 Fuerunt eius temporibus fames pestilentia terrae motus, quae omnia, quantum potuit, procuravit multis tisque civitatibus vastatis per ista subvenit. fuit etiam Tiberis inundatio. Latium multis civitatibus dedit, tributa multis remisit.

\[1\] seuerum Petschenig; seueror P; seuerre P corr.; seue B, whence Peter saeue. \[2\] so Mommsen; colafum daret et diceret P corr. (from P1 colla fundar et qui); qui et colafum daret; cui "Noli," etc. Bitschofsky.

1 Especially for his favourite hunting-horse Borysthenes, which died at Apte in Gallia Narbonensis; in its honour he erected a tomb with a stele and an inscription; see Dio, lxix. 10. The inscription is preserved, C.I.L., xii, 1122 = Bücheler, Carm. Epigr., ii, 1522.

2 In Bithynia.

3 Also called pentapharmacum; see Ael., v. 4 f. It was also a favourite dish of Séverus Alexander's; see Alex., xxx. 6.
any careful householder has of his own household. His horses and dogs he loved so much that he provided burial-places for them,¹ and in one locality he founded a town called Hadrianotherae,² because once he had hunted successfully there and killed a bear.

XXI. He always inquired into the actions of all his judges, and persisted in his inquiries until he satisfied himself of the truth about them. He would not allow his freedmen to be prominent in public affairs or to have any influence over himself, and he declared that all his predecessors were to blame for the faults of their freedmen; he also punished all his freedmen who boasted of their influence over him. With regard to his treatment of his slaves, the following incident, stern but almost humorous, is still related. Once when he saw one of his slaves walk away from his presence between two senators, he sent someone to give him a box on the ear and say to him: “Do not walk between those whose slave you may some day be”. As an article of food he was singularly fond of tetrpharmacum,³ which consisted of pheasant, sow’s udders, ham, and pastry.

During his reign there were famines, pestilence, and earthquakes. The distress caused by all these calamities he relieved to the best of his ability, and also he aided many communities which had been devastated by them. There was also an overflow of the Tiber. To many communities he gave Latin citizenship,⁴ and to many others he remitted their tribute.

¹ The ius Latium was a peculiar status, granted originally to certain of the cities of Latium. It conferred on their inhabitants certain private rights of a Roman citizen, especially those of holding property and trading at Rome and of intermarriage with Romans. In the time of the Empire the
HADRIAN

8 Expeditiones sub eo graves nullae fuerunt; bella
9 etiam silentio paene transacta. a militibus propter
curam exercitus nimiam 1 multum amatus est, simul
10 quod in eos liberalissimus fuit. Parthos in amicitia
semper habuit, quod inde regem retraxit, quem
11 Traianus imposuerat. Armeniis regem habere per-
12 misit, cum sub Traiano legatum habuisserat. a Mesop-
13 potamiis 2 non exegit tributum, quod Traianus im-
14 posuit. Albanos et Hiberos amicissimos habuit, quod
reges eorum largitionibus prosecutus est, cum ad
15 illum venire contempsissent. reges Bactrianae
egatos ad eum amicitiae petendae causa supplices
miserunt.

XXII. Tutores saepissime dedit. disciplinam civi-
2 lem non aliter tenuit quam militarem. senatores et
equites Romanos semper in publico togatos esse iussit,
3 nisi si a cena reverterentur. ipse, cum in Italia esset,
4 semper togatus processit. ad convivium venientes
senatores stans exceptum semperque aut pallio tectus
5 discubuit aut toga. summa diligentia in dies 3 sumptus
convivii constituit et ad antiquum modum redegit.
6 vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi pro-
7 hibuit. sederi equos in civitatibus non sivit. ante
octavam horam in publico neminem nisi aegrum lavari

1 nimiam P corr., Novak; nimias P1; nimie Peter. 2 a
Mesopotamiis Novak after P corr. omitting a; Mesopotamenos
P1, Peter. 3 toga. summa diligentia in dies Mommsen;
toga summisca diligentia iudices P; iudicis Peter.

possession of this status meant chiefly local autonomy and
the bestowal of Roman citizenship on local magistrates.
1 Except the war in Judaea; see c. xiv. 2 and note.

66
There were no campaigns of importance during his reign, and the wars that he did wage were brought to a close almost without arousing comment. The soldiers loved him much on account of his very great interest in the army and for his great liberality to them besides. The Parthians always regarded him as a friend because he took away the king whom Trajan had set over them. The Armenians were permitted to have their own king, whereas under Trajan they had had a governor, and the Mesopotamians were relieved of the tribute which Trajan had imposed. The Albanians and Hiberians he made his friends by lavishing gifts upon their kings, even though they had scorned to come to him. The kings of the Bactrians sent envoys to him to beg humbly for his friendship.

XXII. He very often assigned guardians. Discipline in civil life he maintained as rigorously as he did in military. He ordered senators and knights to wear the toga whenever they appeared in public except when they were returning from a banquet, and he himself, when in Italy, always appeared thus clad. At banquets, when senators came, he received them standing, and he always reclined at table dressed either in a Greek cloak or in a toga. The cost of a banquet he limited according to the nature of the occasion, all with the utmost care, and he reduced the sums that might be expended to the amounts

\(^2\) See c. x.
\(^3\) i.e. Parthamaspates; see c. v. 4 and note.
\(^4\) i.e. he relinquished their country together with the other conquests of Trajan east of the Euphrates; see c. v. 1 and 3 and notes.

\(^5\) The eastern part of Trans-Caucasia, east of the Hiberi (for whom see c. xvii. 11).
HADRIAN

8 passus est. ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites
9 Romanos habuit. eos quos pauperes et innocentes
vidit sponte dixit, quos vero calliditate ditatos,
10 etiam odio habuit. sacra Romana diligentissime
curavit, peregrina contempsit. pontificis maximi
11 officium peregit. causas Romae atque in provinciis
frequenter audivit, adhibitis in consilio suo consulibus
12 atque praetoribus et optimis senatoribus. Fucinum
13 lacum emisit. quattuor consulares per omnem Italiam
14 iudices constituit. quando in Africam venit, ad ad-
ventum eius post quinquennium pluit, atque ideo ab
Africanis dilectus est.

XXIII. Peragratis sane omnibus orbis partibus
capite nudo et in summis plerumque imbribus atque
2 frigoribus in morbum incidit lectualem. factusque de
successore sollicitus primum de Serviano cогitavit,

1 Beginning with the Lex Orchia of 181 B.C. the Roman
republic tried by a succession of sumptuary laws to restore
the constantly increasing cost of banquets. The Lex Fannia
of 161 B.C. fixed a maximum of 100 asses for the great holidays,
of 10 asses for ordinary days; the latter sum was later in-
creased to 30 asses. The Lex Cornelia of Sulla allowed three
hundred sesterces for holidays and thirty for other days; this
latter was increased by a law of Augustus to two hundred
sesterces; see Gellius, ii. 24 and Macrobius, Sat., iii. 17. Which
sum is meant here is unfortunately not clear.

2 One of the most important of Hadrian's reforms. The
great court-offices had previously been held chiefly by freed-
men of the emperor as private posts in his household.
Hadrian, in providing that they should be held by knights,
prescribed by the ancient laws. He forbade the entry into Rome of heavily laden waggons, and did not permit riding on horseback in cities. None but invalids were allowed to bathe in the public baths before the eighth hour of the day. He was the first to put knights in charge of the imperial correspondence and of the petitions addressed to the emperor. Those men whom he saw to be poor and innocent he enriched of his own accord, but those who had become rich through sharp practice he actually regarded with hatred. He despised foreign cults, but native Roman ones he observed most scrupulously; moreover, he always performed the duties of pontifex maximus. He tried a great number of lawsuits himself both in Rome and in the provinces, and to his council he called consuls and praetors and the foremost of the senators. He drained the Fucine Lake. He appointed four men of consular rank as judges for all Italy. When he went to Africa it rained on his arrival for the first time in the space of five years, and for this he was beloved by the Africans.

XXIII. After traversing, as he did, all parts of the world with bare head and often in severe storms and transformed them into official government positions. Moreover, this opening to the equestrian order of a career of great influence and distinction led to the result that by the end of the third century most of the important administrative posts were held by knights.

See c. viii. 9 and note.

Now Lago di Celano. It is in the centre of Italy, due east of Rome. An attempt to drain it by means of a tunnel was made by Claudius (see Tac., Ann., xi. 56 and 57), but not very successfully. Another attempt, made by Trajan, is recorded in an inscription (C.I.L., ix. 3915).

See c. xiii. 4.
HADRIAN

3 quem postea, ut diximus, mori coegit, item\textsuperscript{1} Fuscum, quod imperium praesagiis et ostentis agitatus speraret. 4 in summa detestatione habuit Platorium Nepotem, quem tantopere ante dilexit ut veniens ad eum aegrotantem Hadrianus impune non admitteretur, suspiciionibus adductus, et eodem modo et Terentium Gentianum, et hunc vehementius, quod a senatu diligi tunc videbat. omnes postremo, de quorum imperio cogitavit, quasi futuros imperatores detestatus est. 7 et omnem quidem vim crudelitatis ingenitae usque eo repressit donec in Villa Tiburtina profluvio sanguinis paene ad exitum venit. tunc libere Servianum quasi affectatorem imperii, quod servis regii cenam misisset, quod in sedili regio iuxta lectum posito sedisset, quod erectus ad stationes militum senex nonagenarius processisset, mori coegit, multis aliis interfectis vel aperte vel per insidias; quando quidem etiam Sabina uxor non sine fabula veneni dati ab Hadriano defuncta est.

Tunc Ceionium Commodum, Nigrini generum insidiatoris quondam, sibi forma commendatum adoptare constituit. adoptavit ergo Ceionium Commodum

\textsuperscript{1} item om. in P, inserted by Peter.

\textsuperscript{2} Pedanius Fuscus, the grandson of Servianus, was killed at the age of eighteen; see Dio, lxix. 17.

\textsuperscript{3} See c. iv. 2 and note.

\textsuperscript{4} D. Terentius Gentianus held an important command in Trajan's wars in Dacia and became a patron of the colony of Sarmizegetusa, the capital of the province; see C.I.L., iii. 1463.

\textsuperscript{5} See c. xxvi. 5.

\textsuperscript{6} i.e. the guard that was regularly on duty at the Palace; see Suetonius, Tib., xxiv. 1; \textit{Nero}, xxi. 1.
frosts, he contracted an illness which confined him to his bed. And becoming anxious about a successor he thought first of Servianus. Afterwards, however, as I have said, he forced him to commit suicide; and Fuscus, too, he put to death on the ground that, being spurred on by prophecies and omens, he was hoping for the imperial power. Carried away by suspicion, he held in the greatest abhorrence Platorius Nepos, whom he had formerly so loved that, once, when he went to see him while ill and was refused admission, he nevertheless let him go unpunished. Also he hated Terentius Gentianus, but even more vehemently, because he saw that he was then beloved by the senate. At last, he came to hate all those of whom he had thought in connection with the imperial power, as though they were really about to be emperors. However, he controlled all the force of his innate cruelty down to the time when in his Tiburtine Villa he almost met his death through a hemorrhage. Then he threw aside all restraint and compelled Servianus to kill himself, on the ground that he aspired to the empire, merely because he gave a feast to the royal slaves, sat in a royal chair placed close to his bed, and, though an old man of ninety, used to arise and go forward to meet the guard of soldiers. He put many others to death, either openly or by treachery, and indeed, when his wife Sabina died, the rumour arose that the Emperor had given her poison.

Hadrian then determined to adopt Ceionius Com- modus, son-in-law of Nigrinus, the former conspirator, and this in spite of the fact that his sole recommendation was his beauty. Accordingly, despite the opposition of all, he adopted Ceionius Commodus
HADRIAN

Verum invitis omnibus eumque Helium Verum Caesar appellavit. ob cuius adoptionem ludos circenses dedit et donativum populo ac militibus expendit. quem praetura honoravit ac statim Pannoniis imposuit decreto consulatu cum sumptibus. eundem Commodum secundo consulem designavit. quem cum minus sanum videret, saepissime dictavit:

"In caducem parietem nos inclinavimus et perdidimus quater milies sestertium, quod populo et militibus pro adoptione Commodi dedimus". Commodus autem prae valetudine nec gratias quidem in senatu agere potuit Hadriano de adoptione. denique accepto largius antidoto ingrasescente valetudine per somnum periiit ipsis kalendis Ianuariis. quare ab Hadriano voto vorem causa lageri est vetitus.

XXIV. Et mortuo Helio Verio Caesare Hadrianus ingruente tristissima valetudine adoptavit Arrium Antoninum, qui postea Pius dictus est, et ea quidem

1 adoptionem P, Petschenig; adoptionem Peter. 2 consulatus consumptibus P. 3et P; sed Cas., Peter. 4 et ea quidem Jordan; et eadem P.

1 More correctly, L. Ceionius Commodus; he was adopted under the name L. Aelius Caesar. The cognomen Verus, given to him here and in his biography (Ael., ii. 1 and 6), is not attested by inscriptions or coins, and seems to have arisen through a confusion with his son, adopted by Antoninus Pius, and, after his accessio to the throne, called L. Aurelius Verus. The form Helius which is used throughout the Historia.
HADRIAN XXIII. 12—XXIV.

Verus and called him Aelius Verus Caesar. On the occasion of the adoption he gave games in the Circus and bestowed largess upon the populace and the soldiers. He dignified Commodus with the office of praetor and immediately placed him in command of the Pannonian provinces, and also conferred on him the consulship together with money enough to meet the expenses of the office. He also appointed Commodus to a second consulship. And when he saw that the man was diseased, he used often to say: “We have leaned against a tottering wall and have wasted the four hundred million sesterces which we gave to the populace and the soldiers on the adoption of Commodus.” Moreover, because of his ill-health, Commodus could not even make a speech in the senate thanking Hadrian for his adoption. Finally, too large a quantity of medicine was administered to him, and thereupon his illness increased, and he died in his sleep on the very Kalends of January. Because of the date Jan., 138, Hadrian forbade public mourning for him, in order that the vows for the state might be assumed as usual.

XXIV. After the death of Aelius Verus Caesar, Hadrian was attacked by a very severe illness, and Feb., 25 thereupon he adopted Arrius Antoninus (who was 138.)

Augusta has no warrant whatsoever; its substitution for Aelius is probably due to some editor.

Cf. Ael., iii. 3; vi. 1.

This statement, as found here and in Ael., iii. 2, is incorrect, for he was praetor in 130 and consul in 136, the year in which he was adopted. He was consul for the second time in 137 and was then placed in command of the two provinces of Pannonia.

Cf. Ael., vi. 3.

More correctly, T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; see Pius, i. 1. After his adoption his name was T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus.

73
HADRIAN

lege ut ille sibi duos adoptaret, Annium Verum et Mar-

2 cum Antoninum. hi sunt qui postea duo pariter Augusti

3 primi rem publicam gubernaverunt. et Antoninus

quidem Pius idcirco appellatus dicitur quod socerum

4 fessum aetate manu sublevaret, quamvis alii cognoma-

5 mentum hoc ei dicant inditum, quod multos senatores

6 Hadriano iam saevienti abripuisset, aliui, quod ipsi

7 Hadriano magnos honores post mortem detulisset.

6 Antonini adoptionem plurimi tunc factam esse dolue-

8 runt, speciatim Catilius Severus, praefectus urbi, qui

7 sibi praeparabat imperium. qua re prodita successore

9 accepto dignitate privatus est.

8 Hadrianus autem ultimo vitae taedio iam adfectus

9 gladio se transfigi a servo iussit. quod cum esset

proditum et in Antonini usque notitiam venisset,

ingressis ad se praeffectis et filio rogantibusque ut

aquo animo necessitatem morbi ferret, dicente Anto-

9 nino parricidam se futurum si Hadrianum adoptatus

10 ipse pateretur occidi,1 iratus illis auctorem proditionis

iussit occidi, qui tamen ab Antonino servatus est.

11 statimque testamentum scripsit nec tamen actus rei

1 dicente ... occidi follows in P statimque ... praeter-

2 misit; transposed to follow ut ... ferret by Gemoll, so Peter.

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1 The names of the two adopted sons of Antoninus Pius are
entirely confused. The biographer is referring here to L.
Ceionius Commodus, the son of L. Aelius Caesar, called, after
his adoption by Antoninus, L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus.
On his succession to the throne, he took the cognomen of his
adoptive brother Annius Verus (M. Aurelius Antoninus) and
reigned as L. Aurelius Verus.

2 His name before adoption was M. Annius Verus; after
adoption he seems to have been called M. Aelius Aurelius
Verus. On the death of Antoninus Pius he called himself
M. Aurelius Antoninus.

3 So also Pius, ii. 3.

4 See c. xxv. 8 and Pius, ii. 4.
afterwards called Pius), imposing on him the condition that he adopt two sons, Annius Verus¹ and Marcus Antoninus.² These were the two who afterwards ruled the empire together, the first joint Augusti. And as for Antoninus, he was called Pius, it is said, because he used to give his arm to his father-in-law when weakened by old age.³ However, others assert that this surname was given to him because, as Hadrian grew more cruel, he rescued many senators from the Emperor⁴; others, again, that it was because he bestowed great honours upon Hadrian after his death.⁵ The adoption of Antoninus was lamented by many at that time, particularly by Catilius Severus,⁶ the prefect of the city, who was making plans to secure the throne for himself. When this fact became known, a successor was appointed for him and he was deprived of his office.

But Hadrian was now seized with the utmost disgust of life and ordered a servant to stab him with a sword. When this was disclosed and reached the ears of Antoninus, he came to the Emperor, together with the prefects, and begged him to endure with fortitude the hard necessity of illness, declaring furthermore that he himself would be no better than a parricide, were he, an adopted son, to permit Hadrian to be killed. The Emperor then became angry and ordered the betrayer of the secret to be put to death; however, the man was saved by Antoninus. Then Hadrian immediately drew up his will, though he did not lay aside the administration of the empire. Once more, however, after making

⁵See c. xxvii. 4 and Pius, ii. 5.
⁶He had been the colleague of Antoninus in the consulship in 120; see Pius, ii. 9.
HADRIAN

12 publicae praetermisit. et post testamentum quidem iterum se conatus 1 occidere subtracto pugione saevior factus est. petiiit et venenum a medico, qui se ipse, ne daret, occidit.

XXV. Ea tempestate supervenit quaedam mulier, quae diceret somnio se monitam ut insinuaret Hadriano, ne se occideret, quod esset bene valiturus; quod cum non fecisset, esse caecatam, iussam tamen iterum Hadriano eadem dicere atque genua eius osculare, 2 oculos 2 recepturam si id fecisset. quod cum insomnium 3 impesset, oculos recepit, cum aqua, quae in 3 fano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluisset. venit et de Pannonia quidam vetus caecus ad febrientem 4 Hadrianum eumque contigit. quo facto et ipse oculos receptit et Hadrianum febris reliquit, quamvis Marius Maximus haec per simulationem facta commemoret.

5 Post haec Hadrianus Baias petiiit Antonino Romae ad imperandum relictum. ubi cum nihil proficeret, arcessito Antonino in conspectu eius apud ipsas Baias perit die VI idium Iuliam. invisusque omnibus sepultus est in villa Ciceroniana Puteolis.

8 Sub ipso mortis tempore et Servianum nonaginta annos agentem, ut 4 supra dictum est, ne sibi superviveret 5 atque, ut putabat, imperaret, mori coegit et ob leves offensas plurimos iussit occidi, quos Anton-

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1 est con. P.  2 oculos om. in P, supplied by Gleye; visum (added after recepit), P corr., so Peter, but see Novak I, p. 3.  3 insomnium Cas.; in somnio P; somnum Novak.  4 ut B corr., om. in P; supra dictum est deleted by Peter.  5 superuiueret Petrarch; superuiueret P, Peter.

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1 See c. xv. 8 and xxiii. 2 and 8.
his will, he attempted to kill himself, but the dagger was taken from him. He then became more violent, and he even demanded poison from his physician, who thereupon killed himself in order that he might not have to administer it.

XXV. About this time there came a certain woman, who said that she had been warned in a dream to coax Hadrian to refrain from killing himself, for he was destined to recover entirely, but that she had failed to do this and had become blind; she had nevertheless been ordered a second time to give the same message to Hadrian and to kiss his knees, and was assured of the recovery of her sight if she did so. The woman then carried out the command of the dream, and received her sight after she had bathed her eyes with the water in the temple from which she had come. Also a blind old man from Pannonia came to Hadrian when he was ill with fever, and touched him; whereupon the man received his sight, and the fever left Hadrian. All these things, however, Marius Maximus declares were done as a hoax.

After this Hadrian departed for Baiae, leaving Antoninus at Rome to carry on the government. But he received no benefit there, and he thereupon sent for Antoninus, and in his presence he died there at Baiae on the sixth day before the Ides of July. 10 July, Hated by all, he was buried at Puteoli on an estate that had belonged to Cicero.

Just before his death, he compelled Servianus, then ninety years old, to kill himself, as has been said before, in order that Servianus might not outlive him, and, as he thought, become emperor. He likewise gave orders that very many others who were guilty of slight offences should be put to death; these,
HADRIAN

inus reservavit. et moriens quidem hos versus
fecisse dicitur:

Animula vagula blandula
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula?
nec ut soles dabis iocos!

1 tales autem nec multos¹ meliores fecit et Graecos.
11 Vixit annis LXII,² mensibus V, diebus XVII. imperavit annis XX,³ mensibus XI.

XXVI. Statura fuit procerus, forma comptus, flexo
ad pectinem capillo, promissa barba, ut vulnera, quae
in facie naturalia erant, tegeter, habitudine robusta.
2 equitavit ambulavitque plurimum armisque et pilo se
3 semper exercuit. venatus frequentissime leonem
manu sua occidit. venando autem iugulum et costam
fregit. venationem semper cum amicis participavit.
4 in convivio tragoedias comoedias Atellanas sambucas
5 lectores poetas pro re semper exhibuit. Tiburtinam
Villam mire exaedificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum
et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut
Lyceum, Academian, Prytaneum, Canopum, Poicilen,
Tempe vocaret. et, ut nihil praetermitteret, etiam
inferos fnxvit.

6 Signa mortis haec habuit: natali suo ultimo, cum

¹ multos P; molto Peter. ² LXII Salm.; LXXII P.
³ XX Cas.; XXI P.

¹ Translated by A. O’Brien-Moore.
² The name was derived from Atella, a Campanian town, where, it was supposed, farces of this type originated.
³ This palace was built by Hadrian during the last years of his reign; it was a characteristic expression of both his
however, were spared by Antoninus. And he is said, as he lay dying, to have composed the following lines:

"O blithe little soul, thou, flying away,
Guest and comrade of this my clay,
Whither now goest thou, to what place
Bare and ghastly and without grace?
Nor, as thy wont was, joke and play." ¹

Such verses as these did he compose, and not many that were better, and also some in Greek.

He lived 62 years, 5 months, 17 days. He ruled 20 years, 11 months.

XXVI. He was tall of stature and elegant in appearance; his hair was curled on a comb, and he wore a full beard to cover up the natural blemishes on his face; and he was very strongly built. He rode and walked a great deal and always kept himself in training by the use of arms and the javelin. He also hunted, and he used often to kill a lion with his own hand, but once in a hunt he broke his collar-bone and a rib; these hunts of his he always shared with his friends. At his banquets he always furnished, according to the occasion, tragedies, comedies, Atellan farces,² players on the sambuca, readers, or poets. His villa at Tibur³ was marvellously constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown, calling them, for instance, Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe. And in order not to omit anything, he even made a Hades.

The premonitions of his death were as follows: On eccentricity and his magnificence. Its extensive remains, covering, together with its gardens, about 160 acres, are still to be seen on the edge of the plain about three miles south-east of Tibur (Tivoli).
HADRIAN

Antoninum commendaret, praetexta sponte delapsa caput ei aperuit. anulus, in quo imago ipsius sculpta erat, sponte de digito delapsus est. ante diem natalis eius nescio qui ad senatum ululans venit, contra quem Hadrianus ita motus est quasi de sua morte loqueretur, cum eius verba nullus agnosceret. idem cum vellet in senatu dicere "post filii mei mortem," "post meam" dixit. somniavit praeterea se a patre potionem soporiferam impetrasse. item somniavit a leone se oppressum esse.

XXVII. In mortuum eum a multis multa sunt dicta. acta eius inrita fieri senatus volebat. nec appellatus esset\(^1\) divus, nisi Antoninus rogasset. templum denique ei pro sepulcro apud Puteolos constituit et quinquennale certamen et flamines et sodales et multa alia, quae ad honorem quasi numinis pertinere. qua re, ut supra dictum est, multi putant Antoninum Pium dictum.

\(^1\) est P.

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\(^1\) He was praying, according to the regular Roman custom, with a part of his toga drawn over his head.

\(^2\) For the significance of this omen see note to c. iii. 7.

\(^3\) The Sodales were a board of priests to whom was committed the cult of a deified emperor. Under the empire there were, in all, four such boards: the Sodales Augustales, created for the cult of Augustus, and after the deification of Claudius.
his last birthday, when he was commending Antoninus to the gods, his bordered toga fell down without apparent cause and bared his head.\textsuperscript{1} His ring, on which his portrait was carved, slipped of its own accord from his finger.\textsuperscript{2} On the day before his birthday some one came into the senate wailing; by his presence Hadrian was as disturbed as if he were speaking about his own death, for no one could understand what he was saying. Again, in the senate, when he meant to say, “after my son’s death,” he said, “after mine”. Besides, he dreamed that he had asked his father for a soporific; he also dreamed that he had been overcome by a lion.

XXVII. Much was said against him after his death, and by many persons. The senate wished to annul his acts, and would have refrained from naming him “the Deified” had not Antoninus requested it. Antoninus, moreover, finally built a temple for him at Puteoli to take the place of a tomb, and he also established a quinquennial contest and flamens and sodales\textsuperscript{3} and many other institutions which appertain to the honour of one regarded as a god. It is for this reason, as has been said before, that many think that Antoninus received the surname Pius.\textsuperscript{4}

extended to Sodales Augustales Claudiae; the Sodales Flaviae for Vespasian, after the deification of Titus extended to Sodales Flaviae Titiales; the Sodales Hadrianiae; and the Sodales Antoniniani created in 161. The theory was that one sodalitas should care for the cults of the emperors of the same house.

\textsuperscript{4}See c. xxiv, 5 and note.
HELIUS
AEVII SPARTIANI

Diocletiano Augusto Aelius Spartianus suus sal.

I. In animo mihi est, Diocletiane Auguste, tot principum maxime, non solum eos qui principum locum in hae statione quam temperas retentarunt, ut usque ad divum Hadrianum feci, sed illos etiam qui vel Caesarum nomine appellati sunt nec principes aut Augusti fuerunt vel quolibet alio genere aut in famam aut in spem principatus venerunt, cognitioni numinis tui sternere. quorum praecipue de Helio Vero dicendum est, qui primus tantum Caesaris nomen acceptit, adoptione Hadriani familiae principum adscitus. et quoniam nimis pauca dicenda sunt, nec debet prologus inormior esse quam fabula, de ipso iam loquar.

II. Ceionius Commodus, qui et Helius Verus appel-

\[1\text{enormior P}^3; \text{al\' morosior P}^4.\]

\[1\text{On his adoption by Hadrian he took the cognomen Caesar,}\]
AELIUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

To Diocletian Augustus, his devoted servant, Aelius Spartianus, greeting:

I. It is my purpose, Diocletian Augustus, greatest of a long line of rulers, to present to the knowledge of your Divine Majesty, not only those who have held as ruling emperors the high post which you maintain—I have done this as far as the Deified Hadrian—but also those who either have borne the name of Caesar, though never hailed emperors or Augusti, or have attained in some other fashion to the fame of the imperial power or the hope of gaining it. Among these I must tell first and foremost of Aelius Verus, who through his adoption by Hadrian became a member of the imperial family, and was the first to receive only the name of Caesar. Since I can tell but little of him, and the prologue should not be more extensive than the play, I shall now proceed to tell of the man himself.

II. The life of Ceionius Commodus, also called Aelius but, as he did not become emperor, he never assumed any of the imperial titles. From this time on, it was customary for the son of the reigning emperor to bear the name Caesar.
AElius

latus est, quem sibi Hadrianus aevo ingravescente morbis tristioribus pressus peragrato iam orbe terrarum adoptavit, nihil habet in sua vita memorabile, nisi quod 2 primus tantum Caesar est appellatus, non testamento, ut antea solebat, neque eo modo quo Traianus est adoptatus, sed eo prope genere quo nostris temporibus a yestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Caesares dicti sunt quasi quidam principum filii veri et 1 designati augustae maiestatis heredes.

3 Et quoniam de Caesarum nomine in huius praecipue vita est aliquid disputandum, qui hoc solum nomen indeptus 2 est, Caesarem vel ab elephanto, qui lingua Maurorum caesai dicitur, in proelio caeso, eum qui primus sic appellatus est doctissimi viri et eruditissimi putant dictum, vel quia mortua mater et ventre caeso sit natus, vel quod cum magnis cinibus sit utero parentis effusus, vel quod oculis caesiis et ultra humanum morem viguerit. certe quaecumque illa, 5 felix necessitas fuit, unde tam clarum et duratum cum aeternitate mundi nomen effloruit.

6 Hic ergo, de quo sermo est, primum Lucius Aurelius Verus est dictus, sed ab Hadriano adscitus in Heliorum familiar, hoc est in Hadriani, transcriptus

1 ueri et Obrecht and others; uiri et P; virtute Peter, following Bernhardt. 2 al’ adeptus P corr.

1 On the correct form of his name see note to Hadr., xxiii. 11.
2 In 136; see Hadr., xxiii. 10.
3 The biographer seems to be thinking of the testamentary adoption of Octavian by Julius Caesar.
4 Trajan, on his adoption, did not assume the name Caesar; this seems to be the only difference.
5 The elephant appears as an emblem on a coin of Julius Caesar; see Cohen, 15, p. 17, No. 49.
6 A caeso matris utero dictus, Plin., Nat. Hist., vii. 47.
7 i.e., caesaries. This etymology is given by Festus, p. 57,
Verus, adopted by Hadrian after his journey through the world, when he was burdened by old age and weakened by cruel disease, contains nothing worthy of note except that he was the first to receive only the name of Caesar. This was conferred, not by last will and testament, as was previously the custom, nor yet in the fashion in which Trajan was adopted, but well nigh in the same manner as in our own time your Clemency conferred the name of Caesar on Maximianus and on Constantius, as on true sons of the imperial house and heirs apparent of your August Majesty.

Now whereas I must needs tell something of the name of the Caesars, particularly in a life of the man who received this name alone of the imperial titles, men of the greatest learning and scholarship aver that he who first received the name of Caesar was called by this name, either because he slew in battle an elephant, which in the Moorish tongue is called caesai, or because he was brought into the world after his mother’s death and by an incision in her abdomen, or because he had a thick head of hair when he came forth from his mother’s womb, or, finally, because he had bright grey eyes and was vigorous beyond the wont of human beings. At any rate, whatever be the truth, it was a happy fate which ordained the growth of a name so illustrious, destined to last as long as the universe endures.

This man, then, of whom I shall write, was at first called Lucius Aurelius Verus, but on his adoption by Hadrian he passed into the family of the Aelii, that and both this and the preceding derivation are listed by Isidorus (Orig., ix. 3, 12).

85
AELIUS

7 et appellatus est Caesar. huic pater Ceionius Commodus fuit, quem alii Verum, alii Lucium Aurelium, 8 multi Annium prodiderunt. maiores omnes nobilissimi, quorum origo pleraque ex Etruria fuit vel ex 9 Faventia. et de huius quidem familia plenius in vita Lucii Aurelii Ceionii Commodi Veri Antonini, filii huiusce, quem sibi adoptare Antoninus iussus 10 est, disseremus. is enim liber debet omnia quae ad stemma generis pertinent continere, qui habet principem de quo plura dicenda sunt.

III. Adoptatus autem Helius Verus ab Hadriano eo tempore quo iam, ut superius diximus, parum vigilabat 2 et de successore necessario cogitabat. statimque praetor factus et Pannoniis dux ac rector impositus, mox consul creatus et, quia erat deputatus 1 imperio, 3 iterum consul designatus est. datum etiam populo congiarium causa eius adoptionis conlatumque militibus sestertium ter milies, circenses editi, neque quicquam praetermissum quod posset laetitiam publicam 4 frequentem. tantumque apud Hadriananum principem valuit ut praeter adoptionis affectum, quo ei videbatur adiunctus, solus omnia, quae superet, etiam per 5 litteras impetraret. nec provinciae quidem, cui praepositus erat, defuit; nam bene gestis rebus vel

1 deputans P1; al' iam deputatus P corr.

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1 L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 106. None of the various names given in the following clauses was ever borne by him.
2 For the correct form of his name and for his adoption by Antoninus Pius see Hadr., xxiv. 1 and note.
3 See Hadr., xxiii. 10 f.
4 On this error see note to Hadr., xxiii, 13,
is, into Hadrian's, and received the name of Caesar. His father was Ceionius Commodus,\(^1\) whom some have called Verus, others, Lucius Aurelius, and many, Annius. His ancestors, all men of the highest rank, had their origin for the most part in Etruria or Faventia. Of his family, however, we will speak at greater length in the life of his son, Lucius Aurelius Ceionius Commodus Verus Antoninus,\(^2\) whom Antoninus was ordered to adopt. For all that pertains to the family-tree should be included in the work which deals with a prince of whom there is more to be told.

III. Aelius Verus was adopted by Hadrian at the time when, as we have previously said,\(^3\) the Emperor's health was beginning to fail and he was forced to take thought for the succession. He was at once made praetor\(^4\) and appointed military and civil governor of the provinces of Pannonia; afterwards he was created\(^1\text{36.}\) consul, and then, because he had been chosen to succeed to the imperial power, he was named for a\(^1\text{37.}\) second consulship. On the occasion of his adoption largess was given to the populace,\(^5\) three hundred million sestertes were distributed among the soldiers, and races were held in the Circus; in short, nothing was omitted which could signalize the public rejoicing. He had, moreover, such influence with Hadrian, even apart from the affection resulting from his adoption, which seemed a firm enough tie between them, that he was the only one who obtained his every desire, even when expressed in a letter. Besides, in the province to which he had been appointed he was by no means a failure; for he carried on a campaign with success, or rather, with good fortune, and achieved

\(^5\) Cf. c. vi. 1 and Hadr., xxiii. 12.
AElius

potius feliciter etiamsi non summi, medii tamen obtinuit ducis famam.

7 Hic tamen valetudinis adeo miserae fuit ut Hadrianum statim adoptionis paenituerit potueritque eum amovere a familia imperatoria, cum saepe de aliis cogitaret, si forte vixisset. Fertur denique ab iis qui Hadriani vitam diligentius in litteras rettulerunt Hadrianum Veri scisse genituram et eum, quem non multum ad rem publicam regendam probarat, ob hoc tantum adoptasse ut suae satisfaceret voluptati et, ut quidam dicunt, iuri iurando, quod intercessisse inter ipsum ac Verum secretis condicionibus ferebatur. Fuisse enim Hadrianum peritum matheseos Marius Maximus usque adeo demonstrat ut eum dicat cuncta de se scisse, sic ut omnium dierum usque ad IV. horam mortis futuros actus ante perspicerit. Satis praeterea constat eum de Vero saepe dixisse:

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra esse sinent."

2 quos versus cum aliquando in hortulo spatiarum cantitaret atque adset unus ex litteratis, quorum Hadrianus speciosa societate gaudebat, velletque addere "nimium vobis Romana propago visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent,"

3 Hadrianus dixisse furtur "hos versus vita non capit Veri," illud addens:

1So P1; al petuerit P corr.; volueritque Oberdiek and others. 2volueritque eum amouere . . . et amouisset si forte vixisset Novak. 3So P; eundem de Peter, following B, eūdem.

1 Cf. Hadr., xvi. 7.
2This and the two following quotations from the Aeneid are taken from the famous passage, vi. 869-886, commemorat-
the reputation, if not of a pre-eminent, at least of an average, commander.

Verus had, however, such wretched health that Hadrian immediately regretted the adoption, and since he often considered others as possible successors, he might have removed him altogether from the imperial family had Verus chanced to live longer. In fact, it is reported by those who have set down in writing all the details of Hadrian's life, that the Emperor was acquainted with Verus' horoscope, and that he adopted a man whom he did not really deem suitable to govern the empire merely for the purpose of gratifying his own desires, and, some even say, of complying with a sworn agreement said to have been contracted on secret terms between himself and Verus. For Marius Maximus represents Hadrian as so expert in astrology, as even to assert that he knew all about his own future, and that he actually wrote down beforehand what he was destined to do on every day down to the hour of his death.  

IV. Furthermore, it is generally known that he often said about Verus:

"This hero Fate will but display to earth
Nor suffer him to stay."

And once when Hadrian was reciting these verses while strolling about in his garden, one of the literary men, in whose brilliant company he delighted, happened to be present and proceeded to add,

"The race of Rome,
Would seem to You, O Gods, to be too great,
Were such gifts to endure."

Thereupon the Emperor remarked, it is said, "The life of Verus will not admit of these lines," and added, ing Marcellus, the nephew and heir presumptive of Augustus, who died in 28 B.C. at the age of twenty years.

2 Cf. Hadr., xvi. 8 f.
AELIUS

"Manibus date lilia plenis;
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
munere,"
4 cum quidem etiam illud dicitur cum 1 risione dixisse:
5 "Ego mihi divum adoptavi non filium". hunc 2
tamen cum consolaretur unus de litteratis qui aderat
ac diceret: "Quid 3? si non recte constellatio eius col-
lecta est quem credimus esse victorum?" Hadrianus
dixisse furtur: "Facile ista dicis tu, qui patrimonii
tui non rei publicae quaeris heredem". unde apparet
eum habuisse in animo alium deligere atque hunc
ultimo vitae suae tempore a re publica summovere.
7 sed eius consiliis iuvit eventus. nam cum de pro-
vincia Helius redisset atque orationem pulcherrimam,
quae hodieque legitur, sive per se seu per scriniorum
aut dicendi magistros parasset, qua kalendis Ianuariis
Hadriano patri gratias ageret, accepta potionem, qua
se aestimaret iuvari, kalendis ipsis Ianuariis periiit.
8 iussusque ab Hadriano, quia vota interveniebant, non
lugeri.

V. Fuit hic vitae laetissimae, eruditus in litteris,
Hadriano, ut malevoli loquuntur, acceptior forma
2 quam moribus. in aula diu non fuit, in vita privata
etsi minus probabilis, minus tamen reprehendendus

1 al' eum P corr. 2 nunc tamen cum eum P and Peter;
tunc Petschenig. 3 So P; quod Peter1 with B.

1 An allusion to the practice of deifying deceased members
of the imperial family. As a matter of fact, however, Aelius
was not deified.

90
AELIUS IV. 4—V. 2

"Bring lilies with a bounteous hand;
And I the while will scatter rosy blooms,
Thus doing honour to our kinsman's soul
With these poor gifts—though useless be the task."

At the same time, too, Hadrian, it is reported, remarked with a laugh: "I seem to have adopted, not a son, but a god". Yet when one of these same literary men who was present tried to console him, saying: "What if a mistake has been made in casting the horoscope of this man who, as we believe, is destined to live"? Hadrian is said to have answered: "It is easy for you to say that, when you are looking for an heir to your property, not to the Empire". This makes it clear that he intended to choose another heir, and at the end of his life to remove Verus from the government of the state. However, fortune aided his purpose. For after Verus had returned from his province, and had finished composing, either by his own efforts or with the help of imperial secretaries or the rhetoricians, a very pretty speech, still read nowadays; wherein he intended to convey his thanks to his father Hadrian on the Kalends of January, he swallowed a potion which he believed would benefit him and died on that very day of January. All public lamentation for him was forbidden by Hadrian because it was the time for assuming the vows for the state.

V. Verus was a man of joyous life and well versed in letters, and he was endeared to Hadrian, as the malicious say, rather by his beauty than by his character. In the palace his stay was but a short one; in his private life, though there was little to be commended, yet there was little to be blamed.

2 Cf. Hadr., xxiii. 16 f,

3 Cf. Hadr., xxiii. 10.
AELIUS

ac memor familiae suae, comptus, decorus, pulchritudinis regiae, oris venerandi, eloquentiae celsioris, 3 versu facilis, in re publica etiam non inutilis. huius voluptates ab iis qui vitam eius scripserunt multae feruntur, et quidem 1 non infames sed aliquatenuus diffuentes. nam tetrapharmacum, seu potius pentapharmacum, quo postea semper Hadrianus est usus, ipse dicitur repperisse, hoc est sumen phasianum pavonem pernam crustulatam et aprunam. de quo genere cibi aliter refert Marius Maximus, non pentapharmacum sed tetrapharmacum appellans, ut et nos ipsi in eius vita persecuti sumus. fertur etiam aliud genus voluptatis, quod Verus invenerat. nam lectum eminentibus quattuor anacliteriis fecerat minuto reticulo undique inclusum eumque foliis rosae, quibus demptum esset album, 2 replebat iacensque cum concubinis velamine de liliis facto se tegebat unctus odoribus Persicis. iam illa frequentantur a nonnullis quod et accubitationes ac mensas de rosis ac liliis fecerit et quidem purgatis, quae etsi non decora, non tamen ad perniciem publicam prompta sunt. atque idem Apicii Caelii relata, idem Ovidii libros Amorum 3 in lecto semper habitisse, idem Martialem, epigrammaticum poetam, Vergilium suum dixisse. iam illa

1 et quidem Lessing; equidem P, Peter. 2udum Oberdick; labum Novak. 3So Peter; atque idem ovidii ab aliis relata idem apicii libros amorum P, which Salm. arranged: idem Apicii relata idem Ovidii libros am.

1 Hadr., xxi. 4. 2Apparently the extant Apicii Caelii de re coquinaria libri X, a collection of culinary recipes, which, however, in its present form is to be dated in the third century. The name of the compiler was probably taken from that of M. Gavius Apicius, a noted gourmet of the time of Tiberius, 92
Furthermore, he was considerate of his family, well-dressed, elegant in appearance, a man of regal beauty, with a countenance that commanded respect, a speaker of unusual eloquence, deft at writing verse, and, moreover, not altogether a failure in public life. His pleasures, many of which are recorded by his biographers, were not indeed discreditable but somewhat luxurious. For it is Verus who is said to have been the inventor of the tetrapharmacum, or rather pentapharmacum, of which Hadrian was thereafter always fond, namely, a mixture of sows’ udders, pheasant, peacock, ham in pastry and wild boar. Of this article of food Marius Maximus gives a different account, for he calls it, not pentapharmacum, but tetrapharmacum, as we have ourselves described it in our biography of Hadrian. There was also another kind of pleasure, it is said, of which Verus was the inventor. He constructed, namely, a bed provided with four high cushions and all inclosed with a fine net; this he filled with rose-leaves, from which the white parts had been removed, and then reclined on it with his mistresses, burying himself under a coverlet made of lilies, himself anointed with perfumes from Persia. Some even relate that he made couches and tables of roses and lilies, these flowers all carefully cleansed, a practice, which, if not creditable, at least did not make for the destruction of the state. Furthermore, he always kept the Recipes of Caelius Apicius and also Ovid’s Amores at his bedside, and declared that Martial, the writer of Epigrams, was his Vergil. Still more trivial was his custom of fastening wings on many of his messengers after the

2 M. Valerius Martialis, born about 40, died about 102.
leviora quod cursoribus suis exemplo Cupidinum alas frequenter adposuit eosque ventorum nominibus saepe vocitavit, Boream alium, alium Notum et item Aquilonem aut Circum ceterisque nominibus appellans et indefesse atque inhumaniter faciens cursitare. idem uxori conquerenti de extraneis voluptatibus dixisse fertur: "Pater me per alias exercere cupiditates meas; uxor enim dignitatis nomen est, non voluptatis".

12 Eius est filius Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco, vel certe cum Marco, et cum eodem aequali gessit imperium, nam ipsi sunt qui primi duo Augusti appellati sunt, et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina praescribuntur ut dicantur non 1 duo Antonini sed 2 duo Augusti, tantumque huius rei et novitas et dignitas valuit ut fasti consulares nonnulli ab his sumerent ordinem consulum.

VI. Pro eius adoptione infinitam pecuniam populo et militibus Hadrianus dedit. sed cum eum videret homo paulo argutior miserrimae valetudinis, ita ut scutum solidius iactare non posset, dixisse fertur: "Ter milies perdidimus, quod exercitui populoque dependimus; si quidem satis in caducum parietem incubuimus 3 et qui non ipsam rem publicam, sed nos ipsos sustentare vix possit". et haec quidem Hadrianus cum praefecto suo locutus est. quae cum prodidisset praefectus, ac per hoc Helius Caesar in dies magis magisque sollicitudine, utpote desperati hominis,

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1 non tantum P corr. 2 set P corr.; et P1. 3 So P corr. and Peter2; incubuimus P1.

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1 On this error see Marc., v. 1 and note.
2 i.e. by Antoninus Pius; see c. ii. 9 and note.
fashion of Cupids, and often giving them the names of the winds, calling one Boreas, another Notus, others Aquilo, or Cirrus, or some other like name, and forcing them to bear messages without respite or mercy. And when his wife complained about his amours with others, he said to her, it is reported: "Let me indulge my desires with others; for wife is a term of honour, not of pleasure".

His son was Antoninus Verus, who was adopted by Marcus,¹ or rather, with Marcus,² and received an equal share with him in the imperial power. For these are the men who first received the name of Augustus conjointly, and whose names are inscribed in the lists of the consuls, not as two Antonini but as two Augusti. And such was the impression created by the novelty and the dignity of this fact that in some of the lists the order of the consuls begins with the names of these emperors.

VI. On the occasion of the adoption of Verus, Hadrian bestowed a vast sum of money on the populace and the soldiery.³ But, being a rather sagacious man, when he saw that Verus was in such utterly wretched health that he could not brandish a shield of any considerable weight, he remarked, it is said:⁴ "We have lost the three hundred million sesterces which we paid out to the army and to the people, for we have indeed leaned against a tottering wall, and one which can hardly bear even our weight, much less that of the Empire". This remark, indeed, Hadrian made to his prefect, but the man repeated it, and as a result Aelius Cæsar grew worse every day from anxiety, as a man does who has

³ Cf. c. iii. 3 and Hadr., xxiii. 12.
AELIUS

adgravaretur, praefecto suo Hadrianus, qui rem prodiderat, successorem dedit, volens videri quod verba tristia temperasset. sed nihil profuit; nam, ut diximus, Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Helius Caesar (nam his omnibus nominibus appellatus est) perit sepultusque est imperatorio funere, neque quicquam de regia ni mortis habuit dignitatem. doluit ergo illius mortem ut bonus pater, non ut bonus princeps. nam cum amici solliciti quaerent, qui adoptari posset, Hadrianus dixisse fertur iis: “Etiam vivente adhuc Vero decreveram”. ex quo ostendit aut iudicium suum aut scientiam futurorum. post hunc denique Hadrianus diu aniceps quid feceret, Antoninum adoptavit Pium cognomine appellatum. cui condicionem addidit, ut ipse sibi Marcum et Verum Antoninus adoptaret filiamque suam Vero, non Marco dare. nec diutius vixit gravatus languore ac diverso genere morborum, saepe dicens sanum principem mori debere non debilem.

VII. Statuas sane Helio Vero per totum orbem colossas poni iussit, templa etiam in nonnullis urbibus fieri. denique illius merito filium eius Verum, nepotem utpote suum, qui pereunte Helio in familia ipsius Hadriani remanserat, adoptandum Antonino Pio cum Marco, ut iam diximus, dedit, saepe dicens: “Habeat

1 On the resignation of the prefect, see note to Hadr., ix. 4.
2 See note to c. ii. 1.
3 Annia Galeria Faustina the younger; see Pius, x. 2.
lost hope. Thereupon Hadrian appointed a successor for the prefect who had divulged the remark, wishing to give the impression that he had qualified his harsh words. But it profited him nothing, for Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Aelius Caesar (for he was called by all these names) died and was accorded an emperor's funeral, nor did he derive any benefit from his imperial position save honour at his death. Hadrian, then, mourned his death as might a good father, not a good emperor. For when his friends anxiously asked who could now be adopted, Hadrian is said to have replied to them: "I decided that even when Verus was still alive," thereby showing either his good judgment or his knowledge of the future. After Verus' death Hadrian was in doubt for a time as to what he should do, but finally he adopted Antoninus, who had received the surname Pius. And he imposed on Antoninus the condition that he in turn should adopt Marcus and Verus, and should give his daughter in marriage to Verus, rather than to Marcus. Nor did Hadrian live long thereafter, but succumbed to weakness and illnesses of various kinds, all the while declaring that a prince ought to die, not in an enfeebled condition, but in full vigour.

VII. Hadrian gave orders that colossal statues of Verus should be set up all over the world, and in some cities he even had temples built. Finally, out of regard for him, Hadrian gave his son Verus (who had remained in the imperial household after his father's death) to Antoninus Pius, as I have already said, to be adopted as his son along with Marcus, treating the boy as if he were his own grandson; and he often remarked: "Let the Empire retain something of

4 c. ii. 9; v. 12; vi. 9; Hadr., xxiv. 1.

97

VOL. I.
AELIUS

res publica quodcumque de Vero". quod quidem contrarium iis quae de adoptionis paenitentia per auctores plurimos intimata sunt, cum Verus posterior nihil dignum praeter clementiam in moribus habuerit, quod imperatoriae familiae lumen adferret.

Haec sunt quae de Vero Caesare mandanda litteris fuerunt. de quo idcirco non tacui, quia mihi propositum fuit omnes, qui post Caesarem dictatorem, hoc est divum Iulium, vel Caesares vel Augusti vel principes appellati sunt, quique in adoptionem venerunt, vel imperatorum filii aut parentes Caesarum nomine consecrati sunt, singulis libris exponere, meae satisfaciens conscientiae, etiamsi multis nulla sit necessitas talia requirendi.
Verus". This indeed contradicts all that very many authors have written with regard to Hadrian's regret for his adoption of Verus, since, save for a kindly character, there was nothing in the character of the younger Verus capable of shedding lustre on the imperial family.

These are the facts about Verus Cæsar which have seemed worthy of being consigned to letters. I was unwilling to leave him unmentioned for the reason that it is my purpose to set forth in single books the lives of all the successors of Cæsar the Dictator, that is, the Deified Julius, whether they were called Cæsars or Augusti or princes, and of all those who came into the family by adoption, whether it was as sons or as relatives of emperors that they were immortalized by the name of Cæsar, and thereby to satisfy my own sense of justice, even if there be many who will feel no compelling need of seeking such information.
ANTONINUS PIUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Tito Aurelio Fulvo Boionio Antonino Pio paternum genus e Gallia Transalpina, Nemausense scilicet, avus Titus Aurelius Fulvus, qui per honores diversos ad secundum consulatum et praefecturam urbis pervenit, pater Aurelius Fulvus, qui et ipse fuit consul, homo tristis et integer, avia materna Boionia Procilla, mater Arria Fadilla, avus maternus Arrius Antoninus, bis consul, homo sanctus et qui Nervam miseratus esset, quod imperare coepisset, soror uterina Iulia Fadilla, vitricus Iulius Lupus consularis, socer Annius Verus, uxor Annia Faustina, filii mares duo, duae feminae, gener per maiorem filiam Lamia Silanus, per minorem Marcus Antoninus fuere.

1 The correct form of his name prior to his adoption was T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; see C.I.L., viii. 8239.

2 The year is unknown; his first consulship was in 85. He had previously commanded the Third Legion, the Gallica, and had been honoured by Otho for successes against the Sarmatians.

3 His first consulship was in 69; the year of the second is not known. He was one of the correspondents of the younger Pliny.

4 See Marc., i. 2.

5 Her full name was Annia Galeria Faustina.

6 Their names are given in their sepulchral inscriptions from the Mausoleum of Hadrian as M. Aurelius Fulvus
ANTONINUS PIUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus Pius was descended, on his father's side, from a family which came from the country of Transalpine Gaul, more specifically, from the town of Nîmes. His grandfather was Titus Aurelius Fulvus, who after various offices of honour attained to a second consulship and the prefecture of the city; his father was Aurelius Fulvus, also consul, and a stern and upright man. His mother was Arria Fadilla; her mother was Boiona Procilla and her father Arrius Antoninus, twice consul and a righteous man, who pitied Nerva that he assumed the imperial power. Julia Fadilla was his mother's daughter, his stepfather being Julius Lupus, a man of consular rank. His father-in-law was Annius Verus and his wife Annia Faustina, who bore him two sons and two daughters, of whom the elder was married to Lamia Silanus and the younger to Marcus Antoninus.

Antoninus and M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus; see C.I.L., vi. 988 and 989. Both died before their father was adopted by Hadrian.

7 Aurelia Fadilla. She died before her father's adoption (cf. c. iii. 6). Her sepulchral inscription is preserved (C.I.L., vi. 990).

8 Annia Galeria Faustina the younger. On her marriage to Marcus see c. x. 2 and note.
ANTONINUS PIUS


11 Fuit vir forma conspicuus, ingenio clarius, moribus clementis, nobilibus vultu, placidus ingenio, singularis eloquentiae, nitidae litterae, praecipue sobrius, diligens agri cultor, mitis, largus, alieni abstinentis, et omnia haec cum mensura et sine iactantia, in cunctis postremo laudabilis et qui merito Numae 3 Pompilio ex honorum sententia comparatur. Pius cognominatus est a senatu, vel quod soceri fessi iam aetatem manu praesente senatu levaret (quod quidem non satis magna pietatis est argumentum, cum impius sit magis qui ista non faciat, quam pius qui debitum reddat), vel quod eos quos Hadrianus per malam valetudinem occidi iussaret, reservavit, vel quod Hadriano contra omnium studia post mortem infinitos atque immenso honores decretit, vel quod, cum se

1 ingenio deleted by Peter, following Salm., who divides: forma conspicuus, clarus moribus, clementis, nobilibus, uultu placidus, ingenio singulari, eloquentiae nitidae, litterae praecipue, sobrius, diligens agri cultor, etc.; P punctuates: forma conspicuus ingenio clarus moribus clementis nobilibus uultu placidus ingenio singulari eloquentiae nitidae litterae praecipue sobrius diligens agri cultor, etc. singularis P corr. comparatus P; comparetur Kellerbauer. quod quidem... reddat suspected as a marginal comment by Kellerbauer, probably rightly.

1 In southern Etruria, about ten miles W. of Rome. The Via Aurelia ran N.W. from Rome along the coast of Etruria. 102
Antoninus himself was born at an estate at Lanuvium on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of October in the twelfth consulship of Domitian and first of Cornelius Dolabella. He was reared at Lorium on the Aurelian Way, where he afterwards built the palace whose ruins stand there to-day. He passed his childhood first with his paternal grandfather, then later with his maternal; and he showed such a dutiful affection toward all his family, that he was enriched by legacies from even his cousins, his stepfather, and many still more distant kin.

II. In personal appearance he was strikingly handsome, in natural talent brilliant, in temperament kindly; he was aristocratic in countenance and calm in nature, a singularly gifted speaker and an elegant scholar, conspicuously thrifty, a conscientious landholder, gentle, generous, and mindful of others' rights. He possessed all these qualities, moreover, in the proper mean and without ostentation, and, in fine, was praiseworthy in every way and, in the minds of all good men, well deserving of comparison with Numa Pompilius. He was given the name of Pius by the senate, either because, when his father-in-law was old and weak, he lent him a supporting hand in his attendance at the senate (which act, indeed, is not sufficient as a token of great dutifulness, since a man were rather undutiful who did not perform this service than dutiful if he did), or because he spared those men whom Hadrian in his ill-health had con-

2 The first three of the following reasons for the bestowal of the surname Pius on Antoninus are also given in Hadr., xxiv. 3-5. The third is also given in Dio, lxx. 2, 1, and the last in Eutrop., viii. 8; Suidas, s. v. Antoninus; and Orosius, vii. 14, 1.
ANTONINUS PIUS

Hadrianus interimere vellet, ingenti custodia et 7 diligentia fecit, ne id posset admittere, vel quod vere natura clementissimus et nihil temporibus suis 8 asperum fecit. idem faenus triantarum, hoc est minimis usuris, exercuit, ut patrimonio suo plurimos adiuvaret.

9 Fuit quaestor liberalis, praetor splendidus, con- 10 sul cum Catilió Severo. hic in omni privata vita 1 in agris frequentissime vixit, sed clarus in locis omnibus 11 fuit. ab Hadriano inter quattuor consulares, quibus Italia committebatur, electus est ad eam partem Italiae regendam in qua plurimum possidebat, ut Hadrianus viri talis et honorì consuleret et quieti.

III. Huic, cum Italian regeret, imperii omen est factum. nam cum tribunal ascendisset, inter aliasclamationes dictum est 'Auguste, dìi te servent'. 2 proconsulatum Asiae sic egìt ut solus avum vincìeret. 3 in proconsulatu etiam sic imperii omen acceptì: nam cum sacerdos femina Trallibus2 ex more proconsules

1 vita om. in P, supplied (before privata) by P corr. 2 trallis P.

1 Cf. Hadr., xxiv. 9.

2 The early rate of interest, said to have been fixed by the Twelve Tables, seems to have been 10 per cent. In the later republican period 12 per cent. was frequently exacted, but in 54 B.C. money could be had for 4 per cent. and the rise of the

104
demned to death, or because after Hadrian's death he had unbounded and extraordinary honours decreed for him in spite of opposition from all, or because, when Hadrian wished to make away with himself, by great care and watchfulness he prevented him from so doing,¹ or because he was in fact very kindly by nature and did no harsh deed in his own time. He also loaned money at four per cent, the lowest rate ever exacted,² in order that he might use his fortune to aid many.

As quaestor³ he was generous, as praetor illustrious, and in the consulship he had as colleague Catilius Severus. His life as a private citizen he passed mostly on his estates but he was well-known everywhere. He was chosen by Hadrian from among the four men of consular rank under whose jurisdiction Italy was placed,⁴ to administer that particular part of Italy in which the greater part of his own holdings lay; from this it was evident that Hadrian had regard for both the fame and the tranquillity of such a man.

III. An omen of his future rule occurred while he was administering Italy; for when he mounted the tribunal, among other greetings some one cried, "God save thee, Augustus". His proconsulship in Asia⁵ he conducted in such a fashion that he alone excelled his grandfather; and in this proconsulship, too, he received another omen foretelling his rule; for at Tralles a priestess, being about to greet him after the custom of the place (for it was their custom rate to 8 per cent. was a matter for comment; see Cicero, ad Att., iv. 15, 7; ad Quint. Fr., ii. 14, 4.

¹ About 111.
³ About 135. An inscription set up at Ephesus during his proconsulship is extant; see C.I.L., iii. 2965.
semper hoc nomine salutaret, non dixit ‘Ave pró
consule,’ sed ‘Ave imperator’. Cyzici¹ etiam de
simulacro dei ad statuam eius corona translata est.
et post consulatum in viridiario taurus marmoreus
cornibus ramis arboris ad crescibis adpensus est,
et fulgur caelo sereno sine noxa in eius domum venit,
et in Etruria dolia, quae defossa fuerant, supra terram
reperta sunt, et statuas eius in omni Etruria examen
apium replevit, et somnio saepe monitus est dis
penatibus eius² Hadriani simulacrum inserere.

Profisciscens ad proconsulatum filiam maiorem
amisit. de huius uxore multa dicta sunt ob nimiam
libertatem et vivendi facilitatem, quae iste cum
animi dolore compressit. post proconsulatum in
consiliis Hadriani Romae frequens vixit, de omnibus,
de³ quibus Hadrianus consulebat, mitiorem sententiam
semper ostendens.

IV. Genus sane adoptionis tale furtur: mortuo Helio
Vero, quem sibi Hadrianus adoptaverat et Caesarem
nuncupaverat, dies senatus habebatur; eo Arrius
Antoninus soceri vestigia levans⁴ venit atque idcirco
ab Hadriano dicitur adoptatus. quae causa sola esse
adoptionis nec potuit omnino nec debuit, maxime
cum et semper rem publicam bene egisset Antoninus

¹ cilici P¹ (for cidici; Salm.); cilicie (i.e. ae) P corr. ² So
Peter; monitus sed penitus eius P; monitus est penatibus eius
Cas.; monitus se dis penatibus eius Salm. ³ de om. in P,
supplied by Jordan. ⁴ uel lavans P corr.

¹ Aurelia Fadilla; see note to c. i. 7.
to greet the proconsuls by their title), instead of saying "Hail, proconsul," said "Hail, imperator"; at Cyzicus, moreover, a crown was transferred from an image of a god to a statue of him. After his consulship, again, a marble bull was found hanging in his garden with its horns attached to the boughs of a tree, and lightning from a clear sky struck his home without inflicting damage, and in Etruria certain large jars that had been buried were found above the ground again, and swarms of bees settled on his statues throughout all Etruria, and frequently he was warned in dreams to include an image of Hadrian among his household gods.

While setting out to assume his proconsular office he lost his elder daughter.¹ About the licence and loose living of his wife a number of things were said, which he heard with great sorrow and suppressed. On returning from his proconsulship he lived for the most part at Rome, being a member of the councils of Hadrian,² and in all matters concerning which Hadrian sought his advice, ever urging the more merciful course.

IV. The manner of his adoption, they say, was somewhat thus: After the death of Aelius Verus, whom Hadrian had adopted and named Caesar, a day was set for the meeting of the senate, and to this Arrius Antoninus came, supporting the steps of his father-in-law. For this act, it is said, Hadrian adopted him.³ But this could not have been the only reason for the adoption, nor ought it to have been, especially since Antoninus had always done well in his administration of public office, and in his pro-

¹ See note to Hadr., viii. 9.
² But see c. ii. 3; Hadr., xxiv. 3.

107
ANTONINUS PIUS

et in proconsulatu se sanctum gravemque praebuisset. 
4 ergo cum eum Hadrianus adoptare se velle publicasset, 
 acceptum est spatium deliberandi, utrum adrogari ab 
5 Hadriano vellet. adoptionis lex huiusmodi data est, 
 ut quemadmodum Antoninus ab Hadriano adopta-
batur ita sibi ille adoptaret M. Antoninum, fratri 
uxoris suae filium, et L. Verum, Helii Veri, qui ab 
Hadriano adoptatus fuerat, filium, qui postea Verus 
6 Antoninus est dictus. adoptatus est V. kal. Mart. 
die, in senatu gratias agens quod de se ita sensisset 
7 Hadrianus, factusque est patri et in imperio pro-
consulari et in tribunicia potestate collega. huius 
primum hoc fertur quod, cum ab uxore quasi parum nescio quid suis largiens, dixerit: 
"Stulta, posteaquam ad imperium transivimus, et 
8 illud quod habuimus ante perdidimus". congiarrium 
10 populo de proprio dedit et ea quae pater pro-
miserat. et ad opera Hadriani plurimum contulit et 
aurum coronarium, quod adoptionis suae causa 
oblatum fuerat, Italicis totum, medium provinciali-
bus reddidit.

1 ab uxore P corr. (P1 omits ab); uxor Mommsen; cum ab 
uxore argueretur quasi carum (or rarum) nescio quid suis 
largiens Salm.  2 militibus, before populo in P, deleted by 
Jordan; militibus ac populo Vulg.

1 Cf. Hadr., xxiv. 1; Ael., vi. 9; Dio, lxix. 21, 1. On the 
names of his two adopted sons see notes to Hadr., xxiv. 1.
2 According to the Calendar of Philocalus of 354 the date 
was afterwards commemorated by races in the circus at 
Lorium; see C.I.L., i2, pp. 258 and 310.
3 By the bestowal of these two powers, the basis of the 
civil and of the military power of the emperor respectively, 
he became consors imperii, or partner in the imperial power. 
Such a position had often been bestowed on the heir-apparent 
of the emperor. With regard to the proconsular power,
consulship had shown himself a man of worth and dignity. At any rate, when Hadrian announced a desire to adopt him, he was given time for deciding whether he wished to be adopted. This condition was attached to his adoption,\(^1\) that as Hadrian took Antoninus as his son, so he in turn should take Marcus Antoninus, his wife's nephew, and Lucius Verus, thenceforth called Verus Antoninus, the son of that Aelius Verus whom Hadrian had previously adopted. He was adopted on the fifth day before the Kalends 25 Feb., of March,\(^2\) while returning thanks in the senate for Hadrian's opinion concerning him, and he was made colleague to his father in both the proconsular and the tribunician power.\(^3\) It is related as his first remark, that when he was reproved by his wife because he was not sufficiently generous to his household in some trifling matter, he said: "Foolish woman, now that we have gained an empire, we have lost even what we had before". To the people he gave largess on his own account\(^4\) and also paid the moneys that his father had promised. He contributed a large amount of money, too, to Hadrian's public works,\(^5\) and of the crown-gold\(^6\) which had been presented to him on the occasion of his adoption, he returned all of Italy's share, and half of their share to the provinces.

\(^1\) Commemorated by coins of 139 with the legend Libera-
ditas; see Cohen, ii\(^2\), p. 316 f., Nos. 480-482.

\(^2\) Attested by inscriptions from various towns of Italy; see E. E. Bryant, Reign of Ant. Pius (Cambridge, 1896), p. 38.

\(^3\) See Hadr., vi. 5 and note.
ANTONINUS PIUS

V. Et patri, cum advixit, religiosissime paruit. sed Hadriano apud Baias mortuo reliquias eius Romam pervexit sancte ac reverenter atque in hortis Domitiae conlocavit, etiam repugnantibus cunctis inter divos eum retullit. uxorem Faustinam Augustam appellari a senatu permisit. Pii appellationem recepit. patri et matri atque avis et fratribus iam mortuis statuas decretas libenter accepit. circenses natali suo dicatos non respuit aliis honoribus refutatis. clipeum Hadriano magnificentissimum posuit et sacerdotes instituit.

Factus imperator nulli eorum quos Hadrianus provixerat successorem dedit fuitque ea constantia ut septenis et novenis annis in provinciis bonos praesides detineret. per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto, et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit, et

cum advixit P¹; quod uixit P corr.; dum advixit Salm; cum aduixerit Peter.

¹ See Hadr., xxv. 6.
² See Hadr., xxvii. 2.
³ On the coins issued in her honour during her life-time she is regularly called Faustina Aug. Antonini Aug. P. P.; see Cohen, ii². p. 424 f.
⁴ The name appears on coins of the latter part of 138; see Cohen, ii². p. 277, No. 66 f.
⁵ On such games see Hadr., viii. 2 and note. Races in honour of Antoninus are listed for the 19 September (his birthday) in the Calendar of Philocalus.
⁶ The clipeus was a shield-shaped plate of metal, in this case doubtless of gold. It contained, sometimes an honorary inscription, sometimes a bust in high relief.
⁷ See Hadr., xxvii. 3 and note.
⁸ Q. Lollius Urbicus had held a command in the war in Judæa under Hadrian, and later had been governor of Germania Inferior.
⁹ Probably in 142, for in an inscription of this year he is designated as Imp. II.; see C.I.L., x. 515 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 110
ANTONINUS PIUS V. 2-4

V. His father, as long as he lived, he obeyed most scrupulously, and when Hadrian passed away at Baiae \(^1\) he bore his remains to Rome with all piety and reverence, and buried him in the gardens of Domitia; moreover, though all opposed the measure, he had him placed among the deified.\(^2\) On his wife Faustina he permitted the senate to bestow the name of Augusta,\(^3\) and for himself accepted the surname Pius.\(^4\) The statues decreed for his father, mother, grandparents and brothers, then dead, he accepted readily; nor did he refuse the circus-games ordered for his birthday,\(^5\) though he did refuse other honours. In honour of Hadrian he set up a superb shield \(^6\) and established a college of priests.\(^7\)

After his accession to the throne he removed none of the men whom Hadrian had appointed to office, and, indeed, was so steadfast and loyal that he retained good men in the government of provinces for terms of seven and even nine years. He waged a number of wars, but all of them through his legates. For Lollius Urbicus,\(^8\) his legate, overcame the Britons \(^9\) and built a second wall, one of turf,\(^10\) after driving back the barbarians. Through other legates or governors, he forced the Moors to sue for peace,\(^11\) and

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340. The victory is commemorated on coins with the legend Britannia and designs signifying a victory; see Cohen, ii\(^2\) p. 281 f., Nos. 118-116, 119. The revolt was begun by the Brigantes, who lived just south of Hadrian's wall; see Paus., viii. 43, 4.

\(^{10}\) It ran from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, a distance of 40 miles. It was constructed by the soldiers of three legions, the II. Augusta, the VI. Victoria, and the XX. Valeria Victrix; see C.I.L., vii. p. 191-194. Severus replaced it by a stone wall; see Sev., xviii. 2.

\(^{11}\) The rebellion seems to have been in western Mauretania, the province of Mauretania Tingitana; see Paus., viii. 43, 111
ANTONINUS PIUS

Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos. in Achaia etiam atque Aegypto rebelliones repessit. VI. Alanos molientis saepè refrenavit. procuratores suos et modeste suscipere tributa iussit et excedentes modum rationem factorum suorum reddere praecepit, nec umquam ullo laetatus est lucro, quo provincialis oppressus est. contra procuratores suos conquerentes libenter audivit.

Iis quos Hadrianus damnaverat in senatu indulgentias petii, dicens etiam ipsum Hadrianum hoc fuisse facturum. imperatorium fastigium ad summam civilitatem deduxit, unde plus crevit; recusantibus aulicis ministris, qui illo nihil per internuntios agente nec terrere poterant homines aliquando nec ea quae occulta non erant vendere. senatui tantum detulit imperator quantum, cum privatus esset, deferri sibi ab alio principe optavit. patris patriae nomen delatum a senatu, quod primo distulerat, cum ingenti

1 So P corr.; terdecem P.

3, and C.I.L., iii. 5211-5215. It probably took place about 145, although it is argued by Bryant (op. cit. p. 71 f.) that it is to be placed in 152. The victory is commemorated in an inscription in Rome, C.I.L., vi. 1208.

1 This victory is also commemorated in the inscription C.I.L., vi. 1208. The time of this campaign is set by Bryant (p. 52) as between 140 and 145.


3 It is described by Aristides (Or., xiv. i. 351 Dind.) as an outbreak of those who lived on the shore of the Red Sea. According to Joannes Malalas (p. 280 f. Bonn) Antoninus went in person to Alexandria at the time of the revolt, but this is almost certainly an error (cf. c. vii. 11).

4 This people lived in south-eastern Russia, between the Don and the Caspian Sea, and had made raids into Armenia and
crushed the Germans\(^1\) and the Dacians\(^2\) and many other tribes, and also the Jews, who were in revolt. In Achaea also and in Egypt\(^3\) he put down rebellions and many a time sharply checked the Alani\(^4\) in their raiding. VI. His procurators were ordered to levy only a reasonable tribute, and those who exceeded a proper limit were commanded to render an account of their acts, nor was he ever pleased with any revenues that were onerous to the provinces. Moreover, he was always willing to hear complaints against his procurators.

He besought the senate to pardon those men whom Hadrian had condemned,\(^5\) saying that Hadrian himself had been about to do so. The imperial pomp he reduced to the utmost simplicity and thereby gained the greater esteem, though the palace-attendants opposed this course, for they found that since he made no use of go-betweens, they could in no wise terrorize men or take money for decisions about which there was no concealment.\(^6\) In his dealings with the senate, he rendered it, as emperor, the same respect that he had wished another emperor to render him when he was a private man. When the senate offered him the title of Father of his Country, he

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Cappadocia in the time of Hadrian. They afterwards spread toward the west, and invaded the Empire by way of Moesia.

\(^1\)See Hadr., xxv. 8.

\(^2\)Under those emperors who were careless in the announcement of decisions or in answers to petitions it was not unusual for a dishonest favourite or official to demand money from petitioners for securing a favourable answer; he would then either actually influence the emperor in his decision, or, more often, merely claim that a favourable decision had been secured by his own efforts, and demand the payment of the bribe. This practice was known as *fumos vendere*; see c. xi. 1; *Alex.*, xxiii. 8; xxxvi. 2.
ANTONINUS PIUS

7 gratiarum actione suscepit. tertio anno imperii sui Faustinam uxorem perdidit, quae a senatu consecrata est delatis circensibus atque templo et flaminicis et statuis aureis atque argenteis; cum etiam ipse hoc conesserit, ut imago eius cunctis circensibus poneretur. statuum auream delatam a senatu positam suscepit. M. Antoninum quaestorem consulem petente senatu creavit. Annium Verum, qui postea dictus est Antoninus, ante tempus quaestorem desig-

11 navit. neque de provinciis neque de ulla actibus quicquam constituit, nisi quod prius ad amicos revertit, atque ex eorum sententia formas composuit. visus est sane ab amicis et cum privatis vestibus et domes-
tica quaedam gerens.

VII. Tanta sane diligentia subiectos sibi populos rexit ut omnia et omnes, quasi sua essent, curaret. provinciae sub eo cunctae floruerunt. quadruplatores existinti sunt. publicatio bonorum rarior quam umquam fuit, ita ut unus tantum proscriberetur

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1 See Hadr., vi. 4 and note. Pius accepted the title in 139, for it appears for the first time on coins of this year; e.g., Cohen, ii². p. 279, No. 98 f.

2 Many coins were struck in her honour with the title Diva Faustina. The actual apotheosis is represented by her ascension to heaven on an eagle with the legend Consecratio; see Cohen, ii². p. 427, Nos. 182-185.

3 On the Sacra Via, near the eastern end of the Forum. It is still standing and is used as the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda. It was also dedicated to Antoninus after his death

114
at first refused it, but later accepted it with an elaborate expression of thanks. On the death of his wife Faustina, in the third year of his reign, the senate deified her, and voted her games and a temple and priestesses and statues of silver and of gold. These the Emperor accepted, and furthermore granted permission that her statue be erected in all the circuses; and when the senate voted her a golden statue, he undertook to erect it himself. At the instance of the senate, Marcus Antoninus, now quaestor, was made consul; also Annius Verus, he who was afterwards entitled Antoninus, was appointed quaestor before the legal age. Never did he resolve on measures about the provinces or render a decision on any question without previously consulting his friends, and in accordance with their opinions he drew up his final statement. And indeed he often received his friends without the robes of state and even in the performance of domestic duties.

VII. With such care did he govern all peoples under him that he looked after all things and all men as if they were his own. As a result, the provinces all prospered in his reign, informers were abolished, the confiscation of goods was less frequent than ever before, and only one man was condemned as guilty of aspiring to the throne. This was Atilius (c. xiii. 4), and the names of both Antoninus and Faustina appear in the inscription on the architrave (C.I.L., vi. 1005). 5

In the time of the empire the minimum age was twenty-five. Exceptions to this, however, were common in the case of members of the imperial family; see also the case of Marcus (Marc., v. 6). Verus was made quaestor at the age of twenty-three; see Verus, ii. 11.

6 Apparently, the members of his consilium; see Hadr., viii. 9.
ANTONINUS PIUS

4 adoptatae tyrannidis reus, hoc est Atilius Titianus senatu puniente, a quo conscios requiri vetuit, filio eius ad omnia semper adiuto. perit et Priscianus reus adoptatae tyrannidis, sed morte voluntaria. de qua consursum quaeri vetuit.
5 Victus Antonini Pii talis fuit ut esset opulentia sine reprehensione, parsimonia sine sordibus, et mensa eius per proprios servos, per proprios auctores ac venatores instrueretur. balneum, quod usus fuisset, sine mercede populo exhibuit nec omnino quiequam de vitæ privatae qualitate mutavit. salaria multis subtraxit, quos otiosos videbat accipere, dicens nihil esse sordidius, immo crudelius, quam si rem publicam is adroderet qui nihil in eam suo labore conferret. unde etiam Mesomedi lyrico salarium inminuit. rationes omnium provinciarum adprime scivit et vectigalium. patrimonium privatum in filiam contulit, sed fructus rei publicae donavit. 10 species imperatorias superfluas et prædia vendidit et in suis propriis fundis vixit varie ac pro temporibus. nec uallas expeditiones obiit, nisi quod ad agros suos profectus est et ad Campaniam, dicens gravem esse provincialibus comitatum principis, etiam nimis parci. 11 et tamen ingenti auctoritate apud omnes gentes fuit, cum in urbe propteræa sederet, ut undique nuntios, medius utpote, citius posset accipere.¹

¹ al' anticipare P corr.

¹See note to Hadr., xv. 6. ² Hadr., vii. 4. ³ In view of this statement, it seems necessary to refuse credence to the assertion of Aristides (Or., xxiii. i. 458 f. Dind.) and Malalas (p. 280 Bonn) that Antoninus went in person to Egypt and Syria; see note to c. v. 5.
and it was the senate itself that conducted
is prosecution,\(^2\) while the Emperor forbade any in-
estigation about the fellow-conspirators of Atilius
and always aided his son to attain all his desires.
Tiscianus did indeed die for aspiring to the throne,
but by his own hand, and about his conspiracy also
the Emperor forbade any investigation.

The board of Antoninus Pius was rich yet never
pen to criticism, frugal yet not stingy; his table was
ornished by his own slaves, his own fowlers and
shers and hunters. A bath, which he had previously
sed himself, he opened to the people without charge,
or did he himself depart in any way from the manner
life to which he had been accustomed when a private
man. He took away salaries from a number of men
who held obvious sinecures, saying there was nothing
earer, nay more unfeeling, than the man who nibbled
the revenues of the state without giving any service
return; for the same reason, also, he reduced the
alary of Mesomedes, the lyric poet. The budgets of
the provinces and the sources of revenue he knew
ceedingly well. He settled his private fortune on
is daughter, but presented the income of it to the
tate. Indeed, the superfluous trappings of royal state
and even the crown-lands he sold, living on his own
private estates and varying his residence according to
he season. Nor did he undertake any expedition
ther than the visiting of his lands in Campania, aver-
ing that the equipage of an emperor, even of one over
ugal, was a burdensome thing to the provinces. And
et he was regarded with immense respect by all na-
tions, for, making his residence in the city, as he did, for
he purpose of being in a central location, he was able to
ceive messages from every quarter with equal speed.
ANTONINUS PIUS

VIII. Congiarium populo dedit, militibus donativum addidit. puellas alimentarias in honorem Faustina 2 Faustinianas constituit. opera eius haec exstant Romae templum Hadriani, honoris patris dicatum Graecostadium post incendium restitutum, instauratum Amphitheatrum, sepulchrum Hadriani, templum 3 Agrippae, Pons Sublicius, Phari restitutio, Caieta portus, Tarracensis portus restitutio, lavacrum Ostiense, Antiatum aquae ductus, templum Lanuviana multas etiam civitates adiuvit pecunia, ut opera nova facerent vel vetera restituerent, ita ut et magis tratus adiuverat et senatores urbis ad functiones suas 5 Hereditates eorum qui filios habebant repudiavit primus constituit, ne poenae causa legatum relictum maneret. successorem viventi bono iudici nulli dedi

1 On nine different occasions, according to coins with the legend Liberalitas; see Cohen, i2. p. 316-322, Nos. 480-532.
2 In 145, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Faustina to Marcus; see c. x. 2.
3 Similar endowments for destitute children had been made by Nerva (Aur. Vict., Epit., xii. 4) and by Trajan (Dio lxviii. 5, and C.I.L., xi. 1146). This memorial to Faustina was commemorated on coins with the legend Puella Faustinianae; see Cohen, i2. p. 493, Nos. 261-263. A similar endowment in memory of the younger Faustina was established by Marcus; see Marc., xxvi. 6.
4 Situated in the Campus Martius, probably not far from the Pantheon. It is represented as an octastyle temple on a coin of 151; see Cohen, i2. p. 330, No. 618. The temple was probably dedicated in 145; see Verus, iii. 1.
5 Probably the Graecostasis. It was a sort of platform between the Senate-house and the Rostra, used by envoy from foreign nations; see Varro, Ling. Lat., v. 155.
6 See c. ix. 1.
7 i.e. the Colosseum.
8 See Hadr., xix. 11 and note.
9 If this reading is correct the Pantheon must be meant see note to Hadr., xix. 10. However, perhaps it is an erro
VIII. He gave largess to the people, and, in addition, a donation to the soldiers, and founded an order of destitute girls, called Faustinianae, in honour of Faustina. Of the public works that were constructed by him the following remain to-day: the temple of Hadrian at Rome, so called in honour of his father, the Graecostadium, restored by him after its burning, the Amphitheatres, repaired by him, the tomb of Hadrian, the temple of Agrippa, and the Pons Sublicius, also the Pharos, the port at Caieta, and the port at Tarracina, all of which he restored, the bath at Ostia, the aqueduct at Antium, and the temples at Lanuvium. Besides all this, he helped many communities to erect new buildings and to restore the old; and he even gave pecuniary aid to Roman magistrates and senators to assist them in the performance of their duties.

He declined legacies from those who had children of their own and was the first to establish the rule that bequests made under fear of penalty should not be valid. Never did he appoint a successor to a worthy magistrate while yet alive, except in the case for Templum Augusti, the restoration of which is commemo- rated on coins of Pius; see Cohen, ii, p. 270, Nos. 1-12.

10 The earliest, and for a long time the only, bridge across the Tiber. It was built of piles, and after the construction of other bridges was preserved for religious and sentimental reasons. Its site was near the Forum Boarium, now the Piazza della Bocca di Verità.

11 This had been promised by Hadrian; see the dedicatory inscription, C.I.L., xiv, 98 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 334.

12 For a list see Bryant, p, 116 f.

13 Apparently an allusion to the law which provided that a senator must leave a specified sum to the public treasury (or to the emperor). This was rescinded by Pius; see Zonaras, xii, 1, p. 598 D., and Malalas, xi, p. 281 Dind.
ANTONINUS PIUS

7 nisi Orfito praefecto urbi, sed petenti. nam Gavius Maximus praefectus praetorii usque ad vicemimum annum sub eo pervenit, vir severissimus, cui Tattius Maximus successit. in cuius demortui locum duos praefectos substituit Fabium Cornelium Repentinum et Furium Victorinum, sed Repentinus fabula famosa percussus est, quod per concubinam principis ad praefecturam venisset. usque adeo sub eo nullus percussus est senator, ut etiam parricidas confessus in insula deserta poneretur, quia vivere illi naturae legibus non licebat. vini olei et tritici penuriam per aerarii sui damnun emendo et gratis populo dando sedavit.

IX. Adversa eius temporibus haec provenérunt: fames, de qua diximus, Circi ruina, terrae motus, quo Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt, quae omnia mirifice instauravit, et Romae incendium, quod trecentas quadraginta insulas vel domos absumpsit.

1 So Borghesi and Hirschfeld; Fabium Repentinum et Cornelium Victorinum P. 2 fabula famosa Novak; famosa P; famosa voce P corr.; famosis Peter. 3 So Peter; damno P.

1 Several inscriptions set up in his honour are extant; according to these he was granted consular honours on his retirement; see Hadr., viii. 7 and note, and c. x. 6.
2 Commemorated in several inscriptions. He was prefect of the vigiles, the watchmen and firemen, in 156, and was advanced to the prefecture of the guard about 158.
3 See note to Hadr., ix. 5.
4 For his death see Marc., xiv. 5.
5 See note to Hadr., vii. 4.
6 It is said that 1112 persons were killed; see Mommsen, Chron. Min., i. 146,
120
of Orfitus, the prefect of the city, and then only at his own request. For under him Gavius Maximus, a very stern man, reached his twentieth year of service as prefect of the guard; he was succeeded by Tattius Maximus, and at his death Antoninus appointed two men in his place, Fabius Cornelius Repentinus and Furius Victorinus, the former of whom, however, was ruined by the scandalous tale that he had gained his office by the favour of the Emperor’s mistress. So rigidly did he adhere to his resolve that no senator should be executed in his reign, that a confessed parricide was merely marooned on a desert island, and that only because it was against the laws of nature to let such a one live. He relieved a scarcity of wine and oil and wheat with loss to his own private treasury, by buying these and distributing them to the people free.

IX. The following misfortunes and prodigies occurred in his reign: the famine, which we have just mentioned, the collapse of the Circus, an earthquake whereby towns of Rhodes and of Asia were destroyed—all of which, however, the Emperor restored in splendid fashion,—and a fire at Rome which consumed three hundred and forty tenements and dwellings. The town of Narbonne, the city of

7 The earthquake which destroyed Rhodes occurred about 140; a description of it is given in an oration of Aristides (804 Dind.). The neighbouring island of Cos and the city of Stratonicea in Caria were also devastated. There seems to have been a second earthquake about 151, which devastated Bithynia, Lesbos, Smyrna and Ephesus.

8 Mentioned also by Gellius, xv. 1, 2.

9 See C.I.L., xii. 4342 and p. 521. Narbo Martius, which had received the status of a colony in 45 B.C., was the capital of the province of Gallia Narbonensis.
ANTONINUS PIUS

Narbonensis civitas et Antiochense oppidum et Carthaginiense forum arsit. fuit et inundatio Tiberis, apparuit et stella crinita, natus est et biceps puer, et uno partu mulieris quinque pueri editi sunt. visus est in Arabia iubatus anguis maior solitis, qui se a cauda medium comedit. lues etiam in Arabia fuit. hordeum in Moesia in culminibus arborum natum est. quattuor praeterea leones mansueti sponte se capiendos in Arabia praebuerunt. 6 Pharasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit plusque illi quam Hadriano detulit. Pacorum regem Laziis dedit. Partherum regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis litteris reppulit. Abgarum regem ex orientis partibus sola auctoritate deduxit. causas regales terminavit. sellam regiam Partherum regi repetenti, quam Traianus ceperat, pernegavit. Rhoemetalce 1 in regnum Bosphoranum audito inter ipsum et curamen 2 negotio remisit. Olbiopolitis contra Taurocythis in Pontum auxilia misit et Taurocythis usque ad dandos Olbiopolitis obsides vicit. tantum sane

1 rimeetalcean P. 2 Eupatorem Cary, Hist. des Rois du Bosphore, p. 64 (ed. Berol.).

1 Also included among his benefactions in Paus., viii. 43, 4.
2 King of the Hiberi; see Hadr., xiii. 9 and note. He had refused to come to meet Hadrian (Hadr., xxi. 13), but now came to Rome with his wife; see Dio, lxix. 15, 3 = lxx. 2, 1 (Boislevain).
3 The Lazi lived on the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea, south of the river Phasis (Rion).
4 Vologases III. He seems to have made preparations for a war against the Romans (Marc., viii. 6), and troops were despatched to Syria ob bellum Parthicum; see C.I.L., ix. 2457 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 1076.
5 Of Osrhoene.

122
ANTONINUS PIUS IX. 3-10

Antioch, and the forum of Carthage also burned. Besides, the Tiber flooded its banks, a comet was seen, a two-headed child was born, and a woman gave birth to quintuplets. There was seen, moreover, in Arabia, a crested serpent larger than the usual size, which ate itself from the tail to the middle; and also in Arabia there was a pestilence, while in Moesia barley sprouted from the tops of trees. And besides all this, in Arabia four lions grew tame and of their own accord yielded themselves to capture.

Pharasmenes, the king, visited him at Rome and showed him more respect than he had shown Hadrian. He appointed Pacorus king of the Lazi, induced the king of the Parthians to forego a campaign against the Armenians merely by writing him a letter, and solely by his personal influence brought Abgarus the king back from the regions of the East. He settled the pleas of several kings. The royal throne of the Parthians, which Trajan had captured, he refused to return when their king asked for it, and after hearing the dispute between Rhoemetalces and the imperial commissioner, sent the former back his kingdom of the Bosphorus. He sent troops to the Black Sea to bring aid to Olbiopolis against the Tauroscythians and forced the latter to give hostages to Olbiopolis.

*See the coins of 140-144 with the legends *Rex Armeniis datus* and *Rex Quadis datus*, Cohen, ii, p. 388 f., Nos. 686-689.*

*It had been promised by Hadrian to Osrhoes, the predecessor of Vologases; see *Hadr.*, xiii. 8.*

*T. Julius Rhoemetalces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (the Crimea and the district east of the Strait of Kertch) from 131 to 153. Several inscriptions and coins of his are extant.*

*Olbia or Olbiopolis was a Greek city on the river Hypanis (Bug) in south-western Russia.*
ANTONINUS PIUS

auctoritatis apud exteram gentem nemo habuit, cum semper amaverit pacem, eo usque ut Scipionis sententiam frequentaret, qua ille dicebat malle se unum civem servare quam mille hostes occidere.

X. Mense Septembrem atque Octobrem Antoninum atque Faustinum appellandos decrevit senatus, sed id Antoninus respuit. nuptias filiae suae Faustinae, cum Marco Antonino eam coniungeret, usque ad donativum militum celeberrimas fecit. Verum Antoninum post quaesturam consulem fecit. cum Apollonium, quem e Chalcide acciverat, ad Tiberiam domum, in qua habitabat, vocasset, ut ei Marcum Antoninum traderet, atque ille dixisset “non magister ad discipulum debet venire, sed discipulus ad magistrum,” risit eum, dicens, “facilis fuit Apollonio a Chalcide Romam venire quam a domo sua in Palatium”. cuius avaritiam etiam in mercedibus notavit. inter argumenta pietatis eius et hoc habetur quod, cum Marcus mortuum educatorem suum fieret vocareturque ab aulicis ministris ab ostentatione pietatis, ipse dixerit: “Permittite, inquit, illi, ut homo sit; neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit affectus”.

1 calchida P. 2 in omitted in P. 3 uetareturque P corr.; reuocareturque Cas.


2 She had been betrothed by Hadrian to Lucius Verus; see Ael., vi. 9; Marc., vi. 2; Verus, ii. 3.

3 A Stoic philosopher, the teacher of both Marcus and Verus; see Marc., ii. 7; iii. 1; Verus, ii. 5. He is mentioned with gratitude by Marcus in eis éauróv i. 8. His home

124
No one has ever had such prestige among foreign nations as he, for he was ever a lover of peace, even to such a degree that he was continually quoting the saying of Scipio in which he declared that he would rather save a single citizen than slay a thousand foes.

X. When the senate declared that the months of September and October should be called respectively Antoninus and Faustinus, Antoninus refused. The wedding of his daughter Faustina, whom he espoused to Marcus Antoninus, he made most noteworthy, even to the extent of giving a donative to the soldiers. He made Verus Antoninus consul after his quaestorship. On one occasion, he sent word to Apollonius, whom he had summoned from Chalcis, to come to the House of Tiberius (where at the time he was staying) in order that he might put Marcus Antoninus in his charge, but Apollonius replied “The master ought not come to the pupil, but the pupil to the master”. Whereupon the Emperor ridiculed him, saying “It was easier, then, for Apollonius to come to Rome from Chalcis than from his house to my palace”. The greed of this man he had noticed even in the matter of his salary. It is related of him, too, as an instance of his regard for his family, that when Marcus was mourning the death of his tutor and was restrained by the palace servants from this display of affection, the Emperor said: “Let him be only a man for once; for neither philosophy nor empire takes away natural feeling”.

was Chalcedon, according to Marc., ii. 7, Nicomedia, according to Dio, lxxx. 35. 1; Chalcis is evidently an error.

4 The Domus Tiberiana was at the northern end of the Palatine Hill; very extensive ruins are extant. It seems to have been the usual residence of Pius when at Rome; see Marc., vi. 3; Verus, ii. 4.
Praefectos suos et locupletavit et ornamentis con-
sularibus donavit. si quos repetundarum damnavit,
eorum liberis bona paterna restituit, ea tamen lege
ut illi provincialibus redderent quod parentes ac-
ceperant. ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit. edita
munera, in quibus elephantos et corocottas et tigrides
et rhinocerotes, crocodillos etiam atque hippopotamos
et omnia ex toto orbe terrarum exhibuit. centum
etiam leones cum tigridibus \(^1\) una missione edidit.

XI. Amicis suis in imperio suo non aliter usus est
quam privatus, quia et ipsi numquam de eo cum
libertis per fumum aliquid vendiderunt; si quidem
libertis suis severissime usus est. amavit histrionum
artes. piscando se et venando multum oblectavit et
deambulatione cum amicis atque sermone. vindemias
privati modo cum amicis agebat. rhetoribus et
philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria
detulit. orationes plerique alienas esse dixerunt,
quae sub eius nomine feruntur; Marius Maximus eius
proprias fuisse dicit. convivia cum amicis et privata
communicavit et publica nec uillum sacrificium per
vicarium fecit, nisi cum aeger fuit. cum sibi et filiis
honores piteret, omnia quasi privatus fecit. fre-
quentavit et ipse amicorum suorum convivia. inter

\(^1\) cum tigridibus, in P before exhibuit, placed after leones
by Peter, deleted by Salm. and Novak.

\(^1\) See note to Hadr., viii. 7.

\(^2\) Probably in 148, in commemoration of the tenth anni-
versary of his accession to power. Coins, evidently referring
to these spectacles, were issued in 149 bearing the legend
Munificentia and representations of a lion and an elephant;
see Cohen, ii\(^2\), p. 325, Nos. 562-566.

126
ANTONINUS PIUS X. 6—XI. 8

On his prefects he bestowed both riches and consular honours. If he convicted any of extortion he nevertheless delivered up the estates to their children, providing only that the children should restore to the provinces what their fathers had taken. He was very prone to acts of forgiveness. He held games at which he displayed elephants and the animals called corocotae and tigers and rhinoceroses, even crocodiles and hippopotami, in short, all the animals of the whole earth; and he presented at a single performance as many as a hundred lions together with tigers.

XI. His friends he always treated, while on the throne, just as though he were a private citizen, for they never combined with his freedmen to sell false hopes of favours, and indeed he treated his freedmen with the greatest strictness. He was very fond of the stage, found great delight in fishing and hunting and in walks and conversation with his friends, and was wont to pass vintage-time in company with his friends in the manner of an ordinary citizen. Rhetoricians and philosophers throughout all the provinces he rewarded with honours and money. The orations which have come down in his name, some say, are really the work of others, according to Marcus Maximus, however, they were his own. He always shared his banquets, both public and private, with his friends; and never did he perform sacrifices by proxy except when he was ill. When he sought offices for himself or for his sons all was done as by a private individual. He himself was often present at the banquets of his intimates, and among other

2 See note to c. vi. 4.
4 i.e. went through the formality of asking the senate to confer them.
ANTONINUS PIUS

alia etiam hoc civilitatis eius praecipuum argumentum est quod, cum domum Homulli visens miransque columnas porphyreticas requisisset, unde eas haberet, atque Homullus ei dixisset, "cum in domum alienam veneris, et mutus et surdus esto," patienter tuit. cuius Homulli multa ioca semper patienter accepit.

XII. Multa de iure sanxit ususque est iuris peritis Vindio Vero, Salvio Valente, Volusio Maeciano, Ulpio Marcello et Diavoleno. seditiones ubicumque factas non crudelitate sed modestia et gravitate compressit. intras urbes sepeliri mortuos vetuit. sumptum munereibus gladiatoris instituit. vehicularem cursum summa diligentia sublevavit. omnium quae gessit et in senatu et per edicta rationem reddidit.

Perit anno septuagensimo, sed quasi adulescens desideratus est. mors autem eius talis fuisse narratur: cum Alpinum casum in cena edisset avidus, nocte reiectavit atque alia die febre commotus est. tertia die, cum se gravari videret, Marco Antonino rem publicam et filiam praesentibus praefectis commendavit Fortunamque auream, quae in cubiculo

1 M. Valerius Homullus, cos. in 152. He tried to arouse the suspicion of Pius against Lucilla, Marcus' mother; see Marc., vi. 9.

2 As incorporated in the Digesta and the Codex of Justinian, these deal with the questions of inheritances, adoption and guardianship, manumission, and the treatment of slaves by their masters.

3 Verus, Maecianus and Marcellus are frequently cited in the Digesta. Maecianus was Marcus' instructor in law; see Marc., iii. 6.

4 Apparently an error for Iavolenus (Priscus), the celebrated jurist. He, however, was an older contemporary of Pliny,
things it is a particular evidence of his graciousness that when, on a visit at the house of Homullus, he admired certain porphyry columns and asked where they came from, Homullus replied "When you come to another's house, be deaf and dumb," and he took it in good part. In fact, the jibes of this same Homullus, which were many, he always took in good part.

XII. A number of legal principles were established by Antoninus with the aid of certain men, experts in jurisprudence, namely, Vindius Verus, Salvius Valens, Volusius Maecianus, Ulpius Marcellus, and Diavolenus. Rebellions, wherever they occurred, he suppressed not by means of cruelty, but with moderation and dignity. He forbade the burial of bodies within the limits of any city; he established a maximum cost for gladiatorial games; and he very carefully maintained the imperial post. Of everything that he did he rendered an account, both in the senate and by proclamation.

He died in the seventieth year of his age, but his loss was felt as though he had been but a youth. They say his death was somewhat as follows: after he had eaten too freely some Alpine cheese at dinner he vomited during the night, and was taken with a fever the next day. On the second day, as he saw that his condition was becoming worse, in the presence of his prefects he committed the state and his daughter to Marcus Antoninus, and gave orders that the golden statue of Fortune, which was wont to stand and it can hardly be supposed that he was actually consulted by Pius.

See c. v. 4-5. See note to Hadr., vii. 5. Really in his seventy-fifth year; cf. c. i. 8.
principum poni solebat, transferri ad eum iussit, signum tribuno aequanimitatis dedit atque ita conversus quasi dormiret, spiritum reddidit apud Lorum. alienatus in febri nihil aliud quam de re publica et de iis regibus quibus irascebatur locutus est. privatum patrimonium filiae reliquit. testamento autem omnes suoi legatis idoneis prosecutus est.

XIII. Fuit statura elevata decorus. sed cum esset longus et senex incurvareturque, tiliaciis tabulis in pectore positis fasciabatur, ut rectus incederet. senex etiam, antequam salutatores venirent, panem siccum comedit ad sustentandas vires. fuit voce rauca et sonora cum iucunditate.

A senatu divus est appellatus cunctis certatim adnitetibus, cum omnes eius pietatem clementiam ingenium sanctimoniam laudarent. decreti etiam sunt omnes honores qui optimis principibus ante delati sunt. meruit et flaminem et circenses et templum et sodales Antoninianos solusque omnium prope principum prorsus sine civili sanguine et hostili, quantum ad se ipsum pertinet, vixit et qui rite comparetur Numae, cuius felicitatem pietatemque et securitatem caerimoniasque semper obtinuit.

1 signum Novak (so Peter); signatum P; signum tum Peter with Petschenig. 2 sine omitted in P.

1 Cf. Marc., vii. 3; see also Sev., xxiii. 5.
2 Cf. c. vii. 9. 3 See note to c. vi. 7.
4 See note to Hadr., xxvii. 3.
in the bed-chamber of the emperor,¹ be given to him. Then he gave the watchword to the officer of the day as "Equanimity," and so, turning as if to sleep, gave up the ghost at Lornum. While he was delirious with fever, he spoke of nothing save the state and certain kings with whom he was angry. To his daughter he left his private fortune,² and in his will he remembered all his household with suitable legacies.

XIII. He was a handsome man, and tall in stature; but being a tall man, when he was bent by old age he had himself swathed with splints of linden-wood bound on his chest in order that he might walk erect. Moreover, when he was old, he ate dry bread before the courtiers came to greet him, in order that he might sustain his strength. His voice was hoarse and resonant, yet agreeable.

He was deified by the senate, while all men vied with one another to give him honour, and all extolled his devoutness, his mercy, his intelligence, and his righteousness. All honours were decreed for him which were ever before bestowed on the very best of emperors. He well deserved the flamen and games and temple³ and the Antonine priesthood.⁴ Almost alone of all emperors he lived entirely unstained by the blood of either citizen or foe so far as was in his power, and he was justly compared to Numa, whose good fortune and piety and tranquillity and religious rites he ever maintained.
MARCUS ANTONINUS
PHILOSOPHUS
IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Marcó Antonino, in omni vita philosophanti viro et qui sanctitate vitae omnibus principibus antecellit, pater Annius Verus, qui in praetura decessit, avus Annius Verus, iterum\footnote{iterum P; tertium Petschenig.} consul et praefectus urbi, adscitus in patricios\footnote{a principibus, following patricios in P, removed by Salm.} a Vespasiano et Tito censoribus, patruus Annius Libo consul, amita Galeria Faustina Augusta, mater Domitia Lucilla,\footnote{Lucilla Borghesi; Calvulla P, Peter.} Calvisii Tulli bis consulis filia, proavus paternus Annius Verus praetorius ex Succubitano municipio ex Hispania\footnote{spania P, Peter; yspania P corr.} factus senator, proavus maternus Catilius Severus bis consul et praefectus urbi, avia paterna Rupilia Faustina, Rupilii Boni consularis filia, fuere.

\footnote{1 M. Annius Verus was consul three times, first under Domitian, again in 121 and 126.}
\footnote{2 See Pius, i. 6.}

132
MARCUS ANTONINUS

THE PHILOSOPHER

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Marcus Antoninus, devoted to philosophy as long as he lived and pre-eminent among emperors in purity of life, was the son of Annius Verus, who died while praetor. His grandfather, named Annius Verus also, attained to a second consulship,¹ was prefect of the city, and was enrolled among the patricians by Vespasian and Titus while they were censors. Annius Libo, a consul, was his uncle, Galeria Faustina Augusta,² his aunt. His mother was Domitia Lucilla, the daughter of Calvisius Tullus, who served as consul twice.³ Annius Verus, from the town of Succuba in Spain, who was made a senator and attained to the dignity of praetor, was his father’s grandfather; his great-grandfather on his mother’s side was Catilius Severus,⁴ who twice held the consulship and was prefect of the city. His father’s mother was Rupilia Faustina, the daughter of Rupilius Bonus, a man of consular rank.

¹ First in 109; the second date is unknown.
² See note to Hadr., v. 10.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

5 Natus est Marcus Romae VI. kal. Maias in Monte Caelio in hortis avo suo iterum et Augure consulis
6 cuius familia in originem recurrrens a Numa probatur sanguinem trahere, ut Marius Maximus docet; item a rege Sallentino Malemnio, Dasummi filio, qui Lupias
7 condidit. educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est et
8 in domo avi sui Veri iuxta aedes Laterani. habuit et
9 sororem natu minorem Anniam Cornificiam, uxorem Anniam Faustinam, consobrinam suam. Marcus Antoninus principio aevi sui nomen habuit\(^1\) Catilii Severi, materni proavi. post excessum vero patris ab
10 Hadriano Annius Verissimus vocatus est, post virilem autem togam Annius Verus. patre mortuo ab avo paterno adoptatus et educatus est.

II. Fuit a prima infantia gravis. at ubi egressus est annos qui nutricum fowentur auxilio, magnis praekoceptoribus traditus ad philosophiae scita pervenit.
11 usus est magistris ad prima elementa Euphorione litteratore et Gemino comoedo, musico Androne eodemque geometra. quibus omnibus ut discip-
12 linarum auctoribus plurimum detulit. usus praeterea grammaticis, Graeco Alexandro Cotiaeensi,\(^2\) Latinis

\(^{1}\) et, after habuit in P, deleted by Petrarch. \(^{2}\) cotidianis P; Cotiaeensi Uhlig, Peter.

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\(^1\) In Calabria, about 20 miles S. of Brundisium.
\(^2\) Annia Cornificia Faustina. She was married to Ummidius Quadratus.
\(^3\) See Pius, i. 7.
\(^4\) Probably M. Annius Catilius Severus.
\(^5\) So also Dio, lxix. 21, 2. This name appears on Greek
Marcus Antoninus I. 5—II. 3

Marcus himself was born at Rome on the sixth day 26 Apr., before the Kalends of May in the second consulship of his grandfather and the first of Augur, in a villa on the Caelian Hill. His family, in tracing its origin back to the beginning, established its descent from Numa, or so Marius Maximus tells, and likewise from the Sallentine king Malemnius, the son of Dasummus, who founded Lupiae. He was reared in the villa where he was born, and also in the home of his grandfather Verus close to the dwelling of Lateranus. He had a sister younger than himself, named Annia Cornificia; 2 his wife, who was also his cousin, was Annia Faustina. 3 At the beginning of his life Marcus Antoninus was named Catilius Severus 4 after his mother’s grandfather. After the death of his real father, however, Hadrian called him Annius Verissimus, 5 and, after he assumed the toga virilis, Annius Verus. When his father died he was adopted and reared by his father’s father.

II. He was a solemn child from the very beginning; and as soon as he passed beyond the age when children are brought up under the care of nurses, he was handed over to advanced instructors and attained to a knowledge of philosophy. In his more elementary education, he received instruction from Euphorion in literature and from Geminus in drama, in music and likewise in geometry from Andron; on all of whom, as being spokesmen of the sciences, he afterwards conferred great honours. Besides these, his grammarians were the Greek Alexander of Cotiaeum, 6 and

co/na, Eckhel, D.N., viii. 69. It is perhaps an allusion to his love of frankness; see Fronto, Epist., pp. 29, 34, 49.

See eis /av, i. 10. His funeral oration was delivered by Aristides, Or., xii.
Trosio Apro et Pollione\textsuperscript{1} et Eutychio Proculo Sic-censi. oratoribus usus est Graecis\textsuperscript{2} Aninio\textsuperscript{3} Macro, Caninio Celere et Herode Attico, Latino Frontone Cornelio, sed multum ex his Frontoni detulit, cui et statuam in senatu petiiit. Proculum vero usque ad proconsulatum provexit oneribus\textsuperscript{4} in se receptis.

Philosophiae operam vehementer dedit et quidem adhuc puer. nam duodecimum annum ingressus habitum philosophi sumpsit et deinceps tolerantiam, cum studeret in pallio et humi cubaret, vix autem matre agente instrato pellibus lectulo accubaret. usus est etiam Commodo\textsuperscript{5} magistro, cuius ei adfinitas fuerat destinata, Apollonio Chalcedonio Stoico philo-

III. sopho. tantum autem studium in eo philosophiae fuit ut adsitus iam in\textsuperscript{7} imperatoriam tamen ad domum Apollonii discendi causa veniret. audivit et Sextum Chaeronensem Plutarchi nepotem, Iunium Rusticum, Claudium Maximum et Cinnam Catulum,

\textsuperscript{1}polono P; Polione Peter. \textsuperscript{2}graeco P. \textsuperscript{3}So P corr.; animo P\textsuperscript{1}. \textsuperscript{4}oneribus Turnebus; honoribus P. \textsuperscript{5}So Obrecht; commodo P. \textsuperscript{6}usus est et, repeated before Apoll. Chal. in P, removed by Obrecht. \textsuperscript{7}in om. in P\textsuperscript{1}; in imperatoriam dignitatem P corr.

\textsuperscript{1}Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, consul in 143. The foremost orator of his time, he had a school at Athens attended by a great number of students. He presented public buildings to very many of the cities of Greece, but particularly to his native city, Athens, where he built the Ódeum on the S.E. slope of the Acropolis and rebuilt the Stadium, using Pentelic marble. His life by Philostratus is extant (\textit{Vit. Soph.}, ii. 1).

\textsuperscript{2}M. Cornelius Fronto, famous as an orator and man of
the Latins Trosius Aper, Pollio, and Eutychius Pro-
culcus of Sicca; his masters in oratory were the Greeks
Aninius Macer, Caninius Celer and Herodes Atticus, 1
and the Latin Cornelius Fronto. 2 Of these he con-
ferred high honours on Fronto, even asking the senate
to vote him a statue; but indeed he advanced Pro-
culcus also—even to a proconsulship, and assumed the
burdens 2 of the office himself.

He studied philosophy with ardour, even as a youth.
For when he was twelve years old he adopted the
dress and, a little later, the hardiness of a philosopher,
pursuing his studies clad in a rough Greek cloak and
sleeping on the ground; 4 at his mother's solicitation,
however, he reluctantly consented to sleep on
a couch strewn with skins. He received instruc-
tion, furthermore, from the teacher of that Com-
modus 5 who was destined later to be a kinsman of
his, namely Apollonius of Chalcedon, 6 the Stoic;
III. and such was his ardour for this school of philo-
sophy, that even after he became a member of the
imperial family, he still went to Apollonius' resi-
dence for instruction. In addition, he attended the
lectures of Sextus of Chaeronea, 7 the nephew of
Plutarch, and of Junius Rusticus, 8 Claudius Maximus, 9
and Cinna Catulus, 10 all Stoics. He also attended

letters, and for his correspondence with Pius, Marcus, and
Verus.

3 i.e. the giving of circus-games, the expense of which
caused many to resign from the consulship; see Dio, lx. 27, 2.
The cost of the games given by Fronto was borne by Pius;
see Fronto, Epist., p. 25.
4 At the advice of his teacher Diognetus; see eis taur, i. 6.
5 i.e. Lucius Verus; see note to Hadr., xxiv. 1.
6 See Pius, x. 4 and note.

7 See eis taur, i. 9.
8 See eis taur, i. 7.
9 See eis taur, i. 15.
10 See eis taur, i. 13.
137
MARCUS ANTONINUS

3 Stoicos. Peripateticae vero studiosum 1 audivit Claudiurn Severum et praecipue Iunium Rusticum, quem et reveritus est et sectatus, qui domi militiaeque pollebat, Stoicae disciplinae peritissimum; cum quo omnia communicavit publica privataque consilia, cui etiam ante praefectos praetorio semper osculum dedit, quem et consulem iterum designavit, cui post obitum a senatu statuas postulavit. Tantum autem honoris magistris suis detulit ut imagines eorum aureas in larario haberet ac sepulchra eorum aditu hostiis floribus semper honoraret. Studuit et iuri; audiens Lucium Volusium Maecianum. Tantumque operis et laboris studiis impedit ut corpus adficeret atque in hoc solo pueritia eius reprehenderetur. Frequentavit et declamatorum scholas publicas amavitque e 2 condiscipulis praecipuos senatorii ordinis Seium Fuscianum et Ausidium Victorinum, ex equestri Baebium Longum et Calenum. in quos maxime liberalis fuit, et ita quidem ut quos non posset ob qualitatem vitae rei publicae praeponere, locupletatos teneret.

1 So Peter; studiosos P; studiosus Cas., Jordan. 2 om. by P; ex P corr.

1 Perhaps the "ἀδελφός" Severus mentioned in eis ἦν, i. 14.
2 The custom had arisen that the emperor should bestow a ceremonial kiss of greeting upon the senators and the foremost of the equestrian order; see Suet., Otho, vi; Plin., Pan., 23; Tac., Agr., 40.
3 For the first time in 133, for the second in 162; he was also prefect of the city.

138
the lectures of Claudius Severus, an adherent of the Peripatetic school, but he received most instruction from Junius Rusticus, whom he ever revered and whose disciple he became, a man esteemed in both private and public life, and exceedingly well acquainted with the Stoic system, with whom Marcus shared all his counsels both public and private, whom he greeted with a kiss prior to the prefects of the guard, whom he even appointed consul for a second term, and whom after his death he asked the senate to honour with statues. On his teachers in general, moreover, he conferred great honours, for he even kept golden statues of them in his chapel, and made it a custom to show respect for their tombs by personal visits and by offerings of sacrifices and flowers. He studied jurisprudence as well, in which he heard Lucius Volusius Maecianus, and so much work and labour did he devote to his studies that he impaired his health—the only fault to be found with his entire childhood. He attended also the public schools of rhetoricians. Of his fellow-pupils he was particularly fond of Seius Fuscianus and Auffidius Victorinus, of the senatorial order, and Baebius Longus and Calenus, of the equestrian. He was very generous to these men, so generous, in fact, that on those whom he could not advance to public office on account of their station in life, he bestowed riches.

See the similar practice of Severus Alexander, Alex., xxix. 2.

Prefect of the city under Commodus (see Pert., iv. 3), and consul for the second time in 188.

C. Auffidius Victorinus held a command in Germany (see c. viii. 8), was proconsul of Africa, and consul for the second time in 188. He married Fronto’s daughter.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

IV. Educat us est in Hadriani gremio, qui illum, ut supra diximus, Verissimum nominabat et qui ei honor em equi publici sexenni detulit, octavo aetatis anno in Saliorum collegium rettulit. in saliato omen accepit imperii: coronas omnibus in pulvinar ex morte iacentibus aliae aliis locis haeserunt, huius velut manu capiti Martis aptata est. fuit in eo sacerdotio et praesul et vates et magister et multos inauguravit atque exauguravit nemine praeemente, quod ipse carmina cuncta didicisset.

Virilem togam sumpsit quinto decimo aetatis anno, statimque ei Lucii Ceionii Commodi filia desponsata est ex Hadriani voluntate. nec facto post praefectus Feriarum Latinarum fuit. in quo honore praeclarissime se pro magistratibus agentem et in convivis Hadriani principis ostendit. post hoc patrimonium paternum sorori totum concessit, cum eum ad divisionem mater vocaret, responditque avibus se esse contentum, addens, ut et mater, si vellet, in sororem suum patrimonium conferret, ne inferior esset soror marito. fuit autem tanta indulgentia

1 est P corr.; esset P. 2 equi publici sexenni Salm.; et qui publicis exenni (exennis) P. 3 fuit autem vitae indulgentia, P, Peter; tanta vitae indulgentia Novak.

1 c. i. 10.
2 At the official banquet held by the Salii in some temple on their feast-day.
3 i.e., L. Aelius Caesar, the adopted son of Hadrian; see also c. vi. 2. The daughter was probably the Fabia mentioned in c. xxix. 10 and Ver., x. 3-4.
4 Under the republic, this official was charged with the administration of Rome when both consuls were absent from the city conducting the Feriae Latinae on Mons Albanus. In the empire the office was continued, although only as a formality, and was given to young men of high rank and
MARCUS ANTONINUS IV. 2-8

IV. He was reared under the eye of Hadrian, who called him Verissimus, as we have already related, and did him the honour of enrolling him in the equestrian order when he was six years old and appointing him in his eighth year to the college of the Salii. While in this college, moreover, he received an omen of his future rule; for when they were all casting their crowns on the banqueting-couch of the god, according to the usual custom, and the crowns fell into various places, his crown, as if placed there by his hand, fell on the brow of Mars. In this priesthood he was leader of the dance, seer, and master, and consequently both initiated and dismissed a great number of people; and in these ceremonies no one dictated the formulas to him, for all of them he had learned by himself.

In the fifteenth year of his life he assumed the toga virilis, and straightway, at the wish of Hadrian, was betrothed to the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus. Not long after this he was made prefect of the city during the Latin Festival, and in this position he conducted himself very brilliantly both in the presence of the magistrates and at the banquets of the Emperor Hadrian. Later, when his mother asked him to give his sister part of the fortune left him by his father, he replied that he was content with the fortune of his grandfather and relinquished all of it, further declaring that if she wished, his mother might leave her own estate to his sister in its entirety, in order that she might not be poorer than her husband. So complaisant was he, moreover, that

often to princes of the imperial family; see Tac., Ann., iv. 36, and Suet., Nero, vii.

See c. i. 8 and note.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

ut cogeretur nonnumquam vel in venationes pergere vel in theatrum descendere vel spectaculis interesse. operam praeterea pingendo sub magistro Diogeneto ¹ dedit. amavit pugilatum luctamina et cursum et aucupatus et pila lusit adprime et venatus est. sed ab omnibus his intentionibus studium eum philosophiae abduxit seriumque et gravem reddidit, non tamen prorsus abolita in eo comitate, quam praecipue suis, mox amicis atque etiam minus notis exhibebat, cum frugi esset sine contumacia, verecundus sine ignavia, sine tristitia gravis.

V. His ita se habentibus cum post obitum Lucii Caesaris Hadrianus successorem imperii quaereret, nec idoneus, utpote decem et octo annos agens, Marcus haberetur, amitae Marci virum Antoninum Pium Hadrianus ea lege in adoptionem legit ut sibi Marcus Pius adoptaret, ita tamen ut et Marcus sibi Lucium Commodum adoptaret. sane ea die qua adoptatus est Verus in somnis se umeros eburneos habere vidit sciscitatusque, an apti essent oneri ferundo, solito repperit fortiores. ubi autem com-perit se ab Hadriano adoptatum, magis est deter-ritus quam laetatus iussusque in Hadriani privatam domum migrare invitus de maternis hortis recessit. cumque ab eo domestici quaererent, cur tristis in adoptionem regiam transiret, disputavit quae mala in se contineret imperium.

¹ Diogeneto P., Peter.

¹ See Hadr., xxiv. 1; Ael., vi. 9; Pius, iv. 5. The statement that Lucius Verus was adopted by Marcus (so also Ael., v. 12) is erroneous.

142
at times, when urged, he let himself be taken to hunts or the theatre or the spectacles. Besides, he gave some attention to painting, under the teacher Diognetus. He was also fond of boxing and wrestling and running and fowling, played ball very skilfully, and hunted well. But his ardour for philosophy distracted him from all these pursuits and made him serious and dignified, not ruining, however, a certain geniality in him, which he still manifested toward his household, his friends, and even to those less intimate, but making him, rather, austere, though not unreasonable, modest, though not inactive, and serious without gloom.

V. Such was his character, then, when, after the 1 Jan., 138 death of Lucius Cæsar, Hadrian looked about for a successor to the throne. Marcus did not seem suitable, being at the time but eighteen years of age; and Hadrian chose for adoption Antoninus Pius, the uncle-in-law of Marcus, with the provision that Pius should in turn adopt Marcus and that Marcus should adopt Lucius Commodus. And it was on the day that Verus was adopted that he dreamed that he had shoulders of ivory, and when he asked if they were capable of bearing a burden, he found them much stronger than before. When he discovered, moreover, that Hadrian had adopted him, he was appalled rather than overjoyed, and when told to move to the private home of Hadrian, reluctantly departed from his mother's villa. And when the members of his household asked him why he was sorry to receive royal adoption, he enumerated to them the evil things that sovereignty involved.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\ i.e., Marcus. The story of the dream is told also by Dio (lxxi. 36, 1).\]
MARCUS ANTONINUS

5 Tunc primum pro Annio Aurelius coepit vocari, quod in Aureliam, hoc est Antonini, adoptionis iure transisset. octavo decimo ergo aetatis anno adoptatus in secundo consulatu Antonini, iam patris sui, Hadriano ferente gratia aetatis facta quaeestor est designatus. adoptatus in aulicam domum omnibus parentibus suis tantam reverentiam quantum privatus exhibuit. erat que haud secus rei suae quam in privata domo parcus ac diligens, pro instituto patris volens agere dicere cogitare.

VI. Hadriano Baiis absumpto cum Pius ad advheandas eius reliquias esset profectus, relicitus Romae avo iusta implevit et gladiatorium quasi privatius quaeestor edidit munus. post excessum Hadriani statim Pius per uxorem suam Marcum sciscitatus est et eum 1 dissolutis sponsalibus, quae cum Lucii Ceionii Com-modi . . . 2 desponderi voluerat imparsi adhuc aetati, habita deliberatione velle se dixit. his ita gestis adhuc quaestorem et consulem secum Pius Marcum designavit et Caesaris appellacione donavit et sevirum

1 et eum P; utrum A. Jaeckel, Klio xii, p. 124, n. 1.
2 Cas. saw a lacuna after Commodi (cf. Marc., iv. 5, and Ver., ii. 8), and supplied: filia contrahere illum Hadrianus voluerat, Faustina illi offeretur, quod Verus, cui eam Hadrianus (reading et quum, and esset after aetate); Mommsen supplied: sorore fecerat filiam Faustinam cum hortata esset ut duceret, quam Hadrianus eidem Commodo; Ellis i, p. 400, et eum, diss. spons. L. Ceionii Commodi (i.e. Veri) quae cum filia fecerat, quam ei desponderi vol., etc.; see also Jaeckel, loc. cit.

1 On his name after his adoption see note to Hadr., xxiv. 2.

144
MARCUS ANTONINUS V. 5—VI. 3

At this time he first began to be called Aurelius instead of Annius,\(^1\) since, according to the law of adoption, he had passed into the Aurelian family, that is, into the family of Antoninus. And so he was adopted in his eighteenth year, and at the instance of Hadrian exception was made for his age\(^2\) and he was appointed quaestor for the year of the second \(139\) consulship of Antoninus, now his father. Even after his adoption into the imperial house, he still showed the same respect\(^3\) to his own relatives that he had borne them as a commoner, was as frugal and careful of his means as he had been when he lived in a private home, and was willing to act, speak, and think according to his father's principles.

VI. When Hadrian died at Baiae\(^3\) and Pius departed to bring back his remains, Marcus was left at \(133\) Rome and discharged his grandfather's funeral rites, and, though quaestor, presented a gladiatorial spectacle as a private citizen. Immediately after Hadrian's death Pius, through his wife, approached Marcus, and, breaking his betrothal with the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus,\(^4\) . . . he was willing to espouse one so much his junior in years, he replied, after deliberating the question, that he was. And when this was done, Pius designated him as his colleague in the consulship, though he was still only \(140\) quaestor, gave him the title of Cæsar,\(^5\) appointed him while consul-elect one of the six commanders of the

\(^1\) See Pius, vi. 9-10 and note.
\(^2\) See Hadr., xxv. 6; Pius, v. 1.
\(^3\) See c. iv. 5 and note.
\(^4\) See note to Ael., i. 2. On coins of 139-140 he is called Aurelius Cæs(ar) Aug(usti) Pii f(ilius); see Cohen, ii\(^2\). p. 409 f., Nos. 1-40.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

turmis equitum Romanorum iam consulem designatum creavit et edenti cum collegis ludos sevirales addidit et in Tiberianam domum transgredi iussit et aulico fastigio renitentem ornavit et in collegia sacerdotum iubente senatu receptit. secundum etiam consulem designavit, cum ipse quartum pariter inierit. 5 per eadem temporae, cum tantis honoribus occuparetur et cum formandus ad regendum statum rei publicae patris actibus interesserit, studia cupidissime frequentavit.

6 Post haec Faustinam duxit uxorem et suscepta filia tribunicia potestate donatus est atque imperio extra urbem proconsulari addito iure quintae relationis. tantumque apud Pium valuit ut 1 numquam quemquam sine eo facile promoverit. erat autem in summis obsequiis patris Marcus, quamvis non deessent qui aliqua adversum eum insusurrarent, et prae ceteris Valerius Homollus, qui, cum Lucillam...

1 ut P corr., om. by P1.

The seviri equitum Romanorum were the six commanders of the equestrian order. They received their appointment from the emperor, and were usually young men of senatorial families who had not as yet been admitted to the senate and sometimes princes of the imperial house, as Marcus, and Gaius, grandson of Augustus (Zonaras, x. 35). Marcus had also the title of princeps iuventutis, or honorary chief of the equestrian order (Dio, lxxi. 35, 5), a title bestowed by the acclamation of the order, with the consent or at the command of the emperor, upon the heir apparent.

2 See note to Pius, x. 4.

3 Especially the four great colleges of which the emperor was always a member, i.e., the pontifices, the augures, the quindecimviri sacris faciendis or keepers of the Sibylline Books, and the septemviri epulonum, and probably also the fratres arvales and the sodales of the various deified emperors (see note to Hadr., xxvii. 3). The son of the emperor usually...
MARCUS ANTONINUS VI. 4-9

equestrian order¹ and sat by him when he and his five colleagues were producing their official games, bade him take up his abode in the House of Tiberius² and there provided him with all the pomp of a court, though Marcus objected to this, and finally took him into the priesthoods³ at the bidding of the senate. Later, he appointed him consul for a second term at the same time that he began his fourth. And all this time, when busied with so many public duties of his own, and while sharing his father's activities that he might be fitted for ruling the state, Marcus worked at his studies⁴ eagerly.

At this time he took Faustina to wife⁵ and, after begetting a daughter,⁶ received the tribunician power and the proconsular power outside the city,⁷ with the added right of making five proposals in the senate.⁸ Such was his influence with Pius that the Emperor was never quick to promote anyone without his advice. Moreover, he showed great deference to his father, though there were not lacking those who whispered things against him, especially Valerius Homullus,⁹ became a member of these colleges when he received the name Caesar.

¹ Especially in rhetoric and literature; see Fronto, p. 36.
² See Pius, x. 2. Coins struck in honour of the occasion bear the heads of Marcus and Faustina on the obverse and reverse respectively; see Cohen, ii². p. 127, Nos. 3-4.
³ Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina, born in 146, was the eldest of Marcus' children.
⁴ See note to Pius, iv. 7.
⁵ The newly-elected emperor was regularly empowered by senatus consultum to propose a definite number of measures in each meeting of the senate, these proposals to take precedence over any others. The number varied but never seems to have exceeded five; see Pert., v. 6; Alex., i. 3; Prob., xii. 8.
⁶ Cf. Pius, xi. 8.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

matrem Marci in viridiario venerantem simulacrum Apollinis vidisset, insusurravit, "illa nunc rogat, ut diem tuum claudas et filius imperet". quod omnino 10 apud Pium nihil valuit; tanta erat Marci probitas et VII. tanta in imperatorio participatu modestia. existi-
mationis autem tantam curam habuit ut et procuratores suos puer semper moneret, ne quid arrogantius facerent, et hereditates delatas reddens proximis 2 aliquidando respuerit. denique per viginti et tres annos in domo patris ita versatus ut eius cotidie amor 3 cresceret, nec praeter duas noctes per tot annos ab eo mansit diversis vicibus.

Ob hoc Antoninus Pius, cum sibi adesse finem vitae videret, vocatis amicis et praefectis ut success-
sorem eum imperii omnibus commendavit atque firmavit statimque signo aequanimitatis tribuno dato Fortunam auream, quae in cubiculo solebat esse, ad 4 Marci cubiculum transire iussit. bonorum maternorum partem Ummidio Quadrato, sororis filio, quia illa iam mortua erat, tradidit.

5 Post excessum divi Pii a senatu coactus regimen publicum capere fratrem sibi participem in imperio designavit, quem Lucium Aurelium Verum Commodum appellavit Caesaremque atque Augustum

1 participatum P; principatu P; Peter, following B principatum. 2 Ummidio Borghesi; Mummio P, Peter.

Cf. Pius, xii. 5-6.

M. Ummidius Quadratus, consul 167, was the son of Annia Cornificia Faustina (c. i. 8, and iv. 7).

148
who, when he saw Marcus’ mother Lucilla worshipping in her garden before a shrine of Apollo, whispered, “Yonder woman is now praying that you may come to your end, and her son rule”. All of which influenced Pius not in the least, such was Marcus’ sense of honour and such his modesty while heir to the throne. VII. He had such regard for his reputation, moreover, that even as a youth he admonished his procurators to do nothing high-handed and often refused sundry legacies that were left him, returning them to the nearest kin of the deceased. Finally, for three and twenty years he conducted himself in his father’s home in such a manner that Pius felt more affection for him day by day, and never in all these years, save for two nights on different occasions, remained away from him.

For these reasons, then, when Antoninus Pius saw that the end of his life was drawing near, having summoned his friends and prefects, he commended Marcus to them all and formally named him as his successor in the empire. He then straightway gave the watch-word to the officer of the day as “Equanimity,” and ordered that the golden statue of Fortune, customarily kept in his own bed-chamber, be transferred to the bed-chamber of Marcus.¹ Part of his mother’s fortune Marcus then gave to Ummidius Quadratus,² the son of his sister, because the latter was now dead.

Being forced by the senate to assume the government of the state after the death of the Deified Pius, Marcus made his brother his colleague in the empire, giving him the name Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus and bestowing on him the titles Caesar and Augustus. Then they began to rule the state on
MARCUS ANTONINUS

6 dixit. atque ex eo pariter coeperunt rem publicam regere tuncque primum Romanum imperium duos Augustos habere coepit, cum imperium sibi relictum 1 cum alio participasset. Antonini mox ipse nomen 7 recepit. et quasi pater Lucii Commodi esset, et Verum eum appellavit addito Antonini nomine filiamque suam Lucillam fratri despondit. ob hanc conjunctionem pueros et puellas novorum nominum 9 frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt. actis igitur quae agenda fuerant in senatu pariter castra praetoria petiverunt et vicena milia nummum singulis ob participatum imperium militibus promiserunt et 10 ceteris pro rata. Hadriani autem sepulchro corpus patris intulerunt magnifico exsequiarum officio. mox iustitio secuto publice quoque funeris expeditus est 11 ordo. et laudavere uterque pro rostris patrem flaminemque ei ex adfinibus et sodales ex amicissimis Aurelianos creavere.

VIII. Adepti imperium ita civiliter se ambo egerunt ut lenitatem Pii nemo desideraret, cum eos Marullus, sui temporis mimographus, cavillando impune per- 2.3 stringeret. funebre munus patri dederunt. 2 dabat

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1 So Mommsen; habere coepit licum P; habere coepit . . . licum (licum cum alio participasset perhaps a fragment of a marginal comment) Peter. 2 This sentence Peter removed, as introduced from the margin of VII. 10.

1 Coins of 161 and 162 show Marcus and Lucius standing with clasped hands and bear the legend Concord(i)a Augustor(um); see Cohen, iii 2, p. 8, Nos. 45-59.
2 Annia Lucilla, his third child, born about 148.
3 Like the puellae alimentariae Faustinianae, founded by Pius; see Pius, viii. 1.
4 i.e., the centurions and other officers. Largess was also given to the populace; see coins of 161 with legend Lib(eralitas)
equal terms, and then it was that the Roman Empire first had two emperors, when Marcus shared with another the empire he had inherited. Next, he himself took the name Antoninus, and just as though he were the father of Lucius Commodus, he gave him the name Verus, adding also the name Antoninus; he also betrothed him to his daughter Lucilla, though legally he was his brother. In honour of this union they gave orders that girls and boys of newly-named orders should be assigned a share in the distribution of grain.

And so, when they had done those things which had to be done in the presence of the senate, they set out together for the praetorian camp, and in honour of their joint rule promised twenty thousand sesterces apiece to the common soldiers and to the others money in proportion. The body of their father they laid in the Tomb of Hadrian with elaborate funeral rites, and on a holiday which came thereafter an official funeral train marched in parade. Both emperors pronounced panegyrics for their father from the Rostra, and they appointed a flamen for him chosen from their own kinsmen and a college of Aurelian priests from their closest friends.

VIII. And now, after they had assumed the imperial power, the two emperors acted in so democratic a manner that no one missed the lenient ways of Pius; for though Marullus, a writer of farces of the time, irritated them by his jests, he yet went unpunished. They gave funeral games for their father. And

Augustor(um) and representation of the two emperors standing in front of a recipient (Cohen, iii, p. 41, Nos. 401-406).

6 See Hadr., xix. 11.
6 i.e., the Sodales Antoniniani; see Pius, xiii. 4, and note to Hadr., xxvii. 3.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

se Marcus totum et philosophiae, amorem civium affectans. sed interpellavit istam felicitatem securitatemque imperatoris prima Tiberis inundatio, quae sub illis gravissima fuit. quae res et multa urbis aedificio vexavit et plurimum animalium interemit et famem gravissimam peperit. quae omnia mala Marcus et Verus sua cura et praesentia temperarunt. fuit eo tempore etiam Parthicum bellum, quod Vologaesus paratum sub Pio Marci et Veri tempore indixit, fugato Attidio Corneliano, qui Syriam tunc administrabat. imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum, et Chatti in Germaniam ac Raetiam inruperant. et adversus Britannos quidem Calpurnius Agricola missus est, contra Chattos Aufidius Victorinus. ad Parthicum vero bellum senatu consentiente Verus frater est missus; ipse Romae remansit, quod res urbane imperatoris praesentiam postularent. et Verum quidem Marcus Capuam usque prosecutus amicis comitantibus a senatu ornavit additis officiorum omnium principibus. sed cum Romam redisset Marcus cognovissetque Verum apud Canusium aegrotare, ad eum videndum contendit suscepitis in senatu votis; quae, posteaquam

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1 Cf. the coins of 161 with the legend Felli(icitas) Temp(orum) (Cohen, iii, p. 21, Nos. 196-198).
2 See Pius, ix. 6 and note.
3 This war, called officially bellum Armeniacum et Parthicum, arose, as was usually the case with wars between the Romans and the Parthians, in a struggle for the control of the buffer-state Armenia. After defeating Aelius Severianus, the governor of Cappadocia, at Elegeia, on the upper Euphrates, and annihilating his legion (Dio, lxxi. 2; Fronto, Prin. Hist., p. 209), the Parthians established their candidate on the Armenian throne. Then followed the defeat of Cornelius in 161.
4 E. of the Rhine N. and E. of the Taunus Mountains.

152
Marcus abandoned himself to philosophy, at the same time cultivating the good-will of the citizens. But now to interrupt the emperor's happiness and repose, there came the first flood of the Tiber—the severest of their time—which ruined many houses in the city, drowned a great number of animals, and caused a most severe famine; all these disasters Marcus and Verus relieved by their own personal care and aid. At this time, moreover, came the Parthian war, which Vologaesus planned under Pius and declared under Marcus and Verus, after the rout of Attidius Cornelianus, then governor of Syria. And besides this, war was threatening in Britain, and the Chatti had burst into Germany and Raetia. Against the Britons Calpurnius Agricola was sent; against the Chatti, Aufidius Victorinus. But to the Parthian war, with the consent of the senate, Marcus despatched his brother Verus, while he himself remained at Rome, where conditions demanded the presence of an emperor. Nevertheless, he accompanied Verus as far as Capua, honouring him with a retinue of friends from the senate and appointing also all his chiefs-of-staff. And when, after returning to Rome, he learned that Verus was ill at Canusium, he hastened to see him, after assuming vows in the senate, which, on his re-

5 Mentioned in British inscriptions as governor (legatus Augusti pro praetore) of the province of Britain. He afterwards held a command in the Marcomannic War.
6 See c. iii. 8.
7 Verus' departure took place in the spring of 162. It was commemorated by coins of Verus with the legends Prefectio Aug(usti) and Fort(una) Red(ux); see Cohen, iii, p. 183 f., Nos. 132-141, and p. 180 f., Nos. 86-102.
8 In Apulia, modern Canosa. On Verus' illness see Ver., vi. 7.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

Romam rediit audita Veri transmissione, statim redidit. et Verus quidem, posteaquam in Syriam venit, in deliciis apud Antiochiam et Daphnen vixit armisque se gladiatorii et venatibus exercuit, cum per legatos bellum Particum gerens imperator appellatus esset, cum Marcus horis omnibus rei publicae actibus incubaret patienterque delicias fratris sed perinvitus ac nolens ferret. denique omnia quae ad bellum erant necessaria Romae positus et disposuit Marcus et ordinavit.

IX. Gestae sunt res in Armenia prospere per Statium Priscum Artaxatis captis, delatumque Armenia-cum nomen utrique principum. quod Marcus per vere-cundiam primo recusavit, postea tamen recepit. profligato autem bello uterque Particus appellatus est. sed hoc quoque Marcus delatum nomen repudiavit, quod postea recepit. patris patriae autem nomen delatum fratre absente in eiusdem praesentiam

1 Suggested by Peter in note; et prope inuitus ac volens (nolens P corr.) P, Peter; et prope non inuitus ac volens Novak. 2 hoc P corr., om. by P.

1 See also Ver., vi. 8-vii. 1.
2 After the capture of Artaxata by Statius Priscus; see c. ix. 1.
3 The title Armeniacus appears on Verus’ coins of 163, together with the representation of conquered Armenia; see Cohen, iii2, p. 172, Nos. 4-6, and p. 209, Nos. 330-331. Marcus’ coins, on the other hand, do not show it until 164; see Cohen, iii2, p. 5, Nos. 5-8; p. 48, Nos. 466-471, etc. The capture of Artaxata enabled Rome to make her candidate, Soaemus (Fronto, p. 127), king of Armenia; this event was commemorated by coins of 164 with the legend Rex Armeniis Datus; see Ver., vii. 8, and Cohen, iii2, p. 185 f., Nos. 157-165.
4 By the capture of Seleucia and Ctesiphon in 165; see Ver., viii. 3, and Dio, lxxi. 2, 3. The title Parthicus Maxi-

154
turn to Rome after learning that Verus had set sail, he immediately fulfilled. Verus, however, after he had come to Syria, lingered amid the debaucheries of Antioch and Daphne and busied himself with gladiatorial bouts and hunting.\footnote{And yet, for waging the Parthian war through his legates, he was acclaimed Imperator, while meantime Marcus was at all hours keeping watch over the workings of the state, and, though reluctantly and sorely against his will, but nevertheless with patience, was enduring the debauchery of his brother. In a word, Marcus, though residing at Rome, planned and executed everything necessary to the prosecution of the war.}

IX. In Armenia the campaign was successfully\footnote{163 prosecuted under Statius Priscus, Artaxata being taken, and the honorary name Armeniacus was given to each of the emperors.} prosecuted under Statius Priscus, Artaxata being taken, and the honorary name Armeniacus was given to each of the emperors.\footnote{This name Marcus refused at first, by reason of his modesty, but afterwards accepted. When the Parthian war was finished,\footnote{moreover, each emperor was called Parthicus; but this name also Marcus refused when first offered, though afterwards he accepted it. And further, when the title "Father of his Country" was offered him in his brother's absence, he deferred action upon it until the latter should be present.} In the midst of this\footnote{164 war he entrusted his daughter, who was about to be married and had already received her dowry, to the care of his sister, and, accompanying them himself as far as Brundisium, sent them to Verus together with mus appears on Verus' coins of 165 (Cohen, iii\textsuperscript{2}, p. 188 f., Nos. 190-196), and on Marcus' coins of 166 (Cohen, iii\textsuperscript{2}, p. 86 f., Nos. 877-880).} 163 prosecuted under Statius Priscus, Artaxata being taken, and the honorary name Armeniacus was given to each of the emperors.\footnote{163 prosecuted under Statius Priscus, Artaxata being taken, and the honorary name Armeniacus was given to each of the emperors. This name Marcus refused at first, by reason of his modesty, but afterwards accepted. When the Parthian war was finished,\footnote{moreover, each emperor was called Parthicus; but this name also Marcus refused when first offered, though afterwards he accepted it. And further, when the title "Father of his Country" was offered him in his brother's absence, he deferred action upon it until the latter should be present.} In the midst of this\footnote{164 war he entrusted his daughter, who was about to be married and had already received her dowry, to the care of his sister, and, accompanying them himself as far as Brundisium, sent them to Verus together with mus appears on Verus' coins of 165 (Cohen, iii\textsuperscript{2}, p. 188 f., Nos. 190-196), and on Marcus' coins of 166 (Cohen, iii\textsuperscript{2}, p. 86 f., Nos. 877-880).} 164 war he entrusted his daughter, who was about to be married and had already received her dowry, to the care of his sister, and, accompanying them himself as far as Brundisium, sent them to Verus together with mus appears on Verus' coins of 165 (Cohen, iii\textsuperscript{2}, p. 188 f., Nos. 190-196), and on Marcus' coins of 166 (Cohen, iii\textsuperscript{2}, p. 86 f., Nos. 877-880).}
MARCUS ANTONINUS

distulit. medio belli tempore et Civicam, patruum
Veri, et filiam suam nupturam commissam sorori suae
eandemque locupletatam Brundisium usque deduxit,
ad eum misit Romamque statim rediit, revocatus eorum
sermonibus qui dicebant Marcum velle finiti belli
gloriam sibimet vindicare atque idcirco in Syriam
proficisci. ad proconsulem scribit, ne quis filiae suae
iter facienti occurreret.

Inter haec liberales causas ita munivit ut primus iu-
beret apud praefectos aerarii Saturni unumquemque
civium natos liberos profiteri intra tricensimum diem
nomine imposito. per provincias tabulariorum publi-
corum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus
fieret quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut, si forte
aliquis in provincia natus causam liberalem diceret,
testationes inde ferret. atque hanc totam legem de
adsertionibus firmavit aliasque de mensariis et auctioni-
bus tulit.

X. Senatum multis cognitionibus et maxime ad se
pertinentibus iudicem dedit. de statu etiam de-
functorum intra quinquennium quaeri iussit. neque
quisquam principum amplius senatui detulit. in
senatus autem honorificentiam multis praetoriiis et
consularibus privatis decidenda negotia delegavit,

1 This sentence Peter1, following Dirksen, transposed to
precede senatum . . . dedit.

1 M. Ceionius Civica Barbarus, consul 157, a brother of L.
Aelius Cæsar.
2 i.e., of Asia. Verus met her at Ephesus; Ver., vii. 7.
3 The officials in charge of the public treasury, kept in the
Temple of Saturn.

156
the latter's uncle, Civica. Immediately thereafter he returned to Rome, recalled by the talk of those who said that he wished to appropriate to himself the glory of finishing the war and had therefore set out for Syria. He wrote to the proconsul, furthermore, that no one should meet his daughter as she made her journey.

In the meantime, he put such safeguards about suits for personal freedom—and he was the first to do so—as to order that every citizen should bestow names upon his free-born children within thirty days after birth and declare them to the prefects of the treasury of Saturn. In the provinces, too, he established the use of public records, in which entries concerning births were to be made in the same manner as at Rome in the office of the prefects of the treasury, the purpose being that if any one born in the provinces should plead a case to prove freedom, he might submit evidence from these records. Indeed, he strengthened this entire law dealing with declarations of freedom, and he enacted other laws dealing with money-lenders and public sales.

X. He made the senate the judge in many inquiries and even in those which belonged to his own jurisdiction. With regard to the status of deceased persons, he ordered that any investigations must be made within five years. Nor did any of the emperors show more respect to the senate than he. To do the senate honour, moreover, he entrusted the settling of

4 e.g., see c. x. 1.
5 This principle was already in existence; Marcus limited it by the order that in case any person had been formally declared free-born, any investigation leading to a revision of this declaration could be made only during his life-time; see Dig., x1. 15, 1.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

quo magis eorum cum exercitio iuris auctoritas cres-
3 ceret. multos ex amicis in senatum adlegit cum
4 aediliciis aut praetoriis dignitatis b us verum1 pauperibus sine crimine dignitates tri-
5 buncias aediliciasque concessit. nec quemquam in
6 ordinem legit, nisi quem ipse bene scisset. hoc
quoque senatusiibus detulit ut, quotiens de quorum
7 capite esset iudicandum, secreto pertractaret atque ita
in publicum proderet 2 nec pateretur equites Romanos
8 talibus interesse causis. semper autem, cum potuit,
interfuit senatui, etiamsi nihil esset referendum, si
Romae fuit; si vero aliquid referre voluit, etiam de
9 Campania ipse venit. comitibus praeterea etiam usque
ad noctem frequenter interfuit neque umquam recessit
10 de curia nisi consul dixisset "nihil vos moramur
11 patres conscripti". senatum appellationibus a con-
sule factis iudicem dedit.
Iudiciariae rei singularem diligentiam adhibuit,
12 fastis dies iudiciarios addidit, ita ut ducentos triginta
dies annuos rebus agendis litibusque discipantandis con-
stitueret. praetorem tutelarem primus fecit, cum
ante tutores a consulibus poscerentur, ut diligentius

1 See Hadm., vii. 4 and note.
2 This office was instituted before Verus’ death in 169.
The first holder was Arrius Antoninus, who is described in an
inscription as praetor cui primo iurisdiction pupillaris a sanct-
tissimis imp(eratoribus) mandata est (C.I.L., v. 1874 = Dessau,
Ins. Sel., 1118).
disputes to many men of praetorian and consular rank who then held no magistracy, in order that their prestige might be enhanced through their administration of law. He enrolled in the senate many of his friends, giving them the rank of aedile or praetor; and on a number of poor but honest senators he bestowed the rank of tribune or aedile. Nor did he ever appoint anyone to senatorial rank whom he did not know well personally. He granted senators the further privilege that whenever any of them was to be tried on a capital charge, he would examine the evidence behind closed doors and only after so doing would bring the case to public trial; nor would he allow members of the equestrian order to attend such investigations. He always attended the meetings of the senate if he was in Rome, even though no measure was to be proposed, and if he wished to propose anything himself, he came in person even from Campania. More than this, when elections were held he often remained even until night, never leaving the senate-chamber until the consul announced, "We detain you no longer, Conscription Fathers". Further, he appointed the senate judge in appeals made from the consul.

To the administration of justice he gave singular care. He added court-days to the calendar until he had set 230 days for the pleading of cases and judging of suits, and he was the first to appoint a special praetor in charge of the property of wards, in order that greater care might be exercised in dealing with trustees; for previously the indictment of trustees had been in the hands of the consuls. As regards guardians, indeed, he decided that all youths might have them appointed without being obliged to show cause therefor, whereas previously they were ap-
vel propter dumbiam darentur, ita statuit ut omnes
adulti curatores acciperent non redditis causis.

XI. Cavit et sumptibus publicis et calumniis quad-
ruplatorium intercessit adposita falsis delatoribus nota.
de alimentis publicis multa prudenter invenit. curatores
multis civitatibus, quo latius senatorias tenderet dig-
3
nitates, a senatu dedit. Italicis civitatibus famis
tempore frumentum ex urbe donavit omnique frum-
4
entariae rei consuluit. gladiatoria spectacula omni-

fariam temperavit. temperavit etiam scaenicas dona-
tiones iubens ut quinos aureos scaenici acciperent,
ita tamen ut nullus editor decem aureos egredetur.
5 vias 1 etiam urbis atque itinera 2 diligentissime curavit.
rei frumentariae graviter providit.
6 Datis iuridicis Italiae consuluit ad id exemplum
quo Hadrianus consulares viros reddere iura praecеп-
7
erat. Hispanis exhaustis 3 Italica adlectione contra
8 Traiani quoque 4 praecepta verecunde consuluit. leges

1 uineas P1; al' uias P corr. 2 itinera Jordan, Novak;
itinerum P, Peter. 3 exhaustit P. 4 Thus Ellis; contra
 tranique p. Pl; Traianique P corr.; contra iniqua p. Pet-
schenig; Peter assumes a lacuna after contra.

1 The Lex Plaetoria de circumscriptione minorum annis
XXV was passed prior to 191 B.C.; it is mentioned in Plautus,
Pseud., 303. It aimed to protect persons under 25 from fraud,
and it accordingly directed that such persons should apply to
the praetor for guardians.

2 The Twelve Tables provided that the prodigus and the
furosus should not administer their own property but be
under guardians; see Dig., xxvii. 10, 1, and Cic., de Inv., ii.
50, 148.

3 See note to Hadr., vii. 8.

4 These officials were appointed by the emperor to admini-
pointed only under the Plaetorian Law, or in cases of prodigality or madness.

XI. In the matter of public expenditures he was exceedingly careful, and he forbade all libels on the part of false informers, putting the mark of infamy on such as made false accusations. He scorned such accusations as would swell the privy-purse. He devised many wise measures for the support of the state-poor, and, that he might give a wider range to the senatorial functions, he appointed supervisors for many communities from the senate. In times of famine he furnished the Italian communities with food from the city; indeed, he made careful provision for the whole matter of the grain-supply. He limited gladiatorial shows in every way, and lessened the cost of free theatrical performances also, decreeing that though an actor might receive five aurei, nevertheless no one who gave a performance should expend more than ten. The streets of the city and the highways he maintained with the greatest care. As for the grain-supply, for that he provided laboriously. He appointed judges for Italy and thereby provided for its welfare, after the plan of Hadrian, who had appointed men of consular rank to administer the law; and he made scrupulous provision, furthermore, for the welfare of the provinces of Spain, which, in defiance of the policy of Trajan, had been exhausted by

ster the finances of communities in cases where mismanagement of the public funds had made such a measure necessary.

See Hadr., xxii. 13; Pius, ii. 11. The arrangement seems to have been given up by Pius; see Appian, Bell. Civ., i. 38. Under Marcus ex-praetors were appointed to this office; see C.I.L., v. 1874 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 1118.
etiam addidit de vicensima hereditatum, de tutelis libertorum, de bonis maternis et item de filiorum successionibus pro parte materna, utque senatores peregrini quartam partem in Italia possiderent. dedit praeterea curatoribus regionum ac viarum potestatem, ut vel punirent vel ad praefectum urbi puniendos remitterent eos qui ultra vectigalia quicquam ab aliquo exegissent. ius autem magis vetus restituit quam novum fecit. habuit secum praefectos, quorum et auctoritate et periculo semper iura dictavit. usus autem est Scaevela praepicue iuris perito.

XII. Cum populo autem non aliter egit quam est actum sub civitate libera. fuitque per omnia moderantium in hominibus deterrendis a malo, invitandis ad bona, remunerandis copia, indulgentia liberandis fecitque ex malis bonos, ex bonis optimos, moderate etiam cavillationes nonnullorum ferens. nam cum quendam Vetrasinum famae detestandae honorem petentem moneret, ut se ab opinionibus populi vindicaret, et ille contra respondisset multos, qui secum in arena pugnassent, se praetores videre, patienter tuit. ac ne in quemquam facile vindicaret, praetorem,
levies from the Italian settlers. Also he enacted laws about inheritance-taxes, about the property of freedmen held in trust, about property inherited from the mother, about the succession of the sons to the mother’s share, and likewise that senators of foreign birth should invest a fourth part of their capital in Italy. And besides this, he gave the commissioners of districts and streets power either themselves to punish those who fleeced anyone of money beyond his due assessment, or to bring them to the prefect of the city for punishment. He engaged rather in the restoration of old laws than in the making of new, and ever kept near him prefects with whose authority and responsibility he framed his laws. He made use of Scaevola also, a man particularly learned in jurisprudence.

XII. Toward the people he acted just as one acts in a free state. He was at all times exceedingly reasonable both in restraining men from evil and in urging them to good, generous in rewarding and quick to forgive, thus making bad men good, and good men very good, and he even bore with unruffled temper the insolence of not a few. For example, when he advised a man of abominable reputation, who was running for office, a certain Vetrasinus, to stop the town-talk about himself, and Vetrasinus replied that many who had fought with him in the arena were now prætors, the Emperor took it with good grace. Again, in order to avoid taking an easy revenge on any one, instead of ordering a

was held by the foremost jurists of Rome, Papinian, Ulpian, and Paullus.

As a member of his consilium (see Hadr., viii. 9); Q. Cervidius Scaevola is often cited in the Digesta.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

qui quaedam pessime egerat, non abdicare se praetura iussit, sed collegae iuris dictionem mandavit. fisco in causis compendii numquam iudicans favit. sane, quamvis esset constans, erat etiam verecundus.

Posteaquam autem e Syria victor rediit frater, patris patriae nomen ambobus decreatum est, cum se Marcus absente Vero erga omnes senatores atque homines moderatissime gessisset. corona praeterea civica oblata est ambobus; petiiique Lucius ut secum Marcus triumpharet. petii praeterea Lucius ut filii Marci Caesares appellarentur, sed Marcus tanta fuit moderatione ut, cum simul triumphasset, tamen post mortem Lucii tantum Germanicum se vocaret, quod sibi bello proprio pepererat. in triumpho autem liberos Marci utriusque sexus secum vexerunt, ita tamen ut et puellas virgines veherent. ludos etiam ob triumphum decretos spectaverunt habitu triumphantali. inter cetera pietatis eius haec quoque moderatio praedicanda est: funambulis post puerum lapsum culcitas subici iussit. unde hodieque rete praetenditur.

Dum Parthicum bellum geritur, natum est Marcuscomannicum, quod diu eorum qui aderant arte suspensum est, ut finito iam Orientali bello Marco-

1 cum om. in P. 2 recte P1; al rete P corr.
praetor who had acted very badly in certain matters to resign his office, he merely entrusted the administration of the law to the man's colleague. The privy-purse never influenced his judgment in law-suits involving money. Finally, if he was firm, he was also reasonable.

After his brother had returned victorious from Syria, the title "Father of his Country" was decreed to both, inasmuch as Marcus in the absence of Verus had conducted himself with great consideration toward both senators and commons. Furthermore, the civic crown was offered to both; and Lucius demanded that Marcus triumph with him, and demanded also that the name Caesar should be given to Marcus' sons. But Marcus was so free from love of display that though he triumphed with Lucius, nevertheless after Lucius' death he called himself only Germanicus, the title he had won in his own war. In the triumphal procession, moreover, they carried with them Marcus' children of both sexes, even his unmarried daughters; and they viewed the games held in honour of the triumph clad in the triumphal robe. Among other illustrations of his unfailing consideration towards others this act of kindness is to be told: After one lad, a rope-dancer, had fallen, he ordered mattresses spread under all rope-dancers. This is the reason why a net is stretched under them to-day.

While the Parthian war was still in progress, the Marcomannic war broke out, after having been postponed for a long time by the diplomacy of the men who were in charge there, in order that the Marco-

the probable date of its assumption was 15 October; see Com., xi. 18, and cf. Dio, lxxi. 3, 5.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

14 mannicum agi posset, et cum famis tempore populo
insu nuanced de bello, fratre post quinquennium reverso
in senatu egit, ambos necessarios dicens bello
XIII. Germanico imperatores, tantus autem terror belli
Marcomannici fuit 1 ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus
acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni
genere lustraverit retardatusque a 2 bellica profectione
sit. celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem
dies. tanta autem pestilentia fuit ut vehiculis cadavera
sint exportata saccarisque. tunc autem Antonini
leges sepeliendi sepulchrorumque asperrimas sanxe-
runt, quando quidem caverunt ne quis villae ad-
fabricaretur 3 sepulchrum, quod hodieque servatur.
5 et multa quidem milia pestilentia consumpsit multos-
que ex proceribus, quorum amplissimus Antoninus
6 statuas conlocavit. tantaque clementia fuit ut et
sumptu publico vulgaria funera iuberet efferri 4 et vano
cuidam, qui diripienda urbis occasionem cum quibus-
dam conscii requirens de caprisi arbores in Campo
Martio contionabundus ignem de caelo lapsurum

1 fuit P corr., om. by P1. 2 a om. in P. 3 Thus Mad-
vig and Petschenig; uelle abfabricetur P; ne quis ubi uellet
fabricaretur s. Novak. 4 effer Jordan; et eo ferri P; ferri
et eo ferri P corr.

\[1\] Called officially bellum Germanicum; see C.I.L., vi.
1549 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 1100.

\[2\] The Marcomanni and Quadi actually invaded Italy and
laid siege to Aquileia; see Amm. Marc., xxix. 6, 1. Furios
Victorinus, the prefect of the guard, who was sent to resist
them, was killed and a portion of his army annihilated; see
c. xiv. 5.

\[3\] A very ancient purificatory ceremony, in which statues of
the gods were placed on banqueting-couches in some public
place and served with an offering on a table. According to
tradition it was first celebrated in 399 B.C. in order to stay a
plague; see Livy, v. 13, 5-6.

166
MARCUS ANTONINUS XII.·14—XIII. 6

Mannic war\(^1\) might not be waged until Rome was done with the war in the East. Even at the time of the famine the Emperor had hinted at this war to the people, and when his brother returned after five years' service, he brought the matter up in the senate, saying that both emperors were needed for the German war. XIII. So great was the dread of this Marcomannic war,\(^2\) that Antoninus summoned priests from all sides, performed foreign religious ceremonies, and purified the city in every way, and he was delayed thereby from setting out to the seat of war. The Roman ceremony of the feast of the gods\(^3\) was celebrated for seven days. And there was such a pestilence,\(^4\) besides, that the dead were removed in carts and waggons. About this time, also, the two emperors ratified certain very stringent laws on burial and tombs, in which they even forbade any one to build a tomb at his countryplace, a law still in force. Thousands were carried off by the pestilence, including many nobles, for the most prominent of whom Antoninus erected statues. Such, too, was his kindliness of heart that he had funeral ceremonies performed for the lower classes even at the public expense; and in the case of one foolish fellow, who, in a search with divers confederates for an opportunity to plunder the city, continually made speeches from the wild fig-tree on the Campus Martius, to the effect that fire would fal

\(^{4}\) It was supposed to have been brought from the East by the returning army of Verus (see \textit{Ver.}, viii. 1-2), and it ravaged Europe as far as the Rhine; see Amm. Marc., xxiii. 6, 24. It was still raging in 180 (see c. xxviii. 4, and \textit{C.I.L.}, iii. 5567 of 182), and it seems to have broken out again with great violence under Commodus; see Dio, lxxii. 14, 3; Herodian, i. 12, 1-2.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

finemque mundi affore dicret, si ipse lapsus ex arbore in ciconiam verteretur, cum statuto tempore decidisset atque ex sinu ciconiam emisisset, perducto ad se atque confess Veniam daret.

XIV. Profecti tamen sunt paludati ambo imperatores et Victualis et Marcomannus cuncta turbanibus, aliis etiam gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi recipierentur, bellum inferentibus. nec parum profuit ista profection, cum Aquileiam usque venissent. nam plerique reges et cum populis suis se retraxerunt et tumultus auctores interemerunt.

2 Quadi autem amisso rege suo non prius se confirmaturae eum qui erat creatus dicebant, quam id nostris placuisset imperatoribus. Lucius tamen invitus profectus est, cum plerique ad legatos imperatorum mitterent deflectionis veniam postulantes. et Lucius quidem, quod amissus esset praefectus praetorio Furius Victorinus, atque 1 pars exercitus interisset, redeundum esse censebat; Marcus autem fingere barbaros aestimans et fugam et cetera quae securitatem bellicam ostenderent, ob hoc ne tanti apparatus mole premerentur, instandum esse ducebat. denique transcensis Alpibus longius processerunt composeruntque omnia, quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant. placuit autem urgente Lucio, ut praee-

1utque P.

1See note to c. xiii. 1.
2 The war in Pannonia was prosecuted successfully, and after a victory the emperors were acclaimed Imperatores for the fifth time and gave honourable discharge to some soldiers; see C.I.L., iii. p. 888 (dated 5 May, 167).

168
down from heaven and the end of the world would come should he fall from the tree and be turned into a stork, and finally at the appointed time did fall down and free a stork from his robe, the Emperor, when the wretch was hailed before him and confessed all, pardoned him.

XIV. Clad in the military cloak the two emperors finally set forth, for now not only were the Victuali and Marcomanni throwing everything into confusion, but other tribes, who had been driven on by the more distant barbarians and had retreated before them, were ready to attack Italy if not peaceably received. And not a little good resulted from that expedition, even by the time they had advanced as far as Aquileia, for several kings retreated, together with their peoples, and put to death the authors of the trouble. And the Quadi, after they had lost their king, said that they would not confirm the successor who had been elected until such a course was approved by our emperors. Nevertheless, Lucius went on, though reluctantly, after a number of peoples had sent ambassadors to the legates of the emperors asking pardon for the rebellion. Lucius, it is true, thought they should return, because Furius Victorinus, the prefect of the guard, had been lost, and part of his army had perished; Marcus, however, thinking that the barbarians were feigning flight and using other ruses which afford safety in war, held that they should persist in order that they might not be overwhelmed by the mere burden of their vast preparations. Finally, they crossed the Alps, and pressing further on, completed all measures necessary for the defence of Italy and Illyricum. They then decided, at Lucius' insistence, that letters should first be sent
MARCUS ANTONINUS

missis ad senatum litteris Lucius Romam rediret. 8 via quoque, postquam iter ingressi sunt, sedens cum fratre in vehiculo Lucius apoplexi arreptus perit.

XV. Fuit autem consuetudino Marco ut in circensium spectaculo legeret audiretque ac subscriberet, ex quo quidem saepe iocis popularibus dicitur laecessitus.

2 Multum sane potuerunt liberti sub Marco et Vero Geminas et Agaclytus.

3 Tantae autem sanctitatis fuit Marcus ut Veri vitae et celaverit et defenderit, cum ei vehementissime dis- plicerent, mortuumque eum divum appellaverit amitasque eius et sorores honoribus et salariis decretis sublevaverit atque proveixerit sacrisque eum plurimis honoraverit. flaminem et Antoninianos sodales et omnes honores qui divis habentur eadem dedicavit.

5 nemo est principum, quem non gravis fama perstrin-gat, usque adeo ut etiam Marcus in sermonem venerit, quod Verum vel veneno ita tulerit ut parte cultri veneno lita vulvam inciderit, venenatam partem fratri edendum propinans et sibi innoxiam reservans, vel certe per medicum Posidippum, qui ei sanguinem intertempeste dicitur emisisse. Cassius post mortem Veri a Marco descivit.

1 Thus Bitschofsky; bia quoque P; viaque Salm., Peter.
2 displiceret P, but cf. c. xvi. 4. 3 cum P1; ud eum P corr.
4 Cassius . . . descivit probably from margin of c. xxiv. 5.

1 In 169 at Altinum in Venetia; see Ver., ix. 10-11.
2 Cf. Ver., ix. 8.
3 The section of the vita from this point through c. xix. is a later interpolation; see Intro., p. xxi.
4 Cf. c. xx. 1-2, and the coins of Divus Verus with the legend Consecratio; see Cohen, iii, p. 176 f., Nos. 53-59.
5 Cf. c. xx. 5.
6 See note to Hadr., xxvii. 3, and Pius, xiii. 4. This priesthood was now called sodales Antoniniani Veriani, after 170
MARCUS ANTONINUS XIV. 8—XV. 6

ahead to the senate and that Lucius should then return to Rome. But on the way, after they had set out upon their journey, Lucius died from a stroke of apoplexy¹ while riding in the carriage with his brother.

XV. It was customary with Marcus to read, listen to, and sign documents at the circus-games; because of this habit he was openly ridiculed, it is said, by the people.

The freedmen Geminus and Agaclytus² were very powerful in the reign of Marcus and Verus.

Such was Marcus’ sense of honour,³ moreover, that although Verus’ vices mightily offended him, he concealed and defended them; he also deified him after his death,⁴ aided and advanced his aunts and sisters by means of honours and pensions,⁵ honoured Verus himself with many sacrifices, consecrated a flamen for him and a college of Antonine priests,⁶ and gave him all honours that are appointed for the deified. There is no emperor who is not the victim of some evil tale, and Marcus is no exception. For it was bruited about, in truth, that he put Verus out of the way, either with poison—by cutting a sow’s womb with a knife smeared on one side with poison, and then offering the poisoned portion to his brother to eat, while keeping the harmless portion for himself⁷—or, at least, by employing the physician Posidippus, who bled Verus, it is said, unseasonably. After Verus’ death Cassius revolted from Marcus.⁸

Marcus’ deification Marciani was added, after Pertinax’ death Helviani (Pert., xv. 4), after Severus’ Severiani (C.I.L., vi. 1365), after Alexander’s Alexandriani (Alex., lxiii. 4).

⁷ Cf. Ver., xi. 2; Dio, lxxi. 3, 1. According to another story, he was poisoned by Faustina; see Ver., x. 1-5.

⁸ In 175; see c. xxiv. 6 f.; Av. Cass., vii. f.

171
MARCUS ANTONINUS

XVI. Iam in suos tanta fuit benignitate Marcus ut cum in omnes propinquos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit, tum in filium et quidem \footnote{et Commodum quidem P.} scelestem atque impurum cito nomen Caesaris et mox sacerdotium statimque nomen imperatoris ac triumphi partici-
2 pationem et consulatum. quo quidem tempore sedente imperator filio \footnote{2 See c. xii. 8 and note.} ad triumphalem currum in Circo pedes cucurrit.

3 Post Veri obitum Marcus Antoninus solus rem publicam tenuit, multo melior et feracior ad virtutes, quippe qui nullis Veri iam impediretur aut simplicitatis calidaeque veritatis,\footnote{On 20 January, 175; see Com., i. 10; xii. 1. On the priesthood held by sons of emperors see note to c. vi. 3.} qua ille ingenio vitio laborabat, erroribus aut iis qui praecipue displacebant Marco Antoninon iam inde a primo aetatis suae tempore vel \footnote{On 27 November, 176; see Com., ii. 4; xii. 4.} institutis mentis pravae vel moribus. erat enim ipse tantae tranquillitatis ut vultum numquam mutaverit maerore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus Stoicae, quam et per optimos quoque magistros acceperat et \footnote{On 28 December, 176; see Com., ii. 4; xii. 5. This, however, seems not to have been the triumph held by Marcus in celebration of his victory in Pannonia; see c. xvii. 8 and note.} undique ipse collegerat. nam et Hadrianus hunc eundem successorem paraverat, nisi ei aetas puerilis obsitisset. quod quidem apparret ex eo quod generum Pio hunc eundem delegit, ut ad eum, dignum utpote virum, quandocumque Romanum perveniret imperium.

\footnote{1 i.e., Commodus.} \footnote{3 So Peter; sine imperator filio P.} \footnote{3 So Peter; simulatis callidae severitatis P.}
XVI. Such was Marcus' kindness toward his own family that he bestowed the insignia of every office on all his kin, while on his son, and an accursed and foul one he was, he hastened to bestow the name of Caesar, then afterward the priesthood, and, a little later, the title of imperator and a share in a triumph and the consulship. It was at this time that Marcus, though acclaimed imperator, ran on foot in the Circus by the side of the triumphal car in which his son was seated.

After the death of Verus, Marcus Antoninus held the empire alone, a nobler man by far and more abounding in virtues, especially as he was no longer hampered by Verus' faults, neither by those of excessive candour and hot-headed plain speaking, from which Verus suffered through natural folly, nor by those others which had particularly irked Marcus Antoninus even from his earliest years, the principles and habits of a depraved mind. Such was Marcus' own repose of spirit that neither in grief nor in joy did he ever change countenance, being wholly given over to the Stoic philosophy, which he had not only learned from all the best masters, but also acquired for himself from every source. For this reason Hadrian would have taken him for his own successor to the throne had not his youth prevented. This intention, indeed, seems obvious from the fact that he chose Marcus to be the son-in-law of Pius, in order that the direction of the Roman state might some time at least come into his hands, as to those of one well worthy.

Cf. c. ii. 6—iii. 3.

This is an error, for Hadrian betrothed him to the daughter of Aelius Caesar; see c. iv. 5 and vi. 2.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

XVII. Ergo provincias post haec ingenti moderatione ac benignitate tractavit. contra Germanos res 2 feliciter gessit. speciale ipse bellum Marcomannicum, sed quantum 1 nulla umquam memoria fuit, cum virtutum etiam felicitate transegit, et eo quidem tempore quo pestilentia gravis multa milia et popularium et 3 militum interemerat. Pannonias ergo, Marcomanniis Sarmatis Vandalis simul etiam Quadis extinctis, servitio liberavit et Romae cum Commodo, quem iam Caesarem fecerat, filio, ut diximus, suo triumphavit. 4 cum autem ad hoc bellum omne aerarium exhausisset suum neque in animum induceret, ut extra ordinem provincialibus aliquid imperaret, in foro divi Traiani auctionem ornamentorum imperialium fecit vendiditque aurea pocula et crystallina et murrina, vasa etiam regia et vestem uxoriam sericam et auratam, gemmas quin etiam, quas multas in repositorio sanctiore 5 Hadriani reppererat, et per duos quidem menses haec venditio celebrata est, tantumque auri redactum ut reliquias belli Marcomannici ex sententia persecutus postea dederit potestatem emptoribus, ut, si qui vellet empta reddere atque aurum recipere, sciret licere. nec molestus ulli fuit qui vel non reddidit

1quanto P.

1 See c. xiii. 3.
2 This sentence sums up the war from Marcus' departure from Rome in October, 169 (cf. coins with Profectio Augusti, Cohen, iii², p. 51, No. 500) to the victory over the Sarmatians in 175, after which Marcus was acclaimed Imperator for the eighth time and assumed the title Sarmaticus; see c. xxiv. 5 and Cohen, iii², p. 91 f., Nos. 916-925.
3 See c. xvi. 2. His triumph over the Germans and the Sarmatians was held in 176 after his return from the East; see c. xxvii. 3; Cohen, iii², p. 17, No. 154, and p. 18, No. 164; C I.L. vi. 1014 = Dessau, Ins. Select., 374. Since the coins and the inscriptions date this triumph in the 30th year of the tri-
XVII. Toward the provinces from then on he acted with extreme restraint and consideration. He carried on a successful campaign against the Germans. He himself singled out the Marcomannic war—a war which surpassed any in the memory of man—and waged it with both valour and success, and that at a time when a grievous pestilence had carried away thousands of civilians and soldiers. And so, by crushing the Marcomanni, the Sarmatians, the Vandals, and even the Quadi, he freed the Pannonias from bondage, and with Commodus his son, whom he had previously named Caesar, triumphed at Rome, as we told above. When he had drained the treasury for this war, moreover, and could not bring himself to impose any extraordinary tax on the provincials, he held a public sale in the Forum of the Deified Trajan of the imperial furnishings, and sold goblets of gold and crystal and murra, even flagons made for kings, his wife’s silken gold-embroidered robes, and, indeed, even certain jewels which he had found in considerable numbers in a particularly holy cabinet of Hadrian’s. This sale lasted for two months, and such a store of gold was realised thereby, that after he had conducted the remainder of the Marcomannic war in full accordance with his plans, he gave the buyers to understand that if any of them wished to return his purchases and recover his money, he could do so. Nor did he make it unpleasant for anyone who did or did not return what he had bought.

bunician power of Marcus (10 December, 175—9 December, 176), and since the triumph of Commodus was held on 23 December, 176, the statement that Commodus triumphed with his father, as made here and in Com., ii. 4, must be erroneous.

4 See note to Hadr., vii. 6.

5 Probably a variety of agate; see J. Marquardt, Privatleben d. Römer, ii., p. 765 f.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

6 empta vel reddidit. tunc viris clarioribus permisit
ut eodem cultu quo et ipse vel ministris similibus
7 convivia exhiberent. in munere autem publico tam
magnanimus fuit ut centum leones una missione 1
simul exhiberet et sagittis interfectos. 2

XVIII. Cum igitur in amore omnium imperasset
atque ab aliis modo frater, modo pater,modo filius, ut
cuiusque aetas sinebat, et diceretur et amaretur, octavo
decimo anno imperii sui, sexagensimo et primo vitae,
2 diem ultimum clausit. tantusque illius amor eo die
regii funeris 3 claruit ut nemo illum plangendum cen-
suerit, certis omnibus quod ab diis commodatus ad
3 deos redisset. denique, priusquam funus conderetur,
ut plerique dicunt, quod numquam ante factum fuerat
neque postea, senatus populusque non divisis locis sed
in una sede propitium deum dixit.

4 Hic sane vir tantus et talis ac diis vita et morte
coniunctus filium Commodum dereliquit; qui, si felix
5 fuisset, filium non reliquisset. et parum sane fuit
quod illi honores divinos omnis aetas omnis sexus
omnis condicio ac dignitas dedit, nisi quod etiam
sacrilegus iudicatus est qui eius imaginem in sua
domo non habuit, qui per fortunam vel potuit habere
6 vel debuit. denique hodieque in multis domibus
Marci Antonini statuae consistunt inter deos penates.
7 nec defuerunt homines qui somniis eum multa prae-

1 unam missionem P; una in missione Peter. 2 So P;
Peter, foll. Mombksen, interfecit eos. 3 So P; regii funeris
removed by Peter, eo by Jordan.

1 See c. xxviii.
At this time, also, he granted permission to the more prominent men to hold banquets with the same pomp that he used himself and with servants similar to his own. In the matter of public games, furthermore, he was so liberal as to present a hundred lions together in one performance and have them all killed with arrows.

XVIII. After he had ruled, then, with the goodwill of all, and had been named and beloved variously as brother, father, or son by various men according to their several ages, in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life he closed his last 17 Mar., day. Such love for him was manifested on the day of the imperial funeral that none thought that men should lament him, since all were sure that he had been lent by the gods and had now returned to them. Finally, before his funeral was held, so many say, the senate and people, not in separate places but sitting together, as was never done before or after, hailed him as a gracious god.

This man, so great, so good, and an associate of the gods both in life and in death, left one son Commodus; and had he been truly fortunate he would not have left a son. It was not enough, indeed, that people of every age, sex, degree and rank in life, gave him all honours given to the gods, but also whosoever failed to keep the Emperor's image in his home, if his fortune were such that he could or should have done so, was deemed guilty of sacrilege. Even to-day, in fine, statues of Marcus Antoninus stand in many a home among the household gods. Nor were there lacking men who observed that he foretold many things by dreams and were thereby themselves enabled to predict events that did come to pass.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

8 dixisse augurantes futura et vera continuerunt. unde etiam templum ei constitutum, dati sacerdotes Antoniniani et sodales et flamines et omnia quae aede sacrata 1 decrevit antiquitas.

XIX. Aiunt quidam, quod et veri simile videtur, Commodum Antoninum, successorem illius ac filium, non esse de eo natum sed de adulterio, ac talem fabellam vulgari sermone contexunt: Faustinam quondam, Pii filiam, Marci uxorem, cum gladiatores transire vidisset, unius ex his amore succensam, cum longa aegritudine laboraret, viro de amore confessam. quod cum ad Chaldaeos Marcus retulisset, illorum fuisse consilium, ut occiso gladiatore sanguine illius sese Faustina sublavaret atque ita cum viro concumberet. quod cum esset factum, solutum quidem amorem, natum vero Commodum gladiatorem esse, non principem, qui mille prope pugnas publice populo inspectante gladiatorias imperator exhibuit, ut in vita eius docebitur. quod quidem veri simile ex eo habetur quod tam sancti principis filius iis moribus fuit quibus nullus lanista, nullus scaenicus, nullus arenarius, nullus postremo ex omnium dedecorum 2 ac scelerum conluvione concretus. multi autem ferunt Commodum omnino ex adultero 3 natum, si quidem Faustinam satis constet apud Caietam condiciones sibi et nauticas et gladiatorias elegisse. de qua cum diceretur Antonino Marco,

1 So Peter with Madvig; desacrata P; de sacratis P corr.
2 decorum P. 3 adultero P, but cf. c. xix. 1 (see Lessing Lex.).

1 See note to Hadr., xxvii. 3, and c. xv. 4.
2 See Com., xi. 12; xii. 11.
3 For similar stories see c. xxi, 7 and xxix. 1-3; Victor, Caes., xvi. 2. Evidence to the contrary seems to be afforded

178
Therefore a temple was built for him and priests were appointed, dedicated to the service of the Antonines, both Sodales¹ and flamens, and all else that the usage of old time decreed for a consecrated temple.

XIX. Some say, and it seems plausible, that Commodus Antoninus, his son and successor, was not begotten by him, but in adultery; they embroider this assertion, moreover, with a story current among the people. On a certain occasion, it was said, Faustina, the daughter of Pius and wife of Marcus, saw some gladiators pass by, and was inflamed with love for one of them; and afterwards, when suffering from a long illness, she confessed the passion to her husband. And when Marcus reported this to the Chaldeans, it was their advice that the gladiator should be killed and that Faustina should bathe in his blood and thus couch with her husband. When this was done, the passion was indeed allayed, but their son Commodus was born a gladiator, not really a prince; for afterwards as emperor he fought almost a thousand gladiatorial bouts before the eyes of the people, as shall be related in his life.² This story is considered plausible, as a matter of fact, for the reason that the son of so virtuous a prince had habits worse than any trainer of gladiators, any play-actor, any fighter in the arena, or, in fine, anything brought into existence from the offscourings of all dishonour and crime. Many writers, however, state that Commodus was really begotten in adultery, since it is generally known that Faustina, while at Caieta, used to choose out lovers from among the sailors and gladiators.³ When Marcus Antoninus was told about

¹ See Marcus Antoninus XVII, 7.
² This story is considered plausible, as a matter of fact, for the reason that the son of so virtuous a prince had habits worse than any trainer of gladiators, any play-actor, any fighter in the arena, or, in fine, anything brought into existence from the offscourings of all dishonour and crime. Many writers, however, state that Commodus was really begotten in adultery, since it is generally known that Faustina, while at Caieta, used to choose out lovers from among the sailors and gladiators.³ When Marcus Antoninus was told about

179
MARCUS ANTONINUS

ut eam repudiaret, si non occideret, dixisse furtur
9 "si uxorem dimittimus, reddamus et dotem". dos
autem quid habeatur? imperium, quod ille ab
socero volente Hadriano adoptatus acceperat.
10 Tantum sane valet boni principis vita sanctitas
tranquillitas pietas ut eius famam nullius proximi
decoloret invidia. denique Antonino, cum suos mores
semp er teneret neque alicuius insusurratione mu-
taretur, non obsruit gladiator filius, uxor infamis;
12 deusque etiam nunc habetur, ut vobis ipsis, sacratissime
imperator Diocletiane, et semper visum est et videtur,
qui eum inter numina vestra non ut ceteros sed
specialiter veneramini ac saepe dicitis, vos vita et
clementia tales esse cupere qualis fuit Marcus, etiamsi
philosophia nec Plato esse possit, si revertatur in
vitam. et quidem haec breviter et congeste.

XX. Sed Marco Antonino haec sunt gesta post
fratrem: primum corpus eius Romam deuctum est
et inlatum maiorum sepulchris. divini inde honores
decreti. dein cum gratias ageret senatui quod fratrem
consecrasset, occulte ostendit omnia bellica consilia sua
3 fuisse, quibus superati sunt Parthi. addidit praeterea
quaedam, quibus ostendit nunc demum se quasi a
principio acturum esse rem publicam amoto eo qui

1 So Petschenig; dos autem quid habeatur nisi imperium
edd. reueratori vita P. in, following divini, deleted
by P corr.; inde Peter.

1 See c. xiv. 8. The interpolated section ends with c. xix.;
see note to c. xv. 3.
2 i.e., the Tomb of Hadrian; see Ver., xi. 1. His sepulchral
inscription is C.I.L., vi. 991 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 369.
3 Cf. c. xv. 3-4.

180
this, that he might divorce, if not kill her, he is reported to have said "If we send our wife away, we must also return her dowry". And what was her dowry? the Empire, which, after he had been adopted at the wish of Hadrian, he had inherited from his father-in-law Pius.

But truly such is the power of the life, the holiness, the serenity, and the righteousness of a good emperor that not even the scorn felt for his kin can sully his own good name. For since Antoninus held ever to his moral code and was moved by no man's whispered machinations, men thought no less of him because his son was a gladiator, his wife infamous. Even now he is called a god, which ever has seemed and even now seems right to you, most venerable Emperor Diocletian, who worship him among your divinities, not as you worship the others, but as one apart, and who often say that you desire, in life and gentleness, to be such a one as Marcus, even though, as far as philosophy is concerned, Plato himself, were he to return to life, could not be such a philosopher. So much, then, for these matters, told briefly and concisely.

XX. But as for the acts of Marcus Antoninus after the death of his brother, they are as follows: First of all, he conveyed his body to Rome and laid it in the tomb of his fathers. Then divine honours were ordered for Verus. Later, while rendering thanks to the senate for his brother's deification, he darkly hinted that all the strategic plans whereby the Parthians had been overcome were his own. He added, besides, certain statements in which he indicated that now at length he would make a fresh beginning in the management of the state, now that Verus, who
MARCUS ANTONINUS

4 remissor videbatur. nec aliter senatus accepit quam Marcus dixerat, ut videretur gratias agere quod
5 Verus excessisset vita. omnibus deinde sororibus et
adfinitibus et libertis iuris et honoris et pecuniae
plurimum detulit. erat enim famae suae curiosissimi-

mus, requirens ad verum, quid quisque de se diceret,
emendans quae bene reprehensa viderentur.
6 Profiscens ad bellum Germanicum filiam suam non
decurso luctus tempore grandaevo equitis Romani
filio Claudio Pompeiano dedit genere Antiochensi
7 nec satis nobili (quem postea bis consulem fecit), cum
filia eius Augusta esset et Augustae filia. sed has nup-
tias et Faustina et ipsa quae dabatur invitae habuerunt.

XXI. Cum Mauri Hispaniae prope omnes vastarent,
2 res per legatos bene gestae sunt. et cum per Aegyptum
Bucolici milites gravia multa fecissent, per Avidium
Cassium retunsi sunt, qui postea tyrannidem arripuit.
3 sub ipsis professionis diebus in secessu Praenestino
agens filium, nomine Verum Caesarem, exsecuto sub
aure tubere septennem amisit. quem non plus quin-
que diebus luxit consultusque etiam medios¹ actibus

¹ Thus Peter with Lipsius; consolatusque etiam medicos P.

¹ Cf. c. xv. 3.
² After his return to Rome with the body of Verus. He
set out in October, 169; see note to c. xvii. 3.
³ Lucilla, the widow of Verus.
⁴ Cf. c. xxii. 11. The date is probably 172-173, see Sæv.,
i. 4.
⁵ According to Av. Cass., vi. 7, this statement is taken
from Marius Maximus’ Life of Marcus. The rebellion is
somewhat more fully described in Dio, lxxi. 4. The Boukoloi,
a tribe of herdsmen and brigands, lived in the N.W. of the
Delta, not far from Alexandria. According to Dio’s chron-
ology, the rebellion happened after Marcus’ assumption of
the name Germanicus, i.e. in 172-173.

182
had seemed somewhat negligent, was removed. And the senate took this precisely as it was said, so that Marcus seemed to be giving thanks that Verus had departed this life. Afterwards he bestowed many privileges and much honour and money on all Verus' sisters, kin, and freedmen. For he was exceedingly solicitous about his good reputation, indeed he was wont to ask what men really said of him, and to correct whatever seemed justly blamed.

Just before setting out for the German war, and before the period of mourning had yet expired, he married his daughter to Claudius Pompeianus, the son of a Roman knight, and now advanced in years, a native of Antioch, whose birth was not sufficiently noble (though Marcus later made him consul twice), since Marcus' daughter was an Augusta and the daughter of an Augusta. Indeed, Faustina and the girl who was given in marriage were both opposed to this match.

XXI. Against the Mauri, when they wasted almost the whole of Spain, matters were brought to a successful conclusion by his legates; and when the warriors of the Bucolici did many grievous things in Egypt, they were checked by Avidius Cassius, who later attempted to seize the throne. Just before his departure, while he was living in retreat at Praeneste, Marcus lost his seven-year-old son, by name Verus Caesar, from an operation on a tumour under his ear. For no more than five days did he mourn him; and even during this period, when consulted on public affairs he gave some time to them.

6 See c. xxiv. 6 f; Av. Cass. vii. f.
7 i.e., for the German war; see c. xx. 6.
8 M. Annius Verus; see note to c. xii. 8.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

publicis reddidit. et quia ludi Iovis Optimi Maximi erant, interpellari eos publico luctu noluit iussitque, ut statuae tantummodo filio mortuo decernertur et imago aurea circensibus per pompam ferenda et ut saliari carmini nomen eius insereretur.

6 Instante sane adhuc pestilentia et deorum cultum diligentissime restituit et servos, quemadmodum bello Punico factum fuerat, ad militiam paravit, quos voluntarios exemplo volonum appellavit. armavit etiam gladiatores, quos obsequentes appellavit. latrones etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit. armavit et Diogmitas. emit et Germanorum auxilia contra Germanos. omni praeterea diligentia paravit legiones ad Germanicum et Marcomanicum bellum. 9 et, ne provincialibus esset molestus, auctionem rerum aulicarum, ut diximus, fecit in foro divi Traiani, in qua praeter vestes et pocula et vasa aurea etiam signa cum tabulis magnorum artificum vendidit. Marcomannos in ipso transitu Danuvii delevit et praedam

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1 Probably the Ludi Capitolini, held on 15 October.
2 Germanicus' name had been similarly inserted in this song after his death; see Tac., Ann., ii. 82.
3 See c. xiii. 3.
4 The name given to the slaves who volunteered for military service after the defeat at Cannae in the Second Punic War; see Livy, xxii. 57, 11, and Festus, p. 370.
5 The district east of southern Dalmatia; it is now the southern portion of the kingdom of Serbia.
6 The Diogmitai were the military police maintained by the Greek cities. They were also called upon to perform military service—the suppression of brigands—in 368; see Amm. Marc., xxvii. 9, 6.
7 These new legions were named Legio II Pra and Legio 184
And because the games of Jupiter Optimus Maximus \(^1\) were then in progress and he did not wish to have them interrupted by public mourning, he merely ordered that statues should be decreed for his dead son, that a golden image of him should be carried in procession at the Circus, and that his name should be inserted in the song of the Salii.\(^2\)

And since the pestilence \(^3\) was still raging at this time, he both zealously revived the worship of the gods and trained slaves for military service—just as had been done in the Punic war—whom he called Volunteers, after the example of the Volones.\(^4\) He armed gladiators also, calling them the Compliant, and turned even the bandits of Dalmatia and Dardania \(^5\) into soldiers. He armed the Diogmitae,\(^6\) besides, and even hired auxiliaries from among the Germans for service against Germans. And besides all this, he proceeded with all care to enrol legions \(^7\) for the Marcomannic and German wars. And lest all this prove burdensome to the provinces, he held an auction of the palace furnishings in the Forum of the Deified Trajan, as we have related,\(^8\) and sold there, besides robes and goblets and golden flagons, even statues and paintings by great artists. He overwhelmed the Marcomanni while they were crossing the Danube,\(^9\) and restored the plunder to the pro-

\(^{III\text{ Concordia}}\); see C.I.L., iii. 1980. They were afterwards called Legio \text{II} and \text{III Italica}; see Dio, lv. 24, 4.

\(^8\) See c. xvii. 4-5.

\(^9\) This is probably the victory commemorated by coins of 172 with a representation of Marcus and his soldiers crossing a bridge, presumably over the Danube; see Cohen, iii\(^2\), p. 99 f., Nos. 999-1001. Other coins of this year bear the legend \text{Germania Subacta}; see Cohen, iii\(^2\), p. 23, Nos. 215-216. It was in this year too that Marcus took the name Germanicus; see C.I.L., iii. 1450.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

XXII. provincialibus reddidit. gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni Varistae Hermunduri et Quadi Suebi Sarmatae Lacringes et Buri hi aliique 1 cum Victualis Osi Bessi Cobotes Roxolani Bastarnae Alani Peucini Costoboci. imminebat et Parthicum bellum et Britannicum. 2 magno igitur labore etiam suo gentes asperrimas vicit militibus sese imitantibus, ducentibus etiam exercitum legatis et praefectis praetorio, accipitque in deditionem Marcomannos plurimis in Italiam traductis.

3 Semper sane cum optimatibus non solum bellicas res sed etiam civiles, priusquam faceret aliquid, cons-tuit. denique sententia illius praecipua semper haec fuit: "Aequius est ut ego tot talium amicorum consilium sequar, quam ut tot tales amici meam unius voluntatem sequatur". sane quia durus videbatur ex philosophiae institutione Marcus ad militiae labores atque ad omnem vitam graviter carpebat, sed male loquentibus 2 vel sermonem vel litteras respondebat.

7 et multi nobiles bello Germanico sive Marcomannico immo plurimarum gentium interierunt. quibus omnibus statuas in foro Ulpio conlocavit. quare frequenter amici suaserunt, ut a bellis discederet et 3 Romam veniret, sed ille contempsit ac perstitit nec prius recessit quam omnia bella finiret. provincias ex procon-

1 Some name is lost in these words: Petschenig suggests Hariique. 2 loquentum P (P corr. adds dictis); loquentibus (or loquentium vel sermoni) Peter. 3 et omitted in P.

1 Cf. c. xxiv. 3.
2 i.e., his consilium; see Hadr., viii. 9 and note.
3 See note to Hadr., vii. 6.
4 But see c. xxiv. 5 and xxv. 1.
vincials. XXII. Then, from the borders of Illyricum even into Gaul, all the nations banded together against us—the Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri and Quadi, the Suebians, Sarmatians, Lacringes and Buri, these and certain others together with the Victuali, namely, Osi, Bessi, Cobotes, Roxolani, Bastarnae, Alani, Peucini, and finally, the Costoboci. Furthermore, war threatened in Parthia and Britain. Thereupon, by immense labour on his own part, while his soldiers reflected his energy, and both legates and prefects of the guard led the host, he conquered these exceedingly fierce peoples, accepted the surrender of the Marcomanni, and brought a great number of them to Italy.¹

Always before making any move, he conferred with the foremost men² concerning matters not only of war but also of civil life. This saying particularly was ever on his lips: "It is juster that I should yield to the counsel of such a number of such friends than that such a number of such friends should yield to my wishes, who am but one". But because Marcus, as a result of his system of philosophy, seemed harsh in his military discipline and indeed in his life in general, he was bitterly assailed; to all who spoke ill of him, however, he made reply either in speeches or in pamphlets. And because in this German, or Marcomannic, war, or rather I should say in this "War of Many Nations," many nobles perished, for all of whom he erected statues in the Forum of Trajan,³ his friends often urged him to abandon the war and return to Rome. He, however, disregarded this advice and stood his ground, nor did he withdraw before he had brought all the wars to a conclusion.⁴ Several proconsular provinces he
sularibus consulares aut ex consularibus proconsulares 10 aut praetorias pro belli necessitate fecit. res etiam in Sequanis turbatas censura et auctoritate repressit. 11 compositae res et in Hispania, quae per Lusitaniam 12 turbatae erant. filio Commodo accersito ad limitem togam virilem dedit, quare congiarium populo divisit et eum ante tempus consulem designavit.

XXIII. Si quis umquam proscriptus est a praefecto urbi, non libenter acceptit. ipse in largitionibus pecuniae publicae parciissimus fuit, quod laudi potius datur quam reprehensioni, sed tamen et bonis viris pecunias dedit et oppidis labentibus auxilium tulit et tributa vel vectigalia, ubi necessitas cogebat, remisit.

1 Hirschfeld (Wien. Stud., III, p. 116) would insert ex procuratoriiis before praetorias. 2 in omitted in P.

1 i.e., he took them from under the control of the senate and made them imperial provinces governed by legates of consular rank; see note to Hadr., iii. 9.

2 i.e., transferred from the control of the emperor to that of the senate.

3 Either the author fails to understand what he is trying to say here, or an omission in the text must be assumed, such as Hirschfeld's proposed insertion ex procuratoriiis. He seems to mean that certain provinces now received as governors legates of praetorian rank (see note to Hadr., iii. 9). As there is no evidence for the supposition that any provinces were transferred from the "consular" class to the "praetorian," it must be assumed that the provinces in question were previously governed by equestrian procurators. Such a transfer from "procuratory" to "praetorian" provinces was actually made under Marcus in the cases of Raetia and Noricum, to which were sent the two new legions mentioned in c. xxii. 8.

4 Cf. c. xxii. 1.

188
changed into consular,¹ and several consular provinces into proconsular ² or praetorian,³ according to the exigencies of war. He checked disturbances among the Sequani by a rebuke and by his personal influence; and in Spain,⁴ likewise, he quieted the disturbances which had arisen in Lusitania. And having summoned his son Commodus to the border of the empire, he gave him the toga virilis,⁵ in honour 9 Jul., 175 of which he distributed largess among the people,⁶ and appointed him consul before the legal age.⁷

XXIII. He was always displeased at hearing that anyone had been outlawed by the prefect of the city. He himself was very sparing of the public money in giving largess⁸—a fact which we mention rather in praise than in disparagement—but nevertheless he gave financial assistance to the deserving, furnished aid to towns on the brink of ruin,⁹ and, when necessity demanded, cancelled tribute or taxes.¹⁰

¹ See Com., ii. 2; xii. 3; Dio, lxxi. 22, 2. The ceremony took place on the Danube frontier immediately prior to Marcus’ departure for Syria.

² Commemorated on coins of 175 with the legend Liber-alitas Aug(usti) VI; see Cohen, iii², p. 43, Nos. 416-420.

³ Under the empire the minimum age for the consulship seems to have been 33. See also note to Pius, vi. 10.

⁴ Yet his coins record seven different largesses to the populace; see Cohen, iii², p. 41 f., Nos. 401-427. See also c. xxvii. 5 and note. His donation to the soldiers on his accession was unusually large (see c. vii. 9), but on another occasion he is said to have refused the army’s request for a donation; see Dio, lxxi. 3, 3.

⁵ See also c. xi. 3. He also came to the relief of Smyrna when destroyed by an earthquake in 178; see Dio, lxxi. 32, 2.

⁶ In 178 all arrears due the treasury or the privy-purse were cancelled; see Dio, lxxi. 32, 2. This was merely an application of the principle established by Hadrian; see note to Hadr., vii. 6.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

4 absens populi Romani voluptates curari vehementer
5 praecipit per ditissimos editores. fuit enim populo
hie sermo, cum sustulisset ad bellum gladiatores, quod
populum sublatis voluptatibus vellet cogere ad philo-
sophiam. iusserat enim ne mercimoniam impedirentur,
7 tardius pantomimos exhibere nonis¹ diebus. de
amatis pantomimis ab uxore fuit sermo, ut superius
diximus. sed haec omnia per epistolas suas purgavit.
8 idem Marcus sederi in civitatibus vetuit in equis sive
vehiculis. lavacra mixta summovit. mores matro-
unarum compositus diffuentes et iuvenum nobilium.
sacra Serapidis a vulgaritate Pelusiae² summovit.
9 fama fuit sane, quod sub philosophorum specie quidam
rem publicam vexarent et privatos, quod ille purgavit.

XXIV. Erat mos iste Antonino ut omnia crimina
minore supplicio quam legibus plecti solent punirent,
quamvis nonnumquam contra manifestos et gravium
2 criminum reos inexorabilis permaneret. capitales
causas hominum honestorum ipse cognovit, et quidem
summa aequitate, ita ut praetorem reprehenderet, qui

¹ nonis Salm.; non utis P. ² pelosiae P.; Pelusiaca
Novak.

¹ See c. xix.
² Cf. Hadr., xviii. 10.
3 The Serapia, the annual festival of the Egyptian deity
Serapis, was celebrated on 25 April; see Calendar of Philo-
calus (C.I.L., i², p. 262). A festival called Pelusia, celebrating
the annual overflow of the Nile, was held on 20 March; see
Lydus, de Mens., iv. 40. The statement of the biographer
has been explained by Mommsen (C.I.L., i², p. 313) as mean-
ning that the customary licence of the Pelusia was limited in
order to save the festival of Serapis from desecration. But
in view of the interval between the dates this explanation is
not altogether convincing; furthermore, licence is an un-
natural meaning for vulgaritas and sacra Serapidis does not
necessarily refer to the Serapia. The sentence seems rather

190
while absent from Rome he left forceful instructions that the amusements of the Roman people should be provided for by the richest givers of public spectacles, because, when he took the gladiators away to the war, there was talk among the people that he intended to deprive them of their amusements and thereby drive them to the study of philosophy. Indeed, he had ordered that the actors of pantomimes should begin their performances nine days later than usual in order that business might not be interfered with. There was talk, as we mentioned above,¹ about his wife's intrigues with pantomimists; however, he cleared her of all these charges in his letters. He forbade riding and driving within the limits of any city. He abolished common baths for both sexes.² He reformed the morals of the matrons and young nobles which were growing lax. He separated the sacred rites of Serapis from the miscellaneous ceremonies of the Pelusia.³ There was a report, furthermore, that certain men masquerading as philosophers had been making trouble both for the state and for private citizens; but this charge he refuted.

XXIV. It was customary with Antoninus to punish all crimes with lighter penalties than were usually inflicted by the laws; although at times, toward those who were clearly guilty of serious crimes he remained implacable. He himself held those trials of distinguished men which involved the death penalty, and always with the greatest justice. Once, indeed, he rebuked a praetor who heard the pleas of accused men in too summary a fashion, and ordered to mean that the rites of Serapis were isolated from the mass of Egyptian cults celebrated at the Pelusia; so also Wilcken, Klio, ix. p. 131 f.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

cito reorum causas audierat, iubetque illum iterum cognoscere, dignitatis eorum interesse dicens ut ab eo audirentur qui pro populo iudicaret. aequitatem autem etiam circa captos hostes custodivit. infinitos ex gentibus in Romano solo conlocavit. fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluvia impetrata cum siti laborarent.

Voluit Marcomanniam provinciam, voluit etiam Sarmatiam facere et fecisset, nisi Avidius Cassius rebellasset sub eodem in Oriente; atque imperatorem se appellavit, ut quidam dicunt, Faustina volente, quae de mariti valetudine desperaret. alii dicunt ementita morte Antonini Cassium imperatorem se appellasse, cum divum Marcum appellasset. et Antoninus quidem non est satis motus defectione Cassii nec in eius affectus saevit. sed per senatum hostis est iudicatus bonaque eius proscripta per XXV. aerarium publicum. relecto ergo Sarmatico Marcomannicoque bello contra Cassium profectus est. Romae etiam turbae fuerunt, quasi Cassius absente Antonino adventaret. sed Cassius statim interfactus est caputque eius adlatum est ad Antoninum. Marcus tamen non exultavit interfacione Cassii caputque

1 So P, which Lessing restores; rebellasset sub eodem in oriente atque . . . appellasset Peter. 2 nec eis affectus seu P; restored by Peter from Av. Cass., vii. 5. 3 relecto P.

1 Cf. c. xxii. 2.
2 In the war against the Quadi in 174; see Dio, lxxi. 8-10. According to Dio, the thunder-storm was sent by Hermes at the prayer of an Egyptian magician. The Christian legend, on the other hand, declared that the storm was an answer to the prayers of the Twelfth Legion, the Fulminata, entirely composed of Christians; see Xiphilinus in Dio, lxxi. 9.

192
him to hold the trials again, saying that it was a matter of concern to the honour of the accused that they should be heard by a judge who really represented the people. He scrupulously observed justice, moreover, even in his dealings with captive enemies. He settled innumerable foreigners on Roman soil.¹ By his prayers he summoned a thunderbolt from heaven against a war-engine of the enemy, and successfully besought rain for his men when they were suffering from thirst.²

He wished to make a province of Marcomannia and likewise of Sarmatia,³ and he would have done so had not Avidius Cassius just then raised a rebellion in the East.⁴ This man proclaimed himself emperor, some say, at the wish of Faustina, who was now in despair over her husband's health; others, however, say that Cassius proclaimed himself emperor after spreading false rumours of Antoninus' death, and indeed he had called him the Deified. Antoninus was not much disturbed by this revolt, nor did he adopt harsh measures against Cassius' dear ones. The senate, however, declared Cassius a public enemy and confiscated his property to the public treasury. XXV. The Emperor, then, abandoning the Sarmatian and Marcomannic wars, set out against him. At Rome there was a July, 175 panic for fear that Cassius would arrive during Antoninus' absence; but he was speedily slain and his head was brought to Antoninus. Even then, Marcus did not rejoice at Cassius' death, and gave

³ In 175, after a victory so decisive that Marcus was acclaimed Imperator for the eighth time, and took the title Sarmaticus; see Cohen, iii, p. 91 f., Nos. 916-925; C.I.L., viii. 2276.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

4 eius humari iussit. Maecianum etiam, socium 1 Cassii, cui Alexandria erat commissa, exercitus occidit. nam et praefectum praetorio sibi fecerat, qui et ipse oc-
cisus est. in conscius deflectionis vetuit senatum
6 graviter vindicare. simul petuit, ne qui senator tem-
pore principatus sui occideretur, ne eius 2 pollueretur
7 imperium. eos etiam qui deportati fuerant revocari
iussit, cum paucissimi centuriones capite essent puniti.
8 ignovit et civitatis quae Cassio consenserant, ignovit
et Antiochensibus, qui multa in Marcum pro Cassio
9 dixerant. quibus et spectacula et conventus publicos
tulerat et omne 3 contionum genus, contra quos
10 edictum gravissimum misit. seditiosos autem eos et
oratio Marci indicat, indita Mario Maximo, qua ille
11 usus est apud amicos. denique noluit Antiochiam
12 videre cum Syriam peteret. nam nec Cyrrhum voluit
videre, ex qua erat Cassius. postea tamen Antiochiam
vidit. fuit Alexandriae clementer cum his agens. 4

XXVI. Multa egit cum regibus et pacem confirmavit,
sibi occurrentibus cunctis regibus et legatis Persarum.
2 omnibus orientalibus provinciis carissimus fuit. apud
3 multas etiam philosophiae vestigia reliquit. apud
Aegyptios civem se egit et philosophum in omnibus

1 socium suggested by Peter for filium of P, which is cer-
tainly wrong; see c. xxvi. 11; Av. Cass., vii. 4.  2 ne nece
eius Peter, following Madvig. 3 omne Peter 1; omnium P,
Peter. 4 This sentence, which precedes postea . . . vidit
in P, was transposed by Cas.

1 Possibly, though not probably, the jurist L. Volusius
Maecianus (see Pius, xii. 1).
2 For his general policy in the punishment of senators,
see c. x. 6.
3 Faustina and Commodus seem to have accompanied him

194
orders that his head should be buried. Maecianus,\(^1\) Cassius' ally, in whose charge Alexandria had been placed, was killed by the army; likewise his prefect of the guard—for he had appointed one—was also slain. Marcus then forbade the senate to impose any heavy punishment upon those who had conspired in this revolt; and at the same time, in order that his reign might escape such a stain, he requested that during his rule no senator should be executed.\(^2\) Those who had been exiled, moreover, he ordered to be recalled; and there were only a very few of the centurions who suffered the death-penalty. He pardoned the communities which had sided with Cassius, and even went so far as to pardon the citizens of Antioch, who had said many things in support of Cassius and in opposition to himself. But he did abolish their games and public meetings, including assemblies of every kind, and issued a very severe edict against the people themselves. And yet a speech which Marcus delivered to his friends, reported by Marius Maximus, brands them as rebels. And finally, he refused to visit Antioch when he journeyed to Syria,\(^3\) nor would he visit Cyrrhus, the home of Cassius. Later on, however, he did visit Antioch. Alexandria, when he stayed there, he treated with clemency.

XXVI. He conducted many negotiations with kings, and ratified peace with all the kings and satraps of Persia when they came to meet him. He was exceedingly beloved by all the eastern provinces, and on many, indeed, he left the imprint of philosophy. While in Egypt he conducted himself like a

1. Maecianus
2. Those who had been exiled
3. Antioch

on this journey through Syria and Egypt; see c. xxvi. 4 and Com., ii. 3.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

stadiis 1 templis locis. 2 et cum multa Alexandrini in Cassium dixissent fausta, tamen omnibus ignovit et filiam suam apud eos reliquit. Faustinam suam in radicibus montis Tauri in vico Halalae examinitam vi subiti morbi amisit. petiit a senatu ut honores Faustinae aedemque decernenter, laudata eadem, cum impudicitiae fama graviter laborasset. quae Anto-
6 ninus vel nescit vel dissimulavit. novas puellas Faus-
7 tinianas instituit in honorem uxoris mortuae. divam etiam Faustinam a senatu appellatam gratulatus est. 8 quam secum et in aestivis habuerat, ut matrem cas-
9 trorum appellaret. fecit et coloniam vicum in quo obiit Faustina et aedem illi extruxit. sed haec postea aedis Heliogabalo dedicata est.

10 Ipsum Cassium pro clementia occidi passus est, non 11 occidi iussit. deportatus est Heliodorus, filius Cassii, et alii liberum exsilium acceperunt cum bonorum parte. 12 filii autem Cassii et amplius media parte acceperunt paterni patrimonii et auro atque argento adiuti, mulieres autem etiam ornamentis; ita ut Alexandria, filia Cassii, et Druncianus gener liberam vagandi

1 stadiis Peter with Salm.; studiius P, which Mommsen defends. 2 locis P (by error ocis Peter3, from which Mommsen conj. oecis, and Novak, odes).

1 According to Dio, lxxi. 29, 1, her death was by some attributed to suicide.
2 Cf. c. xix.
3 Cf. Pius, viii. 1. See also C.I.L., vi. 10222.
4 Commemorated by coins of Diva Faustina, with the legend Consecratio; see Cohen, iii4, p. 141 f., Nos. 65-83. She also received the name Pia; see the coins and C.I.L., vi. 1019 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 382.
5 After his victory over the Quadi in 174; see Dio, lxxi. 10, 5. The title appears on her coins issued both before and after her deification; see Cohen, iii5, p. 149 f., Nos. 159-167,
private citizen and a philosopher at all the stadia, temples, and in fact everywhere. And although the citizens of Alexandria had been outspoken in wishing Cassius success, he forgave everything and left his daughter among them. And now, in the village of Halala, in the foothills of Mount Taurus, he lost his wife Faustina, who succumbed to a sudden ill-176 ness. He asked the senate to decree her divine honours and a temple, and likewise delivered a eulogy of her, although she had suffered grievously from the reputation of lewdness. Of this, however, Antoninus was either ignorant or affected ignorance. He established a new order of Faustinian girls in honour of his dead wife, expressed his pleasure at her deification by the senate, and because she had accompanied him on his summer campaign, called her “Mother of the Camp”. And besides this, he made the village where Faustina died a colony, and there built a temple in her honour. This, however, was afterwards consecrated to Elagabalus.

With characteristic clemency, he suffered rather than ordered the execution of Cassius, while Heliodorus, the son of Cassius, was merely banished, and others of his children exiled but allowed part of their father’s property. Cassius’ sons, moreover, were granted over half of their father’s estate and were enriched besides with sums of gold and silver, while the women of the family were presented with jewels. Indeed, Alexandria, Cassius’ daughter, and Druncianus, his son-in-law, were allowed to travel wherever

4 The sun-god of Emesa in Syria, whose worship was introduced into Rome by the Emperor Elagabalus; see Carac., xi. 7; Hel., i. 5 f.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

potestatem haberent commendati amitae marito. 13 doluit denique Cassium extinctum, dicens voluisse se sine senatorio sanguine imperium transigere.

XXVII. Orientalibus rebus ordinatis Athenis fuit et initia 1 Ceres 2 adiit, ut se innocentem probaret, et 2 sacrarium solus 3 ingressus est. revertens ad Italiam 3 navigio tempestatem gravissimam passus est. per Brundisium veniens in Italiam togam et ipse sumpsit et milites togatos esse iussit, nec umquam sagati fuerunt 4 sub eo milites. Romam ut venit triumphavit. et inde 4 5 Lavinium prefectus est. Commodum deinde sibi collegam in tribuniciam potestatem iunxit, congiarium populo dedit et spectacula mirifica; dein civilia multa 6 corrExit. gladiatorii muneri sumptus modum fecit. 7 sententia Platonis semper in ore illius fuit, florere civitatis si aut philosophi imperarent aut imperantes 8 philosopharentur. filio suo Bruttii Praesentis filiam iunxit nuptiis celebratis exemplo privatorum, quare etiam congiarium dedit populo.

1 So Novak; initialia P; edd. initialia, with Salm. 2 ceteris P. 3 solus Lessing with Cas.; solum P, Peter. 4 et inde P; inde Lessing; exinde edd.

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1 Cf. c. xxv. 6.  
2 As Hadrian had done; see Hadr., xiii. 1.  
3 See Hadr., xxii. 2-3. His return was commemorated by coins with the legend Fort(una) Red(ux); see Cohen, iii², p. 22, No. 210.  
4 i.e., while they were in Italy.  
5 See note to c. xvii. 3.  
6 On the significance of this appointment see Pius, iv. 8 and note. It is commemorated on coins of Commodus of 177; see Cohen, iii², p. 326 f., Nos. 733-738.  
7 According to Dio, lxxi. 32, 1, each citizen received eight
they wished, and were even put under the protection of the Emperor's uncle by marriage. And further than this, he grieved at Cassius' death, saying that he had wished to complete his reign without shedding the blood of a single senator.¹

XXVII. After he had settled affairs in the East he Sept., 176 came to Athens, and had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries² in order to prove that he was innocent of any wrong-doing, and he entered the sanctuary unattended. Afterwards, when returning to Italy, he encountered a violent storm on the way. Then, reaching Italy by way of Brundisium, he donned the toga³ and bade his troops do likewise, nor indeed during his reign were the soldiers ever clad in the military cloak.⁴ When he reached Nov., 176 Rome he triumphed,⁵ then hastened to Lavinium. Presently he appointed Commodus his colleague in 177 the tribunician power,⁶ bestowed largess upon the people,⁷ and gave marvellous games; shortly thereafter he remedied many civil abuses, and set a limit to the expense of gladiatorial shows. Ever on his lips was a saying of Plato's, that those states prospered where the philosophers were kings or the kings philosophers. He united his son in marriage with the daughter of Bruttius Præsens,⁸ performing the ceremony in the manner of ordinary citizens; and in celebration of the marriage he gave largess to the people.

aurei (one for each year of Marcus' absence from Rome), a largess greater than had ever been given before.⁹ Her name was Bruttia Crispina; see Dio, lxxi. 31, 1, and C.I.L., x. 408 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 1117. The marriage was commemorated by coins, Cohen, iii², p. 388 f. She was afterwards banished on a charge of adultery and put to death in exile; see Dio, lxxii. 4, 6.
MARCUS ANTONINUS

9 Dein ad conficiendum bellum conversus in administracione eius belli obiit, labentibus iam filii moribus ab instituto suo. triennio bellum postea cum Marcomannis Hermunduris Sarmatis Quadis etiam egit et si anno uno superfuisset, provincias ex his fecisset. ante biduum quam exspiraret, admissis amicis dicitur ostendisse sententiam de filio eandem quam Philippus de Alexandro, cum de hoc male sentiret, addens nimium se aegre ferre filium superstitem relinquuentem. nam iam Commodus turpe se et cruentum ostentabat.

XXVIII. Mors autem talis fuit: cum aegrotare coepisset, filium advocavit atque ab eo primum petiit ut belli reliquis non contemneret, ne videretur rem publicam prodere. et, cum filius ei respondisset cupere se primum sanitatem, ut vellet permissit, petens tamen ut exspectasset paucos dies, haud simul proficiscere-tur. deinde abstinuit victu potuique mori cupiens auxitque morbum. sexta die vocatis amicis et ridens res humanas, mortem autem contemnens ad amicos

1 triennio bellum... egit Klein would transpose to precede Dein... ab instituto suo. 2nimium Peter with Salm.; minime P. 3So Cas.; relinquens P, whence Novak: se aegre ferre quod discederet f. s. relinquens. 4aut P. 5victu Jordan; ui P.

1He and Commodus left Rome for Pannonia on 3 August, 178; see Com., xii. 6. This war seems to have been called the Expeditio Germanica Secunda (C.I.L., ii. 4114, and vi. 8541 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 1140 and 1578) or the Expeditio Sarmatica (C.I.L., x. 408 = Dessau, 1117).

2Probably uttered during the period of estrangement when Alexander was living in Illyricum; see Plut., Alex., ix.

Cf. Com., i. 7-9.

200
He then turned his attention to completing the war, in the conduct of which he died. During this time the behaviour of his son steadily fell away from the standard the Emperor had set for himself. For three years thereafter he waged war with the Marcomanni, the Hermunduri, the Sarmatians, and the Quadi, and had he lived a year longer he would have made these regions provinces. Two days before his death, it is said, he summoned his friends and expressed the same opinion about his son that Philip expressed about Alexander when he too thought poorly of his son, and added that it grieved him exceedingly to leave a son behind him. For already Commodus had made it clear that he was base and cruel.

XXVIII. He died in the following manner: When he began to grow ill, he summoned his son and besought him first of all not to think lightly of what remained of the war, lest he seem a traitor to the state. And when his son replied that his first desire was good health, he allowed him to do as he wished, only asking him to wait a few days and not leave at once. Then, being eager to die, he refrained from eating or drinking, and so aggravated the disease. On the sixth day he summoned his friends, and with derision for all human affairs and scorn for death, said to them: "Why do you weep

His death occurred at Sirmium (Mitrowitz on the Save) according to Tertullian, Apologet., 25, at Vindobona (Vienna) according to Victor, Caes., xvi. 12, Epit., xvi. 12. According to a story preserved by Dio (lxxi. 33, 4), his physicians poisoned him in order to please Commodus. It has been supposed that he died of the plague (cf. §§ 4 and 8), but without very good reason.

Apparently, to abandon the campaign; cf. Com., iii. 5.
Marcus Antoninus

dixit, "quid de me\(^1\) fletis et non magis de pestilentia et communi morte cogitatis?" et cum illi vellent recedere, ingemescens ait, "si iam me dimittitis, vale vobis dico vos praecedens". et cum ab eo quae-reretur, cui filium commendaret, ille respondit "vo-7 bis, si dignus fuerit, et dis immortalibus". exercitus cognita mala valetudine vehementissime dolebant, quia illum unice amarunt. septimo die gravatus est et solum filium admisit. quem statim dimisit, ne in eum morbus transiret. dimitto filio caput operuit
10 quasi volens dormire, sed nocte animam efflavit. fertur filium mori voluisse, cum eum talem videret futurum qualis exstitit post eius mortem, ne, ut ipse dicebat, similis Neroni Caligulae et Domitiano esset.

XXIX. Crimini ei datum est quod adulteros uxoris promoverit, Tertullum et Tutilium\(^2\) et Orfitum et Moderatum, ad varios honores, cum Tertullum et prandentem cum uxor eprehenderit. de quo mimus in scaena prae sente Antonino dixit, cum stupidus nomen adulteri uxor a servo quaereret, et ille diceret ter "Tullus," et adhuc stupidus quaereret, respondit ille "iam tibi dixi ter, Tullus dicitur". et de hoc quidem multa populus, multa etiam alii dixerunt patientiam Antonini incusantes.

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\(^1\) So Peter, following Jordan; quidem P\(^1\); quid me P corr.
\(^2\) Tutilium Scaliger; utilium P.

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\(^1\) See note to \(\text{xiii. 3.}\).
\(^2\) Cf. Dio, lxxi. 34, 1, and Herodian, i. 4.
\(^3\) Cf. Dio, lxxi. 33, 4. \(^4\) See note to \(\text{Com.}, \text{viii. 1.}\).
for me, instead of thinking about the pestilence\textsuperscript{1} and about death which is the common lot of us all?" And when they were about to retire he groaned and said: "If you now grant me leave to go, I bid you farewell and pass on before". And when he was asked to whom he commended his son he replied: "To you,\textsuperscript{2} if he prove worthy, and to the immortal gods". The army, when they learned of his sickness, lamented loudly, for they loved him singularly. On the seventh day he was weary and admitted only his son, and even him he at once sent away in fear that he would catch the disease. And when his son had gone, he covered his head as though he wished to sleep and during the night he breathed his last.\textsuperscript{3} It is said that he foresaw that after his\textsuperscript{17 Mar.} death Commodus would turn out as he actually did,\textsuperscript{180} and expressed the wish that his son might die, lest, as he himself said, he should become another Nero, Caligula, or Domitian.

XXIX. It is held to Marcus' discredit that he advanced his wife's lovers, Tertullus and Tutilius\textsuperscript{4} and Orsitus and Moderatus, to various offices of honour, although he had caught Tertullus in the very act of breakfasting with his wife. In regard to this man the following dialogue was spoken on the stage in the presence of Antoninus himself. The Fool asked the Slave the name of his wife's lover and the Slave answered "Tullus" three times; and when the Fool kept on asking, the Slave replied, "I have already told you thrice Tullus is his name".\textsuperscript{5} But the city-populace and others besides talked a great deal about this incident and found fault with Antoninus for his forbearance.

\textsuperscript{5} Ter-tullus means "Thrice-Tullus".

203
MARCUS ANTONINUS

4 Ante tempus sane mortis, priusquam ad bellum Marcomannicum rediret, in Capitolio iuravit nullum senatorem se sciente occisum, cum etiam rebelliones dixerit se servaturumuisse si scisset. nihil enim magis et timuit et deprecatus est quam avaritiae famam, de qua se multis epistulis purgat. dederunt et vitio quod fictus 1 fuisset nec tam simplex quam videretur, aut quam vel Pius vel Verus fuisset. dederunt etiam criminiquod aulicam adrogantiam confirmaverit summovendo amicos a societate communi et a convivis.

8 Parentibus consecrationem decrevit. amicos parentum etiam mortuos statuis ornavit.

9 Suffragatoribus non cito credidit, sed semper diu quaesivit quod erat verum.

10 Enisa est Fabia ut Faustina mortua in eius matrimonium coiret. sed ille concubinam sibi adscivit procuratoris uxoris suae filiam, ne tot liberis superduceret novercam.

1 fictus Novak; ei uictus P; effectus Peter with Erasmus.

1 See c. x. 6; xxv. 5-6; xxvi. 13.
2 He had been betrothed to her in his youth; see c. iv. 5.
Previous to his death, and before he returned to the Marcomannic war, he swore in the Capitol that no senator had been executed with his knowledge and consent, and said that had he known he would have spared even the insurgents.\(^1\) Nothing did he fear and deprecate more than a reputation for covetousness, a charge of which he tried to clear himself in many letters. Some maintain—and held it a fault—that he was insincere and not as guileless as he seemed, indeed not as guileless as either Pius or Verus had been. Others accused him of encouraging the arrogance of the court by keeping his friends from general social intercourse and from banquets.

His parents were deified at his command, and even his parents’ friends, after their death, he honoured with statues.

He did not readily accept the version of those who were partisans in any matter, but always searched long and carefully for the truth.

After the death of Faustina, Fabia\(^2\) tried to manœuvre a marriage with him. But he took a concubine instead, the daughter of a steward of his wife’s, rather than put a stepmother over so many children.
VERUS
IULII CAPITOLINII

I. Scio plerosque ita vitam Marci ac Veri litteris atque historiae dedicasse ut priorem Verum intimandum legentibus darent, non imperandi secutos or-dinem sed vivendi; ego vero, quod prior Marcus imperare coepit, dein Verus, qui superstite perit Marco, priorem Marcum dehinc Verum credidi celebrandum.

Igitur Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus, qui ex Hadriani voluntate Aelius appella-tus est, ex Antonini coniunctione Verus et Antoninus, neque inter bonos neque inter malos principes ponitur. quem constat non inhorruisse vitis, non abundasse virtutibus, vixisse deinde non in suo libero principatu sed sub Marco in simili ac paris maiestatis imperio, a cuius secta lascivia morum et vitae licentioris nimie-

1 secutus P1; secuti sunt P corr. 2 caelius P. 3 pari P.

1 i.e. Marcus succeeded to the throne, and then associated Verus with himself as partner in the imperial power; see Marc., vii. 5.
2 He never bore all these names at the same time. For his names before and after his adoption by Pius see note to Hadr. xxiv. 1.
3 Cf. Ael., vii. 2. It would be more accurate to say that he
VERUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Most men, I well know, who have enshrined in literature and history the lives of Marcus and Verus, have made Verus known to their readers first, following the order, not of their reigns, but of their lives. I, however, have thought, since Marcus began to rule first and Verus only afterwards, and Verus died while Marcus still lived on, that Marcus' life should be related first, and then that of Verus.

Now, Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus—called Aelius by the wish of Hadrian, Verus and Antoninus because of his relationship to Antoninus—is not to be classed with either the good or the bad emperors. For, in the first place, it is agreed that if he did not bristle with vices, no more did he abound in virtues; and, in the second place, he enjoyed, not unrestricted power, but a sovereignty on like terms and equal dignity with Marcus, from whom he differed, however, as far as morals went, both in the laxity of his principles and received the name Aelius when he was adopted by Pius, who had received it on his adoption by Hadrian.

4 Cf. Marc., vii. 7.
VERUS

5 tate dissensit. erat enim morum simplicium et qui adumbrare nihil posset.
6 Huic naturalis pater fuit Lucius Helius Verus, qui ab Hadriano adoptatus primus Caesar est dictus et in 7 eadem statione constituens periiit. avi ac proavi et 8 item maiores plurimi consulares. natus est Lucius Romae in praetura patris sui XVIII kal. Iuniarium 9 die quo et Nero, qui rerum potitus est. origo eius paterna pleraque ex Etruria fuit, materna ex Faventia.

II. Hac prosapia genitus patre ab Hadriano adoptato in familiam Aeliam devenit mortuoque patre Caesare 2 in Hadriani familia remansit. a quo Aurelio datus est adoptandus, cum sibi ille Pium filium Marcum 3 nepotem esse voluisset posteriati satis providens, et ea quidem lege ut filiam Pii Verus acciperet, quae data est Marco idcirco quia hic adhuc impar videbatur 4 aetate, ut in Marci vita exposita, duxit autem uxorem Marci filiam Lucillam. educatus est in domo 5 Tiberiana. audivit Scaurinum grammaticum Latinum, Scauri filium, qui grammaticus Hadriani fuit, Graecos Telephum 1 atque Hephaestionem, 2 Harpocrasionem, 3

\[\text{1 talhephum P.} \quad \text{2 Hefaestionem Peter; fertionem P.} \quad \text{3 arpocationem P\textsuperscript{b}; acprocationem P\textsuperscript{a}.}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{1 See Marc., xvi. 4; xxix. 6; c. iii. 7.} \\
\text{2 See Ael., i. 2 and note.} \\
\text{3 Cf. Hadr., xxiii. 16; Ael., iv. 7.} \\
\text{4 His grandfather was L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 106 (cf. Ael., ii. 7); his great-grandfather was probably L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 78.} \\
\text{5 The year is established by c. ii. 10, for he was adopted by Pius in Jan., 138; the day is confirmed by the Calendar of Philocalus; see C.I.L., ii, p. 278.} \\
\text{6 Cf. Suet., Nero, vi. 1.} \\
\text{7 Cf. Ael., ii. 8.} \\
\text{8 See note to c. i. 3.}
\end{align*}\]

208
the excessive licence of his life. For in character he was utterly ingenuous and unable to conceal a thing.\footnote{1}

His real father, Lucius Aelius Verus (who was adopted by Hadrian), was the first man to receive the name of Caesar\footnote{2} and die without reaching a higher rank.\footnote{3} His grandfathers and great-grandfathers\footnote{4} and likewise many other of his ancestors were men of consular rank. Lucius himself was born at Rome while his father was praetor, on the eighteenth day\footnote{5} Dec., before the Kalends of January,\footnote{6} the birthday of\footnote{7} Nero as well—who also held the throne. His father's family came mostly from Etruria, his mother's from Faventia.\footnote{8}

II. Such, then, was his real ancestry; but when his father was adopted by Hadrian he passed into the Aelian family,\footnote{9} and when his father Caesar died, he still stayed in the family of Hadrian. By Hadrian he was given in adoption to Aurelius,\footnote{10} when Hadrian, making abundant provision for the succession, wished to make Pius his son and Marcus his grandson; and he was given on the condition that he should espouse the daughter of Pius.\footnote{11} She was later given to Marcus, however, as we have related in his life,\footnote{12} because Verus seemed too much her junior in years, while Verus took to wife Marcus' daughter Lucilla.\footnote{13} He was reared in the House of Tiberius,\footnote{14} and received instruction from the Latin grammarian Scaurinus (the son of the Saurus\footnote{15} who had been Hadrian's grammarian), the Greeks Telephus, Hephaestio, Harpocratio, the rhetoricians Apollonius, Caninius

\footnote{9} i.e. Pius; see \textit{Marc.}, v. 1 and note.
\footnote{10} See \textit{Ael.}, vi. 9.
\footnote{11} Cf. \textit{Marc.}, vi. 2.
\footnote{12} See \textit{Marc.}, vii. 7; ix. 4.
\footnote{13} See note to \textit{Pius}, x. 4.
\footnote{14} A famous \textit{grammaticus}; see Plin., \textit{Epist.}, v. 11; Gellius, xi. 15, 3.
VERUS

rhetores Apollonium, Celerem Caninium et Herodem Atticum, Latinum Cornelium Frontonem; philo-
sophos Apollonium et Sextum. hos omnes amavit
unice, atque ab his invicem dilectus est, nec tamen
ingeniosus ad litteras. amavit autem in pueritia
versus facere, post orationes. et melior quidem
orator suisse dicitur quam poeta, immo, ut verius
dicam, peior poeta quam rhetor. nec desunt qui di-
cant eum adiutum ingenio amicorum, atque ab aliis
ei illa ipsa, qualiacumque sunt, scripta; si quidem
multos disertos et eruditos semper secum habuisse
dicitur, educatorem habuit Nicomedem. fuit voluptu-
tarius et nimis laetus et omnibus deliciis ludis iocis
decenter aptissimus. post septimum annum in famil-
iam Aureliam traductus Marci moribus et auctoritate
formatus est. amavit venatus palaestras et omnia
exercitia iuventutis. fuitque privatus in domo im-
peratoria viginti et tribus annis.

III. Qua die togam virilem Verus accepit, An-
toninus Pius ea occasione qua patris templum dedi-
cabat populo liberalis fuit. mediusque inter Pium et
Marcum idem resedit, cum quaestor populo munus
daret. post quaesturam statim consul est factus cum

1 So P; voluptuarius Peter. 2 se resedit P.

1 See Marc., ii. 4. 2 See Pius, x. 4; Marc., ii. 7.
3 See Marc., iii. 2. 4 i.e. was adopted by Pius.
5 i.e. he did not hold any public office, although it was
usual to bestow such on young members of the imperial house.
VERUS II. 6—III. 3

Celer, Herodes Atticus, and the Latin Cornelius Fronto, his teachers in philosophy being Apollonius and Sextus. For all of these he cherished a deep affection, and in return he was beloved by them, and this despite his lack of natural gifts in literary studies. In his youth he loved to compose verses, and later on in life, orations. And, in truth, he is said to have been a better orator than poet, or rather, to be strictly truthful, a worse poet than speaker. Nor are there lacking those who say that he was aided by the wit of his friends, and that the things credited to him, such as they are, were written by others; and in fact it is said that he did keep a number of eloquent and learned men. Nicomedes was his tutor. He was devoted to pleasure, too care-free, and very clever, within proper bounds, at every kind of frolic, sport, and raillery. At the age of seven he passed into the Aurelian family, and was moulded by the manners and influence of Marcus. He loved hunting and wrestling, and indeed all the sports of youth. And at the age of three and twenty he was still a private citizen in the imperial household.

III. On the day when Verus assumed the toga virilis Antoninus Pius, who on that same occasion dedicated a temple to his father, gave largess to the people; and Verus himself, when quaestor, gave the people a gladiatorial spectacle, at which he sat between Pius and Marcus. Immediately after his quaestorship he hold; see Pius, vi. 9-10 and note. Verus was evidently quaestor in 153.

6 This was probably in 145, for the toga virilis was assumed by Marcus in his fifteenth year; see Marc. iv. 5. Antoninus' coins of 145 bear the legend Liberalitas IV; see Cohen, ii, p. 318 f., Nos. 490-501.

7 See Pius, vi. 10.
VERUS

Sextio\(^1\) Laterano. interiectis annis cum Marco fratre
4 iterum factus est consul. diu autem et\(^2\) privatus
fuit et ea honorificentia caruit qua Marcus ornabatur.
5 nam neque\(^3\) in senatu ante quaesturam sedit neque
in itinere cum patre sed cum praefecto praetorii
vectus est nec aliud ei honorificentiae adnomen ad-
iunctum est quam quod Augusti filius appellatus est.
6 fuit studiosus etiam circensium haud aliter quam
glomeratorii munera. hic cum tantis deliciarum et
luxuriae quateretur erroribus, ab Antonino videtur ob
hoc retentus quod eum pater ita in adoptionem Pii
transire iussuerat ut nepotem appellaret. cui, quan-
tum videtur, idem exhibuit, non amorem. amavit
7 tamen Antoninus Pius simplicitatem ingenii purita-
temque\(^4\) vivendi hortatusque est ut imitaretur et
8 fratrem. defuncto Pio Marcus in eum omnia contulit,
participatu etiam imperatoriae potestatis induto,
sibique consortem fecit, cum illi soli senatus delulisset
imperium.

IV. Dato igitur imperio et indulta tribunicia potes-
tate, post consulatus\(^5\) etiam honorem delatum Verum
vocari praecipit, suum in eum transferens nomen,
2 cum ante Commodus vocaretur. Lucius quidem

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\(^1\) Sextio Peter with Clinton; \(\textit{sestilio}\) P. \(^2\) \(\textit{ei}\) P. \(^3\) \(\textit{nam neque}\) Jordan; \(\textit{namque}\) P. \(^4\) \(\textit{puritatemque}\) P, perhaps a
corruption; Peter suggests \(\textit{hilaritatemque}\). \(^5\) \(\textit{post consulatus}\) Petrarch; \(\textit{proconsulatos}\) P\(^1\); \(\textit{proconsulatus}\) P corr.

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\(^1\) See \textit{Marc.}, vi. 3-6.
\(^2\) This is confirmed by inscriptions, \textit{e.g.}, \textit{C.I.L.}, iii. 3843 =
Dessau, \textit{Ins. Sel.}, 358.

212
was made consul, with Sextius Lateranus as his colleague, and a number of years later he was created consul for a second term together with his brother Marcus. For a long time, however, he was merely a private citizen and lacked the marks of honour with which Marcus was continually being decorated. For he did not have a seat in the senate until he was quaestor, and while travelling, he rode, not with his father, but with the prefect of the guard, nor was any title added to his name as a mark of honour save only that he was called the son of Augustus. He was fond of circus-games no less than of gladiatorial spectacles. And although he was weakened by such follies of debauchery and extravagance, nevertheless Pius retained him as a son, for the reason, it seems, that Hadrian, wishing to call the youth his grandson, had ordered Pius to adopt him. Towards Pius, so far as it appears, Verus showed loyalty rather than affection. Pius, however, loved the frankness of his nature and his unspoiled way of living, and encouraged Marcus to imitate him in these. When Pius died, Marcus bestowed all honours upon Verus, even granting him a share in the imperial power; he made him his colleague, moreover, when the senate had presented the sovereignty to him alone.

IV. After investing him with the sovereignty, then, and installing him in the tribunician power, and after rendering him the further honour of the consulship, Marcus gave instructions that he be named Verus, transferring his own name to him, whereas previously he had been called Commodus. In return for this,

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3 See note to c. i. 5.  
4 Cf. Marc., vii. 5.  
5 See note to Pius, iv. 7.  
6 On his name see note to Hadr., xxiv. 1.  

213
VERUS

Marco vicem reddens si quid susciperet obsecutus ut legatus proconsuli vel praeses imperatori. iam primum enim pro ambobus ad milites est locutus et pro consensu imperii graviter se et ad Marci mores egit.

ubi vero in Syriam profectus est, non solum licentia vitae liberioris sed etiam adulteriis et iuvenum amoribus infamatus est; si quidem tantae luxuriae fuisset dicitur ut etiam, posteaquam de Syria rediit, popinam domi instituerit, ad quam post convivium Marci devertebat, ministrantibus sibi omni genere turpium personarum. fertur et nocte perpeti alea lusisse, cum in Syria concepisset id vitium, atque in tantum vitiorum Gaianorum et Neronianorum ac Vitellianorum fuisse aemulum, ut vagaretur nocte per tabernas ac lupanaria oblecto capite cucullione vulgari viatorio et comissaretur cum triconibus, committeret rixas, dissimulans quis esset, saeppeque efflicium livida facie redisse et in tabernis anitum, cum sese absconderet. iaciebat et nummos in popinas maximos, quibus calices frangeret. amavit et aurugas,

1 Thus Lenze; si susciperet obsecutus Peter.  
2 So Damsté; Marcus pro ambobus P.  
3 pro consensu imperii Jordan; pro consensus imperio P.  
4 Syria P, Peter.  
5 So Winterfeld; iuuentis P; iuuentutis P corr.; incestit Peter.  
6 posteaquam Petrarch; quam posteaa P, Peter.  
7 deueretebat P, which Lessing restores; diuertebat edd.

1 i.e. the praetorian guard; see Marc., vii. 9.  
2 See note to Marc., viii. 10.  
3 Cf. Marc., viii. 12.  
4 This is told about Nero (Tac., Ann., xiii. 25; Suet., Nero, xxvi. ; Dio, lxi. 8), but not, at least by extant authors, about 214.
VERUS IV. 3-8

Verus obeyed Marcus, whenever he entered upon any undertaking, as a lieutenant obeys a proconsul or a governor obeys the emperor. For, at the beginning, he addressed the soldiers in his brother's behalf as well as his own, and in consideration of the joint rule he conducted himself with dignity and observed the moral standard that Marcus had set up.

When he set out for Syria, however, his name was smirched not only by the licence of an unbridled life, but also by adulteries and by love-affairs with young men. Besides, he is said to have been so depraved as to install a cook-shop in his home after he returned from Syria, and to repair thither after Marcus' banquets and have all manner of foul persons serve him. It is said, moreover, that he used to dice the whole night through, after he had taken up that vice in Syria, and that he so rivalled Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius in their vices as to wander about at night through taverns and brothels with only a common travelling-cap for a head-covering, revel with various rowdies, and engage in brawls, concealing his identity the while; and often, they say, when he returned, his face was beaten black and blue, and once he was recognised in a tavern even though he had hidden himself. It was his wont also to hurl large coins into the cook-shops and therewith smash the cups. He was very fond also of charioteers, favouring the "Greens". He held gladiatorial

Caligula or Vitellius. The same thing is also told about Otho (Suet., Otho, ii. 1) and Commodus (Com., iii. 7).

The teams and drivers competing in the races were supplied by four racing syndicates, named, after the colours which they adopted, the "Greens," the "Blues," the "Reds," and the "Whites". Caligula and Nero were also partisans of the "Greens"; see Suet., Cal., iv, 2, and Nero, xxii.
9 Prasino favens. gladiatorum etiam frequentius pugnas in convivio habuit, trahens cenas in noctem et in toro convivali condormiens, ita ut levatus cum stro-matibus in cubiculum perferretur. somni fuit permodici, digestionis facillimae.

11 Sed Marcus haec omnia bene sciens 1 dissimulabat V. pudore 2 illo ne reprehenderet fratrem. et notissimum eius quidem fertur tale convivium, in quo primum duodecim accubuisse dicitur, cum sit notissimum dictum de numero convivorum "septem convivium, 2 novem vero convicium". donatos autem pueros de-coros qui ministrabant singulis, donatos etiam structores et lances singulis quibusque, donata et viva animalia vel cicurum vel ferarum avium vel quadrupedum, 3 quorum cibi adpositi erant, donatos etiam calices singulis per singulas potiones, murrinos et crystallinos Alexandrinos, quotiens bibitum est; data etiam aurea atque argentea pocula et gemmata, coronas quin etiam datas lemniscis aureis interpositis et alieni temporis 4 floribus, data et vasa aurea cum unguentis ad speciem 4 alabastrorum, data et vehicula cum mulabus ac mili-onibus cum iuncturis argenteis, ut ita de convivio 5 redirent. omne autem convivium aestimatim dicitur 6 sexagies centenis milibus sestertiorum. hoc convivium posteaquam Marcus audivit, ingemuisse dicitur et 7 doluisse publicum fatum. post convivium lusum

1 So Oberdick; omnia nesciens P; omnia non nesciens Peter.
2 So Novak; prae (R in P) before pudore Peter. 3 So P; quadrupedium B, Peter. 4 So P°; alienis temporibus P corr.

1 This saying is not found elsewhere; all the evidence, both literary and monumental, shows that nine was the normal number. There was an old principle that the number
bouts rather frequently at his banquets, and after continuing the meal far into the night he would fall asleep on the banqueting-couch, so that he had to be lifted up along with the covers and carried to his bedroom. He never needed much sleep, however; and his digestion was excellent.

But Marcus, though he was not without knowledge of these happenings, with characteristic modesty pretended ignorance for fear of censuring his brother. V. One such banquet, indeed, became very notorious. This was the first banquet, it is said, at which couches were placed for twelve, although there is a very well-known saying about the proper number of those present at a banquet that “seven make a dinner, nine make a din”.

Furthermore, the comely lads who did the serving were given as presents, one to each guest; carvers and platters, too, were presented to each, and also live animals either tame or wild, winged or quadruped, of whatever kind were the meats that were served, and even goblets of murra or of Alexandrine crystal were presented to each man for each drink, as often as they drank. Besides this, he gave golden and silver and even jewelled cups, and garlands, too, entwined with golden ribbons and flowers out of season, golden vases with ointments made in the shape of perfume-boxes, and even carriages, together with mules and muleteers, and trappings of silver, wherewith they might return home from the banquet. The estimated cost of the whole banquet, it is reported, was six million sesterces. And when Marcus heard of this dinner, they say, he groaned and bewailed the fate of the empire. After

at a banquet should not be less than the Graces or greater than the Muses; see Gellius, xiii. 11, 2.

See note to Marc, xvii, 4.
8est tesseris usque ad lucem. et haec quidem post Parthicum bellum, ad quod eum misisse dicitur Mar- cus, ne vel in urbe ante oculos omnium pector, vel ut parsimoniam peregrinatione addisceret, vel ut timore bellico emendantor rediret, vel ut se imper- atorem esse cognosceret. sed quantum profecerit, cum alia vita tum haec quam narravimus cena mon- stravit.

VI. Circensium tantam curam habuit ut frequenter e provincia litteras causa circensium et miserit et acceperit. denique etiam praeens et cum Marco sedens multas a Venetianis est passus injurias, quod turpissime contra eos favoret. nam et Volucris equo Prasinum aureum simulacrum fecerat, quod secum por- tabat. cui quidem passas uvas et nucleos in vicem hordei in praesepe ponebat, quem sagis fuco tinctis coopertum in Tiberianam ad se adduci iubebat, cui mortuo sepulchrum in Vaticano fecit. in huius equi gratiam primum coeperunt equis aurei vel brabia postulari. in tanto autem equus ille honore fuit, ut ei a populo Prasinianorum saepe modius aureorum postularetur.

7 Profectum eum ad Parthicum bellum Marcus Capuam prosecutus est; cumque inde per omnium villas se ingurgitaret, morbo implicitus apud Canusium

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1 add by Salm.; provincialibus P corr.

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1 See note to c. iv. 8. 2 i.e. "Flyer".
3 See note to Pius, x. 4. 4 See Marc., viii. 9 f. and note,
the banquet, moreover, they dined until dawn. And all this was done after the Parthian war, whither Marcus had sent him, it is said, either that he might commit his debaucheries away from the city and the eyes of all citizens, or that he might learn economy by his travels, or that he might return reformed through the fear inspired by war, or, finally, that he might come to realize that he was an emperor. But how much good all this did is shown not only by the rest of his life, but also by this banquet of which we have just told.

VI. Such interest did Verus take in the circus-games that frequently even in his province he despatched and received letters pertaining to them. And finally, even at Rome, when he was present and seated with Marcus, he suffered many insults from the "Blues," because he had outrageously, as they maintained, taken sides against them. For he had a golden statue made of the "Green" horse Volucer, and this he always carried around with him; indeed, he was wont to put raisins and nuts instead of barley in this horse's manger and to order him brought to him, in the House of Tiberius, covered with a blanket dyed with purple, and he built him a tomb, when he died, on the Vatican Hill. It was because of this horse that gold pieces and prizes first began to be demanded for horses, and in such honour was this horse held, that frequently a whole peck of gold pieces was demanded for him by the faction of the "Greens".

When Verus set out for the Parthian war, Marcus accompanied him as far as Capua; from there on he gorged himself in everyone's villa, and in consequence he was taken sick at Canusium, becoming very ill, so that his brother hastened thither to see him. And
aegrotavit. quo ad eum visendum frater contendit. *mul*ta in eius vita ignava et sordida etiam belli tem-
9 pore deteguntur. nam cum interfecit lege, caesis legionibus, Syris defectionem cogitantibus, oriens
vastaretur, ille in Apulia venabatur et apud Corinthum et Athenas inter symphonias et cantica navigat et per
singulas maritimis civitates Asiae Pamphyliae

VII. Ciliciaeque clariores voluptatibus immorabatur. Antiochiam posteaquam venit, ipse quidem se luxuriae
dedidit, duces autem confecerunt Parthicum bellum, Statius Priscus et Avidius Cassius et Martius Verus
per quadriennium, ita ut Babylonem et Medium per-
2 veniret et Armeniam vindicarent. partumque ipsi
nomen est Armeniaci, Parthici, Medici, quod etiam
3 Marco Romae agenti delatum est. egit autem per
quadriennium Verus hiemem Laodiceae, aestatem
4 apud Daphnen, reliquam partem Antiochiae. risui
fuit omnibus Syris, quorum multa ioca in theatro in
eum dicta exstant. vernas in triclinium Saturnalibus
6 et diebus festis semper admissit. ad Euphraten tamen
impulsum comitum suorum sequendo 2 profectus est.
7 Ephesus etiam rediit, ut Lucillam uxorem, missam a
patre Marco, susciperet, et idcirco maxime ne Marcus
cum ea in Syriam veniret ac flagitia eius adnosceret.

1 So Peter; qued eum P1 (m later erased). 2 So Peter2;
impulsum . . . secunde P1; impulsi . . . secum P corr.

1 Aelius Severianus, governor of Cappadocia; see note to
Marc., viii. 6.
2 Governor of Cappadocia; he carried on a successful cam-
paign in Armenia in 164. Later, he informed Marcus of the
revolt of Avidius Cassius (see Dio, lxxi. 23), and afterwards
became Cassius' successor in the governorship of Syria.
3 See Marc., ix. 1-2 and notes. The Armenian campaign

220
now in the course of this war there were revealed many features of Verus' life that were weak and base. For while a legate was being slain,¹ while legions were being slaughtered, while Syria meditated revolt, and the East was being devastated, Verus was hunting in Apulia, travelling about through Athens and Corinth accompanied by orchestras and singers, and dallying through all the cities of Asia that bordered on the sea, and those cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia that were particularly notorious for their pleasure-resorts. VII. And when he came to Antioch, there he gave himself wholly to riotous living. His generals, meanwhile, Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus² for four years conducted the war until they advanced to Babylon and Media, and recovered Armenia.³ He, however, gained the names Armeniaca, Parthicus, and Medicus; and these were proffered to Marcus also, who was then living at Rome. For four years, moreover, Verus passed his 163-166 winters at Laodicea, his summers at Daphne, and the rest of the time at Antioch.⁴ As far as the Syrians were concerned, he was an object for ridicule, and many of the jibes which they uttered against him on the stage are still preserved. Always, during the Saturnalia and on holidays he admitted his more pampered slaves to his dining-room. Finally, however, at the insistence of his staff he set out for the Euphrates, but soon, in order to receive his wife Lucilla, who had been sent thither by her father Marcus,⁵ he returned to Ephesus, going there chiefly in order that Marcus might not come to Syria with was the first one, then followed the campaigns in Parthia and Media.

nam senatui Marcus dixerat se filiam in Syriam de-
ducturum. confecto sane bello regna regibus, pro-
vincias vero comitibus suis regendas dedit. Romam
inde ad triumphum invitus, quod Syriam quasi regnum
suum relinqueret, rediit et pariter cum fratre trium-
phavit, suscepsit a senatu nominibus quae in exercitu
acceperat. furtur praeterea ad amicae vulgaris arbit-
rium in Syria posuisse barbam; unde in eum a Syris
multa sunt dicta.

VIII. Fuit eius fati ut in eas provincias per quas
rediit Romam usque luem secum deferre videretur.
et nata furtur pestilentia in Babylonia, ubi de templo
Apollinis ex arcula aurea, quam miles forte inciderat,
spiritus pestilens evasit, atque inde Parthos orbemque
complesse. sed hoc non Lucii Veri vitio sed Cassii,
a quo contra fidem Seleucia, quae ut amicos milites
nostros receperat, expugnata est. quod quidem inter
ceteros etiam Quadratus, belli Parthici scriptor, in-
cusatis Seleucenis, qui fidem primi ruperant, purgat.

Habuit hanc reverentiam Marci Verus, ut nomina

1 urbemque P.

1 Verus' coins of 166 bear the legends Pax and Pax
Aug(usti).
2 Armenia, Osroëne, and probably other client-kings.
For the coins see note to Marc., ix. 1.
3 Cf. Marc., xii. 8 f.
4 Armeniacus, Parthicus Maximus, and Medicus; see
notes to Marc., ix. 1-2.
5 Probably the famous Panthea; see Marcus, eis iuv
viii. 37; Lucian, Imag., x.; xx.
6 Cf. Marc., xiii. 3 f.
VERUS VII. 8—VIII. 5

her and discover his evil deeds. For Marcus had told the senate that he himself would conduct his daughter to Syria. Then, after the war was finished, he assigned kingdoms to certain kings, and provinces to certain members of his staff, to be ruled, and returned to Rome for a triumph, reluctantly, however, since he was leaving in Syria what almost seemed his own kingdom. His triumph he shared with his brother, and from the senate he accepted the names which he had received in the army. It is said, furthermore, that he shaved off his beard while in Syria to humour the whim of a low-born mistress; and because of this many things were said against him by the Syrians.

VIII. It was his fate to seem to bring a pestilence with him to whatever provinces he traversed on his return, and finally even to Rome. It is believed that this pestilence originated in Babylonia, where a pestilential vapour arose in a temple of Apollo from a golden casket which a soldier had accidentally cut open, and that it spread thence over Parthia and the whole world. Lucius Verus, however, is not to blame for this so much as Cassius, who stormed Seleucia in violation of an agreement, after it had received our soldiers as friends. This act, indeed, many excuse, and among them Quadratus, the historian of the Parthian war, who blames the Seleucians as the first to break the agreement.

Such respect did Verus have for Marcus, that on

7 Asinius Quadratus, author of a history of Rome from the foundation of the city to the reign of Severus Alexander; see Suidas, s.v. Κοσπάτος. His history of the Parthian wars is cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, frag. 12 f.; see also Av. Cass., i. 1.
VERUS

quae sibi delata fuerant cum fratre communicaret die triumphi, quem pariter celebrarunt. reversus e Parthico bello minore circa fratrem cultu fuit Verus; nam et libertis inhonestius indulsit et multa sine fratre disposit. his accessit, quod, quasi reges aliquos ad triumphum adduceret, sic histriones eduxit e Syria, quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus, quem Paridis nomine nuncupavit. villam praetera extruxit in Via Clodia famosissimam, in qua per multos dies et ipse ingenti luxuria debacchatus est cum libertis suis et amicis imparibus, quorum praesentiae nulla inerat reverentia. et Marcum rogavit, qui venit, ut fratri venerabilem morum suorum et imitantam ostenderet sanctitudinem, et quinque diebus in eadem villa resi-
dens cognitionibus continuis operam dedit, aut con-
vivante fratre aut convivia comparante. habuit et Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Mem-
phii, quem et ipsum e Syria veluti tropaeum Parthicum adduxerat, quem Apolaustum nominavit. adduxerat secum et fidicinas et tibicines et histriones scurrasque mimarios et praestigiatores et omnia mancipiorum genera, quorum Syria et Alexandria pascitur voluptate, prorsus ut videretur bellum non Parthicum sed hist-
trionicum confecisses.

1 So Richter; paribus P, Peter.  2 praesentiae nulla Novak; praesentia uilla P; in praesentia nulla Peter.
VERUS VIII. 6-11

the day of the triumph, which they celebrated together, he shared with his brother the names which had been granted to himself.\footnote{1} After he had returned from the Parthian war, however, Verus exhibited less regard for his brother; for he pampered his freedmen\footnote{2} shamefully, and settled many things without his brother’s counsel. Besides all this, he brought actors out of Syria\footnote{3} as proudly as though he were leading kings to a triumph. The chief of these was Maximinus, on whom he bestowed the name Paris. Furthermore, he built an exceedingly notorious villa on the Clodian Way,\footnote{4} and here he not only revelled himself for many days at a time in boundless extravagance together with his freedmen and friends of inferior rank in whose presence he felt no shame, but he even invited Marcus. Marcus came, in order to display to his brother the purity of his own moral code as worthy of respect and imitation, and for five days, staying in the same villa, he busied himself continuously with the examination of law-cases, while his brother, in the meantime, was either banqueting or preparing banquets. Verus maintained also the actor Agrippus, surnamed Memphius, whom he had brought with him from Syria, almost as a trophy of the Parthian war, and named Apolaustus.\footnote{5} He had brought with him, too, players of the harp and the flute, actors and jesters from the mimes, jugglers, and any kind of slave whose entertainment had amused him in Syria and Alexandria, and in such numbers, indeed, that he seemed to have concluded a war, not against Parthians, but against actors.

commemorated in numerous inscriptions, and he received many local honours in the cities of Italy. He was put to death in 189; see Com., vii. 1.

225

VOL. I.
VERUS

IX. Et hanc vitae diversitatem\(^1\) atque alia multa inter Marcum et Verum simultates fecisse, non aperta veritas indicabat, sed occultus rumor insequerat. \(^2\) Verum illud praecipuum quod, cum Libonem quendam patruelem suum Marcus legatum in Syria misisset, atque ille se insolentius quam verecundus senator esseret, dicens ad fratre suum se \(^3\) scripturum esse si quid \(^4\) forte dubitaret, nec Verus praesens pati posset, subitoque morbo notis prope veneni existentibus interisset, visum est nonnullis, non tamen Marco, quod eius fraude putaretur occisus. quae res simul tatum auxit rumorem.

3 Liberti multum potuerunt apud Verum, ut in vita Marci diximus, Geminas et Agaclytus, qui dedit invito Marco Libonis uxorem. denique nuptiis a Vero\(^4\) celebratis Marcus convivio non interfuit. habuit et alios libertos Verus improbos, Coeden et Eclectum ceterosque. quos omnes Marcus post mortem Veri specie honoris abiecit\(^5\) Eclecto retento, qui postea Commodum filium eius occidit.

7 Ad bellum Germanicum, Marcus quod nollet Lucium sine se vel ad bellum mittere vel in urbe dimittere causa luxuriae, simul profecti sunt atque Aquileiam venerunt invitoque Lucio Alpes transgressi,

\(^1\) haec . . . diversitas P. \(^2\) fratem suum se Peter; fratres suos P. \(^3\) qui P. \(^4\) ab Vero Peter; habero P. \(^5\) adiecit P.
IX. This diversity in their manner of life, as well as many other causes, bred dissensions between Marcus and Verus—or so it was bruited about by obscure rumours although never established on the basis of manifest truth. But, in particular, this incident was mentioned: Marcus sent a certain Libo,¹ a cousin of his, as his legate to Syria, and there Libo acted more insolently than a respectful senator should, saying that he would write to his cousin if he happened to need any advice. But Verus, who was there in Syria, could not suffer this, and when, a little later, Libo died after a sudden illness accompanied by all the symptoms of poisoning, it seemed probable to some people, though not to Marcus, that Verus was responsible for his death; and this suspicion strengthened the rumours of dissensions between the Emperors.

Verus' freedmen, furthermore, had great influence with him, as we related in the Life of Marcus,² namely Geminus and Agaclytus. To the latter of these he gave the widow of Libo in marriage against the wishes of Marcus; indeed, when Verus celebrated the marriage ceremony Marcus did not attend the banquet. Verus had other unscrupulous freedmen as well, Coedes and Eclectus and others. All of these Marcus dismissed after Verus' death, under pretext of doing them honour, with the exception of Eclectus, and he afterwards slew Marcus' son, Commodus.³

When the German war broke out, the two Emperors went to the front together, for Marcus wished neither to send Lucius to the war alone, nor yet, because of his debauchery, to leave him in the city. When they had come to Aquileia,⁴ they proceeded to cross the Alps, though this was contrary to Lucius'
8 cum Verus apud Aquileiam tantum venatus\(^1\) convivatusque esset, Marcus autem omnia propinquisset. 9 de quo bello quid\(^2\) per legatos barbarorum pacem petentium, quid\(^3\) per duces nostros gestum est, in 10 Marci vita plenissime disputatum est. composito autem bello in Pannonia urguente Lucio Aquileiam redierunt,\(^4\) quodque urbanas desiderabat Lucius 11 voluptates in urbem festinatum\(^6\) est. sed non longe ab Altino subito in vehiculo morbo, quem apoplexin vocant, corruptus Lucius depositus e vehiculo detracto sanguine Altinum perductus, cum triduo mutus vixisset, apud Altinum periiit.

X. Fuit sermo quod et socrum Faustinam incestas set. et dicitur Faustinae socrus dolo aspersis ostreis veneno extinctus esse, idcirco quod consuetudinem quam cum matre habuerat filiae prodidisset. quamvis et illa fabula quae in Marci vita posita est abhorrens 3 a talis viri vita sit exorta, cum multi etiam uxori eius flagitium mortis adsignent, et idcirco quod Fabiae nimium indulserat Verus, cuius potentiam uxor 4 Lucilla\(^7\) ferre non posset. tanta sane familiaritas inter Lucium et Fabiam sororem fuit, ut\(^8\) hoc quoque usurpaverit rumor quod inierint consilium ad Marcum 5 e vita tollendum, idque cum esset per Agaclytum

\(^1\) uectatus P. \(^2\) quid Novak; quidem P; quidem quid Peter. \(^3\) quidem P. \(^4\) redieret P\(^b\); rediret P\(^s\). \(^5\) quoque P. \(^6\) festinatum Peter; destinatum P. \(^7\) Lucilla Mommsen; lucii P; vel Marci P corr. \(^8\) ut Novak; ut si P; uti Peter.

\(^1\) Marc., xiv. 3-4.  
\(^2\) In Venetia, at the mouth of the Plavis (Piave); its modern name is Altino.

228
VERUS IX. 8—X. 5

desire; for as long as they remained in Aquileia he did nothing but hunt and banquet while Marcus made all the plans. As far as this war was concerned, we have very fully discussed in the Life of Marcus what was accomplished by the envoys of the barbarians when they sued for peace and what was accomplished by our generals. When the war in Pannonia was settled, they returned to Aquileia at Lucius' insistence, and then, because he yearned for the pleasures of the city, they hastened cityward. But not far from Altinum, Lucius, while in his carriage, was suddenly stricken with the sickness which they call apoplexy, and after he had been set down from his carriage and bled, he was taken to Altinum, and here he died, after living for three days unable to speak.

X. There was gossip to the effect that he had violated his mother-in-law Faustina. And it is said that his mother-in-law killed him treacherously by having poison sprinkled on his oysters, because he had betrayed to the daughter the amour he had had with the mother. However, there arose also that other story related in the Life of Marcus, one utterly inconsistent with the character of such a man. Many, again, fastened the crime of his death upon his wife, since Verus had been too complaisant to Fabia, and her power his wife Lucilla could not endure. Indeed, Lucius and his sister Fabia did become so intimate that gossip went so far as to claim that they had entered into a conspiracy to make away with Marcus, and that when this was betrayed to Marcus by the freedman Agaclytus, Faustina cir-

3 Lucilla.
4 Apparently the one contained in Marc., xv. 5, and repeated in the appendix to this biography, c. xi. 2.
libertum proditum Marco, anteventum\(^1\) Lucium a Faustina,\(^2\) ne praeveniret.

6 Fuit decorus corpore, vultu geniatous, barba prope barbarice demissa, procerus et fronte in supercilia ad-
7 ductiore venerabilis. dicitur sane tantam habuisse

8 curam flaventium capillorum, ut capiti auri ramenta

9 respergeret, quo magis coma inluminata flavesceret. lingua impedior fuit, alaeae cupidissimus, vitae

semper luxuriosae atque in pluribus Nero praeter

cruelitatem et ludibia. habuit inter alium luxuriae

apparatum calicem crystallinum nomine Volucrem ex
eius equi nomine quem dilexit, humanae potionis\(^3\)

modum supergressum.

XI. Vixit annis quadraginta duobus. imperavit

cum fratre annis undecim. inlatumque eius corpus

est Hadriani sepulchro, in quo et Caesar pater eius

naturalis sepultus est.

2 Nota est fabula, quam Marci non capit vita, quod

partem vulvae veneno inlitas, cum eam exsecuisset

cultro una parte venenato, Marcus Vero porrexit.

3 sed hoc\(^4\) nefas est de Marco putari, quamvis Veri et

4 cogitata et facta mereantur. quod nos non in medio

relinquemus sed totum purgatum confutatumque

respuimus, cum adhuc post Marcum praeter vestram

clementiam, Diocletiane Auguste, imperatorem talem

nec adulatio videatur potuisse confingere.

\(^1\) ante aduentum P. \(^2\) a Faustina Mommsen; a omitted

in P. \(^3\) positionis P. \(^4\) se ad hoc P.

\(^1\) Cf. Dio, lxxi. 3, 1 = Zonaras, xii. 2. \(^2\) See c. vi. 3.

\(^3\) Evidently an error, for he was born 15 Dec., 130 (c. i.

8), and died in Jan., 169.

\(^4\) An error; his reign was 161-169.

\(^5\) Cf. Marc., xx. 1 and note. \(^6\) See note to c. x. 2.
cumvented Lucius in fear that he might circumvent her.¹

Verus was well-proportioned in person and genial of expression. His beard was allowed to grow long, almost in the style of the barbarians; he was tall, and stately in appearance, for his forehead projected somewhat over his eyebrows. He took such pride in his yellow hair, it is said, that he used to sift gold-dust on his head in order that his hair, thus brightened, might seem yellower. He was somewhat halting in speech, a reckless gambler, ever of an extravagant mode of life, and in many respects, save only that he was not cruel or given to acting, a second Nero. Among other articles of extravagance he had a crystal goblet, named Volucer after that horse of which he had been very fond,² that surpassed the capacity of any human draught.

XI. He lived forty-two years,³ and, in company with his brother, reigned eleven.⁴ His body was laid in the Tomb of Hadrian,⁵ where Caesar, his real father, was also buried.

There is a well-known story,⁶ which Marcus’ manner of life will not warrant, that Marcus handed Verus part of a sow’s womb which he had poisoned by cutting it with a knife smeared on one side with poison. But it is wrong even to think of such a deed in connection with Marcus, although the plans and deeds of Verus may have well deserved it; nor shall we leave the matter undecided, but rather reject it discredited and disproved, since from the time of Marcus onward, with the exception of your Clemency, Diocletian Augustus, not even flattery, it seems, has been able to fashion such an emperor.
AVIDIIUS CASSIIUS

VULCACII GALLICANI V.C.

I. Avidius Cassius, ut quidam volunt, ex familia Cassiorumuisse dicitur, per matrem tamen; homine novo genitus Avidio Severo, qui ordines dukerat et post ad summas dignitates pervenerat. cuius Quadratus in historiis meminit, et quidem graviter, cum illum summum virum et necessarium rei publicae adserit et apud ipsum Marcum praevaldidum. nam iam eo imperante perisse fatali sorte perhibetur.

Hic ergo Cassius ex familia, ut diximus, Cassiorum, qui in curia in C. Iulium conspiraverant, oderat tacite principatum nec ferre poterat imperatorium nomen dicebatque esse eo gravius nomen imperii, quod non posset e re publica tolli nisi per alterum

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1 In P the 9th Vita, i.e. following Pertinax.  
2 homine novo genitus Klebs, Prosp. i. p. 188; homine omitted in P; auo genitus Peter (vulg.).  
3 So P corr.; in ciuilium P.  
4 Thus Peter with Mommsen; esse gravius nomine P.

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1 The honorary title of Vir Clarissimus was regularly borne by senators during the later empire.  
2 In reality his name was C. Avidius Heliodorus. A native of Cyrrhus in Syria (see Dio, lxxi. 22, 2), he was made imperial secretary by Hadrian, and was prefect of Egypt under Antoninus; see C.I.L., iii. 6025 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 2615. He is probably to be identified with the philosophus Heliodorus, mentioned in Hadr., xvi. 10. The expression novus homo
AVIDIUS CASSIUS.

BY

VULCACIUS GALLICANUS.

Of the Senatorial Order.¹

I. Avidius Cassius is said, according to the statements of some, to have belonged to the family of the Cassii, but only on his mother's side. His father was Avidius Severus,² the first of the family to hold public office, who at first commanded in the ranks,³ but later attained to the highest honours of the state. Quadratus⁴ mentions him in his history, and certainly with all respect, for he declares that he was a very distinguished man, both indispensable to the state and influential with Marcus himself; for he succumbed to the decrees of fate, it is said, when Marcus had already begun to rule.

Now Cassius, sprung, as we have said, from the family of the Cassii who conspired against Gaius Julius,⁵ secretly hated the princeps and could not brook even the title of emperor, saying that the name of empire was all the more onerous because an

was regularly used, as here, to denote the man who was the first of his family to hold public office.

³ As chief centurion of a legion, or primus pilus; the expression is regularly used in this sense; see Maxim., iv. 4; Firm., xiv. 2; Prob., iii. 2.
⁴ See note to Ver., viii. 4.
⁵ i.e. C. Cassius Longinus and C. Cassius Parmensis.
AVIDIIUS CASSIIUS

5 imperatorem. denique temptasse in pueritia dicitur extorquere etiam Pio principatum, sed per patrem, virum sanctum et gravem, adfectionem tyrannidis latuisse, habitum tamen semper a ducibus suspectum. 6 Vero autem illum parasse insidias, ipsius Veri epistula indicat, quam inserui. ex epistula Veri: "Avidius Cassius avidus est, quantum et mihi videtur et iam sub avo meo, patre tuo, innotuit, imperii; quem velim observari iubeas. omnia ei nostra displiant, opes non mediocres parat, litteras nostras ridet. te philosopham aniculum, me luxurium morionem vocat. vide quid agendum sit. ego hominem non odi, sed vide ne tibi et liberis tuis non bene consulas, cum tales inter praecinctos habeas qualem milites libenter II. audient, libenter vident." rescriptum Marci de Avidio Cassio: "Epistulam tuam legi, sollicitam potius quam imperatoriam et non nostri temporis. nam si ei divinitus debitur imperium, non poterimus interficere, etiam velimus. scis enim proavi tui dictum: 'successorem suum nullus occidit'. sin minus, ipse sponte sine nostra crudelitate fatales laqueos inciderit. adde quod non possimus reum facere, quem et nullus accusat et, ut ipse dicis, milites

1 Inde, following iam in P, removed by Novak. 2 omnia ei nostra displiant P corr. (ediplicant P1); omnia enim nostra ei d. Peter. 3 consulat P. 4 quam omitted by P1, added by P corr.

1 It is now generally agreed that the letters and other alleged documents contained in this vita are pure forgeries, and the same is in general true about the other documents of this sort in the Historia Augusta; see Intro., p. xx.
2 Pius. The allusion to Pius as the grandfather of Verus is in itself enough to prove the letter a forgery, since it presupposes that Verus was adopted by Marcus, which was not
emperor could not be removed from the state except by another emperor. In his youth, they say, he tried to wrest the empire from Pius too, but through his father, a righteous and worthy man, he escaped detection in this attempt to seize the throne, though he continued to be suspected by Pius' generals. Against Verus he organized a genuine conspiracy, as a letter of Verus' own, which I append, makes clear. Extract from the letter of Verus: "Avidius Cassius is avid for the throne, as it seems to me and as was well-known in the reign of my grandfather, your father; I wish you would have him watched. Everything we do displeases him, he is amassing no inconsiderable wealth, and he laughs at our letters. He calls you a philosophical old woman, me a half-witted spendthrift. Consider what should be done. I do not dislike the man, but look to it lest you take too little heed for yourself and for your children when you keep in active service a man whom the soldiers are glad to hear and glad to see." II. Marcus' answer concerning Avidius Cassius: "I have read your letter, which is that of a disquieted man rather than that of a general, and one not worthy of our times. For if the empire is divinely decreed to be his, we cannot slay him even should we so desire. Remember what your great-grandfather used to say, 'No one ever kills his successor'. And if this is not the case, he will of himself fall into the toils of fate without any act of cruelty on our part. Add that we cannot judge a man guilty whom no one has accused, and whom, as you say yourself, the soldiers love. Furthermore,
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

4 amant. deinde in causis maiestatis haec natura est
5 ut videantur vim pati etiam quibus probatur. scis
enim ipse quid avus tuus Hadrianus dixerit: 'misera
condicio imperatorum, quibus de adfectata tyrannide
nisi occisis non potest credi'. eius autem exemplum
ponere malui quam Domitian, qui hoc primus dixisse
fertur. tyrannorum enim etiam bona dicta non habent
7 tantum auctoritatis quantum debent. sibi ergo
habeat suos mores, maxime cum bonus dux sit et
8 severus et fortis et rei publicae necessarius. nam
quod dicis, liberis meis cavendum esse morte illius;
plane liberi mei perant, si magis amari merebitur
Avidius quam illi, et si rei publicae expediet, Cassium
vivere quam liberos Marci.' haec de Cassio Verus,
haec Marcus.

III. Sed nos hominis naturam et mores breviter ex-
plicabimus. neque enim plura de his sciri possunt,
quorum vitam et inlustrare nullus audet eorum causa
2a quibus oppressi fuerint. addemus autem quemad-
modum ad imperium venerit et quemadmodum sit
3 occisis et ubi victus. proposui enim, Diocletiane
Auguste, omnes qui imperatorum nomen sive iusta
causa sive iustitia habuerunt, in litteras mittere, ut
omnes purpuratos Augustos cognosceres.
4 Fuit his moribus, ut nonnumquam trux et asper
videretur, aliquando mitis et lenis, saepe religiosus,
alias contemperator sacrorum, avidus vini item abstinens,

1 adfectata Petschenig; adfectu P; adfecta Peter.  2 malui
omitted by P, supplied by P corr.  3 siue iustia causa siue
iniusta Novak; siue iniusta P; siue iustae siue iniustae P
corr.; siue insta ex causa siue iniusta Peter with Mommsen.

1 It is attributed to Domitian in Suet., Dom. xxi.
2 Cf. Ael., i. 1.
in cases of treason it is inevitable that even those who have been proved guilty seem to suffer injustice. For you know yourself what your grandfather Hadrian said, 'Unhappy is the lot of emperors, who are never believed when they accuse anyone of pretending to the throne, until after they are slain'. I have preferred, moreover, to quote this as his, rather than as Domitian's, who is reported to have said it first, for good sayings when uttered by tyrants have not as much weight as they deserve. So let Cassius keep his own ways, especially as he is an able general and a stern and brave man, and since the state has need of him. And as for your statement that I should take heed for my children by killing him, by all means let my children perish, if Avidius be more deserving of love than they and if it profit the state for Cassius to live rather than the children of Marcus.’ Thus did Verus, thus did Marcus, write about Cassius.

III. But let us briefly portray the nature and character of the man; for not very much can be known about those men whose lives no one has dared to render illustrious through fear of those by whom they were overcome. We will add, moreover, how he came to the throne, and how he was killed, and where he was conquered. For I have undertaken, Diocletian Augustus, to set down in writing the lives of all who have held the imperial title whether rightfully or without right, in order that you may become acquainted with all the emperors that have ever worn the purple.

Such was his character, then, that sometimes he seemed stern and savage, sometimes mild and gentle, often devout and again scornful of sacred things, addicted to drink and also temperate, a lover of eat-
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

cibi adpetens et inediae patiens, Veneris cupidus et
castitatis amator. nec defuerunt qui illum Catilinam
vocarent, cum et ipse se ita gauderet appellari, addens
futurum se Sergium si dialogistam occidisset, An-
toninum hoc nomine significans, qui tantum enuit
in philosophia, ut iturus ad bellum Marcomannicam,
timentibus cunctis ne quid fatale proveniret, rogatus
sit non adulatione sed serio, ut praecipita philosophiae
ederet. nec ille timuit, sed per ordinem paraeneseos 1
per triduum disputavit. fuit praeterea disciplinae
militaris Avidius Cassius tenax et qui se Marium dici
vellet.

IV. Quoniam de severitate illius dicere coepimus,
multa exstant crudelitatis potius quam severitatis eius
indicia. nam primum milites qui aliquid provincialibus
tulissent per vim, in illis ipsis locis, in quibus peccave-
rant, in crucem sustulit. primus etiam id supplicii genus
invenit, ut stipitem grandem poneret pedum octoginta
et centum 2 et a summo usque ad imum damnatos
ligaret et ab imo focum adponeret incensisque alius
alius fumo, cruciatu, timore etiam necaret. idem
denos catenatos in profuentem mergi iubebat vel in
mare. idem multis desertoribus manus excidit, alius
crura incidit ac poplites, diens maius exemplum esse

1 The words hoc est praecceptionum, which follow paraeneseos
in P, removed by Cas.  2 The words id est materiam,
following centum in P, removed by Cas.

1 Apparently in allusion to Catiline's plan for the murder
of Cicero, although Sallust's description of Catiline seems also
to have been in the writer's mind.
2 The τὰ εἰς ἐαυτῶν in 12 books.

238
ing yet able to endure hunger, a devotee of Venus and a lover of chastity. Nor were there lacking those who called him a second Catiline, and indeed he rejoiced to hear himself thus called, and added that he would really be a Sergius if he killed the philosopher, meaning by that name Antoninus. For the emperor was so illustrious in philosophy that when he was about to set out for the Marcomannic war, and everyone was fearful that some ill-luck might befall him, he was asked, not in flattery but in all seriousness, to publish his "Precepts of Philosophy"; and he did not fear to do so, but for three days discussed the books of his "Exhortations" one after the other. Moreover, Avidius Cassius was a strict disciplinarian and wished to be called a Marius.

IV. And since we have begun to speak of his strictness, there are many indications of what must be called savagery, rather than strictness, on his part. For, in the first place, soldiers who had forcibly seized anything from the provincials he crucified on the very spot where they had committed the crime. He was the first, moreover, to devise the following means of punishment: after erecting a huge post, 180 feet high, and binding condemned criminals on it from top to bottom, he built a fire at its base, and so burned some of them and killed the others by the smoke, the pain, and even by the fright. Besides this, he had men bound in chains, ten together, and thrown into rivers or even the sea. Besides this, he cut off the hands of many deserters, and broke the legs and hips of others, saying that a criminal alive and

As the type of a stern disciplinarian and successful general.
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

6 viventis¹ miserabiliter criminosi quam occisi. cum exercitum duceret, et inscio ipso manus auxiliaria centurionibus suis auctoribus tria milia Sarmatarum neglegentius agentum in Danuvii ripis occidissent et cum praedae ingenti ad eum redissent sperantibus centurionibus praeumium, quod perparva manu tantum hostium segnius agentibus tribunis et ignorantibus occidissent, rapi eos iussit et in crucem tolli servilique supplicio adfici, quod exemplum non exstabat, dicens evenire potuisse ut essent insidiae, ac periret Romani 7 imperii reverentia. et cum ingens seditio in exercitu² orta esset, processit nudus campestri solo tectus et ait, "Percutite," inquit, "me, si audetis, et corruptae 8 disciplinae facinus addite". tunc conquiescentibus 9 cunctis meruit timeri, quia ipse³ non timuit. quae res tantum disciplinae Romanis addidit, tantum terroris barbaris iniecit, ut pacem annorum centum ab Antonino absente peterent; si quidem viderant damnatos Romani ducis iudicio etiam eos qui contra fas vicerant.

V. De hoc multa gravia contra militum licentiam facta inveniuntur apud Aemiliium Parthenianum, qui adfectatores tyrannis iam inde a veteribus historiae tradidit. nam et virgis caesos in foro et in mediis

¹ auuentis (a later erased) P; auiuentis Peter² with Baehrens. ² in exercitum orta P, Peter. ³ ipse om. by Peter.

¹ Known only from this citation.
wretched was a more terrible example than one who had been put to death. Once when he was commanding the army, a band of auxiliaries, at the suggestion of their centurions and without his knowledge, slaughtered 3,000 Sarmatians, who were camping somewhat carelessly on the bank of the Danube, and returned to him with immense plunder. But when the centurions expected a reward because they had slain such a host of the enemy with a very small force while the tribunes were passing their time in indolence and were even ignorant of the whole affair, he had them arrested and crucified, and punished them with the punishment of slaves, for which there was no precedent; "It might," he said, "have been an ambush, and the barbarians' awe for the Roman Empire might have been lost." And when a fierce mutiny arose in the camp, he issued forth clad only in a wrestler's loin-cloth and said: "Strike me, if you dare, and add the crime of murder to breach of discipline". Then, as all grew quiet, he was held in well deserved fear, because he had shown no fear himself. This incident so strengthened discipline among the Romans and struck such terror into the barbarians, that they besought the absent Antoninus for a hundred years' peace, since they had seen even those who conquered, if they conquered wrongfully, sentenced to death by the decision of a Roman general.

V. Many of the stern measures he took to put down the licence of the soldiers are recorded in the works of Aemilius Parthenianus, who has related the history of the pretenders to the throne from ancient times even to the present. For example, after openly beating them with the lictors' rods in the forum and
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

castris securi percussit, qui ita meruerunt, et manus
3 multis amputavit. et praeter laridum ac buccellatum
atque acetum militem in expeditione portare prohi-
buit et si aliud quippiam repperit luxuriem non levi
4 supplico adfecit. exstat de hoc epistula divi Marci
5 ad praefectum suum talis: “Avidio Cassio legiones
Syriacas dedi diffuentes luxuria et Daphnidis mori-
bus agentes, quas totas exsaldantes se repperisse Cae-
6 sonius Vectilianus scripsit. et puto me non errasse,
si quidem et tu notum habeas Cassium, hominem
7 Cassianae severitatis et disciplinae. neque enim
milites regi possunt nisi vetere disciplina. scis enim
versum a bono poeta dictum et omnibus frequenta-
tum:

‘Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.’

8 tu tantum fac adsint legionibus abunde commeatus,
quos, si bene Avidium novi, scio non perituros.”
9 praefecti ad Marcum: “Recte consuluiasti, mi domine,
10 quod Cassium praefecisti 1 Syriacis legionibus. nihil
enim tam expedit quam homo severior Graecanicas
11 militibus. ille sane omnes exsaldationes, omnes
12 flores de capite collo et sinu militi excutiet. annona
militaris omnis parata est, neque quicquam deest sub
bono duce; non enim multum aut quae tur aut
VI. impeditur.” nec fefellit de se iudicium habitum.

1 praefecisti P corr.; praefectis P².

1 Also brought as a reproach against the Syrian army in
A lex., liii. 2.
2 A line from Ennius’ Annales, quoted in Cicero, de Rep.,
v.; see Augustinus, Civ. Dei, ii. 21.

242
in the midst of the camp, he beheaded those who deserved it with the axe, and in numerous instances cut off his soldiers' hands. He forbade the soldiers, moreover, to carry anything when on the march save lard and biscuit and vinegar, and if he discovered anything else he punished the breach of discipline with no light hand. There is a letter concerning Cassius that the Deified Marcus wrote to his prefect, running somewhat as follows: "I have put Avidius Cassius in command of the Syrian legions, which are running riot in luxury and conducting themselves with the morals of Daphne; concerning these legions Caesonius Vectilianus has written that he found them all accustomed to bathe in hot water.¹ And I think I have made no mistake, for you too know Cassius, a man of true Cassian strictness and rigour. Indeed, the soldiers cannot be controlled except by the ancient discipline. You know what the good poet says, a line universally quoted:

'The state of Rome is rooted in the men and manners of the olden time.'²

Do you take care only that provisions are abundantly provided for the legions, for if I have judged Avidius correctly I know that they will not be wasted." The prefect's answer to Marcus runs: "You planned wisely, Sire, when you put Cassius in command of the Syrian legions. Nothing benefits Grecianized soldiers like a man who is somewhat strict. He will certainly do away with all warm baths, and will strike all the flowers from the soldiers' heads and necks and breasts. Food for the soldiers is all provided; and nothing is lacking under an able general, for but little is either asked or expended." VI. And
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

nam statim et ad signa edici iussit et programma in parietibus fixit, ut, si quis cinctus inveniretur apud Daphnen, discinctus rediret. arma militum septima die semper respexit, vestimenta etiam et calciamenta et ocreas, delicias omnes de castris summovit iussitque eos hiemem sub pellibus agere nisi corrigenter suis mores; et egissent, nisi honestius vixissent. exercitium septimi diei fuit omnium militum, ita ut et sagittas mitterent et armis luderent. dicebat enim miserum esse, cum exercerentur athletae venatores et gladiatores, non exerceri milites; quibus minor esset futurus labor, si consuetus esset.

5 Ergo correcta disciplina et in Armenia et in Arabia et in Aegypto res optime gessit amatusque est ab omnibus orientalibus et speciatim ab Antiochensibus, qui etiam imperio eius consenserunt, ut docet Marius Maximus in vita divi Marci. nam et cum Bucolici milites per Aegyptum gravia multa facerent, ab hoc retunsi sunt, ut item Marius Maximus refert in eo libro quem secundum de vita Marci Antonini edidit.

VII. Hic imperatorem se in oriente appellavit, ut

1 cum et P. 2 item P; idem Peter.

1 Discinctus means "deprived of his sword-belt"—a punishment inflicted upon disobedient soldiers.

2 An attempt to summarize the important and brilliant campaign of 164-166, in which Cassius drove the Parthians out of Syria, overran Mesopotamia, and finally captured Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital; see Marc., ix. 1; Ver., vii. 1-2; Dio, lxxi. 2.
AVIDIUS CASSIUS VI. 2—VII

Cassius did not disappoint the expectation that had been formed of him, for he immediately had the proclamation made at assembly, and posted notices on the walls, that if any one were discovered at Daphne in his uniform he would return without it.\(^1\) Regularly once a week he inspected his soldiers' equipment, even their clothes and shoes and leggings, and he banished all dissipation from the camp and issued an order that they would pass the winter in their tents if they did not mend their ways; and they would have done so, had they not conducted themselves more respectably. Once a week there was a drill of all the soldiers, in which they even shot arrows and engaged in contests in the use of arms. For he said that it was shameful that soldiers should not be trained, while athletes, wild beast fighters and gladiators were, for the soldiers' future labours, if familiar to them, would be less onerous.

And so, having stiffened military discipline, he conducted affairs in Armenia and Arabia and Egypt with the greatest success.\(^2\) He was well loved by all the eastern nations, especially by the citizens of Antioch, who even acquiesced in his rule, as Marius Maximus relates in his Life of the Deified Marcus. And when the warriors of the Bucolici did many grievous things in Egypt, they were checked by Cassius,\(^3\) as Marius Maximus also relates in the second book of those he published on the Life of Marcus.

VII. Finally, while in the East,\(^4\) he proclaimed him—175

\(^1\) See *Marc.*, xxi. 2 and note.
\(^2\) After his victorious campaign against the Parthians he was appointed governor-general of all the eastern provinces; see Dio, lxxi. 3, 1.
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

quidam dicunt, Faustina volente, quae valetudini Marci iam dissidebat et timebat, ne infantes filios tueri sola non posset, atque aliquis exsisteret, qui capta statione regia infantes de medio tolleret. alii autem dicunt, hanc artem adhibuisse militibus et provincialibus Cassium contra Marci amorem, ut sibi posset consentiri, quod diceret Marcum diem suum obisse. nam et divum eum appellasse dicitur, ut desiderium illius leniret.

4 Imperatorio animo cum processisset, eum qui sibi aptaverat ornamenta regia statim praefectum praetorii fecit; qui et ipse occisus est Antonino invito ab exercitu, qui et Maecianum, cui erat commissa Alexandria quique consenserat 1 spe participatus Cassio, invito atque ignorantte Antonino interemit.

5 Nec tamen Antoninus graviter est iratus rebellione cognita nec in eius liberos aut adfectus saevit. senatus illum hostem appellavit bonaque eius proscriptis. quae Antoninus in privatum aerarium congeri noluit, quare senatu praecipiente in aerarium publicum sunt relata. nec Romae terror defuit, cum

1 senserat P.

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1 So also Marc., xxiv. 6, and Dio, lxxi. 22, 3 f. Dio adds the not improbable story that Faustina bade Cassius hold himself in readiness, in case aught befell Marcus, to marry her and seize the sovereignty, and that when a false report of Marcus' death was brought he declared himself emperor. According to c. ix. 9, the version in the text was given by Marius Maximus.

2 i.e. on receipt of the report of his death; see last note.

3 Cf. Marc., xxv. 4.

4 The prefect of Egypt, Flavius Calvisius, declared for Cassius; see Dio, lxxi. 28, 3. Evidence that Egypt recognized him as emperor is afforded by a papyrus, dated in the
self emperor, some say, at the wish of Faustina,\(^1\) who now despaired of Marcus' health and was afraid that she would be unable to protect her infant children by herself, and that some one would arise and seize the throne and make away with the children. Others, however, say that Cassius employed an artifice with the soldiers and provincials to overcome their love for Marcus so that they would join him, saying that Marcus had met his end. And, indeed, he called him “the Deified,”\(^2\) it is said, in order to lessen their grief for him.

When his plan of making himself emperor had been put into effect, he forthwith appointed prefect of the guard the man who had invested him with the imperial insignia. This man was later put to death by the army\(^3\) against the wishes of Antoninus. The army also slew Maecianus, in whose charge Alexandria had been placed; he had joined Cassius\(^4\) in the hope of sharing the sovereignty with him, and he too was slain against the wishes and without the knowledge of Antoninus.

For all that, Antoninus was not seriously angered on learning of this revolt, nor did he vent his rage on Cassius' children or on his kin. The senate, however, pronounced him a public enemy and confiscated his property.\(^5\) But Antoninus was unwilling that this should be forfeited to the privy-purse, and so, at the bidding of the senate, it was delivered to the public treasury. And there was no slight consternation at Rome; for many said that Avidius Cassius would advance on the city in the absence of

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\(^1\) \text{Bull. Inst. Egypt., vii. (1896), p. 123.}

\(^2\) \text{Cf. Marc., xxiv. 9.}

247
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

quidam Avidium Cassium dicerent absentem Antonino, qui nisi a voluntariis unice amabatur, Romam esse venturum atque urbem tyrannice direpturum, maxime senatorum causa, qui eum hostem iudicaverant bonis proscriptis. et amor Antonini hoc maxime enuit, quod consensu omnium praeter Antiochenses Avidius interemptus est; quem quidem occidi non iussit sed passus est, cum apud cunctos clarum esset, si pote-VIII, statis suae fuisset, parsurum 1 illi fuisset. caput eius ad Antoninum cum delatum esset, ille non exsultavit, non elatus est, sed etiam doluit ereptam sibi esse occasionem misericordiae, cum diceret se vivum illum voluisse capere, ut illi exprobraret beneficia sua eumque servaret. denique cum quidam diceret reprehendendum Antoninum, quod tam mitis esset in hostem suum eiusque liberos et affectus atque omnes quos conscios tyrannidis repperisset, addente illo qui reprehendebat "Quid si ille vicisset?" dixisse dicitur "Non sic deos colimus nec sic vivimus, ut ille nos 3 vinceret". enumeravit deinde omnes principes qui occisi essent habuisse causas quibus mererentur occidi, nec quemquam facile bonum vel victum a tyranno vel 4 occisum, dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Cali- gulum, Othonem et Vitellium nec imperare voluisse.

1 parsurum P corr.; passurum P1.

1 Cf. Marc., xxv. 3. According to Dio, lxxi. 27, 2-3, Cassius was killed by two petty-officers, who then took his head to Marcus.

2 Nero committed suicide in order to escape death at the hands of the guard after Galba had been proclaimed emperor and he himself had been declared a public enemy by the senate; see Suet., Nero, xlvii.-xlxi. Caligula was assassinated by two officers of the guard; see Suet., Cal., lviii. Otho committed suicide after his defeat by the army of Vitellius 248
Antoninus, who was singularly loved by all but the profligates, and that he would ravage it like a tyrant, especially because of the senators who had declared him an enemy to the state and confiscated his property. The love felt for Antoninus was most clearly manifested in the fact that it was with the consent of all save the citizens of Antioch that Avidius was slain. Antoninus, indeed, did not so much order his execution as suffer it; for it was clear to all that he would have spared him had it been in his power. VIII. And when his head was brought to Antoninus he did not rejoice or exult, but rather was grieved that he had lost an opportunity for showing mercy; for he said that he had wished to take him alive, so that he might reproach him with the kindness he had shown him in the past, and then spare his life. Finally, when some one said that Antoninus deserved blame because he was so indulgent toward his enemy and his enemy's children and kin, and indeed toward every one whom he had found concerned in the outbreak, and added furthermore, "What if Cassius had been successful?" the Emperor said, it is reported: "We have not worshipped the gods in such a manner, or lived such lives, that he could overcome us". Thereupon he pointed out that in the case of all the emperors who had been slain there had been reasons why they deserved to die, and that no emperor, generally recognized as good, had been conquered or slain by a pretender, adding that Nero had deserved to die and Caligula had forfeited his life, while neither Otho nor Vitellius had really wished to rule. He expressed similar

(Suet., Otho, xi.), and Vitellius was murdered by the soldiers of Vespasian (Suet., Vit., xvii).
AVIDIIUS CASSIIUS

5 etiam 1 de Galba 2 paria sentiebat, cum diceret in imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissimum malum. 6 denique non Augustum, non Traianum, non Hadrianum, non patrem suum a rebellibus potuisse superari, cum et multi fuerint et ipsis vel insciis extincti. ipse autem Antoninus a senatu petiti ne graviter in consciis defectionis animadverteretur, eo ipso tempore quo rogavit ne quis senator temporibus suis capitali supplicio adferretur, quod illi 8 maximum amorem conciliavit. denique paucissimis centurionibus punitis deportatos revocari iussit.

IX. Antiochensisibus, 3 qui 4 Avidio Cassio consenserant, et his 5 et aliis civitatibus, quae illum iuverant, ignovit, cum primo Antiochensisibus graviter iratus esset iisque spectacula sustulisset et multa alia civitatis ornamenta, quae postea reddidit. filios Avidii Cassii Antoninus Marcus parte media paterni patrimonii donavit, ita ut filias eius auro argento et gemmis 3 cohonestaret. nam et Alexandriae, filiae Cassii, et genero Drunciano liberam evagandi ubi vellent potestatem dedit. vixeruntque non quasi tyranni pignora sed quasi senatorii ordinis in summa securitate, cum illis etiam 6 in lite obici fortunam propriae vetuisset domus, damnatis aliquibus iniuriarum, qui

1So Peter with Boxhorn; nam P. 2 de Pertinace et Galba P. 3So P corr; antiochensis P1. 4qui P; quoque Peter with Madvig. 5sed et his P, Petera. 6illi seuam P1; illis P corr.

1Galba's refusal to give the expected donative to the troops so embittered the soldiers that they refused to swear allegiance to him (Suet., Galb., xvi.); his stinginess also caused the guard to join Otho in the conspiracy by which he was murdered (id., xvii f.). 2Cf. Marc., xxv. 5-6 and note.

250
sentiments concerning Galba also, saying that in an emperor avarice was the most grievous of all failings. And lastly, he said, no rebels had succeeded in overcoming either Augustus, or Trajan, or Hadrian, or his own father, and, although there had been many of them, they had been killed either against the wishes or without the knowledge of those emperors. Antoninus himself, moreover, asked the senate to refrain from inflicting severe punishment on those men who were implicated in the rebellion; he made this request at the very same time in which he requested that during his reign no senator be punished with capital punishment—an act which won him the greatest affection. Finally, after he had punished a very few centurions, he gave orders that those who had been exiled should be recalled. IX. The citizens of Antioch also had sided with Avidius Cassius, but these, together with certain other states which had aided Cassius, he pardoned, though at first he was deeply angered at the citizens of Antioch and took away their games and many of the distinctions of the city, all of which he afterwards restored. To the sons of Avidius Cassius Antoninus presented half of their father's property, and his daughters he even graced with gold and silver and jewels. To Alexandria, Cassius' daughter, and Druncanus, his son-in-law, he gave unrestricted permission to travel wherever they liked. And they lived not as the children of a pretender but as members of the senatorial order and in the greatest security, as was shown by the orders he gave that not even in a law-suit should they be taunted with the fortunes of their family, and by his convicting certain people of personal affront who

3 Cf. Marc., xxv. 7 f. 4 Cf. Marc., xxvi. 12.

251
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

in eos petulantes fuissent. quos quidem amitae suae marito commendavit.

5 Si quis autem omnem hanc historiam scire desiderat, legat Marii Maximi secundum librum de vita Marci, in quo ille ea dicit quae solus 1 Marcus mortuo iam Vero egit. tunc enim Cassius rebelavit, ut probat epistula missa ad Faustinam, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Verus mihi de Avidio verum scripserat, quod cuperet imperare. audisse enim te arbitror quod Veri statores 2 de eo nuntiarent. veni igitur in Albanum, ut tractemus omnia dis voluntibus, nil timens." hinc autem appareat Faustinam ista nescisse, cum dicat Marius infamari eam cupiens quod ea conscia Cassius imperium sumpsisset. nam et ipsius epistula exstat ad virum, qua urget 3 Marcum ut in eum graviter vindicet. exemplum epistulae Faustinae ad Marcum: "Ipse in Albanum cras, ut iubes, mox veniam; tamen iam hortor, ut, si amas liberos tuos, istos rebelliones acerrime persequeris. male enim assueverunt duces et milites, 4 qui nisi opprimuntur, X. oppriment." item alia epistula eiusdem Faustinae ad Marcum: "Mater mea Faustina patrem tuum Pium in defectione 5 Celsi hortata 6 est, ut pietatem primum circa suos servaret, sic circa alienos. non enim pius est imperator, qui non cogitat uxorem et filios. Commodus noster vides in qua aetate sit, 4 Pompeianus gener et senior est et peregrinus. vide

1 solum P. 2 So Peter with Salm.; herispatores P. 3 urget P; urquet edd. 4 et duces milites P1; et duces et milites P corr. 5 eiusdem in def. P; eiusdem removed by Cas. 6 sic hortata P; sic removed by Novak; cohortata Peter 2.

1 See note to c. i. 7. 2 See note to c. vii. 1.
3 Nothing is known of any such revolt.
had been insulting to them. He even put them under the protection of his uncle by marriage.

If any one wishes, moreover, to know the whole of this story, let him read the second book of Marius Maximus on the life of Marcus, in which he relates everything that Marcus did as sole emperor after the death of Verus. For it was during this time that Cassius rebelled, as a letter written to Faustina shows, from which the following is an extract:¹ "Verus told me the truth about Avidius, that he desired to rule. For I presume you heard what Verus' messengers reported about him. Come, then, to our Alban villa, so that with the help of the gods we may prepare for everything, and do not be afraid." It would appear from this that Faustina knew nothing of the affair, though Marius Maximus, wishing to defame her, says that it was with her connivance that Cassius attempted to seize the throne.² Indeed, we have also a letter of hers to her husband in which she urges Marcus to punish Cassius severely. A copy of Faustina's letter to Marcus reads: "I shall come to our Alban villa to-morrow, as you command. Yet I urge you now, if you love your children, to punish those rebels with all severity. For soldiers and generals have an evil habit of crushing others if they are not crushed themselves." X. Another letter of this same Faustina to Marcus reads similarly: "When Celsus revolted,³ my mother, Faustina, urged your father, Pius, to deal righteously first with his own kin, and then with strangers. For no emperor is righteous who does not take thought for his wife and children. You can see how young our son Commodus is; our son-in-law Pompeianus ⁴ is an elderly man and a foreigner be-

⁴See Marc., xx. 6.
AVIDIIUS CASSIUS

5 quid agas de Avidio Cassio et de eius consciis. noli parcere hominibus, qui tibi non pepercerunt et nec mihi nec filii nostris parcerent, si vicissent. ipsa iter tuum mox consequor; quia Fadilla nostra aegrotabat, in Formianum venire non potui. sed si te Formiis invenire non potuero, adsequar Capuam, quae civitas et meam et filiorum nostrorum aegristudinem poterit adiuvare. Soteridam medicum in Formianum ut demittas, rogo. ego autem Pisitheo nihil credo, qui puellae virgini curationem nescit adhibere. signatas mihi litteras Calpurnius dedit; ad quas rescribam, si tardavero, per Caecilium senem spadonem, hominem, ut scis, fidelem. cui verbo mandabo, quid uxor Avidii Cassii et filii et gener de te iactare dicantur.”

XI. Ex his litteris intellegitur Cassio Faustinam consciam non fuisse, quin etiam suppullicium eius graviter exegisse, si quidem Antoninum quiescentem et clementiora cogitantem ad vindictae necessitatem impulit. cui Antoninus quid rescripsisset, subdita epistula perdocebit: “Tu quidem, mea Faustina, religiose pro marito et pro nostris liberis agis. nam relegi epistulam tuam in Formiano, qua me hortaris, ut in Avidii conscios vindicem. ego vero et eius liberis parcam et genero et uxori, et ad senatum scribam, ne aut proscriptio gravior sit aut poena crudelior. non enim quicquam est, quod imperatorem Romanum melius commendet gentibus quam cle-

1 signitas P, which Ellis thinks perhaps right in sense of “in cipher”. 2 cui, i.e. cum. P.

254
Consider well what you will do about Avidius Cassius and his accomplices. Do not show forbearance to men who have shown no forbearance to you and would show none either to me or to your children, should they be victorious. I shall follow you on your way presently; I have not been able to come to the Formian villa because our dear Fadilla ¹ was ill. However, if I shall fail to find you at Formiae, I will follow on to Capua, a city which can furnish help to me and our children in our sickness. Please send the physician Soteridas to Formiae. I have no confidence in Pisitheus, who does not know how to treat a young girl. Calpurnius has brought me a sealed letter; I shall reply to it, if I linger on here, through Caecilius, the old eunuch, a man to be trusted, as you know. I shall also report through him, in a verbal message, what Cassius' wife and children and son-in-law are said to be circulating about you."

XI. From these letters it can be seen that Faustina was not in collusion with Cassius, but, on the contrary, earnestly demanded his punishment; for, indeed, it was she who urged on Antoninus the necessity of vengeance when he was inclined to take no action and was considering more merciful measures. The following letter tells what Antoninus wrote to her in reply: "Truly, my Faustina, you are over-anxious about your husband and children. For while I was at Formiae I re-read the letter wherein you urged me to take vengeance on Avidius' accomplices. I, however, shall spare his wife and children and son-in-law, and I will write to the senate forbidding any immoderate confiscation or cruel punishment. For there is nothing which endears a Roman emperor to

¹ Arria Fadilla, fourth child of Marcus, born about 150.
mentia. haec Caesarem deum fecit, haec Augustum consecravit, haec patrem tuum specialiter Pii nomine ornavit. denique si ex mea sententia de bello iudicatum esset, nec Avidius esset occisus. esto igitur secura; 

‘di me tuentur, dis pietas mea
— — cordi est’.

Pompeianum nostrum in annum sequentem consulem dixi.” haec Antoninus ad coniugem.

XII. Ad senatum autem qualem orationem miserit, interest scire. ex oratione Marci Antonini: “Habetis igitur, patres conscripti, pro gratulatione victoriae generum meum consulem, Pompeianum dico, cuius aetas olim remuneranda fuerat consulatu, nisi viri forties intervenissent, quibus reddi debuit quod a re publica debebatur. nunc quod ad defensionem Cassianam pertinet, vos oro atque obsecre, patres conscripti, ut censura vestra deposita meam pietatem clementiamque servetis, immo vestram, neque quemquam 1 senatus occidat. nemo senatorum puniatur, nullius fundatur viri nobilis sanguis, deportati redeant, proscripti bona recipiant. utinam possem multos 2 etiam ab inferis excitate! non enim umquam placet in imperatore vindicta sui doloris, quae si iustior fuerit, acrior videtur. quare filiis Avidii Cassii et

1 quemquam ullum P; ullum removed by Lessing; quemquam unum Peter. 2 multos P, which Lessing restores; multatos Peter.

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1 Cf. Hadr., xxiv. 4; Pius, ii. 4.
2 Horace, Odes, i. 17, 13.
3 The fact that the second consulship of Pompeianus (see Marc., xx. 6) was in 178, two years prior to Cassius' revolt, shows that this letter is not genuine.

256
mankind as much as the quality of mercy. This quality caused Caesar to be deified and made Augustus a god, and it was this characteristic, more than any other, that gained your father his honourable name of Pius. Indeed, if the war had been settled in accordance with my desires, Avidius would not have been killed. So do not be anxious;

'Over me the gods keep guard, the gods hold dear my righteousness.'

I have named our son-in-law Pompeianus consul for next year.' Thus did Antoninus write to his wife.

XII. It is of interest, moreover, to know what sort of a message he sent to the senate. An extract from the message of Marcus Antoninus: "So then, in return for this manifestation of joy at our victory, Conscript Fathers, receive my son-in-law as consul—Pompeianus, I mean, who has come to an age that were long since rewarded with the consulship, had there not stood in the way certain brave men, to whom it was right to give what was due them from the state. And now, as to Cassius' revolt, I pray and beseech you, Conscript Fathers, lay aside your severity, and preserve the righteousness and mercy that are mine—nay rather I should say, yours—and let the senate put no man to death. Let no senator be punished; let the blood of no distinguished man be shed; let those who have been exiled return to their homes; let those who have been outlawed recover their estates. Would that I could also recall many from the grave! Vengeance for a personal wrong is never pleasing in an emperor, for the juter the vengeance is, the harsher it seems. Wherefore, you will grant pardon to the sons and son-in-law and wife of Avidius Cassius. For that matter,
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

genero et uxori veniam dabitis. et quid dico veniam? cum illi nihil fecerint. vivant igitur securi, scientes sub Marco vivere. vivant in patrimonio parentum pro parte donato, auro argento vestibus fruantur, sint divites, sint securi, sint vagi et liberi et per ora omnium ubique populorum circumferant meae, circumferant vestrae pietatis exemplum. nec magna haec est, patres conscripti, clementia, veniam prosectorum liberis et coniugibus dari. ego vero a vobis peto, ut conscios senatorii ordinis et equestris a caede, a procriptione, a timore, ab infamia, ab invidia, et postremo ab omni vindicetis iniuriae detisque hoc meis tem- poribus, ut in causa tyrannidis qui in tumultu cecidit probetur occisus."


6 Vixerunt igitur posteri Avidii Cassii securi et ad

1 So P; repetition from the preceding has crowded out some other adj.

1 For similar outrages alleged to have taken place in the senate see Com., xviii.-xix.; Alex., vi.-xi.

2 Bestowed in 177; see Marc., xxvii. 5, and note.

258
why should I say pardon? They have done nothing. Let them live, therefore, free from all anxiety, knowing that they live under Marcus. Let them live in possession of their parents’ property, granted to each in due proportion; let them enjoy gold, silver, and raiment; let them be rich; let them be free from anxiety; let them, unrestricted and free to travel wheresoever they wish, carry in themselves before the eyes of all nations everywhere an example of my forbearance, an example of yours. Nor is it any great act of mercy, Conscription Fathers, to grant pardon to the wives and children of outlawed men. I do beseech you to save these conspirators, men of the senatorial and equestrian orders, from death, from proscription, from terror, from disgrace, from hatred, and, in short, from every harm, and to grant this to my reign, that whoever, in the cause of the pretender, has fallen in the strife may, though slain, still be esteemed.”

XIII. The senate honoured this act of mercy with these acclamations:¹ “God save you, righteous Antoninus. God save you, merciful Antoninus. God save you, merciful Antoninus. You have desired what was lawful, we have done what was fitting. We ask lawful power for Commodus. Strengthen your offspring. Make our children free from care. No violence troubles righteous rule. We ask the tribunician power² for Commodus Antoninus. We beseech your presence. All praise to your philosophy, your patience, your principles, your magnanimity, your innocence! You conquer your foes within, you prevail over those without, the gods are watching over you,” and so forth.

And so the descendants of Avidius Cassius lived unmolested and were admitted to offices of honour.

259

s 2
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

7 honores admissi sunt. sed eos Commodus Antoninus post excessum divi patris sui omnes vivos incendi iussit, quasi in factione deprehensos.
8 Haec sunt quae de Cassio Avidio comperimus. 9 cuius ipsius mores, ut supra diximus, variis semper fuerunt sed ad censuram crudelitatemque propensiores.
10 qui, si optimisset imperium, fuisset non clemens et XIV. bonus,1 sed utilis et optimus imperator. nam existat epistula eius ad generum suum iam imperatoris huiusmodi: "Miseras res publica, quae istos divitiarum cupidos et divites patitur, misera. Marcus homo sane optimus, qui dum clemens dici cupit,2 eos patitur vivere quorum ipse non probat vitam. ubi Lucius Cassius, cuius nos frustra tenet nomen? ubi Marcus ille Cato Censorius? ubi omnis disciplina maiorum? quae olim quidem intercedit, nunc vero nec quaeritur.
5 Marcus Antoninus philosophatur et quaerit de elementis3 et de animis et de honesto et iuste nec sentit pro re publica. vides multis opus esse gladius, multis elogius, ut in antiquum statum publica forma reddatur. ego vero istis praesidibus provinciarum— an ego proconsules, an ego praesides putem, qui ob hoc sibi a senatu et ab Antonino provincias datas cre- 8 dunt, ut luxurientur, ut divites siant? audisti, praefectum praetorii nostri philosophi ante triduum quam

1 So Vielhaber; non modo clemens sed bonus P; non modo c. et b. Peter. 2 So P; Peter by error attributes clementes to P, and reads, following Petschenig, clementem se. 3 de clementes P1; de clementiis P corr.

260
AVIDIUS CASSIUS XIII. 7—XIV. 8

But after his deified father’s death Commodus Antoninus ordered them all to be burned alive, as if they had been caught in a rebellion.

So much have we learned concerning Avidius Cassius. His character, as we have said before, was continually changing, though inclined, on the whole, to severity and cruelty. Had he gained the throne, he would have made not a merciful and kind emperor but a beneficent and excellent one. XIV. For we have a letter of his, written to his son-in-law after he had declared himself emperor, that reads somewhat as follows: “Unhappy state, unhappy, which suffers under men who are eager for riches and men who have grown rich! Marcus is indeed the best of men, but one who wishes to be called merciful and hence suffers to live men whose manner of life he cannot sanction. Where is Lucius Cassius, whose name we bear in vain? Where is that other Marcus, Cato the Censor? Where is all the rigour of our fathers? Long since indeed has it perished, and now it is not even desired. Marcus Antoninus philosophizes and meditates on first principles, and on souls and virtue and justice, and takes no thought for the state. There is need, rather, for many swords, as you see for yourself, and for much practical wisdom, in order that the state may return to its ancient ways. And truly in regard to those governors of provinces—can I deem proconsuls or governors those who believe that their provinces were given them by the senate and Antoninus only in order that they might revel and grow rich? You have heard that our philo-

1 c. iii. 4.
2 Evidently an error for C. Cassius Longinus; see note to c. i. 4.

261
AVIDIUS CASSIUS

seret mendicum et pauperem, sed subito divitem factum. unde, quaeso, nisi de visceribus rei publicae provincialiumque fortunis? sint sane divites, sint locupletes. aerarium publicum referciant; tantum di faveant bonis partibus, reddant Cassiani rei publicae principatum.” haec epistula eius indicat, quam severus et quam tristis futurus fuerit imperator.

1 Thus Petrarch; referient P. 2patribus P. 3reddant P; reddent Casaubon, Peter.
sopher's prefect of the guard was a beggar and a pauper three days before his appointment, and then suddenly became rich. How, I ask you, save from the vitals of the state and the purses of the provincials? Well then, let them be rich, let them be wealthy. In time they will stuff the imperial treasury; only let the gods favour the better side, let the men of Cassius restore to the state a lawful government." This letter of his shows how stern and how strict an emperor he would have been.

¹ i.e., they will be forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

AELII LAMPRIDII

I. De Commodi Antonini parentibus in vita Marci

1 Antonini satis est disputatum. ipse autem natus est

2 apud Lanuvium cum fratre Antonino gemino pridie kal. Sept. patre patruoque consulibus, ubi et avus

3 maternus dicitur natus. Faustina cum esset Com-

modo cum fratre praegnans, visa est in somnis

4 serpentes parere, sed ex his unum ferociorem. cum

5 autem peperisset Commodum atque Antoninum, 

Antoninus quadrimus elatus est, quem parem astrorum

6 cursu Commodo mathematici promittebant. mortuo

igitur fratre Commodum Marcus et suis praecetis

et magnorum atque optimorum virorum erudire co-

7 natus est. habuit litteratorem Graecum Onesicratem,

Latinum Capellam Antistium; orator ei Ateius San-

ctus fuit.

Sed tot disciplinarum magistri nihil ei profuerunt.

tantum valet aut ingenii vis aut eorum qui in aula

institutores habentur. nam a prima statim pueritia

turpis, improbus, crudelis, libidinosus, ore quoque pol-

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1 Marc., i. 1-4.  
2 Cf. Pius, i. 8.
I. The ancestry of Commodus Antoninus has been sufficiently discussed in the life of Marcus Antoninus. As for Commodus himself, he was born, with his twin brother Antoninus, at Lanuvium—where his mother's father was born, it is said—on the day before the Kalends of September, while his father and uncle were consuls. Faustina, when pregnant with Commodus and his brother, dreamed that she gave birth to serpents, one of which, however, was fiercer than the other. But after she had given birth to Commodus and Antoninus, the latter, for whom the astrologers had forecast a horoscope as favourable as that of Commodus, lived to be only four years old. After the death of Antoninus, Marcus tried to educate Commodus by his own teaching and by that of the greatest and the best of men. In Greek literature he had Onesicrates as his teacher, in Latin, Antistius Capella; his instructor in rhetoric was Ateius Sanctus. However, teachers in all these studies profited him not in the least—such is the power, either of natural character, or of the tutors maintained in a palace. For even from his earliest years he was base and dishonourable, and cruel and lewd, defiled of mouth, more-
COMMÓDUS ANTONINUS

8 lútus et constupratus fuit. iam in his artifex, quae stationis imperatoriae non erant, ut calices fingeret, saltaret, cantaret, sibilaret, scurrum denique et gladiórem perfectum ostenderet. auspiciem crudelitatis apud Centumcellas dedit anno ætatis duodecimo. nam cum tepidius forte lautos esset, balneatorem in fornacem conici iussit; quando a paedagogo, cui hoc iussum fuerat, vervecina pellis in fornace consumpta est, ut fidem poenae de foetore nidoris impleret.

10 Appellatus est autem Caesar puer cum fratre suo Vero. quarto decimo ætatis anno in collegium II. sacerdotum adsitus est. cooptatus est inter tros- sulos principes iuventutis, cum togam sumpsit. adhuc in praetexta puerili congiarium dedit atque ipse in Basilica Traiani praesedit. indutus autem toga est Nonarum Iuliarum die, quo in terris Romulus non apparuit, et eo tempore quo Cassius a Marco descivit. profectus est commendatus militibus cum patre in Syria et Aegyptum et cum eo Romam

1 constupratus P. 2 suo Vero Ursinus; Seuero P. 3 sacerdotis P. 4 trossulos Lipsisius; tres solos P. 5 prínceps P. 6 so P corr.; et cum om. in P1.

1 Dio, on the other hand, describes him as not naturally vicious, but weak and easily influenced; see lxii. 1, 1.
2 On the coast of Etruria, near the southern end; it is the modern Civitá Vecchia.
3 Cf. c. xi. 13; Marc., xii. 8 and note.
4 M. Annius Verus, who died in 169; see Marc., xxi. 3.
5 Cf. c. xii. 1; Marc., xvi. 1 and note. His election to the college of pontifices is commemorated on a coin; see Cohen, iii3, p. 311, no. 599.
6 Cf. c. xii. 3; Marc., xxii. 12 and note.
7 See note to Marc., vi. 3. The title prínceps iuventutis appears on his coins of this period (Cohen iii3, p. 311 f., nos. 601-618), and in an inscription from Africa (C.I.L., viii. 11928). Trossuli was an old name given to the Roman
over, and debauched. Even then he was an adept in certain arts which are not becoming in an emperor for he could mould goblets and dance and sing and whistle, and he could play the buffoon and the gladiator to perfection. In the twelfth year of his life, at Centumcellae, he gave a forecast of his cruelty. For when it happened that his bath was drawn too cool, he ordered the bathkeeper to be cast into the furnace; whereupon the slave who had been ordered to do this burned a sheep-skin in the furnace, in order to make him believe by the stench of the vapour that the punishment had been carried out.

While yet a child he was given the name of Caesar along with his brother Verus, and in his fourteenth year he was enrolled in the college of priests. When he assumed the toga, he was elected one of the leaders of the equestrian youths, the trossuli, and even while still clad in the youth’s praetexta he gave largess and presided in the Hall of Trajan. He assumed the toga on the Nones of July—the day on which Romulus vanished from the earth—at the time when Cassius revolted from Marcus. After he had been commended to the favour of the soldiers he set out with his father for Syria and Egypt, and with him he returned to Rome. Afterward he was

It was supposed to have been derived from Trossulum, a town captured by the cavalry, but even in the second century B.C., its meaning was no longer understood; see Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxiii. 2, 35 f.

Commemorated on coins; see Cohen, iii, p. 266 f., nos. 291-294.

See note to Hadr., vii. 6.

In July, 175. See Marc., xxv. 1.

See Marc., xxvii. 3. Commodus' return to Rome was celebrated by an issue of coins with the legend Adventus Caes(aris); see Cohen, iii, p. 228, nos. 1-2.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

4rediit. post haec venia legis annariae impetrata con-
sul est factus, et cum patre imperator est appellatus
V kal. Dec. die Pollione et Apro consulibus et
5triumphavit cum patre. nam et hoc patres decre-
verant. profectus est cum patre et ad Germanicum
bellum.

6 Adhibitos custodes vitae suae honestiores ferre non
potuit, pessimos quoque detinuit et summotos usque
7ad aegritudinem desideravit. quibus per patris mol-
liitem restitutis popinas et ganeas in Palatinis semper
aedibus fecit neque umquam pepercit vel pudori vel
8sumptui. in domo aleam exercuit. mulierculas
formeae scitioris ut prostitula mancipia per speciem
1
lupanarium et ludibrium pudicitiae contraxit. imi-
tatus est propolas circumforanos. equos currules
sibi comparavit. aurigae habitu currus rexit, gladiatoribus convexit, atque se
2gessit ut lenonum minister,
ut probris natum magis quam ei loco eum crederes,3
ad quem fortuna provexit.

III. Patris ministeria seniora summovit, amicos senes
2abiecit. filium Salvii Iuliani, qui exercitibus praererat,

1per speciem Turnebus; persicium P; persiciens P corr.
2atque se Editor; aquam P, Peter. 3crederet P.

1 Cf. Marc., xxii. 12 and note.
2 On the occasion of Marcus' triumph; see c. xii. 4; Marc.,
xvi. 2 and note.
3 See c. xii. 5 and note to Marc., xvii. 3.
4 See c. xii. 6 and Marc., xxvii. 9.
5 But not in public, except on moonless nights; see Dio,
  lxxii. 17, 1.

268
COMMODOUS ANTONINUS II. 4—III. 2

granted exemption from the law of the appointed year and made consul, and on the fifth day before 177 the Kalends of December, in the consulship of Pollio 27 Nov., 176 Aper, he was acclaimed Imperator together with his father, and celebrated a triumph with him. 3 23 Dec., For this, too, the senate had decreed. Then he set out with his father for the German war. 4

The more honourable of those appointed to supervise his life he could not endure, but the most evil he retained, and, if any were dismissed, he yearned for them even to the point of falling sick. And when they were reinstated through his father’s indulgence, he always maintained eating-houses and low resorts for them in the imperial palace. He never showed regard for either decency or expense. He dined in his own home. He herded together women of unusual beauty, keeping them like purchased prostitutes in a sort of brothel for the violation of their chastity. He imitated the hucksters that strolled about from market to market. He procured chariot-horses for his own use. He drove chariots in the garb of a professional charioteer, lived with gladiators, and conducted himself like a procurer’s servant. Indeed, one would have believed him born rather to a life of infamy than to the high place to which Fortune advanced him.

III. His father’s older attendants he dismissed, and any friends that were advanced in years he cast aside.

6 e.g. Tarrutenius Paternus, now prefect of the guard (see c. iv. 1), and C. Aufidius Victorinus, governor of Germania Superior under Marcus. He retained his father’s friends for a “few years” (Herodian, i. 8, 1), i.e. until about 183.

7 See note to Hel., xi. 2.

269
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

ob\(^1\) impudicitiam frustra temptavit atque exinde Iuliano tetendit insidias. honestissimos quoque aut per contumeliam aut per honorem indignissimum abiecit. appellatus est a mimis quasi obstupratus eodemque ita ut non apparetur subito deportavit. bellum etiam quod pater paene confecerat legibus hostium addictus remisit ac Romam reversus est.

Romam ut rediit, subactore suo Saotero post se in curro locato ita triumphavit ut eum saepius\(^2\) cervice reflexa publice oscularetur. etiam in orchestra hoc idem fecit. et cum potaret in lucem helluareturque viribus Romani imperii, vespera etiam per tabernas ac lupanaria volitavit. misit homines ad provincias regendas vel criminum socios vel a criminosis com-mendatos. in senatus odium ita venit\(^3\) ut et ipse crudeliter in tanti ordinis perniciem saeviret fieretque e contempto crudelis.

IV. Vita Commodi Quadratum et Lucillam compulsit ad eius interfectionem consilia inire, non sine prae-

\(^1\) ob P, Petschenig; \textit{ad} Peter. \(^2\) serius P. \(^3\) uelit P.

\(^1\) P. Salvius Julianus, consul in 175. He was apparently in command of troops on the Rhine.
\(^2\) See c. iv. 8.
\(^3\) According to Herodian (i. 6) he gave up the war against the advice of Marcus' friends and advisers, especially his own brother-in-law, Pompeianus. He did, however, force the Quadi, Marcomanni, and Buri to accept terms of peace which were not discreditable to Rome (Dio, lxxii. 2-3) and was acclaimed \textit{Imperator} for the fourth time.

\(^4\) For the official expression of reception see c. xii. 7. His return is commemorated by coins of 180 with the legends \textit{Adventus Aug(usti) and Fort(una) Red(ux)}; see Cohen, iii\(^3\), p. 228, no. 3, and p. 248, no. 165.


\(^6\) Cf. Ver., iv. 6.

\£70
COMMODUS ANTONINUS III. 3—IV.

The son of Salvius Julianus, the commander of the troops, he tried to lead into debauchery, but in vain, and he thereupon plotted against Julianus. He degraded the most honourable either by insulting them directly or giving them offices far below their deserts. He was alluded to by actors as a man of depraved life, and he thereupon banished them so promptly that they did not again appear upon the stage. He abandoned the war which his father had almost finished and submitted to the enemy’s terms, and then he returned to Rome. After he had come back to Rome he led the triumphal procession with Saoterus, his partner in depravity, seated in his chariot, and from time to time he would turn around and kiss him openly, repeating this same performance even in the orchestra. And not only was he wont to drink until dawn and squander the resources of the Roman Empire, but in the evening he would ramble through taverns and brothels. He sent out to rule the provinces men who were either his companions in crime or were recommended to him by criminals. He became so detested by the senate that he in his turn was moved with cruel passion for the destruction of that great order, and from having been despised he became bloodthirsty.

IV. Finally the actions of Commodus drove Quadratus and Lucilla, with the support of Tarrutenius

7 Especially after the conspiracy of Quadratus and Lucilla, according to Herodian, i. 8, 7.
8 On this conspiracy, formed probably toward the end of 182, see Dio, lxxii. 4, 4-5, and Herodian, i. 8, 3-6. Quadratus was probably the grandson of Marcus' sister; see Marc., vii. 4. Lucilla was Commodus' elder sister, the wife of Lucius Verus, and after his death, of Claudius Pompeianus; see Marc., xx. 6,
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

2 fecti praetorio Tarrutenii Paterni consilio. datum autem est negotium peragendae necis Claudio Pompeiano propinqu quo. qui ingressus ad Commodum destricto gladio, cum faciendi potestatem habuisset, in haec verba prorumpens 'Hunc tibi pugionem senatus mittit' detexit facinus fatuus nec implevit, multis cum eo participantibus causam. post haec interfecti sunt Pompeianus primo et Quadratus, dein Norbana atque Norbanus et Paralius; et mater eius et Lucilla in exsilium exacta.

5 Tum praefecti praetorio cum vidissent Commodum in tantum odium incidisse obtenu Saoteri, cuius potentiam populus Romanus ferre non poterat, urbane Saoterum eductum a Palatio sacrorum causa et redeuntem in hortos suos per frumentarios occiderunt. id vero gravius quam de se ipso Commodo fuit. 7 Paternum autem et huius caedis auctorem et, quantum videbatur, paratae necis Commodi conscium et interventorem, ne coniuratio latius puniretur, instigante Tigidio per lati clavi honorem a praefecturae administratione summovit. post paucos dies insimulavit eum coniurationis, cum diceret ob hoc promissam Iuliani filio filiam Paterni, ut in Iulianum

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1 According to Dio, lxxii. 5, 2, Paternus had no share in the conspiracy.

2 Apparently Claudius Pompeianus Quintianus, the son of Lucilla's husband, Claudius Pompeianus, by a former marriage. Herodian speaks of him as a youth at this time.

3 Lucilla was exiled to Capri, where she was put to death; see c. v. 7.

4 See note to Hadr., xi. 4.

5 Tigidius Perennis, appointed co-prefect with Paternus in 182.

6 He was granted the right to wear the broad purple stripe on his tunic, the exclusive privilege of the senatorial
Paternus, the prefect of the guard,\(^1\) to form a plan for his assassination. The task of slaying him was assigned to Claudius Pompeianus, a kinsman.\(^2\) But he, as soon as he had an opportunity to fulfil his mission, strode up to Commodus with a drawn sword, and, bursting out with these words, "This dagger the senate sends thee," betrayed the plot like a fool, and failed to accomplish the design, in which many others along with himself were implicated. After this fiasco, first Pompeianus and Quadratus were executed, and then Norbana and Norbanus and Parliius; and the latter's mother and Lucilla were driven into exile.\(^3\)

Thereupon the prefects of the guard, perceiving that the aversion in which Commodus was held was all on account of Saoterus, whose power the Roman people could not endure, courteously escorted this man away from the Palace under pretext of a sacrifice, and then, as he was returning to his villa, had him assassinated by their private agents.\(^4\) But this deed enraged Commodus more than the plot against himself. Paternus, the instigator of this murder, who was believed to have been an accomplice in the plot to assassinate Commodus and had certainly sought to prevent any far-reaching punishment of that conspiracy, was now, at the instigation of Tigidius,\(^5\) dismissed from the command of the praetorian guard by the expedient of conferring on him the honour of the broad stripe.\(^6\) And a few days thereafter, Commodus accused him of plotting, saying that the daughter of Paternus had been betrothed to the son of Julianus\(^7\) with the under-

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\(^1\) For other instances of the elevation of a prefect of the guard into the senatorial order see note to Hadr., viii. 7.
\(^2\) See c. iii. 1-2, and for his execution Dio, lxxii. 5, 1.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

transferretur imperium. quare et Paternum et Iulianum et Vitruvium Secundum, Paterni familiarissimum, qui epistulas imperatorias curarat, interfecit. domus praeterea Quintiliorum omnis extincta, quod Sextus Condiani filius specie mortis ad defectionem diceretur evasisse. interfecta et Vitrasia Faustina et Velius Rufus et Egnatius Capito consularis. in exsilium autem acti sunt Aemilius Iuncus et Atilius Severus consules, et in multos alios varie sævitum est.

V. Post haec Commodus numquam facile in publicum processit neque quicquam sibi nuntiari passus est nisi quod Perennis ante tractasset. Perennis autem Commodi persciens invent quem ad modum ipse potens esset. nam persuasit Commodo, ut ipse deliciis vacaret, idem vero Perennis curis incumberet. quod Commodus laetanter accipit. hac igitur lege vivens ipse cum trecentis concubinis, quas ex matronarum meretricumque dilectu ad formae speciem concivit, trecentisque alis puberibus exoletis, quos aeque ex plebe ac nobilitate vi pretiiisque forma discipatricie collegerat, in Palatio per convivia et balneas bac-

1 Condiani Casaubon; condiciani P. 2 conciusit Egnatius; concilii P. 3 sui pretiiisque Madvig, Peter²; nuptiisque P; uultusque Turnebus, Peter¹.

¹ The brothers Sex. Quintilius Condianus and Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus. According to Dio, lxxii. 5, 3-4, their reputation and wealth caused them to be suspected.
² More correctly, the son of Quintilius Valerius Maximus and consul in 180. He was included in the sentence pronounced against his father and uncle. On his escape see Dio, lxxii. 6.

274
standing that Julianus would be raised to the throne. On this pretext he executed Paternus and Julianus, and also Vitruvius Secundus, a very dear friend of Paternus, who had charge of the imperial correspondence. Besides this, he exterminated the whole house of the Quintillii, because Sextus, the son of Condianus, by pretending death, it was said, had made his escape in order to raise a revolt. Vitrasia Faustina, Velius Rufus, and Egнатius Capito, a man of consular rank, were all slain. Aemilius Iuncus and Atilius Severus, the consuls, were driven into exile. And against many others he vented his rage in various ways.

V. After this Commodus never appeared in public readily, and would never receive messages unless they had previously passed through the hands of Perennis. For Perennis, being well acquainted with Commodus' character, discovered the way to make himself powerful, namely, by persuading Commodus to devote himself to pleasure while he, Perennis, assumed all the burdens of the government—an arrangement which Commodus joyfully accepted. Under this agreement, then, Commodus lived, rioting in the Palace amid banquets and in baths along with 800 concubines, gathered together for their beauty and chosen from both matrons and harlots, and with minions, also 300 in number, whom he had collected by force and by purchase indiscriminately from the common people and the nobles

3 Consul in 178.
4 The year of their consulship is unknown. They were not necessarily consuls in 182.
5 According to Herodian, i. 11, 5, he spent most of the time in his suburban estate.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

5 chabatur. inter haec habitu victimarii victimas immolavit. in harena rudibus, inter cubicularios gladiatores pugnavit lucentibus aliquando mucronibus. 6 tumc tamen Perennis cuncta sibimet vindicavit. quos voluit interemit, spoliavit plurimos, omnia iura sub vertit, praeadam omnem in sinum contulit. ipse autem Commodus Lucillam sororem, cum Capreas misisset, occidit. sororibus dein suis ceteris, ut dicitur, constupratis, consobrina patris complexibus suis inimicata uni etiam ex concubinis matris nomen imposuit. 9 uxorem, quam deprehensam in adulterio exegit, exactam relegavit et postea occidit. ipsas con cubinas suas sub oculis suis stuprari iubebat. nec inruentium in se iuvenum carebat infamia, omni parte corporis atque ore in sexum utrumque pollutus.

12 Occisus est eo tempore etiam Claudius quasi a latronibus, cuius filius cum pugione quondam ad Commodum ingressus est, multique alii senatores sine iudicio interempti, feminae quoque divites. et non nulli per provincias a Perenni ob divitias insimulati spoliati sunt vel etiam interempti. iis autem quibus deerat ficti crimini adpositio obiciebatur, quod scribere noluissent Commodum heredem.

\[1\] matris P; patris Salmiasi, Peter. \[2\] inposuit. uxorem Heer; inposuit uxoris P, Peter. \[3\] noluissent Casaubon, Baehrens; voluissent P, Peter.

1 Dio, on the other hand, declares that his administration was characterized by integrity and restraint; see lxxii. 10, 1. Herodian (i. 8) has the same point of view as the biography.

2 See note to c. vii. 7.

276
solely on the basis of bodily beauty. Meanwhile, dressed in the garb of an attendant at the sacrifice, he slaughtered the sacrificial victims. He fought in the arena with foils, but sometimes, with his chamberlains acting as gladiators, with sharpened swords. By this time Perennis had secured all the power for himself. He slew whomever he wished to slay, plundered a great number, violated every law, and put all the booty into his own pocket. Commodus, for his part, killed his sister Lucilla, after banishing her to Capri. After debauching his other sisters, as it is said, he formed an amour with a cousin of his father, and even gave the name of his mother to one of his concubines. His wife, whom he caught in adultery, he drove from his house, then banished her, and later put her to death. By his orders his concubines were debauched before his own eyes, and he was not free from the disgrace of intimacy with young men, defiling every part of his body in dealings with persons of either sex.

At this time Claudius also, whose son had previously come into Commodus’ presence with a dagger, was slain, ostensibly by bandits, and many other senators were put to death, and also certain women of wealth. And not a few provincials, for the sake of their riches, were charged with crimes by Perennis and then plundered or even slain; and some, against whom there was not even the imputation of a fictitious crime, were accused of having been unwilling to name Commodus as their heir.

3 Crispina; see note to Marc., xxvii. 8.
4 See c. iv. 2 and note. The biographer has apparently confused the father with the son, for Claudius Pompeianus was alive in 193; see Pert., iv. 10; Did. Jul., viii. 3.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

VI. Eo tempore in Sarmatia res bene gestas per 2 alios duces in filium suum Perennis referebat. hic tamen Perennis, qui tantum potuit, subito, quod bello Britannico militibus equestris loci viros praefecerat amotis senatoribus, prodita re per legatos exercitus hostis appellatus lacerandusque militibus 3 est deditus. in cuius potentiae locum Cleandrum ex cubiculariis subrogavit.

4 Multa sane post interfec tum Perennem eiusque filium quasi a se non gesta rescidit, velut in integrum 5 restituens. et hanc quidem paenitentiam scelerum ultra triginta dies tenere non potuit, graviora per Cleandrum faciens quam fecerat per supradictum 6 Perennem. et in potentia quidem Cleander Perenni successerat, in praefectura vero Niger, qui sex tantum 7 horis praefectus praetorio fuisse perhibetur. mutabantur enim praefecti praetorio per horas ac dies,

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1 According to Herodian, i. 9, this son of Perennis, in command of the Illyrian troops, formed a conspiracy in the army to overthrow Commodus, and the detection of the plot led to Perennis’ fall and death.

2 In 184. According to Dio, lxxii. 8, the Britons living north of the boundary-wall invaded the province and annihilated a detachment of Roman soldiers. They were finally defeated by Ulpius Marcellus, and Commodus was acclaimed Imperator for the seventh time and assumed the title Britannicus; see c. viii. 4 and coins with the legend Vict(oria) Brit(annica), Cohen, iii, p. 349, no. 945.

3 An innovation which became general in the third century, when senatorial commanders throughout the empire were gradually replaced by equestrian.

4 According to Dio, lxxii. 9, it was at the demand of a delegation of 1500 soldiers of the army of Britain, whom Perennis had censured for mutinous conduct (cf. c. viii. 4).

278
VI. About this time the victories in Sarmatia won by other generals were attributed by Perennis to his own son. Yet in spite of his great power, suddenly, because in the war in Britain he had dismissed certain senators and had put men of the equestrian order in command of the soldiers, this same Perennis was declared an enemy to the state, when the matter was reported by the legates in command of the army, and was thereupon delivered up to the soldiers to be torn to pieces. In his place of power Commodus put Cleander, one of his chamberlains.

After Perennis and his son were executed, Commodus rescinded a number of measures on the ground that they had been carried out without his authority, pretending that he was merely re-establishing previous conditions. However, he could not maintain this penitence for his misdeeds longer than thirty days, and he actually committed more atrocious crimes through Cleander than he had done through the aforesaid Perennis. Although Perennis was succeeded in general influence by Cleander, his successor in the prefecture was Niger, who held this position as prefect of the guard, it is said, for just six hours. In fact, prefects of the guard were changed hourly and

The mutiny was finally quelled by Pertinax; see Pert., iii. 5-8.

A Phrygian by birth, brought to Rome as a slave; see Herodian, i. 12, 3. After securing his freedom he rose in the Palace and finally became chamberlain, after bringing about the fall and death of his predecessor, Saoterus; see c. iv. 5 and Dio, lxxii. 12, 2. He also contributed to the fall of Perennis; see Dio, lxxii. 9, 3. He was not made prefect until 186, but exercised great influence in his capacity as chamberlain (see §§ 6 and 12).
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

Commodo peiora omnia, quam fecerat ante, faciente. 8 fuit Marcius Quartus praefectus praetorio diebus quinque. horum successores ad arbitrium Cleandri aut retenti sunt aut occisi. ad cuius nutum etiam libertini in senatum¹ atque in patricios lecti sunt, tuneque primum viginti quinque consules in unum annum, venditaeque omnes provinciae. omnia Cleander pecunia venditabat; revocatos de exilio dignitatis ornabat, res iudicatas rescindebat. qui tantum per stultitiam Commodi potuit, ut Burrum, sororis Commodi virum, reprehendentem nuntiantemque Commodo quae fiebant in suspicionem regni affectati traheret et occideret, multis aliis, qui Burrum defendebant, pariter interemptis. praefectus etiam Aebutianus inter hos est interemptus; in cuius locum ipse Cleander cum aliis duobus, quos ipse delegerat, praefectus est factus. tuneque primum tres praefecti praetorio fuere, inter quos libertinus,² qui a pugione appellatus est.

VII. Sed et Cleandro dignus tandem vitae finis impositus. nam cum insidiis ilius Arrius Antoninus fictis³ criminibus in Attali gratiam, quem in pro-

¹ senatu P. ² libertinus Jordan; libertinos P. ³ factis P.

¹ So also Dio, lxxii. 12, 3-5.
² L. Antistius Burrus; he seems to have been previously accused on the same charge by Pertinax; see Pert., iii. 7.
³80
daily, Commodus meanwhile committing all kinds of evil deeds, worse even than he had committed before. Marcius Quartus was prefect of the guard for five days. Thereafter, the successors of these men were either retained in office or executed, according to the whim of Cleander. At his nod even freedmen were enrolled in the senate and among the patricians, and now for the first time there were twenty-five consuls in a single year. Appointments to the provinces were uniformly sold; in fact, Cleander sold everything for money. He loaded with honours men who were recalled from exile; he rescinded decisions of the courts. Indeed, because of Commodus' utter degeneracy, his power was so great that he brought Burrus, the husband of Commodus' sister, who was denouncing and reporting to Commodus all that was being done, under the suspicion of pretending to the throne, and had him put to death; and at the same time he slew many others who defended Burrus. Among these Aebutianus was slain, the prefect of the guard; in his place Cleander himself was made prefect, together with two others whom he himself chose. Then for the first time were there three prefects of the guard, among whom was a freedman, called the "Bearer of the Dagger".

VII. However, a full worthy death was at last meted out to Cleander also. For when, through his intrigues, Arrius Antoninus was put to death on false charges in revenge for Attalus, whom Arrius had condemned

3 i.e. Cleander himself. The dagger was the symbol of the office of prefect.
4 Together with Burrus he had been accused by Pertinax of aspiring to the throne (see Pert., iii. 7), but he seems to have been a highly respected man and official.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

consulatu Asiae damnaverat, esset occisus, nec eam tum invidiam populo saeviente Commodus ferre potuisset, plebi ad poenam donatus est, cum etiam Apolaustus alisque liberti aulici pariter interempti sunt. Cleander inter cetera etiam concubinas eius constupravit, de quibus filios susceptit, qui post eius interitum cum matribus interempti sunt.

4 In cuius locum Iulianus et Regillus subrogati sunt, quos et ipsos postea poenis adfecit. His occisis interemtit Servilius et Dulium Silanus cum suis, mox Antium Lupum et Petronios Mamertinum et Suram filiumque Mamertini Antoninum ex sorore sua geni-tum. et post eos sex simul ex consulibus Allium Fuscum, Caelium Felicem, Lucceium Torquatum, Larcium Eurupianum, Valerium Bassianum, Pactumeium 1 Magnum cum suis, atque in Asia Sulpicium Crassum pro consule et Iulium Proculum cum suis Claudiumque Lucanum consularem et consobrinam patris sui Faustinam Anniam in Achaia et alios in-finitos. destinaverat et alios quattuordecim occidere, cum sumptus eius vires 2 Romani imperii sustinere non possent.

Pactumeium Casaubon; Pactuleium P. 2uires Ur-sinus; uiriis P¹; iuiriis P corr.

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1 In 189, on the occasion of a riot due to a lack of grain, for which the mob held Cleander responsible; see Dio, lxxii. 13.
2 See Ver., viii. 10.
3 He married one of them, Damostratia, according to Dio, lxxii. 12, 1.
4 For Julianus' death see Dio, lxxii. 14, 1. He is probably to be identified with L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Julianus, whose interesting career is recorded in an inscription from Rome; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1327.
5 Perhaps M. Servilius Silanus, consul in 188.
during his proconsulship in Asia, Commodus could not endure the hatred of the enraged people and gave Cleander over to the populace for punishment.\(^1\) At the same time Apolause\(^2\) and several other freedmen of the court were put to death. Among other outrages Cleander had debauched certain of Commodus' concubines,\(^3\) and from them had begotten sons, who, together with their mothers, were put to death after his downfall.

As successors to Cleander Commodus appointed Julianus and Regillus, both of whom he afterwards condemned.\(^4\) After these men had been put to death he slew the two Silani, Servilius\(^5\) and Dulius, together with their kin, then Antius Lupus\(^6\) and the two Petronii, Mamertinus and Sura,\(^7\) and also Mamertinus' son Antoninus, whose mother was his own sister;\(^8\) after these, six former consuls at one time, Allius Fuscus, Caelius Felix, Lucceius Torquatus, Larcius Eurupianus, Valerius Bassianus and Pactumelius Magnus,\(^9\) all with their kin; in Asia Sulpicius Crassus, the proconsul, Julius Proculus, together with their kin, and Claudius Lucanus, a man of consular rank; and in Achaia his father's cousin, Annia Faustina,\(^10\) and innumerable others. He had intended to kill fourteen others also, since the revenues of the Roman empire were insufficient to meet his expenditures.

\(^6\) His grave-inscription is preserved; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 1348.
\(^7\) The brothers M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus and M. Petronius Sura Septimianus were consuls in 182 and 190 respectively.
\(^8\) Perhaps Cornificia.
\(^9\) Consul in 183.
\(^10\) Annia Fundania Faustina, daughter of M. Annius Libo, Marcus' uncle (see *Marc.*, i. 3). She is probably the woman referred to in c. v. 8.
COMMODOUS ANTONINUS

VIII. Inter haec Commodus senatu semet in-ridente, cum adulterum matris consulem designasset, appellatus est Pius; cum occidisset Perennem, appellatus est Felix, inter plurimas caedes multorum civium quasi quidam novus Sulla. idem Commodus, ille Pius, ille Felix, finxisse etiam quandam contra se coniurationem dicitur, ut multos occideret. nec alia ulla fuit defectio praetor Alexandri, qui postea se et suos interemit, et sororis Lucillae. appellatus est Commodus etiam Britannicus ab adulatoribus, cum Britanni etiam imperatorem contra eum deligere voluerint. appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercules, quod feras Lanuvii in amphitheatro occidisset. erat enim haec illi consuetudo, ut domi bestias interficeret. fuit praeterea ea dementia, ut urbem Romanam coloniam Commodianam vocari voluerit. qui furo

1 senatu semet in-ridente Peter; senatu semetridente P.; senatu ridente Peter. 2 et om. in P. 3 lanuuium P. 4 cui P.

1 Probably L. Tutilius Pontianus Gentianus, said to have been one of Faustina’s lovers (see Marc. xxix. 1), and consul suffectus in 183, the year in which the name Pius was bestowed on Commodus.

2 The name is borne by Commodus in the Acts of the Arval Brothers for 7 Jan., 183; see C.I.L., vi. 2099, 12. It also appears on the coins of 183, e.g. Cohen, iii, p. 229, no. 13; the real reason for its assumption is not known.

3 This name appears on his coins of 185; e.g. Cohen, iii, p. 239, no. 49. It had been assumed as a cognomen by the Dictator Sulla.

4 Julius Alexander, from Emesa in Syria. According to Dio, lxxii. 14, 1-3, his execution was ordered because he had speared a lion while on horseback; he killed those sent to execute him and then made his escape, but was overtaken.

5 See c. iv. 1-4.

6 An allusion to the mutiny in Britain; see note to c. vi. 2.

284
COMMODUS ANTONINUS VIII. 2-6

VIII. Meanwhile, because he had appointed to the consulship a former lover of his mother's, the senate mockingly gave Commodus the name Pius; and after he had executed Perennis, he was given the name Felix, as though, amid the multitudinous executions of many citizens, he were a second Sulla. And this same Commodus, who was called Pius, and who was called Felix, is said to have feigned a plot against his own life, in order that he might have an excuse for putting many to death. Yet as a matter of fact, there were no rebellions save that of Alexander, who soon killed himself and his near of kin, and that of Commodus' sister Lucilla. He was called Britannicus by those who desired to flatter him, whereas the Britons even wished to set up an emperor against him. He was called also the Roman Hercules, on the ground that he had killed wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Lanuvium; and, indeed, it was his custom to kill wild beasts on his own estate. He had, besides, an insane desire that the city of Rome should be renamed Colonia Commodiana. This mad idea, it is said, was inspired in

7 See also § 9. Romanus Hercules appears among his titles as given by Dio, lxxii. 15, 5, and also in an inscription of Dec., 192; see C.I.L., xiv. 3449 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 400. He had the lion's skin and club, the attributes of Hercules, carried before him in the streets (Dio, lxxii. 17, 4), and had himself portrayed as Hercules on coins (Cohen, iii, p. 251 f., nos. 180-210), and in statues (c. ix. 2; Dio, lxxii. 15, 6), e.g. the famous bust in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

8 See also Dio, lxxii. 15, 2. Colonia Lucia Antoniniana Com(modiana) appears on coins of 190; see Cohen, iii, p. 233, nos. 39-40. He also gave the name Commodianus to the senate (§ 9 and Dio, ibid.), the people (c. xv. 5), the Palace (c. xii. 7), the legions (Dio, ibid.), the city of Carthage, and the African fleet (c. xvii. 8).
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

7 dicitur ei inter delenimenta Marciae iniectus. voluit 8 etiam in Circo quadrigas agitare. dalmaticatus in publico processit atque ita signum quadrigis emit- 9 tendis dedit. et eo quidem tempore quo ad senatum rettulit de Commodiana facienda Roma, non solum senatus hoc libenter accepit per inisionem, quantum intellegitur, sed etiam se ipsum Commodianum vocavit, Commodum Herculem et deum appellans.

IX. Simulavit se et in Africam iturum, ut sump- tum itinerarium exigeret, et exegit eumque in con- 2 vivia et aleam convertit. Motilenum, praefectum praetorii, per ficos veneno interemit. accepit statuas in Herculis habitu, eique immolatum est ut deo. 3 multos praeterea paraverat interimere. quod per parvulum quandam proditum est, qui tabulam e cubiculo eiecit, in qua occidendorum erant nomina scripta.

4 Sacra Isidis coluit, ut et caput raderet et Anubim 5 portaret. Bellonae servientes vere exsecare brac- 6 chium praecepit studio crudelitatis. Isiacos vere

1 His mistress, who afterwards conspired against him; see c. xvii. 1.
2 Called chiridotaes Dalmatarum in Pert., viii. 2. It was a long-sleeved tunic reaching to the knee. Dio describes it (lxxii. 17, 2) as made of white silk with gold threads.
3 See note to c. viii. 5.
4 An Egyptian deity regarded as the protector of corpses and tombs and represented with the head of a jackal, or, by the Greeks and Romans, with that of a dog. His cult was often combined with that of Isis, and according to Juvenal
him while listening to the blandishments of Marcia. He had also a desire to drive chariots in the Circus, and he went out in public clad in the Dalmatian tunic and thus clothed gave the signal for the charioteers to start. And in truth, on the occasion when he laid before the senate his proposal to call Rome Commodiana, not only did the senate gleeefully pass this resolution, out of mockery, as far as we know, but also took the name "Commodian" to itself, at the same time giving Commodus the name Hercules, and calling him a god.

IX. He pretended once that he was going to Africa, so that he could get funds for the journey, then got them and spent them on banquets and gaming instead. He murdered Motilenus, the prefect of the guard, by means of poisoned figs. He allowed statues of himself to be erected with the accoutrements of Hercules; and sacrifices were performed to him as to a god. He had planned to execute many more men besides, but his plan was betrayed by a certain young servant, who threw out of his bedroom a tablet on which were written the names of those who were to be killed.

He practised the worship of Isis and even went so far as to shave his head and carry a statue of Anubis. In his passion for cruelty he actually ordered the votaries of Bellona to cut off one of their arms, and as for the devotees of Isis, he forced them to beat (vi. 534), the chief priest of Isis was often dressed as Anubis.

5 The cult of Bellona, brought to Rome from Asia Minor in the time of Sulla, was characterised by orgiastic music and dances, in which the votaries, like Mohammedan dervishes, slashed their arms and bodies; for a description see Tibullus, i. 6, 45 f.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

pineis usque ad perniciem pectus tundere cogebat. cum Anubim portaret, capita Isiacorum graviter ob-
tundebat ore simulacri. clava non solum leones in
veste muliebri et pelle leonina sed etiam homines
multos adfixit. debiles pedibus et eos, qui ambu-
lare non possent, in gigantum modum formavit, ita
ut a genibus 1 de pannis et linteis quasi dracones
tegerentur, 2 eosdemque sagittis consecit. sacra
Mithriaca homicidio vero polluit, cum illic 3 aliquid
ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat.

X. Etiam puer et gulosus et impudicus fuit. adules-
cens omne genus hominum infamavit quod erat
secum, et ab omnibus est infamatus. inridentes se
feris obiciebat. eum etiam, qui Tranquilli librum
vitam Caligulae continentem legerat, feris obici iussit,
quia eundem diem natalis habuerat, quem et Caligula.
3 si quis sane 4 se mori velle praedixisset, hunc invitum
praecipitari iubebat.

In iocis quoque perniciosus. nam eum, 5 quem
vidisset albescentes inter nigros capillos quasi ver-

1 gentibus P. 2 tegerentur Potschenig, Peter 2; degerer-
entur P, Peter 1. 3 illihic P. 4 sane P, Peter; ante
Mommsen. 5 eum Jordan; eam P.

1 i.e. dressed as Hercules; see note to c. viii. 5.
2 According to Dio, lxxii. 20, he actually attached figures
of serpents to their legs. The performance was an imitation
of the mythical combats between the gods and the giants, in
which the latter are usually represented, e.g. on the great
altar from Pergamum, as having serpents for legs.

288
their breasts with pine-cones even to the point of death. While he was carrying about the statue of Anubis, he used to smite the heads of the devotees of Isis with the face of the statue. He struck with his club, while clad in a woman’s garment or a lion’s skin, not lions only, but many men as well. Certain men who were lame in their feet and others who could not walk, he dressed up as giants, encasing their legs from the knee down in wrappings and bandages to make them look like serpents, and then despatched them with his arrows. He desecrated the rites of Mithra with actual murder, although it was customary in them merely to say or pretend something that would produce an impression of terror.

X. Even as a child he was gluttonous and lewd. While a youth, he disgraced every class of men in his company and was disgraced in turn by them. Whosoever ridiculed him he cast to the wild beasts. And one man, who had merely read the book by Tranquillus containing the life of Caligula, he ordered cast to the wild beasts, because Caligula and he had the same birthday. And if any one, indeed, expressed a desire to die, he had him hurried to death, however really reluctant.

In his humorous moments, too, he was destructive. For example, he put a starling on the head of one

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3 A Persian deity, whose cult was brought to Rome in the time of Pompey, and became very popular about the end of the first century after Christ. In the course of the next two centuries the god, under the name Sol Invictus Mithras, was worshipped throughout the Empire, and his cult was probably the most formidable rival of Christianity.
4 But see note to c. i. 7.
5 i.e. Suetonius; see note to Hadr., xi. 3.
6 See c. i. 2, and Suetonius, Caligula, viii. 1.
miculos habere, sturno adposito, qui se vermes sectari crederet, capite suppuratum reddebat obtunsione oris.\textsuperscript{1}  
5 pinguem hominem medio ventre dissicuit, ut eius intestina subito funderentur. monopodios et luscinios eos, quibus aut singulos tulisset oculos\textsuperscript{2} aut singulos  
7 pedes fregisset, appellabat. multos praetera passim exstinxit alios, quia barbarico habitu occurrerant,  
8 alios, quia nobiles et speciosi erant. habuit in deliciis homines appellatos nominibus verendorum utriusque  
9 sexus, quos libentius suis osculis\textsuperscript{3} applicabat. habuit et hominem pene prominente ultra modum animalium,  
X. dictur saepe pretiosissimis cibis humana stercora miscuisse nec abstinuisse gustum aliis, ut putabat,  
2 inrisis. duos gibbos retortos in lance argentea sibi sinapi perfusos exhibuit eosdemque statim promovit  
3 ac ditavit. praefectum praetorii suum Iulianum togatum praesente officio suo in piscinam detrusit. quem saltare etiam nudum ante concubinas suas iussit  
4 quatientem cymbala deformato vultu. genera\textsuperscript{4} leguminos coctorum ad convivium propter luxuriae con-  
5 tinuationem raro vocavit. lavabat per diem septies

\textsuperscript{1} obtunsione oris Petschenig, Peter\textsuperscript{2}; obtusioneris Peter\textsuperscript{1}.  
\textsuperscript{2}oculos om. in P\textsuperscript{1}, add. in P corr.  
\textsuperscript{3}osculis Ursinus; oculis P.  
\textsuperscript{4}genera . . . vocavit P, Peter\textsuperscript{2}; genere . . . u vocavit Salmiasi, Peter.\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{i.e. ass.}  
\textsuperscript{2}Apparently a private cult, carried on in one of the emperor's suburban estates.  
\textsuperscript{3}See c. vii. 4.

290
man who, as he noticed, had a few white hairs, resembling worms, among the black, and caused his head to fester through the continual pecking of the bird's beak—the bird, of course, imagining that it was pursuing worms. One corpulent person he cut open down the middle of his belly, so that his intestines gushed forth. Other men he dubbed one-eyed or one-footed, after he himself had plucked out one of their eyes or cut off one of their feet. In addition to all this, he murdered many others in many places, some because they came into his presence in the costume of barbarians, others because they were noble and handsome. He kept among his minions certain men named after the private parts of both sexes, and on these he liked to bestow kisses. He also had in his company a man with a male member larger than that of most animals, whom he called Onos. This man he treated with great affection, and he even made him rich and appointed him to the priesthood of the Rural Hercules. XI. It is claimed that he often mixed human excrement with the most expensive foods, and he did not refrain from tasting them, mocking the rest of the company, as he thought. He displayed two misshapen hunchbacks on a silver platter after smearing them with mustard, and then straightway advanced and enriched them. He pushed into a swimming-pool his praetorian prefect Julianus, although he was clad in his toga and accompanied by his staff; and he even ordered this same Julianus to dance naked before his concubines, clashing cymbals and making grimaces. The various kinds of cooked vegetables he rarely admitted to his banquets, his purpose being to preserve unbroken the succession of dainties. He used to bathe seven and
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

6 atque octies et in ipsis balneis edebat. adibat\(^1\) deorum templ\a\ pollutus\(^2\) stupris et humano sanguine. 7 imitatus est et medicum, ut sanguinem hominibus emitteret scalpris feralibus.
8 Menses quoque in honorem eius pro Augusto Commodum, pro Septembri Herculem, pro Octobri Invictum, pro Novembri Exsuperatorium, pro Decembri Amazonium ex signo ipsius adulatores vocabant. 9 Amazonius autem vocatus est ex amore concubinæ suæ Marciae, quam pictam in Amazone diligebat, propter quam et ipse Amazonico habitu in arenam Romanam procedere voluit.
10 Gladiatorium\(^3\) etiam certamen subiit et nomina gladiatorum receptæ eo gaudio quasi acciperet triumphalia. ludum semper\(^4\) ingressus est et, quotiens in-12 grederetur, publicis monumentis indiussit. pugnasse autem dicitur septingenties tricies quinquies.
13 Nominatus inter Caesares quartum iduum Octobrium, quas Herculeas postea nominavit, Pudente et Polli-14 one consulibus. appellatus Germanicus idibus Hercu-

\(^1\)adibat ins. by Klein. \(^2\)pollutus P.; polluit Peter. \(^3\)gladiatorum P. \(^4\)semper P., Lenze; sæpe Casaubon, Peter.

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1 Similar mutilations are recorded by Dio, lxxii. 17, 2.
2 The complete list of the new names as given to the months is contained in Dio, lxxii. 15, 3. They are all Commodus' own names and titles. In Dio's enumeration the new names are applied differently from the list as given here, but the dates given in c. xi.-xii. accord with Dio, and comparison with known events shows that his is the correct order.
3 See note to c. viii. 6.
4 For a description of a spectacle lasting fourteen days, in which Commodus fought with wild beasts and gladiators, see Dio, lxxii. 18-21.
5 See c. xv. 8. \(^6\) Cf. c. xv. 4. \(^7\) But see c. xii. 11.
eight times a day, and was in the habit of eating while in the baths. He would enter the temples of the gods defiled with adulteries and human blood. He even aped a surgeon, going so far as to bleed men to death with scalpels.¹

Certain months were renamed in his honour by his flatterers; for August they substituted Commodus, for September Hercules, for October Invictus, for November Exsuperatorius, and for December Amazonius, after his own surname.² He had been called Amazonius, moreover, because of his passion for his concubine Marcia,³ whom he loved to have portrayed as an Amazon, and for whose sake he even wished to enter the arena of Rome dressed as an Amazon.

He engaged in gladiatorial combats,⁴ and accepted the names usually given to gladiators⁵ with as much pleasure as if he had been granted triumphal decorations. He regularly took part in the spectacles, and as often as he did so, ordered the fact to be inscribed in the public records.⁶ It is said that he engaged in gladiatorial bouts seven hundred and thirty-five times.⁷

He received the name of Caesar on the fourth day before the Ides of the month usually called October,¹² Oct., which he later named Hercules,⁸ in the consulship of Pudens and Pollio.⁹ He was called Germanicus¹⁰ on the Ides of “Hercules” in the consulship of Maxi-¹⁵ Oct., 172

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¹ On these names of the months see note to c. xi. 8.
² For these dates see c. ii. 1-5, and notes.
³ The surname was doubtless assumed by Commodus at the same time that it was taken by Marcus (see note to Marc., xii. 9). It appears on a coin of Marcus and Commodus of 172; see Cohen, iii², p. 138, no. 2.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS


8 tertio meditans de professione a senatu et populo suo retentus est. vota pro eo facta sunt nonis Piis 10 Fusciano iterum consul. inter haec refertur in litteras pugnasse illum sub patre trecenties sexagies quinquies. 2 item postea tantum palmarum gladiatoriarum confecisse vel victis retiaris vel occisis, ut mille contingere. ferarum autem diversarum manu sua occidit, ita ut elephanitos occideret, multa milia. et haec fecit spectante saepe populo Romano.

XIII. Fuit autem validus ad haec, alias debilis et infirmus, vitio etiam inter inguina prominenti, ita ut

1 so Peter; iterum et Apro P.  2 quinties P.

1 The official language describing his enthronement.
2 See note to c. viii. 6.
3 Perhaps because of the plague (see Marc., xiii. 3) which seems to have broken out again about this time; see Dio, lxxii. 14, 3; Herodian, i. 12, 1-2.
4 A gladiator provided with a heavy net in which he tried to entangle his opponent; if successful he then killed him with a dagger.
5 But see c. xi. 12.
6 See note to c. xi. 10.

294
... and Orfitus. XII. He was received into all the sacred colleges as a priest on the thirteenth day 20 Jan., before the Kalends of "Invictus," in the consulship of Piso and Julianus. He set out for Germany on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of the month 19 May, which he later named Aelius, and assumed the toga in the same year. Together with his father he was acclaimed Imperator on the fifth day before the 27 Nov., Kalends of "Exsuperatorius," in the year when Pollio and Aper served their second consulships, and he celebrated a triumph on the tenth day before the 23 Dec., Kalends of January in this same year. He set out on his second expedition on the third day before the 3 Aug., Nones of "Commodus" in the consulship of Orfitus and Rufus. He was officially presented by the army and the senate to be maintained in perpetuity in the Pälatine mansion,¹ henceforth called Commodiana,² on the eleventh day before the Kalends of 22 Oct., "Romanus," in the year that Praesens was consul for the second time. When he laid plans for a third expedition, he was persuaded by the senate and people to give it up. Vows³ were assumed in his behalf on the Nones of "Pius," when Fusciannus was 5 April, consul for the second time. Besides these facts, it is related in records that he fought 365 gladiatorial combats in his father's reign. Afterwards, by vanquishing or slaying retiarii,⁴ he won enough gladiatorial crowns to bring the number up to a thousand.⁵ He also killed with his own hand thousands of wild beasts of all kinds, even elephants. And he frequently did these things before the eyes of the Roman people.⁶

XIII. But, though vigorous enough for such exploits, he was otherwise weak and diseased; indeed,
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

eius tumorem per sericas vestes populus Romanus
gagnosceret. versus in eo multi scripti sunt, de quibus
etiam in opere suo Marius Maximus gloriatur. virium
ad conficiendas feras tantarum fuit, ut elephantum
conto transfigeret 1 et orygis cornu basto transmiserit
et singulis ictibus multa milia ferarum ingentium con-
figeret. impudentiae tanta e fuit, ut cum muliebri
veste in amphitheatro vel theatro sedens publice
saepissime biberit.

5 Victi sunt sub eo tamen, cum ille sic viveret, per
legatos Mauri, victi Daci, Pannoniae quoque com-
positae, in 2 Britannia, in Germania et in Dacia im-
perium eius recusantibus provincialibus. quae omnia
ista per duces sedata sunt. ipse Commodus in sub-
scribendo tardus et neglegens, ita ut libellis una
forma multis subscriberet, in epistulis autem plurimis
8 'Vale' tantum scriberet. agebanturque omnia per
alios, qui etiam condemnationes in sinum vertisse
XIV. dicuntur. per hanc autem neglegientiam, cum et
annonam vastarent ii qui tunc rem publicam gerebant,

1 transigere P. 2 in om. in P.

1 An inscription from Mauretania, set up between 184 and
the death of Commodus, records the construction and repair
of redoubts along the border, and is probably to be connected
with this outbreak; see Dessau, Ins. Sel., 396. This may
also be the revolt alluded to in Pert., iv. 2.

2 Probably in 182, when Commodus was acclaimed Im-
perator for the fifth time (see Cohen, iii2, p. 337, nos. 840-
847). A large number of Dacians who had been driven from
their homes were granted land in Roman territory; see Dio,
lxxii. 8, 3.
he had such a conspicuous growth on his groin that the people of Rome could see the swelling through his silken robes. Many verses were written alluding to this deformity; and Marius Maximus prides himself on preserving these in his biography of Commodus. Such was his prowess in the slaying of wild beasts, that he once transfixed an elephant with a pole, pierced a gazelle's horn with a spear, and on a thousand occasions dispatched a mighty beast with a single blow. Such was his complete indifference to propriety, that time and again he sat in the theatre or amphitheatre dressed in a woman's garments and drank quite publicly.

The Moors and the Dacians were conquered during his reign, and peace was established in the Pannonias, but all by his legates, since such was the manner of his life. The provincials in Britain, Dacia, and Germany attempted to cast off his yoke, but all these attempts were put down by his generals. Commodus himself was so lazy and careless in signing documents that he answered many petitions with the same formula, while in very many letters he merely wrote the word "Farewell". All official business was carried on by others, who, it is said, even used condemnations to swell their purses. XIV. And because he was so careless, moreover, a great famine arose in

3 An inscription of 185 records the construction of redoubts along the Danube; see C.I.L., iii. 3885 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 395.
4 See c. vi. 2 and note.
5 Probably in 187-188. It is referred to in an inscription as expeditio felicissima tertia Germanica; see C.I.L., v. 2155 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 1574. According to c. xii. 8, Commodus wished to lead the expedition but the "senate and people" would not allow it.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

etiam inopia ingens Romae exorta est, cum fruges non deessent. et eos quidem qui omnia vastabant postea Commodus occidit atque proscripts. ipse vero saeculum aureum Commodianum nomine adsimulans vilitatem proposuit, ex qua maiorem penuriam fecit. Multi sub eo et alienam poenam et salutem suam pecunia redemerunt. vendidit etiam suppliciorum diversitates et sepulturas et inminutiones malorum et alios pro aliis occidit. vendidit etiam provincias et administrationes, cum ii per quos venderet partem acciperent, partem vero Commodus. vendidit non-nullis et inimicorum suorum caedes. vendiderunt sub eo etiam eventus litium liberti. praefectos Paternum et Perennem non diu tuit, ita tamen ut etiam de iis praefectis quos ipse fecerat triennium nullus impletet, quorum plurimos interfecit vel veneno vel gladio. et praefectus urbi eadem facilitate mutavit. XV. cubiculares suos libenter occidit, cum omnia ex nutu eorum semper secisset. Eclectus cubicularius cum videret eum tam facile cubiculares occidere, praevenit eum et factioni mortis eius interfuit.

Spectator gladiatoria sumpsit arma, panno purpureo nudos umeros advelans. habuit praeterea morem, ut

1 So P (Ballou in "Class. Philol.," iii. p. 273); et non in P acc. to Peter. 2 Eclectus Mommsen, Peter; electus P.

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1 See note to c. vii. 1. 2 It was enacted by special decree, according to Dio, lxxii. 15, 6. 3 See c. iv. 7-8 and vi. 2. 4 Cf. c. vi. 6-8; vii. 4; ix. 2. Even Cleander was prefect only from 186 to 189. 5 He had been a freedman and favourite of Lucius Verus; see Ver., ix. 6. 6 See c. xvii. 1.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS XIV. 2—XV. 4

Rome, not because there was any real shortage of crops, but merely because those who then ruled the state were plundering the food supply. As for those who plundered on every hand, Commodus afterwards put them to death and confiscated their property; but for the time he pretended that a golden age had come, "Commodian" by name, and ordered a general reduction of prices, the result of which was an even greater scarcity.

In his reign many a man secured punishment for another or immunity for himself by bribery. Indeed, in return for money Commodus would grant a change of punishment, the right of burial, the alleviation of wrongs, and the substitution of another for one condemned to be put to death. He sold provinces and administrative posts, part of the proceeds accruing to those through whom he made the sale and part to Commodus himself. To some he sold even the lives of their enemies. Under him the imperial freedmen sold even the results of law-suits. He did not long put up with Paternus and Perennis as prefects; indeed, not one of the prefects whom he himself had appointed remained in office as long as three years. Most of them he killed, some with poison, some with the sword. XV. Prefects of the city he changed with equal readiness. He executed his chamberlains with no compunctions whatever, even though all that he had done had been at their bidding. One of these chamberlains, however, Eclectus by name, forestalled him when he saw how ready Commodus was to put the chamberlains to death, and took part in a conspiracy to kill him.

At gladiatorial shows he would come to watch and stay to fight, covering his bare shoulders with a purple
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

omnia quae turpiter, quae impure, quae crudeliter, quae gladiatorie, quae lenonie faceret, actis urbis indi
5 iuberet, ut Marii Maximi scripta testantur. Commod
edianum etiam populum Romanum dixit, quo saepis
6 site praesente gladiator pugnavit. sane cum illi
saepe pugnanti ut deo populus favisset, inrisum se
credens populum Romanum a militibus classiaris,
qui vela ducebant, in amphitheatro interimi prae
7 ceperat. urbem incendi iussarat, utpote coloniam
suam. quod factum esset, nisi Laetus praefectus
praetorii Commodum deterruisset. appellatus est
sane inter cetera triumphalia nomina etiam sescenties
vicies Palus Primus Secutorum.

XVI. Prodigia eius imperio et publice et privatim
2 haec facta sunt: crinita stella apparuit. vestigia
deorum in foro visa sunt exeuntia. et ante bellum
desertorum caelum arsit. et repentina caligo ac
tenebra in Circo kalendis Ianuariiis oborta; et ante

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1 The Acta Urbis or Acta Diurna was a publication begun
by Julius Caesar and continued by his successors, which con-
tained official announcements, and general news that the
government desired to convey to the public.
2 Cf. c. xi. 11. 3 See c. viii. 6 and note.
4 See c. xi. 10 and note.
5 In 192 a fire devastated the district east of the Forum and
a portion of the Palatine; see Dio, lxxii. 24, and Herodian, i.
14, 2-6. This seems to be the fire here alluded to, but accord-
ing to Dio, Commodus was in no way responsible for it.
After rebuilding what the fire had destroyed, Commodus as-
sumed the title Conditor; see Cohen, iii2, p. 251 f., nos. 181-
184.
6 See c. xvii. 1.
7 According to Dio, lxxii. 22, 3, this was engraved along with
his other titles on the Colossus (see c. xvii. 10). The term

300
COMMODUS ANTONINUS XV. 5—XVI. 2

cloth. And it was his custom, moreover, to order the insertion in the city-gazette of everything he did that was base or foul or cruel, or typical of a gladiator or a procurer—at least, the writings of Marius Maximus so testify. He entitled the Roman people the “People of Commodus,” since he had very often fought as a gladiator in their presence. And although the people regularly applauded him in his frequent combats as though he were a god, he became convinced that he was being laughed at, and gave orders that the Roman people should be slain in the Amphitheatre by the marines who spread the awnings. He gave an order, also, for the burning of the city, as though it were his private colony, and this order would have been executed had not Laetus, the prefect of the guard, deterred him. Among other triumphal titles, he was also given the name “Captain of the Secutores” six hundred and twenty times.

XVI. The prodigies that occurred in his reign, both those which concerned the state and those which affected Commodus personally, were as follows. A comet appeared. Footprints of the gods were seen in the Forum departing from it. Before the war of the deserters the heavens were ablaze. On the Kalends Jan., 193

primus palus is formed on the analogy of primus pilus, the first centurion of a legion. The palus was the wooden pike used by gladiators in practice. A secutor wore a helmet and greaves and was armed with a long shield and a sword.

8 An outbreak in Gaul in 186, headed by a soldier named Maternus, who gathered a band of fellow-soldiers and desperadoes and plundered the country. The Roman troops under Pescennius Niger defeated and scattered them; whereupon, Maternus himself fled to Italy and attempted to assassinate Commodus, but was caught and beheaded; see Herodian, i. 10, and Pesc. Nig., iii. 4.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

3 lucem fuerant etiam incendiariae aves ac dirae. de Palatio ipse ad Caelium montem in Vectilianas aedes migravit, negans se in Palatio posse dormire. Ianus geminus sua sponte apertus est, et Anubis simulacrum marmoreum moveri visum est. Herculis signum aeneum sudavit in Minucia per plures dies. bubo etiam supra cubiculum eius deprehensa est tam Rome quam Lanuvii. ipse autem prodigium non leve sibi fecit; nam cum in gladiatoris occisi vulnus manum misisset, ad caput sibi detersit, et contra consuetudinem paenulatos iussit spectatores non togatos ad munus convenire, quod funeribus solebat, ipse in pullis vestimentis praesidens. galea eius bis per portam Libitinensem elata est.

8 Congiarium dedit populo singulis denarios septingenos vicenos quinos. circa alios omnes parcissimus fuit, quod luxuriae sumptibus aerarium minuerat.1

1 minueret P.

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1 Regarded in early times as birds of ill-omen; in the first century after Christ, however, there was considerable difference of opinion as to their identification; see Plin., Nat. Hist., x. 36.
2 The school for gladiators; it was in the general neighbourhood of the Colosseum. Commodus planned to spend the night of 31 Dec., 192 here, before appearing in public on the next day as a secutor; see Dio, lxxii. 22, 2.
3 It was an ancient custom that these gates should be open when Rome was at war.
4 See note to c. ix. 4.
5 The two porticus Minuciae were situated in the low-lying district between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber, close to the Theatre of Marcellus. They were called respectively Velus and Frumentaria; in the latter were distributed the tickets which entitled the holders to receive grain from the public granaries.
6 According to Dio, lxxii. 21, 3, these cloaks were never worn at the theatre except when an emperor died.
of January a swift coming mist and darkness arose in the Circus; and before dawn there had already been fire-birds¹ and ill-boding portents. Commodus himself moved his residence from the Palace to the Vectilian Villa² on the Caelian hill, saying that he could not sleep in the Palace. The twin gates of the temple of Janus³ opened of their own accord, and a marble image of Anubis⁴ was seen to move. In the Minucian Portico⁵ a bronze statue of Hercules sweated for several days. An owl, moreover, was caught above his bed-chamber both at Lanuvium and at Rome. He was himself responsible for no inconsiderable an omen relating to himself; for after he had plunged his hand into the wound of a slain gladiator he wiped it on his own head, and again, contrary to custom, he ordered the spectators to attend his gladiatorial shows clad not in togas but in cloaks, a practice usual at funerals,⁶ while he himself presided in the vestments of a mourner. Twice, moreover, his helmet was borne through the Gate of Libitina.⁷

He gave largess to the people, 725 denarii to each man.⁸ Toward all others he was close-fisted to a degree, since the expense of his luxurious living had drained the treasury. He held many races in the Circus,⁹ but rather as the result of a whim than as

⁷ The gate of an amphitheatre through which were dragged the bodies of slain gladiators. Libitina was the goddess who presided over funerals.

⁸ This sum must be greatly exaggerated, unless it is a computation of what each citizen received during the whole of Commodus' reign. According to Dio, lxxii. 16, 1, he often gave individual largesses of 140 denarii, and his coins show nine occasions when largess was given by him, seven of which date from the time of his reign as sole emperor.

⁹ On one occasion he exhibited thirty races in two hours; see Dio, lxxii. 16, 1.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

9 circenses multos addidit ex libidine potius quam religione et ut dominos factionum ditaret.

XVII. His incitati, licet nimis sero, Quintus Aemilius Laetus praefectus et Marcia concubina eius
inierunt coniurationem ad occidendum eum. primumque ei venenum dederunt; quod cum minus operaretur, per athletam, cum quo exercer solebat, eum strangulaverunt.

3 Fuit forma quidem corporis iusta, vultu insubido, ut ebriosi solent, et sermone incondito, capillo semper fucato et auri ramentis inluminato, adurens comam et barbam timore tonsoris.

4 Corpus eius ut unco traheretur atque in Tiberim mitteretur, senatus et populus postulavit, sed postea iussu Pertinacis in monumentum Hadriani translatum est.

5 Opera eius praeter lavacrum, quod Cleander nomine ipsius fecerat, nulla extant. sed nomen eius alienis operibus incisum senatus erasit. nec patris autem sui opera perfecit. classem Africanam instituit, quae subsidio esset, si forte Alexandrina frumenta cessassent.

8 ridicule etiam Carthaginem Alexandriam Commodianam togatam appellavit, cum classem quoque Africanam Commodianam Herculeam appellasset. ornamenta

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1 See note to Ver., iv. 8.

2 The story of the murder is given in greater detail by Dio, lxxii. 22, 4, and especially by Herodian, i. 16-17. Eclectus was also one of the conspirators; see c. xv. 2.

3 It was customary to fasten a hook to the bodies of condemned criminals and thus drag them to the Tiber. The populace had demanded that this should be done to the body of Tiberius (Suetonius, Tiberius, lxv. 1).

4 Cf. c. xx, 1, and Dio, lxxiii. 2, 1. For his sepulchral inscription see C.I.L., vi. 992 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 401.

5 The Thermae Commodianae; their exact site is unknown.
an act of religion, and also in order to enrich the leaders of the factions.¹

XVII. Because of these things—but all too late—Quintus Aemilius Laetus, prefect of the guard, and Marcia, his concubine, were roused to action and entered into a conspiracy against his life. First they gave him poison; and when this proved ineffective they had him strangled by the athlete with whom he was accustomed to exercise.²

Physically he was very well proportioned. His expression was dull, as is usual in drunkards, and his speech uncultivated. His hair was always dyed and made lustrous by the use of gold dust, and he used to singe his hair and beard because he was afraid of barbers.

The people and senate demanded that his body be dragged with the hook and cast into the Tiber;³ later, however, at the bidding of Pertinax, it was borne to the Mausoleum of Hadrian.⁴

No public works of his are in existence, except the bath which Cleander built in his name.⁵ But he inscribed his name on the works of others; this the senate erased.⁶ Indeed, he did not even finish the public works of his father. He did organize an African fleet, which would have been useful, in case the grain-supply from Alexandria were delayed.⁷ He jestingly named Carthage Alexandria Commodiana Togata, after entitling the African fleet Commodiana Herculea.⁸ He made certain additions

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¹ Cf. c. xx. 5. Many inscriptions found throughout the empire show Commodus' name carefully erased. The same procedure followed the death of Domitian.
² The fleet was to convey grain to Rome from the province of Africa.
³ See note to c. viii. 6.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

sane quaedam Colosso addidit, quae postea cuncta sublata sunt. Colossi autem caput dempsit, quod Neronis esset, ac suum imposuit et titulum more solito subscripsit, ita ut illum Gladiatorium et Effeminatum non praetermitteret. Hunc tamen Severus, imperator gravis et vir nominis sui, odio, quantum videtur, senatus inter deos rettulit, flame addito, quem ipse vivus sibi paraverat, Herculaneo Commodiano.

12 Sorores tres superstites reliquit. ut natalis eius celebraretur, Severus instituit.

XVIII. Adclamationes senatus post mortem Commodi graves fuerunt. ut autem sciretur quod iudicium senatus de Commodo fuerit, ipsas adclamationes de Mario Maximo indidi et sententiam senatus consulti:

3 "Hosti patriae honores detrahantur. parricidae honores detrahantur. parricida trahatur. hostis patriae, parricida, gladiator in spoliario lanietur. hostis deorum, carnifex senatus, hostis deorum, parricida senatus; hostis deorum, hostis senatus. gladiator in spoliario. qui senatum occidit, in spoliario ponatur; qui senatum occidit, unco trahatur; qui innocentes occidit, unco trahatur. hostis, parricida,

1 quantum Peter; quam P.

1 On the Colossus see Hadr., xix. 12-13 and note. This passage is incorrect, since Hadrian had replaced the head of Nero by that of the Sun. According to Dio, lxxii. 22, 3, Commodus also added the club and lion's skin characteristic of Hercules (see c. viii. 5). Dio also gives the inscription (cf. c. xv. 8).

2 Commemorated by coins with the legend Consecratio;
to the Colossus by way of ornamentation, all of which were later taken off, and he also removed its head, which was a likeness of Nero, and replaced it by a likeness of himself, writing on the pedestal an inscription in his usual style, not omitting the titles Gladiatiorius and Effeminatus.\(^1\) And yet Severus, a stern emperor and a man whose character was well in keeping with his name, moved by hatred for the senate—or so it seems—exalted this creature to a place among the gods\(^2\) and granted him also a flamen, the "Herculaneus Commodianus," whom Commodus while still alive had planned to have for himself.

Three sisters\(^3\) survived him. Severus instituted the observance of his birthday.

XVIII. Loud were the acclamations of the senate after the death of Commodus. And that the senate's opinion of him may be known, I have quoted from Marius Maximus the acclamations themselves,\(^4\) and the content of the senate's decree:

"From him who was a foe of his fatherland let his honours be taken away; let the honours of the murderer be taken away; let the murderer be dragged in the dust. The foe of his fatherland, the murderer, the gladiator, in the charnel-house let him be mangled. He is foe to the gods, slayer of the senate, foe to the gods, murderer of the senate, foe of the gods, foe of the senate. Cast the gladiator into the charnel-house. He who slew the senate, let him be dragged with the hook; he who slew the guiltless, let

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\(^1\) Cohen, iii, p. 234, no. 61; see also p. 359, nos. 1009-1010. He also appears as Divus Commodus in inscriptions.

\(^2\) Arria Padilla, Cornificia, and Vibia Aurelia Sabina.

\(^3\) Cf. Av. Cass., xiii. 1 and note. The outcries are mentioned by Dio, lxxiii. 2, 2-4.
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

6 vere vere.\(^1\) qui sanguini suo non pepercit, unco 
7 trahatur. qui te occisurus fuit, unco trahatur. no-
biscum timuisti, nobiscum periclitatus es. ut salvi 
simus, Iuppiter optime maxime, serva nobis Per-
tinacem. fidei praetorianorum feliciter. praetoriis 
cohortibus feliciter. exercitibus Romanis feliciter. 
pietati senatus feliciter.

9 Parricida trahatur. rogamus, Auguste, parricida 
10 trahatur. hoc rogamus, parricida trahatur. exaudi 
Caesar: delatores ad leonem. exaudi Caesar: Spera-
tum ad leonem. victoriae populi Romani feliciter. 
fidei militum feliciter. fidei praetorianorum feliciter. 
cohortibus praetoriis feliciter.

12 Hostis statuas undique, parricidae statuas undique, 
gladiatoris statuas undique. gladiatoris et parricidae 
13 statuae detrahantur. necator civium trahatur. parr-
icida civium trahatur. gladiatoris statuae detrahantur.
14 te salvo salvi et securi sumus, vere vere, modo vere, 
modo digne, modo vere, modo libere.

15 Nunc securi sumus; delatoribus metum. ut securi 
simus,\(^2\) delatoribus metum. ut\(^3\) salvi simus, delatores 
de senatu, delatoribus fustem. te salvo delatores ad 
16 leonem. te imperante delatoribus fustem.

\(^1\) Evidently addressed to Pertinax. 
\(^2\) Cf. Pert., v. 1. 
\(^3\) Apparently an informer.
him be dragged with the hook—a foe, a murderer, 
verily, verily. He who spared not his own blood, let 
him be dragged with the hook; he who would have 
slain you, let him be dragged with the hook. You 
were in terror along with us, you were endangered 
along with us. That we may be safe, O Jupiter Best 
and Greatest, save for us Pertinax. Long life to the 
guardian care of the praetorians! Long life to the 
praetorian cohorts! Long life to the armies of Rome! 
Long life to the loyalty of the senate!

Let the murderer he dragged in the dust. We 
beseech you, O Sire, let the murderer be dragged in 
the dust. This we beseech you, let the murderer be 
dragged in the dust. Hearken, Caesar: to the lions 
with the informers! Hearken Caesar: to the lions 
with Speratus! Long life to the victory of the 
Roman people! Long life to the soldiers' guardian 
care! Long life to the guardian care of the praetorians! Long life to the praetorian cohorts!

On all sides are statues of the foe, on all sides are 
statues of the murderer, on all sides are statues of 
the gladiator. The statues of the murderer and 
 gladiator, let them be cast down. The slayer of 
citizens, let him be dragged in the dust. The 
murderer of citizens, let him be dragged in the dust. 
Let the statues of the gladiator be overthrown. 
While you are safe, we too are safe and untroubled, 
verily, verily, if in very truth, then with honour, if 
in very truth, then with freedom.

Now at last we are secure; let informers tremble. 
That we may be secure, let informers tremble. That 
we may be safe, cast informers out of the senate, the club 
for informers! While you are safe, to the lions with 
informers! While you are ruler, the club for informers!
COMMODUS ANTONINUS

XIX. Parricidae gladiatoris memoria aboleatur, parricideae gladiatoris statuae detrahantur. impuris gladiatoris memoria aboleatur. gladiatorem in spoliario. exaudi Caesar: carnis unco trahatur. carnis senatus more maiorum unco trahatur. saevior Domitianus, impior Nerone. sic fecit, sic patiatur. memoriae innocentium serventur. honores innocentium restitutas, rogamus. parricidae cadaver unco trahatur. gladiatoris cadaver unco trahatur. gladiatoris cadaver in spoliario ponatur. perroga, perroga: omnes censemus unco trahendum. qui omnes occidit, unco trahatur. qui omnem aetatem occidit, unco trahatur. qui utrumque sexum occidit, unco trahatur. qui sanguini suo non pepercit, unco trahatur. qui templo spoliavit, unco trahatur. qui testamenta deblevit, unco trahatur. qui vivos spoliavit, unco trahatur. servis serviimus. qui pretia vitae exegit, unco trahatur. qui pretia vitae exegit et fidem non servavit, unco trahatur. qui senatum vendidit, unco trahatur. qui filiis abstulit hereditatem, unco trahatur.

7 Indices de senatu, delatores de senatu, servorum
Let the memory of the murderer and the gladiator be utterly wiped away. Let the statues of the murderer and the gladiator be overthrown. Let the memory of the foul gladiator be utterly wiped away. Cast the gladiator into the charnel-house. Hearken, Caesar: let the slayer be dragged with the hook. In the manner of our fathers let the slayer of the senate be dragged with the hook. More savage than Domitian, more foul than Nero. As he did unto others, let it be done unto him. Let the remembrance of the guiltless be preserved. Restore the honours of the guiltless, we beseech you. Let the body of the murderer be dragged with the hook, let the body of the gladiator be dragged with the hook, let the body of the gladiator be cast into the charnel-house. Call for our vote, call for our vote: with one accord we reply, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew all men, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew young and old, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew man and woman, let him be dragged with the hook. He who spared not his own blood, let him be dragged with the hook. He who plundered temples, let him be dragged with the hook. He who set aside the testaments of the dead, let him be dragged with the hook. He who plundered the living, let him be dragged with the hook. We have been slaves to slaves. He who demanded a price for the life of a man, let him be dragged with the hook. He who demanded a price for a life and kept not his promise, let him be dragged with the hook. He who sold the senate, let him be dragged with the hook. He who took from sons their patrimony, let him be dragged with the hook.

Spies and informers, cast them out of the senate.
COMMODOUS ANTONINUS

subornatores de senatu. et tu nobiscum timuisti; 8 omnia scis et bonos et malos nosti. omnia scis, omnia emenda; pro te timuemus. o nos felices, te vere 1 imperante! de parricida refer, refer, perroga. 9 praesentiam tuam rogamus. innocentes sepulti non sunt. parricidae cadaver trahatur. parricida sepultos eruit; parricidae cadaver trahatur.”

XX. Et cum iussu Pertinacis Livius Laurensis, procurator patrimonii, Fabio Ciloni consuli designato dedisset, per noctem Commodi cadaver sepultum est. 2, 3 senatus adclamavit: “Quo auctore sepelierunt? parricida seputus eruatur, 2 trahatur.” Cincius Severus dixit: “Iniuste sepultus est. qua pontifex dico, hoc collegium pontificum dicit. quoniam laeta 3 percensui, nunc convertar ad necessaria: censeo quas 4 is, qui nonnisi ad perniciem civium et ad dedecus suum vixit, ob honorem suum decerni coegit, abolendas statuas, quae undique sunt abolendae, nomenque ex omnibus privatis publicisque monumentis erandum menseseque iis nominibus nuncupandos quibus nuncupabantur, cum primum illud malum in re publica incubuit.”

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1 uere Editor (cf. Claud., iv. 3); uiro P; uero Exc. Cusana, Mommsen; uiso Hirschfeld, Peter. 2 seruatur P. 3 laeta Peter; laetam P; laeta iam Baehrens, Peter. 4 quae P.

1 Commemorated in an inscription from Rome, C.I.L., vi. 2126. He is one of the characters in the Deipnosophistai of Athenaeus.
2 An office probably created by Claudius. The patrimonium comprised the estates regarded as the property of the emperor and transmitted from one emperor to another, even when there was no direct succession. It was distinguished, both from the fiscus, or imperial treasury, and from the res privata, the private property of any individual emperor; the latter.
Suborners of slaves, cast them out of the senate. You, too, were in terror along with us; you know all, you know both the good and the evil. You know all that we were forced to purchase; all we have feared for your sake. Happy are we, now that you are emperor in truth. Put it to the vote concerning the murderer, put it to the vote, put the question. We ask your presence. The guiltless are yet unburied; let the body of the murderer be dragged in the dust. The murderer dug up the buried; let the body of the murderer be dragged in the dust.”

XX. The body of Commodus was buried during the night, after Livius Laurensis, the steward of the imperial estate, had surrendered it at the bidding of Pertinax to Fabius Cilo, the consul elect. At this the senate cried out: “With whose authority have they buried him? The buried murderer, let him be dug up, let him be dragged in the dust.” Cincius Severus said: “Wrongfully has he been buried. And as I speak as pontifex, so speaks the college of the pontifices. And now, having recounted what is joyful, I shall proceed to what is needful: I give it as my opinion that the statues should be overthrown which this man, who lived but for the destruction of his fellow-citizens and for his own shame, forced us to decree in his honour; wherever they are, they should be cast down. His name, moreover, should be erased from all public and private records, and the months should be once more called by the names whereby they were called when this scourge first fell upon the state,”

was placed in charge of a special procurator by Severus; see Sev., xii. 4.

3 See c. xvii. 4. 4 See Carac., iii. 2 and note.
5 See Sev., xiii. 9. 6 See c, xvii. 6, 7 See c. xi. 8.

313
HELVIUS PERTINAX
IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Publio Helvio Pertinaci pater libertinus Helvius Successus fuit, qui filio nomen ex continuatione lignariae negotiationis, quod pertinaciter eam rem gereret, imposuisse fatetur. natus est Pertinax in Appennino in villa matris. equus pullus ea hora quanatus est in tegulas ascendit atque ibi breviter com- moratus decidit et\textsuperscript{1} exspiravit. hae re motus pater ad Chaldaeum venit. qui cum illi futura ingentia praedixisset, stirpem\textsuperscript{2} se perdidisse dixit.

Puer litteris elementariis et calculo imbutus, datus etiam Graeco grammatico atque inde Sulpicio Apollinari, post quem idem Pertinax grammaticen professus est.

Sed cum in ea minus quaestus proficeret, per Lollianum Avitum, consularem virum, patris patronum, ducendi ordinis dignitatem petiit. dein prae-

\textsuperscript{1} et om. in P. \textsuperscript{2} stirpem P; stipem Peter.

\textsuperscript{1} At Alba Pompeia in Liguria, according to Dio, lxxiii. 1. For the date see c. xv. 6.
\textsuperscript{2} The text is almost certainly corrupt.
\textsuperscript{3} Frequently cited in the Noctes Atticae of Aulus Gellius, one of his pupils. He is well known as the composer of metrical summaries of the Aeneid and of Terence's comedies.
\textsuperscript{4} Consul in 144.
PERTINAX

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Publius Helvius Pertinax was the son of a freedman, Helvius Successus by name, who confessed that he gave this name to his son because of his own long-standing connection with the timber-trade, for he had conducted that business with pertinacity. Pertinax himself was born in the Apennines on an estate Aug., which belonged to his mother. The hour he was born a black horse climbed to the roof, and after remaining there for a short time, fell to the ground and died. Disturbed by this occurrence, his father went to a Chaldean, and he prophesied future greatness for the boy, saying that he himself had lost his child. As a boy, Pertinax was educated in the rudiments of literature and in arithmetic and was also put under the care of a Greek teacher of grammar and, later, of Sulpicius Apollinaris; after receiving instruction from this man, Pertinax himself took up the teaching of grammar.

But when he found little profit in this profession, with the aid of Lollianus Avitus, a former consul and his father's patron, he sought an appointment to a command in the ranks. Soon afterwards, in the

5 As chief centurion; see note to Av. Cass., i. 1.

815
PERTINAX

fectus cohortis in Syriam profectus Tito Aurelio imperatore, a praeside Syriae, quod sine diplomatibus cursum usurpaverat, pedibus ab Antiochia ad lega-
II. tionem suam iter facere coactus est. bello Parthico industria sua proemeritus in Britanniam translatus est ac retentus. post in Moesia rexit alam. deinde alimentis dividendis in Via Aemilia procuravit. inde classem Germanicam rexit. mater eum usque in Germaniam persecuta 1 est ibique obiit. cuius etiam sepulchrum stare nunc dicitur. inde ad ducenum sestertiorum stipendium translatus in Daciam sus-
pectusque a Marco quorundam artibus 2 remotus est, et postea per Claudium Pompeianum, generum Marci, quasi adiutor eius futurus vexillis regendis adscitus est. in quo munere adprobatus lectus est in senatu. postea iterum re bene gesta prodisa est factio, quae illi concinnata fuerat, Marcusque imperator, ut com-

1 persecuta P. 2 artibus Peter; a partibus P.
reign of Titus Aurelius, he set out for Syria as prefect of a cohort, and there, because he had used the imperial post without official letters of recommendation, he was forced by the governor of Syria to make his way from Antioch to his station on foot. II. Winning promotion because of the energy he showed in the Parthian war, he was transferred to Britain and there retained. Later he led a squadron in Moesia, and after that he supervised the distribution of grants to the poor on the Aemilian Way. Next, he commanded the German fleet. His mother followed him all the way to Germany, and there she died, and her tomb is said to be still standing there. From this command he was transferred to Dacia at a salary of two hundred thousand sesterces, but through the machinations of certain persons he came to be distrusted by Marcus and was removed from this post; afterwards, however, through the influence of Claudius Pompeianus, the son-in-law of Marcus, he was detailed to the command of detachments as though likely to be appointed Pompeianus' aide. Meeting with approval in this position, he was enrolled in the senate. Later, when he had won success in war for the second time, the plot which had been made against him was revealed, and Marcus, in order to remedy the wrong he had done him, raised

7 The fleet on the Rhine.
8 As procurator, with the rank of ducenarius. He had the supervision of the finances of the province.
9 See Marc., xx. 6. Pompeianus had befriended him previously (see § 1 and note).
10 Pompeianus was governor of Pannonia Inferior in 167 (see note to Marc., xx. 7), and it was probably at this time that he appointed Pertinax to this command.
PERTINAX

pensaret iniuriam, praetorium eum fecit et primae legioni regendae imposuit, statimque Raetias et Noricum ab hostibus vindicavit. ex quo eminente industria studio Marci imperatoris consul est designatus. exstat oratio apud Marium Maximum laudes eius continens et omnia vel quae fecit vel quae perpessus est. et praeter illam orationem, quam longum fuit conectere, saepissime Pertinax a Marco et in contione militari et in senatu laudatus est, doluitque palam Marcus, quod senator esset et praefectus praetorii fieri a se non posset. Cassiano motu composite e Syria ad Danuvii tutelam profectus est atque inde Moesiae utriusque, mox Daciea regimem accepit. bene gestis his provinciis Syrian meruit.

III. Integre se usque ad Syriae regimem Pertinax tenuit, post excessum vero Marci pecuniae studuit; quo re etiam dictis popularibus lacessitus. curiam Romanam post quattuor provincias consulares, quia consulatum absens gesserat, iam dives ingressus est, cum eam senator antea non vidisset. iussus est praeterea statim a Perenni in Liguriarum sedecere in villam paternam; nam pater eius tabernam coactiliariam in

1 et om. in P. 2 coactiliarum Scaliger, Mommsen; coactiliriam P; coctiliciam Salmasius, Peter.

1 i.e. the rank in the senate of those who had held the praetorship.
2 The First Adjutrix, which in the second century was quartered in Upper Pannonia.
3 In connection with Marcus’ campaign in Pannonia; see note to Marc., xiv. 6.
4 He evidently accompanied Marcus thither at the time of Cassius’ revolt; see Marc., xxv. 1.
5 Cf. c. ix. 4-6; xiii. 4.
318
him to the rank of praetor and put him in command of the First Legion. Whereupon Pertinax straightway rescued Raetia and Noricum from the enemy. Because of his conspicuous prowess in this campaign he was appointed, on the recommendation of Marcus, to the consulship. Marcus' speech has been preserved in the works of Marius Maximus; it contains a eulogy of him and relates, moreover, everything that he did and suffered. And besides this speech, which it would take too much space to incorporate in this work, Marcus praised Pertinax frequently, both in the assemblies of soldiers and in the senate, and publicly expressed regret that he was a senator and therefore could not be made prefect of the guard. After Cassius' revolt had been suppressed, Pertinax set out from Syria to protect the bank of the Danube, and presently he was appointed to govern both the Moesias and, soon thereafter, Dacia. And by reason of his success in these provinces, he won the appointment to Syria.

III. Up to the time of his administration of Syria, Pertinax preserved his honesty, but after the death of Marcus he became desirous of wealth, and was in consequence assailed by popular gibes. It was not until after he had governed four consular provinces and had become a rich man that he entered the Roman senate-chamber, which, during all his career as senator, he had never before seen, for during his term as consul he had been absent from Rome. Immediately after this, he received orders from Perennius to retire to his father's farm in Liguria, where his father had kept a cloth-maker's

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4 He seems to have been in Syria during the short term for which he was appointed consul; see c. ii. 7 and 10.
5 See note to c. i. 2.
4 Liguria exercerat. sed posteaquam in Liguriam venit, multis agris coepit tabernam paternam manente forma priore infinitis aedificiis circumdedit. fuitque illic per triennium et mercatus est per suas servos.

5 Occiso sane Perenni Commodus Pertinaci satisfecit eumque petii litteris, ut ad Britanniam proficisceretur. prefectusque milites ab omni seditione deterruit, cum illi quemcumque imperatorem vellent habere et ipsum specialiter Pertinacem. tunc Pertinax malevolentiae notam subiit, quod dictus est insimulasse apud Commodum aedecti imperii Antistium Burrum et Arrium Antoninum. et seditiones quidem contra se ipse compescuit in Britannia, verum ingens periculum adiit seditione legionis paene occisus, certe inter occisos reliquit. quam quidem rem idem Pertinax acerrime vindicavit. denique postea veniam legationis petiiit, dicens sibi ob defensam disciplinam IV. infestas esse legiones. accepto successore alimentorum ei cura mandata est. dein pro consule Africae factus est. in quo proconsulatu multas seditiones perpessus dicitur vaticinationibus carminum quae de templo Caelestis emergunt. post hoc praefectus urbi 3 factus. in qua praefectura post Fuscianum, hominem severum, Pertinax mitissimus et humanissimus fuit et

1 litteris Peter; litteras P. 2 contra <se> ipse Lenze; contra ipse P.; contra imperatorem Obrecht, Peter. 3 Britanniam P, Peter. 4 carminum Peter²; earum P.

1 See Com., vi. 2 and notes. 2 See Com., vi. 11 and vii. 1. 3 See Hadr., viii. 8, and c. ii. 2. He was now praefectus alimentorum, charged with the supervision of the alimenta for the whole of Italy, whereas previously he had been responsible for one district.

320
shop. On coming to Liguria, however, he bought up a great number of farms, and added countless buildings to his father's shop, which he still kept in its original form; and there he stayed for three years carrying on the business through his slaves.

After Perennis had been put to death, Commodus made amends to Pertinax, and in a letter asked him to set out for Britain. After his arrival there he kept the soldiers from any revolt, for they wished to set up some other man as emperor, preferably Pertinax himself. And now Pertinax acquired an evil character for enviousness, for he was said to have laid before Commodus the charge that Antistius Burrus and Arrius Antoninus were aspiring to the throne. And certainly he did suppress a mutiny against himself in Britain, but in so doing he came into great danger; for in a mutiny of a legion he was almost killed, and indeed was left among the slain. This mutiny Pertinax punished very severely. Later on, however, he petitioned to be excused from his governorship, saying that the legions were hostile to him because he had been strict in his discipline. IV. After he had been relieved of this post, he was put in charge of the grants to the poor. Next he was made proconsul of Africa. During this proconsulship, it is said, he suppressed many rebellions by the aid of prophetic verses which issued from the temple of Caelestis. Next he was made prefect of the city, and in this office, as successor to Fuscianus, a very stern man, Pertinax

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4 The tutelary goddess of Carthage, Tanith, worshipped in the imperial period under the name of Caelestis Afrorum Dea. Her cult extended through northern Africa to Spain and was spread by soldiers over the empire. See also Macr., iii. 1.

5 See Marc., iii. 8.

321
PERTINAX

ipsi Commodo plurimum placuit, quia . . . . illi esset
iterum cum Pertinax factus est. tunc Pertinax inter-
siciendi Commodi conscientiam delatam sibi ab aliis
non fugit.

5 Commodo autem interempto Laetus praefectus
praetorii et Eclectus 1 cubicularius ad eum venerunt
et 2 eum confirmarunt atque in castra duxerunt.
6 illic Pertinax milites adlocutus est, donativum pro-
misit, ingeri sibi imperium a Laeto et Eclecto 3 dixit.
7 dictum est autem quod morbo esset Commodus ex-
stinctus, quia et milites, ne temptarentur, pertimes-
cebant. denique a paucis primum est Pertinax
8 imperator appellatus. factus est autem sexagenario
9 maior imperator pridie kal. Ian. de castris nocte
cum ad senatum venisset et cellam curiae iussisset
aperiri, neque inveniretur aedituus, in Templo Con-
10 cordiae resedit. et cum ad eum Claudius Pompeianus,
genere Marci, 4 venisset casumque Commodi 5 lacri-
masset, hortatus Pertinax ut imperium sumeret.
sed ille recusavit, quia iam imperatorem Pertinacem
11 videbat. statim ergo omnis magistratus cum consule
ad curiam venerunt ingressumque Pertinacem nocte

electus P. 2et Salmasius; ut P. 3electo P. 4ger-
manici P. 5commodo P.

1 No successful attempt has been made to fill this lacuna.
2 See Com., xvii. 1.
3 Twelve thousand sesterces, or three thousand denarii; see c. xv. 7, and Dio, lxxiii. 1, 2. According to c. xv. 7, he
paid only half of it, but according to Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4, he paid
all that he had promised.
4 According to Dio, lxxiii. 1, 8, the soldiers were not en-
thusiastic.
322
PERTINAX IV. 4-11

was exceedingly gentle and considerate, and he proved very pleasing to Commodus himself, for he was . . . ¹ when Pertinax was made consul for the second time. And while in this position, Pertinax did not avoid complicity in the murder of Commodus, when a share in this plot was offered him by the other conspirators.

After Commodus was slain,² Laetus, the prefect of the guard, and Eclectus, the chamberlain, came to Pertinax and reassured him, and then led him to the camp. There he harangued the soldiers, promised a donative,³ and said that the imperial power had been thrust upon him by Laetus and Eclectus. It was pretended, moreover, that Commodus had died a natural death, chiefly because the soldiers feared that their loyalty was merely being tested. Finally, and at first by only a few, Pertinax was hailed as emperor.⁴ He was made emperor on the day before the Kalends of January, being then more than sixty years old.⁵ During the night he came from the camp to the senate, but, when he ordered the opening of the hall of the senate-house and the attendant could not be found, he seated himself in the Temple of Concord.⁶ And when Claudius Pompeianus, Marcus' son-in-law, came to him and bemoaned the death of Commodus, Pertinax urged him to take the throne; Claudius, however, seeing that Pertinax was already invested with the imperial power, refused. Without further delay, therefore, all the magistrates, in company with the consul, came to the senate-house, and Pertinax, who had come in by night, was saluted as emperor.

²Sixty-six.
³At the western end of the Forum at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. The senate often met there.
PERTINAX

V. imperatorem appellaverunt. ipse autem Pertinax post laudes suas a consulibus dictas et post vituperationem Commodi adclamationibus senatus ostensam egit gratias senatui et praecipue Laeto, praefecto praetorii, quo auctore et Commodus interemptus et ipse imperator est factus.

2 Sed cum Laeto gratias egisset Pertinax, Falco consul dixit: "Qualis imperator es futurus, hinc intellegimus, quod Laetum et Marciam, ministrors 3 scelerum Commodi, post te videmus". cui Pertinax respondit: "Juvenis es consul nec parendi scis necessitates. paruerunt 2 inviti Commodo, sed ubi habuerunt facultatem, quid semper voluerint osten
derunt". eadem die qua Augustus est appellatus, et Flavia Titiana uxor eius Augusta est appellata, iis horis quibus ille in Capitolium vota solvebat. 4 primus sane omnium ea die qua Augustus est appel
latus, etiam patris patriae nomen receptit nec non 3 simul etiam imperium proconsulare nec non 3 ius quartae relationis. quod ominis 4 loco fuit Pertinaci.

7 Ad Palatium ergo Pertinax profectus, quod tunc vacuum erat, quia Commodus in Vectilianis occidus est, petenti signum prima die tribuno dedit "militemus," exprobrans utique segniem temporum superi
orum. quod quidem etiam ante in omnibus ducatibus

1marcianum P. 2paruerunt P. 3non ins. in P corr.; om. in P1. 4omnis P1.

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1See Com., xviii.-xix.
2Pertinax refused this name for his wife and that of Caesar for his son; see c. vi. 9 and Dio, lxxiii. 7, 1-2. Dio suggests that it was on account of her bad character; see also c. xiii. 8. However, Titiana is called Augusta in inscriptions and on coins.
3See Hadr., vi. 4 and note. 4See note to Marc., vi. 6.

324
V. Pertinax, on his part, after his own praises had been recited by the consul and Commodus had been execrated in the outcries of the senate,\(^1\) returned thanks to the senate in general, and in particular to Laetus, the prefect of the guard, through whose instrumentality Commodus had been slain and he himself declared emperor.

When Pertinax had returned thanks to Laetus, however, Falco, the consul, said: "We may know what sort of an emperor you will be from this, that we see behind you Laetus and Marcia, the instruments of Commodus' crimes". To him Pertinax replied: "You are young, Consul, and do not know the necessity of obedience. They obeyed Commodus, but against their will, and as soon as they had an opportunity, they showed what had always been their desire." On the same day that he was entitled Augustus, at the very hour at which he was paying his vows on the Capitolium, Flavia Titiana, his wife, was also given the name of Augusta.\(^2\) Of all the emperors he was the first to receive the title of Father of his Country on the day when he was named Augustus.\(^3\) And at the same time he received the proconsular power and the right of making four proposals to the senate\(^4\)—a combination which Pertinax regarded as an omen.

And so Pertinax repaired to the Palace, which was vacant at that time, for Commodus had been slain in the Vectilian Villa.\(^5\) And on the first day of his reign, when the tribune asked for the watchword, he gave "let us be soldiers," as if reproving the former reign for its inactivity. As a matter of fact, he had really used this same watchword before in all his

\(^5\) See Com., xvi. 3.
PERTINAX

VI. dederat. exprobrationem autem istam milites non tulerunt statimque de imperatore mutando cogitarunt. 

ea die etiam ad convivium magistratus et proceres senatus rogavit, quam consuetudinem Commodus 
praeternerat. sane iam¹ postero kalendarum die 
cum statuae Commodi deicerentur, gemuerunt milites, simul quia iterum signum idem dederat imperator. 
timebatur autem militia sub sene imperatore. de-
nique tertium nonarum diem votis ipsis milites Tri-
arium Maternum Lascivium, senatum nobilem, ducere 
in castra voluerunt, ut eum rebus Romanis imponerent. 

sed ille nudus fugit atque ad Pertinacem in Palatium 
venit et post ex urbe decessit.

Timore sane Pertinax coactus omnia quae Commo-
dus militibus et veteranis dederat confirmavit. susci-
pere se etiam imperium a senatu dixit, quod iam sponte 
inierat. quaestionem maiestatis penitus tulit cum 
iureiurando, revocavit etiam eos qui deportati fuerant 
crimine maiestatis, eorum memoria restituta qui occisi 

fuerant. filium eius senatus Caesarem appellavit. 
sed Pertinax nec uxoris Augustae appellacionem re-
cepit et de filio dixit: "cum meruerit". et cum 
Commodus adlectionibus innumeris praetorias mis-
cuisset, senatus consultum Pertinax fecit iussitque

¹ iam Peter; cum P.

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¹ Cf. Com., xx. 4-5.
² Yet according to c. iv. 11 and Dio, lxxiii. 1, 4, he was regularly elected by the senate.
³ According to Dio, lxxiii. 5, 3, their bodies were disinterred and then laid in their ancestral tombs.
⁴ See note to c. v. 4.
⁵ See note to c. ii. 6.
commands. VI. But the soldiers would not tolerate a reproach and straightway began to make plans for changing the emperor. On this same day also he invited the magistrates and the chief men of the senate to a banquet, a practice which Commodus had discontinued. But, indeed, on the day after the Kalends of January, when the statues of Commodus were overthrown,¹ the soldiers groaned aloud, for he gave this same watchword for the second time, and besides they dreaded service under an emperor advanced in years. Finally on the third of the month, just as the vows were being assumed, the soldiers tried to lead Triarius Maternus Lascivius, a senator of distinction, to the camp, in order to invest him with the sovereignty of the Roman Empire. He, however, fled from them quite naked and came to Pertinax in the Palace and presently departed from the city.

Induced by fear, Pertinax ratified all the concessions which Commodus had made to the soldiers and veterans. He declared, also, that he had received from the senate the sovereignty which, in fact, he had already assumed on his own responsibility.² He abolished trials for treason absolutely and bound himself thereto by an oath, he recalled those who had been exiled on the charge of treason, and he re-established the good name of those who had been slain.³ The senate granted his son the name of Caesar, but Pertinax not only refused to allow the name Augusta to be conferred on his wife but also, in the case of his son, said: "Only when he earns it".⁴ And since Commodus had obscured the significance of the praetorian rank⁵ by countless appointments thereto, Pertinax, after securing the passage of a decree of the senate, issued an order that those who

327
PERTINAX

eos, qui praeturas non gessissent sed adlectione ac-
ccepissent, post eos esse qui vere praetores fuissent. 11 sed hinc quoque grande odium sibi multorum com-
VII. movit. census retractari iussit. delatores convictos 1 
graviter puniri iussit et tamen mollius quam priores 
imperatores, unicuique dignitati, si delationis crimen 
2 incurreret, poenam statuens. legem sane tulit, ut 
testamenta prora non prius essent inrta quam alia 
perfecta essent, neve ob hoc fiscus aliquando succe-
deret. isque professus est nullius se aditurum 2 
hereditatem, quae aut adulatione alcuuius delata esset 
aute lite perplexa, ut legitiimi heredes et necessarii 
privarentur. additque senatus consulto haec verba:
4 "Satius 3 est, patres conscripti, inopem rem publicam 
obtinere, quam ad divitiarum cumulum per discrimi-
5 num atque dedecorum vestigia pervenire". donativa 
et congiaria, quae Commodus promiserat, solvit. an-
nonae consultissime providit. et cum tantam penu-
rium 4 aerarii haberet, ut praeter decies sestertium 
on se invenisse fateretur, coactus est ea exigere 
quae Commodus indixerat, contra quam professus 
7 fuerat. denique aggressus eum Lollianus Gentianus 
consularis, quod contra promissum faceret, necessitatis 
rationem accepit.

1 convictos Faber, Peter; vicinctos P. 2 adituram P. 
3 satius Gruter; statius P1; sanctius P corr. 4 pecuniam P.

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1 In cases where there was no will or no natural heir the 
property reverted to the imperial treasury.
2 Cf. c. vi. 6.
3 This figure is also given by Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4 (250,000 
denarii).
4 Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus was the son of the 
patron of Pertinax' father; see c. i. 5.

328
had secured the rank of praetor not by actual service, but by appointment, should be ranked below those who had been praetors in reality. But by this act also he brought on himself the bitter enmity of many men. VII. He gave orders for the taking of a new census. He gave orders, too, that men convicted of lodging false accusations should be punished with severity, exercising, nevertheless, greater moderation than former emperors, and at the same time ordaining a separate punishment for each rank in case any of its members should be convicted of this offence. He enacted a law, moreover, that an old will should not become invalid before the new one was formally completed, fearing that some time the privy-purse might in this way succeed to an inheritance.¹ He declared that for his own part he would accept no legacy which came to him either through flattery or by reason of legal entanglements if thereby the rightful heirs and the near of kin should be robbed of their rights, and when the decree of the senate was passed, he added these words: "It is better, O Conscript Fathers, to rule a state that is impoverished, than to attain to a great mass of wealth by paths of peril and dishonour". He paid the donatives and largesses which Commodus had promised,² and provided with the greatest care for the grain-supply. And when the treasury was drained to such a degree that he was unable to put his hands on more than a million sesterces,³ as he himself admitted, he was forced, in violation of a previous promise, to exact certain revenues which Commodus had remitted. And finally, when Lollianus Gentianus,⁴ a man of consular rank, brought him to task for breaking his promise, he excused himself on the ground that it was a case of necessity.
PERTINAX

8 Auctionem rerum Commodi habuit, ita ut et pueros et concubinas vendi iuberet, exceptis iis qui per vim 9 Palatio videbantur inserti. et de iis quos vendi iussit multi postea reducti ad ministerium oblectarunt senem, qui 1 quidem per alios principes usque ad 10 senatorium dignitatem pervenerunt. scurras turpis- simorum nominum dedecora praeferentes 2 proscrispit 11 ac vendidit. cuius nundinationis pecuniam, quae VIII. ingens fuit, militibus donativo dedit. a libertis etiam ea exigit quibus Commodo vendente ditati fuerant. 2 auctio sane rerum Commodi in his insignior fuit: vestis subtegmine serico aureis filis insigni opere, 3 tunicas paenulasque, lacernas et chridotas Dalmatarum et cirratas militares purpureas chlamydes Graecanicas atque castrenses. et cuculli Barbaici et toga armaque gladiatoria gemmis aurore composita. et machaeras Herculaneas et torques gladiatorias vasaque de luto 4 auro ebore argento citroque composita. 5 atque etiam phallovitrobuli 5 ex materie eadem et vasa Samnitica calfactandae resinae ac pici de vel- lendis hominibus ac leviginandis. nec non vehicula arte fabricae nova perplexis divisisque rotarum orbi-

1 qui om. in P. 2 perferentes P. 3 insigni opere Casaubon; insignior per P. 4 de luto Editor; eludio P; eludo Peter 1; de ludo Krauss, Peter 2. 5 phallovitrobuli Egnatius, Peter 1; phandouitrobuli P, Peter 2.

1 See Com., v. 4. 2 Com., x. 8. According to Dio, lxxiii. 6, 2, it was Laetus who offered these for sale. 3 See c. iv. 6. He also gave a largess of 100 denarii to each; see c. xv. 7; Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4; and the coins with the legend Liberalitas Aug(usti), Cohen, iii 2, p. 392 f., nos. 28-29. 4 See Com., xiv., 4-7. 5 Com., viii. 8.

The bardocucullus, a heavy coarse cloak with a hood. It seems to have been named from the Bardaei, a tribe in
PERTINAX VII. 8—VIII. 6

He held a sale of Commodus' belongings, even ordering the sale of all his youths and concubines, except those who had apparently been brought to the Palace by force. Of those whom he ordered sold, however, many were soon brought back to his service and ministered to the pleasures of the old man, and under other emperors they even attained to the rank of senator. Certain buffoons, also, who bore the shame of unmentionable names, he outlawed and sold. The monéys gained in this trafficking, which were immense, he used for a donative to the soldiers. VIII. He also demanded from Commodus' freedmen the sums wherewith they had been enriched when Commodus held his sales. In the sale of Commodus' goods the following articles were especially noteworthy: robes of silk foundation with gold embroidery of remarkable workmanship; tunics, mantles and coats; tunics made with long sleeves in the manner of the Dalmatians and fringed military cloaks; purple cloaks made in the Greek fashion, and purple cloaks made for service in the camp. Also Bardaean hooded cloaks, and a gladiator's toga and harness finished in gold and jewels; also swords, such as those with which Hercules is represented, and the necklaces worn by gladiators, and vessels, some of pottery, some of gold, some of ivory, some of silver, and some of citrus wood. Also cups in the shape of the phallus, made of these same materials; and Samnite pots for heating the resin and pitch used for depilating men and making their skins smooth. And furthermore, carriages, the very latest masterpieces of the art, made with entwined and carven Illyricum, but it was also manufactured in Gaul (see Martial, i. 58, 5).
PERTINAX

bus 1 et exquisitis sedilibus nunc ad solem declinandum
7 nunc ad spiritus opportunitatem per vertiginem; et
alia iter metientia horasque monstrantia et cetera
vitiis eius convenientia.
8 Reddidit praeterea dominis eos qui se ex privatis
9 domibus in aula m contulerant. convivium impera-
torium ex immenso ad certum revocavit modum.
10 sumptus etiam omnes Commodi recidit. 2 exemplo
autem imperatoris, cum ille parcis se ageret, ex
11 omnium continentia vilitas nata est. nam impe-
torium sumptum pulsis non necessariis ad soliti di-
2
dium detraxit. praemia militantibus posuit. aed
alienum, quod primo imperii tempore contraxerat,
solvit. aerarium in suum statum restituit. ad opera
publica certum sumptum constituit. reformandis
viis 3 pecuniam contulit. stipendia plurimis retro
debita exsolvit. obeundis postremo cunctis muner-
ibus fiscum parem fecit. alimentaria etiam compendia,
qua novem annorum ex instituto Traiani debebantur,
obdurata verefundia sustulit.
4 Avaritiae suspicione privatus non caruit, cum apud 4
Vada Sabatia oppressis faenore possessoribus latius
5 suos tenderet 5 fines. denique ex versu Luciliano
6 agrarius mergus est appellatus. multi autem eum

1 urbibus P. 2 recidit Egnatius; reddit P. 3 uuis
Casaubon; suis P. 4 aplit P. 5 tenderet Casaubon;
teneret P.

1 Cf. c. xii. 5.
2 See note to Hadr., vii. 8. Pertinax had himself held
offices in this branch of the government; see c. ii. 2 and c.
iv. 1.
3 Cf. c. iii. 1. 4 Cf. c. xiii. 4.
5 The famous satirist of the second century B.C.
PERTINAX VIII. 7—IX. 2

wheels and carefully planned seats that could be turned so as to avoid the sun at one moment, at another, face the breeze. There were other carriages that measured the road, and showed the time; and still others designed for the indulgence of his vices.

Pertinax restored to their masters, moreover, all slaves who had come from private homes to the Palace. He reduced the imperial banquets from something absolutely unlimited to a fixed standard,¹ and, indeed, cut down all expenses from what they had been under Commodus. And from the example set by the emperor, who lived rather simply, there resulted a general economy and a consequent reduction in the cost of living; for by eliminating the unessentials he reduced the upkeep of the court to half the usual amount. IX. He established rewards for the soldiers, paid the debt which he had contracted at the beginning of his reign, and restored the treasury to its normal condition. He set aside a fixed sum for public buildings, furnished funds for repairing the highways, and paid the arrears in the salaries of very many men. Finally, he made the privy-purse capable of sustaining all the demands made upon it, and with rigorous honesty he even assumed the responsibility for nine years' arrears of money for the poor ² which was owed through a statute of Trajan's.

Before he was made emperor he was not free from the suspicion of greed,³ for he had extended his own holdings at Vada Sabatia ⁴ by foreclosing mortgages; indeed, in a line quoted from Lucilius ⁵ he was called a land-shark.⁶ Many men, moreover, have set down

⁶ Properly a kind of sea-gull, proverbial as a type of voraciousness; see Pliny, Nat. Hist., xi. 202.
PERTINAX

etiam in provinciis, quas consularis gessit, sordide se egisse in litteras rettulere. nam vacationes et legationes militares dictur vendidisse. denique cum parentum minimum esset patrimonium, et nulla hereditas obvenisset, subito dives est factus.

8 Omnibus sane possessiones suas reddidit quibus 9 Commodus ademerat, sed non sine pretio. senatu legitimo semper interfuit ac semper aliquid rettulit. civilem se salutantibus et interpellantibus semper ex 10 habuit. eos qui calumniis adpetiti per servos fuerant damnatis severius¹ delatoribus liberavit, in crux sublatis talibus servis; aliquos etiam mortuos vindicavit.

X. Insidias paravit ei Falco consul, qui² questus est in senatu volens imperare. cui³ quidem credidit senatus⁴ cum⁵ sibi quidam servus, quasi Fabiae⁶ setique⁷ filius ex Ceionii Commodi familia, Palatinam domum ridicule⁸ vindicasset, cognitusque iussus esset⁹ flagellis 3 caesus domino restitui. in cuius vindicta ii qui⁹ oderant Pertinacem occasionem seditionis invenisse 4 dicuntur. Falconi tamen pepercit et a senatu im-

¹severius Walter; servus P, Peter. ²Falco consul, qui questus Editor; Falco conquestus P; lacuna ind. by Peter. ³cui Editor; quo P; quod Egnatius, Peter¹; †quo Peter². ⁴senatus ins. by Editor; creditum, P, Peter. ⁵cum sugg. by Peter; dum P, Peter. ⁶so P; fauiae esset filius Edit. princeps, Peter¹. ⁷ridicula P. ⁸esse Baehrens, Unger, Peter²; est P, Peter¹. ⁹quod P.

¹According to Dio, lxxiii. 8, 2, the conspiracy was organized by Laetus and the guard, which objected to the stern discipline enforced by Pertinax; Falco was chosen merely as a promising candidate for the throne.

²The text is hopelessly corrupt and the name of the pretender’s father has been lost; on Fabia see Marc., xxix. 10; Ver., x. 8-4.

334
in writing that in those provinces which he ruled as proconsul he conducted himself in a grasping manner; for he sold, they said, both exemptions from service and military appointments. And lastly, although his father's estate was very small, and no legacy was left him, he suddenly became rich.

As a matter of fact, however, he restored to everyone the property of which Commodus had despoiled him, but not without compensation. He always attended the stated meetings of the senate and always made some proposal. To those who came to greet him or who accosted him he was always courteous. He absolved a number of men whose slaves had assailed them with false charges, and punished severely those who brought the accusation, crucifying all such slaves; and he also rehabilitated the memory of some who had died.

X. A plot was attempted against him \(^1\) by Falco the consul, who, being eager to rule, made complaint in the senate. He, in fact, was believed by the senate, when a certain slave, on the ground that he was the son of Fabia and . . . \(^2\) of the household of Ceionius Commodus, laid a baseless claim to the residence on the Palatine and, on being recognised, was sentenced to be soundly flogged and returned to his master. In the punishment of this man those who hated Pertinax are said to have found an opportunity for an outbreak. Nevertheless, Pertinax spared Falco, and furthermore asked the senate to pardon him.\(^3\) In the end Falco lived out his life in security

\(^3\) He had been declared a public enemy by the senate, but Pertinax asked that his life should be spared, declaring that he wished no senator to be put to death during his reign; see Dio, lxxiii. 8, 5.
PERTINAX

5punitatem eius petiit. denique Falco in rebus suis
6securus vixit et herede filio perit. quamvis multi
7Falconem nescisse dixerint imperium sibi parari. alii
etiam servis, qui rationes interverterant, falsis testi-
moniis adpetitum eum esse dixerunt.
8 Sed Pertinaci factio praeparata est per Laetum
praefectum praetorii et eos quos Pertinacis sancti-
9monia offenderat. Laetum enim paenituerat quod
imperatorem fecerat Pertinacem, indireo quia eum
velut stultum intimatorem nonnullarum rerum
10reprehendebat. grave praeterea militibus visum,
quod in causa Falconis multos milites ad unius servi
XI. testimonium occidi praeeperat. trecenti igitur de
castris armati ad imperatorias aedes¹ cuneo facto
2milites venere. eadem tamen die immolante Per-
тинace negatur in hostia cor repertum; et cum id vellet
procurare, caput extorum non deprehendit. et tunc
3quidem omnes milites in castris manebant. qui cum
e² castris ad obsequium principis convenissent, et
Pertinax eo die processionem, quam³ ad Athenaeum
paraverat, ut audiret poetam, ob sacrificii praeagium
distulisset, ii qui ad obsequium venerant redire in
4castra coeperunt. sed subito globus ille in Palatium
pervenit neque aut arceri potuit aut imperatori nun-

¹aedes Egnatius; caedes P. ²e castris Petschenig; castris P; de castris Peter. ³quam om. in P.

¹The account of the murder of Pertinax, as given in Dio, lxxiii. 9-10, agrees in the main with this version.
²According to Dio, Laetus had them put to death, alleging that it was by order of Pertinax.
³Two hundred, according to Dio.
⁴An auditorium built by Hadrian, where rhetoricians and
and in possession of his property, and at his death his son succeeded to the inheritance. Many men, however, claimed that Falco was unaware that men were planning to make him emperor, and others said that slaves who had falsified his accounts assailed him with trumped-up charges.

However, a conspiracy 1 was organized against Pertinax by Laetus, the prefect of the guard, and sundry others who were displeased by his integrity. Laetus regretted that he had made Pertinax emperor, because Pertinax used to rebuke him as a stupid babbler of various secrets. It seemed to the soldiers, moreover, a very cruel measure, that in the matter of Falco he had had many of their comrades put to death on the testimony of a single slave. 2 XI. And so three hundred soldiers, 3 formed into a wedge, marched under arms from the camp to the imperial residence. On that day, it was said, no heart had been found in the victim when Pertinax performed a sacrifice, and when he tried to avert this evil omen, he was unable to discover the upper portion of the liver. And so on that day, the great body of the soldiers remained in the camp. Some, indeed, had come forth from the camp in order to act as escort to the emperor, but Pertinax, because of the unfavourable sacrifice, postponed for that day a projected visit to the Athenæum, 4 where he had planned to hear a poet, and thereupon the escort began to return to the camp. But just at that moment the band of troops mentioned above arrived at the Palace, and neither could they be prevented from entering nor could their entrance be announced to the Emperor.

poets recited their works; see Alex., xxxv. 2; Gord., iii. 4; Victor, de Caesaribus, 14.
PERTINAX

5 tiari. enimvero tantum odium in Pertinacem omnium aulicorum fuit, ut ad facinus milites hortarentur. 6 supervenerunt Pertinaci, cum ille aulicum famulicum ordinaret, ingressique porticus Palatii usque ad locum 7 qui appellatur Sicilia et Iovis cenatio. hoc cognito Pertinax Laetum praefectum praetorii ad eos misit. sed ille declinati militibus per porticus egressus 8 adoperto capite domum se contulit. verum cum ad interiora prorumpserat, Pertinax ad eos processit 1 9 eosque longa et gravi oratione placavit. sed cum Tausius quidam, unus e Tungris, in iram et in timorem milites loquendo adduxisset, hastam in pectus 10 Pertinacis obiecit. tunc ille precatus Iovem Ultorem 11 toga caput operuit atque a ceteris confossus est. et Eclectus 2 quidem confessus duobus cum eodem periiit; 12 reliqui autem cubicularii palatini (nam suos statim, ut imperator factus est, filii emancipatis dederat) diffu- 13 gerunt. multi sane dicunt, etiam cubiculum milites inrupisse atque illic circa lectum fugientem Pertinacem occidisse.

XII. Fuit autem senex venerabilis, inmissa barba, reflexo capillo, habitudine corporis pinguiore, ventre prominulo, statura imperatoria, eloquentia mediocri, et magis blandus quam benignus nec umquam credi- 2 tus simplex. et cum verbis esset affabilis, re erat

praecessit P.  Eclectus Peter; eictus P.

1 Consisting mostly of the liberti Augusti, or imperial freedmen. They hated Pertinax because he had compelled them to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth; see c. viii. 1; xiii. 9; Dio, lxxiii. 8, 1.
2 i.e. a son and a daughter; see c. xiii. 7 and Dio, lxxiii. 7, 3. Dio relates that Pertinax, after becoming emperor, transferred his property to them and bade them take up their

338
PERTINAX XI. 5—XII. 2

In fact, the palace-attendants ¹ hated Pertinax with so bitter a hatred that they even urged on the soldiers to do the deed. The troops arrived just as Pertinax was inspecting the court-slaves, and, passing through the portico of the Palace, they advanced as far as the spot called Sicilia and the Banqueting-Hall of Jupiter. As soon as he learned of their approach, Pertinax sent Laetus, the prefect of the guard, to meet them; but he, avoiding the soldiers, passed out through the portico and betook himself home with his face hidden from sight. After they had burst into the inner portion of the Palace, however, Pertinax advanced to meet them and sought to appease them with a long and serious speech. In spite of this, one Tausius, a Tungrian, after haranguing the soldiers into a state of fury and fear, hurled his spear at Pertinax' breast. And he, after a prayer to Jupiter the Avenger, veiled his head with his toga and was stabbed by the rest. Eclectus also, after stabbing two of his assailants, died with him, and the other court-chamberlains (his own chamberlains, as soon as he had been made emperor, Pertinax had given to his emancipated children ²) fled away in all directions. Many, it is true, say that the soldiers even burst into his bedroom, and there, standing about his bed, slew him as he tried to flee.

XII. He was a stately old man, with a long beard and hair brushed back. His figure was somewhat corpulent, with somewhat prominent abdomen, but his bearing was regal. He was a man of mediocre ability in speaking, and suave rather than kindly, nor was he ever considered ingenuous. Though friendly residence with their grandfather (see also c. xiii. 4). They were accordingly regarded as freed from the patria potestas, and so are described as emancipati.
PERTINAX

viliberalis¹ ac prope sordidus, ut dimidiatas lactucas 3 et cardus in privata vita conviviis adponerat. et nisi quid missum esset edulium, quotquot essent amici, 4 novem libras carnis per tres missus ponebat. si autem plus aliquid missum esset, etiam in alium diem differ-ebat, cum semper ad convivium multos vocaret. im-perator etiam, si sine convivis esset, eadem consuetu-6 dine cenitabat. amicis si quando de prandio suo mittere voluit, misit offulas binas aut omasi² partem, aliquando lumbos gallinaceos. phasianum numquam 7 privato convivio comedit aut³ alicui misit. cum sine amicis cenaret, adhibebat uxorem suam et Valerianum, qui cum eodem docuerat, ut⁴ fabulas litteratas⁵ haberet.
8 Sane nullum ex iis quos Commodus rebus gerendis imposuerat mutavit, exspectans urbis natalem, quod cum diem rerum principium volebat esse, atque ideo etiam in balneis ei Commodiani ministri necem parasse XIII. dicuntur. imperium et omnia imperialia sic horruit, ut sibi semper ostenderet displicere. denique non 2 alium se, quam fuerat, videri volebat. fuit in curia honorificentissimus, ita ut senatum faventem adoraret et quasi praefectus urbi cum omnibus sermonem

¹inliberalis Jordan; inliberabilis P. ²pomasi P. ³cumeditauit P. ⁴ut om. in P. ⁵litteratus P.

¹Cf. c. viii. 9-11. So also Dio, lxxiii. 3, 4.
²Regarded as great dainties, and used by wise and frugal emperors only on occasions of especial importance; see Alex., xxxvii. 6 and Tac., xi. 5. For the converse see Hel., xxxii. 4.
³Cf. c. i. 4.
⁴The Parilia, celebrated on the 21st April; for the rites that were performed see Ovid, Fasti, iv. 721 f.
⁵Cf. c. xv. 8.
⁶The favourable impression made by Pertinax on the senate

340
enough in speech, when it came to deeds, he was ungenerous and almost mean—so mean, in fact, that before he was made emperor he used to serve at his banquets lettuce and the edible thistle in half portions. And unless someone made him a present of food, he would serve nine pounds of meat in three courses, no matter how many friends were present; if anyone presented him with an additional amount, moreover, he would put off using it until the next day, and would then invite a great number of guests. Even after he had become emperor, if he had no guests he would dine in the same style.\footnote{1} And whenever he in turn wished to send his friends something from his table, he would send a few scraps or a piece of tripe, or occasionally the legs of a fowl. But he never ate pheasants\footnote{2} at his own banquets or sent them to others. And when he dined without guests, he would invite his wife and Valerianus, who had been a teacher together with him,\footnote{3} in order that he might have literary conversation.

He removed none of those whom Commodus had put in charge of affairs, preferring to wait until the anniversary of the founding of the city,\footnote{4} which he wished to make the official beginning of his reign; and thus it came about, it is said, that the servants of Commodus plotted to slay him in his bath. XIII. The imperial power and all the appurtenances thereof he abhorred,\footnote{5} and he always made it quite evident that they were distasteful to him. In short, he did not wish to seem other than he really was. In the senate-house he was most punctilious,\footnote{6} doing reverence to the senate when it expressed its good will and con-

is reflected all through the narrative of Dio (himself a senator at the time), but particularly in lxxiii. 3, 4.
PERTINAX

3 participaret. voluit etiam imperium deponere atque
4 ad privatam vitam redire. filios suos in Palatio nutri
noluit.¹

Tam parcus autem et tam luceri cupidus fuit, ut
apud Vada Sabatia mercaturas exerceret imperator
per homines suos, non aliter quam privatus solebat.
5 nec multum tamen amatus est; si quidem omnes qui
libere fabulas conferebant male Pertinacem loque-
bantur, christologum eum appellantes, qui bene
6 loqueretur et male faceret. nam et cives sui, qui ad
eum confluuerant iam imperatorem et nihil de eo
meruerant, sic eum appellabant. munera quoque
lucrī libidine libenter acceptī.

7 Reliquit filium et filiam superstites et ² uxorem,
Flavii Sulpiciiani filiam, quem praesectum urbi loco
8 suo fecerat. circa uxoris pudicitiam minus curiosus
fuit, cum palam citharoedum illa diligeret. ipse praec-
terea Cornificiam infamissime dicitur dilesisse. libertos
aulicos vehementissime compressit, unde grande quo-
que odium contraxit.

XIV. Signa interitus haec fuerunt: ipse ante tri-
duum quam occideretur in piscina sibi visus est videre
2 hominem cum gladio infestantem. et ea die qua occisus

¹voluit P. ²///ut P.

¹ See note to c. xi. 12. ²Cf. c. ix. 4.
³A rendering of the Greek χρηστολόγος, which, according
to Victor, Epitome, 18, 4, was applied to Pertinax because he
was blandus magis quam beneficus.
⁴See note to c. xi. 12. ⁵Flavia Titiana; see c. v. 4.
⁶See Did. Jul., ii. 4 f.
versing with all the senators as though still prefect of
the city. He even wished to resign the throne and
retire to private life, and was unwilling to have
his children reared in the Palace.¹

On the other hand, he was so stingy and eager for
money that even after he became emperor he carried
on a business at Vada Sabatia² through agents, just
as he had done as a private citizen. And despite his
efforts, he was not greatly beloved; certainly, all
who talked freely together spoke ill of Pertinax,
calling him the smooth-tongued,³ that is, a man who
speaks affably and acts meanly. In truth, his
fellow-townsmen, who had flocked to him after his
accession, and had obtained nothing from him, gave
him this name. In his lust for gain, he accepted
presents with eagerness.

He was survived by a son and a daughter,⁴ and by
his wife,⁵ the daughter of the Flavius Sulpicianus⁶
whom he made prefect of the city in his own place.
He was not in the least concerned about his wife’s
fidelity, even though she carried on an amour quite
openly with a man who sang to the lyre. He him-
self, it is said, caused great scandal by an amour with
Cornificia.⁷ The freedmen attached to the court he
kept within bounds with a strong hand, and in this
way also he brought upon himself a bitter hatred.⁸

XIV. The warnings of his death were these: three
days before he was killed he himself, on looking into
a pool, seemed to behold a man attacking him with
a sword. And on the day he was killed, they say,
the pupils of his eyes, as well as the little pictures

⁷ Probably the daughter of Marcus; see note to Com., xvii.,
¹².

³ See c. xi. 5 and note.
PERTINAX

est negabant in oculis eius pupulas cum imaginibus, 3 quas reddunt, spectantibus visas. et cum apud Lares sacrificaret, carbones vivacissimi extincti sunt, cum inflammarii soleant. et, ut supra dictum est, cor et caput in hostiis non est repertum. stellae etiam iuxta solem per diem visae \(^1\) clarissimae ante diem \(^2\) quam obiret. et ipse omen de Iuliano successore dedisse dicitur. nam cum ei Didius Iulianus fratri filium obtulisset, cui despondebat filiam suam, adhortatus est iuvenem ad patrui observationem et \(^3\) adiecit: "Observa collegam et successorem meum". nam ante Iulianus ei et in consulatu collega fuerat et in proconsulatu successerat.

6 Milites eum et aulici odio habuerunt, populus mortem eius indignissime tulit, quia videbat omnia per 7 eum antiqua posse restituir. caput eius conto fixum milites qui eum occiderant per urbem in castra pertulerunt. reliquiae eius recuperato capite in sepulchro abiuxoris locatae sunt. et Iulianus, successor illius, corpus eius quoato potuit honore funeratus est, 9 cum id in Palatio repperisset. qui numquam eius ullam mentionem vel apud populum vel apud senatum publice fecit, sed cum ipse quoque a militibus desertus iam esset, per senatum et populum Pertinax XV. in deos relatos est. sub Severo autem imperatore cum senatus ingens testimonium habuisset Pertinax,

\(^1\) uisae P; uisae sunt Peter. \(^2\) diem Casaubon; dies P.  
\(^3\) et ins. by Peter; om. in P.

\(^{1}\) c. xi. 2. \(^{2}\) Cf. Did. Jul., ii. 3. 
\(^{3}\) In Africa; see c. iv. 1 and Did. Jul., ii. 3.  
\(^{4}\) Cf. c. x. 10 and xi. 5. 
\(^{5}\) See Sev., vii. 8, and the coins with Divus Pertinax and Consecratio, Cohen, iii\(^2\), p. 390 f., nos. 6-12. The elaborate

344
which they reflect, were invisible to those who looked into them. And when he was performing sacrifices to the Lares the living coals died out, though they are wont to flame up. Furthermore, as we related above, the heart and upper portion of the liver could not be found in the victims. And on the day before he died, stars of great brilliancy were seen near the sun in the day-time. He was responsible himself, it is said, for an omen about his successor, Julianus. For when Didius Julianus presented a nephew of his, to whom he was betrothing his daughter, the Emperor exhorted the young man to show deference to his uncle, and added: "Honour my colleague and successor." For Julianus had previously been his colleague in the consulship and had succeeded him ca. 175 in his proconsular command.

The soldiers and court-retainers regarded him with hatred, but the people felt great indignation at his death, since it had seemed that all the ancient customs might be restored through his efforts. His head, fixed on a pole, was carried through the city to the camp by the soldiers who killed him. His remains, including his head, which was recovered, were laid in the tomb of his wife's grandfather. And Julianus, his successor, buried his body with all honour, after he had found it in the Palace. At no time, however, did he make any public mention of Pertinax either before the people or in the presence of the senate, but when he, too, was deserted by the soldiers Pertinax was raised to the rank of the gods by the senate and the people. XV. In the reign of Severus, moreover, after Pertinax had received the full official approval funeral-ceremonies are described in detail by Dio, an eye-witness; see lxxxiv. 4-5.
PERTINAX

funus imaginarius ei et censorium ductum est, et ab ipso Severo funebri laudatione ornatus est. ipse autem Severus amore boni principis a senatu Pertinacis nomen accepit. filius Pertinacis patri flamen est factus. Marciani sodales, qui divi Marci sacra curabant, Helviani sunt dicti propter Helvium Pertinacem. circenses et imperii natalis additi, qui a Severo postea sublati sunt, et genitalicī, qui 1 manent.

Natus autem kal. Augustis Vero et Ambibulo 2 consulibus. interfectus est V kal. Apr. Falcone et Claro consulibus. vixitannis LX mensibus VII diebus XXVI. imperavit mensibus II diebus XXV. congiarium dedit populo denarios centenos. praetorianis promisit duodena milia nummum sed dedit sena. quod exercitibus promissum est datum non est, quia mors eum praevenit. horruisse autem illum imperium epis-tula docet, quae vitae illius a Mario Maximo apposita est. quam ego inserere 3 ob nimiam longitudinem nolui.

1 genitalicii qui Casaubon; geniti aliqui P. 2 Bibulo P. inserere Puteanus; inseri P.

1 See note to Sev., vii. 8. 2 See Sev., vii. 9 and note. 3 See note to Marc., xv. 4. 4 They are listed in the Calendar of Philocalus of 354 A.D.; see C.I.L., i², p. 270. On the custom of celebrating an emperor’s birthday by races in the circus see note to Hadr., viii. 2.
of the senate, an honorary funeral, of the kind that would be accorded to a censor, was held for him, and Severus himself honoured him with a funeral eulogy. Severus, furthermore, out of respect for so good a ruler, accepted from the senate the name Pertinax. Pertinax' son was made his father's priest, and the Marcian brotherhood, who performed the sacrifices to the Deified Marcus, were called Helviani in honour of Helvius Pertinax. There were added, also, circus-games and a celebration to commemorate the anniversary of his accession, but these were afterwards abolished by Severus. The birthday-games decreed for him, however, are still observed.

He was born on the Kalends of August in the consulship of Verus and Ambibulus, and was killed on the fifth day before the Kalends of April in the consulship of Falco and Clarus. He lived sixty years, seven months and twenty-six days, and reigned for two months and twenty-five days. He gave the people a largess of one hundred denarii apiece, and promised twelve thousand sesterces to each soldier of the guard, though he gave only six thousand. The sum promised to the armies he did not give for the reason that death forestalled him. A letter which Marius Maximus included in his life of Pertinax shows that he shrank from taking the imperial power, but this letter, on account of its great length, I have not thought best to insert.

5 More correctly, sixty-six. 6 See note to c. vii. 11. 7 See note to c. iv. 6. 8 Cf. c. xiii. 1.
DIDIIUS IULIANUS
AELII SPARTIANI

1 Didio Iuliano, qui post Pertinacem imperium adeptus est, proavus fuit Salvius Iulianus, bis consul, praefectus urbi et iuris consultus, quod magis eum nobilem fecit, mater Clara Aemilia, pater Petronius Didius Severus, fratres Didius Proculus et Nummius Albinus, avunculus Salvius Iulianus. avus paternus Insubris Mediolanensis, maternus ex Hadrumetina colonia.

3 Educatus est apud Domitiam Lucillam, matrem Marci imperatoris. inter viginti viros lectus est suffragio matris Marci. quaestor ante annum quam legitima aetas sinebat designatus est. aedilitatem suffragio Marci consecutus est. praetor eiusdem suffragio fuit. post praeturam legioni praefuit in

1 albius P.

1See Hadr., xviii. 1 and note. It is improbable that Didius was related to Salvius Julianus, for his family came from Milan, and since an inscription which connected Salvius with this city has been shown to be a forgery, there is no reason for supposing that he was a native of Milan. At any rate, Salvius, who was born toward the end of the first century, was not the great-grandfather of Didius, who was born not later than 137 (see c, ix. 3 and note).

2See Marc., i. 8.
DIDIUS JULIANUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. Didius Julianus, who gained possession of the empire after Pertinax, was the great-grandson of Salvius Julianus, a man who was twice consul, prefect of the city, and an authority in jurisprudence—which, more than anything else, had made him famous. His mother was Aemilia Clara, his father Petronius Didius Severus, his brothers Didius Proculus and Nummius Albinus; another Salvius Julianus was his uncle. His father's father was an Insubrian from Milan, his mother's came from the colony of Hadrumetum.

He himself was reared at the home of Domitia Lucilla, the mother of the Emperor Marcus, and through the support of this lady he was elected to the Board of Twenty. He was appointed quaestor a year before he reached the legal age, and through the support of Marcus he attained to the office of aedile. Again with the support of Marcus he became praetor. After his praetorship he commanded the

3 According to an inscription found at Rome (C.I.L., vi. 1401 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 412) he was decemvir litibus iudicandis, on which see note to Hadr., ii. 2.
4 See note to Pius, vi. 10.
5 A rescript addressed to him by Marcus is mentioned in Digesta, xxviii. 1, 20, 9.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

7 Germania vicentinae secundae Primigeniae. inde Belgicam sancte ac diu rexit. ibi Chaucis, Germaniae populis qui Albim fluvium adcolebant, erumpentibus restitit tumultuaris auxiliis provincialium. ob quae consulatum meruit testimonio imperatoris. Chattos etiam debellavit. inde Dalmatiam regendam accepit eamque a confinis hostibus vindicavit. post Ger-

2 II. maniam inferiorem rexit. post hoc curam alimentorum in Italian meruit. tunc factus est reus per quendam Severum Clarissimum militem conjurationis cum Salvio contra Commodum, sed a Commodo, quia multos iam senatores occiderat et quidem nobiles ac potentos in causis maiestatis, ne tristius gravaretur,

2 Didius liberatus est accusatore damnato. absolutus iterum a regendam provinciam missus est. Bithyni

3 niam deinde rexit, sed non ea fama qua ceteras.

3 Fuit consul cum Pertinacce et in proconsulatu Africœae idem successit et semper ab eo collega est et successor appellatus. maxime eo die cum filiam suam Julianus despondens adfini suo ad Pertinaccem venisset idque intimasset, dixit: "... que debita reverentia, quia collega et successor meus est." statim enim mors Pertinacis secuta est. quo inter-

1 idem P.

1 The inscription does not mention this command, but records that he was assistant (legatus) to the proconsuls both of Achaia and Africa.

2 This and the four other provincial governorships are all enumerated in the inscription.

3 See note to Pert., iv. 1. The mention of this office seems to be out of the chronological order, for he was consul about 175 (see below), and the alleged conspiracy of P. Salvius Julianus against Commodus was not until 132 (see Comm., iv. 8).

350
Twenty-second Legion,⁴ the Primigenia, in Germany, and following that he ruled Belgium² long and well. Here, with auxiliaries hastily levied from the provinces, he held out against the Chauci (a people of Germany who dwelt on the river Elbe) as they attempted to burst through the border; and for these services, on the recommendation of the emperor, he was deemed worthy of the consulship. He also gained a crushing victory over the Chatti. Next he took charge of Dalmatia and cleared it of the hostile tribes on its borders. II. Then he governed Lower Germany; and after that he was deemed worthy of superintending the distribution of grants of money to the poor in Italy.³ In this position he was accused by one Severus Clarissimus, a soldier, of being an associate of Salvius⁴ in his conspiracy against Commodus. But Commodus had already put many senators and many distinguished and powerful men to death on the charge of treason, and so he was afraid of acting too harshly and therefore pardoned Didius and executed his accuser. Thus acquitted, Didius was sent again to govern a province. Then he governed Bithynia, but not as creditably as the other provinces.

His consulship he served with Pertinax; in the ca. 175 proconsulship of Africa,⁵ moreover, he succeeded him. Pertinax always spoke of him as his colleague and successor; on that day, in particular, when Julianus, after betrothing his daughter to a kinsman of his own, came to Pertinax and informed him of the fact, Pertinax said: "... and due respect, for he is my colleague and successor".⁶ The death of Pertinax ensued immediately afterwards. After his death,

⁴ i.e. P. Salvius Julianus.
⁵ Cf. Pert., iv. 1.
⁶ Cf. Pert., xiv. 4.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

fecto cum Sulpicianus imperator in castris appellari vellet, et Iulianus cum genero ad senatum venisset, quem indictum acceperat, cumque clausas valvas in-venisset atque illie duos tribunos repperisset, Publium ¹ Florianum et Vectium ² Aprum, coeperunt cohortari tribuni, ut locum arriperet. quibus cum ³ diceret iam alium imperatorem appellatum, retinentes eum ad praetoria castra duxerunt. sed posteaquam in castra ventum est, cum ⁴ Sulpiciano praefecto urbi, socero Pertinacis, contionante sibique imperium vindicante Iulianum e muro ingentia pollicentem nullus admitteret, primum Iulianus monuit praetorianos, ne eum facerent imperatorem, qui Pertinacem vindicaret; deinde scripsit in tabulis se Commodi memoria-7rium restituturum. atque ita est admissus et ⁵ imperator appellatus, rogantibus praetorianis ne Sulpiciano aliquid noceret, quod imperator esse voluisse.

III. Tunc Iulianus Flavium Genialem et Tullium Crispinum suffragio praetorianorum praefectos praetorii fecit stipatusque est caterva imperatoria per Mauren-2tium, qui et ante Sulpiciano coniunxerat. sane cum vicena quina milia militibus promisisset, tricena dedit.

¹ publicum P.  ² uectium P.; Vettium Jordan, Peter. ³ cum om. in P¹. ⁴ cum om. in P¹. ⁵ est admissus et Peter; et admissus est P.

¹ Cf. Pert., xiii. 7.
² The scene at the camp is described in greater detail by Dio (lxxiii. 11), especially the famous auction of the empire by the soldiers, in which Sulpicianus and Didius bid against 352
when Sulpicianus\(^1\) was making plans to be hailed emperor in the camp, Julianus, together with his son-in-law, came to the senate, which, he heard, had been summoned, but found the doors closed. At the same time he discovered there two tribunes, Publius Florianus and Vectius Aper, who immediately began urging him to seize the throne; and though he pointed out to them that another man was already proclaimed emperor, they held him fast and conducted him to the praetorian camp.\(^2\) When they arrived at the camp, however, Sulpicianus, the prefect of the city and the father-in-law of Pertinax, was holding an assembly and claiming the empire himself, and no one would let Julianus inside, despite the huge promises he made from outside the wall. Julianus then first warned the soldiers not to proclaim anyone emperor who would avenge Pertinax, and next wrote on placards that he would restore the good name\(^3\) of Commodus; so he was admitted and proclaimed emperor, the soldiers at the same time requesting that he would not in any way injure Sulpicianus for aiming at the throne.

III. Immediately thereafter, on the recommendation of the praetorians themselves, Julianus appointed Flavius Genialis and Tullius Crispinus prefects of the guard, and through the efforts of Maurentius, who had previously declared for Sulpicianus, he was attended by the imperial body-guard. Although he had promised five and twenty thousand sesterces to each other. Dio's account, however, must be used with caution, for his whole narrative shows a decided animus against Didius.

\(^1\) i.e. restore it to the public records and monuments; see Com., xvii. 6; xx. 5.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

3 dein habita contione militar vespera in senatum venit totumque se senatui permisit factoque senatus consulto imperator est appellatus, et tribuniciam potestatem ius proconsulare in patricias familias recessit. uxor etiam Manlia Scantilla et filia eius Didia Clara Augustae sunt appellatae. inde se ad Palatium recept, uxore ac filia illuc vocatis trepidis invitisque transeuntibus, quasi iam imminens exitium praesagirent. praefectum urbi Cornelium Repentinum, generum suum, fecit in locum Sulpiciani.

7 Erat interea in odio populi Didius Julianus ob hoc, quod creditum fuerat emendationem temporum Comodi Pertinacis auctoritate reparandam, habebaturque sita, quasi Iuliani consilio esset interemptus. et iam hi primum qui Julianum odisse coeperant disseminarunt prima statim die Pertinacis cena despecta luxuriosum parasse convivium ostreis et altilibus et piscibus adornatum. quod falsum fuisse constat.

9 nam Iulianus tantae parsimoniae fuisse perhibetur,

1 dein Peter; in P1. 2 inuitisque Peter1; inuitis eo P; + inuitis eo Peter2.

1 Marcus and Verus had given twenty thousand (Marc., vii. 9, Pertinax twelve thousand (Pert., xv. 7). According to Herodian (ii. 7, 1) Didius did not pay what he had promised, because the money was not available.

2 His appearance before the senate is more fully described by Dio, who was present; see lxxxiii. 12. Dio's account is much less favourable to Didius than the account given here, which seems to aim at representing him as the choice of the senate.

3 The emperors of the Julio-Claudian house had been patri- cians, and hence it was considered necessary for the emperor to have this rank. Accordingly, when a plebeian was elected
DIDIIUS JULIANUS III. 3-9

each soldier, he gave thirty. Then, after holding an assembly of the soldiers, he came in the evening to the senate, and entrusted himself to it without conditions; thereupon, by decree of the senate he was acclaimed emperor and, after being raised to a place among the patrician families, he received the tribunician power and the rights of a proconsul. His wife Manlia Scantilla, moreover, and his daughter, Didia Clara, were given the name Augusta; and thereupon he betook himself to the Palace and thither summoned his wife and daughter, who came, though with considerable trepidation and reluctance as if they already foresaw impending doom. Corne lius Repentinus, his son-in-law, he made prefect of the city in place of Sulpicianus.

The people, meanwhile, detested Julianus because it had been their belief that the abuses of Commodus' régime were to be reformed by the influence of Pertinax, and he was considered to have been killed with Julianus' connivance. And now, those who had begun to hate Julianus were the first to spread it abroad that on the very first day of his reign, to show his contempt for Pertinax' board, he had served an extravagant banquet embellished with such dainties as oysters and fatted birds and fish. This story, it is generally agreed, was false. For according to report, Julianus was so frugal as to make

(as was the case from Vespasian onward, with the sole exception of Nerva), the senate raised him to the patriciate.

4 See note to Pius, iv. 7.  
5 Augusta appears on the coins of both; see Cohen, iii2, p. 401 f.  
6 According to Herodian (ii. 6, 7) it was the two women who persuaded Didius to bid for the throne.  
7 Dio, however, asserts it as a fact; see lxxiii. 13. 1.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

ut per triduum porcellum, per triduum leporem divideret, si quis ei\(^1\) forte misisset, saepe autem nulla existente religione holeribus leguminibusque contentus sine carne cenaverit. deinde neque cenavit priusquam sepultus esset Pertinax, et tristissimus cibum ob eius necem sumpsit et primam noctem vigiliis continuavit, de tanta necessitate sollicitus.

IV. Ubi vero primum inluxit, senatum et equestrem ordinem in Palatium venientem admisit atque unum quemque, ut erat aetas, vel fratrem\(^2\) vel filium vel parentem adfatus blandissime est. sed populus in Rostris atque ante curiam ingentibus eum conviciis lacessebat, sperans deponi ab eo posse imperium quod milites\(^3\) dederant. lapidationem quoque fecere. descendente cum militibus et senatu in curiam diras imprecati sunt, rem divinam facienti ne litaret\(^4\) optarunt. lapides etiam in eum iecerunt, cum Iuli-\(^5\) anus manu eos semper placare cuperet. ingressus autem curiam, placide et prudenter verba fecit. egit gratias, quod esset adscitus, quod et ipse et uxor et filia eius Augustorum nomen acceperunt. patris patriae quoque nomen recepit, argenteam statuam respuit e senatu in Capitolium pergenti populus obstitit, sed ferro et vulneribus et pollicianthibus

\(^1\) et P. \(^2\) fratrem Peter\(^2\); patrem P. \(^3\) miles P\(^1\). \(^4\) ne litaret Edit. princeps; elitaret P.

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\(^1\) On the other hand, Herodian (ii. 7, 1) emphasizes his luxury and extravagance.

\(^2\) A similar description of what happened in front of the
a suckling pig or a hare last for three days, if anyone by chance presented him with one; and often, moreover, even when there was no religious reason therefor, he was content to dine on cabbages and beans without meat.\textsuperscript{1} Furthermore, he gave no banquet until after Pertinax was buried, and, because of his death, took what food he did in a very depressed state of mind, and passed the first night in continual wakefulness, disquieted by such a fate.

IV. But when the day dawned, he admitted the senators and knights who came to the Palace, and greeted each very cordially, either as brother, or son, or father, according to his age. The populace, however, at the Rostra and in front of the senate-house,\textsuperscript{2} assailed him with violent revilings, hoping that he might resign the sovereignty which the soldiers had given him; and they even launched a shower of stones. As he came down to the senate-house with the soldiers and senate, they heaped curses upon him, and when he performed the sacrifices, wished that he might not obtain favourable omens; they even hurled stones at him, though Julianus, with uplifted hand, continually sought to calm them. When he entered the senate-house, he spoke calmly and discreetly, and returned thanks because he had been chosen, and because he, his wife, and his daughter, had been given the titles of Augustus and Augusta. He accepted also the name of Father of his Country, but refused a silver statue. Then, as he proceeded from the senate-house to the Capitol, the populace placed themselves in his way, but by the sword, by wounds, and by promises of gold-pieces, the number of which senate-house and in the Circus is given in Dio, lxxxiii. 13, 3-5.

357
DIDRIUS JULIANUS

aureorum, quos digitis ostendebat ipse Julianus ut 7 fidem faceret, summotus atque depulsus est. inde ad circense spectaculum itum est. sed occupatis indifferenter omnium subselliiis populus geminavit convicia in Julianum; Pescennium Nigrum, qui iam imperare dicebatur, ad urbis praesidium vocavit. 8 haec omnia Julianus placide tuit totoque imperii sui tempore mitissimus fuit. populus autem in milites vehementissime invehebatur, qui ob pecuniam Pertinacem occidissent. multa igitur quae Commodus statuerat, Pertinax tulerat, ad conciliandum favorem populi restituit. de ipso Pertinace neque male neque bene quicquam egit, quod gravissimum plurimis visum 10 est. constituìt autem propter metum militum de honore Pertinacis tacitum esse. 2

V. Et Julianus quidem neque Britannicos exercitus neque Illyricos timebat, Nigrum vero misso primipilario occidi praecipit, timens praecipue Syriacos exercitus. ergo Pescennius Niger in Syria, Septimius Severus in Illyrico 3 cum exercitibus quibus praeside-3 bant a Juliano descivere. sed cum ei nuntiatum esset Severum descivisse, quem suspectum non habuerat, perturbatus est et 4 ad senatum venit impetravitque 5 ut hostis Severus renuntiare tur; militibus etiam qui

1 quod P. 2 est P. 3 niger in illyrico s. severus in syria P. 4 et om. in P. 5 imperavitque P (Dessau); imperavitque Peter.

1 The populace took the seats that were reserved for senators and knights.
3 Except to give his body honourable burial; see c. iii. 10 and Pert., xiv. 9.
4 Under the command of Clodius Albinus.
5 Cf. Pesc. Nig., ii. 4.

358
he himself, in order to inspire trust, kept showing to them on his fingers, they were dispersed and beaten back. Thereupon, all went to the games at the Circus; but here, after everyone had seized seats indiscriminately,¹ the populace redoubled their insults against Julianus and called for Pescennius Niger (who was said to have already declared himself emperor) to protect the city.² All this Julianus took with perfect equanimity; indeed all through the time he was on the throne he was exceedingly tolerant. The populace, however, kept inveighing with the utmost violence against the soldiers, who had slain Pertinax, so they said, for money. And so, in order to win favour with the people, Julianus restored many measures which Commodus had enacted and Pertinax had repealed. Concerning Pertinax himself he took no steps either good or evil,³ a fact which to very many seemed a serious matter. It is generally agreed, however, that it was his fear of the soldiers that caused him to keep silent about the honours due Pertinax.

V. As a matter of fact, however, Julianus had no fear of either the British ⁴ or the Illyrian army; but being chiefly afraid of the Syrian army, he despatched a centurion of the first rank with orders to murder Niger.⁵ Consequently Pescennius Niger in Syria ⁶ and Septimius Severus in Illyricum,⁷ together with the armies which they commanded, revolted from Julianus. But when he received the news of the revolt of Severus, whom he had not suspected, then he was greatly troubled and came to the senate and prevailed upon them to declare Severus a public enemy. As for the soldiers who had followed Severus,

¹ See Pesc. Nig., ii. 1. ⁷ See Sev., v. 1.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

Severum securi fuerant dies praestitutus, ultra quam, si cum Severo fuissent, hostium numero haberentur. missi sunt praeterea legati a senatu consulares ad milites, qui suaderent ut Severus repudiaretur, et is esset imperator quem senatus elegaret. inter ceteros legatus est Vespronius Candidus, vetus consularis, olim militibus invisus ob durum et sordidum imperium. missus est successor Severo Valerius Catullinus, quasi posset ei succedi, qui militem iam sibi tenebat. missus praeterea Aquilius centurio, notus caedibus senatoriis, qui Severum occideret. ipse autem Iulianus praetorianos in campum deduci iubet, muniri turres, sed milites desides et urbana luxuria dissolutos invitissimos ad exercitium militare produxit, ita ut vicarios operis, quod unicuique praebebatur, mercede conducerent.

VI. Et Severus quidem ad urbem infesto agmine veniebat, sed Didius Iulianus nihil cum exercitu praetoriano proficiebat, quem cotidie populus et magis oderat et ridebat. et Iulianus sperans Laetum fau-torem Severi, cum per eum Commodi manus evasisset ingratus tanto beneficio iussit eum occidi. iussit etiam Marciam una interfici.

1 Marciam una Mommsen; marci mannun P.

1 He had been governor of Dacia under Commodus; see C.I.L., iii. 1092.
4 A picture of the confusion in Rome is given in Dio, lxxiii. 16.
5 According to Dio (lxxiii. 16, 5) he executed Laetus, Marcia and the athlete Narcissus in order in punish those guilty of the murder of Commodus.

360
a day was appointed for them after which they would be considered as public enemies if they were still with Severus. Besides this, legates of consular rank were sent by the senate to the soldiers to persuade them that they should reject Severus and let him be emperor whom the senate had chosen. Among others of the legates was Vespronius Candidus,\(^1\) an old man of consular rank, now for a long time repugnant to the soldiers because of his harsh and penurious rule. Valerius Catullinus was sent as Severus' successor;\(^2\) as if, in sooth, it were possible to appoint a successor to a man who already had an army devoted to himself. And in addition to these others, the centurion Aquilius, notorious as the assassin of senators, was sent for the purpose of murdering Severus.\(^3\) But as for Julianus himself, he gave orders that the praetorians should be led outside the city, and that the fortifications should be manned;\(^4\) but it was a slothful force that he led out, and one demoralized by the fleshpots of the city and intensely averse to active service, so much so, indeed, that they actually hired substitutes for the duties severally enjoined upon them.

VI. All the while, Severus was approaching the city with a hostile army; but in spite of that, Didius Julianus accomplished nothing with his praetorian troops, and the populace hated and laughed at him more and more every day. And although he had escaped from Commodus' clutches by the aid of Laetus, nevertheless, unmindful of this great favour, Julianus ordered Laetus to be put to death in the expectation that he would side with Severus.\(^5\) He gave orders likewise that Marcia should be put to death at the same time.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

3 Sed dum haec egit Iulianus, Severus classem Ravennatem occupat, legati senatus, qui Iuliano promiserant operam suam, ad Severum transierunt.  
4 Tullius Crispinus, praefectus praetorio, contra Severum missus ut classem produceret, repulsus Romam rediit.  
5 haec cum Iulianus videret, senatum rogavit ut virgines Vestales et ceteri sacerdotes cum senatu obviam exercitui Severi prodirent et praetentis infulis rogarent, inanem rem contra barbaros milites parans.  
6 haec tamen agenti Iuliano Plautius Quintillus consularis augur contradixit, adserens non debere imperare eum qui armis adversario non posset resistere. cui multi senatores consenserunt. quare iratus Didius milites e castris petiit, qui senatum ad obsequium cogerent aut obtruncarent. sed id consilium displicuit. neque enim debeat, ut, cum senatus hostem Severum Iuliani causa iudicasset, eundem Iulianum pateretur infestum. quare meliore consilio ad senatum venit petiitque, ut fieret senatus consultum de participatione imperii. quod statim factum est.  

VII. Tunc omen quod sibi Iulianus, cum imperium acciperet, fecerat omnibus venit in mentem. nam cum consul designatus de eo sententiam dicens ita pro-

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1 rem ins. by Peter; om. in P.  
2 Plautius Peter; phausitius P.

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1 The station of the Adriatic fleet; the headquarters of the fleet that guarded the western coast were at Misenum, on the Bay of Naples.  
2 Cf. Sев., v. 6.  
3 His troops deserted to Severus; see c. viii. 4 and Dio, lxxiii. 17, 1.  
362
DIDIIUS JULIANUS VI. 3—VII. 2

While Julianus was engaged in these activities, however, Severus seized the fleet stationed at Ravenna; whereupon the envoys of the senate who had promised their services to Julianus passed over to Severus. Tullius Crispinus, the prefect of the guard, who had been sent to oppose Severus and lead out the fleet, failed in his attempt and therefore returned to Rome. When Julianus learned of these events, he came to the senate with a proposal that the Vestal Virgins and the priests, along with the senate itself, should go out to meet Severus' troops and entreat them with fillets held in outstretched hands—a futile step, surely, to take against soldiers of barbarian blood. In this proposal, however, Plautius Quintillius, an augur and man of consular rank, opposed him, declaring that he who could not withstand an opponent by force of arms had no right to rule; in this objection many senators agreed with him. Infuriated at this, Didius Julianus called for soldiers from the camp in order either to force the senators to obedience or to slaughter them. But this plan found no favour. For it was scarcely fitting that the senate, after declaring Severus a public enemy for Julianus' sake, should find an enemy in this same Julianus. And so Julianus came to the senate with a better plan, and asked it to pass a decree effecting a division of empire. And this was forthwith done.

VII. At that time an omen, for which Julianus himself had been responsible when he accepted the imperial power, came to everyone's mind. For when the consul-elect, in voting on Julianus, delivered

4 The conventional attitude of suppliants.
5 He was consul in 177.
6 Cf. Sev., v. 7.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

nuntiasset: "Didium Iulianum imperatorem appellandum esse censeo," Iulianus suggestit "Adde et Severum," quod cognomentum avī et proavi sibi Iulianus adsciverat. sunt tamen qui dicant nullum fuisset Iuliani consilium de obtruncando senatu, cum tanta in eum senatus consuississet.²

4 Post senatus consultum statim Didius Iulianus unum ex praefectis, Tullium Crispinum, misit. ipse autem tertium fecit praefectum Veturium Macrinum, ad quem Severus litteras miserat, ut esset praefectus. ⁶ sed pacem simulam esse mandatamque ceae dem Severi Tullio Crispino, praefecto praetorii, et populus locutus est et Severus suspicatus. denique hostem se Iuliano Severus esse maluit quam participem consensu militum. Severus autem statim et ad plurimos Romam scripsit et occulto misit edicta, quae proposita sunt. fuit praeterea in Iuliano haec amentia, ut per magos pleraque faceret, quibus putaret ⁴ vel odium populi deleniri vel militum arma compisci. nam et quasdam non convenientes Romanis sacrīs hostias immolaverunt et carmina profana incantaverunt, et ea quae ad speculum dicunt ⁵ fieri, in quo pueri praeligatis oculis incantato vertice respicere dicuntur, Iulianus fecit. tuncque puer vidisse dicitur et adventum Severi et Iuliani decessionem.

1 habui P. ² consuluisset P; contulisset Peter. ³ mandatamque Ursinus; tantamque P. ⁴ putaret Egnatius; vitaret P. ⁵ ducunt P.

¹This name appears in the inscription cited above (see note to c. i. 4) and on some of his coins; see Cohen iii, p. 398 f., nos., 1, 3, 7, etc.
²i.e. to Severus, offering him a share of the empire.
³See note to Hadr., ix. 5.
himself of the following: "I vote that Didius Julianus be declared emperor," Julianus prompted "Say also Severus," the name of his grandfather and great-grandfather, which he had added to his own.¹ However, there are some who say that Julianus never planned to slaughter the senate, because it had passed so many decrees in his favour.

After the senate had passed this decree, Didius Julianus forthwith despatched² one of the prefects, Tullius Crispinus, and he also created a third prefect³ in the person of Veturius Macrinus, whom Severus had already notified by letter that he was to be prefect. Nevertheless, the people avowed and Severus suspected that this peace was merely a stratagem and that Tullius Crispinus, the prefect of the guard, was commissioned to murder Severus. Finally, in accordance with the general wish of his soldiers, Severus declared that he would rather be Julianus' enemy than colleague; he at once, moreover, wrote to a great number of men at Rome, and secretly sent proclamations, which were posted up. Julianus, furthermore, was mad enough to perform a number of rites with the aid of magicians, such as were calculated either to lessen the hate of the people or to restrain the arms of the soldiers. For the magicians sacrificed certain victims that are foreign to the Roman ritual⁴ and chanted unholy songs, while Julianus performed rites, which took place, so we are told, before a mirror, into which boys are said to gaze, after bandages have been bound over their eyes and charms muttered over their heads. And in this performance one lad, it is said, saw the arrival of Severus and the retirement of Julianus.

¹ According to Dio, lxxiii. 16, 5, he sacrificed a number of children.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

VIII. Et Crispinus quidem, cum occurrisset praecursoribus Severi, Iulio Laeto auctore a Severo interemptus est. deiecta sunt etiam consulta senatus. Iulianus convocato senatu quaesitisque sententiis, quid facto opus esset, certi nihil commerit a senatu. sed postea sponte sua gladiatorum Capuae iussit armari per Lollianum Titianum, et Claudium Pompeianum et Tarraciniensi ad participatum evocavit, quod et gener imperatoris fuisset et diu militibus praefisset. sed hoc ille recusavit, senem se et debilem luminibus respondens. transierant et ex Umbria milites ad Severum. et praemiserat quidem litteras Severus, quibus iubebat interfectores Pertinacis servari.

6 Brevi autem desertus est ab omnibus Iulianus et remansit in Palatio cum uno de praefectis suis Geniali et genero Repentino. actum est denique ut Iuliano senatus auctoritate abrogaretur imperium. et abrogatum est, appellatusque statim Severus imperator, cum fingeretur quod veneno se 1 absumpsisset Iulianus. missi tamen a senatu, quorum cura per militem gregarium in Palatio idem Iulianus occisus est fidem Caesaris implorans, hoc est Severi. filiam suam potitus imperio dato patrimonio emancipaverat.

1 se P; om. by Peter.

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1 See c. vii. 4.
2 He was very old and in poor health. During the reign of Pertinax he remained at Rome and attended meetings of the senate, but when Pertinax was killed, he withdrew to his country estate; see Dio, lxxiii. 3.
3 See c. vi. 4 and note.
4 Acting on this order the soldiers of the guard seized the murderers and informed the consul of the fact; see Dio, lxxiii. 17, 8.
5 Cf. c. iii. 6.

366
VIII. And as for Crispinus, he met with Severus' advance-guard and was put to death by Severus on the advice of Julius Laetus. The decrees of the senate, moreover, were torn down, and when Julianus called a meeting of the senate and asked their opinions as to what should be done, he could get nothing definite out of them. Presently, however, on his own responsibility he ordered Lollianus Titianus to arm the gladiators at Capua, and called Claudius Pompeianus from his estate at Tarracina to share the empire with him, because he had been an emperor's son-in-law and had long been in command of troops. Claudius, however, refused on the ground that he was now old and his eye-sight was weak. The soldiers in Umbria had meanwhile deserted to Severus, and Severus had sent on letters in advance in which he ordered the murderers of Pertinax to be kept under guard.

In a short time Julianus was deserted by all and left alone in the Palace with one of his prefects, Genialis, and with Repentinus, his son-in-law. Finally, it was proposed that the imperial power be taken away from Julianus by order of the senate. This was done, and Severus was forthwith acclaimed emperor, while it was given out that Julianus had taken poison. Nevertheless, the senate despatched a delegation and through their efforts Julianus was slain in the Palace by a common soldier, while beseeching the protection of Caesar, that is to say, Severus. He had emancipated his daughter when he got control of the empire and had presented her with her patrimony, but this, together with the name

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6 A description of this meeting is given in Dio, lxxiii. 17, 4. See note to Pert., xi. 12.
DIDIIUS JULIANUS

quod ei cum Augustae nomine statim sublatum est. 10 corpus eius a Severo uxori Manliae Scantillae ac filiae ad sepulturam est redditum et in proavi monumenta translatum miliario quinto Via Labicana.

IX. Obiecta sane sunt Iuliano haec: quod gulosus fuisset, quod aleator, quod armis gladiatoriis exercitus esset, eaque omnia senex fecerit, cum ante numquam adulescens his esset vitiiis infamatus. obiecta est etiam superbia, cum ille etiam in imperio 2 fuisset humillimus. fuit autem contra humanissimus ad convivia, benignissimus ad subscriptiones, modera-tissimus ad libertatem.

3 Vixit annis quinquaginta sex mensibus quattuor. imperavit mensibus duobus diebus quinque. reprehensum in eo praecipue, quod eos, quos regere auctoritate sua debuerat, regendae rei publicae sibi praesules ipse fecisset.

1 This road ran S.E. from the city, joining the Via Latina at Toleria. It took its name from the town of Labici, on the northern slope of the Alban hills.
2 See c. iii. 9 and note.
3 Sixty years, according to Dio, lxxiii. 17, 5; this figure is
Augusta, was at once taken away from her. His body was, by order of Severus, delivered for burial to his wife, Manlia Scantilla, and to his daughter, and it was laid in the tomb of his great-grandfather by the fifth mile-stone on the Labican Way.¹

IX. These charges were brought against Julianus: that he had been a glutton and a gambler; that he had exercised with gladiatorial arms; and that he had done all these things, moreover, when advanced in years, and after escaping the stain of these vices in his youth. The charge of pride was also brought against him, although he had really been very unassuming as emperor.² He was, moreover, very affable at banquets, very courteous in the matter of petitions, and very reasonable in the matter of granting liberty.

He lived fifty-six years³ and four months. He ruled two months and five days.⁴ This particularly was held to his discredit: that men whom he ought to have kept under his own governance he appointed as his officials for governing the state.

usually regarded as more correct than that given in the biography; accordingly, he was born in 193.

⁴Sixty-six days, according to Dio, l.c. Accordingly, he was killed on 1st June, 193.
SEVERUS

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Interfecto Didio Iuliano Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit. cui civitas Lepti, pater Geta, maiores equites Romani ante civitatem omnibus datam; mater Fulvia Pia, patruui magni Aper et Severus consulares, avus paternus Macer, maternus Fulvius Pius fuere. ipse natus est Erucio Claro bis et Severo consulibus, VI idus Apriles. in prima pueritia, priusquam Latinis Graecisque litteris imbuaretur, quibus eruditissimus fuit, nullum alium inter pueros ludum nisi ad iudices exercuit, cum ipse praelatis fascibus ac securibus ordine puerorum circumstante sederet ac iudicaret. octavo decimo anno publice declamavit. postea studiorum causa Romam venit,

1magni Aper Madvig, Peter; magnaper P; Marcus Aper Peter; 2So Casaubon; maternus Macer paternus P, Peter. 3eum P. 4circumstantes P. 5adclamauit P.

1His full name was P. Septimius Geta, according to an inscription found at Cirta in Africa; see C.I.L., viii. 19498.
2Citizenship was granted to all the inhabitants of the Empire by an edict of Caracalla, Severus' son, in 212.
3Aper was consul in some year under Pius; Severus is perhaps to be identified with the Severus who was consul in 155.

370
SEVERUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. On the murder of Didius Julianus, Severus, a native of Africa, took possession of the empire. His native city was Leptis, his father was Geta; his ancestors were Roman knights before citizenship was made universal. Fulvia Pia was his mother, Aper and Severus, both of consular rank, his great-uncles. His father's father was Macer, his mother's father Fulvius Pius. He himself was born six days before the Ides of April, in the first consulship of Severus and the second of Erucius Clarus. While still a child, even before he had been drilled in the Latin and Greek literatures (with which he was very well acquainted), he would engage in no game with the other children except playing judge, and on such occasions he would have the rods and axes borne before him, and, surrounded by the throng of children, he would take his seat and thus give judgments. In his eighteenth year he delivered an oration in public. Soon after, in order to continue his studies, he came to Rome; and with the support of his kins-

4 His birthday was the 11th April, according to Dio, lxxvi. 17, 4, and this date is confirmed by the Calendar of Philocalus (see C.I.L., i, p. 262) and by inscriptions set up on this day; see C.I.L., xi. 1922; xiv. 168 and 169.
SEVERUS

latum clavum a divo Marco petiit et accepit, favente sibi Septimio Severo adfini suo, bis iam consulari.

6 Cum Romam venisset, hospitem nactus qui
Hadriani vitam imperatoriam eadem hora legeret,
7 quod sibi omen futurae felicitatis arripuit. habuit
et aliud omen imperii: cum rogatus ad cenam im-
peratoriam palliatus venisset, qui togatus venire
debuerat, togam praesidiariam ipsius imperatoris ac-
cepit. eadem nocte somniavit lupae se uberibus ut
9 Remum inhaerere vel Romulum. sed et in sella
imperatoria temere a ministro posita, ignarus quod
10 non liceret. dormienti etiam in stabulo serpens
caput cinxit et sine noxa expergescatis et adclamanti-
bus familiaribus, abiit.¹

II. Iuventam plenam furorum, nonnumquam et cri-
2 minum habuit. adulterii causam dixit absolutusque
est a Iuliano proconsule, cui et in proconsulatu suc-
cessit et in consulatu collega fuit et in imperio item
3 successit. quaesturam diligenter egit omissu tribu-
natu² militari. post quaesturam sorte Baeticam ac-
cepit atque inde Africam petiit, ut mortuo patre rem
4 domesticam componeret. sed dum in Africa est,

¹ habuit P. ² omissu tribunatu Hirschfeld, Golisch, Peter²; omnis sortibus natu P.

1 See note to Com., iv. 7. 2 See Hadr., xxii. 2.
3 It is impossible to know who is meant here. The bio-
grapher is certainly wrong in identifying him with Didius
Julianus, who was proconsul of Africa after Pertinax and
shortly before his own elevation to the throne; see Did. Jul.,
ii. 3.

372
man Septimius Severus, who had already been consul twice, he sought and secured from the Deified Marcus the broad stripe.¹

Soon after he had come to Rome he fell in with a stranger who at that very moment was reading the life of the Emperor Hadrian, and he snatched at this incident as an omen of future prosperity. He had still another omen of empire: for once, when he was invited to an imperial banquet and came wearing a cloak, when he should have worn his toga,² he was lent an official toga of the emperor's own. And that same night he dreamed that he tugged at the udders of a wolf, like Remus and Romulus. He sat down, furthermore, in the emperor's chair, which a servant had carelessly left accessible, being quite unaware that this was not allowed. And once, while he was sleeping in a tavern, a snake coiled about his head, and when his friends awoke from their sleep and shouted at it, it departed without doing him any harm.

II. His early manhood was filled with follies and not free from crime. He was charged with adultery, but pleaded his own case and was acquitted by the proconsul Julianus,³ the man who was his immediate predecessor in the proconsulship, his colleague in the consulship, and likewise his predecessor on the throne. Omitting the office of tribune of the soldiers, he became quaestor and performed his duties with diligence. At the expiration of his quaestorship he was allotted the province of Baetica,⁴ and from here he crossed over to Africa in order to settle his

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¹ He was quaestor in Rome and was then allotted to serve as quaestor (properly proquaestor) of the senatorial province of Hispania Baetica. Such double quaestorships appear frequently in inscriptions.
SEVERUS

pro Baetica Sardinia ei attributa est, quod Baeticam Mauri populabantur. acta igitur quaestura Sardiniensi legationem proconsulis Africae acceptit. in qua legatione cum eum quidam municipum suorum Leptitanus praecedentibus fascibus ut antiquum contubernalem ipse plebeius amplexus esset, fustibus eum sub eiusmodi elogio praeconis cecidit: "Legatum populi Romani homo plebeius temere amplecti noli". ex quo factum ut in vehiculo etiam legati sederent, qui ante pedibus ambulabant. tunc in quadam civitate Africana, cum sollicitus mathematicam consuluisset, positaque hora ingentia vidisset astrologus, dixit ei: "Tuam non alienam pone genituram". cumque Severus iurasset suam esse, omnia ei dixit quae postea facta sunt.

III. Tribunatum plebis Marco imperatore decernente promeruit eumque severissime exsertissimeque egit. uxorem tunc Marciam duxit, de qua tacuit in historia vitae privatae. cui postea in imperio statuas conlocavit. praetor designatus a Marco est non in

1 bracketed by Peter. 2 eiusmodi elogio Hirschfeld; elogio eiusdem P, Peter.

1 See Marc., xxi. 1. The year was about 172, since Severus was quaestor probably about the normal age of twenty-five; see note to Pius., vi. 10. The invasion of the Moors seems to have made it necessary to administer Baetica as an imperial province, and Sardinia was accordingly temporarily assigned to the senate as a substitute.

2 Her name was Paccia Marciana, according to an inscription from Africa; see C.I.L., viii. 19494 = Dessau, Ins. Sel., 440.

3 i.e. his autobiography, written after the death of Albinus,
domestic affairs, for his father had meanwhile died. But while he was in Africa, Sardinia was assigned him in place of Baetica, because the latter was being ravaged by the Moors. He therefore served his quaestorship in Sardinia, and afterwards was appointed aide to the proconsul of Africa. While he was in this office, a certain fellow-townsman of his, a plebeian, embraced him as an old comrade, though the fasces were being carried before him; whereupon he had the fellow beaten with clubs and then ordered a proclamation to be made by the herald to this effect: "Let no plebeian embrace without due cause a legate of the Roman people". On account of this incident, legates, who had previously gone on foot, thereafter rode in carriages. About this time, also, being worried about the future, he had recourse to an astrologer in a certain city of Africa. The astrologer, when he had cast the horoscope, saw high destinies in store for him, but added: "Tell me your own nativity and not that of another man". And when Severus swore an oath that it was really his, the astrologer revealed to him all the things that did later come to pass.

III. He was promoted to be tribune of the plebs by order of the Emperor Marcus, and he performed his duties with austerity and vigour. It was then that he married Marcia, but of her he made no mention in the history of his life as a private man. Afterwards, however, while emperor, he erected statues in her honour. In the thirty-second year of his life Marcus appointed him praetor, although he was not apparently with the purpose of accusing his rivals and clearing himself of charges of cruelty; see c. xviii. 6; Cl. Alb., vii. 1; Dio, lxxv. 7, 3.
candida sed in competitorum grege anno aetatis
4 xxxii. tunc ad Hispaniam missus somniavit primo
sibi dici, ut templum Tarraconense Augusti, quod
5 iam labebatur, \textsuperscript{1} restitueret. dein ex altissimi montis
vertice orbem terrarum Romamque despexit, con-
cinentibus provinciis lyra voce vel tibia. ludos absens
6 edidit. legioni \textit{m} Scythicae dein praepositus est
7 circa Massiliam. post hoc Athenas petii studiorum
sacrorumque causa et operum ac vetustatum. ubi
cum iniurias quasdam ab Atheniensibus pertulisset,
inimicus his factus minuendo eorum privilegia iam
8 imperator se ultus est. dein Lugdunensem provin-
ciam legatus acceptit. cum amissa uxore aliam vellet
ducere, geniturias sponsorum requirebat, ipse quoque
matheseos peritissimus, et cum audisset esse in Syria
quandam quae id genituriae haberet ut regi iungere-
tur, eandem uxoriam petii, Iuliam scilicet, et accept
8 interventu amicorum. ex qua statim pater factus
IV. est. a Gallis ob severitatem et honorificentiam et
abstinentiam tantum quantum nemo dilectus est.

\textsuperscript{1} leuabatur P.

\textsuperscript{1} A certain number of each board of magistrates were not
chosen by the senate but nominated directly by the emperor.
These appointees were called technically \textit{candidati} \textit{Caesars},
and the phrase \textit{in candida (toga)} seems to be only a variation
of this expression.

\textsuperscript{2} See \textit{Hadr.}, xii. 3 and note.

\textsuperscript{3} In the time of the empire the conduct of the public games
was one of the most important functions of the praetor.

\textsuperscript{4} There is some error here, for this legion was never
quartered at Marseilles, and from the middle of the first
century on it was stationed in Syria.
one of the Emperor's candidates but only one of the ordinary crowd of competitors. He was thereupon sent to Spain, and here he had a dream, first that he was told to repair the temple of Augustus at Tarraco, which at that time was falling into ruin, and then that from the top of a very high mountain he beheld Rome and all the world, while the provinces sang together to the accompaniment of the lyre and flute. Though absent from the city, he gave games. Presently he was put in command of the Fourth Legion, the Scythica, stationed near Massilia, and after that he proceeded to Athens—partly in order to continue his studies and perform certain sacred rites, and partly on account of the public buildings and ancient monuments there. Here he suffered certain wrongs at the hands of the Athenians; and on that account he became their foe, and afterwards, as emperor, took vengeance on them by curtailing their rights. After this he was appointed to the province of Lugdunensis as legate. He had meanwhile lost his wife, and now, wishing to take another, he made inquiries about the horoscopes of marriageable women, being himself no mean astrologer; and when he learned that there was a woman in Syria whose horoscope predicted that she would wed a king (I mean Julia, of course), he sought her for his wife, and through the mediation of his friends secured her. By her, presently, he became a father. IV. And because he was strict, honourable and self-restrained, he was beloved by the Gauls as was no one else.

5 Julia Domna, the elder daughter of Julius Bassianus, high-priest of the god Elagabalus at Emesa in Syria.
6 His elder son Bassianus (Caracalla) was born at Lyons on the 4th April, 186.
SEVERUS

Dein Pannonias proconsulari imperio rexit. post hoc Siciliam proconsularem sorte meruit. suscepitque 3 Romae alterum filium. in Sicilia, quasi de imperio vel vates vel Chaldaeos consuluiisset, reus factus, sed 1 a praefectis praetorii, quibus audiendus datus fuerat, iam Commodo in odio veniente, absolutus est calum-niatore in crucem acto. consulatum cum Apuleio Rufino primum egit, Commodo se inter plurimos designate. post consulatum anno ferme fuit otio-sus; dein Laeto suffragante exercitu Germanico 2 praeponitur. pro ficiscens ad Germanicos exercitus hortos spaciosos comparavit, cum antea aedes brevis-simas Romae 3 habuisset et unum fundum in Venetia. 6 et iam 4 in his hortis cum humi iacens epularetur cum filiis parca cena, pomaque adposita maior filius, qui tunc quinquennis erat, conlusoribus puerulis manu largiore divideret, paterque illum reprehendens dixisset, "Parcius divide, non enim regias opes possides," quinquennis puer respondit, "Sed possidebo " inquit. 7 in Germaniam prefectus ita se in ea legatione egit, ut famam nobilitatem 5 iam ante cumularet.

1 sed Peter; et P. 2 Germanico Baehrens, Peter 3 Germano P, Peter 4 om. in P 5 in Venetia Salmasius, et iam Editor; inuenit etiam P; in uicinia Peter.

1 This item is out of its proper order. He was not appointed to Pannonia until after his consulship; see § 4. 2 Geta, born in 189, the year, as it seems, of Severus’ consulship; see Get., iii. 1. 3 Under the régime of Cleander; see Com., vi. 7 f.; vii. 1.

378
SEVERUS IV. 2-7

Next he ruled the Pannonias with proconsular powers, and after this he drew in the allotment the proconsular province of Sicily. At Rome, meanwhile, he was presented with a second son. While he was in Sicily he was indicted for consulting about the imperial dignity with seers and astrologers, but, because Commodus was now beginning to be detested, he was acquitted by the prefects of the guard to whom he had been handed over for trial, while his accuser was crucified. He now served his first consulship, having Apuleius Rufinus for his colleague—an office to which Commodus appointed him from among a large number of aspirants. After the consulship he spent about a year free from public duties; then, on the recommendation of Laetus, he was put in charge of the army in Germany. Just as he was setting out for Germany, he acquired elaborate gardens, although he had previously kept only an unpretentious dwelling in the city and a single farm in Venetia. And now, when he was reclining on the ground in these gardens, partaking of a frugal supper with his children, his elder son, who was then five years old, divided the fruit, when it was served, with rather a bounteous hand among his young playmates. And when his father reproved him, saying: “Be more sparing; for you have not the riches of a king,” the five-year-old child replied: “No, but I shall have.” On coming to Germany, Severus conducted himself in this office in such a manner as to increase a reputation which was already illustrious.

4 His name is given as Vitellius in Get., iii. 1.
5 An error for Pannonia (cf. § 2), for he was acclaimed emperor at Carnuntum (see c. v. 1); see also Dio, lxxii. 14, 3 and Herodian, ii. 9, 2.
SEVERUS

V. Et hactenus rem militarem privatus egit. deinde a Germanicis legionibus, ubi auditum est Commodum occisum, Julianum autem cum odio cunctorum imperare, multis hortantibus repugnans imperator est appellatus apud Carnuntum idibus Augustis. qui etiam sestertia, quot ¹ nemo umquam principum militibus dedit. dein firmatis quas post tergum relinquebat provinciis Romam iter ² contendit, cedentibus sibi cunctis, quacumque iter fecit, cum iam Illyriciani exercitus et Gallicani ³ cogentibus ducibus in eius verba iurassent. excipiebatur enim ab omnibus quasi ultor Pertinacis. per idem tempus auctore Iuliano Septimius Severus a senatu hostis est appellatus, legatis ad exercitum senatus verbis missis, qui iuberenut ut ab eo milites senatu praecipiente discederent. et Severus quidem cum audisset senatus consentientis auctoritate missos legatos, primo per timuit, postea id egit corruptis legatis, ut apud exercitum pro se loquerentur transirentque in eius partes. his compertis Iulianus senatus consultum ⁴ fieri fecit de participando imperio cum Severo. incertum vere id an dolo fecerit, cum iam ante misisset ⁵ notos ducum interfectores quosdam, qui Severum

¹quot Rühl; quod P, Peter. ²iter Peter; item P. ³gallicanis P. ⁴consulatum P¹. ⁵misissent P.

²An error, for Didius Julianus was killed on the 1st June (see note to Did. Jul., ix. 3), and Severus was then not far from Rome. The date was probably the Ides of April.
³i.e. each legionary.
⁴Used inexactely to denote the armies of the Danube and the Rhine. His coins of 193 show the names of fifteen different legions belonging to these armies (see Cohen iv², p. 31 f., nos. 255-278). To these is to be added the Tenth
⁵380
SEVERUS V. 1-8

V. So far did he pursue his military career as a subject. Now, when it was learned that Commodus had been slain and that Julianus was holding the throne amid general hatred,¹ at the behest of many, but against his own will, he was hailed emperor by the German legions; this took place at Carnuntum on the Ides of August.² A thousand sesterces—a sum which no prince had ever given before—were presented to each soldier.³ And then, after garrisoning the provinces which he was leaving in his rear, he hastened his march on Rome. Wherever his path lay, all yielded to him, and the legions in Illyricum and Gaul ⁴ had already, under compulsion from their generals, espoused his cause, for he was universally regarded as the avenger of Pertinax. Meanwhile, at Julianus' instigation, the senate declared him a public enemy,⁵ and legates were sent to his army with a message from the senate ordering his soldiers in the name of the senate to desert him.⁶ And in truth, when Severus heard that legates had been sent by unanimous order of the senate, he was at first terrified; afterwards, however, he managed to bribe the legates to address the army in his favour and then to desert to his side themselves.⁷ When Julianus learned of this, he caused the senate to pass a decree that Severus and he should share the throne.⁸ Whether this was done in good faith or treacherously is not clear; for already, ere this, Julianus had sent certain fellows, notorious assassins of generals, to murder Severus,⁹ and indeed he had sent men


Legion, the Gemina, stationed in Pannonia Superior, of which, as it happens, no coin has been preserved.
SEVERUS

occiderent, ita ut ad Pescennium Nigrum interficiendum miserat, qui et ipse imperium contra eum suscepterat auctoribus Syriacis exercitibus. verum Severus evitatis eorum manibus quos ad se interficiendum Iulianus miserat, missis ad praetorianos literis signum vel deserendi vel occidenti Iuliani dedit statimque auditus est. nam et Iulianus occisus est in Palatio, et Severus Romam invitat. ita, quod nulli umquam contigit, nutu tantum Severus victor est factus armatusque Romam contendit.

VI. Occiso Iuliano cum Severus in castris et tentoriis quasi per hosticum veniens adhuc maneret, centum senatores legatos ad eum senatus misit ad gratulan-dum rogandumque. qui ei occurrerunt Interamnae armatumque circumstantibus armatis salutarunt, excussi ne quid ferri haberent. et postera die occurrente omni famulicio aulico, septingenos 1 vicenos aureos legatis dedit eodemque praemisit, facta potestate si qui vellent remanere ac secum Romam redire. fecit etiam statim praefectum praetorii Flavium Iuvenalem, quem etiam Iulianus tertium praefectum sibi adsumpserat.

1 septingenos Hirschfeld; septuagenos P, Peter.

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1 Cf. Did. Jul., v. 1; Pesc. Nig., ii. 4.
2 Cf. Pesc. Nig. ii. 1. 3 Cf. Did. Jul., viii. 5 f.
4 Hirschfeld points out that through the use of base metal the denarius had so depreciated that 25,000 den. (100,000 sesterces) was now equal to only 720 aurei instead of 1000. Accordingly, the sum that was presented to each of the
to murder Pescennius Niger as well, who, at the instigation of the armies in Syria, had also declared himself emperor in opposition to Julianus. However, Severus escaped the clutches of the men whom Julianus had sent to kill him and despatched a letter to the guard instructing them either to desert Julianus or to kill him; and his order was immediately obeyed. For not only was Julianus slain in the Palace, but Severus was invited to Rome. And so, by the mere nod of his head, Severus became the victor—a thing that had befallen no man ever before—and still under arms hastened towards Rome.

VI. After the murder of Julianus, Severus still remained encamped and in his tents as though he were advancing through a hostile territory; the senate, therefore, sent a delegation of a hundred senators to bear him congratulations and sue for pardon. And when these met him at Interamna, they were searched for concealed weapons and only then suffered to greet him as he stood armed and in the midst of armed men. But on the following day, after all the palace attendants had arrived, he presented each member of the delegation with seven hundred and twenty pieces of gold, and sent them on ahead, granting to such as desired, however, the privilege of remaining and returning to Rome with himself. Without further delay, he appointed as prefect of the guard that Flavius Juvenalis whom Julianus had chosen for his third prefect.

Legates was the equivalent of 100,000 sesterces reckoned according to the later standard. See von Domaszewski in Rhein. Mus., liv. (1899), p. 312.

6 Probably on the death of Tullius Crispinus; see Did. Jul., viii. 1.
Interim Romae ingens trepidatio militum civium-que, quod armatus contra eos Severus veniret, qui se hostem iudicassent. His accessit quod comperit Pescennium Nigrum a Syriacis legionibus imperatorem appellatum, cuius edicta et litteras ad populum vel senatum intercepit per eos qui missi fuerant, ne vel proponerentur populo vel legerentur in curia. eodem tempore etiam de Clodio Albino sibi substituendo cogitavit, cui Caesareanum decretum auctore Commodo iam 1 videbatur imperium. sed eos ipsos pertimescens de 2 quibus recte iudicabat, 3 Heraclitum ad obtinendas Britannias, Plautianum ad occupandos Nigri liberos misit. cum Romam Severus venisset, praetorianos cum subarmalibus inermes sibi iussit occurrere. eosdem sic ad tribunal vocavit armatis undique circumdatis.

VII. Ingressus deinde Romam armatus cum armatis militibus Capitolium ascendit. inde in 4 Palatium eodem habitu perrexit, praelatis signis quae praetorianis ademerat supinis non erectis. tota deinde urbe

1 **auctore Commodo iam nomen** Oberdick; **nomen** om. by Editor; **aut Commodianum P.**  
2 so Peter; **pertimescens** P; **pertimescendo P** corr., Peter.  
3 **iudicabat P, Peter**; **invidebat Peter**.  
4 om. in P.

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1 Cf. *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 1; vi. 4-5; xiii. 4. This is doubtless a fiction.

2 Or Bithynia, according to *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 2, but the reading *Britannias* is probably the correct one. About this time Severus, in order to attach Albinus to his cause, offered him the name Caesar (see note to *Cl. Alb.*, i. 2), and Heraclitus may have been sent for this purpose.

3 Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 2. On C. Fulvius Plautianus see c. xiv. 5 f.

4 He then reproached them for their treachery to Pertinax 384
Meanwhile at Rome a mighty panic seized both soldiers and civilians, for they realized that Severus was advancing under arms and against those who had declared him a public enemy. The excitement was further increased when Severus learned that Pescennius Niger had been hailed emperor by the legions in Syria. However, the proclamations and letters that Pescennius sent to the people and senate were, with the connivance of the messengers who had been sent with them, intercepted by Severus, for he wished to prevent their being published among the people or read in the senate-house. At the same time, too, he considered abdicating in favour of Clodius Albinus, to whom, it appeared, the power of a Caesar had already been decreed at the instance of Commodus. But instead, he sent Heraclitus to secure Britain and Plautianus to seize Niger’s children, in fear of these men and having formed a correct opinion about them. And when he arrived at Rome, he ordered the guard to meet him clad only in their undergarments and without arms; then, with armed men posted all about him, he summoned them, thus apparelled, to the tribunal.

VII. Severus, armed himself and attended by armed men, entered the city and went up to the Capitol; thence he proceeded, still fully armed, to the Palace, having the standards, which he had taken from the praetorians, borne before him not raised erect but trailing on the ground. And then throughout the whole

385

VOL. 1.
SEVERUS

milites in templis, in porticibus, in aedibus Palatinis, quasi in stabulis manserunt, fuitque ingressus Severus odiosus atque terribilis, cum milites inempta diripierunt, vastationem urbi minantes. alia die armatis stipatus non solum militibus sed etiam amicis in senatum venit. in curia reddidit rationem suscepti imperii causatusque est, quod ad se occidendum Iulianus notos ducum caedibus misisset. fieri etiam senatus consultum coegit, ne liceret imperatori in consilio senatu occidere senatorem. sed cum in senatu esset, milites per seditionem dena militia poposcerunt a senatu, exemplo eorum qui Augustum Octavianum Romam deduxerant tantumque acceperant. et cum eos voluisset comprimere Severus nec potuisset, tamen mitigatos addita liberalitate dimissit. funus deinde censorium Pertinacis imaginii duxit eumque inter divos sacravit, addito flamme et solae libus Helvianis, qui Marciani fuerant. se quoque

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1 Cf. c. v. 8; Did. Jul., v. 8; Pesc. Nig., ii. 5.
2 So also Dio, lxxiv. 2, 1 and Herodian, ii. 14, 3-4. Dio observes that Severus violated this decree almost at once.
3 See Dio, xlvi. 46.
4 He gave to each one thousand sestercies; see Dio, ibid.
5 This funeral is described in detail in Dio, lxxiv. 4-5.
6 A survival of the republican period, when the senate frequently honoured a dead ex-magistrate by decreeing that he might be buried in his robe of office. Of these robes the purple toga of the censor was considered the highest, and a funus censorius was, accordingly, the most honourable type of public funeral. It was later accorded by vote of the senate to emperors, e.g. to Augustus (Tacitus, Annals., xii. 69) and to Claudius (id., xiii. 2).
7 See note to Marc., xv. 4; see also Pert., xv. 3-4.
city, in temples, in porticoes, and in the dwellings on
the Palatine, the soldiers took up their quarters as
though in barracks; and Severus' entry inspired both
hatred and fear, for the soldiers seized goods they did
not pay for and threatened to lay the city waste. On
the next day, accompanied not only by armed soldiers
but also by a body of armed friends, Severus appeared
before the senate, and there, in the senate-house,
gave his reasons for assuming the imperial power,
alleging in defence thereof that men notorious for
assassinating generals had been sent by Julianus to
murder him.¹ He secured also the passage of a
senatorial decree to the effect that the emperor should
not be permitted to put any senator to death without
first consulting the senate.² But while he was still
in the senate-house, his soldiers, with threats of
mutiny, demanded of the senate ten thousand sesterces each, citing the precedent of those who had
conducted Augustus Octavian to Rome and received a
similar sum.³ And although Severus himself desired
to repress them, he found himself unable; eventually,
however, by giving them a bounty he managed to
appease them and then sent them away.⁴ Thereupon
he held for an effigy of Pertinax ⁵ a funeral such as is
given a censor,⁶ elevated him to a place among the
deified emperors and gave him, besides, a flamen
and a Helvian Brotherhood, composed of the priests
who had previously constituted the Marcian Broth-
ernood.⁷ Moreover, he himself was, at his own com-
mand, given the name Pertinax;⁸ although later he

⁸ According to Herodian, ii. 10, 1, he assumed this name be-
fore he left Pannonia. It appears in his inscriptions and on
his coins, especially those issued during the first part of his
reign.

387
cc 2
SEVERUS

Pertinacem vocari iussit, quamvis postea id nomen aboleri voluerit quasi 1 omen.

VIII. Amicorum dehinc aës alienum 2 dissolvit. filias suas dotatas maritis Probo et Aetio dedit. et eum Probo genero suo praefecturam urbi obtulisset, ille recusavit dixitque minus sibi videri praefectum esse quam principis generum. utrumque autem generum statim consulem fecit, utrumque ditavit. alia die ad senatum venit et amicos Iuliani incusatos pro causas plurimas audivit. accusatos a provincialibus iudices probatis rebus graviter punivit. rei frumentariae, quam minimam reppererat, ita consuluit, ut excedens vita septem annorum canonem populo Romano relinqueret.

6 Ad orientis statum confirmandum praefectus est, nihil adhuc de Nigro palam dicens. ad African tamen legiones misit, ne per Libyam atque Aegyptum Niger Africam occuparet ac populo Romano penuria rei frumentariae perurgueret. Domitium Dextrum in locum Bassi praefectum 3 urbi reliquit atque intriginta dies quam Romam venerat est praefectus. 9 egressus ab urbe ad Saxa Rubra seditionem ingentem ob locum castrorum metandorum ab exercitu passus est. occurrit ei et statim Geta frater suus, quem

1quae P. 2 alienos P. 3 praefectum Mommsen; praefecti P.

1 Cf. Pesc. Nig., v. 4 f.
2 Before setting out he gave largess; see the coins of 198 with the legend Liberalitas Aug(usti); Cohen, iv, p. 32 f., nos. 279-287.
3 On the Via Flaminia, about ten miles north of Rome.
4 P. Septimius Geta. His province was probably Dacia, of which he was governor in 195; see C.I.L., iii. 905.
wished it withdrawn, for fear that it would prove an omen.

VIII. Next he freed his friends from debt. He then settled dowries on his daughters and gave them in marriage to Probus and Aetius. As for his son-in-law Probus, when he offered to make him prefect of the city, Probus declined, averring that it meant less to him to be prefect of the city than son-in-law to the emperor. However, he immediately appointed each of them consul and made each rich. Soon thereafter he appeared before the senate, and bringing in accusations against the friends of Julianus, caused them to be outlawed and put to death. He heard a vast number of lawsuits, and magistrates who had been accused by the provincials he punished severely whenever the accusations against them were proved; and finding the grain-supply at a very low ebb, he managed it so well that on departing this life he left the Roman people a surplus to the amount of seven years' tribute.

And now he set out to remedy the situation in the East, still making no public mention of Niger. None the less, however, he sent troops to Africa, for fear that Niger might advance through Libya and Egypt and seize this province, and thereby distress the Roman people with a scarcity of grain. Then, leaving Domitius Dexter as prefect of the city in place of Bassus, within thirty days of his coming to Rome he set out again; and he had proceeded from the city no farther than Saxa Rubra when he had to face a great mutiny in his army, which arose on account of the place selected for pitching camp. Then his brother Geta came at once to meet him, but merely received orders to rule the province already
SEVERUS

provinciam sibi creditam regere praecipit\(^1\) alium sperantem. Nigri liberos ad se adductos in eo habuit honore quo suos. miserat sane legionem, quam Graeciam Thraciamque praeciperet, ne eas Pescennius occuparet. sed iam Byzantium Niger tenebat. Perinthum etiam Niger volens occupare plurimos de exercitu interfecit atque ideo hostis cum Aemiliano est appellatus. cumque Severum ad participatum vocaret, contemptus est. promisit sane Nigro tutum exsilium, si vellet, Aemiliano autem non ignovit. Aemilianus dehinc victus in Hellesponto a Severo ducibus Cyzicum primum confugit atque inde in aliam civitatem, in qua eorum iussu occissus est. Fusae sunt item copiae ab iisdem ducibus etiam Nigri. IX. his auditis ad senatum Severus quasi confectis rebus litteras misit. dein confliget cum Nigro eumque apud Cyzicum interemitt caputque eius pilo circumtulit. Filios Nigri post hoc, quos suorum liberorum cultu habuerat, in exsilium cum matre misit.

Litteras ad senatum de victoria dedit. neque

\(^1\) accepit P.

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\(^1\) See c. vi. 10 and ix. 2.
\(^2\) Asellius Aemilianus, the proconsul of Asia and commander of Niger’s army.
\(^3\) See Pesc. Nig., v. 6-7.
\(^4\) This was after the defeat at Perinthus (§ 16); see Pesc. Nig., v. 8.
\(^5\) Probably at Perinthus on the Propontis.
\(^6\) Near Nicaea in Bithynia; see Dio, lxxiv. 6, 5 ff.
\(^7\) This is an error, repeated in Pesc. Nig., v. 8. Niger was finally defeated near Issus in Cilicia; see Dio, lxxiv. 7 and Herodian, iii. 4, 2 ff. The date has recently been determined.
in his charge, though Geta had other hopes. Niger's children, who were brought to him, he treated with the same care that he showed his own. 1 Previous to this, he had sent a legion to occupy Greece and Thrace, and thereby prevent Niger from seizing them. But Niger already held Byzantium, and now wishing to seize Perinthus too, he slew a great number of this force and accordingly, together with Aemilianus, 2 was declared an enemy to the state. 3 He next proposed joint rule with Severus; this was rejected with scorn. As a matter of fact, Severus did promise him an unmolested exile if he wished it, 4 but refused to pardon Aemilianus. Soon thereafter Aemilianus was defeated by Severus' generals at the Hellespont 5 and fled first to Cyzicus and from there to another city, and here he was put to death by order of Severus' generals. Niger's own forces, moreover, were routed by the same generals. 6

IX. On receipt of this news Severus despatched letters to the senate as if the whole affair were finished. And not long afterwards he met with Niger near Cyzicus, 7 slew him, and paraded his head on a pike. Niger's children, whom he had maintained in the same state as his own, 8 he sent into exile after this event, together with their mother.

He sent a letter to the senate announcing the victory, 9 but he inflicted no punishment upon any of

as the close of 193. Niger fled but was overtaken by some of Severus' soldiers between Antioch and the Euphrates and beheaded; see Dio, lxxiv. 8, 3.

1 See c. viii. 11. They were afterwards put to death; see c. x. 1 and Pesc. Nig., vi. 1-2.

9 He was acclaimed Imperator for the third time; see the coins of 194 with the legends Mars Pacator and Paci Augusti, Cohen, iv, p. 35, no. 308, and p. 40, no. 359.
SEVERUS

quam quam senatorum qui Nigri partium fuerant praeter unum supplicio adfectit. Antiochensibus ini-
tior fuit, quod et administrantem se in oriente riserant et Nigrum etiam victum iuverant. denique 
multa his ademit. Neapolitanis etiam Palaestinensi-
bus ius civitatis tuliit, quod pro Nigro diu in armis fuerunt. in multos saepe animadvertit, praeter or-
dinem senatorium, qui Nigrum fuerant secuti. mul-
tas etiam civitates eiusdem partis iniurii adfectit et 
damnis. eos senatores occidit qui cum Nigro mili-
taverant ducum vel tribunorum nomine.

Deinde circa Arabiam plura gessit, Parthis etiam in diccionem redactis nec non etiam Adiabenis, qui quidem omnes cum Pescennio senserant. atque ob hoc reversus triumpho delato appellatus est Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus. sed triumphum respuit, ne videretur de civili triumphare victoria. excusavit et Parthicum nomen, ne Parthos lac esseret.

X. Redeunti sane Romam post bellum civile Nigri

orientem P, Peter. victum Peter. saeue Peter:

1 See c. vii. 5. This statement is confirmed by Dio; see lxxiv. 8, 4.
2 Niger's head appears on a coin of Colonia Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem); see Cohen, iii, p. 413, no. 82.
3 Notably Byzantium, which his army captured after a long siege; see Dio, lxxiv. 14, 8.
4 The campaign actually took place in northern Mesopotamia, in the neighbourhood of Nisibis, which had been invaded by the surrounding tribes. Most of the fighting seems to have been done under the command of the legates, Laetus, Anulinus, and Probus, who crossed the Tigris and invaded Adiabene; see Dio, lxxv. 1-3.
5 In the inscriptions and on the coins of this period he is
the senators who had sided with Niger, with the exception of one man. Towards the citizens of Antioch he was more resentful, because they had laughed at him in his administration of the East and also had aided Niger with supplies. Eventually he deprived them of many privileges. The citizens of Neapolis in Palestine, because they had long been in arms on Niger’s side, he deprived of all their civic rights, and to many individuals, other than members of the senatorial order, who had followed Niger he meted out cruel punishments. Many communities, too, which had been on Niger’s side, were punished with fines and degradation; and such senators as had seen active service on Niger’s side with the title of general or tribune were put to death.

Next, he engaged in further operations in the region about Arabia and brought the Parthians back to allegiance and also the Adiabeni—all of whom had sided with Pescennius. For this exploit, after he returned home, he was given a triumph and the names Arabicus, Adiabenicus, and Parthicus. He refused the triumph, however, lest he seem to triumph for a victory over Romans; and he declined the name Parthicus lest he hurt the Parthians’ feelings.

And then, just as he was returning to Rome after the civil war caused by Niger, he received news called Arabicus Adiabenicus, or Parthicus Arabicus Parthicus Adiabenicus; see Dessau, Ins. Sel., 417 f., and Cohen, iv, p. 8, nos. 48-52, and p. 40 f., nos. 363-368. The statement in § 11, accordingly, is not accurate. However, the cognomen Parthicus is not used without these qualifying words until after his campaign of 198 (see c. xvi. 2). These names were taken in 194, when he was acclaimed Imperator for the fourth time.
SEVERUS

aliud bellum civile Clodii Albini nuntiatum est, qui rebellavit in Gallia. quare postea occisi sunt filii 2 Nigri 1 cum matre. Albinum igitur statim hostem iudicavit et eos qui ad illum mollius vel scripserunt vel rescripserunt. et cum iret contra Albinum, in itinere apud Viminacium filium suum maiorem Bassianum adposito Aurelii Antonini nomine Caesarem appellavit, ut fratrem suum Getam ab spe imperii, 4 quam ille conceperat, summoveret. et nomen qui- dem Antonini idcirco filio adposuit, quod somniaverat Antoninium sibi successurum. unde Getam etiam quidam Antoninum putant dictum, ut et ipse succederet in imperio. aliqui putant idcirco illum Antoninum appellatum, quod Severus ipse in Marci familiam transire voluerit.
7 Et primo quidem ab Albinianis Severi duces victi sunt. tunc sollicitus cum consuleret, a Pannoniacis auguribus comperit se victorem futurum, adversarium

1 filii Nigri om. in P.

1 See c. vi. 9; Cl. Alb., viii. 4 f.
2 More correctly, Britain, of which he was governor. He had previously received from Severus the title of Caesar (see note to Cl. Alb., i. 2), and he now assumed that of Augustus.
3 See c. ix. 2 and note.
4 On his march from Byzantium through Moesia to Gaul. As Hirschfeld has pointed out, there is no reason to suppose that Severus went to Rome at this time; see Kl. Schriften (Berlin, 1918), p. 432.
5 From this time on, in inscriptions and on coins he always bears the name M. Aurelius Antoninus.
6 See note to Ael., i. 2. In this instance, the purpose of the step was to nullify Albinus’ claim to the name and to the succession (see note to § 1).
7 i.e. Severus’ younger son.
SEVERUS X. 2-7

of another civil war, caused by Clodius Albinus, who had revolted in Gaul. It was because of this revolt that Niger's children and their mother were later put to death. As for Albinus, Severus at once declared him a public foe, and likewise those who, in their letters to him or replies to his letters, had expressed themselves as favourably inclined to him. As he was advancing against Albinus, moreover, and had reached Viminacium on his march, he gave his elder son Bassianus the name Aurelius Antoninus and the title of Caesar, in order to destroy whatever hopes of succeeding to the throne his brother Geta had conceived. His reason for giving his son the name Antoninus was that he had dreamed that an Antoninus would succeed him. It was because of this dream, some believe, that Geta also was called Antoninus, in order that he too might succeed to the throne. Others, however, think that Bassianus was given the name Antoninus because Severus himself wished to pass over into the family of Marcus.

At first, Severus' generals were worsted by those of Albinus; but when, in his anxiety, he consulted augurs in Pannonia, he learned that he would be

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8 The statement that Geta was given the name Antoninus is frequently made in these biographies; see c. xvi. 4; xix. 2; Get., i. 1 f.; v. 3. It is questioned, on the other hand, in Diad., vi. 9, and as this name does not appear in the inscriptions or on the coins of Geta, the statement is probably incorrect.

9 So also Dio, lxxv. 7, 4, and lxxvi. 9. 4. In his inscriptions from this time on he appears as Divi Marci Antonini Pii Germ. Sarm. filius, etc. He also assumed the name Pius about this time.

10 See also Cl. Alb., ix. 1-4.

11 In particular, Lupus, who was badly defeated by Albinus about this time; see Dio, lxxv. 6, 2.

395
SEVERUS

vero nec in potestatem venturum neque evasurum sed
8 iuxta aquam esse periturum.\footnote{1} multi statim amici
Albini deserentes venere, multi duces capti sunt, in
XI. quos Severus animadvertit. multis interim varie
gestis in Gallia primo apud Tinurtium contra Albinum
2 felicissime pugnavit Severus. cum quidem ingens
periculum equi casu adiit,\footnote{2} ita ut mortuos ictu plumbae
crederetur, ita ut alius iam paene imperator ab exer-
3 citu deligeretur. eo tempore lectis actis quae de
Clodio Celsino laudando, qui Hadrumetinum et adfinis
Albini erat, facta sunt, iratus senatui Severus, quasi
hoc Albino senatus praestitisset, Commodum inter
divos referendum esse censuit, quasi hoc genere se de
4 senatu posset ulisci. primusque inter milites divum
Commodum pronuntiavit idque ad senatum scripsit
addita oratione victoriae. senatum deinde qui in
bello erant interempti cadavera dissipari iussit.
6 deinde Albini corpore adlato paene seminecis caput
abscedi iussit Romamque deferri idque litteris pro-
7 secutus est. victus est Albinus die XI kal. Martias.

\footnote{1} sed . . . . *periturum* rejected by Peter\footnote{2} as repetition from
\footnote{Pesc. Nig.}, ix. 5. \footnote{cadit P.}

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\footnote{1} Probably the modern Tournus on the Saône about twenty
miles north of Mâcon. A description of the engagement is
given in Dio, lxxv. 6-7. According to his version, Albinus
killed himself after the defeat; but see §§ 6-9 and Cl. Alb.,
ix. 3.

\footnote{2} i.e. Julius Laetus; see Herodian, iii. 7, 4; cf. c. xv. 6.

\footnote{3} His brother, according to Cl. Alb., ix. 6; xii. 9, but this
is probably an error.

\footnote{4} See Com., xvii. 11.

\footnote{5} According to Dio, lxxv. 7, the announcement of Com-
modus’ deification did cause the senate great consternation.
Severus’ real purpose, however, was probably to carry out

396
the victor, and that his opponent would neither fall into his hands nor yet escape, but would die close by the water. Many of Albinus' friends soon deserted and came over to Severus; and many of his generals were captured, all of whom Severus punished. XI. Meanwhile, after many operations had been carried on in Gaul with varying success, Severus had his first successful encounter with Albinus at Tinurtium. Through the fall of his horse, however, he was at one time in the utmost peril; and it was even believed that he had been slain by a blow with a ball of lead, and the army almost elected another emperor. It was at this time that Severus, on reading the resolutions passed by the senate in praise of Clodius Celsinus, who was a native of Hadrumetum and Albinus' kinsman, became highly incensed at the senate, as though it had recognized Albinus by this act, and issued a decree that Commodus should be placed among the deified, as though he could take vengeance on the senate by this sort of thing. He proclaimed the deification of Commodus to the soldiers first, and then announced it to the senate in a letter, to which he added a discourse on his own victory. Next, he gave orders that the bodies of the senators who had been slain in the battle should be mutilated. And then, when Albinus' body was brought before him, he had him beheaded while still half alive, gave orders that his head should be taken to Rome, and followed up the order with a letter. Albinus was defeated on the eleventh day before the 19 Feb., Kalends of March.

further his policy of attaching himself to the house of the Antonines; see c. x. 6.

See note to § 1.
SEVERUS

Reliquum autem cadaver eius ante domum pro-
primam exponi ac diu videri 1 iussit. equum praeterea
ipse residens supra cadaver Albini egit expavescen-
temque admonuit et effrenatum ut audacter protereret.
addunt alii quod idem cadaver in Rhodanum abici
praecipit, simul etiam uxoris liberorumque eius.

XII. Interfectis innumeris Albini partium viris, inter
quos multi principes civitatis, multae feminae inlustres
fuerunt, omnium bona publicata sunt aerariumque
auxerunt; tum et Hispanorurn et Gallorum proceres
multi occisi sunt. denique militibus tantum stipen-
diorum quantum nemo principum dedit. filiis etiam
suis ex hac proscriptione tantum reliquit quantum
nullus imperatorum, cum magnam partem auri per
Gallias, per Hispanias, per Italian, imperatoriam 2
fecisset. tuncque primum privatarm rerum pro-
curatio constituta est. multi sane post Albinum fidem
ei servantes bello a Severo superati sunt. eodem
tempore etiam legio Arabica defecisse ad Albinum
nuntiata est.

Ultus igitur graviter Albinianam defectionem inter-
fectis plurimis, genere quoque eius extincto, iratus
Romam et populo et senatoribus venit. Commodum
in senatum et contionem laudavit, deum appellavit,
infamibus displicuisse dixit, ut appareret eum aper-

1 diu videri Salmasius; diuidere P. 2 imperatoriam von
Domaszewski; imperatoriam P, Peter.

1 These executions took place in Gaul (Herodian, iii. 8, 2); they are to be distinguished from the later executions at
Rome; see c. xiii.

398
SEVERUS XI. 8—XII. 8

The rest of Albinus' body was, by Severus' order, laid out in front of his own home, and kept there for a long time exposed to view. Furthermore, Severus himself rode on horseback over the body, and when the horse shied, he spoke to it and loosed the reins, that it might trample boldly. Some add that he ordered Albinus' body to be cast into the Rhone, and also the bodies of his wife and children.

XII. Countless persons who had sided with Albinus were put to death, among them numerous leading men and many distinguished women, and all their goods were confiscated and went to swell the public treasury. Many nobles of the Gauls and Spains were also put to death at this time. Finally, he gave his soldiers sums of money such as no emperor had ever given before. Yet as a result of these confiscations, he left his sons a fortune greater than any other emperor had left to his heirs, for he had made a large part of the gold in the Gauls, Spains, and Italy imperial property. At this time the office of steward for private affairs was first established. After Albinus' death many who remained loyal to him were defeated by Severus in battle. At this same time, moreover, he received word that the legion in Arabia had gone over to Albinus.

And so, after having taken harsh vengeance for Albinus' revolt by putting many men to death and exterminating Albinus' family, he came to Rome filled with wrath at the people and senate. He delivered a eulogy of Commodus before the senate and before an assembly of the people and declared him a god; he averred, moreover, that Commodus had been un-

1See note to Com., xx. 1.
2The Third Legion, the Cyrenaica.
SEVERUS


1 Antonium Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, 2 Praef., p. xlii.; Antoninum P, Peter. 2 Aelium Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, 4 Praef., p. xlii.; L. P, Peter. 3 Sulpius P, Peter. 4 Marcium Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, 2 Praef., p. xlii.; Marcum P, Peter.

1 A few telling sentences from the speech are recorded in Dio, lxxv. 8. Dio also relates that he praised the severity and cruelty of Marius and Sulla; these names were afterwards applied to him; see Pesc. Nigr., vi. 4.
populous only among the degraded. Indeed, it was evident that Severus was openly furious. After this he spoke about the mercy he had shown, whereas he was really exceedingly blood-thirsty and executed the senators enumerated below. He put to death without even a trial the following noblemen: Mummius Secundinus, Asellius Claudianus, Claudius Rufus, Vitalius Victor, Papius Faustus, Aelius Celsus, Julius Rufus, Lollius Professus, Aurunculeius Cornelianus, Antonius Balbus, Postumius Severus, Sergius Lustralis, Fabius Paulinus, Nonius Gracchus, Masticius Fabianus, Casperius Agrippinus, Ceionius Albinus, Claudius Sulphianus, Memmius Rufinus, Casperius Aemilianus, Cocceius Verus, Erucius Clarus, Aelius Stilo, Clodius Rufinus, Egnatuleius Honoratus, Petronius Junior, the six Pescennii, Festus, Veritianus, Aurelianus, Materianus, Julianus, and Albinus; the three Cerellii, Macrinus, Faustinianus, and Julianus; Herennius Nepos, Sulpicius Canus, Valerius Catullinus, Novius Rufus, Claudius Arabianus, and Marcius Aelianio. And yet he who murdered all these distinguished men, many of whom had been consuls and many praetors, while all were of high estate, is regarded by the Africans as a god. He falsely accused Cincius Severus of attempting his life by poison, and thereupon put him to death; next, he cast to the lions Narcissus, the man who had strangled Commodus. And besides, he put to death many men from

2 According to Dio, *ibid.*, he executed twenty-nine and pardoned thirty five. The following list of forty-one probably includes some of the partisans of Niger, whom Severus had previously refrained from putting to death; see c. ix. 3.

3 Cf. *Com.*, xvii. 2. But according to Dio, Narcissus was put to death by Didius Julianus; see note to *Did. Jul.*, vi. 2.
SEVERUS

obscuri loci homines interemit praeter eos quos vis proelii absorbis.

2 Post haec, cum se vellet commendare hominibus, vehicularium munus a privatis ad fiscum traduxit.

3 Caesarem dein Bassianum Antoninum a senatu ap- pellari fecit, decretis imperatoriiis insignibus. ru- more deinde bellii Parthici excitus non patri matri avo et uxori priori per se statuas conlocavit. Plautianum ex amicissimo cognita eius vita ita odio habuit, ut et hostem publicum appellaret et depositis statuis eius per orbem terrae gravi eum insigniret inuria, iratus praecipue, quod inter propinquorum et adfinium Severi simulacra sua statuam ille posuisset.

6 Palaestinis poenam remisit quam ob causam Nigri meruerant. postea iterum cum Plautiano in gratiam redit et veluti ovans urbem ingressus Capitolium petiti, quamvis et ipsum procedenti tempore occiderit.

1 excitus Editor; extitit P. extincit  Peter; rumor ... extitit Peter. 2 cum eo Capitolium
Peter; cum eo om. in P.

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1 See note to Hadr., vii. 5.
2 Bassianus had already received the name Caesar (see c. x. 3); it was now confirmed by the senate. He was also at this time made a member of some of the priestly colleges to which the emperor belonged (see note to Marc., vi. 3), and he was apparently recognized officially as his father’s successor, for from now on he bore the title of Imperator Destinatus; see Dessau, Ins. Sel., 442, 446, 447.
3 See c. xv. f.
4 See c. iii. 2 and note.
5 C. Fulvius Plautianus, prefect of the guard. For an account of his great power and his influence over Severus see Dio, lxxv. 14-15. He received the ornementa consuaria (see note to Hadr., viii. 7), and was consul in 203.
the more humble walks of life, not to speak of those whom the fury of battle had consumed.

After this, wishing to ingratiate himself with the people, he took the postal service out of private hands and transferred its cost to the privy-purse. Then he caused the senate to give Bassianus Antoninus the title of Caesar and grant him the imperial insignia. Next, when called away by the rumour of a Parthian war, he set up at his own expense statues in honour of his father, mother, grandfather and first wife. He had been very friendly with Plautianus; but, on learning his true character, he conceived such an aversion to him as even to declare him a public enemy, overthrow his statues, and make him famous throughout the entire world for the severity of his punishment, the chief reason for his anger being that Plautianus had set up his own statue among the statues of Severus' kinsmen and connections. He revoked the punishment which had been imposed upon the people of Palestine on Niger's account. Later, he again entered into friendly relations with Plautianus, and after entering the city in his company like one who celebrates an ovation, he went up to the Capitol, although in the course of time he killed him. He bestowed the toga virilis on his younger son,

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6 This incident is described quite differently in Dio, lxxv. 16, 2; apparently, an order to melt some of the bronze statues of Plautianus gave rise to the belief that he had been disgraced.

7 See c. ix. 5.

8 A minor triumph, in which the general rode through the city instead of driving a chariot. It was celebrated in case the war had not been formally declared, or the vanquished was not a recognized hostis, or the victory had been bloodless; see Gellius, v. 6, 21.
SEVERUS

8 Getae minori filio togam virilem dedit, maiori Plautiani filiam uxorem iunxit. ii qui hostem publicum Plautianum dixerant deportati sunt. ita omnium rerum semper quasi naturali lege mutatio est. filios dein consules designavit. Getam fratrem extulit.

9 profectus dehinc ad bellum Parthicum est, edito gladiatorio munere et congiario populo dato. multos inter haec causis vel veris vel simulatis occidit, damnabantur autem plerique, cur iocati essent, alii, cur tacuissent, alii, cur pleraque figurata 1 dixissent. ut "ecce imperator vere nominis sui, vere Pertinax, vere Severus".

XV. Erat sane in sermone vulgari Parthicum bellum adfectare Septimium Severum, gloriae cupiditate non aliqua necessitate deductum. traiecto denique exercitu a Brundisio continuato itinere venit in Syriam Parthosque summovit. sed postea in Syria redivit, ita ut se pararet ac bellum Parthis inferret.

2 inter haec Pescennianas reliquias Plautiano auctore persequebatur, ita ut nonnullus etiam ex amicis suis quasi vitae suae insidiatores appeteret. multos etiam, quasi Chaldaeos aut vates de sua salute consuissent,

1 figurata P ; figurate Peter.

1 Fulvia Plautilla. The marriage took place in 202; she received the title of Augusta, which appears in inscriptions and on her coins (Cohen, iv2, pp. 243 and 247 f.). When her father was assassinated in the Palace (see Dio, lxxvi. 4) in 205, she was banished; later on she was put to death.

2 Apparently after Geta’s death—by a public funeral and a statue in the Forum; see Dio, lxxvi. 2, 4.

3 The Parthians had entered Mesopotamia and were at
SEVERUS XIV. 8—XV. 5

Geta, and he united his elder son in marriage with Plautianus' daughter. Those who had declared Plautianus a public enemy were now driven into exile. Thus, as if by a law of nature, do all things ever shift and change. Soon thereafter he appointed his sons to the consulship; also he greatly honoured his brother Geta. Then, after giving a gladiatorial show and bestowing largess upon the people, he set out for the Parthian war. Many men meanwhile were put to death, some on true and some on trumped-up charges. Several were condemned because they had spoken in jest, others because they had not spoken at all, others again because they had cried out many things with double meaning, such as "Behold an emperor worthy of his name—Pertinacious in very truth, in very truth Severus".

XV. It was commonly rumoured, to be sure, that in planning a war on the Parthians, Septimius Severus was influenced rather by a desire for glory than by any real necessity. Finally, he transported his army from Brundisium, reached Syria without breaking his voyage, and forced the Parthians to retreat. After that, however, he returned to Syria in order to make preparations to carry on an offensive war against the Parthians. In the meantime, on the advice of Plautianus, he hunted down the last survivors of Pescennius' revolt, and he even went so far as to bring charges against several of his own friends on the ground that they were plotting to kill him. He put numerous others to death on the charge of having asked Chaldeans or soothsayers how long he was tacking Nisibis, the seat of Severus' operations in his former campaign; see note to c. ix. 9.

i.e. from Nisibis.

405
SEVERUS

interemitt, praecipue suspectans unumquemque idoneum imperio, cum ipse parvulos adhuc filios haberet idque dici ab his vel crederet vel audiret, qui sibi augurabantur imperium. denique cum occisi essent nonnulli, Severus se excusabat et post eorum mortem negabat fieri iussisse quod factum est. quod de Laeto praecipue Marius Maximus dicit. cum soror sua Leptitana ad eum venisset vix Latine loquens, ac de illa multum imperator erubesceret, dato filio eius lato clavo atque ipsi multis munibus redire mulierem in patriam praecipit, et quidem cum filio, qui breviter vita defunctus est.

XVI. Aestate igitur iam exeunte Parthiam ingressus Ctesiphontem pulso rege pervenit et cepit hiemali prope tempore, quod in ills regionibus melius per hiemem bella tractantur, cum herbarum radicibus milites viverent atque inde morbos aegritudinesque contraherent. quare cum obsdentibus Parthis, fluente quoque per insuetudinem cibi alvo militum, longius ire non posset, tamen perstitit et oppidum cepit et regem fugavit et plurimos interemit et

3 Parthicum nomen meruit. ob hoc etiam filium eius

1 suspectans Casaubon, Peter; suspectos P; suspectus Salmasius, Peter. 2 quibus seu P. 3 herbarum Egnatius, Peter; culpae P; culpae Peter; caege Peter. 4 ob hoc Ed. princeps, Peter; ob P; ideo Peter.

1 His legate in his former campaign and the defender of Nisibis against the Parthians; see notes to c. xv. 1-2. He was put to death during the siege of Hatra, which followed the capture of Ctesiphon; see Dio, lxxv. 10, 3.

2 See note to Com., iv. 7.
SEVERUS XV. 6—XVI. 3

destined to live; and he was especially suspicious of anyone who seemed qualified for the imperial power, for his sons were still very young, and he believed or had heard that this fact was being observed by those who were seeking omens regarding their own prospects of the throne. Eventually, however, when several had been put to death, Severus disclaimed all responsibility, and after their death denied that he had given orders to do what had been done. Marius Maximus says that this was particularly true in the case of Laetus.¹ His sister from Leptis once came to see him, and, since she could scarcely speak Latin, made the emperor blush for her hotly. And so, after giving the broad stripe² to her son and many presents to the woman herself, he sent her home again, and also her son, who died a short time afterwards.

XVI. When the summer was well-nigh over, Severus invaded Parthia, defeated the king, and came 198 to Ctesiphon; and about the beginning of the winter season he took the city. For indeed in those regions it is better to wage war during the winter, although the soldiers live on the roots of the plants and so contract various ills and diseases. For this reason then, although he could make no further progress, since the Parthian army was blocking the way and his men were suffering from diarrhœa because of the unfamiliar food, he nevertheless held his ground, took the city, put the king to flight, slew a great multitude, and gained the name Parthicus.³ For this feat, likewise, the soldiers declared his son,

³ Parthicus Maximus; this cognomen appears in his inscriptions and on his coins from 198 onward. On his previous cognomina see note to c. ix. 10.
SEVERUS


Dein cum Antiochiam transisset, data virili toga filio maiori secum eum consulem designavit, et statim in Syria consulatum inierunt. post hoc dato stipendio XVII. cumulatiore militibus Alexandriam petiit. in itinere Palaestinis plurima iura fundavit. Iudaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. deinde Alexandrinis ius buleutarum dedit, qui sine publico consilio ita ut sub regibus ante vivebant, uno

1 parthicus P.

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1 He was acclaimed Augustus by the soldiers and received the tribunician power from Severus. The date was prior to the 3rd May, 198, since he is called Augustus in an African inscription of that date; see C.I.L., viii. 2465 = Dessau, Ins. Sel. 2485.

2 Cf. c. x. 3 and xiv. 3.

3 He is called Nobilissimus Caesar in inscriptions from 198 onward.

4 See note to c. x. 5.

5 Ctesiphon. The sack of the city is also mentioned in Dio, lxxv. 9, 4.

6 But not until after two unsuccessful sieges of Hatra in Mesopotamia; see Dio, lxxv. 10-12.

408
Bassianus Antoninus, co-emperor; he had already been named Caesar and was now in his thirteenth year. And to Geta, his younger son, they gave the name Caesar, and called him in addition Antoninus, as several men relate in their writings. To celebrate the bestowal of these names Severus gave the soldiers an enormous donative, none other, in truth, than liberty to plunder the Parthian capital, a privilege for which they had been clamouring. He then returned victorious to Syria. But when the senators offered him a triumph for the Parthian campaign, he declined it because he was so afflicted with gout that he was unable to stand upright in his chariot. Notwithstanding this, he gave permission that his son should celebrate a triumph; for the senate had decreed to him a triumph over Judaea because of the successes achieved by Severus in Syria.

Next, when he had reached Antioch, he bestowed the toga virilis upon his elder son and appointed him consul as colleague to himself; and without further delay, while still in Syria, the two entered upon their consulship. After this, having first raised his soldiers’ pay, he turned his steps toward Alexandria, and while on his way thither he conferred numerous rights upon the communities of Palestine. He forbade conversion to Judaism under heavy penalties and enacted a similar law in regard to the Christians. He then gave the Alexandrians the privilege of a local senate, for they were still without any public council, just as they had been under their native kings, and were obliged to be content with

7 As Caracalla was only twelve years old it is hardly likely that he won a victory in person.
8 Cf. c. xiv. 6.
9 The Ptolemaic dynasty.
SEVERUS

3 iudice contenti, quem 1 Caesar dedisset. multa praeterea his iura mutavit. iucundam sibi peregrinationem hanc propter religionem dei Serapidis et propter rerum antiquarum cognitionem et propter novitatem animalium vel locorum 2 fuisse Severus ipse postea semper ostendit. nam et Memphim et Memnonen et pyramidis et labyrinthum diligenter inspexit.

5 Et quoniam longum est minora persequi, huius magnifica illa: quod victo et occiso Iuliano praetorianas cohortes exauctoravit, Pertinacem contra voluntatem militum in deos rettulit, Salvii 3 Iuliani decreta iussit aboleri; quod non obtinuit. denique cognomentum Pertinacis non tam ex sua voluntate quam ex 4 morum parsimonia videtur habuisse. nam et infinita multorum caede crudelior habitus et, cum quidam ex hostibus eidem se suppliciter obtulisset atque dixisset 5 illi “quid facturus esses?” 6, non

1 om. in P, added in P corr. 2 bello eorum P. 3 saluti P. 4 quam ex P; atque Peter. 5 obtulisset atque dixisset Peter; obtulissetque dixisset P; obtulisset dixissetque Peter. 6 illi quid facturus esses Mommsen; ille quod facturus esset P; ille . . . quod facturus esset Peter.

1 The uridicus Alexandrianae. Augustus had refused to allow Alexandria to have a local senate; see Dio, li. 17, 2.

2 The famous “singing Memnon” at Thebes, a colossal statue of Amenophis III.

3 In the Fayûm in Middle Egypt. A description of it is given by Herodotus, iii. 148.

4 This section of the biography (xvii. 5—xix. 4) bears a close resemblance, often in the actual wording, to Victor, de Caesaribus, xx., and in some passages it seems to be a mere abbreviation of Victor’s narrative; see Intro., p. xxii.

5 See note to c. vi. 11. 6 Of c. vii. 8; Pert., xiv. 10.

7 In both this passage and the corresponding sentence in Victor (Caes., xx. 1) there seems to be a confusion between
the single governor appointed by Caesar. Besides this, he changed many of their laws. In after years Severus himself continually avowed that he had found this journey very enjoyable, because he had taken part in the worship of the god Serapis, had learned something of antiquity, and had seen unfamiliar animals and strange places. For he visited Memphis, Memnon, the Pyramids, and the Labyrinth, and examined them all with great care.

But since it is tedious to mention in detail the less important matters, only the most noteworthy of his deeds are here related. He discharged the cohorts of the guard after Julianus was defeated and slain; he deified Pertinax against the wishes of the army; and he gave orders that the decisions of Salvius Julianus should be annulled, though this he did not succeed in accomplishing. Lastly, he was given the surname Pertinax, not so much by his own wish, it seems, as because of his frugal ways. In fact, he was considered somewhat cruel, both on account of his innumerable executions and because, when one of his enemies came before him on a certain occasion to crave forgiveness and said "What would you have done?", Severus was not softened by so

Salvius Julianus and his Edictum Perpetuum (see note to Hadr., xvii. 1), on the one hand, and Didius Julianus and his Acta, on the other. The Acta were doubtless rescinded, but the Edictum remained in force.

But see c. vii. 9 and note. He assumed the name in order to strengthen his own position.

Cf. c. xix. 7-8. Pertinax was famous for his frugality; see Pert., viii. 9-11; xii. 2-6.

See c. xii-xiii.

The story is preserved in complete form in Victor, Caes., xx. 11.
SEVERUS

emollitus\textsuperscript{1} tam prudente dicto interfici eum iussit. 8 fuit praeterea delendarum cupidus factionum. prope XVIII. a nullo congressu digressus\textsuperscript{2} nisi victor. Persarum regem Abgarum subegit. Arabas in dicionem acceptit. 2 Adiabenos in tributarios coegit. Britanniam, quod maximum eius imperii decus est, muro per transversam insulam ducto utrimque\textsuperscript{3} ad finem Oceanum munivit. unde etiam Britannici nomen acceptit. 3 Tripolin, unde oriundus erat, contunsis bellicosissimis gentibus securissimam reddidit, ac populo Romano diurnum\textsuperscript{4} oleum gratuitium et fecundissimum in aeternum donavit.

4 Idem cum implacabilis delictis fuit, tum ad erigendos industrios quosque iudicii singularis. philosophiae ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrinæ quoque nimis cupidus. latronum ubique hostis. vitam suam privatam publicamque ipse composuit ad fidem, solum tamen vitium crudelitatis excusans. de hoc senatus ita iudicavit, illum aut nasci non debuisse.

\textsuperscript{1}so Peter\textsuperscript{2}; \textit{emollitus} P, Peter.\textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{2}inserted by Casaubon. \textsuperscript{3}utrimque P. \textsuperscript{4}diurnum Casaubon; diuturnam P.

\textsuperscript{1}The ambiguity of this sentence is due to excessive compression of the original as preserved in Victor, \textit{Caes.}, xx. 13-14. The transition from the suppression of conspiracies to success in foreign wars is entirely omitted.

\textsuperscript{2}Abgar IX., King of Osroene, who joined Severus on his Parthian campaign, gave his sons as hostages and assumed the name Septimius; see Herodian, iii. 9. 2. According to Herodian, this happened in connection with Severus’ second campaign, in 198, but it has been maintained that the incident should be connected with the first campaign, in 195.

\textsuperscript{3}Cf. c. ix. 9 and note.

\textsuperscript{4}This does not refer to the construction of a new wall, but to the restoration either of the wall of Hadrian (see \textit{Hadr.}, xi. 2) or of the earthen rampart of Pius (see \textit{Pius}, v. 4.)
sensible a speech, but ordered him to be put to death. He was determined to crush out conspiracies. He seldom departed from a battle except as victor.1 XVIII. He defeated Abgarus, the king of the Persians.2 He extended his sway over the Arabs. He forced the Adiabeni to give tribute.3 He built4 a wall across the island of Britain from sea to sea, and thus made the province secure—the crowning glory of his reign; in recognition thereof he was given the name Britannicus.5 He freed Tripolis,210 the region of his birth, from fear of attack by crushing sundry warlike tribes. And he bestowed upon the Roman people, without cost, a most generous daily allowance of oil in perpetuity.6

He was implacable toward the guilty; at the same time he showed singular judgment in advancing the efficient. He took a fair interest in philosophy and oratory, and showed a great eagerness for learning in general. He was relentless everywhere toward brigands.7 He wrote a trustworthy account of his own life, both before and after he became emperor,8 in which the only charge that he tried to explain away was that of cruelty. In regard to this charge, the senate declared that Severus either should never have

5 Britannicus Maximus; it appears in his inscriptions of 210. The cognomen Britannicus is found on his coins of 211, bearing the legend Victoriae Britannicae; see Cohen, iv2, p. 75 f., no. 722 f.
6 Cf. c. xxiii. 2; Alex., xxii. 2. Previous to this time oil, like grain, had been sold by the government at low prices, but from now on until after the time of Constantine it was given to the populace.
7 Especially one famous brigand named Bulla Felix, who with a band of six hundred men terrorized Italy for two years; see Dio, lxxvi. 10.
8 See note to c. iii. 2.
SEVERUS

aut mori, quod et nimis crudelis et nimis utilis rei publicae videretur. domi tamen minus cautus, qui uxorem Iuliam famosam adulteriis tenuit, ream\(^1\) etiam coniurationis. idem, cum pedibus aeger bellum moraretur, idque milites anxie ferrent eiusque filium Bassianum, qui una erat, Augustum fecissent, tolli se atque in tribunal ferri iussit, adesse deinde omnes tribunos centuriones duces et cohortes quibus auctoribus id acciderat, sasti deinde filium, qui Augusti nomen acceperat. cumque animadverti in omnes auctores facti praeter filium iuberet rogareturque\(^2\) omnis ante tribunal prostratis, caput manu contingens ait: "Tandem sentitis caput imperare, non pedes". huius dictum est, cum eum ex humili per litterarum et militiae officia ad imperium plurimis gradibus fortuna duxisset: "Omnia," inquit, "fui et nihil expedit."

XIX. Periit Eboraci in Britannia, subactis gentibus quae Britanniae videbantur infestae, anno imperii xviii, morbo gravissimo extinctus iam senex. re-

\(^1\)ream Salmasius; eam P. \(^2\)rogareturque Peter\(^1\); rogareturquem P; rogareturque \(\phi\)\(\nu\)\(\epsilon\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\eta\)\(\alpha\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\alpha\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\alpha\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\tau\)\(\omicron\)\(\epsilon\)\(\omicron\)\(\omicron\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\theta\)\(\omicron\)\(\iota\)\(\omicron\)\(\omicron\)\(\omicron\)\(\omicron\)\(\upsilon\)\(\eta\)\(\omicron\)\(\omicron\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\alpha\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\alpha\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\nu\)\(\iota\)\(1\) There is no suggestion in Dio that she was guilty of either adultery or conspiracy. Both charges are probably due to the machinations of Plautianus, who tried to poison Severus' mind against her; see Dio, lxxv. 15, 6; lxxxvii. 24, 1. The statement of an incestuous relationship between her and Caracalla found in the Historia Augusta (c. xxi. 7 and Carac., x. 1-4) and in other writings of a late date (e.g. Victor, Caes., xxi.) represents a definite historical tradition composed by a traducer of Julia.
been born at all or never should have died, because, on the one hand, he had proved too cruel, and on the other, too useful to the state. For all that, he was less careful in his home-life, for he retained his wife Julia even though she was notorious for her adulteries and also guilty of plotting against him. On one occasion, when he so suffered from gout as to delay a campaign, his soldiers in their dismay conferred on his son Bassianus, who was with him at the time, the title of Augustus. Severus, however, had himself lifted up and carried to the tribunal, summoned all the tribunes, centurions, generals, and cohorts responsible for this occurrence, and after commanding his son, who had received the name Augustus, to stand up, gave orders that all the authors of this deed, save only his son, should be punished. When they threw themselves before the tribunal and begged for pardon, Severus touched his head with his hand and said, “Now at last you know that the head does the ruling, and not the feet”. And even after fortune had led him step by step through the pursuits of study and of warfare even to the throne, he used to say: “Everything have I been, and nothing have I gained”.

XIX. In the eighteenth year of his reign, now an old man and overcome by a most grievous disease, he died at Eboracum in Britain, after subduing various tribes that seemed a possible menace to the

\footnote{5The following incident is related in almost exactly the same words in Victor, *Caes.*, xx. 25-26. It probably occurred during the war in Britain, where, according to Dio, lxxvi. 14, Caracalla made various plots against his father. The title of Augustus had been conferred on Caracalla some years previously in Mesopotamia; see note to c. xvi. 3.}
SEVERUS

liquit filios duos, Antoninum Bassianum et Getam, cui et ipsi in honorem Marci Antonini nomen imposuit. 3 inlatus\(^1\) sepulchro Marci Antonini, quem ex omnibus imperatoribus tantum coluit, ut et Commodum in divos referret et Antonini nomen omnibus deinceps quasi Augusti adscribendum putaret. ipse a senatu agentibus liberis, qui\(^2\) ei funus amplissimum exhibuerunt, inter divos est relatus.

5 Opera publica praeclupua eius exstant Septizonium et Thermae Severianae. eiusdemque etiam Septimianae\(^3\) in Transtiberina regione ad portam nominis sui, quarum forma intercidens statim usum publicum invidit.

6 Judicium de eo post mortem magnum omnium fuit, maxime quod diu nec a filiis eius boni aliiquid rei publicae venit, et postea invadentibus multis rem publicam res Romana praedonibus direptui fuit.

\(^1\) *inlegatus* P.  \(^2\) *liberisque* P.  \(^3\) *Septimianae* Zange-meister; *eius denique etiam ianuae* P; *eiusdemque etiam ianuae* Peter; *aliae* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter\(^2\), *Praef.*, p. xlii.

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1 Especially the Caledonii and the Maetatae, the former of whom lived north of the "wall which divides the island into two parts," the latter south of it; see Dio, lxxvi. 12, 1.

2 See note to c. x. 5.

3 *i.e.* the Tomb of Hadrian (see note to *Hadr.*, xix. 11), in which Marcus and the other members of the house of the Antonines were buried.

4 See c. xi. 8.

5 Commemorated on coins with the legends *Divo Severo Pio* and *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iv\(^2\), p. 12 f., nos. 80-91.

6 This was a three-storied portico at the south-eastern corner of the Palatine Hill. Its purpose was to give an orna-
province. He left two sons, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, also named by him Antoninus in honour of Marcus. Severus was laid in the tomb of Marcus Antoninus, whom of all the emperors he revered so greatly that he even deified Commodus and held that all emperors should thenceforth assume the name Antoninus as they did that of Augustus. At the demand of his sons, who gave him a most splendid funeral, he was added to the deified.

The principal public works of his now in existence are the Septizonium and the Baths of Severus. He also built the Septimian Baths in the district across the Tiber near the gate named after him, but the aqueduct fell down immediately after its completion and the people were unable to make any use of them.

After his death the opinion that all men held of him was high indeed; for, in the long period that followed, no good came to the state from his sons, and after them, when many invaders came pouring in upon the state, the Roman Empire became a thing for free-booters to plunder.
SEVERUS

7 Hic tam exiguis vestibus usus est ut vix et 1 tunicae
eius aliquid purpurae haberet, cum hirta chlamyde
8 umeros velaret. 2 cibi parcissimus, leguminis patri
avidus, vini aliquando cupidus, carnis frequenter
9 ignarus. ipse decorus, ingens, promissa barba, cano
capite et crispo, vultu reverendus, canorus voce, sed
10 Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans. ac
multum post mortem amatus vel invidia deposita vel
crudelitatis metu.

XX. Legisse me apud Aelium 3 Maurum Phlegontis
Hadriani libertum memini Septimum Severum in
moderatissime, cum moreretur, laetatum, quod duos
Antoninos pari imperio rei publicae relinqueret,
exemplo Pii, qui Verum et Marcum Antoninos per
2 adoptionem filios rei publicae reliquit, hoc melius
quo ille filios per 3 adoptionem, hic per se genitos
rectores Romanae rei publicae daret; Antoninum
scilicet Bassianum quidem ex priore matrimonio
3 susceperat et Getam de Iulia generat. sed illum
multum spes fefellit; nam unum parricidium, al-
terum sui mores rei publicae inviderunt. sanctumque
4 illud nomen in nullo fere diu bene mansit. et re-
putanti mihi, Diocletiane Auguste, neminem prope 4

1 uix et Salmasius; uixit P. 2 ualeret P. 3 Helius
P, Peter. 4 neminem prope Edit. princeps, Peter1; nemi-
nem facere prope P1, Peter2; neminem fere [prope] Salmasius.

1 Cf. c. xvii. 6. Dio also comments on the simplicity of
Severus' mode of life; see lxxxvi. 17.
2 See Hadr., xvi. i.
3 Geta received the title of Augustus in 209; see his coins
4 This statement is made in other rhetorical portions of
the Historia Augusta (Carac., x. 1; Geta, vii, 3) and in
SEVERUS XIX. 7—XX. 4

His clothing was of the plainest; indeed, even his tunic had scarcely any purple on it, while he covered his shoulders with a shaggy cloak. He was very sparing in his diet, was fond of his native beans, liked wine at times, and often went without meat. In person he was large and handsome. His beard was long; his hair was gray and curly, his face was such as to inspire respect. His voice was clear, but retained an African accent even to his old age. After his death he was much beloved, for then all envy of his power or fear of his cruelty had vanished.

XX. I can remember reading in Aelius Maurus, the freedman of that Phlegon who was Hadrian’s freedman, that Septimius Severus rejoiced exceedingly at the time of his death, because he was leaving two Antonini to rule the state with equal powers, herein following the example of Pius, who left to the state Verus and Marcus Antoninus, his two sons by adoption; and that he rejoiced all the more, because, while Pius had left only adopted sons, he was leaving sons of his own blood to rule the Roman state, namely Antoninus Bassianus, whom he had begotten from his first marriage, and Geta, whom Julia had borne him. In these high hopes, however, he was grievously deceived; for the state was denied the one by murder, the other by his own character. And in scarcely any case did that revered name long or creditably survive. Indeed, when I reflect on the matter, Diocletian Augustus, it is quite clear to me historians of the later period (e.g., Victor, Caes., xxi., 3). It is not only untrue, but it contradicts the statement of Sev., iii. 9 and iv. 2.

5 Geta, murdered in 212; see note to c. xxi. 7.
6 Bassianus. 7 i.e., Antoninus.

EE 2
SEVERUS

magnorum virorum optimum et utilem filium reliquisse
satis claret. denique aut sine liberis veris 1 interierunt
aut tales habuerunt plerique, ut melius fuerit de
XXI. rebus humanis sine posteritate discedere, et ut
ordiamur a Romulo, hic nihil liberorum reliquit, ni-
hil Numa Pompilius, quod utile posset esse rei
publicae. quid Camillus? num sui similes liberos
habuit? quid Scipio? quid Catones qui magni
fuerunt? iam vero quid de Homero, Demosthene,
Vergilio, Crispo, Terentio, 2 Plauto ceterisque aliis
loquar? quid de Caesare? quid de Tullio, cui soli
3 melius fuerat liberos non habere? quid de Augusto,
qui nec adoptivum bonum filium habuit, cum illi
eligendi potestas fuisset ex omnibus? falsus est etiam
ipse Traianus in suo municepe ac nepote deligendo.
sed ut omittamus adoptivos, ne nobis Antonini Pius
et Marcus, numina rei publicae, occurrant, veniamus
ad genitos. quid Marco felicius fuisset, si Commodum
non reliquisset heredem? quid Severo Septimio,
si Bassianum nec genuisset? qui statim insimulatum
fratrem insidiarum contra se cogitatarum parricidali
etiam figmento interemitt; qui novercam suam—et
quid novercam? matrem quin immo, in euius sinu
Getam filium eius occiderat, uxorem duxit; qui

1 ueris Salmasius; uiri P. 2 So Peter; et Terentio P.

1 Scipio Africanus, the younger, who seems to have left
no children.
2 C. Sallustius Crispus, the historian.
3 Cicero's son had none of his father's ability; he had,
moreover, a bad reputation for drunkenness.
4 Hadrian. This sentiment represents the tradition hostile
to Hadrian which grew up after his death as a result of the
enmity felt for him by some of the senators.
that practically no great man has left the world a son of real excellence or value. In short, most of them either died without issue of their own, or had such children that it would have been better for humanity had they departed without offspring. XXI. As for Romulus, to begin with him, he left no children who might have proved useful to the state, nor did Numa Pompilius. What of Camillus? Did he have children like himself? What of Scipio? What of the Catos, who were so distinguished? Indeed, for that matter, what shall I say of Homer, Demosthenes, Vergil, Crispus, Terence, Plautus, and such as they? What of Caesar? What of Tully?—for whom, particularly, it had been better had he had no son. What of Augustus, who could not get a worthy son even by adoption, though he had the whole world to choose from? Even Trajan was deceived when he chose for his heir his fellow-townsman and nephew. But let us except sons by adoption, lest our thoughts turn to those two guardian spirits of the state, Pius and Marcus Antoninus, and let us proceed to sons by birth. What could have been more fortunate for Marcus than not to have left Commodus as his heir? What more fortunate for Septimius Severus than not to have even begotten Bassianus?—a man who speedily charged his brother with contriving plots against him—a murderous falsehood—and put him to death; who took his own stepmother to wife—stepmother did I say?—nay rather the mother on whose bosom he had slain Geta, her son; who slew, because

5 See note to c. xviii. 8.
6 See Carac., ii. 4, and, for a detailed description of the murder, Dio, lxxvii. 2.
SEVERUS

Papinianum, iuris asylum et doctrinae legalis thesaurum, quod parricidium excusare noluisset, occidit, et praefectum quidem, ne homini per se et per scientiam suam magno deesset et dignitas. denique ut alia omissam, ex huius moribus factum puto, ut Severus tristior vir ad omnia, immo etiam crudelior quidem divinam Sallustii orationem, qua Micipsa filios ad pacem hortatur, ingravatus morbo misisse filio dicitur maior. idque frustra et hominem tantum valitudine. vixit denique in odio populi dii Antoninus, nomenque illud sanctum diu minus amatum est, quamvis et vestimenta populo dederit unde Caracallus est dictus, et thermas magnificentissimas fecerit. exstat sane Romae Severi porticus gesta eius exprimens a filio, quantum plurimi docent structa.

XXII. Signa mortis eius haec fuerunt: ipse somniavit quattuor aquilis et gemmato curru praevolante nescio qua ingenti humana specie ad caelum esse raptum; cumque raperetur, octoginta et novem numerus explicuisse, ultra quot annos ne unum quidem annum 2 vixit, nam ad imperium senex venit. cumque positus

1 regalis P. 2 om. in P. 3 diu immo P. 4 frustra
P; lacuna est. by Casaubon.

1 See Carac., iv. 1 and viii. 2 Sallust, Jugurtha,
3 See Carac., ix. 7. 4 See Carac., ix. 4 f.
he refused to absolve him of his brother's murder,\(^1\) Papinian, a sanctuary of law and treasure-house of jurisprudence, who had been raised to the office of prefect that a man who had become illustrious through his own efforts and his learning might not lack official rank. In short, not to mention other things, I believe that it was because of this man's character that Severus, a gloomier man in every way, nay even a crueller one, was considered righteous and worthy of the worship of a god. Once indeed, it is said, Severus, when laid low by sickness, sent to his elder son that divine speech in Sallust in which Micipsa urges his sons to the ways of peace.\(^2\) In vain, however. . . . For a long time, finally, the people hated Antoninus, and that venerable name was long less beloved, even though he gave the people clothing (whence he got his name Caracallus\(^3\)) and built the most splendid baths.\(^4\) There is a colonnade of Severus at Rome,\(^5\) I might mention, depicting his exploits, which was built by his son, or so most men say.

XXII. The death of Severus was foreshadowed by the following events: he himself dreamed that he was snatched up to the heavens in a jewelled car drawn by four eagles, whilst some vast shape, I know not what, but resembling a man, flew on before. And while he was being snatched up, he counted out the numbers eighty and nine,\(^6\) and beyond this number of years he did not live so much as one, for he was an old man when he came to the throne. And then, after he

\(^1\) Also mentioned in *Carac.*, ix. 6. Its site is unknown.
\(^2\) This same number of the years of his life is given in *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 1, but it is in direct contradiction with the positive statement in c. i. 3 that he was born in 146. According to Dio's computation, he was born in 145; see lxxvi. 17, 4.
SEVERUS

essen in circulo ingenti aereæ, diu solus et destitutus stetit, cum vereretur autem, ne praeceps rueret, a Iove se vocatum vidit atque inter Antoninon locatum. 3 die circensium cum tres Victoriolae more solito essent locatae gypseae cum palmis, media, quae ipsis nomine adscriptum orbem tenebat, vento icta de podio stans decidit et humi constitit; at quae Getae nomine inscripta erat, corruiit et omnis conminuta est; illa vero quae Bassiani titulum, praeferebat, amissa palma venti turbinse vix constitit. post murum apud Luguvalium visum 1 in Britannia cum ad proximam mansionem rediret non solum victor sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata, volvens 2 animo quid ominis sibi occurreret, Aethiops quidam e numero militari, clarae inter scurras famae et celebratorum semper iocorum, cum corona e cupressu facta eidem occurrit. quem cum ille iratus removeri ab oculis praecepisset, et coloris eius tactus omne 3 et coronae, dixisse ille dicitur ioci causa: “Totum fuisti, 4 totum vicisti, iam Deus esto victor ”. et in civitatem veniens cum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad Bellonae templum ductus est errore haruspicis rustici, deinde

1 So Peter 2; ma rum apud uallum missum P, Peter 1. 2 uolens P 1. 3 hominis P 1. 4 fuisti P, Peter 1; fudisti Hirschfeld, Peter 2.

1 The podium was a platform close to the arena, occupied by members of the imperial family.
2 Now Carlisle. 3 Cf. o. xviii. 11.
had been placed in a huge circle in the air, for a long
time he stood alone and desolate, until finally, when
he began to fear that he might fall headlong, he saw
himself summoned by Jupiter and placed among the
Antonines. Again, on the day of the circus-games,
when three plaster figures of Victory were set up in
the customary way, with palms in their hands, the
one in the middle, which held a sphere inscribed
with his name, struck by a gust of wind, fell down
from the balcony in an upright position and re-
mained on the ground in this posture; while the one
on which Geta's name was inscribed was dashed down
and completely shattered, and the one which bore
Bassianus' name lost its palm and barely managed
to keep its place, such was the whirling of the
wind. On another occasion, when he was return-
ing to his nearest quarters from an inspection of the
wall at Luguvallum in Britain, at a time when he had
not only proved victorious but had concluded a per-
petual peace, just as he was wondering what omen
would present itself, an Ethiopian soldier, who was
famous among buffoons and always a notable jester,
met him with a garland of cypress-boughs. And when
Severus in a rage ordered that the man be removed
from his sight, troubled as he was by the man's
ominous colour and the ominous nature of the gar-
land, the Ethiopian by way of jest cried, it is said,
"You have been all things, you have conquered all
things, now, O conqueror, be a god". And when on
reaching the town he wished to perform a sacrifice,
in the first place, through a misunderstanding on the
part of the rustic soothsayer, he was taken to the
Temple of Bellona, and, in the second place, the
victims provided him were black. And then, when
SEVERUS

7 hostiae furvae sunt adplicitae. quod cum esset aspernatus atque ad Palatium se recipieret, neglegentia ministrorum nigrae hostiae et usque ad limen domus Palatinae imperatorem secutae sunt.

XXIII. Sunt per plurimas civitates opera eius insignia. magnum vero illud in vita 1 eius, quod Romae omnes aedes publicas, quae vitio temporum labebantur, instauravit nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto. 2 servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum. mortiens septem annorum canonem, ita ut cotidiana septuaginta quinque milia modium expendi possent, reliquit; olei vero tantum, ut per quinquennium non solum urbis 2 usibus, sed et totius Italiae, quae oleo eget, sufficeret.

3 Ultima verba eius dicuntur haec suisse: "Turbatam rem publicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo, senex et pedibus aeger firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquens, si boni erunt, 4 imbecillum, si mali". iussit deinde signum tribuno dari "laboremus," quia Pertinax, quando in imperium adscitus est, signum dederat "militemus". Fortunam deinde regiam, quae comitari principes et in cubiculis poni solebat, geminare statuerat, ut sacratissimum simulacrum utrique relinqueret filiorum; sed cum videret se perurgueri sub hora mortis, iussisse fertur

1 vita Salmasius; ciuitate P. 2 urbis add. by Egnatius, om. in P.

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1 i.e., the imperial residence in the provincial town.
2 Cf. o. viii. 5.
3 See c. xviii. 3.
4 See Pert., v. 7.
5 See Pius, xii. 5.
he abandoned the sacrifice in disgust and betook himself to the Palace,\textsuperscript{1} through some carelessness on the part of the attendants the black victims followed him up to its very doors.

XXIII. In many communities there are public buildings erected by him which are famous, but particularly noteworthy among the achievements of his life was the restoration of all the public sanctuaries in Rome, which were then falling to ruin through the passage of time. And seldom did he inscribe his own name on these restorations or fail to preserve the names of those who built them. At his death he left a surplus of grain to the amount of seven years' tribute,\textsuperscript{2} or enough to distribute seventy-five thousand pecks a day, and so much oil,\textsuperscript{3} indeed, that for five years there was plenty for the uses, not only of the city, but also for as much of Italy as was in need of it.

His last words, it is said, were these: "The state, when I received it, was harassed on every side; I leave it at peace, even in Britain; old now and with crippled feet, I bequeath to my two Antoninian empire which is strong, if they prove good, feeble, if they prove bad". After this, he issued orders to give the tribune the watchword "Let us toil," because Pertinax, when he assumed the imperial power, had given the word "Let us be soldiers".\textsuperscript{4} He then ordered a duplicate made of the royal statue of Fortune which was customarily carried about with the emperors and placed in their bedrooms,\textsuperscript{5} in order that he might leave this most holy statue to each of his sons; but later, when he realized that the hour of death was upon him, he gave instructions, they say, that the original should be placed in the bed-chambers.
SEVERUS

ut alternis diebus apud filios imperatores in cubo
7 Fortuna ponatur. quod Bassianus prius contem
quam faceret parricidium.

XXIV. Corpus eius a Britannia Romam usque:
2 magna provincialium reverentia susceptum est; qua
vis aliqui urnam auream tantum fuisse dicant Se
reliquias continentem eademque Antoninorum se
chro inlatam, cum Septimius illic ubi vita functus
esset incensus.

3 Cum Septizonium 1 faceret, nihil aliud cogita
quam ut ex Africa venientibus suum opus occurre
nisi absente eo per 2 praefectum urbis medium si
lacrum eius esset locatum, aditum Palatinis aedific
id est regium atrium, ab ea parte facere voluisse p
hibetur. quod etiam post Alexander cum ve
facere, ab haruspicibus dicitur esse prohibitus, co
hoc sciscitans non litasset.

1 septizonium P, Peter 2. 2 absente opere P.

1 It was made of porphry, according to Dio, lxxvi. 15. 4.
alabaster, according to Herodian, iii. 15, 7.
of each of his sons, the co-emperors, on alternate days. As for this direction, Bassianus ignored it and then murdered his brother.

XXIV. His body was borne from Britain to Rome, and was everywhere received by the provincials with profound reverence. Some men say, however, that only a golden urn containing Severus’ ashes was so conveyed, and that this was laid in the tomb of the Antonines, while Septimius himself was cremated where he died.

When he built the Septizonium he had no other thought than that his building should strike the eyes of those who came to Rome from Africa. It is said that he wished to make an entrance on this side of the Palatine mansion—the royal dwelling, that is—and he would have done so had not the prefect of the city planted his statue in the centre of it while he was away. Afterwards Alexander wished to carry out this plan, but he, it is said, was prevented by the soothsayers, for on making inquiry he obtained unfavourable omens.

2 See c. xix. 3 and note. 3 See c. xix. 5 and note. 4 i.e., Severus Alexander, the emperor.
PESCENNIUS NIGER

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Rarum atque difficile est ut, quos\(^1\) tyrannos aliorum victoria fecerit, bene mittantur in litteras, atque ideo vix omnia de his plene in monumentis atque an-\(^2\) nalibus habentur. Primum enim, quae magna sunt in eorum honorem ab scriptoribus depravantur, deinde alia supprimuntur, postremo non magna diligentia in eorum genere ac vita requiritur, cum satis sit audaciam eorum et bellum, in quo victi fuerint, ac poenam proferre.

3 Pescennius ergo Niger, ut alii tradunt, modicis parentibus, ut alii, nobilibusuisse dicitur, patre Annio Fusco, matre Lampridia, avo curatore Aquini, ex quo\(^2\) familia originem ducebat; quod quidem dubium etiam nunc habetur. hic eruditus mediocriter litteris, moribus ferox, divitiis inmodicus, vita parcus, libidinis effrenatae ad omne genus cupiditatum. or-

\(^1\) quod P. \(^2\) quo Closs; qua P, Peter.

1 See note to *Marc.*, xi. 2.

430
PESCENNIUS NIGER

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. It is an unusual task and a difficult one to set
down fairly in writing the lives of men who, through
other men's victories, remained mere pretenders,
and for this reason not all the facts concerning such
men are preserved in our records and histories in full.
For, in the first place, notable events that redound
to their honour are distorted by historians; other
events, in the second place, are suppressed; and, in
the third place, no great care is bestowed upon in-
quiries into their ancestry and life, since it seems
sufficient to recount their presumption, the battle in
which they were overcome, and the punishment they
suffered.

Pescennius Niger, then, was born of humble
parentage, according to some, of noble, according
to others. His father was Annius Fuscus, his mother
Lampridia. His grandfather was the supervisor of
Aquinum,¹ the town to which the family sought to
trace its origin, though the fact is even now con-
idered doubtful. As for Pescennius himself, he was
passably well versed in literature, savage in disposi-
tion, immoderately wealthy, thrifty in his habits,
and unbridled in indulgence in every manner of

431
dines diu duxit multisque ducatibus pervenit, ut exercitus Syriacos iussu Commodi regeret, suffragio maxime athletae qui Commodum strangulavit, ut omnia tunc siebant.

II. Is postquam comperit occasum Commodum, Iulianum imperatorem appellatum eundemque iussu Severi et senatus occisum, Albinum etiam in Gallia sumpsisse nomen et ius imperatoris, ab exercitibus Syriacis, quos regebat, appellatus est imperator, ut quidam dicunt, magis in Iuliani odium quam in aemulationem Severi. Huic ob detestationem Iuliani primis imperii diebus ita Romae fuit est, a senatoribus dumtaxat, qui et Severum oderant, ut inter lapidationes exsecrationesque omnium illi feliciter optaretur, "illum principem superi et illum Augustum" populus adclamaret. Iulianum autem oderant populares, quod Pertinacem milites occidissent et illum imperatorem adversa populi voluntate appellassent. Denique ingentes ob hoc seditiones fuerunt. Ad occidendum autem Nigrum primipilarem Iulianus miserat, stulte ad eum qui haberet exercitus et se tueri posset; proinde quasi quislibet imperator a primipilario

1 et ius Salmasius, Lenze; eius P; eius del. by Peter.
2 om. in P.
3 seueri P.

1 But see c. vi. 6, where the contrary is stated emphatically.
2 As chief centurion; see note to Avid. Cass., i. 1.
3 The posts are referred to in the letter in c. iv. 4, as military tribunships, and although this letter, like the others in the Historia Augusta, is fictitious, its statement in this instance is nearer the truth than that of the present sentence.
4 See Com., xvii. 2.
5 As a matter of fact, this happened after Niger's revolt; see Sæv., x. 1 and notes.
passion. For a long time he commanded in the ranks, and finally, after holding many generalships, he reached the point where Commodus named him to command the armies in Syria, chiefly on the recommendation of the athlete who afterward strangled Commodus; for so, at that time, were all appointments made.

II. And now, after he learned that Commodus had been murdered, that Julianus had been declared emperor, and then, by order of Severus and the senate, put to death, and that Albinus, furthermore, had assumed in Gaul the name and power of emperor, Pescennius was hailed imperator by the armies he commanded in Syria;—though more out of aversion to Julianus, some say, than in rivalry of Severus. Even before this, during the first days of Julianus' reign, because of the dislike felt for the Emperor, Pescennius was so favoured at Rome, that even the senators, who hated Severus also, prayed for his success, while with showers of stones and general execrations the commons shouted "May the gods preserve him as Emperor, and him as Augustus". For the mob hated Julianus because the soldiers had slain Pertinax and declared Julianus emperor contrary to their wishes; and there was violent rioting on this account. Julianus, for his part, had sent a senior centurion to assassinate Niger—a piece of folly, since the attempt was made against one who led an army and could protect himself, and as though, forsooth, any sort of emperor could be slain by a retired centurion! With equal madness he sent out a

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6 See Did. Jul., iv. 3 f.
7 Cf. Did. Jul., v. 1; Sev., v. 8.
PESCELLNIUS NIRER

5 posset occidi. eadem autem dementia etiam Severo
6 iam principi Iulianus successorem miserat. denique
etiam Aquilium centurionem notum caedibus ducum
miserat, quasi imperator tantus a centurione posset
7 occidi. par denique insania fuit, quod cum Severo
ex interdicto de imperio egisse furtur, ut iure videre-
tur principatum praevenisse.

III. Et de Pescennio Niger iudicium populi ex eo
apparuit, quod, cum ludos circenses Iulianus Romae
daret, et indiscreta subsellia 1 Circi Maximi repleta
essent, ingentique iniuria populi 2 adfectus esset, per
omnes uno consensus Pescennius Niger ad tutelam
urbis est expetitus, odio, ut diximus, Iuliani et amore
2 occisi Pertinacis; cum quidem Iulianus dixisse furtur
neque sibi neque Pescennio longum imperium deberi,
se Severo, qui magis esset odio habendus a senatori-
bus, militibus, provincialibus, popularibus. quod
probavit rei eventus.

3 Et Pescennius quidem Severo eo tempore quo
Lugdunensem provinciam regebat amicissimus fuit;
4 nam ipse missus erat ad comprehendendos desertores,
5 qui innumeris Gallias tunc vexabant. in quo officio
quod se honeste gessit, iucundissimus fuit Severo, ita
ut de eo ad Commodum Septimius referret, adserens
6 necessarium rei publicae virum. et revera in re

1 2se subsellia P. 2populi Kellerbauer; populus P, Peter.

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1 Cf. Did. Jul., v. 7-8; Sev., v. 8.
2 Cf. Did. Jul., iv. 7. 3 Cf. c. ii. 2.
4 Cf. Sev., iii. 8. 5 See Com., xvi. 2 and note.
successor for Severus when Severus had already become emperor; and lastly he sent the centurion Aquilius,¹ notorious as an assassin of generals, as if such an emperor could be slain by a centurion! It was similarly an act of insanity that he, according to report, dealt with Severus by issuing a proclamation forbidding him to seize the imperial power, so that he might seem to have established a prior claim to the empire by process of law!

III. What the people thought of Pescennius Niger is evident from the following: when Julianus gave circus-games at Rome, the people filled the seats of the Circus Maximus without distinction of rank, assailed him with much abuse, and then with one accord called for Pescennius Niger to protect the city²—partly out of hatred for Julianus, as we have said,³ and partly out of love for the slain Pertinax. On this occasion Julianus is reported to have said that neither he himself nor Pescennius was destined to rule for long, but rather Severus, though he it was who was more worthy of hatred from the senators, the soldiers, the provincials and the city-mob.⁴ And this proved to be the case.

Now Pescennius was on very friendly terms with Severus at the time that the latter was governor of the province of Lugdunensis.⁴ For he was sent to apprehend a body of deserters who were then ravaging Gaul in great numbers,⁵ and because he conducted himself in this task with credit, he gained the esteem of Severus, so much so, in fact, that the latter wrote to Commodus about him, and averred that he was a man indispensable to the state. And he was, indeed, a strict man in all things military. No soldier under his command ever forced a provincial
militari vehemens fuit. numquam sub eo miles pro vinciali lignum, oleum, operam extorsit. ipse milite nihil accept. cum tribunatus ageret, nihil a scipi passus est. nam et imperator iam tribune duos, quos constitit stellaturas accepisse, lapidibus obrui ab auxiliariibus iussit.

9 Exstat epistula Severi, qua scribit ad Ragonium Celsum Gallias regentem: "Miserum est ut imitar eius disciplinam militarem non possimus quem p bellum vicimus. milites tui vagantur, tribuni medie lavant, pro tricliniiis popinas habent, pro cubiculis meritoria; saltant, bibunt, cantant, et mensuras cot vivorum hoc vocant cum sine mensura potarunt. haec, si ulla vena paternae disciplinae viveret fient; emenda igitur primum tribunos, deinde militem. quem, quamdiu timuerit, tamdiu tenebis.

10 sed scias idque de Nigro, militem timere non posse IV. nisi integri fuerint tribuni et duces militum." hae de Pescennio Severus Augustus.

De hoc adhuc milite Marcus Antoninus ad Cornelium Balbum: "Pescennium mihi laudas, agnosco. nam et decissor tuus eum manu strenuum, via

1 imperator iam P corr., Peter; imperatorium P1. 2 assumus P. 3 uient P. 4 hoc uocant cum s. m. potarum Editor; uocant cum hoc s. m. potare P; uocant illi hoc s. potare Peter. 5 uana P. 6 timuerit . . . tenebis P; schenig, cf. Hohl, Klio, xiii., p. 143; timueris . . . timeb P; <non> timueris t. timeberis Peter. 7 de hoc om. in

1 These were prohibited at this time (see also Alex., xv. 5)
to give him fuel, oil, or service. He himself never accepted any presents from a soldier, and when he served as tribune he would not allow any to be accepted. Even as emperor, when two tribunes were proved to have made deductions from the soldiers' rations, he ordered the auxiliaries to stone them.

There is extant a letter written by Severus to Ragonius Celsus, who was then governor of Gaul: "It is a pity that we cannot imitate the military discipline of this man whom we have overcome in war. For your soldiers go straggling on all sides; the tribunes bathe in the middle of the day; they have cook-shops for mess-halls and, instead of barracks, brothels; they dance, they drink, they sing, and they regard as the proper limit to a banquet unlimited drinking. How, pray, if any traces of our ancestral discipline still remained, could these things be? So then, first reform the tribunes, and then the rank and file. For as long as these fear you, so long will you hold them in check. But learn from Niger this also, that the soldiers cannot be made to fear you unless the tribunes and generals are irreproachable." IV. Thus did Severus Augustus write about Pescennius.

While Pescennius was still in the ranks, Marcus Antoninus wrote thus to Cornelius Balbus about him: "You sound the praises of Pescennius to me, and I recognize the man; for your predecessor also declared that he was vigorous in action, dignified in demeanour, but at a later period they were recognized by law; see Cod. Just., xii. 38, 12.

\[2\] On the authenticity of such letters as the following see note to Avid. Cass., i. 6.
PESCENNIUS NIGER

2 gravem, et iam tum plus quam militem dixit. itaque
misi litteras recitandas ad signa, quibus eum trecentis
Armeniis et centum Sarmatis et mille nostris praecesse
iussi. tuum est ostendere hominem non ambitione,
quod nostris non convenit moribus, sed virtute venisse
ad eum locum quem avus meus Hadrianus, quem
Traianus provos non nisi exploratissimis dabat.”

4 De hoc eodem Commodus: “Pescennium fortem
virum novi et ei tribunatus iam duos dedi; ducatum
mox dabo, ubi per senectutem Aelius Corduenus rem
publicam recusaverit”. haec de eo iudicia omnium
fuerunt. sed et 1 Severus ipse saepe dixit ignotu-
rum se Pescennio, nisi perseveraret.

6 A. Commodo denique Pescennius consul declaratus
Severo praepositus est, et quidem irato, quod primi-
pilaribus commendantibus consulatum Niger merere-
tur. in vita sua Severus dicit se, priusquam filii sui
id aetatis haberent ut imperare possent, aegrotantem
id in animo habuisse, ut, si quid forte sibi accidisset,
Niger Pescennius eodem et Clodius Albinus succe-
derent, qui ambo Severo gravissimi hostes extiterunt.

8 unde apparat, quod etiam Severi de Pescennio iudicum
V. fuerit. si Severo credimus, fuit gloriae cupidus
Niger, vita fictus, moribus turpis, aetatis provectae,
cum in imperium invasit. ex quo cupiditates eius

1 se severus P.

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1 See c. i. 5 and note. 2 Cf. c. v. 6; Sev., viii. 16.
3 Prior to 189, in which year Severus seems to have been
consul; see Sev., iv. 4.
4 See note to Sev., iii. 2.

438
and even then more than a common soldier. Accordingly, I have sent letters to be read at review in which I have ordered him placed in command of three hundred Armenians, one hundred Sarmatians, and a thousand of our own troops. It is your place to show that the man has attained, not by intrigue, which is displeasing to our principles, but by merit, to a post which my grandfather Hadrian and my great-grandfather Trajan gave to none but the most thoroughly tried."

Again, Commodus said of this same man: "I know Pescennius for a brave man, and I have already made him tribune twice.¹ Presently, when advancing years shall make Aelius Corduenus retire from public life, I will make him a general." Such were the opinions that all men had of him. And in truth Severus himself frequently declared that he would have pardoned him had he not persisted.²

Finally, Commodus appointed him consul,³ and advanced him thereby over Severus, greatly indeed to the latter's wrath, since he thought that Niger had gained the consulship on the recommendation of the senior centurions. Yet in his autobiography ⁴ Severus says that on one occasion, when he had fallen sick and his sons had not yet reached an age when they could rule, he intended, if anything by any chance should happen to him, to appoint Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus as his heirs to the throne, even these two men who in time became his bitterest enemies. From this it is evident what Severus thought of Pescennius. V. But if we may believe Severus, Niger was greedy for glory, hypocritical in his mode of life, base in morals, and well advanced in years when he attempted to seize the empire—for which

439
incusat, proinde quasi Severus minor ad imperium venerit, qui annos suos contrahit, cum decem et octo annis imperavit et octogensimo nono periti.

2 Sane Severus Heraclitum ad obtainendam Bithyniam misit, Fulvium autem ad occupandos adultos Nigri filios. nec tamen in senatum quicquam de Nigro Severus dixit, cum iam audisset de eius imperio, ipse autem proficisceretur ad componendum orientis statum. tantum¹ sane illud fecit proficiscens, ut legiones ad Africam mitteret, ne eam Pescennius occuparet et fame populum Romanum perurgueret. videbatur² autem id facere posse per Libyam Aegyptumque vicinas Africae, difficili licet itinere ac navigatione. et Pescennius quidem veniente ad orientem Severo Graeciam, Thracias, Macedoniam, interfexit multis inlustribus viris tenebat, ad partici-patum imperii Severum vocans. a quo, causa eorum quos occiderat, cum Aemiliano hostis est appellatus. dein a ducibus Severi per Aemilianum pugnans victus est. et cum illi tumult exsilium promitteret, si ab armis recederet, persistens iterum pugnavit et victus est atque apud Cyzicum circa paludem fugiens sauciatus, et sic ad Severum adductus atque statim

¹ tantum sane illud P; Tantum sane ille Damsté; statum tantum. sane illud Peter¹; statum tantum. sane illud Petschenig, Peter². ² videbatur Peter; et videbatur P.

¹ See Sev., xxii. 1 and note.
² See Sev., vi. 10 and notes. ³ Cf. Sev., viii. 7.
⁴ On Niger's revolt see Sev., viii. 12 f. and notes.
⁵ Near Nicaea in Bithynia; see note to Sev., viii. 17.

440
reason Severus inveighs against his ambition, just as if he himself came to the throne young! For though he understated the number of his years, after ruling eighteen years he died at the age of eighty-nine.\(^1\)

Now Severus dispatched Heraclitus to secure Bithynia and Fulvius to seize Niger’s adult children.\(^2\) Nevertheless, although he had already heard that Niger had seized the empire, and although he himself was on the point of setting out to remedy the situation in the East, he made no mention of Niger in the senate. In fact, on setting out, he did only July, 193 this—namely, send troops to Africa, fearing that Niger would seize it and thereby distress the Roman people with a famine.\(^3\) For such a plan was possible of accomplishment, it seemed, by way of Libya and Egypt, the provinces adjacent to Africa, for all that it was no easy journey either by land or sea. As for Pescennius,\(^4\) he slew a multitude of distinguished men and got control of Greece, Thrace, and Macedonia, while Severus was still on his way to the East. He then proposed to Severus that they two share the throne between them; whereupon Severus, because of the men whom Niger had slain, declared him and Aemilianus enemies to the state. Soon after, Niger gave battle under the leadership of Aemilianus and suffered defeat from Severus’ generals. Even then, Severus promised him safety in exile if he would lay down his arms. Niger, however, persisted and gave battle a second time, but was defeated\(^5\); and in his flight while near the lake at Cyzicus he was wounded and was thus brought before Severus, and presently he was dead. VI. His head was paraded on a pike and then sent
VI. mortuus. huius caput circumlatum pilo Romam missum, filii occisi, necata uxor, patrimonium publicatum, familia omnis extingta. sed haec omnia, postquam de Albini rebellione cognitum est, facta sunt; nam prius et filios Nigri et matrem in exsilium miserat. sed exarsit secundo civili bello, immo iam tertio, et factus est durior; tunc cum innumerum senatores interemit Severus et ab aliis Sullae Punici, ab aliis Marii nomen accepit. 

5 Fuit statura prolixa, forma decorus, capillo in verticem ad gratiam reflexo, vocis canorae, ita ut in campo loquens per mille passus audiretur, nisi ventus adversaretur, oris veruscundi et semper rubidi, cervice adeo nigra, ut, quem ad modum multi dicunt, ab ea Nigri nomen acceperit, cetera corporis parte candidus et magis pinguis, vini avidus, cibi parcus, rei veneriae nisi ad creandos liberos prorsus ignarus. denique etiam sacra quaedam in Gallia, quae semper castissimis decernunt consensu publico celehranda, suscepit. 8 hunc in Commodianis hortis in porticu curva pictum de musivo 2 inter Commodi amicissimos videmus sacra 9 Isidis ferentem; quibus Commodus adeo deditus fuit, ut et caput raderet et Anubin portaret et omnis pausas 3 exploraret.

1 quae semper Editor; qua se P; † qua se Peter. 2 musio P, Peter. 3 pausas Gruter; paucas P.

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1 See Sev., x. 1. 2 The revolt of Albinus. 3 See Sev., xiii. 4 An allusion to the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla. According to Dio, lxxv. 8, 1, Severus in a speech to the senate praised their severity. He is called "Punic" because he came from Africa.
to Rome. His children were put to death, his wife was murdered, his estates were confiscated, and his entire household utterly blotted out. All this, however, was done after news of the revolt of Albinus was received, for before that Niger's children and their mother had merely been sent into exile. But Severus was exasperated by the second civil war, or rather the third, and became implacable; and it was then that he put countless senators to death and got himself called by some the Punic Sulla, by others the Punic Marius.

In stature Niger was tall, in appearance attractive; and his hair grew back in a graceful way toward the crown of his head. His voice was so penetrating that when he spoke in the open he could be heard a thousand paces away, if the wind were not against him. His countenance was dignified and always somewhat ruddy; his neck was so black that many men say that he was called Niger on this account. The rest of his body, however, was very white and he was inclined to be fat. He was fond of wine, sparing in his use of food, and as for intercourse with women, he abstained from it wholly save for the purpose of begetting children. Indeed, certain religious rites in Gaul, which they always by common consent vote to the most chaste to celebrate, Niger himself performed. On the rounded colonnade in the garden of Commodus he is to be seen pictured in the mosaic among Commodus' most intimate friends and performing the rites of Isis. To these rites Commodus was so devoted as even to shave his head, carry the image of Anubis, and make every one of the ritualistic pauses in the procession.

5 But see c. i. 4. 6 See Com., ix. 3 f.
PESCENNIUS NIGER

10 Fuit ergo miles optimus, tribunus singularis, dux praecipuus, legatus severissimus, consul insignis, vir domi forisque conspicuus, imperator infelix; usui denique Rei publicae sub Severo, homine tetrico, esse VII. potuisset, si cum eo esse voluisset. sed deceptus est consiliis scaevis 1 Aureliani, qui filias suas eius filiis despondens persistere eum fecit in imperio.

2 Hic tantae fuit auctoritatis, ut ad Marcum primum deinde ad Commodum scriberet, cum videret provincias facili administrationum mutatione subverti, primum ut nulli ante quinquennium sucederetur provinciae praesidi vel legato vel proconsuli, quod prius deponenter potestatem quam scirent administrare. deinde ne novi ad regendam rem publicam accederent praeter militares administrationes intimavit, ut assessores in quibus provinciis adsedissent, in his administrarent. quod postea Severus et deinceps multi tenuerunt, ut probant Pauli et Ulpiani praefecturae, qui Papiniano in consilio fuerunt ac postea, cum unus ad memoriam, alter ad libellos paruiisset,

1 scaeuis Salmasius; sceui P.

1 On the distinction see note to Hadr., iii. 9.
2 The assessores (also called consiliarii), the governor's especial assistants in all matters pertaining to the administration of justice, sat by him at trials (hence the name) and gave him advice in legal matters. On this office see Digesta, i. 22.
3 In his capacity as prefect of the guard. These three men were the famous jurists constantly cited in the Digesta.
4 These two officials, together with three others, the secretary of the emperor (ab epistulis, see Hadr., xi. 3), the secretary for the imperial trials (a cognitionibus), and the emperor's
As a soldier, then, he was excellent; as a tribune, without peer; as a general, eminent; as a governor, stern; as a consul, distinguished; as a man, one to be noted both at home and abroad; but as an emperor, unlucky. Under Severus, who was a forbidding sort of man, he might have been of use to the state had he been willing to cast in his lot with him. VII. But this could not be, for he was deceived by the sinister counsels of Aurelianus, who espoused his daughters to Niger's sons and made him persist in his attempt at empire.

He was a man of such influence that when he saw the provinces being demoralized by frequent changes of administration, he ventured to write to Marcus, and later to Commodus, making two recommendations: first, that no provincial governor, legate or proconsul, should be superseded within a term of five years, because otherwise they laid down their power before they learned how to rule; and second, that save for posts held by soldiers, no man without previous experience should be appointed to take part in the government of the empire, the purpose of this being that assistants should be promoted to the administration of those provinces only in which they had served as assistants. Afterwards this very principle was maintained by Severus and many of his successors, as the prefectures of Paulus and Ulpian prove—for these men were assistants to Papinian, and afterwards, when the one had served as secretary of memoranda and the other as secretary of petitions, both were next appointed literary adviser (a studii) were important and influential members of the imperial cabinet. Originally, these posts were held by freedmen of the emperor, but after Hadrian's reform of the civil service they were assigned to Equites; see Hadr., xxii. 8.
PESCENNIUS NIGER

5 statim praefecti facti sunt. huius etiam illud fuit, ut nemo adsideret in sua provincia, nemo administraret nisi Romae Romanus, hoc est oriundus urbe. addidit praeterea consiliariis salaria, ne eos gravarent quibus adsidabant, dicens iudicem nec dare debere nec accipi pere. hic erga milites tanta fuit censura, ut, cum apud Aegyptum ab eo limitanei vinum pterent, responderit "Nilum habetis et vinum quaeritis?"; si quidem tanta illius fluminis dulciudo, ut accolae vina non quaerant. idem tumultuanibus iis qui a Saracenis victi fuerant et dicentibus, "Vinum non accipimus, pugnare non possumus," "Erubescite," inquit, "illi qui vos vincunt aquam bibunt". idem Palaestinis rogantibus ut eorum censitio levaretur idcirco quod esset gravata respondit: "Vos terras vestras levari censitio vultis; ego vero etiam aerem vestrum censere vellem".

VIII. Denique Delphici Apollinis vates in motu 1 rei publicae maximo, cum nuntiare tur tres esse imperatores, Severum Septimum, Pescennium Nigrum, Clodium Albinum, consultus quem expediret rei publicae imperare, versum Graecum huiusmodi fuisse 2 dicitur:

"Optimus est Fuscus, bonus Afer, pessimus Albus."

1 immo P. 2 fuisse P.

1 i.e., the assessores. Salaries had already been granted to them by Antoninus Pius; see Digesta, l. 13, 4. If the present passage and Alex., xlvi. 1 are correct, however, it would seem that the grant had not been carried out in full.

446
prefects of the guard. It was also a recommendation of his that no one should serve as assistant in the province of his birth, and that no one should govern a province who was not a Roman of Rome, that is, a man born in the city itself. He also recommended salaries for the members of the governor's council, in order to prevent their being a burden to those to whom they were advisers, adding that judges ought neither to give nor receive. With his soldiers he was severity itself; once, for example, when the frontier troops in Egypt asked him for wine, he replied: "Do you ask for wine when you have the Nile?" In fact, the waters of the Nile are so sweet that the inhabitants of the country do not ask for wine. And similarly, when the troops made a great uproar after they had been defeated by the Saracens, and cried out, "We get no wine, we cannot fight!", "Then blush," said he, "for the men who defeat you drink water." Likewise, when the people of Palestine besought him to lessen their tribute, saying that it bore heavily on them, he replied: "So you wish me to lighten the tax on your lands; verily, if I had my way, I would tax your air".

VIII. Now when the confusion in the state was at its height, inasmuch as it was made known that there were three several emperors, Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger, and Clodius Albinus, the priest of the Delphic Apollo was asked which of them as emperor would prove of most profit to the state, whereupon, it is said, he gave voice to a Greek verse as follows:

"Best is the Dark One, the African good, but the worst is the White One."
PESCENNIUS NIGER

2 ex quo intellectum Fuscem Nigrum appellatum ratione, Severum Afrum, Album vero Albinum dictum. nec defuit alia curiositas, qua requisitum est qui esset obtenturus rem publicam. ad quod ille respondit alium versum talem:

"Fundetur sanguis Albi Nigrique animantis, imperium mundi Poena regit urbe profectus.

item, cum quaesitum esset quis illi successurus esse respondisse itidem Graeco versus dicitur:

"Cui dederint superi nomen habere Pii."

5 quod omnino intellectum non est nisi cum Bassianae Antonini, quod verum signum Pii fuit, nomen acceptum.

item cum quaereretur quamdiu imperator esset respondisse Graece dicitur:

"Bis dens Italum conscendit navibus aequor, si tamen una ratis transiliat pelagus."

ex quo intellectum Severum viginti annos expleverum.

IX. Haec sunt, Diocletiane maxime Augustorum quae de Pescennio didicimus ex pluribus libris non enim facile, ut in principio libri diximus, quisquam

1 illis P.

1 See Spv., x. 3. 2 An adaptation of Aeneid, i. 381.
And in this response it was clearly understood that Niger was meant by the Dark One, Severus by the African, and Albinus by the White One. Thereupon the curiosity of the questioners was aroused, and they asked who would really win the empire. To this the priest replied with further verses somewhat as follows:

"Both of the Black and the White shall the life-blood be shed all untimely; Empire over the world shall be held by the native of Carthage."

And then when the priest was asked who should succeed this man, he gave answer, it is said, with another Greek verse:

"He whom the dwellers above have called by the surname of Pius."

But this was altogether unintelligible until Bassianus took the name Antoninus,\(^1\) which was Pius' true surname. And when finally they asked how long he should rule, the priest is said to have replied in Greek as follows:

"Surely with twice ten ships he will cleave the Italian waters,\(^2\) Only let one of his barques bound o'er the plain of the sea."

From this they perceived that Severus would round out twenty years.

IX. This, Diocletian, greatest of emperors, is what we have learned concerning Pescennius, gathering it from many books. For when a man consigns to books the lives of men who were not rulers in the
PESCENNIUS NIGER

vitae eorum mittit in libros, qui aut principes in republica non fuerunt aut a senatu appellati non sunt imperatores, aut occisi citius ad famam venire ne-2quiverunt. inde quod latet Vindex, quod Piso nescitur, quod omnes illi qui aut tantum adoptati sunt aut a militibus imperatores appellati, ut sub Domitiano Antonius, aut cito interempti vitam cum imperii usurpatione posuerunt. sequitur nunc ut de Clodio Albino dicam, qui quasi socius huius habetur, quod et pariter contra Severum rebellarunt et ab eodem victi atque occisi sunt. de quo ipso neque satis clara exstant, quia eadem fortuna illius fuit quae Pescennii, etiamsi vita satis dispar.
5 Ac ne quid ex iis quae ad Pescennium pertinent praeterisse videamur, licet aliis libris cognosci possint, de hoc Septimio Severo vates dixerunt quod neque vivus neque mortuus in potestatem Severi venturus esset, sed iuxta aquas illi pereundum esset. quod quidam1 dicunt ipsum Severum de mathesi, quae callebat, dixisse. nec absuit 2 responsis veritas, cum ille inventus sit iuxta paludem semivivus.

X. Hic tantae fuit severitatis, ut, cum milites quosdam in cauco argenteo expeditionis tempore

1quidem P. 2adfuit P.

1 Cf. c. i. 1.
2C. Julius Vindex, the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, who led a revolt against Nero in 68 and was defeated by the army from Germany; see Suetonius, Nero, xl. f.
3C. Calpurnius Piso, the nominal head of a wide-spread conspiracy formed against Nero in 65; see Tacitus, Annals, xv. 48-59.

450
state, or of those, again, who were not declared emperors by the senate, or, lastly, of those who were so quickly killed that they could not attain to fame, his task is difficult, as we said at the beginning of this work. It is for this reason that Vindex is obscure and Piso unknown, as well as all those others also who were merely adopted, or were hailed as emperors by the soldiers (as was Antonius in Domitian’s time), or were speedily slain and gave up their lives and their attempt at empire together. It now remains for me to speak of Clodius Albinus, who is considered this man’s ally, in a way, since they rebelled against Severus similarly, and were similarly overcome by him and put to death. But we have no clear information concerning him either, since he and Pescennius were the same in fate, however much they differed in their lives.

And lest we seem to omit any of the tales which are told of Pescennius, for all that they can be read in other books, the soothsayers told Severus concerning Pescennius that neither living nor yet dead would he fall into Severus’ hands but would perish near the water. Some say that Severus himself made this statement, learning it from astrology, in which he was very skilled. Nor was the augury devoid of truth, for Pescennius was found half dead near a lake.

X. Pescennius was a man of unusual rigour; when he learned, for instance, that various soldiers were drinking from silver cups while on a campaign, he

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4 L. Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany, who with two legions attempted a revolt in 88, but was soon defeated and put to death; see Suetonius, Domitian, vi.  
5 See Sev., x-xi; Cl. Alb., ix.  
6 Cf. c. v. 8.
PESCENNIUS NIGER

bibere vidisset, iussisset omne argentum summoveri
de usu expeditionali, addito eo ut ligneis vasis uter-
rentur. quod quidem illi odium militare concitavit.
dicebat enim posse fieri, ut sarcinae militares in po-
testatem hostium venirent, nec se barbarae nationes
argento nostro gloriosiores facerent, cum alia minus
aptam hostiam viderentur ad gloriam. idem iussit
vinum in expeditione neminem bibere, sed aceto
universos esse contentos. idem pistores sequi ex-
peditionem prohibuit, bucellato iubens milites et
omnes contentos esse. idem ob unius gallinacei
direptionem decem commanipulones, qui raptum ab
uno comederant, securi percuti iussit; et fecisset, nisi
ab omni exercitu prope usque ad metum seditionis
esset rogatus. et cum pepercisset, iussit ut denorum
gallinaceorum pretia provincialis redderent decem,
qui simul furto convixerant, addito eo ut tota in ex-
peditione in commanipulatione nemo focum faceret,
ne unquam recens coctum cibum sumerent, sed
pane ac frigida vescerentur, adpositis speculatori-
bus, qui id curarent. idem iussit, ne zona milites ad
bellum ituri\textsuperscript{1} aureos vel argenteos nummos portarent,
sed publice commendarent, recepturi post proelia

\textsuperscript{1} Item P.

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Hadr., x. 2.
gave orders that all silver whatever should be banished from the camp in war-time, and added that the soldiers should use wooden cups—a command that gained him their resentment. For it was not impossible, he said, that the soldiers’ individual baggage might fall into the hands of the enemy, and foreign tribes should not be given cause for glorying in our silver, when there were other articles that would contribute less to a foeman’s glory. He gave orders, likewise, that in time of campaign the soldiers should not drink wine but should all content themselves with vinegar. He also forbade pastry-cooks to follow expeditions, ordering both soldiers and all others to content themselves with biscuit. For the theft of a single cock, furthermore, he gave an order that the ten comrades who had shared the bird which one of them had stolen, should all be beheaded; and he would have carried out the sentence, had not the entire army importuned him to such a degree that there was reason to fear a mutiny. And when he had spared them, he ordered that each of the ten who had feasted on the stolen bird should pay the provincial who owned it the price of ten cocks. At this same time he ordered that no one during the whole period of the campaign should build a hearth in his company-quarters, and that they should never eat freshly-cooked food, but should live on bread and cold water. And he set spies to see that this was done. He gave orders, likewise, that the soldiers should not carry gold or silver coin in their money-belts when about to go into action, but should deposit them with a designated official. After the battle, he assured them, they would get back what they had deposited, or the official who had
PESCENNIUS NIGER

quod dederant, addens liberis eorum et uxoribus hereditibus certe reddendum, cui quidem venisset, ne ad hostes aliquid praedae perveniret, si quid forte adversa fortuna fecisset. sed haec omnia, ut se habuerat Commodi temporum dissoluto, adversa eidem fuere.

denique etiam sibi nemo fuit, qui suis temporibus dux severior videretur, ad pernicem illi magis vivo quam mortuo, ubi et invidia et odium deposita erant, talia exempla valuerunt.

XI. Idem in omni expeditione ante omnes militarem cibum sumpsit ante papilionem, nec sibi umquam vel contra solem vel contra imbres quaesivit tecti suffragium, si miles non habuit. tantum denique belli tempore, ratione militibus demonstrata, sibi et servis suis vel contubernalibus putavit quantum a militibus ferebatur, cum servos suos annona oneraret, ne illi securi ambularent et onusti milites, idque ab exercitu cum suspicio videretur. idem in contione iuravit se, quamdiu in expeditionibus fuisse esset et adhuc futurus, non aliter egisse acturumque esse quam militem, Marium ante oculos habentem et duces tales. nec alias fabulas umquam habuit nisi de Hannibale ceterisque talibus. denique cum imperatori facto quidam panegyricum recitare vellet, dixit ei: "Scribe laudes Marii vel Hannibalis vel cuiusvis ducis optimi vita functi, et dic quid ille fecerit, ut eum nos imitemur. nam viventes

1 cui Salmarius; qui P. 2 ad pernicem Edit. Princeps; pernicem P, Peter. 3 magis vivuo quam mortuo Editor; magis ista quam mortuo P; lacuna before mortuo Peter. 4 putavit Hirschfeld, Peter; portavit P, Peter. 5 esse quae P. 6 egisse Salmarius; esse P. 7 om. in P. 8 <uel> cuuisuis Baehrens, Peter; cuuis P; <uel> alius Peter.
received it would pay it to their heirs—that is, their wives and children—without fail. Thus, he reasoned, no plunder would pass to the enemy, should fortune bring some disaster. All these stern measures, however, worked to his disadvantage in times so slack as those of Commodus. For even if there was no one who seemed to his own times a sterner general, these measures availed to damage him rather during his life than after his death, when both envy and malice were laid by.

XI. On all his campaigns he took his meals in front of his tent and in the presence of all his men, and he ate the soldiers' own fare, too; nor did he ever seek shelter against sun or against rain if a soldier was without it. In time of war he assigned to himself and to his slaves or aides as heavy burdens as were borne by the soldiers themselves, expounding to the soldiers the reason therefor; for in order that his slaves might not be without burdens on the march while the soldiers carried packs and this seem a grievous thing to the army, he loaded them with rations. He took an oath, besides, in the presence of an assembly, that as long as he had conducted campaigns and as long as he expected to conduct them, he had not in the past and would not in the future act otherwise than as a simple soldier—having before his eyes Marius and such commanders as he. He never told anecdotes about anyone save Hannibal and others such as he. Indeed, when some one wished to recite him a panegyric at the time that he was declared emperor, he said to him: "Write praises of Marius, or Hannibal, or of any pre-eminent general now dead, and tell what he did, that we may imitate him. For the praise of the living is mere mockery,
PESCENNIUS NIGER

laudare inrisio est, maxime imperatores, a quibus speratur, qui timentur, qui praestare publice possunt, qui possunt necare, qui proscribere." se autem vivum placere velle, mortuum etiam laudari.

XII. Amavit de principibus Augustum, Vespasianum, Titum, Traianum, Pium, Marcum, reliquos saeneos vel venenatos vocans; maxime tamen in historiis Marium et Camillum et Quinctium et 1 Marcium 2 Coriolanum dilexit. interrogatus autem quid de Scipionibus sentiret, dixisse furtur felices illos fuisset magis quam fortes; idque probare domesticam vitam et iuventutem, quae in utroque minus speciosa domi fuisset. apud omnes constat quod, si rerum potitus fuisset, omnia correcturus fuerit, quae Severus vel non potuit emendare vel noluit, et quidem sine crudelitate, immo etiam cum lenitate, sed militari, non remissa et inepta atque ridicula.

Domus eius hodie Romae visitur in Campo Iovis, quae appellatur Pescenniana. 2 in qua simulacrum eius in trichoro consistit, positum 3 ex Thebaico marmore, quod ille ad similitudinem sui factum a grege 4 Thebaeorum acceperat. exstat etiam epigramma Graecum, quod Latine hanc habet sententiam:

1Quinctium et Marcium Jordan; quintum marciun P. 2pescenniani P. 3constitit, positum Peter; constituit statim post annum P. 4grege Lumbroso; rege P, Peter.

1M. Furius Camillus, who as dictator captured Veii in 396 B.C. and later defeated the Volscians.
2L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, dictator in 458 B.C., when he defeated the Aequi.
3Leader of the Romans against the Volscians, whom, after

456
and most of all the praise of emperors, in whose power it lies to kindle hope or fear, to give advancement in public life, to condemn to death, and to declare a man an outlaw." He added that he wished to give satisfaction in his life-time, and after his death to be praised as well.

XII. His favourites among his predecessors were Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Pius, and Marcus; the others, he averred, were either puppets or monsters. Among the characters of history he admired most of all Marius, Camillus, Quinctius, and Marcius Coriolanus. And once, when asked his opinion concerning the Scipios, he replied, it is said, that they were rather fortunate than forceful, as was shown by their home-lives and by their youth, which, in the case of both, had not been conspicuous at home. All men are agreed that he proposed, had he gained the throne, to correct all the evils which Severus, later, either could not or would not correct; and this he would have accomplished without any cruelty, or rather even with mercy, but yet the mercy of a soldier, not weak or absurd and a subject for mockery.

His house, still called by the name of Pescennius, may still be seen in the Field of Jupiter. Within, in a certain room with three compartments there stands his statue, carved in Theban marble, depicting his likeness, and given him by the common people of Thebes. There is preserved, besides, an epigram in Greek which, rendered into Latin, runs as follows:

he was exiled from Rome in 491 B.C., he joined and led against Rome.

4 The site of this is unknown.

5 Black basalt, called by the ancients basanites, was brought to Rome from upper Egypt; see Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxvi. 58.
"Terror Aegyptiaci Niger astat militis ingens,
Thebaidos socius, aurea saecla volens.
hunc reges, hunc gentes amant, hunc aurea Roma,
hic Antoninis carus et imperio.
Nigrum nomen habet, nigrum formavimus ipsi,
ut consentiret forma, metalle, tibi."

quos quidem versus Severus eradi noluit, cum hoc ei et praefecti suggererent et officiorum magistri,
addens: "Si talis fuit, sciant omnes qualem vicerimus; si talis non fuit, putent omnes nos talem vicisse; immo sic sit, quia fuit talis."

\[^{1}\text{om. in P.}\quad ^{2}\text{nigram P.}\]
Glorious Niger stands here, the dread of the soldiers of Egypt, 
Faithful ally of Thebes, willing a golden age. 
Loved by the kings and the nations of earth, and by Rome the all golden, 
Dear to the Antonines, aye, dear to the Empire too. 
Black is the surname he bears, and black is the statue we've fashioned, 
Thus do surname and hue, hero and marble, agree."

As for these verses, Severus refused to erase them when this was proposed by his prefects and masters of ceremonies, and said, besides: "If indeed he was such a man, let all men learn how great was the man we vanquished; if such he was not, let all men deem that such was the man we vanquished; no, leave it as it is, for such he really was".
VITA

CLODII ALBINI

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Uno eodemque prope tempore post Pertinacem, qui auctore Albino interemptus est, Iulianus a senatu Romae, Septimius Severus ab exercitu in Illyrico, Pescennius Niger in Oriente, Clodius Albinus in Gallia imperatores appellati. et Clodium quidem Herodianus dicit Severi Caesarem fuisse. sed cum alter alterum indignaretur imperare, nec Galli ferre possent aut Germanici exercitus quod et ipsi suum specialem principem haberent, undique cuncta turbata sunt.

3 Fuit autem Clodius Albinus familia nobili, Hadrumetinus tamen ex Africa. quare sortem illam, qua Severum laudatum in Pescennii vita diximus, ad

1 auctor P. 2 Illyrico Erasmus; syria P. 3 clodius P. 4 seuerum P. 5 Germaniciani Salmasius; germani- ani P. 6 quae P.

1 Repeated in c. xiv. 2 and 6, and found in other late writers. There is no suggestion of it in Dio or Herodian and it seems to be wholly untrue.
2 Albinus was not acclaimed emperor until 196, after Niger’s revolt was crushed; see Sev., x. 1.
3 See Sev., x. 7—xi. 2.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. After the death of Pertinax, who was slain at Albinus' advice,1 various men were hailed emperor at about one and the same time 2—by the senate Julianus at Rome, and by the armies, Septimius Severus in Illyricum, Pescennius Niger in the East, and Clodius Albinus in Gaul.3 According to Herodian, Clodius had been named Caesar by Severus.4 But as time went on, each chafed at the other's rule, and the armies of Gaul and Germany demanded an emperor of their own naming, and so all parts of the empire were thrown into an uproar.

Now Clodius Albinus came of a noble family,5 but he was a native of Hadrumetum in Africa. Because of this, he applied to himself the oracle in praise of Severus, which we quoted in the Life of Pescennius,

4 See Herodian, ii. 15, 3; Dio, lxxiii. 15, 1. These writers indicate that this was merely a trick on Severus' part, the purpose of which was to prevent Albinus from attacking him during his campaign against Niger. According to c. iii. 4-5 and x. 3, on the other hand, Severus really intended to make Albinus his successor. The name Caesar appears in Albinus' inscriptions (see Dessau, Ins. Sel., 414 and 415) and on his coins (see Cohen, iii, p. 416 f.).

5 According to Herodian, ii. 15, 1, the family was of senatorial rank.

461
CLODIUS ALBINUS

se trahebat, nolens intellegi "Pessimus Albus," quod eodem versu continebatur quo et Severi laus et adprobatio Nigri Pescennii. sed priusquam vel de vita eius vel de morte dissero, etiam hoc dicendum est quod eum nobilem fecit.

II. Nam ad hunc eundem quondam Commodus tum cum successorem Albino daret, litteras dederat, quibus iusserat ut Caesar esset. exemplum indidi: "Imperator Commodus Clodio Albino. alias ad te publice de successione atque honore tuo misi, sed hanc familiarem et domesticam, omnem, ut vides, manu mea scriptam, qua tibi do facultatem, ut, si necessitas fuerit, ad milites prodeas et tibi Caesareae nomen adsumas. audio enim et Septimum Severum et Nonium Murcum male de me apud milites loqui, ut sibi parent stationis Augustae procurationem. habebis praeterea, cum id feceris, dandi stipendii usque ad tres aureos liberam potestatem, quia et super hoc ad procuratores meos litteras misi, quas ipse signatas excipies signo Amazonio et, cum opus fuerit, rationalibus dabis, ne te non audiant, cum de aerario volueris imperare. sane ut tibi insigne aliquod imperialis maiestatis adiciam, habebis utendi coccini pallii facultatem in praesenti et ad me,

1 Albus Jordan; albinus P. 2 tum cum Peter; cum eum P. 3 aliquid P1. 4 adiciam Peter; accedam P. 5 in praesenti Damsté; me praesentem P; impraesentiarum P2.

1 Pesc. Nig., viii. 1.
2 On this and the other letters in this biography see note to Avid. Cass., i. 6.
3 See Sev., vi. 9 and note.
462
for he did not wish it to be interpreted as "the worst is the White One," which is contained in the same line in which Severus is praised and Pescennius Niger commended. But before I discourse on his life and his death I should relate the manner in which he became ennobled.

II. There is a certain letter which Commodus sent Albinus once, on naming his successor in office, in which he bade him assume the name of Caesar; of this letter I append a copy:

"The Emperor Commodus to Clodius Albinus greeting. I wrote you once officially about the succession to the throne and your own elevation to honour, but I am now sending you this private and confidential message, all written with my own hand, as you will see, in which I empower you, should emergency arise, to present yourself to the soldiers and assume the name of Caesar. For I hear that both Septimius Severus and Nonius Murcus are speaking ill of me to their troops, hoping thereby to get the appointment to the post of Augustus. You shall have full power besides, when you thus present yourself, to give the soldiers a largess of three aurei apiece. You will get a letter which I am sending to my procurators to this effect, sealed with my signet of an Amazon, which you will deliver to my stewards when the need arises, that they may not refuse your demands on the treasury. And that you may receive some definite symbol of an emperor's majesty, I authorize you to wear both at the present time and at my court the scarlet cloak."

4 Commodus had his concubine Marcia portrayed as an Amazon; see Com., xi. 9.

5 The *paludamentum*, worn in the republican period by the commanding general. In the imperial era its use was restricted to members of the emperor's family.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

et cum mecum fueris, habiturus et purpuram sed sine auro, quia ita et proavus meus Verus, qui puer vita functus est, ab Hadriano, qui eum adoptavit, accepit."

III. His litteris acceptis omnino\(^1\) facere id quod iubebat noluit, videns\(^2\) odiosum Commodum propter mores suos, quibus rem publicam perdiderat et se dedecoraverat, quandocumque feriendum, et timens\(^3\) ne ipse pariter occideretur.

2 Exstat denique illius contio, qua,\(^4\) cum accept imperium, et quidem Severi, ut quidam, voluntate firmatum, huius rei memoriam facit. cuius hoc exemplum est: "Invitum me, commilitones, ductum ad imperium etiam illud probat, quod Commodum donantem me Caesareano nomine contempsii; sed et vestrae voluntati\(^5\) et Severi Augusti parendum est, quia credo sub homine optimo et viro forti posse bene rem publicam regi".

4 Nec negari potest,\(^6\) quod\(^7\) etiam Marius Maximus dicit, hunc animum Severo primum fuisse, ut, si quid ei continget, Pescennium Nigrum et Clodium Albinum sibi substitueret. sed postea et filiis iam

\(^1\)a nonio P. \(^2\)uidens Salmassius; \(^3\)timens Salmassius; \(^4\)vem timens P. \(^5\) quam P. \(^6\)voluntatis P\(^1\). \(^7\)potes P\(^1\).

\(^1\) A development of the paludamentum and regarded as the specific costume of the emperor. It was dyed with the liquor of a peculiar variety of shellfish (see Pliny, Nat. Hist., ix. 130), whereas the scarlet paludamentum was dyed with cochineal.

464
Later, when you are with me, you shall have the imperial purple, though without the embroidery in gold. For my great-grandfather Verus, who died in boyhood, received this from Hadrian, who adopted him."

III. Albinus received this letter, but he utterly refused to do what the Emperor bade. For he saw that Commodus was hated because of his evil ways, which were bringing destruction upon the state and dishonour upon himself, and that he would sometime or other be slain, and he feared that he might perish with him.

There is still in existence the speech he made when he accepted the imperial power—some say, indeed, by Severus' wish and authorization—in which he makes allusion to this refusal. Of this speech I append a copy: "It is against my will, my comrades, that I am exalted to empire, and a proof of it is this, that when Commodus once gave me the name of Caesar, I scorned it. Now, however, I must yield to your desire and to that of Severus Augustus, for I believe that under an upright man and a brave one the state can be well ruled."

It is an undeniable fact, moreover, and Marius Maximus also relates it, that Severus at first intended to name Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus as his successors, in case aught befell him. Later, as it happened, in the interest of his growing sons, and through envy of the affection in which Albinus was

2 The triumphal toga was purple, embroidered with gold. It was worn by the emperors on occasions of special importance.
3 L. Aelius Caesar. He was, of course, not an ancestor of Commodus, for he was the father of Lucius Verus.
4 See c. i. 2 and note.
maiusculis studens et Albini amori invidens sententiam mutasse atque illorum utrumque bello oppres-
sisse, maxime precibus uxoris adductus. denique
Severus eum et consulem designavit, quod utique
 nisi de optimo viro non fecisset, homo in legendis
magistratibus diligens.

IV. Sed ut ad eum redeam, fuit, ut dixi, Albinus
Hadrumetinus oriundo, sed nobilis apud suos et
originem a Romanis familiis trahens, Postumiorum
scilicet et Albinorum et Ceioniorum. quae familia
hodie quoque, Constantine maxime, nobilissima est
et per te aucta et augenda, quae per Gallienum et
Gordianos plurimum crevit. hic tamen natus lare
modico, patrimonio pertenui, parentibus sanctis,
patre Ceionio Postumo, matre Aurelia Messalina,
primus suis parentibus fuit. cum exceptus utero,
quod contra consuetudinem puerorum, qui, cum
nascentur, solent rubere, esse candidissimus,
Albinus est dictus. quod verum esse patris epistula
ad Aelium Bassianum tunc proconsulem Africæ
data signat, adfinem, quantum videtur, eorum ipsorum.
epistula Ceionii Postumi ad Aelium Bassianum:
"Filius mihi natus est VII kal. Decembres, ita candi-

1illos utrosque P corr. 2abductus P corr. 3qui, cum
nascentur, solent Lessing; qui nascentur et solent P, Peter.
rubore P. 5esse P. 6ueri P1. 7om. in P1.

1c. i. 3.

2This array of names seems to have the purpose of using
Albinus as a means of connecting the Ceionii Albini, a famous
family of the fourth century, with the Postumii Albini, famous
in the republican era and especially in the second century
before Christ. The same purpose seems to appear in the
name assigned to Albinus' father (§ 3), which is composed of
the names of two gentes of famous Albini, regardless of the
466
held, and most of all because of his wife's entreaties, he changed his purpose and crushed both of them in war. But he did name Albinus consul, and this he never would have done had not Albinus been a worthy man, since he was ever most careful in his choice of magistrates.

IV. To return to Albinus, however, he was a native of Hadrumetum, as I have said before, but he was both of noble rank there and traced his descent from noble families at Rome, namely the Postumii, the Albini, and the Ceionii. The last of these families is among the noblest to-day, for you, most puissant Constantine, have exalted it and shall exalt it further, though it gained its greatest prestige by the favour of Gallienus and the Gordians. He was born at Hadrumetum in a modest home, in slender circumstances, and of righteous parents, Ceionius Postumus and Aurelia Messalina, and he was their first-born son. When taken from his mother's womb, unlike the common run of infants, who are red at birth, he was very white in hue, and for this reason he was named Albinus. The truth of this is proved by a letter which his father wrote to Aelius Bassianus, then proconsul of Africa and, as it seems, a kinsman of the family. The letter of Ceionius Postumus to Aelius Bassianus: "A son was born to me on the seventh day before the Kalends of December,


difference in usage between Postumius as the name of a gens and Postumus as the cognomen of a family. This attempt to find famous ancestors for the Ceionii Albini has been used as an argument for the theory that portions, at least, of the Historia Augusta were not written before the end of the fourth century.

3 According to Herodian, ii. 15, 1, he was brought up in wealth and luxury.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

dus statim toto corpore, ut linitem, quo 1 exceptus est, vinceret. quare susceptor eum Albinorum familias, quae mihi tecum communis est, dedi Albini nomine imposito. fac ut rem publicam et te et nos ut facis, diligas."

V. Hic ergo omnem pueritiam in Africa transegit eruditus litteris Graecis ac Latinis 2 mediocriter, quod esset animi iam tum 3 militaris et superbi. nam 4 fertur in scholis saepissime cantasse inter pueros

"Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis,"

repetens

"Arma amens capio."

3 Huic multa imperii signa, cum esset natus, facta dicuntur. nam et bos albus purpureis ad plenum colorem cornibus natus est. 5 quae tamen in templi Apollinis Cumani ab eodem posita iam tribuno dixisse dicuntur, quod, cum illi 6 sortem de facto 7 suo tolleret, his versibus eidem dicitur esse responsum:

"Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu sistet eques, 8 sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem."

et in Gallia quidem eum multas gentes domuisse constat. ipse autem suspicabatur de Severo sibi praedictum "sternet Poenos," quod Septimius Afer esset.

1 quod P. 2 ac latinis graecis P1. 3 tum P. in P; inde Salmasius. 4 superbi. nam P; superbiam P. 5 quod mirandum fuit cum cornibus added in P; rej. by Peter. 6 illi P; illis P. 7 facto P. 8 tumulus steteque P1.

1 Vergil, Aeneid, ii. 314. 2 Vergil, Aeneid, vi. 857-858. 3 Cf. c. vi. 3.
and so white was his body at birth that it was whiter than the linen clothes in which we wrapped him. I acknowledged him, therefore, as one of the family of the Albini, who are common kin to you and me, and bestowed upon him the name Albinus. And now remember, I pray you, our country, yourself and me."

V. All his boyhood, then, Albinus spent in Africa, where he got a fair education in Greek and Latin letters. And even at that time he showed signs of a haughty and warlike spirit, for at school, it is said, he used often to recite to the children:

"Madly I seized my arms, though in arms there lay little reason".¹

And he repeated again and again the words, "Madly I seized my arms".

It is said that his rule was predicted by a number of omens that occurred at the time of his birth. For instance, a snow-white bull was born, whose horns were of a deep purple hue. And he is said to have placed these, when tribune of the soldiers, in the temple of Apollo at Cumae, and when he made inquiry of the oracle there concerning his fate, he received a response, it is said, in the following lines:

"He shall establish the power of Rome though tumult beset her,
Riding his horse he shall smite both Poeni and Galli rebellious."²

And, indeed, it is well known that he conquered many tribes in Gaul.³ He himself always believed, moreover, that the prediction "he shall smite the Poeni" referred to him and Severus, because Severus was
CLODIUS ALBINUS

6 fuit et aliud signum futuri imperii. nam cum Caesar-
eana familia hoc speciale habuerit, ut parvuli domus
eius in testudineis alveis\(^1\) lavarentur, nato infantulo
testudo ingens patri eius munere piscatoris adlata
7 est; quod ille homo litteratus omen accipiens et
testudinem libenter accepit et eam curari iussit atque
infantulo ad excaldationes pueriles dicari, nobilitan-
dum etiam hinc sperans. cum rarum esset, aquilas
in his locis videri, in quibus natus est Albinus, septima
eius die\(^2\) hora convivii, quod celebritati pueri deputa-
batur, cum ei\(^3\) fieren nomina, septem aquilae parvulae
de nidis adlatae sunt et quasi ad iocum circa cunas
pueri constitutae. nec\(^4\) hoc omen pater abnuit et\(^5\) iussit
9 aquilas ali et diligenter curari. accessit omen, quod,
cum pueri eius familiae russulis fasciolis inligarentur,
quod forte lotae atque udae essent russulae fasciolae,
quas mater praegnans paraverat, purpurea matris
inligatus\(^6\) est fascea; unde illi ioco nutricis etiam
10 Porphyrii nomen inditum est. haec atque alia signa
imperii futuri fuere. quae qui volet nosse, Aelium
Cordum legat, qui frivola super huius modi ominibus
cuncta persequitur.

\(^1\) testudine albeis P. \(^2\) diei P. \(^3\) eis P. \(^4\) ne P;
Peter. \(^5\) et ins. by Frankfurter. \(^6\) inligatus P\(^1\).

1 See Intro., p. xviii.

470
a native of Africa. There was another indication of his future rule besides these. A peculiar custom was observed in the family of the Caesars, namely, that the infants of this house should be bathed in tubs of tortoise-shell. Now when Albinus was a newly born infant, a fisherman brought as a gift to his father a tortoise of enormous size, and he, being well versed in letters, regarded the gift as an omen and accepted the tortoise gladly. He then gave an order that they should prepare the shell and set it apart for the child for use in the hot baths that are given to infants, hoping that this gift portended noble rank for his son. And again, although eagles appear but rarely in the region in which Albinus was born, on the seventh day after his birth, at the very hour of a banquet in honour of the bestowal of his name, seven young eagles were brought in from a nest and placed as though in jest about the cradle of the child. Nor did his father scorn this omen either, but commanded that the eagles be fed and guarded with care. Still another omen occurred. It was customary in his family that the bandages in which the children are wrapped should be of a reddish colour. In his case, however, it chanced that the bandages which had been prepared by his mother during her pregnancy had been washed and were not yet dry, and he was therefore wrapped in a bandage of his mother's, and this, as it happened, was of a purple hue. For this reason his nurse, jestingly, gave him the name Porphyrius. These were the omens that betokened his future rule. There were others besides these, but he who desires to learn what they are may read them in Aelius Cordus, for he relates all trivial details concerning omens of this sort.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

VI. Adulescens igitur statim se ad militiam contulit atque Antoninis per Lollium Serenum et Baebium Maecianum et Ceionium Postumianum suas ad fines innotuit. egit tribunus equites Dalmatas; egit et legionem 1 quartanorum et primanorum; Bithynicos exercitus eo tempore quo 2 Avidius rebellabat fideliter tenuit. dein per Commodum ad Galliam translatus, in qua fusis gentibus 3 Transrhenanis celebre nomen suum et apud Romanos et apud barbaros fecit. quibus rebus accensus Commodus Caesareanum ei nomen obtulit et dandi stipendii facultatem et pallii coecinni utendi. quibus omnibus ille pruneter abstinuit, dicens Commodum quaerere qui aut cum eo perirent aut quos cum causa ipse posset occidere. quaesturae gratia illi factura est. qua concessa aedilis non amplius quam decem diebus fuit, quod ad exercitum festino mitteretur. dein praeturam egit sub Commodo famosisimam. nam eiusdem ludiis Commodus et in foro et in theatro pugnas exhibuissse perhibetur. consul a Severo declaratus 4 est eo tempore quo illum sibi paraverat cum 5 Pescennio subrogare.

VII. Ad imperium venit natu 6 iam grandior et maior Pescennio Nigro, ut Severus ipse in vita sua loquitur.

1 Legione P. 2 quod P. 3 gentibus Peter; fugentibus P. 4 declaratur P. 5 cum Pescennio Jordan; Pescennio P. 6 natura P. 7 Pescennium Peter1; [Pescennio] Peter2.
VI. As soon as he came of age he entered military service, and by the aid of Lollius Serenus, Baebius Maecianus and Ceionius Postumianus, all his kinsmen, he gained the notice of the Antonines. In the capacity of a tribune he commanded a troop of Dalmatian horse; he also commanded soldiers of the First and the Fourth legions. At the time of Avidius' revolt he loyally held the Bithynian army to its allegiance. Next, Commodus transferred him to Gaul; and here he routed the tribes from over the Rhine and made his name illustrious among both Romans and barbarians. This aroused Commodus' interest, and he offered Albinus the name of Caesar and the privilege, too, of giving the soldiers a present and wearing the scarlet cloak. But all these offers Albinus wisely refused, for Commodus, he said, was only looking for a man who would perish with him, or whom he could reasonably put to death. The duty of holding the quaestorship was in his case remitted. This requirement waived, he became aedile, but after a term of only ten days he was despatched in haste to the army. Next, he served his praetorship under Commodus, and a very famous one it was. For at his games Commodus, it is said, gave gladiatorial combats in both the Forum and the theatre. And finally Severus made him consul at the time when he purposed to make him and Pescennius his successors.

VII. When he at last attained to the empire he was well advanced in years, for he was older, as Severus himself relates in his autobiography, than Pescennius Niger. But Severus, after his victory

4 See note to c. ii. 5. 5 Cf. c. iii. 1. 6 See § 2. 7 See note to Sev., iii. 2.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

sed victo Pescennio, cum et filiis suis imperium servare cuperet et ingentem senatus amorem circa Clodium Albinum videret, quod esset vir antiquae familiae, litteras ad eum per quodam summam amoris ac summae adfectionis misit, quibus hortabatur, ut, quoniam occisus esset Pescennius Niger, ipse cum eo fideliter rem publicam regeret. quarum exemplum hoc esse Cordus ostendit: "Imperator Severus Augustus Cludio Albino Caesari, fratri amantissimo et desiderantissimo, salutem. victo Pescennio litteras Romanas dedimus, quas senatus tu amantissimus libenter accepit. te quaeso, ut eo animo rem publicam regas quo delectus es frater animi mei, frater imperii. Bassianus et Geta te saluant. Iulia nostra et te et sororem salutat. infantulo tuo Pescennio Principe munera digna suo loco tuoque mittemus. tu velim exercitus rei publicae ac nobis retentes, mi unanime, mi carissime, mi amantissime."

VIII. Et has quidem litteras missis stipatoribus fidelissimis dedit, quibus praecepit, ut epistulam publice darent, postea vero dicerent se velle pleraque occulta suggerere, quae ad res bellicas pertinenter et ad secreta castrorum atque aulicam fidem; ubi vero in secretum venissent quasi mandata dicturi, quinque validissimi eum interimerent gladiolis infra vestem latentibus. nec illorum quidem fides defuit. nam cum ad Albinum venissent et epistulam dedissent,

fidevit P.

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1 See also Herodian, iii. 5, 2.
2 This same story of the attempted assassination and the frustration of the plot is told in Herodian, iii. 5, 3-8.
over Pescennius, desiring to keep the throne for his sons, and observing that Clodius Albinus, inasmuch as he came of an ancient family, was greatly beloved by the senate, sent him certain men with a letter couched in terms of the greatest love and affection, in which he urged that, now that Pescennius Niger was slain, they should loyally rule the state together. The following, so Cordus declares, is a copy of this letter: "The Emperor Severus Augustus to Clodius Albinus Caesar, our most loving and loyal brother, greeting. After defeating Pescennius we despatched a letter to Rome, which the senate, ever devoted to you, received with rejoicing. Now I entreat you that in the same spirit in which you were chosen as the brother of my heart you will rule the empire as my brother on the throne. Bassianus and Geta send you greetings, and our Julia, too, greets both you and your sister. To your little son Pescennius Princus we will send a present, worthy both of his station and your own. I would like you to hold the troops in their allegiance to the empire and to ourselves, my most loyal, most dear, and loving friend."

VIII. This was the letter that he gave to the trusted attendants that were sent to Albinus. He told them to deliver the letter in public; but, later, they were to say that they wished to confer with him privately on many matters pertaining to the war, the secrets of the camp, and the trustworthiness of the court, and when they had come to the secret meeting for the purpose of telling their errand, five sturdy fellows were to slay him with daggers hidden in their garments. And they showed no lack of fidelity. For they came to Albinus and delivered Severus' letter, and then, when he read it, they said
CLODIUS ALBINUS

qua lecta cum dicerent quaedam secretius sug-
gerenda et locum semotum ab omnibus arbitris
postularent, et cum omnino neminem paterentur ad
porticum longissimam cum Albino progridi ea specie
ne mandata proderentur, Albinus intellexit 1 insidias.
3 denique indulgens suspicacionibus eos tormentis dedit.
qui diu primo pernegarunt sed postea victi necessitate
confessi sunt ea quae Severus iisdem praecesserat.

Tunc iam proditis rebus et apertis insidiis, ea quae
suspicabatur Albinus clara esse intellegens exercitu
ingenti collecto contra Severum atque eius duces
IX. venit. et primo quidem conflictu habito contra duces
Severi potior fuit, post autem Severus ipse, cum id
egisset apud senatum, ut hostis iudicaretur Albinus,
contra eum profectus acerrime fortissimeque pugnavit
in Gallia non sine varietate fortuane. denique cum
sollicitus augures consuleret, responsum illi est, ut
dicit Marius Maximus, venturum quidem in potestate
eius Albinum, sed non vivum nec mortuum. quod
et factum est. nam cum ultimo proelio commissum
esset, innumeris suorum caesis, plurimis fugatis, multis
etiam deditis, Albinus fugit et, ut multi dicunt, se
ipse percussit, ut alii, servo suo percussi semivivus
ad Severum deductus est. unde confirmatum est
augurium quod fuerat ante praedictum. multi prae-
terea dicunt, a militibus, qui eius 2 nesc 3 a Severo
gratiam requirebant.

1 intellexit P 1. 2 qui eius Casaubon; cuius P, Peter.
3 nescem P.

1 It was at this time, in 196, that he was acclaimed
Augustus; see c. i. 1.
2 See Sev., x. 7—xi. 2. 3 Cf. Sev., xi. 6.
that they had some matters to tell him more privately, and asked for a place far removed from all who could overhear. But when they refused to suffer anyone to go with Albinus to this distant portico, on the ground that their secret mission must not be made known, Albinus scented a plot and eventually yielded to his suspicions and delivered them over to torture. And though at first they stoutly denied their guilt, in the end they yielded to extreme measures and disclosed the commands that Severus had laid upon them.

Thus all was revealed and the plot laid bare, and Albinus, now seeing that what he had merely suspected before was true, assembled a mighty force and advanced to meet Severus and his generals.¹ IX. In the first engagement, indeed, which was fought with Severus' leaders,² he proved superior. Later Severus himself, after causing the senate to declare Albinus a public enemy, set out against him and fought in Gaul, bitterly and courageously but not without vicissitudes of fortune. At last, being somewhat perturbed, Severus consulted an augur, and received from him the response, according to Marius Maximus, that Albinus would in truth fall into his power, but neither alive nor dead. And so it happened. For after a decisive engagement, where countless of his soldiers fell, and very many fled, and many, too, surrendered, Albinus also fled away and, according to some, stabbed himself, according to others, was stabbed by a slave. At any rate, he was brought to Severus only half alive.³ So the prophecy made before the battle was fulfilled. Many, however, declare that he was slain by soldiers who asked Severus for a bounty for his death.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

5 Fuit Albino unus, ut aliqui dicunt, filius, ut\footnote{ut ins. by Peter; om. in P.} Maximus dicit, duo. quibus primum veniam dedit, postea vero eos cum matre percussit et in profluentem abici iussit. caput eius excisum pilo circumtulit Romamque misit, litteras ad senatum datis quibus insultiavit, quod Albinum tantopere dilexisset ut eius ad fines et fratem praecipue ingenti honore cumularent. iacuisse ante praetorium Severi Albini corpus per dies plurimos dicitur usque ad fetorem, laniatumque a canibus in profluentem abiectum est.

X. De moribus eius varia dicuntur. et Severus quidem ipse haec de eodem loquitur, ut eum dicat turpem malitiosum improbum inhonestum cupidum luxuriosum. sed haec belli tempore vel post bellum, quando ei iam velut de hoste credi non poterat, cum et ipse ad eum quasi ad amicissimum frequentes miserit litteras,\footnote{misset lit P'.} et multi de Albino bene senserint,\footnote{sen-serunt P corr.} et Severus ipse Caesarem suum eundem appellari voluerit et, cum de successore cogitaret, hunc primum habuerit ante oculos.

4 Exstant praeterea Marci epistulae de hoc eodem, quae testimonium et virtutum eius ferant et morum. quarum unam inserere ad praefectos datam super eius nomine absurdum non fuit:

6 "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus praefectis\footnote{praefectus P1.} suis salutem. Albino ex familia Ceioniorum, Afro quidem

\footnote{1 The Rhone; see Sev., xi. 9; cf. also § 7.}
CLODIUS ALBINUS 1X. 5—X. 6

According to certain writers, he had one son, but according to Maximus, two. At first Severus granted these pardon, but later he killed them, together with their mother, and had them cast into running water.\(^1\) Albinus’ head was cut off and paraded on a pike, and finally sent to Rome. With it Severus sent a letter to the senate, in which he reviled it bitterly for its great love for Albinus,\(^2\) inasmuch as his kinsmen, and notably his brother,\(^3\) had been heaped with illustrious honours. Albinus’ body lay for days, it is said, before Severus’ headquarters, until it stank and was mangled by dogs, and then it was thrown into running water.

X. With regard to his character there is great divergence of statement. Severus, for his part, charged him with being depraved and perfidious, unprincipled and dishonourable, covetous and extravagant.\(^4\) But all this he wrote either during the war or after it, at a time when he merits less credence, since he was speaking of a foe. Yet Severus himself sent him many letters, as though to an intimate friend. Many persons, moreover, thought well of Albinus, and even Severus wished to give him the name of Caesar,\(^5\) and when he made plans for a successor, he had Albinus foremost in mind.

There are extant, besides, some letters of Marcus concerning Albinus, which bear witness to his virtues and character. One of these, addressed to his prefects and dealing with Albinus, it were not out of place to include: “Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to his prefects, greeting. Albinus, one of the family of the Ceionii,\(^6\) son-in-law of Plautillus, and a native of

\(^1\) See Sev., iii. 2 and note.  
\(^2\) Cf. c. i. 2.  
\(^3\) See note to c. iv. 1.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

hominis sed non multa\(^1\) ex Afris habenti, Plautilli genero, duas cohortes alares regendas dedi. est homo exercitatus, vita tristis, gravis moribus. puto eum rebus castrensisibus profuturum, certe offuturum non esse\(^2\) satis novi. huic salarium duplex decrevi, vestem militarem simplicem sed loci sui, stipendium quadruplum. hunc vos adhortamini, ut se rei publicae ostentet,\(^3\) habiturus praemium quod merebitur."

Est et alia epistula, qua idem Marcus Avidii Cassii temporibus de hoc eodem scripsit, cuius exemplum hoc est: "Laudanda est Albini constantia, qui graviter deficientes exercitus tenuit, cum ad Avidium Cassium conducerent. et nisi hic fuisset, omnes fecissent. habemus igitur virum dignum consulatu, quem sufficiam in locum Cassii Papirii, qui mihi exani-

mis prope iam nuntiatus est. quod interim a te publicari nolo, ne aut ad ipsum Papirium aut ad eius affectus perveniat, nosque videamur in locum viventis XI. consulis\(^4\) subrogasse." et istae igitur epistulae constantem\(^5\) virum Albinum fuisset\(^6\) indicant, et illud praecipue, quod ad eas civitates instaurandas quas Niger adriverat pecuniam misit, quo facilius sib earum accolas conciliaret.

Gulosum eum Cordus, qui talia persequitur in suis voluminibus, fuisset dicit, et ita quidem ut pomorum. tantum hauserit\(^7\) quantum ratio\(^8\) humana non patitur.

\(^1\) multa Jordan; multo P.  \(^2\) esse non P.  \(^3\) ostentet et P.
\(^4\) consulis P; consulem Jordan, Peter.  \(^5\) constantem Peter; constat eum P.  \(^6\) fuissent P.  \(^7\) auxerit P.
\(^8\) oratio P.

1 See c. vi. 2.  2 Cf. c. vi. 2.
Africa, but with little of the African about him, I have placed in command of two squadrons of horse. He is a man of experience, strict in his mode of life, respected for his character. He will prove of value, I think, in the service of the camp, and I am certain he will prove no detriment. I have ordered him double ration-money, a plain uniform but one befitting his station, and fourfold pay. Do you urge him to make himself known to the state, for he will get the reward that he merits."

There is also another letter, which Marcus wrote about Albinus in the time of Avidius Cassius, a copy of which reads as follows: "Albinus is to be commended for his loyalty. For he held the soldiers in check when they were wavering in their allegiance and were making ready to join Avidius Cassius, and had it not been for him, they would have done this. We have in him, therefore, a man who deserves the consulship, and I shall name him to succeed Cassius Papirius, who, I am told, is now at the point of death. But this, meanwhile, I would not have you publish, lest somehow it come to Papirius or to his kin, and we seem to appoint a successor to a consul who is still alive." XI. These letters, then, prove the loyalty of Albinus, as does this fact besides, that he sent a sum of money wherewith to restore the cities that Jiger had ravaged. He did this, also, to win their inhabitants more easily to his cause.

Now Cordus, who recounts such details at length in his books, declares that Albinus was a glutton—so much so, in fact, that he would devour more fruit than he mind of man can believe. For Cordus says that

Dio speaks of him as a brave soldier and a skilful general; see lxxv. 6, 2.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

3 nam et quingentas ficas passarias, quas Graeci callistruthias vocant, ieiunum comedisse dicit et centum persica Campana et melones Ostienses decem et uvarum Labicanarum pondo viginti et ficedulas centum et ostrea quadringenta. vini sane parcum fuisset dicit; quod Severus negat, qui eum adserit ebrium etiam in bello fuisset. cum suis ei 1 numquam convenit vel propter violentiam, ut dicit Severus, vel propter morum acrimoniam, uxori odiosissimus fuit, servis iniustus, atrox circa militem. nam saepe etiam ordinarios centuriones, ubi causae qualitas non postulabat, 2 in crucem sustulit. verberavit certe virgis saepe neque umquam delictis pepercit. in vestitu nitidissimus fuit, in convivio sordidissimus et soli studens copiae, mulierarius inter primos amatores, aversae Veneris semper ignarus et talium persecutor, agri colendi peritissimus, ita ut etiam Georgica scripit. Milesias nonnulli eiusdem esse dicunt, quarum fama non ignobilis habetur, quamvis mediocriter scriptae sint.

XII. A senatu tantum amatus est quantum nemo principum, in odio speciatim Severi, quem vehementer

1 ei Mommsen; et P.  2 postulabit P.

1 See Sev., iii. 2 and note.
2 The term centuriones ordinarii was applied to centurions actually in command of centuries, as opposed to those detailed for service on the staff of a governor, those in the praetorian guard, and those in command of independent bodies of troops.
3 Probably in verse, in imitation of Vergil.
4 A name applied to collections of stories of an erotic character. It was taken from the earliest of these collections.
when hungry he devoured five hundred dried figs (called by the Greeks *callistruthiae*), one hundred Campanian peaches, ten Ostian melons, twenty pounds' weight of Labican grapes, one hundred figpeckers, and four hundred oysters. In his use of wine, however, Cordus says he was sparing, but Severus denies this, claiming that even in time of war he was drunken. As a rule, he was on bad terms with his household, either because of his drunkenness, as Severus says, or because of his quarrelsome disposition. Toward his wife he was unbearable, toward his servants unjust, and in dealings with his soldiers brutal. For he would often crucify legionary centurions, even when the character of the offence did not demand it, and he certainly used to beat them with rods and never spared. His clothing was elegant, but his banquets tasteless, for he had an eye only to quantity. As a lover of women he was noted even among the foremost philanderers, but of unnatural lusts he was innocent, and he always punished these vices. In the cultivation of land he was thoroughly versed, and he even composed Georgics. Some say, too, that he wrote Milesian tales, which are not unknown to fame though written in but a mediocre style.

XII. He was beloved by the senators as no one of the emperors before him. This was chiefly due, however, to their hatred of Severus, who was greatly called *Mνησιακός*, written by Aristeides about the end of the second century before Christ and translated into Latin by Cornelius Sisenna. Several stories of this type are included in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

Cf. c. ix. 6; xiii. 3; *Herodian*, iii. 5. 2. According to Dio, most of the senators refrained from any active partisanship; see lxxv. 4, 2.

483
CLODIUS ALBINUS

2 ter ob crudelitatem oderant senatores. denique victo
eo plurimi senatores a Severo interfecti sunt, qui eius
3 partium vel vere fuerant vel esse videbantur. denique
cum apud Lugdunum eundem interfecisset, statim
litteras requiri iussit, ut inveniret vel ad quos ipse
scripsisset, vel qui ad eum rescripsissent, omnesque
illos quorum epistulas repperit hostes iudicari a senatu
4 fecit; nec his pepercit, sed et ipsos interemit et bona
eorum proposuit atque in aerarium publicum rettulit.
5 Exstat epistula Severi, quae ostendit animum suum,
6 missa ad senatum, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Nihil
mihi gravius potest evenire, patres conscripti, quam
ut vestrum iudicium Albinus haberet potius quam
7 Severus. ego frumenta rei publicae detuli, ego
multa bella pro re publica gessi, ego populo Romano
tantum olei detuli quantum rerum natura vix habuit.
ego interfec to Pescennio Nigro vos a malis
8 tyrannicis liberavi. magnam sane mihi reddidistis
vicem, magnam gratiam; unum ex Afris et quidem
Hadrumetinis, fingentem quod de Ceioniorum stem-
mate sanguinem duceret, usque adeo extulistis, ut
eum principem habere velletis me principe, salvis
9 liberis meis. defuitne quae so tanto senatu quem
amare deberetis, qui vos amaret? huius fratrem
honoribus extulistis, ab hoc consulatus, ab hoc pra-
turas, ab hoc speratis 2 cuiusvis magistratus insignia.

1 milis P1  2 speratis P, Peter 1; sperastis Peter 2.

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1 See Sev., xiii. 2 See c. ix. 3 and Sev., xi. 1 and 6.
3 Herodian also says that Severus used Albinus' papers as
evidence against senators; see iii. 8, 6.
4 Cf. Sev., viii. 5. 5 Cf. Sev., xviii. 3.
6 See note to c. iv. 1. 7 Cf. c. ix. 6.
484
detested by the senate because of his cruelty. For after he defeated Albinus, Severus put a great number of senators to death, both those who were really of Albinus' party and those who were thought to be. Indeed, when Albinus was slain near Lugdunum, Severus gave orders to search through his letters to find out to whom he had written and who had written to him; and everyone whose letters he found, by his orders the senate denounced as a public enemy. And of these he pardoned none, but killed them all, placing their goods on sale and depositing the proceeds in the public treasury.

There is still in existence a letter from Severus, addressed to the senate, which shows very clearly his state of mind; whereof this is a copy: "Nothing that can happen, O Conscription Fathers, could give me greater sorrow than that you should endorse Albinus in preference to Severus. It was I who gave the city grain, I who waged many wars for the state, I who gave oil to the people of Rome, so much that the world could hardly contain it, and I who slew Pescennius Niger and freed you from the ills of a tyrant. A fine requital, truly, you have made me, a fine expression of thanks! A man from Africa, a native of Hadrumetum, who pretends to derive descent from the blood of the Ceionii, you have raised to a lofty place; you have even wished to make him your ruler, though I am your ruler and my children are still alive. Was there no other man in all this senate whom you might love, who might love you? You raised even his brother to honours; and you expect to receive at his hands, one a consulship, another a praetorship, and another the insignia of any office whatever. You have failed, moreover,
CLODIUS ALBINUS

10 non eam gratiam mihi redditis quam maiores vestri contra Pisonianam factionem, quam item pro Traiano, quam nuper contra Avidium Cassium praestiterunt factum illum et ad omnia mendaciorum genera paratum, qui nobilitatem quoque mentitus est, mihi praetoris posuistis. quin etiam audiendus in senatu fuerit Statilius Corfulenus, qui honores Albino et eius fratri decernendos ducebat, cui hoc superfuit, ut de me fuit dolor, quod illum pro litterato laudandum plerique duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria consenesceret." hinc apparat quanta severitas factionem vel Pescennianam vel Clodianam vindicaverit. quae quidem omnia in vita eius posita sunt quae qui diligentius scire velit, legat Marium Magnus de Latinis scriptoribus, de Graecis scriptoribus Herodianum, qui ad fidem pleraque dixerunt.

XIII. Fuit statura procerus, capillo renodi et crispis fronte lata et candore mirabili, ita ut plerique puter quod ex eo nomen acceperit, voce muliebri et prope ad eunuchorum somnum, motu facili, irae undia grave furore tristissimo, in luxurie varius, nam saepe ad 2 petens vini, frequentuer abstinentium armorum scien prorsus, ut non male sui temporis Catilina diceretur.

1 illi Damsté; ille P, Peter. 2 et P, Peter1; om. Peter 2. 3 ita Petschenig, Peter2; et P; om. by Peter 4 varius nam Peter1; varius nam P; varius amans Petschenig, Peter2.

1See Pesc. Nig., ix. 2 and note.

486
to show me the spirit of gratitude which your fore-
fathers showed in the face of Piso's plot, which they 
showed Trajan, and showed but lately in opposing 
Avidius Cassius. This fellow, false and ready for lies 
of every kind, who has even fabricated a noble lineage, 
you have now preferred to me. Why, even in the 
 senate we must hear Statilius Corfulenus proposing 
to vote honours to Albinus and his brother, and all 
that was lacking was that the noble fellow should also 
vote him a triumph over me. It is even a greater source 
of chagrin, that some of you thought he should be 
praised for his knowledge of letters, when in fact he 
is busied with old wives' songs, and grows senile amid 
the Milesian stories from Carthage that his friend 
Apuleius wrote and such other learned nonsense.' 
From all this it is clear how severely he attacked the 
followers of Pescennius and Albinus. Indeed, all 
these things are set down in his autobiography, and 
those who desire to know them in detail should read 
Marius Maximus among the Latin writers, and 
Herodian among the Greek, for they have related 
many things and with an eye to truth.

XIII. He was tall of stature, with unkempt curly 
hair and a broad expanse of brow. His skin was 
 wonderfully white; many indeed think it was 
from this that he got his name. He had a womanish 
voice, almost as shrill as a eunuch's. He was easily 
roused, his anger was terrible, his rage relentless. 
In his pleasures he was changeable, for he sometimes 
 craved wine and sometimes abstained. He had 
a thorough knowledge of arms and was not ineptly 
called the Catiline of his age.

2 See Serv., iii. 2 and note.
3 Cf. c. iv. 4.
4 See c. xi. 1 and note.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

3 Non ab re esse credimus causas ostendere quibus amorem senatus Clodius Albinus meruerit. cum Britannicos exercitus regeret iussu Commodi atque illum interemptum adhuc falsa comperisset, cum sibi ab ipso Commodo Caesareanum nomen esset delatum, 5 processit ad milites et hac contione usus est: "Si senatus populi Romani suum illud vetus haberet imperium, nec in unius potestate res tanta consisteret, non ad Vitellios neque ad Nerones neque ad Domitianos publica fata venissent. in imperio consulari nostrae illae gentes Ceioniorum Albinorum Postumiorum, de quibus patres vestri, qui et ipsi ab 6 avis suis audierant, multa didicerunt.1 et certe Africam Romano imperio senatus adiunxit, Galliam senatus subegit et 2 Hispanias, orientalibus populis senatus dedit leges, Parthos temptavit senatus; subegisset, nisi tam avarum 3 principem Romano exercitui fortuna rei publicae tunc dixisset.4 Britannias Caesar subegit, certe senator, nondum tamen dictator. hic ipse Commodus quanto melior fuisset, sim timuisset senatum? et usque ad Neronem quidem senatus auctoritas valuit, qui sordidum et impurum principem damnare non timuit, cum sententiae in

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1 didicerunt P, Peter1; tradiderunt followed by lacuna Peter2. 2et om. in P, added by Peter1; senatus subegit ins. before Hispanias by Peter2. 3stauarum P. 4dixisse P.

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1 See c. xii. 1 and note. 2See note to c. iv. 1.

488
CLODIUS ALBINUS XIII. 3-8

We do not believe it wholly irrelevant to recount the causes which won Clodius Albinus the love of the senate.\(^1\) After Commodus had bestowed upon him the name of Caesar, and while by the Emperor's orders he was in command of the troops in Britain, false tidings were brought that Commodus had been slain. Then he came forth before the soldiers and delivered the following speech: "If the senate of the Roman people but had its ancient power, and if this vast empire were not under the sway of a single man, it would never have come to pass that the destiny of the state should fall into the hands of a Vitellius, a Nero, or a Domitian. Under the rule of consuls there were those mighty families of ours, the Ceionii, the Albini, and the Postumii,\(^2\) of whom your fathers heard from their grandsires and from whom they learned many things. It was surely the senate, moreover, that added Africa to the dominions of Rome, the senate that conquered Gaul and the Spains, the senate that gave laws to the tribes of the East, and the senate that dared to attack the Parthians—and would have conquered them, too, had not the fortune of Rome just then assigned our army so covetous a leader.\(^3\) Britain, to be sure, was conquered by Caesar, but he was still a senator and not yet dictator. Now as for Commodus himself, how much better an emperor would he have been had he stood in awe of the senate! Even as late as the time of Nero, the power of the senate prevailed, and the senators did not fear to deliver speeches against a base and filthy prince and condemn him.\(^4\)

\(^3\) Probably Crassus is meant, who was defeated by the Parthians in 53 B.C.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

eum dictae sint, qui vitae necisque potestatem atque
imperium tunc tenebat.\(^1\) quare, commilitones, ego
Caesareanum nomen, quod mi Commodus detulit, nolo.
di faxint ut ne alii quidem velint. \(\textit{senatus}\) imperet,
provincias dividat, \(\textit{senatus}\) nos \(\textit{consules}\) faciat.
et quid\(^2\) dico \(\textit{senatus}\)? \(\textit{vos}\) ipsi et \(\textit{patres}\) \(\textit{vestri}\); eritis
enim ipsi \(\textit{senatores}\)."

XIV. Haec contio vivo adhuc Commodo Romam de-
lata est. quae Commodum in Albinum \(\textit{exasperavit}\),
statimque successorem misit Iunium Severum, unum ex
2 contubernalibus suis. \(\textit{senatui}\) autem \(\textit{tantum}\) placuit,
ut miris adclamationibus absentem \(\textit{eum}\) ornaret et
vivo Commodo et deinceps interempto, ita ut non-
nulli etiam Pertinaci auctores fuerint, ut \(\textit{eum}\) sibi
socium adscisceret, et \(^3\) apud Iulianum de \(\textit{occidendo}\)
3 Pertinace ipsius plurimum auctoritas valuerit. ut
autem hoc verum intellegatur, epistulam Commodi
ad praefectos praetorii suos datum inserui, \(\textit{qua}\)
\(\textit{occidendo}\) Albino\(^5\) significavit suam mentem:

4 "Aurelius Commodus suis\(^6\) praefectis salutem
audisse vos credo, primum factum esse quod ego
meorum consilio interfectus essem, deinde contionem
Clodi Albinu apud milites meos habitam, \(\textit{qua}\)(\(^7\) se
multum \(\textit{senatui}\) commendat, idque, quantum videmus.
5 non frustra. nam qui principem unum in re publica

\(^1\) tenebat P. \(^2\) quod P. \(^3\) et ins. by Potschenig; om.
in P, Peter. \(^4\) occidenti P. \(^5\) Iuliano P. \(^6\) suis
Casaubon, Peter\(^1\); \(\textit{severus}\) P; \[\textit{Severus}\] Peter\(^2\).
\(^7\) qua
Jordan; \(\textit{quod}\) P.

490
even though he still retained both power of life and death and the empire too. Therefore, my comrades, the name of Caesar, which Commodus now confers on me, I do not wish to accept. May the gods grant that no one else may wish it! Let the senate have rule, let the senate distribute the provinces and appoint us consuls. But why do I say the senate? It is you, I mean, and your fathers; you yourselves shall be the senators."

XIV. This harangue was reported at Rome while Commodus was still alive and roused him greatly against Albinus. He forthwith despatched one of his aides, Junius Severus, to replace him.¹ The senate, however, was so much pleased that it honoured Albinus, though absent, with marvellous acclamations, both while Commodus still lived and, later, after his murder. Some even counselled Pertinax to ally himself with Albinus, and as for Julianus, Albinus' influence had the greatest weight in his plan for murdering Pertinax.² In proof, moreover, that my statements are true, I will quote a letter written by Commodus to the prefects of the guard, in which he makes clear his intention of killing Albinus; "Aurelius Commodus to his prefects, greeting. You have heard, I believe, in the first place, the false statement that I had been slain by a conspiracy of my household; in the second, that Clodius Albinus has delivered an harangue to my soldiers in which he commends himself to the senate at great length—and not for nothing, it seems to me. For whoever asserts that the state ought not

¹This is entirely fictitious, for all the evidence shows clearly that Albinus was governor of Britain when Commodus was killed.
²See note on c. i. 1.
CLODIUS ALBINUS

negat esse debere quique adserit a senatu oportere
totam rem publicam regi, is per senatum sibi petit
imperium. cavete igitur diligentissime; iam enim
hominem scitis vobis militibus populoque vitandum."

6 Has litteras cum Pertinax invenisset, in Albini
odium publicare studuit.\(^1\) quare Albinus occidendi
Pertinacis Iuliano auctor fuit.

\(^1\) publicasse tu id P.
to be under the sway of one man, and that the senate should rule the empire, he is merely seeking to get the empire himself through the senate. Keep a diligent watch then; for now you know the man whom you and the troops and the people must avoid."

When Pertinax found this letter he desired to make it public in order to stir up hatred against Albinus; and for this reason Albinus advised Julianus to bring about Pertinax's death.