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## AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

I







### THE ACERENZA BUST

*Supposed by some to be a portrait of Julian*

This bust, slightly more than life size and made of the local limestone, stood for many years on the gable of the cathedral of Acerenza (Accruntia), near Horace's birthplace; it is now preserved in the sacristy of the church. It was formerly regarded by the natives as an image of St. Peter. That it might represent Julian was first suggested by Lenormant in 1883; his opinion was accepted by some, but is now generally rejected by the best authorities; for although the bust is probably a work of the fourth century, it does not at all correspond with Ammianus' description of Julian (xxv. 4, 22), or with the coins and a sardonyx gem, which seem to give the only authentic portraits of the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for a full account of the literature on the subject to Dr. George M. A. Hanfmann, Research Fellow of Harvard University, and Professor David M. Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University.

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# A M M I A N U S M A R C E L L I N U S

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

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## PREFACE

EXCEPT for some of the reviews of my previous contributions to the *L.C.L.* it would be superfluous to say that this is a translation and not a critical edition. Every serious student of the text must use the standard edition of C. U. Clark (Berlin, vol. i, 1910; vol. ii, part I, 1915). The translator has, however, attempted to examine all the available critical material, and has deviated in a number of instances from Clark's text, always with hesitation, except in the way of filling out lacunae. To shorten and simplify the critical notes (which are perhaps still too numerous) all instances have been omitted in which the earlier editions have made corrections of Codex V which are generally accepted.

Clark's punctuation according to the metrical *clausulae* (see *Introd.*, p. xxii) is regarded by Novák (*Wiener Studien* 33. p. 293) as no less important in establishing the text than the discovery of a new and valuable manuscript. Although this punctuation differs from the usual system, especially in the case of some relative clauses and in a more abundant use of commas, it has seemed best to follow it except in a few instances, where it might be misleading. It frequently throws light on the writer's meaning.

My obligations to Professor Clark are not confined to the use of his edition. He generously placed at

## PREFACE

my disposal the first draft of his translation of Books xiv-xvii, II, 4, which has been of great service. My translation, however, must not be supposed to reflect his final version. He also loaned me his copy of the somewhat rare translation of Holland.

Anyone who is at all familiar with the constant problems presented by the text of Ammianus, and by his Latinity, will view with indulgence an attempt to render him into English and to retain so far as possible something of the flavour of the original.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

PHILADELPHIA, *June*, 1935.



# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION	
THE LIFE OF AMMIANUS . . . . .	ix
HIS HISTORY . . . . .	xv
HIS STYLE . . . . .	xx
ROMAN OFFICIALS IN THE TIME OF AMMIANUS .	xxiii
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS . . . . .	xliv
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE . . . . .	xlix
SIGLA . . . . .	1
THE SURVIVING BOOKS OF THE HISTORY	
BOOK XIV . . . . .	2
BOOK XV . . . . .	108
BOOK XVI . . . . .	200
BOOK XVII . . . . .	302
BOOK XVIII . . . . .	402
BOOK XIX . . . . .	470
INDEX I . . . . .	547
INDEX II . . . . .	576
MAP . . . . .	<i>at the end of the volume</i>



# INTRODUCTION

## THE LIFE OF AMMIANUS

OUR knowledge of Ammianus is derived almost wholly from his own writings. He was born about A.D. 330 in Syrian Antioch, of a good Greek family,<sup>1</sup> and probably received his early education in his native city. Antioch at that time was one of the principal cities of the Roman Empire, *orientis apex pulcher*,<sup>2</sup> and Ammianus took just pride in its material prosperity.<sup>3</sup> He was not, however, equally proud of his fellow citizens, a mixed population of Greeks, Jews, Syrians, and other peoples,<sup>4</sup> united only in their devotion to luxury and the pursuit of pleasure. The historian makes no reply to the criticisms passed upon them by Julian,<sup>5</sup> except to characterize them as exaggerated. But Greek still maintained its intellectual leadership, and the opportunities for education were good.<sup>6</sup> The city produced other men of distinction, notably Libanius and Joannes Chrysostom.

Ammianus spent his active life during the reigns of Constantius II, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens, in the second half of the fourth century, when, in spite of some memorable victories, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ingenuus*, xix. 8, 6, and xxxi. 16, 9.   <sup>2</sup> xxii. 9, 14.

<sup>3</sup> xiv. 8, 8; xiv. 1, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* v. 456.

<sup>5</sup> xxii. 14, 2-3; xxiii. 2, 3-4.

<sup>6</sup> Mommsen, *l.c.*

## INTRODUCTION

prestige of the empire was on the wane. The turning-point in its history was the disastrous defeat of Valens by the Goths at Adrianople in 378, in which the emperor himself met his death, and at that date our direct knowledge of Ammianus comes to an end.

At an early age the future historian was made one of the *protectores domestici*,<sup>1</sup> a select corps of the imperial bodyguard, which is further testimony to his good birth. In 353 he was attached by the emperor's order to the staff of Ursicinus, commander-in-chief of the army in the East, and joined him at Nisibis in Mesopotamia.<sup>2</sup> He accompanied his general to Antioch, where Ursicinus was entrusted by Gallus Caesar with the conduct of trials for high treason. Ammianus' early life is closely connected with the career of Ursicinus, to whom he was strongly attached, and with whom he shared prosperity and adversity. Incidentally, he immortalized his chief, of whom little or nothing is known from other sources.

In 354 Ursicinus, who had become an object of suspicion to the emperor, was summoned to the court at Mediolanum.<sup>3</sup> accompanied by Ammianus.

There palace intrigues caused Ursicinus to be still more distrusted by Constantius, who accordingly assigned to him the difficult task of suppressing the revolt of Silvanus, who had assumed the purple at Cologne<sup>4</sup>; but although the mission was successful, Ursicinus not only received no commendation

<sup>1</sup> See pp. xlii f., below. Their full title, *protector lateris divini Augusti nostri*, appears in an inscription in *Ephem. Epigr.*, v. 121 (no. 4).

<sup>2</sup> xiv. 9, 1.

<sup>3</sup> xiv. 11, 4 f.

<sup>4</sup> xv. 5, 21 ff.

## INTRODUCTION

from the emperor, but was even accused of embezzling some of the Gallic treasure.<sup>1</sup> Ammianus remained with his chief in Gaul until the summer of 357, and hence was in close touch with the exploits of Julian, the newly appointed Caesar. Ursicinus was next summoned by the suspicious emperor to Sirmium in Pannonia, and from there, because of the danger which threatened from the Persians, was once more sent to the East,<sup>2</sup> still accompanied by Ammianus. But when the Persians began hostilities in 359, Ursicinus was again recalled to court, but on reaching the river Hebrus received orders to return to Mesopotamia, which had already been invaded by the enemy.<sup>3</sup>

Since Sabinianus, who in the meantime had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army in the East, took no action. Ursicinus with his staff went to Nisibis, to prevent that city from being surprised and taken by the Persians.<sup>4</sup> From there he set out for Amida, to keep the roads from being occupied, but immediately after leaving Nisibis sent Ammianus back to the city on an errand.<sup>5</sup> In order to escape the hardships of the siege with which Nisibis was threatened, Ammianus after hastily carrying out his orders tried to rejoin his general. He was all but captured on the way, but finally came up with Ursicinus and his following at Amudis, warned them of the approach of the Persians, and accompanied them in their retreat.<sup>6</sup> By a clever stratagem they misled their pursuers into taking the wrong direction, and finally reached

<sup>1</sup> xv. 5, 36.

<sup>2</sup> xvi. 10, 21.

<sup>3</sup> xviii. 6, 5.

<sup>4</sup> xviii. 6, 8.

<sup>5</sup> xviii. 6, 10 ff.

<sup>6</sup> xviii. 6, 12 f.

## INTRODUCTION

Amida.<sup>1</sup> There by a cipher message from Procopius who had gone to the Persians as an envoy and detained by them, they were informed that the enemy's main body had crossed the Tigris, and Ursicinus sent Ammianus, accompanied by a faithful centurion, to the satrap of Corduene, who was secretly a friend of the Romans, in quest of more definite information.<sup>2</sup> From a rocky height Ammianus saw the advance of Sapor's army, witnessed the crossing of the river Anzaba, and reported what he had learned to Ursicinus. He, on hearing of the enemy's advance, resolved to go to Samosata and destroy the bridges by which the Persians were planning to cross the Euphrates<sup>3</sup>; but through the negligence of the Roman cavalry outposts his forces were attacked and scattered.<sup>4</sup> Ammianus after several narrow escapes was forced to return to Amida,<sup>5</sup> where he took part in the stubborn resistance of the city to the Persian attack.<sup>6</sup> When Amida finally fell, he succeeded in making an escape under cover of night and after many adventures met Ursicinus at Melitene in Armenia Minor and with him returned safely to Antioch.<sup>7</sup>

After the deposition of Ursicinus in 360 we have little definite about the historian's career. He took some part in Julian's Persian campaign of 363 but in what capacity is uncertain; he apparently joined Julian with the arrival of the Euphrates fleet since it is after that point in his narrative that we find him using the first person.<sup>8</sup> After the return

<sup>1</sup> xviii. 6, 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> xviii. 6, 20 f.

<sup>3</sup> xviii. 8, 1.

<sup>4</sup> xviii. 8, 2 ff.

<sup>5</sup> xviii. 8, 11.

<sup>6</sup> xix. 1-7.

<sup>7</sup> xix. 8, 5-12.

<sup>8</sup> xxiii. 5, 7, *profecti . . . venimus.*

## INTRODUCTION

of the Roman army to Antioch on the death of Julian and the accession of Jovian he seems to have remained in his native city for a considerable time, since his account of the trials conducted there for high treason in 371 reads like that of an eye-witness.<sup>1</sup> He probably made his home in Antioch until the defeat and death of Valens, but his residence in the city was interrupted by journeys to Egypt<sup>2</sup> and to Greece after the great earthquake of July 6, 366.<sup>3</sup> It was doubtless in Antioch that he did some of his extensive reading in preparation for the writing of his History. His military career occupied a comparatively brief period of his life,<sup>4</sup> the greater part of which was devoted to study and writing.

After the events of 378 Ammianus went to Rome by way of Thrace, where he seems to have inspected the battlefields,<sup>5</sup> choosing the land route rather than the more convenient trip by sea in order to get material for his History. At any rate, he seems to have taken up his residence in the Eternal City before 383, and his bitter language about the expulsion of foreigners at that time because of threatened famine<sup>6</sup> has led some to infer that he was one of those who was forced to leave. The words of Symmachus,<sup>7</sup> *defectum timemus annonae, pulsus omnibus quos exserto et pleno ubere Roma susceperat*, imply that the expulsion was general.

<sup>1</sup> xxix. 1, 24 ff.      <sup>2</sup> xvii. 4, 6; xxii. 15, 1.

<sup>3</sup> xxvi. 10, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently not more than fifteen years; cf. Klein, pp. 9 f. (For this and similar references see *Bibliographical Note*, p. xlix).

<sup>5</sup> xxxi. 7, 16.

<sup>6</sup> xiv. 6, 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Epist.* ii. 7.

## INTRODUCTION

and Ammianus' unfavourable opinion of the Anicii, who at that time were a powerful family at Rome, may have some bearing on the question.<sup>1</sup> Others believe that his rank as a former *protector domesticus*, which carried with it the title of *perfectissimus*,<sup>2</sup> would have spared him such an indignity. If he was driven out, it seems probable that the hope of Symmachus,<sup>3</sup> *quam primum revocet urbs nostra quos invita dimisit*, was fulfilled, for Ammianus wrote his History in Rome, and acquired a certain position in the city, numbering among his friends Symmachus and Praetextatus,<sup>4</sup> although apparently some circles of distinguished Romans did not admit an *honestus advena* to intimacy.<sup>5</sup>

That Ammianus was not a Christian is evident from many of his utterances, for he speaks of Christian rites, ceremonies, and officials in a way which shows a lack of familiarity with them.<sup>6</sup> At the same time he was liberal in his attitude towards the Church; he twice censures the closing of the schools of rhetoric to Christian teachers,<sup>7</sup> praises the simple life of the provincial bishops,<sup>8</sup> and in general favours absolute religious toleration. He often refers to a supreme power (*numen*), with such adjectives as *magnum*, *superum*, *caeleste*, *divinum*, *sempiternum*, and others of the same kind, and he sometimes speaks of this power as *deus*,<sup>10</sup> but in

<sup>1</sup> xvi. 8, 13.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xxviii and xliii, below.

<sup>3</sup> *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> xxi. 12, 24; xxvii. 3, 3; 9, 8.

<sup>5</sup> xiv. 6, 12.

<sup>6</sup> xiv. 9, 7; xv. 5, 31; xxvi. 3, 3; xxvii. 10, 2; etc.

<sup>7</sup> xxii. 10, 7; xxv. 4, 20.

<sup>8</sup> xxvii. 3, 15.

<sup>9</sup> xxx. 9, 5.

<sup>10</sup> xvii. 13, 33; xxiv. 1, 1; etc.



## INTRODUCTION

no different sense than the word is used by Horace<sup>1</sup> and other pagan writers. He indicates a belief in astrology, divination, dreams, and other superstitions of his time, and he speaks of *Fortuna* and *fatum* as controlling powers, but shows that they may be overcome or influenced by man's courage and resourcefulness.<sup>2</sup> The view of Dill<sup>3</sup> that "his real creed was probably a vague monotheism with a more decided tendency to fatalism" is rightly questioned by Ensslin,<sup>4</sup> who says that Ammianus was a determinist, but not a passive fatalist, one who in inactive quiet awaited what might come.

When Ammianus died is quite uncertain. The latest allusion in his History is to the consulship of Neotherius in 391.<sup>5</sup> In the same year the Serapeum at Alexandria was burned, but the historian refers to the building as if it were still standing;<sup>6</sup> other indications are his references to Probus and Theodosius.<sup>7</sup> He was certainly living in 391, but how much longer his life was prolonged cannot be determined.

### HIS HISTORY.

Ammianus set himself the vast project of succeeding Tacitus as an historian, and might have entitled his work *Res Gestae a fine Corneli Taciti*; but the title which has come down to us is simply *Res Gestae*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Odes*, i. 3, 21; i. 34, 13.

<sup>2</sup> xviii. 1, 1 ff.; xxiv. 3, 6; 4, 1 ff.; xxxi. 5, 14; cf. xxiii. 5, 5.

<sup>3</sup> p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> p. 81. <sup>5</sup> xxvi. 5, 14.

<sup>6</sup> xxii. 16, 12.

<sup>7</sup> xxvii. 11, 1; xxix. 6, 15.

<sup>8</sup> Priscian, *Gr. Lat.* ii. 487, 1, Keil.

## INTRODUCTION

It covered the period between the accession of Nerva in A.D. 96 to the death of Valens in 378, and was divided into thirty-one books, of which the first thirteen are lost. Since the surviving eighteen books deal with a period of twenty-five years, from 353, the seventeenth year of the reign of Constantius II, to the battle of Adrianople, the lost books must have given a brief account of the two hundred and fifty-seven years to which they were devoted. In 391 Libanius implies<sup>1</sup> that Ammianus published, and probably recited parts of his work at Rome with great success. Seeck thinks that the part which was published in 390 or 391 ended with the twenty-fifth book; that this was his original plan, and that he was encouraged to go farther by the favourable reception given to a public recitation; that he intended to continue beyond the death of Valens is indicated by his promise to tell of the fate that overtook Maximinus and Simplicius,<sup>2</sup> but his failure to do so may possibly have been an oversight. That the work was published in instalments seems to be indicated by the prefatory remarks at the beginning of Books xv. and xxvi.

There can be no doubt that Ammianus took his task seriously and made careful preparation for it, reading extensively in Latin literature and making copious notes of what he read. He naturally gave special attention to Tacitus, in particular

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* 983, ἀκούω δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν στεφανοῦν σοι τὸν πόνον καὶ κείσθαι ψῆφον αὐτῇ, τῶν μὲν σε κεκρατηκέναι, τῶν δὲ οὐχ ἡττηθῆσαι. "I hear that Rome herself has crowned your work, and that her verdict is, that you have surpassed some and equalled others."

<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 1, 57.

## INTRODUCTION

to the Histories, and imitated him so far as he could. He also read Livy and sometimes attempts to use his periodic structure, occasionally with success.<sup>1</sup> He also seems to have read Sallust, although the traces of the Amiternian's diction may be due to the latter's influence on Tacitus. It is perhaps significant that he nowhere mentions either Tacitus or Livy in his work. To perfect his Latinity he read Cicero, whom he quotes more than thirty times; partly for the same reason and partly for information about Gaul, he read Caesar. In addition to these conspicuous examples he shows acquaintance, not only with such prose writers as Gellius, Valerius Maximus, the elder Pliny, Florus, and others, but also with the poets; for example, Plautus and Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan. Of later writers he used the *Annales* of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, and the work of an anonymous Greek writer who followed the Thucydidean chronology by summers and winters; Ammianus shows in this respect a mixture of the annalistic and the Thucydidean method. He depended also for historical information on the *Diary* of Magnus of Carrhae;<sup>2</sup> and in his excursions he made use of Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, Solinus, Ptolemy, and others, as well as of the official lists of the provinces (*Notitiae*).

In addition to his literary sources Ammianus relied for a considerable part of his work on his own

<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of Books xiv. and xxiv. : see Mackail, *Class. Studies*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> On this complicated question see especially Klein, who also reconstructs the fragments of Magnus of Carrhae.

## INTRODUCTION

observation and personal experiences, and it is these that give his work its greatest charm. It is evident that he wished to write a history, rather than follow the biographical treatment which had been popular since the time of Suetonius; he speaks with scorn of those who, *detestantes ut venena doctrinas*, read only Juvenal and Marius Maximus.<sup>1</sup> Yet he could not wholly escape the influence of the followers of Suetonius; he has a biographical sketch of each of the emperors and Caesars included in his History, besides an encomium of the eunuch Eutherius,<sup>2</sup> but he did not follow any fixed form of biographical composition.<sup>3</sup> He also disapproved of the epitomes which were fashionable in his day, yet he did not hesitate to draw on Eutropius, Rufius Festus, and Aurelius Victor.

Ammianus aimed at strict truthfulness<sup>4</sup> without suppressing anything that was well authenticated or indulging in deliberate invention,<sup>5</sup> faults which he censures in his criticism of the official reports of the emperor Constantius: <sup>6</sup> and he avoided exaggeration.<sup>7</sup> Although he recognised the danger of speaking freely and frankly of recent or contemporary

<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 4, 14. Mentioned as authors of gossipy works, contrasted with those of solid learning. Marius Maximus (circa A.D. 165-230) wrote *Lives of the Caesars*, in continuation of Suetonius, from Nerva to Elegabalus. His work is lost, but was used by the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

<sup>2</sup> xvi. 7, 4 ff.; his account of Julian also has characteristics of the *encomium*; see M. J. Kennedy, *The Literary Work of Ammianus*, Univ. of Chicago diss., 1912.

<sup>3</sup> See Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie*, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. xv. i. 1; xvi. 1, 3; xxxi. 5, 10.

<sup>5</sup> xxix. 1, 15.

<sup>6</sup> xvi. 12, 69.

<sup>7</sup> xviii. 6, 23.

## INTRODUCTION

personages and events.<sup>1</sup> he does not profess to write *sine ira et studio*,<sup>2</sup> but gives free expression to praise or blame; he did not hesitate to censure where censure was due, and he more than once finds faults even in his hero Julian.<sup>3</sup> In the historical part of his work he may fairly be said to have attained his ideal of truthfulness: that he was less successful in his numerous excursions was due in part to lack of knowledge, and to some extent to an apparent desire to conceal the extent of his dependence upon literary sources. If he had heeded Livy's warning about digressions,<sup>4</sup> his work would have been more uniformly successful. They could be omitted without interfering with the course of the narrative.

Ammianus wrote for Roman readers, and in particular for the leading literary circle of the Eternal City, of which Symmachus was a prominent member. It was for that reason, and not merely because he was continuing the narrative of Tacitus, that he wrote in Latin and not in his native language. His readers and hearers were of course *utriusque linguae periti*, but they knew their Roman literature and could appreciate and applaud his echoes of Livy, Cicero, and other greater writers of the past.

In modern times Gibbon found him sincere, modest, loyal to his superior officers, copious and authentic, an accurate and faithful guide.<sup>5</sup> Mackail calls him an officer and a gentleman, worthy of a place among

<sup>1</sup> xxvi. 1, 1; xxvii. 9, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Ann.* i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> xxii. 9, 12; 10, 7; etc.

<sup>4</sup> ix. 17, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Passim*; see Mackail, *Class. Stud.*, p. 164.

## INTRODUCTION

the great Roman historians.<sup>1</sup> Seeck<sup>2</sup> praises his ability in depicting character, all but unexampled in ancient literature, and ranking him with the first historians of all time. In ancient times his work was little known; it is cited only once, by Priscian,<sup>3</sup> who seems to have had no more of the History before him than we have to-day. Cassiodorus is said to have written out the entire work and to have imitated its author's style.<sup>4</sup>

### HIS STYLE

That Ammianus gave great attention to the style of his work is evident. Klein's idea of the manner in which he composed the History seems plausible,<sup>5</sup> namely, that he wrote his first draft in his natural Latin, using also from memory expressions which he had met in his wide reading. When he wished to publish, or recite, a part of it, he worked it over with particular attention to stylistic effect, drawing heavily on the results of his reading from the notes which he had collected. Being a soldier, he knew Latin as the official language of the army: he could speak, read, and write it, but he did not acquire a thorough mastery of it, the *Sprachgefühl* of a native Roman. As Pliny aptly says,<sup>6</sup> *invenire praeclare, enuntiare magnifice interdum etiam barbari solent; disponere*

<sup>1</sup> *l.c.*      <sup>2</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Enc.* i., p. 1852.

<sup>3</sup> *Gr. Lat.* 2, 487, 1 f., Keil, *ut* "indulsi indulsum" *vel* "indultum," *unde Marcellinus rerum gestarum xiiii . . .*

<sup>4</sup> Teuffel, *Römische Literatur*, 6th ed., p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> *l.c.*, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Epist.* iii. 13, 3.

## INTRODUCTION

*apte, figurare varie nisi eruditis negatum est.* It was in particular Ammianus' attempt to decorate his style with ornaments of all kinds, drawn from every source, combined with his imitation of Tacitus, that produced his very extraordinary Latin; in the words of Kroll,<sup>1</sup> "sein taciteisches Latein ist schwer zu verstehen, unleidlich geziert und uberlanden, eine Qual seiner Leser," a verdict in which the present translator would take exception only to the last clause. Some of his peculiarities are an unnatural word-order, attempted picturesque and poetic forms of expression, and a general striving for effect, due in part to the general taste of the time in which he lived, and in part to the custom of public recitations. There are colloquial features: the use of the comparative for the positive, of *quod* with the indicative for the accusative and the infinitive, of the present for the future, the imperfect for the pluperfect, and the pluperfect for a preterit; also improper uses of the subjunctive, and a disregard of the sequence of tenses. Naturally, characteristics of his native language appear; some of the peculiarities already noted may be traced to that source, as well as his extensive use of participial constructions.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all this, when we consider the high value which the Romans, even of late times, set upon form and rhetoric, it does not seem possible that the success of his public recitations was due solely to the content of his History, or that his style

<sup>1</sup> Teuffel, *Römische Literatur*, 6th ed., p. 297, repeated from earlier editions.

<sup>2</sup> Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 648 ff., who sees also influence of the Asianic oratorical style.

## INTRODUCTION

could have been as offensive to his hearers as it is to the modern reader of his work.

Ammianus' attention to form is further shown by the rhythmical structure of his prose; for it has long since been observed that he regularly ended his sentences with metrical *clausulae*. These have recently been made the object of special study by Clark<sup>1</sup> and Harmon,<sup>2</sup> with the result that they have been found to be based upon accent and not upon quantity. The system which he uses was a simple one: between the last two accents of a phrase two or four unaccented syllables are placed, never one or three. Quantity makes no difference and final vowels are never elided; Greek words as a rule retain the Greek accent; *i* and *u* may be read either as vowels or as consonants. Of course it is possible that in some instances the arrangement of syllables may be accidental, but the number of *clausulae* is too great to be other than designed. In spite of the simplicity of his system Ammianus has considerable variety in his endings, as is illustrated by Clark<sup>3</sup> in the following scheme:

*Cursus planus*: expediti6nis ev6ntus, xiv. 1, 1.

ill6c transit6rus, xiv. 6, 16.

A6gyptum p6tens, xxii. 5, 5.<sup>4</sup>

r6gna Pers6dis, xxiii. 5, 16.<sup>4</sup>

*Cursus tardus*: p6rtium 6nimis, xiv. 1, 1.

instrum6nta non l6via. xiv. 6, 18.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. of Ammianus, vol. i., Berlin, 1910, pp. vi. ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Science*, 16 (1910), pp. 117 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *l.c.*, p. vii. For the value of the *clausulae* for the interpretation of the text, see Preface.

<sup>4</sup> Greek accent retained.



## INTRODUCTION

*Cursus velox* : frégerat et labórum, xiv. 1, 1.  
relatúri quae audíret. xiv. 1, 6.<sup>1</sup>  
obiécti sunt praeter mórem, xiv. 2, 1.  
Aégypto trucidátur, xiv. 11, 32.<sup>1</sup>  
gramínea prope rívum, xxiv. 8, 7.  
nómine allocútus est, xv. 6, 3.  
incénsas et habitácula, xviii. 2, 19

### ROMAN OFFICIALS IN THE TIME OF AMMIANUS.

The transformation of the Roman Empire into an oriental monarchy began in A.D. 284, when Diocletian became sole ruler. He abandoned all republican traditions and undertook the reorganisation of the civil and military administration. The process was continued by Constantine and his successors, until the government became a bureaucracy in the hands of a limited number of high officials. The powers and rank of these ministers varied during this period, and involve a number of difficult problems. For the sake of reasonable brevity the offices are described so far as possible as they were in the time of Ammianus.

Diocletian, realising that the rule of the vast empire was too great a task for one man, took Maximianus as his colleague, sharing with him also the title *Augustus*. The authority of the two *Augusti* was equal and all laws and edicts were issued in their common name, but practically the empire was divided into two parts, Diocletian ruling the East, with his headquarters at Nicomedia, Maximian

<sup>1</sup> *Quae* read as dissyllabic.

## INTRODUCTION

the West, at Mediolanum. The *Augusti* were not accountable to any legislative body or magistrate. They wore the imperial diadem and a robe trimmed with jewels, and an elaborate ceremonial was required of all who approached them. Everything connected with the emperor was called *sacer, sanctissimus, or divinus*.

Nine years after Diocletian became emperor he and Maximian chose two Caesars, who stood next to themselves in rank and dignity: they were, however, dependents of the *Augusti*, having no authority except what was conferred upon them by their superiors, and receiving a fixed salary. The administration of the empire was then divided into four parts: Diocletian took Thrace, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, and assigned to Galerius, the Caesar whom he had nominated, the Danubian provinces, Illyricum, Greece, and Crete; Maximian governed Italy and Africa: Constantius, his Caesar, ruled Gaul, Spain, and after 296 Britain. This division was only for administrative purposes; the empire in reality consisted of two parts, of which the two *Augusti* were the supreme rulers.

The main purpose of the institution of the Caesars was to provide for the succession, and it was a part of the plan that when one of the *Augusti* died or resigned, his place should be filled by one of the Caesars, who at the time of their appointment were adopted by the *Augusti*. When Diocletian and Maximian retired in 306, a series of wars followed among the Caesars and the *Augusti*. In that year Constantine I, later surnamed the Great, assumed the title of Caesar, which was acknowledged by

## INTRODUCTION

Galerius; in 308 he was declared Augustus along with Galerius, and Severus and Maximinus were chosen as Caesars. Maxentius, son of Maximian, was proclaimed Augustus by the troops at Rome, but was not acknowledged by the other *Augusti* and Caesars; he defeated and slew Severus in Italy, whereupon Licinius was made an Augustus by Galerius. In 308 there were four *Augusti*: Constantine, Galerius, Licinius, and Maximinus, in addition to the usurper Maxentius. A series of wars followed. Maximinus was defeated by Licinius and died shortly afterward; Galerius died in 311. Constantine defeated Maxentius at Saxa Rubra in 312 and reigned for a time with Licinius. After two wars, with a brief interval of peace, Constantine defeated Licinius at Adrianople and Chalcedon in 323. In that year he became sole Augustus, with his sons Crispus, Constantine and Constantius as Caesars; in 335 Delmatius and Hannibalianus were added to the list of Caesars, making five in all.

Constantine ruled alone until his death in 337, when his sons Constantinus II, Constantius II, and Constans were declared *Augusti*; Crispus had in the meantime fallen victim to the jealousy of Fausta, his stepmother, and Delmatius and Hannibalianus were now put to death. In 340 war broke out between Constantinus II and Constans; the former was defeated and slain, and Constans became sole emperor in the West. In 350 Constans died, and three usurpers appeared: Magnentius in Gaul, Neopontianus at Rome, and Veteranio at Mursa in Pannonia. The last two were quickly

## INTRODUCTION

disposed of; Nepontianus was killed in less than a month after his elevation to the supreme rank, and Veteranio was defeated and deposed by Constantius after ten months. The contest with Magnentius, who had appointed his brother Decentius to the position of Caesar, lasted for three years; Constantius defeated the usurper at Mursa and drove him into Gaul, where Magnentius was again defeated and took his own life. Constantius ruled as sole Augustus until 361; in 351, while the war with Magnentius was still going on, he had conferred the rank of Caesar on his cousin Gallus and sent him to the East, to carry on war against the Persians. With Gallus' arrogance and cruelty at Antioch the extant part of Ammianus' narrative begins.

After Constantius became sole emperor his authority was supreme, but the four-fold administrative division of the empire into the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul was continued;<sup>1</sup> the divisions were called prefectures, and were governed by praetorian prefects, resident at Constantinople, which Constantine had made the capital of the empire in 330; at Sirmium; at Mediolanum (Milan); and at Trivicum (Trèves) or at Eboracum (York). The prefectures were divided into dioceses, and the dioceses into provinces; the provinces were under the charge of a governor called *consularis*, *corrector*, or *praeses*.<sup>2</sup> There were thirteen dioceses and 101

<sup>1</sup> The development of the administrative system was a gradual one from the time of Constantine until the fifth century, and the exact date of the various changes is in many instances uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 143. Ammianus often uses the word *iudex* of governors of provinces and other high officials

## INTRODUCTION

provinces (compared with 45 in Hadrian's time), a number which was later increased to about 120.

The purpose of these divisions and of the consequent increase in the number of these and of other officials<sup>1</sup> was to prevent any officer from becoming powerful enough to start a revolution and interfere with the regular succession to imperial power. The same end was sought by a sharp division between civil and military authority,<sup>2</sup> and by the fact that the competence of the various official groups was not always clearly defined, which led to jealousy and rivalry among the officers. Also the subordinates of the higher officials were appointed by the emperor, and the conduct of their superiors was besides watched and reported to the Augustus by a corps of secret service men, the *agentes in rebus*.<sup>3</sup> The effect of all this, and the elaborate ceremonial required in order to approach the emperor, removed him from contact with his subjects and enhanced his dignity and majesty; at the same time he was unable to hear the complaints of the people, since the officials, who often enriched themselves at the expense of the provincials, concealed one another's

(xviii. 6, 12; xx. 5, 7; xx. 8, 14; xx. 9, 1), and transfers it to similar officers among foreign peoples (Quadri, xvii. 12, 21; Goths, xxvii. 5, 6); sometimes he uses *iudex* in its usual sense of "a judge" (xiv. 9, 3). The two meanings are combined in xvi. 8, 6.

<sup>1</sup> See below under the various officials.

<sup>2</sup> These were never held at the same time by the same official; the place of the senatorial and equestrian *cursus honorum* was taken by careers that were mainly civil or mainly military.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2, p. 98, and Index II.

## INTRODUCTION

misdemeanors. In fact, the emperor, although in theory all-powerful, was actually a tool in the hands of a hierarchy of powerful ministers; the real control was exercised by the highest civil and military officers, and those in charge of the affairs of the imperial household.

The entire body of officials was divided into a number of grades, each with its own title. All officers who held positions of sufficient importance became members of the senatorial order, with the title *clarissimi*, which was also held by the two higher grades. A smaller group of higher officials had the title *spectabiles*, and a third body, including only the heads of the various administrative departments, made up the *illustres*. The title *nobilissimus* was reserved for the members of the imperial family. Two classes ranking below the *clarissimi* were the *perfectissimi* and the *egregii*; these included only a small number of officials, and the titles gradually went out of use.

Two other orders of a somewhat different character were created by Constantine. A purely honorary title, *patricius*, was open only to those who had held the positions of praetorian prefect, city prefect, commander-in-chief of the army, or *consul ordinarius*. It was held for life and its possessor took precedence of all officials except consuls in office.

To the *comites*, originally merely the companions of an emperor or high official on his travels,<sup>1</sup> Constantine gave importance by making *comes* (count) a title of honour conferred upon the holders of some public offices, or conferred as a reward for service.

<sup>1</sup> Horace, *Epist.* i. 3.

## INTRODUCTION

The counts were attached to the emperor and the ruling house,<sup>1</sup> but it was a natural and easy step to assign them various duties as the emperor's deputies,<sup>2</sup> both in a civil and in a military capacity. There were three grades (*comites primi, secundi, et tertii ordinis*),<sup>3</sup> and counts appear among the *illustres*, the *spectabiles*, and the *clarissimi*. Like other officials, they were variously designated as in actual service (*in actu positi*): as *vacantes*, men of inferior position who on retiring from office were given the rank and insignia of counts as a reward for good service; and as *honorarii*, who received the title by imperial favour or by purchase, but did not have the right to wear the insignia.<sup>4</sup>

The emperors gathered about them a body of advisers, which entirely superseded the senate in importance.<sup>5</sup> It was first called the *auditorium* or *consilium principis*, but Constantine gave it the title of *consistorium principis* or *sacrum consistorium*;<sup>6</sup> *consistorium* does not appear in inscriptions until 353, and Ammianus seems to be the first writer to use the word. There is difference of opinion as to its membership. It was composed mainly of the

<sup>1</sup> *Comes domini nostri Constantini Aug.*, Dessau, 1213; *C.I.L.* vi. 1707; *comiti dominorum nostrorum Augustorum et Caesarum*, Dessau, 1223; *C.I.L.* x. 4752.

<sup>2</sup> *Comes et quaestor*, *Cod. Theod.* i. 8, 1, 2; *comes et magister equitum*, *ibid.* vii. 1, 9.

<sup>3</sup> A similar division by Tiberius (Suet., *Tib.* 46) seems to have been made for a special occasion only.

<sup>4</sup> See also Index II.

<sup>5</sup> The senate and the senatorial order retained their dignity, but the power of the senate was purely local.

<sup>6</sup> On the use of *sacer*, see p. xxiv, above.

## INTRODUCTION

heads of the various departments of administration, certainly of those most intimately connected with the imperial household (*dignitates palatinae*): the Minister of Finance (*comes sacrarum largitionum*),<sup>1</sup> the Minister of the Privy Purse (*comes rerum privatarum*), the Quaestor (*quaestor sacri palatii*), who was the emperor's legal adviser, and the Master of the Offices. The prefect, whose seat of government was at the capital (*praefectus praetorio praesens*), was probably a member, as well as the Grand Chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*), and some officials of the grade *spectabilis*. The members of the council were called *comites consistoriani* or simply *consistoriani*.<sup>2</sup> It was presided over by the emperor, or in his absence by the Quaestor, who was obliged to give his decisions in writing; the proceedings were taken down by secretaries and stenographers (*notarii*).<sup>3</sup>

Since the consulship was often held by the emperor, that office was one of high honour and the consul in office ranked next to the emperor himself, above the *patricii* and the prefects. The consuls, however, had little actual power. On the day of their accession to office they held a procession, which the

<sup>1</sup> For an account of these high officials see below.

<sup>2</sup> xv. 5, 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Notarii* were of varying ranks; those who attended the meetings of the consistory were *tribuni et notarii principis*, where *tribuni* is merely a designation of rank, given to the secretaries in the service of the emperor and the praetorian prefect. Besides their clerical duties they were sometimes sent abroad on confidential missions, to keep an eye on suspected persons (xvii. 9, 7; xxi. 7, 2); and they were often promoted to high positions (xx. 9, 5; xxviii. 1, 12; xxviii, 2, 5). See also Index II.



## INTRODUCTION

emperor himself attended, exhibited games, and freed slaves. The title *consularis*, which was the highest title held by the governors of the provinces,<sup>1</sup> did not necessarily imply that its holder was an ex-consul.

The Praetorian Prefect (*praefectus praetorio*) in the time of Augustus was a military officer, the commander of the praetorian cohorts in Rome, which formed the emperor's body-guard. It was the highest grade in the equestrian *cursus honorum*, and its holder gradually acquired great power. Sejanus was practically the ruler of Rome during the absence of Tiberius, and Titus, although of senatorial rank, assumed the office in order to increase his authority and to have a freer hand.<sup>2</sup> There were ordinarily two prefects, although occasionally there was only one, and in the latter part of the reign of Commodus there were three.

This official, as time went on, became more prominent as a judge and in a civil capacity, and under Septimius Severus and Gallienus he was practically a civil minister, although he retained some vestiges of military authority even under Diocletian. When Constantine abolished the praetorian guard and replaced it by the *scholae Palatinae*,<sup>3</sup> the dignity and rank of the prefect survived and he became the highest civil servant of the emperor, without any participation in military affairs. He was appointed for an indefinite period, but because of his great

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Pannonia, xvi. 8, 3; Picenum, xv. 7, 5; Syria, xiv. 7, 5; etc. On *consularis*, *corrector* and *praeses*, see p. 143, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Titus*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. xliii.

## INTRODUCTION

power he was seldom kept in office for more than a year. Constantine also appointed a *praefectus per Gallias* and a *praefectus per Orientem*, and to these a *praefectus per Illyricum* was later added, so that each of the four grand divisions of the empire was governed by a prefect. The prefect had a number of *vicarii*, each of whom governed one of the dioceses into which his prefecture was divided.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of various restrictions<sup>2</sup> the power of a prefect was very extensive. His office, like that of the other *illustres*, was large and well organized, with assistants, recorders, clerks, shorthand writers and mounted messengers. From the time of Alexander Severus he was a member of the senate. He had complete control of the general tax ordered by the emperor (*indictio*), and through his subordinates took part in levying it; he held court as the emperor's representative; he issued edicts, which had the same force as those of the emperor, unless they were annulled by the Augustus; he supervised the governors and judges of the provinces, proposed their names, and paid their salaries; and he had a general supervision of the grain supplies, manufactures, coinage, roads and courier-service (*cursus publicus*).<sup>3</sup> His insignia were a lofty chariot, a golden pen-case, a silver inkstand, and a silver tripod and bowl for receiving petitions. He wore a cloak like that of the emperor, except that it

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *vicarius Asiae*, xxvii. 9, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Especially the transfer of some of the prefect's powers to other officials.

<sup>3</sup> This last, with the right of granting free conveyance, he shared with the emperor and the *magister officiorum*.

## INTRODUCTION

reached to the knees instead of to the feet ; as a mark of his former military rank he carried a sword.<sup>1</sup> Of the four praetorian prefects one who was resident at the court of an emperor or a Caesar seems to have been called *pruesens* or *praesentalis*, if the number of *Augusti* and Caesars was less than four.<sup>2</sup>

The Prefect of the City (*praefectus urbis*) in early times had charge of the city of Rome during the absence of the king or the consuls. His duties and powers were gradually taken over by the city praetor (*pruetor urbanus*), until Augustus revived the office, in order to provide for the government of Rome during his absence. Under Tiberius, because of his long stay at Capri, the office became a permanent one, and it increased in power and importance until the City Prefect ranked next to the Praetorian. He had command of the city troops (*cohortes urbanae*) and general charge of the policing of the city. In addition to this he had a number of officers under his supervision, through whom he managed the census, the markets, and the granaries, and had power over all the corporations and guilds which carried on business in the city. Within the hundredth milestone he had supreme judicial, military, and administrative power. He convoked and presided over the senate, and made known its wishes to the

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae*, Books vi. and vii., gives the formulae for conferring the various offices, with a summary of their duties ; for the Praetorian Prefect, see vi. 3 ; there is a condensed translation by T. Hodgkin, London, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> See xiv. 1, 10, note : xxiii. 5, 6 ; cf. xx. 4, 8. If the *Augusti* and Caesars were four in number, each had his own prefect, and no such designation was necessary.

## INTRODUCTION

emperor. His insignia were twelve fasces, he wore the toga, and shared with the praetorian prefect alone the privilege of using a chariot within the city. There was also a city prefect at Constantinople (xxvi. 7, 2) with corresponding powers.

In very early times the Master of the Horse (*magister equitum*) was an assistant of the dictator, and was appointed by him; he played a particularly important part between 49 and 44 B.C., because of the frequent absence of the dictator Caesar from Italy. Augustus transferred the powers of this official to the *praefectus praetorio*, who exercised them for a long time. Constantine in the early part of his reign, for the purpose of limiting the powers of the praetorian prefect, revived the office by appointing two commanders-in-chief of the military forces of the empire, one of the cavalry (*magister equitum*), the other of the infantry (*magister peditum*). From the middle of the fourth century these two officers began to be called *magistri equitum et peditum*, or *magistri utriusque militiae*, and finally, *magistri militum*. Ammianus uses both titles, as well as *magister armorum*,<sup>1</sup> *magister rei castrensium*<sup>2</sup> and *pedestris militiae rector*.<sup>3</sup> Constantius added three more *magistri militum*, for the Orient, Gaul, and Illyricum, and in the *Notitia Dignitatum* we find five in the Eastern, and three in the Western Empire.

With the appointment of these officers the organi-

<sup>1</sup> xv. 5, 36; xvi. 7, 3; xx. 1, 2.                   <sup>2</sup> xxvii. 10, 6.

<sup>3</sup> xv. 5, 2. In spite of his experience as a soldier, Ammianus is somewhat loose and inexact in his use of military titles, although some at least of his terms were probably due to a desire for variety.

## INTRODUCTION

sation of the army was changed. The *limitanei*, who guarded the boundaries of the empire, were diminished in number, while the *comitatenses*, or field-troops under command of the several *magistri militum*, and the *palatini*,<sup>1</sup> attached to the court and commanded by the Master of the Offices, were increased. The *magistri militum* were the judges of the army under their control, and had the power of jurisdiction even in some civil cases involving their soldiers; but their civil powers were very strictly limited, and in civil matters the decision ordinarily rested with the provincial judges; an appeal from their decision went to the *praefectus praetorio*, and not to the *magister militum*. The *magistri militum* were judges over their subordinates, the *comites rei castrensium* and the *duces*, but not over the subordinates of the *comites* and *duces*. They could not move troops from one part of the empire to another, without the emperor's order, except in case of a very great emergency.

Next in rank to these three officials was the Grand Chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*). Chamberlains are first mentioned in connection with Julius Caesar's capture by the pirates<sup>2</sup>; four years later Cicero alludes to them in such a way as to imply that they were regular members of the families of the wealthier citizens<sup>3</sup>; they had considerable importance as personal attendants of the governors

<sup>1</sup> The *Scholae Palatinae* consisting of five corps of 500 men each at Rome and at Constantinople, to which two others were later added at Constantinople; see note 3. p. 56. Besides these there were the *protectores* and *domestici*.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Jul.* 4, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Verres*, ii. 3, 4, 8.

## INTRODUCTION

of provinces, but were not members of their official staff.<sup>1</sup> When Augustus reorganized the palace service, the chamberlains formed a corps under the headship of an officer called a *cubiculo*,<sup>2</sup> who was in close touch with the emperor, later sometimes his companion<sup>3</sup> and confidant, and hence gradually acquired wide influence. Another official of the corps is perhaps the *decurio cubiculariorum*, mentioned by Suetonius in connection with the murder of Domitian.<sup>4</sup> The *praepositi* of the time of Ammianus were eunuchs, and as constant companions of the emperor they had great power; in one instance a *praepositus* who confessed that he had taken part in a conspiracy escaped punishment through the intervention of his fellow eunuchs,<sup>5</sup> and Ammianus ironically says<sup>6</sup> that the emperor Constantius had considerable influence, if the truth be told, with Eusebius, his Grand Chamberlain.

The Grand Chamberlain had a considerable body of subordinates, all of whom were employed in the personal service of the emperor: the *primicerius sacri cubiculi* was the head of those who served as the chamberlains of the emperor's apartment, and the *comes castrensis sacri palatii* of all who were not chamberlains, such as pages, and the throng of palace servants; other subordinates, with appro-

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Ad Att.* vi. 2, 5: *Digest*, l. 16, 203.

<sup>2</sup> Dunlap, pp. 169 ff.: see note 4, p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Dom.* 17, 2. <sup>5</sup> xv. 2, 10.

<sup>6</sup> xviii. 4, 3: so Dunlap, p. 181, but as Ammianus is not often, if ever, humorous, the conjecture of *posuit* for *potuit* is a reasonable one, with the meaning that Constantius depended greatly on Eusebius.

## INTRODUCTION

priate titles, had charge of the royal wardrobe, of necessary repairs in the palace, and the keeping of any noise from reaching the imperial apartments (the *silentarii*).

Another important official in close contact with the imperial household was the Master of the Offices (*magister officiorum*). In 321 and 323 we hear of a *tribunus et magister officiorum*,<sup>1</sup> so that the office goes back at least as far as Constantine, although the earliest *magister* who appears in inscriptions held office in 346.<sup>2</sup> Since *tribunus* implies military service, the office is supposed to have originated when Diocletian organized the *officiales* of the palace on a military basis and chose the senior tribune of the praetorian guard to take charge of the various corps of palace attendants, and also to command the soldiers attached to the court.<sup>3</sup> As one of the *dignitates palatinae* the functions of the Master of the Offices came in conflict with those of the Praetorian Prefect, whose power he still further curtailed, and to some extent with those of the Grand Chamberlain. Besides being in command of the five *scholae* of the palace guards,<sup>4</sup> he had supervision over the chiefs of the four imperial *scrinia*, or correspondence bureaus, and over the *schola* of the *agentes in rebus*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xvi. 10, 1 : xi. 9, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dessau, 1244 : *C.I.L.* vi. 1721.

<sup>3</sup> Dunlap, pp. 26 f.

<sup>4</sup> Note 3, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> See p. xxvii, above, and note 3. This was a large corps, numbering 1174 in the Orient in 430, and increased to 1248 by the emperor Leo (457-474). They were divided into five grades, and from the two higher classes chiefs of bureau for the *vicarii* were recruited, as well as *comites*, *duces* and even governors of provinces.

## INTRODUCTION

and he also had charge of the *cursus publicus*, or state courier-service. The management of this was at first in the hands of the Praetorian Prefect, but was transferred under Constantine to the Master of the Offices. This control of the means of conveying state dispatches and persons travelling on state business throughout the empire was a very important one, since it included the right to issue passes giving the privilege of using the *cursus*. It brought the Master into frequent collision with the Praetorian Prefect, but the Master had the superior supervision.

The Master of the Offices also had control of the great arsenals and manufactories of arms of Italy, and in particular it was through him that imperial audiences were obtained, and that the ambassadors of foreign powers were received and introduced. Actual entrance into the audience-chamber was under the direction of a *magister admissionum*, and a corps of *admissionales*; in the cases of distinguished applicants for audience the *magister admissionum* functioned<sup>1</sup> and in very exceptional cases the *magister officiorum* himself, regularly in the case of women of distinction. He had a very large corps of assistants and subordinates; his duties were very complex and important, and he was one of the most powerful officials.

The *Quaestor Sacri Palatii* was also numbered among the *dignitates palatinae* and was in close touch with the emperor. In the days of Augustus the quaestorship was the lowest office that gave

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 144.



## INTRODUCTION

admission to the senate. It was given additional prestige by the arrangement by which some of its occupants were selected by the emperor himself (called *quaestores candidati* or *quaestores Augusti*, or *principis*), and because one of them was regularly attached to the person of the ruler, to read his letters and other communications to the senate.<sup>1</sup> As the emperor's letters came more and more to have the force of laws and edicts, the Quaestor was considered a legal officer connected with civil jurisprudence, and ranked as one of the highest officials of the court. He had the rank of Count and at the end of the fourth century became an *illustris*. His duties required him to be the mouthpiece of the emperor, and to suggest to the ruler anything that would be for the welfare of the state. He had the right to suggest laws and to answer petitions addressed to the emperor. It was therefore necessary that he should be a trained jurist, in order to be an exact and just interpreter of the law. He also had the supervision of every one who entered the capital; he made inquiries into the character of all who came from the provinces, and found out from what provinces they came and for what reasons, the purpose being to prevent worthless men from taking up their residence in the city.

Theodoric wrote to the senate with regard to the office of Quaestor: <sup>2</sup> "It is only men whom we consider to be of the highest learning that we raise

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 65, 2; *Nero*, 15, 2; *Titus*, 6, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus, *Varia*, v. 4 (Hodgkin); vi. 5; viii. 19; the *Varia* contain valuable information about all these high officials.

## INTRODUCTION

to the dignity of the quaestorship, such men as are fitted to be the interpreters of the laws and sharers of our counsels," and Claudian said of that official<sup>1</sup> "thou comest to give edicts to the world, to make reply to suppliants. A monarch's utterance has won dignity from thine eloquence."

The Count of the Sacred Largesses (*comes sacrarum largitionum*) was the Minister of Finance, who controlled the revenues of the state, except those which passed into the hands of the prefects, the Count of the Privy Purse (*comes rerum privatarum*),<sup>2</sup> the Quaestor, and the Master of the Offices. He had supreme charge of the *sacrum aerarium*, or state treasury, including the former *aerarium* and *fiscus*,<sup>3</sup> exerting it in the provinces through his subordinates, the *comites largitionum*, of whom there was one for each diocese. The latter had subordinates called *rationales summarum*, each of whom collected the money and taxes either of his whole diocese or of a great part of it.

The *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* also had under his supervision numerous direct and indirect taxes, and the revenues from the provinces were sent to him by the first of March. Through subordinates he had control of the sea-coasts and of merchants, who could not go beyond certain cities prescribed by law: and the trading in salt, which was a government monopoly, was under his direct supervision,

<sup>1</sup> *Panegy. dictus Manlio Theodoro*, 34 ff. (*L.C.L.* ii., p. 341.)

<sup>2</sup> See below.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the *aerarium Saturni*, or public treasure, and the emperor's privy purse.

## INTRODUCTION

including the granting of licences for the working of the public salt mines, the revenues from which were under his control. Through other subordinates he had charge of the banks in the various provinces, in which the money that was collected was kept until it was sent to him. He controlled the other mines and those who worked in them, the coinage, and the mints. He was general superintendent of the imperial factories, the employees in which could not engage in private work and were hereditarily confined to their special trades; they were under the direct charge of *procuratores*.

He also had judicial control over his subordinates and the power of confirming the appointments of some judges in the provinces. As his title implies, he administered the bounties of the emperor (the *largitiones*). The disposition of the money under his charge was entirely dependent on the good will of the emperor, either in meeting the demands of the various necessities of state, or in giving presents, or in conferring rewards.

Like the other high officials he had in his office a great number of bureaus of correspondence (*scrinia*) consisting of officials who received the payments made each year by the provinces; kept accounts of the *sacrae largitiones* through *tabularii*; made out the fiscal accounts and supervised the *largitiones*; had charge of all the expenditures for clothing needed in the palace and for the soldiers, whether they belonged to the palace troops or not, of the silverware of the palace, and the like.

The Count of the Privy Purse (*comes rerum privatarum*) had charge of the *aerarium privatum*. con-

## INTRODUCTION

sisting both of the *res privatae*, the inalienable crown property, and the *patrimonium sacrum*, the private and personal property of the emperor, which could be inherited by his family. His subordinates were at first the *magistri* (later the *rationales*) *rei privatae*, one for each diocese or province, who took care of all finances within their province, including lands belonging to the temples, and kept a record of the income. He had the superintendence through his *rationales* of the government estates, both at home and in the provinces, as well as of the revenues from estates which were especially assigned to the imperial house. The *res privatae* at this time included also the confiscated property of men who had been condemned or proscribed, which before Tiberius had gone to the state treasury (*aerarium*), as well as all deposited money which because of long lapse of time had no claimant, and property for which there were no heirs.

The Count of the Privy Purse also superintended the collectors of the rents of the imperial property in the provinces, and of the gifts of silver or gold demanded in time of need from those to whom the emperors had made presents of real estate, which was free from taxation.

To the *dignitates palatinae*, or offices whose duties did not call their holders away from the capital, might be added the Counts of the Body Guard (*comes domesticorum equitum* and *comes domesticorum peditum*), who are placed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* immediately after the *Comes rerum privatarum*, although they were not always *illustres*, but sometimes held that rank. With the *domestici*

## INTRODUCTION

the *protectores* are sometimes coupled,<sup>1</sup> and when Constantine in 312 disbanded the praetorian troops, he gave their rank and duties to the *protectores et domestici*. Thus we have two kinds of palace troops : the *scholae palatinae*<sup>2</sup> under the command of the Master of the Offices, and two corps of *protectores et domestici*, who ranked higher than the members of the *scholae palatinae* and were commanded by the *comites domesticorum*. Ammianus is the first to refer to the *protectores* and *domestici* as also divided into *scholae*.<sup>3</sup> These consisted of ten divisions of fifty men each, commanded by *decemprimi*, of the rank *clarissimus*, and these were under the supervision of a *primicerius*,<sup>4</sup> of the grade *spectabilis* ; the *protectores* themselves ranked as *perfectissimi*.

In addition to accompanying the emperor when he went abroad, the *protectores* and *domestici* were sent to the provinces to perform various public services, although a part had to be always *in praesenti*, or at court. Sometimes, as in the case of Ammianus, they were sent to a *magister militum* and placed under his orders. Whenever they were sent abroad, their pay, which was already large, was increased.

*Tribunus* is a title of various military officers in connection with the *domestici*, the *armaturae*, the *scutarii*, and the *protectores* ; also of officers in charge of manufactories of arms<sup>5</sup> and of the imperial stables.<sup>6</sup> As has already been noted, the title was

<sup>1</sup> xiv. 10, 2, *protector domesticus* ; cf. xviii. 8, 11.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> xiv. 7, 9, note ; xxvi. 5, 3.

<sup>4</sup> xviii. 3, 5.

<sup>5</sup> xiv. 7, 18 ; xv. 5, 9, at Cremona.

<sup>6</sup> xiv. 10, 8 ; xxx. 5, 19.

## INTRODUCTION

given also to civil officials, such as the higher in rank of the *notarii*.<sup>1</sup> *Tribuni vacantes* had the title and rank of *tribuni* without a special assignment.<sup>2</sup>

For further information see Index II, which sometimes supplements also the notes on the Text.

### MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

There are twelve manuscripts that contain all the surviving books of Ammianus. Two break off at the end of Book xxvi. (PR), and one ends abruptly at xxv. 4 (D). There are besides six detached sheets which once formed part of a codex belonging to the abbey of Hersfeld; these are now in Marburg, and the manuscript to which they belonged is designated as M. Of the other fifteen manuscripts seven are in Rome (VDYEURP), one each in Florence (F), Mutina (Q), Cesena (K), and Venice (W), and the remaining four in Paris (CHTN). V and M are of the ninth century, the rest of the fifteenth. A full description of all these and their relations to one another is given by Clark,<sup>3</sup> who has convincingly shown that of the existing manuscripts only V has independent value. To this are added the readings of M, so far as that manuscript has been preserved,<sup>4</sup> and so far as the readings of its lost part can be restored from the edition of Gelenius, who professed

<sup>1</sup> Note 3, p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> xvi. 12, 63; xviii. 2, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *The Text Tradition of Ammianus Marcellinus*, New Haven, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> Fragments of Books xxiii., xxviii., and xxx.: see H. Nissen, *Frag. Marb.*, Berlin, 1876.

## INTRODUCTION

to follow M. but made extensive emendations of his own.

Clark reconstructs the history of the text as follows. A capital manuscript, presumably of the sixth century, was copied, probably in Germany by a writer using the *scriptura Scottica*. In the early Caroline period a copy was made from this insular manuscript, which is the parent of V (*Fuldensis*), and of the one of which the Hersfeld fragments formed a part (M). No copy of the *Hersfeldensis* exists, but many of its readings are found in the edition of Gelenius. Every other manuscript is copied from the *Fuldensis* (V), four directly (FDN and E), and the other nine through F, including Gardthausen's *codices mutili* (P and R), which are copies of V at two removes at least.

Since the text of V is in bad shape, with numerous *lacunae*, some of the readings of the early editions are of value. The first printed edition (S) was that of Sabinus, Rome, 1474, containing Books xiv.-xxvi.; it is a reprint of R, the poorest manuscript in existence, and hence of little or no value. The next (B), that of Petrus Castellus, Bologna, 1517, was a reprint of S, in which the text was further debased by irresponsible emendations, which vitiated all the subsequent history of the text of Books xiv.-xxvi. A pirated reprint of B by Erasmus (*b*) was published at Basle in 1518.

The first improvement dates from the edition of Accursius (A), Augsburg, May, 1533, who used a manuscript copied from V and corrected from a copy of E, which is itself a transcript of V emended by a humanist. A still greater improvement was

## INTRODUCTION

made by the edition of Gelenius, Basle, July, 1533, who also was partly dependent on the copy of E. but had access besides to the purer tradition of M.

Subsequent editions were those of Gruter, 1611, who corrected his text from V; of Lindenbrog, Hamburg, 1609, who made use of F and first provided the text with explanatory notes; of Henricus Valesius, Paris, 1636, whose annotations formed the basis of all later commentaries, while his brilliant scholarship and critical acumen led him to make numerous correct emendations, with the help of N (his *codex Regius*). He also recognised the existence of metrical *clausulae*, and says three or four times<sup>1</sup> that certain emendations do not correspond with these. His punctuation also seems to take account of the *clausulae*, and hence is often the same as that of Clark.<sup>2</sup> Also important are the editions of Wagner and Erfurdt, Leipzig, 1808, with a collection of the best material in previous commentaries, and of Ernesti, Leipzig, 1773, with a useful *index verborum*, which, however, is not complete, and gives only the numbers of the chapters, without those of the sections, a practice especially exasperating in the long chapters.

The critical study of the text begins with the edition of Henricus Valesius. His younger brother Hadrianus in his edition (Paris, 1681) had the use of two additional manuscripts, C and the *codex Valentinus*, which is now lost. Later editors were content with the readings of these editions until

<sup>1</sup> E.g. at the end of the annotations on Book xiv.

<sup>2</sup> See Preface.



## INTRODUCTION

1871, when Eyssenhardt published his text at Berlin, which was followed in 1874-75 by that of Gardthausen (Leipzig). The latter was the first to use the *Petrinus* (P), which he thought was written before V came into Italy, from an archetype on a plane with V, and that a copy of V, corrected from M, was the archetype of E and of Accursius' codex. His readings of P are often erroneous, and it is now recognized, as already said, that P does not represent a tradition independent of V. The standard critical edition is that of C. U. Clark, of which volume one, containing Books xiv.-xxv., and volume two, part one, containing xxiv.-xxxi., were published at Berlin in 1910 and 1915 respectively. The second part of volume two, the indices, has not yet appeared.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A complete *Sprachlicher u. Historischer Kommentar* is planned by P. De Jonge, who published the notes on xiv, 1-7, as his doctoral dissertation, Groningen, 1935.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THERE is no commentary in English on Ammianus, and no full and satisfactory one in any language.<sup>1</sup> He has been translated into English by Philemon Holland, London, 1609, and by C. D. Yonge, London, 1862; into German by C. Büchele, Stuttgart, 1827 (reprinted 1853-54; a second edition by L. Tross, Ulm, 1898, seems never to have gone beyond Vol. 1, containing Books xiv.-xv.); into French by T. Salvète, with the Latin text, Collection Nisard, Paris, 1849. All these are based upon texts which differ from the present standard editions.

Papers and monographs dealing with various phases of Ammianus and his work are very numerous. On the text may be mentioned in addition to those cited by Clark in his *Compendia*: R. Novák, *Kritische Nachlese zu Ammianus Marcellinus*, Wiener Studien, 33 (1912), pp. 293 ff.; P. H. Damsté, *Adversaria critica*, Mnemosyne, lv. (1927), pp. 241-259; lviii. (1930), pp. 1 ff.; G. B. A. Fletcher, *Notes on Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Classical Quarterly*, xxiv. (1930), pp. 193 ff.; J. P. Pighius, *Studia Ammianea*, Milano, 1935.<sup>2</sup> On the officials: M. Cosenza, *Official Positions after the Time of Constantine* (Columbia Univ. dissertation), Lancaster, Pa., 1905; A. E. R. Boak, *Roman Magistri in the Civil and Military Service of the Empire*, Harvard Studies in Class. Phil., xxvi. (1915), pp. 73 ff., and *The Master of the Offices*, Univ. of Michigan Studies, xiv., pp. 1-160, New York, 1924; J. E. Dunlap, *The Grand Chamberlain*, *ibid.*, pp. 161-324. General: Klein, W., *Studien zu Ammianus Marcellinus*, Klio, Beiheft 13, 1914; Ensslin, W., *Zur Geschichtsschreibung und Weltanschauung des Ammianus Marcellinus*, Klio, Beiheft 16, 1923; T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1901; R. B. Steele, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Class. Weekly*, xvi., pp. 18 ff. and 27 ff.; W. W. Hyde, *Roman Alpine Passes*, in process of publication by the American Philosophical Society.

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> This was not available to me for vol. i.

## SIGLA

A	= the edition of Accursius. <sup>1</sup>
B	= the edition of Castellus.
<i>b</i>	= the edition of Erasmus.
Boxh.	= the edition of Boxhorn, Leyden, 1632.
c.c.	= <i>cursus causa</i> , emendations made to correct rhythmical endings.
D	= Codex Vaticanus, 1874 (ends at xxv. 3, 13).
E	= Codex Vaticanus Lat. 2969.
Eyssen.	= the edition of Eyssenhardt.
G	= the edition of Gelenius.
<i>g</i>	= the edition of Gelenius by R. Stephanus, Paris, 1544.
Gardt.	= the edition of Gardthausen.
H	= Codex Parisinus, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 5819.
Her.	= W. Heraeus, who collaborated with Clark in his edition.
lac.	= <i>lacuna</i> .
Lind.	= the edition of Lindenbrog.
M	= Codex Hersfeldensis.
N	= Codex Neapolitanus, Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 6120.
P	= Codex Petrinus, Rome, Basil. S. Petri, E 27 (ends with Book xxvi.).
Pet.	= M. Petschenig.
T	= Codex Tolosanus, Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 5820.
vulgo	= readings unknown to the Valesii, but found in the ed. of Gronov.
V	= Codex Fuldensis, Rome, Vat. Lat. 1873.
Val.	= the edition of Henricus Valesius.
Hadr. Val.	= the edition of Hadrian Valesius.
W	= Codex Venetus, Bibl. S. Marc. 388, Bess.

<sup>1</sup> For a brief description of the principal manuscripts and editions see Introd., pp. xlv ff., and for a full description, Clark's *Text Tradition*; see p. xlv, note 3.

AMMIANI MARCELLINI  
RERUM GESTARUM  
LIBRI QUI SUPERSUNT

AMMIANI MARCELLINI  
RERUM GESTARUM  
LIBRI QUI SUPERSUNT  
LIBER XIV

1. *Galli Caesaris saevitia*.<sup>1</sup>

1. Post emensos insuperabilis expeditionis eventus, languentibus partium animis, quas periculorum varietas fregerat et laborum, nondum tubarum cessante clangore, vel milite locato per stationes hibernas, fortunae saevientis procellae tempestates alias rebus infudere<sup>2</sup> communibus, per multa illa et dira facinora Caesaris Galli, qui ex squalore imo miseriarum, in aetatis adultae primitiis, ad principale culmen insperato saltu<sup>3</sup> provectus, ultra terminos

<sup>1</sup> These summaries, which are not the work of Ammianus but of some early editor, are put for convenience at the beginning of each chapter. Usually the summaries of each book are put all together at the beginning of that book, or (e.g. by Eyssenhardt) the summaries of all the books are collected at the end of the entire text.

<sup>2</sup> *infudere*, HA: *infundere*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *saltu*, Kellerbauer, Kiessling: *cultu*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Flavius Claudius (Julius) Constantius Gallus, grandson of Constantine the Great and half-brother of Julian. He was made Caesar by Constantius II. in 351.

THE SURVIVING BOOKS OF  
THE HISTORY  
OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS  
BOOK XIV.

CONSTANTIUS AND GALLUS

1. *The cruelty of Gallus Caesar.*<sup>1</sup>

1. After the survival of the events of an unendurable campaign,<sup>2</sup> when the spirits of both parties, broken by the variety of their dangers and hardships, were still drooping, before the blare of the trumpets had ceased or the soldiers been assigned to their winter quarters, the gusts of raging Fortune brought new storms upon the commonwealth through the misdeeds, many and notorious, of Gallus Caesar.<sup>3</sup> He had been raised, at the very beginning of mature

<sup>2</sup> Against Magnentius, who in 350 had assumed the rank of an Augustus in the west, with Veteranio, but he was defeated, in 351, by Constantius at Mursa, on the river Drave, a tributary of the Danube and in the passes of the Cottian Alps in 353. His followers then abandoned him and he committed suicide. See Index.

<sup>3</sup> The title of Augustus was lawfully held only by the reigning emperor, or emperors. Caesar was the title next in rank and was conferred by the emperor on one or more of the imperial family; see *Introd.* p. xxiv.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

potestatis delatae procurrens, asperitate nimia cuncta foedabat. Propinquitatem enim regiae stirpis, gentilitateque etiam tum Constantii<sup>1</sup> nominis, efferebatur in fastus, si plus valuisset, ausurus hostilia in auctorem suae felicitatis (ut videbatur). 2. Cuius acerbitati uxor grave accesserat incentivum, germanitate Augusti turgida supra modum, quam Hanniballiano regi fratris filio antehac Constantinus iunxerat pater, Megaera quaedam mortalis; inflammatrix saevientis assidua, humani cruoris avida nihil mitius quam maritus. Qui paulatim eruditiores facti processu temporis ad nocendum, per clandestinos versutosque rumigerulos, compertis leviter addere quaedam male suetos, falsa et placentia sibi discentes, affectati regni vel artium nefandarum calumnias insontibus affigebant. 3. Eminuit autem inter humilia, supergressa iam impotentia<sup>2</sup> fines medioerium delictorum, nefanda Clematii cuiusdam Alexandrini nobilis mors repentina; cuius soerus cum misceri sibi generum, flagrans eius amore,<sup>3</sup> non

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<sup>1</sup> *Constantii*, Lind: *Constantiani*, Val; *Constantini*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *iam impotentia*, Wagn.; *impotentia*, Momm.; *iam potentia*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *flagrans, eius amorem*, sugg. by Clark.

<sup>1</sup> He was married to Constantia, daughter of Constantine the Great and Fausta.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine had given him the rule of Pontus, Armenia Minor, and Cappadocia, but Constantius II., soon after his accession, had caused his assassination.



manhood, by an unexpected promotion from the utmost depths of wretchedness to princely heights, and overstepping the bounds of the authority conferred upon him, by excess of violence was causing trouble everywhere. For by his relationship to the imperial stock, and the alliance which he even then had with the name of Constantius,<sup>1</sup> he was raised to such a height of presumption that, if he had been more powerful, he would have ventured (it seemed) upon a course hostile to the author of his good fortune. 2. To his cruelty his wife was besides a serious incentive, a woman beyond measure presumptuous because of her kinship to the emperor, and previously joined in marriage by her father Constantine with his brother's son, King Hanniballianus.<sup>2</sup> She, a Megaera<sup>3</sup> in mortal guise, constantly aroused the savagery of Gallus, being as insatiable as he in her thirst for human blood. The pair in process of time gradually became more expert in doing harm, and through underhand and crafty eavesdroppers, who had the evil habit of lightly adding to their information and wanting to learn only what was false and agreeable to them, they fastened upon innocent victims false charges of aspiring to royal power or of practising magic. 3. There stood out among their lesser atrocities, when their unbridled power had already surpassed the limits of unimportant delinquencies, the sudden and awful death of one Clematius, a nobleman of Alexandria. This man's mother-in-law, it was said, had a violent passion for her son-in-law, but

<sup>3</sup> One of the Furies.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

impetraret, ut ferebatur. per palatii pseudothyrum introducta, oblato pretioso reginae monili, id assecuta est, ut ad Honoratum, tum comitem orientis, formula missa letali, homo <sup>1</sup> scelere nullo contactus, idem Clematius, nec hiscere nec loqui permissus, occideretur.

4. Post hoc impie perpetratum, quod in aliis quoque iam timebatur, tamquam licentia crudelitati indulta, per suspicionum nebulas aestimati quidam noxii damnabantur. Quorum pars necati alii puniti bonorum multatione, actique laribus suis extorres, nullo sibi relicto praeter querellas et lacrimas, stipe collaticia victitabant; et civili iustoque imperio ad voluntatem converso cruentam, claudebantur opulentae domus et clarae. 5. Nec vox accusatoris ulla (licet subditicii) <sup>2</sup> in his malorum quaerebatur acervis, ut saltem specie ~~re~~pus crimina praescriptis legum committerentur, quod aliquotiens fecere principes saevi; sed quidquid Caesaris implacabilitati sedisset, id velut fas iusque perpensum, confestim urgebatur impleri. 6. Excogitatum est super his, ut homines quidam ignoti, vilitate ipsa parum cavendi, ad colligendos rumores per Antiochiae latera cuncta

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<sup>1</sup> homo, Lind.; omnino, EW<sup>2</sup>; omo (from odio), V.  
<sup>2</sup> subditicii, Lind.; subditi et, V.

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<sup>1</sup> *Comites* originally were companions of an official on his travels, as Catullus accompanied Memmius to Bithynia; cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 8, 2, etc. They gradually became his advisers, and later they were appointed to

was unable to seduce him; whereupon, gaining entrance to the palace by a secret door, she presented the queen with a valuable necklace, and thus secured the dispatch of his death-warrant to Honoratus, at that time Count of the East;<sup>1</sup> and so Clematius, a man contaminated by no guilt, was put to death without being allowed to protest or even to open his lips.

4. After the perpetration of this impious deed, which now began to arouse the fears of others also, as if cruelty were given free rein, some persons were adjudged guilty on the mere shadow of suspicion and condemned. Of these some were put to death, others punished by the confiscation of their property and driven from their homes into exile, where, having nothing left save tears and complaints, they lived on the doles of charity; and since constitutional and just rule had given place to cruel caprice, wealthy and famous houses were being closed.

5. And no words of an accuser, even though bribed, were required amid these accumulations of evils, in order that these crimes might be committed, at least ostensibly, under the forms of law, as has sometimes been done by cruel emperors; but whatever the implacable Caesar had resolved upon was rushed to fulfilment, as if it had been carefully weighed and determined to be right and lawful.

6. It was further devised that sundry low-born men, whose very insignificance made them little to be feared, should be appointed to gather gossip in all various duties as his deputies. They differed in rank; the *Comes Orientis* was of the second grade (*spectabilis*), see *Introd.*, p. xviii.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

destinarentur, relaturi quae audirent. Hi peragrante et dissimulante honoratorum circulis assistendo, pervadendoque divites domus egentium habitu, quicquid noscere poterant vel audire, latenter intromissi per posticas in regiam, nuntiabant, id observantes conspiratione concordi, ut fingerent quaedam, et cognita duplicarent in peius, laudes vero supprimerent Caesaris, quas invitis compluribus formido malorum impendentium exprimebat. 7. Et interdum acciderat, ut siquid in penetrali secreto, nullo citerioris<sup>1</sup> vitae ministro praesente, paterfamilias uxori susurrasset in aurem, velut Amphiarao referente aut Marcio. quondam vatibus inclitis, postridie disceret imperator. Ideoque etiam parietes arcanorum soli conscii timebantur. 8. Adulescebat autem obstinatum propositum erga haec et similia multa scrutandi,<sup>2</sup> stimulos admovente regina, quae abrupte mariti fortunas trudebat in exitium praeceps, cum eum potius lenitate feminea ad veritatis humanitatisque viam reducere utilia suadendo deberet, ut in Gordianorum actibus factitasse Maximini truculenti illius imperatoris retulimus coniugem.

<sup>1</sup> *citerioris*, vulgo ; *citeriora eis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *scrutandi*, V ; *scrutanda*, Bent. ; *scrutantis*, sugg. by Clark, cf. xxx. 5, 5 ; xv. 3, 2.

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<sup>1</sup> Amphiaras was a famous seer of the heroic age, who took part in the hunt of the Calydonian boar, the expedition of the Argonauts, and unwillingly, because he saw the outcome, in the war of the Seven against Thebes, in which he lost his life. The prophecies of Marcus, or as some say, of two brothers of that name, were discovered in 213 B.C.

quarters of Antiochia and report what they had heard. These, as if travellers, and in disguise, attended the gatherings of distinguished citizens, and gained entrance to the houses of the wealthy in the guise of needy clients; then, being secretly admitted to the palace by a back door, they reported whatever they had been able to hear or learn, with one accord making it a rule to add inventions of their own and make doubly worse what they had learned, but suppressing the praise of Caesar which the fear of impending evils extorted from some against their will. 7. And sometimes it happened that if the head of a household, in the seclusion of his private apartments, with no confidential servant present, had whispered something in the ear of his wife, the emperor learned it on the following day, as if it were reported by Amphiaraus or Marcius, those famous seers of old.<sup>1</sup> And so even the walls, the only sharers of secrets, were feared. 8. Moreover, his fixed purpose of ferreting out these and many similar things increased, spurred on by the queen, who pushed her husband's fortunes headlong to sheer ruin, when she ought rather, with womanly gentleness, to have recalled him by helpful counsel to the path of truth and mercy, after the manner of the wife<sup>2</sup> of that savage emperor Maximinus, as we have related in our account of the acts of The Gordians.

According to Livy, xxv. 12, 5, they foretold the defeat at Cannae. Cf. also Pausanias, I. 34. 4 ff. and II. 13. 7. At a later time these prophetic writings were preserved on the Capitol at Rome with the Sibylline books.

<sup>2</sup> Her name is unknown; she was perhaps the *diva Paulina* whose name appears on a silver coin of the period.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

9. Novo denique perniciosoque exemplo, idem Gallus ausus est inire flagitium grave, quod Romae cum ultimo dedecore temptasse aliquando dicitur Gallienus, et adhibitis paucis clam ferro succinctis, vesperi per tabernas palabatur et compita, quaeritando Graeco sermone, cuius erat impendio gnarus, quid de Caesare quisque sentiret. Et haec confidenter agebat in urbe, ubi pernoctantium luminum claritudo dierum solet imitari fulgorem. Postremo agnitus saepe, iamque (si prodisset) conspicuum se fore contemplans, non nisi luce palam egrediens ad agenda quae putabat seria cernebatur. Et haec quidem medullitus multis gementibus agebantur.

10. Thalassius vero ea tempestate praefectus praetorio praesens, ipse quoque arrogantis ingenii, considerans incitationem eius ad multorum augeri discrimina, non maturitate vel consiliis mitigabat, ut <sup>1</sup> aliquotiens celsae potestates iras principum molliverunt, sed adversando iurgandoque cum parum congrueret, eum ad rabiem potius evibrabat, Augustum actus eius exaggerando creberrime docens, idque (incertum qua mente) ne lateret affectans. Quibus <sup>2</sup> mox Caesar acrius efferatus, velut contumaciae

<sup>1</sup> *ut*, added in G; V omits.  
(lac. 6 letters), V.

<sup>2</sup> *quibus ut mor*

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<sup>1</sup>That is, Antioch. The brilliant lighting of the city is mentioned also by Libanius and Hieronymus.

9. Finally, following an unprecedented and destructive course, Gallus also ventured to commit the atrocious crime which, to his utter disgrace, Gallienus is said to have once hazarded at Rome. Taking with him a few attendants with concealed weapons, he used to roam at evening about the inns and street-corners, inquiring of every one in Greek, of which he had remarkable command, what he thought of the Caesar. And this he did boldly in a city<sup>1</sup> where the brightness of the lights at night commonly equals the resplendence of day. At last, being often recognized, and reflecting that if he continued that course he would be conspicuous, he appeared only in broad daylight, to attend to matters which he considered important. And all this conduct of his caused very deep sorrow to many.

10. But at that time Thalassius was the Praetorian Prefect at court,<sup>2</sup> a man who was himself of an imperious character. He, perceiving that Gallus' temper was rising, to the peril of many, did not try to soothe it by ripe counsel, as sometimes high officials have moderated the ire of princes; but rather roused the Caesar to fury by opposing and reproving him at unseasonable times: very frequently he informed the emperor of Gallus' doings, exaggerating them and taking pains—whatever his motive may have been—to do it openly. Through this conduct the Caesar was soon still more violently enraged.

<sup>2</sup>This office was originally a military one, but the *praefectus praetorio* under Constantine became the highest civil servant of the emperor. On *praesens*, see Introd. p. xxxiii. In this case the court of Gallus is referred to, and there would also be a *praefectus praetorio praesens* at the court of Constantius.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

quoddam vexillum altius erigens, sine respectu salutis alienae vel suae, ad vertenda opposita,<sup>1</sup> instar rapidi fluminis, irrevocabili impetu ferebatur.

### 2. *Isaurorum incursiones.*

1. Nec sane haec sola pernicies orientem diversis cladibus affligebat. Namque et Isauri, quibus est usitatum saepe pacari, saepeque inopinis excursibus cuncta miscere, ex latrociniiis occultis et raris, alente impunitate adolescentem in peius audaciam, ad bella gravia proruperunt, diu quidem perduelles spiritus irrequietis motibus erigentes. hac tamen indignitate perciti vehementer, ut iactitabant, quod eorum capti quidam consortes, apud Iconium Pisidiae oppidum in amphitheatrali spectaculo feris praedatricibus obiecti sunt praeter morem. 2. Atque (ut Tullius ait) ut etiam bestiae<sup>2</sup> fame monitae plerumque ad eum locum ubi aliquando pastae sunt revertuntur, ita omnes instar turbinis degressi montibus impeditis et arduis. loca petivere mari confinia, per quae aviis<sup>3</sup> latebrosis sese convallibusque occultantes, cum appeterent noctes—luna etiam tum cornuta, ideoque nondum solido splendore fulgente—nauticos observabant. Quos cum in somnum sentirent effusos, per ancoralia quadrupedo gradu repentis, seseque

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<sup>1</sup> *opposita*, Bent.; *sibi o.*, Damsté; *supposita*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *bestiae*, added by Val., cf. Cic. l.c., note 2; *ferae*, W<sup>2</sup> G.

<sup>3</sup> *aviis*, Kiessling; *uiis*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> A people dwelling in the mountains of Pisidia in southern Asia Minor.



and as if raising higher, as it were, the standard of his obstinacy, with no regard for his own life or that of others, he rushed on with uncontrollable impetuosity, like a swift torrent, to overthrow whatever opposed him.

## 2. *Inroads of the Isaurians.*

1. And indeed this was not the only calamity to afflict the Orient with various disasters. For the Isaurians<sup>1</sup> too, whose way it is now to keep the peace and now put everything in turmoil by sudden raids, abandoned their occasional secret plundering expeditions and, as impunity stimulated for the worse their growing boldness, broke out in a serious war. For a long time they had been inflaming their warlike spirits by restless outbreaks, but they were now especially exasperated, as they declared, by the indignity of some of their associates, who had been taken prisoner, having been thrown to beasts of prey in the shows of the amphitheatre at Iconium, a town of Pisidia—an outrage without precedent.

2. And, in the words of Cicero,<sup>2</sup> as even wild animals, when warned by hunger, generally return to the place where they were once fed, so they all, swooping like a whirlwind down from their steep and rugged mountains, made for the districts near the sea; and hiding themselves there in pathless lurking-places and defiles as the dark nights were coming on—the moon being still crescent and so not shining with full brilliance—they watched the sailors. And when they saw that they were buried in sleep, creeping on all fours along the anchor-ropes and making their

<sup>2</sup> *Pro Cluentio*, 25, 67.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

suspensis passibus iniectantes in scaphas, eisdem<sup>1</sup> nihil opinantibus assistebant, et incedente aviditate saevitiam, ne cedentium quidem ulli parcendo, obtruncatis omnibus merces opimas vel utiles nullis repugnantibus avertebant. 3. Haecque non diu sunt perpetrata. Cognitis enim pilatorum caesorumque funeribus. nemo deinde ad has stationes appulit navem. sed ut Scironis praerupta letalia declinantes, litoribus Cypriis contigui navigabant, quae Isauriae scopulis sunt controversa. 4. Procedente igitur mox tempore eum adventicium nihil inveniretur, relicta ora maritima, in Lycaoniam annexam Isauriae se contulerunt, ibique densis intersaeipientes<sup>2</sup> itinera praetenturis, provincialium et viatorum opibus paseebantur. 5. Excitavit hic ardor milites per municipia plurima, quae eisdem conterminant, dispositos et castella, et quisque serpentes latius pro viribus repellere moliens. nunc globis confertos, aliquotiens et dispersos. multitudine superabatur viginti.<sup>3</sup> quae nata et educata inter editos recurvosque ambitus montium. eos ut loca plana persultat et mollia, missilibus obvios eminus lacessens et ululatu truci perterrens. 6. Coactique aliquotiens nostri pedites ad eos persequendos scandere clivos sublimes,

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<sup>1</sup> *eisdem enim*, V; *cisdem*, Novák, Clark; *e. sensim*, Eyssen., Gardt.; *e navi*, Traube.      <sup>2</sup> *intersaeipientes*, Lind.; *intercipientes*, Traube; *interasipientes*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *viginti*, Pet., Clark; *ingenti* (originally *ingentis*), V.

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<sup>1</sup> A notorious robber slain by Theseus; he haunted the cliffs between Attica and Megara. He not only robbed travellers who came that way, but forced them to wash his feet, and while they were obeying kicked them off into the sea.

way on tiptoe into the boats, they came upon the crew all unawares, and since their natural ferocity was fired by greed, they spared no one, even of those who surrendered, but massacred them all and without resistance carried off the cargoes, led either by their value or their usefulness. 3. This however did not continue long: for when the fate of those whom they had butchered and plundered became known, no one afterwards put in at those ports, but avoiding them as they would the deadly cliffs of Sciron,<sup>1</sup> they coasted along the shores of Cyprus, which lie opposite to the crags of Isauria. 4. Then presently, as time went on and nothing came that way from abroad, they left the sea-coast and withdrew to that part of Lycaonia that borders on Isauria: and there, blocking the roads with close barricades, they lived on the property of the provincials and of travellers. 5. Anger at this aroused the soldiers quartered in the numerous towns and fortresses which lie near those regions, and each division strove to the best of its power to check the marauders as they ranged more widely, now in solid bodies, sometimes even in isolated bands. But the soldiers were defeated by their strength and numbers; for since the Isaurians were born and brought up amid the deep and winding defiles of the mountains, they bounded over them as if they were a smooth and level plain, attacking the enemy with missiles from a distance and terrifying them with savage howls. 6. And sometimes our infantry in pursuing them were forced to scale lofty peaks, and when they lost their footing, even if they reached the very summits by catching hold of underbrush or briars,

etiam si lapsantibus plantis fruticeta prensando vel dumos, ad vertices venerint summos, inter arta tamen et invia, nullas acies explicare permissi, nec firmare nisu valido gressus; hoste discursatore rupium abscisa volvente superne, periculose per prona discedunt, aut ex necessitate ultima fortiter dimicantes, ruinis ponderum immanium consternuntur. 7. Quam ob rem circumspecta cautela observatum est deinceps, et cum edita montium petere coeperint grassatores, loci iniquitati<sup>1</sup> milites cedunt. Ubi autem in planitie potuerint reperiri, quod contingit assidue, nec exsertare lacertos nec crispere permissi tela quae vehunt bina vel terna, pecudum ritu inertium trucidantur.

8. Metuentes igitur idem latrones Lycaoniam magna parte campestem, cum se impares nostris fore congressione stataria documentis frequentibus scirent, tramitibus deviis petivere Pamphyliam, diu quidem intactam, sed timore populationum et caedum, milite per omnia diffuso propinqua, magnis undique praesidiis communitam. 9. Raptim igitur properantes, ut motus sui rumores celeritate nimia praevenirent, vigore corporum ac levitate confisi, per flexuosas semitas ad summitates collium tardius evadebant. Et cum, superatis difficultatibus arduis, ad supercilia venissent fluvii Melanis, alti et verticosi,

<sup>1</sup> *iniquitati*, Gardt. : *iniquitate*, V.

the narrow and pathless tracts did not allow them to deploy their ranks or take firm footing for a vigorous attack ; and while the enemy, running here and there, tore off and hurled down masses of rock from above, they made their perilous way down over steep slopes ; or if, compelled by dire necessity, they made a brave fight, they were overwhelmed by falling boulders of enormous weight. 7. Therefore extreme caution was shown after that, and when the marauders began to make for the mountain heights, the soldiers yielded to the unfavourable position. When, however, the Isaurians could be found on level ground, as constantly happened, they were allowed neither to strike a blow nor so much as poise their weapons, of which each carried two or three, but they were slaughtered like defenceless sheep.

8. Accordingly these same marauders, distrusting Lycaonia, which is for the most part level, and having learned by repeated experience that they would be no match for our soldiers in a stand-up fight, made their way by retired by-paths into Pamphylia, long unmolested, it is true, but through fear of raids and massacres protected everywhere by strong garrisons, while troops were spread all over the neighbouring country. 9. Therefore they made great haste, in order by extreme swiftness to anticipate the reports of their movements, trusting in their bodily strength and activity ; but they made their way somewhat slowly to the summits of the hills over winding trails. And when, after overcoming extreme difficulties, they came to the steep banks of the Melas, a swift and eddying stream, which surrounds the inhabitants like a wall and

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

qui pro muro tuctur accolas circumfusus, augente nocte adulta terrorem, quievere paulisper, lucem opperientes. Arbitrabantur enim nullo impediante transgressi, inopino accursu apposita quaeque vastare, sed in cassum labores pertulere gravissimos. 10. Nam sole orto magnitudine angusti gurgitis sed profundi a transitu areebantur, et dum piscatorios quaerunt lenunculos, vel innare temere contextis eratibus<sup>1</sup> parant, effusae legiones quae hiemabant tunc apud Siden, eisdem impetu occurrere veloci. Et signis prope ripam locatis, ad manus comminus conserendas, denseta scutorum compage, semet scientissime praestruiebant, ausos quoque aliquos fiducia nandi, vel cavatis arborum truncis, annem permeare latenter, facillime trucidarunt. 11. Unde temptatis ad discrimen ultimum artibus militum,<sup>2</sup> cum nihil impetraretur, pavore vique repellente extrusi, et quo tenderent ambigentes, venire prope oppidum Laranda. 12. Ibi victu recreati et quiete, postquam abierat timor, viros opulentos adorti, equestrium adiumento cohortium, quae easu propinquabant, nec resistere planitie porrecta conati, digressi sunt, retroque cedentes,<sup>3</sup> omne iuventutis robur relictum in sedibus acciverunt. 13. Et quoniam inedia gravi afflictabantur, locum petivere Paleas nomine, vergentem in mare, valido muro

<sup>1</sup> *contextis eratibus*, Kiessling; *contexti sunt ratibus*, V; *contextis ratibus*, BG.      <sup>2</sup> *militum*, Clark; *multum*, V; *multis*, Val.      <sup>3</sup> *cedentes*, Novak; *concedentes*, V.

protects them, the lateness of the night increased their alarm, and they halted for a time, waiting for daylight. They thought, indeed, to cross without opposition and by their unexpected raid to lay waste all before them; but they endured the greatest hardships to no purpose. 10. For when the sun rose, they were prevented from crossing by the size of the stream, which was narrow but deep. And while they were hunting for fishermen's boats or preparing to cross on hastily woven hurdles, the legions that were then wintering at Side poured out and fell upon them in swift attack. And having set up their standards near the river-bank, the legions drew themselves up most skilfully for fighting hand to hand with a close formation of shields; and with perfect ease they slew some, who had even dared to cross the river secretly, trusting to swimming, or in hollowed out tree trunks. 11. From there, after trying the skill of our soldiers even to a final test without gaining anything, dislodged by fear and the strength of the legions, and not knowing what direction to take, they came to the neighbourhood of the town of Laranda. 12. There they were refreshed with food and rest, and after their fear had left them, they attacked some rich villages; but since these were aided by some cohorts of cavalry, which chanced to come up, the enemy withdrew without attempting any resistance on the level plain; but as they retreated, they summoned all the flower of their youth that had been left at home. 13. And since they were distressed by severe hunger, they made for a place called Paleas, near the sea, which was protected by a strong wall. There supplies are

firmatum. ubi conduntur nunc usque commeatus, distribui militibus omne latus Isauriae defendentibus assueti. Circumstetere igitur hoc munimentum per triduum et trinoctium, et cum neque acclivitas ipsa sine discrimine posset adiri<sup>1</sup> letali, nec cuniculis quiequam geri, nec procedebat ullum obsidionale commentum, maesti excedunt, postrema vi subigente maiora viribus aggressuri. 14. Proinde concepta rabie saeviore, quam desperatio incendebat et fames, amplificatis viribus, ardore incohibili in excidium urbium matris Seleuciaefferebantur, quam comes tuebatur Castricius, tresque legiones bellicis sudoribus induratae. 15. Horum adventum praedocti speculationibus fidis, rectores militum tessera data sollemni, armatos omnes celeri eduxere procurso, et agiliter praeterito Calycadni fluminis ponte, cuius undarum magnitudo murorum alluit turres, in speciem locavere pugnandi. Neque tamen exsiluit quisquam, nec permissus est congregari. Formidabatur enim flagrans vesania manus, et superior numero. et ruitura sine respectu salutis in ferrum. 16. Viso itaque exercitu procul, auditoque liticinum cautu, represso gradu parumper steteret praedones, exsertantesque minaces gladios postea lentius incedebant. 17. Quibus occurrere bene pertinax miles explicatis ordinibus parans, hastisque feriens scuta, qui habitus iram pugnantium concitat

<sup>1</sup> *possit adiri*, EbG; *possit adire*, V; *possit*, A, put before *adiri* by Clark.



regularly stored even to-day, for distribution to the troops that defend the whole frontier of Isauria. Therefore they invested that fortress for three days and three nights; but since the steep slope itself could not be approached without deadly peril, and nothing could be effected by mines, and no method of siege was successful, they withdrew in dejection, ready, under the pressure of extreme necessity, to undertake even tasks beyond their powers. 14. Accordingly, filled with still greater fury, to which despair and famine added fuel, with increased numbers and irresistible energy they rushed on to destroy Seleucia, the metropolis of the province, which Count Castricius was holding with three legions steeled by hard service. 15. Warned of their approach by trusty scouts, the officers of the garrison gave the watchword, according to regulations, and in a swift sally led out the entire force; and having quickly crossed the bridge over the river Calycadnus, whose mighty stream washes the towers of the city walls, they drew up their men in order of battle. And yet no one charged or was allowed to fight; for they feared that band on fire with madness, superior in numbers, and ready to rush upon the sword, regardless of their lives. 16. Consequently, when the army came into view afar off, and the notes of the trumpeters were heard, the marauders stopped and halted for a while; then, drawing their formidable swords, they came on at a slower pace. 17. And when the unperturbed soldiers made ready to meet them, deploying their ranks and striking their shields with their spears, an action which rouses the wrath and resentment of the combatants, they

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

et dolorem, proximos iam gestu terrebat. Sed cum in certamen alacriter consurgentem, revocavere ductores, rati intempestivum anceps subire certamen, cum haut longe muri distarent, quorum tutela securitas poterat in solido locari cunetorum. 18. Ilac ita persuasione reducti intra moenia bellatores, obseratis undique portarum aditibus, propugnaculis insistebant et pinnis, congesta undique saxa telaque habentes in promptu, ut si quis se proripuisset citarius,<sup>1</sup> multitudine missilium sterneretur et lapidum. 19. Illud tamen clausos vehementer augebat, quod captis navigiis, quae frumenta vehebant per flumen, Isauri quidem alimentorum copiis affluebant, ipsi vero solitarum rerum cibo iam consumendo, inediae propinquantis aerumnas exitialis horrebant. 20. Haec ubi latius fama vulgasset, missaeque relationes assiduae Gallum Caesarem permovissent, quoniam magister equitum longius ea tempestate distinebatur, iussus comes orientis Nebridius, contractis undique militaribus copiis, ad eximendam periculo civitatem amplam et opportunam, studio properabat ingenti. Quo cognito abseessere latrones, nulla re amplius memorabili gesta, dispersique (ut solent,) avia montium petiere celsorum.

<sup>1</sup> *proripuisset*, EBG; *p. citarius*, Gronov, Fletcher; *p. interius*, Val.; *proripuisse* (lac. 3 letters) *terius*, V.

<sup>1</sup> See Introd., pp. xxxiv f.

<sup>2</sup> See Introd., pp. xxviii f.

intimidated the nearest of the enemy by their very gestures. But as they were eagerly rushing to the fray, their leaders called them back, thinking it inadvisable to risk a doubtful combat when fortifications were not far distant, under the protection of which the safety of all could put on a solid foundation. 18. In this conviction, then, the warriors were led back within the walls, the entrances to the gates on all sides were barred, and they took their place on the battlements and pinnacles with rocks gathered from every hand and weapons in readiness, so that, if anyone should force his way near to the walls, he might be overwhelmed by a shower of spears and stones. 19. Still, the besieged were greatly troubled by the fact that the Isaurians, having captured some boats which were carrying grain on the river, were abundantly supplied with provisions, while they themselves had already exhausted the regular stores and were dreading the deadly pangs of approaching famine. 20. When the news of this situation spread abroad, and repeated messages dispatched to Gallus Caesar had roused him to action, since the Master of the Horse<sup>1</sup> was at the time too far removed from the spot, orders were given to Nebridius, Count of the East.<sup>2</sup> He quickly got together troops from every side and with the greatest energy hastened to rescue this great and strategically important city from danger. On learning this, the freebooters departed without accomplishing anything more of consequence, and scattering (after their usual fashion) made for the trackless wastes of the high mountains.

3. *Persarum commentum irritum.*

1. Eo adducta re per Isauriam, rege Persarum bellis finitimis illigato, repellenteque a collimitiis suis ferocissimas gentes, quae mente quadam versabili hostiliter cum saepe incessunt, et in nos arma moventem aliquotiens iuvant, Nohodares quidam nomine e numero optimatum, incursare Mesopotamiam quotiens copia dederit ordinatus, explorabat nostra sollicite, si repperisset usquam locum, vi subita perrupturus. 2. Et quia Mesopotamiae tractus omnes crebro inquietari sucti, praetenturis et stationibus servabantur agrariis, laevorsum flexo itinere. Osdroenae subsiderat extimas partes, novum parumque aliquando temptatum commentum aggressus; quod si impetrasset, fulminis modo cuncta vastarat. Erat autem quod cogitabat huius modi.

3. Batnae municipium in Anthemusia conditum Macedonum manu priscorum, ab Euphrate flumine brevi spatio disparatur, refertum mercatoribus opulentis, ubi annua sollemnitate prope Septembris initium mensis, ad nundinas magna promiscuae fortunae convenit multitudo, ad commercanda quae Indi mittunt et Seres, aliaque<sup>1</sup> plurima vehi terra marique consueta. 4. Hanc regionem praestitutis celebritati diebus, invadere parans dux ante dictus, per solitudines Aboraeque amnis herbidas ripas,

<sup>1</sup> *aliaque*, A, Kiessling; *alia*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Sapor, see Index.

3. *An unsuccessful plot of the Persians.*

1. When affairs had reached this stage in Isauria, the king of Persia,<sup>1</sup> involved in war with his neighbours, was driving back from his frontiers a number of very wild tribes which, with inconsistent policy, often make hostile raids upon his territories and sometimes aid him when he makes war upon us. One of his grandees, Nohodares by name, having received orders to invade Mesopotamia whenever occasion offered, was carefully reconnoitring our territory, intending a sudden incursion in case he found any opening. 2. And as all the districts of Mesopotamia, being exposed to frequent raids, were protected by frontier-guards and country garrisons, Nohodares, having turned his course to the left, had beset the remotest parts of Osdroene, attempting a novel and all but unprecedented manœuvre; and if he had succeeded, he would have devastated the whole region like a thunderbolt. Now what he planned was the following.

3. The town of Batne, founded in Anthemusia in early times by a band of Macedonians, is separated by a short space from the river Euphrates; it is filled with wealthy traders when, at the yearly festival, near the beginning of the month of September, a great crowd of every condition gathers for the fair, to traffic in the wares sent from India and China, and in other articles that are regularly brought there in great abundance by land and sea. 4. This district the above-mentioned leader made ready to invade, on the days set for this celebration, through the wilderness and the grass-covered banks of the river Abora; but he was betrayed by information

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

suorum indicio proditus, qui admissi flagitii metu exagitati, ad praesidia descivere Romana, absque ullo egressus effectū, deinde tabescebat immobilis.

### 4. *Saracenorum irruptiones et mores.*

1. Saraceni tamen nec amici nobis unquam nec hostes optandi, ultro citroque discursantes, quicquid inveniri poterat momento temporis parvi vastabant, milvorum rapacium similes, qui si praedam dispexerint celsius, volatu rapiunt celeri, ac si<sup>1</sup> impetaverint, non immorantur. 2. Super quorum moribus licet in actibus principis Marci, et postea aliquotiens memini rettulisse,<sup>2</sup> tamen nunc quoque pauca de eisdem expediam carptim. 3. Apud has gentes, quarum exordiens initium ab Assyriis, ad Nili cataractas porrigitur, et confinia Blemmyarum, omnes pari sorte sunt bellatores, seminudi coloratis sagulis pube tenus amicti, equorum adiumento perniciousum graciliumque camelorum per diversa reptantes, in tranquillis vel turbidis rebus; nec eorum quisquam aliquando stivam apprehendit, vel arborem colit, aut arva subigendo quaeritat victum, sed errant semper per spatia longe lateque distenta, sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus; nec idem perferunt diutius caelum, aut tractus unius sol illis unquam placet. 4. Vita est illis semper in fuga, uxoresque mercennariae conductae ad tempus ex pacto, atque (ut sit species matrimonii.) dotis nomine futura coniunx hastam et tabernaculum

<sup>1</sup> *ac si*, Mommsen; *aut si*, V.  
Kiessling; *meminerit tulisse*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *memini rettulisse*.

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<sup>1</sup> In one of the lost books.

given by some of his own soldiers, who, fearing punishment for a crime which they had committed, deserted to the Roman garrison. Therefore, withdrawing without accomplishing anything, he languished thereafter in inaction.

#### 4. *Inroads of the Saracens ; their customs.*

1. The Saracens, however, whom we never found desirable either as friends or as enemies, ranging up and down the country, in a brief space of time laid waste whatever they could find, like rapacious hawks which, whenever they have caught sight of any prey from on high, seize it with swift swoop, and directly they have seized it make off. 2. Although I recall having told of their customs in my history of the emperor Marcus,<sup>1</sup> and several times after that, yet I will now briefly relate a few more particulars about them. 3. Among those tribes whose original abode extends from the Assyrians to the cataracts of the Nile and the frontiers of the Blemmyae all alike are warriors of equal rank, half-nude, clad in dyed cloaks as far as the waist, ranging widely with the help of swift horses and slender camels in times of peace or of disorder. No man ever grasps a plough-handle or cultivates a tree, none seeks a living by tilling the soil, but they rove continually over wide and extensive tracts without a home, without fixed abodes or laws ; they cannot long endure the same sky, nor does the sun of a single district ever content them. 4. Their life is always on the move, and they have mercenary wives, hired under a temporary contract. But in order that there may be some semblance of matrimony, the future wife, by way of dower, offers

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

offert marito, post statum diem (si id elegerit,) discessura, et incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in venerem<sup>1</sup> uterque solvitur sexus. 5. Ita autem quoad vixerint late palantur, ut alibi mulier nubat, in loco pariat alio, liberosque procul educat,<sup>2</sup> nulla copia quiescendi permissa. 6. Victus universis caro ferina est, lactisque abundans copia qua sustentantur, et herbae multiplices, et siquae alites capi per aucupium possint, et plerosque nos vidimus frumenti usum et vini penitus ignorantes.

7. Haec de natione perniciosa. Nunc ad textum propositum revertamur.

### 5. *Magentianorum supplicia.*

1. Dum haec in oriente aguntur, Arelate hiemem agens Constantius, post theatralis ludos atque circenses ambitioso edito apparatu, diem sextum idus Octobres, qui imperii eius annum tricensimum terminabat, insolentiae pondera gravius librans, siquid dubium deferebatur aut falsum, pro liquido accipiens et comperto, inter alia exearnificatum Gerontium, Magentianae comitem partis, exsulari maerore multavit. 2. Utque aegrum corpus quasi etiam levibus solet offensis, ita animus eius angustus et tener, quicquid increpisset, ad salutis

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<sup>1</sup> *in venerem*, W<sup>2</sup> BG; *in venere*, Traube; *invenire*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *educat*, Lind.; *inde educat*, Novák; *deducat*, V.

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<sup>1</sup>This dates his reign from A.D. 323, when he and his brothers Constantine and Crispus were appointed Caesars, on October 8th, by Constantine the Great. He became an Augustus with Constantine II. and Constans in 337, and reigned alone, after the death of Magentius, from 353 to



her husband a spear and a tent, with the right to leave him after a stipulated time, if she so elect : and it is unbelievable with what ardour both sexes give themselves up to passion. 5. Moreover, they wander so widely as long as they live, that a woman marries in one place, gives birth in another, and rears her children far away, without being allowed any opportunity for rest. 6. They all feed upon game and an abundance of milk, which is their main sustenance, on a variety of plants, as well as on such birds as they are able to take by fowling ; and I have seen many of them who were wholly unacquainted with grain and wine. 7. So much for this dangerous tribe. Let us now return to our original theme.

5. *The torture of the followers of Magnentius.*

1. While this was happening in the East, Constantius was passing the winter at Arelate, where he gave entertainments in the theatre and the circus with ostentatious magnificence. Then, on the 10th of October, which completed the thirtieth year of his reign,<sup>1</sup> giving greater weight to his arrogance and accepting every false or doubtful charge as evident and proven, among other atrocities he tortured Gerontius, a count of the party of Magnentius,<sup>2</sup> and visited him with the sorrow of exile. 2. And, as an ailing body is apt to be affected even by slight annoyances, so his narrow and sensitive mind, thinking that every sound indicated something done or planned at the expense of his safety, made his

361. Ammianus seems to have written thirtieth for twenty-ninth, and October for November.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 1, and Index.

suae dispendium existimans factum aut cogitatum, insontium caedibus fecit victoriam luctuosam. 3. Siquis enim militarium vel honoratorum aut nobilis inter suos, rumore tenus esset insimulatus fovisse partes hostiles, iniecto onere catenarum, in modum beluae trahebatur, et inimico urgente vel nullo, quasi sufficiente hoc solo, quod nominatus esset aut delatus aut postulatus, capite vel multatione bonorum, aut insulari solitudine damnabatur.

4. Accedebant enim eius asperitati, ubi imminuta esse<sup>1</sup> amplitudo imperii dicebatur, et iracundiae suspicionumque vanitati.<sup>2</sup> proximorum cruentae blanditiae, exaggerantium incidentia, et dolere impendio simulantium, si principis petitur<sup>3</sup> vita, a cuius salute velut filo pendere statum orbis terrarum fietis vocibus exclamabant. 5. Ideoque fertur neminem aliquando ob haec vel similia poenae addictum, oblato de more elogio, revocari iussisse, quod inexorabiles quoque principes factitarunt. Et exitiale hoc vitium, quod in aliis non numquam intepescit, in illo aetatis progressu effervescebat, obstinatum eius propositum accendente adulatorum cohorte.

<sup>1</sup> *inminuta esse*, Traube; *inminuta vel laesa*, Val.; *inminutae* (lac. 5 letters), V.      <sup>2</sup> *suspicionumque vanitati*, Heraeus; *suspicionum quantitati*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *petitur*, Novák; *periclitetur*, Gardt.; *per[di]tur*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Over Magnentius. See note, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The *honorati* were former civil officials; cf. xxix. 1, 9. *abunde honoratum*; *Asium quippe reverat pro praefectis*.

victory<sup>1</sup> lamentable through the murder of innocent men. 3. For if anyone of the military commanders or ex-officials,<sup>2</sup> or one of high rank in his own community, was accused even by rumour of having favoured the party of the emperor's opponent, he was loaded with chains and dragged about like a wild beast. And whether a personal enemy pressed the charge or no one at all, as though it was enough that he had been named, informed against, or accused, he was condemned to death, or his property confiscated, or he was banished to some desert island.

4. Still greater was his cruelty whenever the majesty of the empire was said to be insulted, and his angry passions and unfounded suspicions were increased by the bloodthirsty flattery of his courtiers, who exaggerated everything that happened and pretended to be greatly troubled by the thought of an attempt on the life of a prince on whose safety, as on a thread, they hypocritically declared that the condition of the whole world depended. 5. And he is even said to have given orders that no one who had ever been punished for these or similar offences should be given a new trial after a writ of condemnation<sup>3</sup> had once been presented to him in the usual manner, which even the most inexorable emperors commonly allowed. And this fatal fault of cruelty, which in others sometimes grew less with advancing age, in his case became more violent, since a group of flatterers intensified his stubborn resolution.

<sup>3</sup>That is, a tablet on which the charge and the punishment were recorded. This was sometimes handed to the emperor by a judge, cf. Suet., *Calig.* 27, 1, sometimes issued by the emperor himself: see *Ann.* xiv. 7, 2; xix. 12, 9.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

6. Inter quos Paulus eminebat notarius, ortus in Hispania coluber<sup>1</sup> quidam sub vultu latens, odorandi vias periculorum occultas perquam sagax. Is in Britanniam missus, ut militares quosdam perduceret, ausos conspirasse Magnentio, cum reniti non possent, iussa licentius supergressus, fluminis modo fortunis complurium sese repentinus infudit, et ferebatur per strages multiplices ac ruinas, vinculis membra ingenuorum affligens, et quosdam obterens manicis, crimina scilicet multa consarcinando, a veritate longe discreta. Unde admissum est facinus impium, quod Constanti tempus nota inusserat sempiterna.

7. Martinus agens illas provincias pro praefectis, aerumnas innocentium graviter gemens, saepeque obsecrans, ut ab omni culpa immunibus parceretur, cum non impetraret, minabatur se discessurum; ut saltem id metuens, perquisitor malivölus tandem desineret quieti coalitos homines in aperta pericula proiectare.

8. Per hoc minui studium suum existimans Paulus, ut erat in complicandis negotiis artifex dirus, unde ei Catenae indutum<sup>2</sup> est cognomentum, vicarium ipsum eos quibus praecerat adhuc defensantem, ad sortem periculorum communium traxit. Et instabat ut eum quoque cum tribunis et aliis pluribus, ad comitatum imperatoris vinctum perduceret; quo percutus ille, exitio urgente abrupto,

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<sup>1</sup> *coluber*, Bentley, Novák: *glaber*, V.                      <sup>2</sup> *indutum*,  
Clark, c.c. (cf. xv. 3. 4): *inditum*, EBG; *indinum*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See Introd., p. xxx.

6. Prominent among these was the state secretary <sup>1</sup> Paulus, a native of Spain, a kind of viper, whose countenance concealed his character, but who was extremely clever in scenting out hidden means of danger for others. When he had been sent to Britain to fetch some officers who had dared to conspire with Magnentius, since they could make no resistance he autocratically extended his instructions and, like a flood, suddenly overwhelmed the fortunes of many, making his way amid manifold slaughter and destruction, imprisoning freeborn men and even degrading some with handcuffs: as a matter of fact, he patched together many accusations with utter disregard of the truth, and to him was due an impious crime, which fixed an eternal stain upon the time of Constantius. 7. Martinus, who was governing those provinces as a deputy of the prefects, deeply deplored the woes suffered by innocent men; and after often begging that those who were free from any reproach should be spared, when he failed in his appeal he threatened to retire, in the hope that, at least through fear of this, that malevolent man-hunter might finally cease to expose to open danger men naturally given to peace. 8. Paulus thought that this would interfere with his profession, and being a formidable artist in devising complications, for which reason he was nicknamed "The Chain," since the deputy continued to defend those whom he was appointed to govern, Paulus involved even him in the common peril, threatening to bring him also in chains to the emperor's court, along with the tribunes and many others. Thereupon Martinus, alarmed at this threat, and thinking swift death

ferro eundem adoritur Paulum. Et quia languente dextera letaliter ferire non potuit, iam dstrictum mucronem in proprium latus impegit. Hocque deformi genere mortis, excessit e vita iustissimus rector,<sup>1</sup> ausus miserabiles casus levare multorum. 9. Quibus ita sceleste patratis, Paulus cruore per-fusus, reversusque ad principis castra, multos co-opertos paene catenis adduxit, in squalorem deiectos atque maestitiam, quorum adventu intendebantur eculei, uncosque parabat carnifex et tormenta. Et ex his<sup>2</sup> proscripti sunt plures, actique in exsilium alii, non nullos gladii consumpsere poenales. Nec enim quisquam facile meminit sub Constantio, ubi susurro tenus haec movebantur, quemquam absolutum.

6. *Senatus populique Romani vitia.*

1. Inter haec Orfitus praefecti potestate regebat urbem aeternam,<sup>3</sup> ultra modum delatae dignitatis sese offerens insolenter, vir quidem prudens, et forensium negotiorum oppido gnarus, sed splendore liberalium doctrinarum minus quam nobilem decur-erat institutus. Quo administrante seditiones sunt concitatae graves ob inopiam vini, cuius<sup>4</sup> avidis usibus vulgus intentum, ad motus asperos excitatur et crebros.

<sup>1</sup> rector, H. Ernst, Bentley; remora, V.      <sup>2</sup> et ex his, Eyssen.: tormentae texis, V.      <sup>3</sup> urbem aeternam, E<sup>2</sup>A: ur (lac. of 8 letters) nam, V<sup>1</sup>, urbem etate nam, V<sup>2</sup>.  
<sup>4</sup> cuius, C. F. W. Müller; huius, V.

imminent, drew his sword and attacked that same Paulus. But since the weakness of his hand prevented him from dealing a fatal blow, he plunged the sword which he had already drawn into his own side. And by that ignominious death there passed from life a most just ruler, who had dared to lighten the unhappy lot of many. 9. After perpetrating these atrocious crimes, Paulus, stained with blood, returned to the emperor's camp, bringing with him many men almost covered with chains and in a state of pitiful filth and wretchedness. On their arrival, the racks were made ready and the executioner prepared his hooks and other instruments of torture. Many of the prisoners were proscribed, others driven into exile; to some the sword dealt the penalty of death. For no one easily recalls the acquittal of anyone in the time of Constantius when an accusation against him had even been whispered.

## 6. *The faults of the Roman Senate and People.*

1. Meanwhile Orfitus was governing the eternal city with the rank of Prefect, and with an arrogance beyond the limits of the power that had been conferred upon him. He was a man of wisdom, it is true, and highly skilled in legal practice, but less equipped with the adornment of the liberal arts than became a man of noble rank. During his term of office serious riots broke out because of the scarcity of wine; for the people, eager for an unrestrained use of this commodity, were roused to frequent and violent disturbances.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

2. Et quoniam mirari posse quosdam peregrinos existimo, haec lecturos forsitan (si contigerit), quam ob rem eum oratio ad ea monstranda deflexerit quae Romae geruntur, nihil praeter seditiones narratur et tabernas et vilitates harum similis alias, summatim causas perstringam, nusquam a veritate sponte propria digressurus.

3. Tempore quo primis auspiciis in mundanum fulgorem surgeret victura dum erunt homines Roma, ut augetur sublimibus incrementis, foedere pacis aeternae Virtus convenit atque Fortuna, plerumque dissidentes, quarum si altera defuisset, ad perfectam non venerat summitatem. 4. Eius populus ab incunabilis primis ad usque pueritiae tempus extremum, quod annis circumcluditur fere trecentis, circummurana pertulit bella: deinde aetatem ingressus adultam, post multiplices bellorum aerumnas, Alpes transcendit et fretum; in iuvenem erectus et virum, ex omni plaga quam orbis ambit immensus, reportavit laureas et<sup>1</sup> triumphos; iamque vergens in senium, et domine solo aliquotiens vincens, ad tranquilliora vitae discessit. 5. Ideo urbs venerabilis, post superbas efferatarum gentium cervices oppressas, latasque leges, fundamenta libertatis et retinacula sempiterna, velut frugi parens et prudens et dives, Caesaribus tamquam liberis suis regenda patrimonii iura permisit. 6. Et olim licet otiosae

<sup>1</sup> *laureas et*. Kiessling; *laureace*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Here Ammianus, writing his History at Rome, classes himself as a Roman: see note on 6, 12, below, and Introd., p. xiv.



2. Now I think that some foreigners<sup>1</sup> who will perhaps read this work (if I shall be so fortunate) may wonder why it is that when the narrative turns to the description of what goes on at Rome, I tell of nothing save dissensions, taverns, and other similar vulgarities. Accordingly, I shall briefly touch upon the reasons, intending nowhere to depart intentionally from the truth.

3. At the time when Rome first began to rise into a position of world-wide splendour, destined to live so long as men shall exist, in order that she might grow to a towering stature, Virtue and Fortune, ordinarily at variance, formed a pact of eternal peace; for if either one of them had failed her, Rome had not come to complete supremacy. 4. Her people, from the very cradle to the end of their childhood,<sup>2</sup> a period of about three hundred years, carried on wars about her walls. Then, entering upon adult life, after many toilsome wars, they crossed the Alps and the sea. Raised to manly vigour, from every region which the vast globe includes, they brought back laurels and triumphs. And now, declining into old age, and often owing victory to its name alone, it has come to a quieter period of life. 5. Thus the venerable city, after humbling the proud necks of savage nations, and making laws, the everlasting foundations and moorings of liberty, like a thrifty parent, wise and wealthy, has entrusted the management of her inheritance to the Caesars, as to her children. 6. And

<sup>2</sup>The same figure is used by Florus, *Introd.* 4 ff. (*L.C.L.* pp. 6 ff.).

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

sint tribus, pacataeque centuriae, et nulla suffragiorum certamina, sed Pompiliani redierit securitas temporis, per omnes tamen quot orae sunt partesque<sup>1</sup> terrarum, ut domina suscipitur et regina, et ubique patrum reverenda cum auctoritate canities, populique Romani nomen circumspectum et verecundum.

7. Sed laeditur hic coetuum magnificus splendor, levitate paucorum incondita, ubi nati sunt non reputantium, sed tamquam indulta licentia vitiis, ad errores lapsorum atque<sup>2</sup> lasciviam. Ut enim Simonides lyricus docet, beate perfecta ratione victuro, ante alia patriam esse convenit gloriosam.

8. Ex his quidam aeternitati se commendari posse per statuas aestimantes, eas ardentem affectant, quasi plus praemii de figmentis aereis sensu carentibus adepturi, quam ex conscientia honeste recteque factorum, easque auro curant imbratitari, quod Acilio Glabrioni delatum est primo, cum consiliis armisque regem superasset Antiochum. Quam autem sit pulchrum, exigua haec spernentem et minima, ad ascensus verae gloriae tendere longos et arduos, ut memorat vates Ascraeus, Censorius Cato monstravit. Qui interrogatus quam ob rem inter multos ipse<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *quot orae sunt partesque*, Seguine, Clark; *quotque sunt partes quae*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *atque*, Harmon, c.e., Clark; *ac*, Eysen. : *ad*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ipse*, Traube in lae. of 3 letters.

<sup>1</sup> The thirty-five tribes into which the Roman citizens were divided.

<sup>2</sup> The *comitia centuriata*.

<sup>3</sup> The passage does not occur in the surviving fragments. Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 1, attributes the same saying to Euripides, "or whoever it was."

<sup>4</sup> See Livy, xl. 34, 5.

although for some time the tribes<sup>1</sup> have been inactive and the centuries<sup>2</sup> at peace, and there are no contests for votes but the tranquillity of Numa's time has returned, yet throughout all regions and parts of the earth she is looked up to as mistress and queen: everywhere the white hair of the senators and their authority are revered and the name of the Roman people is respected and honoured.

7. But this magnificence and splendour of the assemblies is marred by the rude worthlessness of a few, who do not consider where they were born, but, as if licence were granted to vice, descend to sin and wantonness. For as the lyric poet Simonides tells us,<sup>3</sup> one who is going to live happy and in accord with perfect reason ought above all else to have a glorious fatherland. 8. Some of these men eagerly strive for statues, thinking that by them they can be made immortal, as if they would gain a greater reward from senseless brazen images than from the consciousness of honourable and virtuous conduct. And they take pains to have them overlaid with gold, a fashion first introduced by Aeilus Glabrio,<sup>4</sup> after his skill and his arms had overcome King Antiochus.<sup>5</sup> But how noble it is, scorning these slight and trivial honours, to aim to tread the long and steep ascent to true glory, as the bard of Asera expresses it,<sup>6</sup> is made clear by Cato the Censor. For when he was asked why he alone among many did not have a

<sup>5</sup> At Thermopylae in 191 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 289 ff. τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν | Ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν, | καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται, | Ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ' εὐοῦσα.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

statuam non haberet, “Malo” inquit “ambigere bonos, quam ob rem id non meruerim, quam (quod est gravius) cur impetraverim mussitare.”

9. Alii summum decus in carruchis solito altioribus, et ambitioso vestium cultu ponentes, sudant sub ponderibus lacernarum, quas in collis insertas iugulis <sup>1</sup> ipsis annectunt, nimia subtegminum tenuitate perflabilis, exeeptantes eas manu utraque et vexantes <sup>2</sup> crebris agitationibus, maximeque sinistra, ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicue luceant, varietate liciorum effigiatae in species animalium multiformes. 10. Alii nullo quaerente, vultus severitate assimilata, patrimonia sua in immensum extollunt, cultorum (ut putant) feracium multiplicantes annuos fructus, quae a primo ad ultimum solem se abunde iactitant possidere, ignorantes profecto maiores suos per quos ita magnitudo Romana porrigitur, non divitiis eluxisse, sed per bella saevissima, nec opibus nec victu nec indumentorum vilitate gregariis militibus discrepantes, opposita cuncta superasse virtute. 11. Hac <sup>3</sup> ex causa collaticia stipe Valerius humatur ille Publicola, et subsidiis amicorum mariti, inops cum liberis uxor alitur Reguli, et

<sup>1</sup> *insertas iugulis*, W<sup>2</sup>, Gronov; *inserta singulis*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *exeeptantes eas* (*expendentes eas*, Val.) *manu utraque et vexantes*, Novák; *explicantes eas*, Bentley, Traube; *per p̄iu uilis expeetantes*, V<sup>2</sup> in lac. 24 letters. <sup>3</sup> *hac*, Eyssen.; *hic*, V.

statue, he replied : “ I would rather that good men should wonder why I did not deserve one than (which is much worse) should mutter ‘ Why was he given one ? ’ ”

9. Other men, taking great pride in coaches higher than common and in ostentatious finery of apparel, sweat under heavy cloaks, which they fasten about their necks and bind around their very throats, while the air blows through them because of the excessive lightness of the material ; and they lift them up with both hands and wave them with many gestures, especially with their left hands,<sup>1</sup> in order that the over-long fringes and the tunics embroidered with party-coloured threads in multiform figures of animals may be conspicuous. 10. Others, though no one questions them, assume a grave expression and greatly exaggerate their wealth, doubling the annual yield of their fields, well cultivated (as they think), of which they assert that they possess a great number from the rising to the setting sun ; they are clearly unaware that their forefathers, through whom the greatness of Rome was so far flung, gained renown, not by riches, but by fierce wars, and not differing from the common soldiers in wealth, mode of life, or simplicity of attire, overcame all obstacles by valour. 11. For that reason the eminent Valerius Publicola was buried by a contribution of money,<sup>2</sup> and through the aid of her husband’s friends<sup>3</sup> the needy wife of

<sup>1</sup> Probably to display their rings ; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii.

9. *manus et prorsus sinistrae maximam auctoritatem conciliavere auro.* <sup>2</sup> In 503 B.C. ; see Livy, ii. 16, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Valerius Maximus, iv. 4, 6, says that it was the senate that came to their aid.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

dotatur ex aerario filia Scipionis. cum nobilitas florem adultae virginis diuturnum absentia pauperis erubesceret patris.

12. At nunc si ad aliquem bene nummatum tumen-temque ideo, honestus advena salutatum introieris primitus, tamquam exoptatus suscipieris, et interrogatus multa coactusque mentiri, miraberis numquam antea visus, summam virum tenuem te sic enixius observantem, ut paeniteat ob<sup>1</sup> haec bona tamquam praecipua non vidisse ante decennium Romam. 13. Hacque affabilitate confisus. cum eadem postridie feceris, ut ineognitus haerebis et repentinus. hortatore illo hesternò suos enumerando,<sup>2</sup> qui sis vel unde venias diutius ambigente. Agnitus vero tandem et asscitus in amicitiam. si te salutandi assiduitati dederis triennio indiscretus, et per totidem dierum<sup>3</sup> defueris tempus, reverteris ad paria ferenda, nec ubi esses interrogatus. et ni inde miser<sup>4</sup> discesseris, aetatem omnem frustra in stipite conteres

<sup>1</sup> ob. Val. ; ut. V.      <sup>2</sup> suos, scripsi : varia or fovera enumerando. Wagner : clientes n., suggested by Clark ; te non n., Pet. ; inter miracula n., Novák ; numerando, preceded by lac. of 5 letters, V.      <sup>3</sup> dierum, added by Val. ; V omits.      <sup>4</sup> ni inde miser, Novák ; et non temisero, in lac. of 10 letters, V<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Cu. Cornelius Scipio, who wrote from Spain in the second Punic war, asking to be recalled, that he might provide a dowry for his daughter ; see Valerius Maximus, iv. 4, 10.

Regulus and her children were supported. And the daughter of Scipio<sup>1</sup> received her dowry from the public treasury, since the nobles blushed to look upon the beauty of this marriageable maiden long unsought because of the absence of a father of modest means.

12. But now-a-days, if as an honourable stranger<sup>2</sup> you enter to pay your respects to some man who is well-to-do<sup>3</sup> and therefore puffed up, at first you will be greeted as if you were a long-expected friend, and after being asked many questions and forced to lie, you will wonder, since the man never saw you before, that a great personage should pay such marked attention to your humble self as to make you regret, because of such special kindness, that you did not see Rome ten years earlier. 13. When, encouraged by this affability, you make the same call on, the following day, you will hang about unknown and unexpected, while the man who the day before urged you to call again counts up his clients, wondering who you are or whence you came. But when you are at last recognized and admitted to his friendship, if you devote yourself to calling upon him for three years without interruption, then are away for the same number of days, and return to go through with a similar course, you will not be asked where you were, and unless you abandon the quest in sorrow, you will waste your whole life to no purpose in paying court to the blockhead.

<sup>2</sup> Ensslin, p. 7 (see Bibliography), refers this to Ammianus; cf. note on 6, 2, above.

<sup>3</sup> For *bene nummatum*, cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 6, 38.

summittendo. 14. Cum autem commodis<sup>1</sup> intervallata temporibus, convivia longa et noxia coeperint apparari, vel distributio sollemnium sportularum, anxia deliberatione tractatur, an exceptis his quibus vicissitudo debetur, peregrinum invitari conveniet, et si digesto plene consilio, id placuerit fieri, is adhibetur qui pro domibus excubat aurigarum, aut artem tesserariam profitetur, aut secretiora quaedam se nosse confingit. 15. Homines enim eruditos et sobrios, ut infaustos et inutiles vitant, eo quoque accedente, quod et nomenclatores, assueti haec et talia venditare, mercede accepta, lucris quosdam et prandiis inserunt subditicios ignobiles et obscuros.

16. Mensarum enim voragines et varias voluptatum illecebras, ne longius progrediar, praetermitto, illuc transiturus, quod quidam per ampla spatia urbis, subversasque silices, sine periculi metu properantes equos velut publicos, ignitis<sup>2</sup> quod dicitur calcibus<sup>3</sup> agitant, familiarium agmina tamquam praedatorios globos post terga trahentes, ne Sannione quidem (ut ait comicus) domi relicto. Quos imitatae matronae complures, opertis capitibus et basternis, per latera civitatis euneta discurrunt. 17. Utque proeliorum periti rectores primo catervas densas opponunt et fortes, deinde leves armaturas,

<sup>1</sup> *commodis*, Val.; *cum autem commotus*, in lac. of 15 letters, V<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> *ignitis*, Pet.; *signatis*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *calcibus*, Bentley, Traube; *calcis*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to a plebeian (cf. xxviii. 4, 29), a partisan of one of the colours. Cf. also Suet., *Calig.* 55, 3.



14. And when, after a sufficient interval of time, the preparation of those tedious and unwholesome banquets begins, or the distribution of the customary doles, it is debated with anxious deliberation whether it will be suitable to invite a stranger, with the exception of those to whom a return of hospitality is due; and if, after full and mature deliberation, the decision is in the affirmative, the man who is invited is one who watches all night before the house of the charioteers,<sup>1</sup> or who is a professional dicer, or who pretends to the knowledge of certain secrets. 15. For they avoid learned and serious people as unlucky and useless, in addition to which the announcers of names, who are wont to traffic in these and similar favours, on receiving a bribe, admit to the doles and the dinners obscure and low-born intruders.

16. But I pass over the gluttonous banquets and the various allurements of pleasures, lest I should go too far, and I shall pass to the fact that certain persons hasten without fear of danger through the broad streets of the city and over the upturned stones of the pavements as if they were driving post-horses with hoofs of fire (as the saying is), dragging after them armies of slaves like bands of brigands and not leaving even Sannio at home, as the comic writer says.<sup>2</sup> And many matrons, imitating them, rush about through all quarters of the city with covered heads and in closed litters. 17. And as skilful directors of battles place in the van dense throngs of brave soldiers, then light-armed troops, after them the javelin-throwers, and

<sup>2</sup> Terence, *Eun.*, 780, *solus Sannio seruat domi.*

post iaculatores ultimasque subsidiales acies (si fors adegerit) iuvaturas, ita praepositis urbanae familiae suspense digerentibus atque<sup>1</sup> sollicite, quos insignes faciunt virgae dexteris aptatae, velut tessera data castrensi, iuxta vehiculi frontem omne textrinum incedit: huic atratum coquinae iungitur ministerium, dein totum promisee servitium, cum otiosis plebeis de vicinitate coniunctis; postrema multitudo spadonum a senibus in pueros desinens, obluridi distortaque lineamentorum compage deformes, ut quaqua incesserit quisquam, cernens mutilorum hominum agmina, detestetur memoriam Samiramidis reginae illius veteris, quae teneros mares castravit omnium prima, velut vim iniectans naturae, eandemque ab instituto cursu retorquens, quae inter ipsa oriundi crepundia, per primigenios seminis fontes, tacita quodam modo lege vias propagandae posteritatis ostendit.

18. Quod cum ita sit, paucae domus studiorum seriis cultibus antea celebratae, nunc ludibriis ignaviae torpentis<sup>2</sup> exundant, vocabili sonu, perflabili tinnitu fidium resultantes. Denique pro philosopho cantor, et in locum oratoris doctor artium ludicrarum accitur, et bybliotheicis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis. organa fabricantur hydraulica, et lyrae ad speciem<sup>3</sup> carpentorum ingentes, tibiaeque et histrionici gestus instrumenta non levia.

<sup>1</sup> *atque*, added by Novák. cf. Livy. xxii. 59. 16; xxvii. 50, 6; V omits.

<sup>2</sup> *torpentis*, vulgo; *torrentes*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *ad*. BG in E<sup>2</sup>; *de specie*, Eyssen.; *de speciem*, V.

last of all the reserve forces, to enter the action in case chance makes it needful, just so those who have charge of a city household, made conspicuous by wands grasped in their right hands, carefully and diligently draw up the array; then, as if the signal had been given in camp, close to the front of the carriage all the weavers march; next to these the blackened service of the kitchen, then all the rest of the slaves without distinction, accompanied by the idle plebeians of the neighbourhood; finally, the throng of eunuchs, beginning with the old men and ending with the boys, sallow and disfigured by the distorted form of their members; so that, wherever anyone goes, beholding the troops of mutilated men, he would curse the memory of that Queen Samiramis of old, who was the first of all to castrate young males, thus doing violence, as it were, to nature and wresting her from her intended course, since she at the very beginning of life, through the primitive founts of the seed, by a kind of secret law, shows the ways to propagate posterity.

18. In consequence of this state of things, the few houses that were formerly famed for devotion to serious pursuits now teem with the sports of sluggish indolence, re-echoing to the sound of singing and the tinkling of flutes and lyres. In short, in place of the philosopher the singer is called in, and in place of the orator the teacher of stagecraft, and while the libraries are shut up forever like tombs, water-organs are manufactured and lyres as large as carriages, and flutes and huge instruments for gesticulating actors.

19. Postremo ad id indignitatis est ventum, ut cum peregrini ob formidatam haud ita dudum alimentorum inopiam pellerentur ab urbe praecipites, sectatoribus disciplinarum liberalium, impendio paucis, sine respiratione ulla extrusis, tenerentur mimarum asseculae<sup>1</sup> veri, quique id simularunt ad tempus, et tria milia saltatricum, ne interpellata quidem, cum choris totidemque remaneret magistris. 20. Et licet, quocumque oculos flexeris, feminas affatim multas spectare cirratas, quibus, (si nupsissent) per aetatem ter iam nixus poterat suppetere liberorum, ad usque taedium pedibus pavimenta tergentis, iactari volucriter<sup>2</sup> gyris, dum exprimunt innumera simulacra, quae finxere fabulae teatrales.

21. Illud autem non dubitatur, quod cum esset aliquando virtutum omnium domicilium Roma, ingenuos advenas plerique nobilium, ut Homerici bacarum suavitate Lotophagi, humanitatis multiformibus officiis retentabant. 22. Nunc vero inanes flatus quorundam, vile esse quicquid extra urbis pomerium nascitur aestimant praeter orbos et caelibes, nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romae.

<sup>1</sup> *adsaeculae*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *uolucriter*, Gronov; *uoluctur*, V.

<sup>1</sup> This happened in 383 B.C.; see *Introductio*, p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. dancing on the mosaic pavements of great houses.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, ix. 84 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Originally, the line within the city wall, marking the

19. At last we have reached such a state of baseness, that whereas not so very long ago, when there was fear of a scarcity of food, foreigners were driven neck and crop from the city,<sup>1</sup> and those who practised the liberal arts (very few in number) were thrust out without a breathing space, yet the genuine attendants upon actresses of the mimes, and those who for the time pretended to be such, were kept with us, while three thousand dancing girls, without even being questioned, remained here with their choruses, and an equal number of dancing masters. 20. And, wherever you turn your eyes, you may see a throng of women with curled hair, who might, if they had married, by this time, so far as age goes, have already produced three children, sweeping the pavements<sup>2</sup> with their feet to the point of weariness and whirling in rapid gyrations, while they represent the innumerable figures that the stage-plays have devised.

21. Furthermore, there is no doubt that when once upon a time Rome was the abode of all the virtues, many of the nobles detained here foreigners of free birth by many kindly attentions, as the Lotus-eaters of Homer<sup>3</sup> did by the sweetness of their fruits. 22. But now the vain arrogance of some men regards everything born outside the pomerium<sup>4</sup> of our city as worthless, except the childless and unwedded: and it is beyond belief with what various kinds of obsequiousness men without children are courted at

limit within which the auspices could be taken: the term *pomerium* was soon transferred to the strip of land between this line and the actual city wall. Here it means merely the wall of the city.

23. Et quoniam apud eos, ut in capite mundi, morborum acerbitates celsius dominantur, ad quos vel sedandos omnis professio medendi torpescit, excogitatum est admniculum sospitale, nequi amicum perferentem similia videat, additumque est cautiorebus<sup>1</sup> paucis remedium aliud satis validum, ut<sup>2</sup> famulos percontatum missos quem ad modum valeant noti hac<sup>3</sup> aegritudine colligati, non ante recipiant domum, quam lavacro purgaverint corpus. Ita etiam alienis oculis visa metuitur labes. 24. Sed tamen haec cum ita tutius observentur, quidam vigore artuum imminuto, rogati ad nuptias, ubi aurum dextris manibus cavatis offertur, impigre vel usque Spoletium pergunt. Haec nobilium sunt<sup>4</sup> instituta.

25. Ex turba vero imae sortis et paupertinae, in tabernis aliqui pernoctant vinariis, non nulli sub velabris<sup>5</sup> umbraculorum theatralium latent, quae, Campanam imitatus lasciviam, Catulus in aedilitate sua suspendit omnium primus: aut pugnaciter aleis certant, turpi sono fragosis naribus introrsum reducto spiritu concrepantes; aut quod est studiorum omnium maximum ab ortu lucis ad vesperam sole fatiscunt vel pluviis, per minutias<sup>6</sup> aurigarum

<sup>1</sup> *cautioribus*, Bentley, *cautionibus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *ut*, added by Lind.; V omits.      <sup>3</sup> *noti hac*, G; *non hac*, EB; *ut hac*, Lind.; *non haec*, V.

<sup>4</sup> *sunt*, Kiessling; *est*, V.

<sup>5</sup> *nonnulli sub velabris* (*nonnulli*, G; *uelariis*, Gardt.), Her.; [*u*]ariis non nullis velabris, V.      Q. Catulus primus spectantium consessum velorum umbraculis texit.

<sup>6</sup> *per minutias*, Lind.; *perminuas*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> This "legacy hunting," by paying court to childless men and women, is satirized by Horace (*Sat.* ii. 5). The "art" was in vogue as early as Plautus' time (see *Miles*,

Rome.<sup>1</sup> 23. And since among them, as is natural in the capital of the world, cruel disorders gain such heights that the healing art is powerless even to mitigate them, it has been provided, as a means of safety, that no one shall visit a friend suffering from such a disease, and by a few who are more cautious another sufficiently effective remedy has been added, namely, that servants sent to inquire after the condition of a man's acquaintances who have been attacked by that disorder should not be readmitted to their masters' house until they have purified their persons by a bath. So fearful are they of a contagion seen only by the eyes of others. 24. But yet, although these precautions are so strictly observed, some men, when invited to a wedding, although the strength of their limbs is impaired, will go, when gold is put into their cupped right hands, even all the way to Spoletium.<sup>2</sup> Such are the habits of the nobles.

25. But of the multitude of lowest condition and greatest poverty some spend the entire night in wineshops, some lurk in the shade of the awnings of the theatres, which Catulus<sup>3</sup> in his aedileship, imitating Campanian wantonness, was the first to spread, or they quarrel with one another in their games at dice, making a disgusting sound by drawing back the breath into their resounding nostrils; or, which is the favourite among their amusements, from sunrise until evening, in sunshine and in rain, they stand open-mouthed, examining minutely the good

705 ff.), but became a "profession" at the end of the Republic (cf. Cic., *Paradoxa*, v. 39) and under the Empire, followed even by some of the emperors (see Suet., *Calig.* 38, 2; *Nero*, 32, 2).

<sup>1</sup> In Umbria.

<sup>3</sup> See Index, and Val. Max. ii. 4.

equorumque praecipua vel delicta scrutantes. 26. Et est admodum mirum videre plebem innumeram, mentibus ardore quodam infuso, e dimicationum curulium eventu pendentem. Haec similiaque memorabile nihil vel serium agi Romae permittunt. Ergo redeundum ad textum.

7. *Galli Caesaris immanitas et saevitia.*

1. Latius iam disseminata licentia, onerosus bonis omnibus Caesar, nullum post haec adhibens modum, orientis latera cuncta vexabat, nec honoratis parcens nec urbium primatibus nec plebeis. 2. Denique Antiochensis<sup>1</sup> ordinis vertices sub uno elogio iussit occidi, ideo efferatus, quod ei celerari<sup>2</sup> vilitatem intempestivam urgenti, cum impenderet inopia, gravius rationabili responderunt; et perissent ad unum, ni comes orientis tunc Honoratus fixa constantia restitisset. 3. Erat autem diritatis eius hoc quoque indicium nec obscurum nec latens, quod ludicris cruentis delectabatur, et in circo sex vel septem aliquotiens deditus<sup>3</sup> certaminibus, pugilum vicissim se concidentium, perfusorumque sanguine specie, ut lucratus ingentia, laetabatur. 4. Accenderat super his incitatum propositum ad nocendum aliqua mulier vilis, quae ad palatium (ut poposcerat)

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<sup>1</sup> *Antiochensis*. Lind. ; *antichisis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *celerari*. Wag-  
ner ; *celebrari*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *deditus*. Pet. ; *vetitus*, V.

<sup>1</sup> The great Syrian city ; see Index.

<sup>2</sup> See Introd., pp. xviii f.



points or the defects of charioteers and their horses. 26. And it is most remarkable to see an innumerable crowd of plebeians, their minds filled with a kind of eagerness, hanging on the outcome of the chariot races. These and similar things prevent anything memorable or serious from being done in Rome. Accordingly, I must return to my subject.

### 7. *Atrocities and savagery of Gallus Caesar.*

1. His lawlessness now more widely extended, Caesar became offensive to all good men, and henceforth showing no restraint, he harassed all parts of the East, sparing neither ex-magistrates nor the chief men of the cities, nor even the plebeians. 2. Finally, he ordered the death of the leaders of the senate of Antioch<sup>1</sup> in a single writ, enraged because when he urged a general introduction of cheap prices at an unseasonable time, since scarcity threatened, they had made a more vigorous reply than was fitting. And they would have perished to a man, had not Honoratus, then count-governor<sup>2</sup> of the East, opposed him with firm resolution. 3. This also was a sign of his savage nature which was neither obscure nor hidden, that he delighted in cruel sports; and sometimes in the Circus, absorbed in six or seven contests, he exulted in the sight of boxers pounding each other to death and drenched with blood, as if he had made some great gain. 4. Besides this, his propensity for doing harm was inflamed and incited by a worthless woman, who, on being admitted to the palace (as she had demanded) had betrayed a plot that was secretly

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

intromissa, insidias ei latenter obtendi prodiderat a militibus obscurissimis. Quam Constantina exultans, ut in tuto iam locata mariti salute, muneratam vehiculoque impositam per regiae ianuas emisit in publicum, ut his illecebris alios quoque ad indicanda proliceret paria vel maiora. 5. Post haec Gallus Hierapolim profecturus, ut expeditioni specie tenus adesset, Antiochensi plebi suppliciter obsecranti, ut inediae dispelleret metum, quae per multas difficilisque causas affore iam sperabatur, non ut mos est principibus, quorum diffusa potestas localibus subinde medetur aerumnis, disponi quicquam statuit, vel ex provinciis alimenta transferri conterminis, sed consularem Syriae Theophilum prope adstantem, ultima metuenti multitudini dedit, id<sup>1</sup> assidue replicando, quod invito rectore, nullus egere poterit victu. 6. Auxerunt haec vulgi sordidioris audaciam; et eum ingravesceret penuria commeatum, famis et furoris impulsu, Eubuli cuiusdam inter suos clari domum ambitiosam ignibus subditis inflammavit, rectoremque ut sibi iudicio imperiali addictum, calcibus incessens et pugnis, conculcans seminecem laniatu miserando discerpsit. Post cuius lacrimosum interitum, in unius exitio quisque

<sup>1</sup> *dedit id*, Eyssen. : *dediti*, V.

being made against him by some soldiers of the lowest condition. Whereupon Constantina, exulting as if the safety of her husband were now assured, gave her a reward, and seating her in a carriage, sent her out through the palace gates into the public streets, in order that by such inducements she might tempt others to reveal similar or greater conspiracies.

5. After this, when Gallus was on the point of leaving for Hierapolis, ostensibly to take part in a campaign, and the commons of Antioch earnestly besought him to save them from the fear of a famine, which for various reasons, difficult to explain, was then believed to be imminent, he did not, after the manner of princes whose widely extended power sometimes cures local troubles, order any distribution of food or command the bringing of supplies from neighbouring provinces: but to the multitude, which was in fear of the direst necessity, he delivered up Theophilus, consular governor of Syria, who was standing near by, constantly repeating the statement, that no one could lack food if the governor did not wish it. 6. These words increased the audacity of the lowest classes, and when the lack of provisions became more acute, driven by hunger and rage, they set fire to the pretentious house of a certain Eubulus, a man of distinction among his own people: then, as if the governor had been delivered into their hands by an imperial edict, they assailed him with kicks and blows, and trampling him under foot when he was half-dead, with awful mutilation tore him to pieces. After his wretched death each man saw in the end of one person an image of his own

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

imaginem periculi sui considerans, documento recenti similia formidabat. 7. Eodem tempore Serenianus ex duce, cuius ignavia populatam in Phoenice Celsein ante rettulimus, pulsatae maiestatis imperii reus iure postulatus ac lege. incertum qua potuit suffragatione absolui, aperte convictus. familiarem suum cum pileo quo caput operiebat. incantato vetitis artibus. ad templum misisse fatidicum, quaeritatum praesagia,<sup>1</sup> an ei firmum portenderetur imperium (ut cupiebat) et tutum.<sup>2</sup> 8. Duplexque eisdem diebus acciderat malum. quod et Theophilum insontem atrox interceperat casus, et Serenianus dignus execratione cunctorum, innoxius. modo non reclamante publico vigore, discessit.

9. Haec subinde Constantius audiens, et quaedam referente Thalassio doctus, quem obisse<sup>3</sup> iam compererat lege communi, scribens ad Caesarem blandius, adiumenta paulatim illi subtraxit, sollicitari se simulans ne, uti est militare otium fere tumultuosum, in eius perniciem conspiraret, solisque scholis iussit esse contentum palatinis et protectorum, cum Scutariis et Gentilibus, et mandabat Domitiano, ex comite largitionum praefecto provecto. ut cum in Syriam venerit, Gallum quem crebro acciverat,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *praesagia*, W<sup>2</sup> N<sup>2</sup>; *praesa anci*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *tutum*, C. W. F. Müller; *cūtum*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *quem obisse*, Lind.; *quē morisse*, V. <sup>4</sup> *acciuerat*, Valesius; *acciperat*, V.

<sup>1</sup> In a lost book.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. i. 10, above.

<sup>3</sup> The *Scholae Palatinae* were the divisions of the household or court troops, a corps of 3500 men: *protectores*, *domestici*, *gentiles*, *scutarii* and *armaturae*. The *protectores*, guards, were a body of troops with the rank of officers, also called *domestici*. The *scutarii* (targeteers) took their name

peril and dreaded a fate like that which he had just witnessed. 7. At that same time Serenianus, a former general, through whose inefficiency Celse in Phoenicia had been pillaged, as we have described,<sup>1</sup> was justly and legally tried for high treason, and it was doubtful by what favour he could be acquitted; for it was clearly proved that he had enchanted by forbidden arts a cap which he used to wear, and sent a friend of his with it to a prophetic shrine, to seek for omens as to whether the imperial power was destined to be firmly and safely his, as he desired. 8. At that time a twofold evil befell, in that an awful fate took off Theophilus, who was innocent, and Serenianus, who was deserving of universal execration, got off scotfree, almost without any strong public protest.

9. Constantius, hearing of these events from time to time, and being informed of some things by Thalassius,<sup>2</sup> who, as he had now learned, had died a natural death, wrote in flattering terms to the Caesar, but gradually withdrew from him his means of defence. He pretended to be anxious, since soldiers are apt to be disorderly in times of inaction, lest they might conspire for Gallus' destruction, and bade him be satisfied with the palace troops only<sup>3</sup> and those of the guards, besides the Targeteers and the household troops. He further ordered Domitianus, a former state treasurer,<sup>4</sup> and now prefect, that when he came into Syria, he should politely and respectfully urge Gallus, whom he had frequently

from their equipment. The *gentiles* were a cavalry troop enlisted from foreigners: Scythians, Goths, Franks, Germans, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See Introd., p. xl.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ad Italiam properare blande hortaretur et<sup>1</sup> verecunde. 10. Qui cum venisset ob haec festinatis itineribus Antiochiam, praestricis palatii ianuis, contempto Caesare quem videri decuerat, ad praetorium cum pompa sollemni perrexit. morbosque diu causatus. nec regiam introiit. nec processit in publicum, sed abditus multa in eius moliebatur exitium, addens quaedam relationibus supervacua, quas subinde mittebat<sup>2</sup> ad principem. 11. Rogatus ad ultimum, admissusque in consistorium, ambage nulla praegressa, inconsiderate et leviter, "Proficiscere" inquit (ut praeceptum est) "Caesar, sciens quod (si cessaveris) et tuas et palatii tui auferri iubebo prope diem annonas." Hocque solo contumaciter dicto, subiratus abscessit, nec in conspectum eius postea venit. saepius arcessitus. 12. Hinc ille commotus, ut iniusta perferens et indigna, praefecti custodiam protectoribus mandaverat fidis. Quo conperto Montius tunc quaestor, acer<sup>3</sup> quidem sed ad lenitatem propensior. consulens in commune, advocatos palatarum primos scholarum allocutus est mollius. docens nec decere haec fieri nec prodesse, addensque vocis obiurgatorio sonu. quid si id

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<sup>1</sup> *et*, added by BG, omitted by V. <sup>2</sup> *mittebat*.  
 Petschenig; *dimittebat*, V. <sup>3</sup> *acer*, Gronov: *afen*, V:  
*Afer*, Bentley, Kiessling.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. the local *consistorium* of Gallus.

summoned, to hasten to return to Italy. 10. But when Domitianus had quickened his pace because of these instructions and had come to Antioch, passing by the gates of the palace in contempt of the Caesar, on whom he ought to have called, he went to the general's quarters with the usual pomp, and having for a long time pleaded illness, he neither entered the palace nor appeared in public, but remaining in hiding he made many plots for Gallus' ruin, adding some superfluous details to the reports which from time to time he sent to the emperor. 11. At last, being invited to the palace and admitted to the council,<sup>1</sup> without any preliminary remarks he said inconsiderately and coolly: "Depart, Caesar, as you have been ordered, and know that, if you delay, I shall at once order your supplies and those of your palace to be cut off." Having said only this in an insolent tone, he went off in a passion, and although often sent for, he never afterwards came into Gallus' presence. 12. Caesar, angered at this and feeling that such treatment was unjust and undeserved, ordered his faithful guards<sup>2</sup> to arrest the prefect. When this became known, Montius, who was then quaestor,<sup>3</sup> a spirited man but somewhat inclined to moderate measures, having in view the public welfare, sent for the foremost members of the palace troops and addressed them in mild terms, pointing out that such conduct was neither seemly nor expedient and adding in a tone of reproof that if they approved of this course, it would be fitting

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Corresponding in the court of Gallus to the *quaestor sacri palatii* of the emperor.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

placuerit, post statuas Constantii<sup>1</sup> deiectas, super adimenda vita praefecto conveniet securius cogitari. 13. His cognitis Gallus ut serpens appetitus telo vel saxo, iamque spes extremas opperiens, et succurrens saluti suae quavis ratione, colligi omnes iussit armatos, et cum starent attoniti, districta dentium acie stridens, “Adeste” inquit “viri fortes mihi periclitanti vobiscum. 14. Montius nos tumore inusitato quodam et novo, ut rebelles et maiestati recalcitrantes Augustae, per haec quae strepit incusat, iratus nimirum, quod contumacem praefectum, quid rerum ordo postulat ignorare dissimulantem, formidine tenus iusserim custodiri.” 15. Nihil morati post haec militares avidi saepe turbarum, adorti sunt Montium primum, qui devertebat in proximo, levi corpore senem atque morbosum, et hirsutis resticulis cruribus eius innexis, divaricatum sine spiramento ullo ad usque praetorium traxere praefecti. 16. Et eodem impetu Domitianum praecipitem per scalas itidem funibus constrinxerunt, eosque coniunctos per ampla spatia civitatis acri raptavere discursu. Iamque artuum et membrorum divulsa compage, superscandentes corpora mortuorum, ad ultimam truncata deformitatem, velut exsaturati mox abiecerunt in flumen. 17. Incenderat autem audaces usque ad insaniam homines ad haec quae nefariis egere conatibus, Luscus quidam curator urbis subito visus, eosque ut heulans baiolorum praeeentor, ad expediendum quod orsi sunt,

<sup>1</sup> *Constantii*, Valesius; *Constantini*, V.



first to overthrow the statues of Constantius and then plan with less anxiety for taking the life of the prefect. 13. On learning this, Gallus, like a serpent attacked by darts or stones, resorting now to the last expedient and trying to save his life by any possible means, ordered all his troops to be assembled under arms, and while they stood in amazement, he said, baring and gnashing his teeth, "Stand by me, my brave men, who are like myself in danger. 14. Montius with a kind of strange and unprecedented arrogance in this loud harangue of his accuses us of being rebels and as resisting the majesty of Augustus, no doubt in anger because I ordered an insolent prefect, who presumes to ignore what proper conduct requires, to be imprisoned, merely to frighten him." 15. With no further delay the soldiers, as often eager for disturbance, first attacked Montius, who lived close by, an old man frail of body and ill besides, bound coarse ropes to his legs, and dragged him spread-eagle fashion without any breathing-space all the way to Caesar's headquarters. 16. And in the same access of rage they threw Domitianus down the steps, then bound him also with ropes, and tying the two together, dragged them at full speed through the broad streets of the city. And when finally their joints and limbs were torn asunder, leaping upon their dead bodies, they mutilated them in a horrible manner, and at last, as if gluttoned, threw them into the river. 17. Now these men, reckless to the point of madness, were roused to such atrocious deeds as they committed by a certain Luscus, enurator of the city. He suddenly appeared and with repeated cries, like a bawling leader of porters, urged them to

incitans vocibus crebris. Qui haud longe postea ideo vivus exustus est.

18. Et quia Montius inter dilancinantium manus spiritum eflaturus, Epigonum et Eusebium, nec professionem nec dignitatem ostendens, aliquotiens increpabat, acquisoni<sup>1</sup> his magna quaerebantur industria, et nequid intepesceret, Epigonus e Cilicia<sup>2</sup> philosophus ducitur, et Eusebius ab Emissa Pittacas cognomento, concitatus orator, cum quaestor non hos sed tribunos fabricarum insimulasset, promittentes armorum, si novae res agitari coepissent.<sup>3</sup>

19. Eisdem diebus Apollinaris Domitiani gener paulo ante agens palatii Caesaris curam, ad Mesopotamiam missus a socero, per militares numeros immodice scrutabatur, an quaedam altiora meditantis iam Galli secreta susceperint scripta; qui compertis Antiochiae gestis, per minorem Armeniam lapsus, Constantinopolim petit, exindeque per<sup>4</sup> protectores retractus, artissime tenebatur.

20. Quae dum ita struuntur, indicatum est apud Tyrum indumentum regale textum occulte, incertum quo locante vel cuius usibus apparatus. Ideoque rector provinciae tunc pater Apollinaris eiusdem nominis ut conseius duetus est, aliique congregati

<sup>1</sup> *acquisoni*, Traube: *qui sint*, V<sup>2</sup>.  
Her.: *e Lycia*, EG: *haec licia*, V.  
EG: *conperissent*, PB: *compissent*, V.  
by E<sup>2</sup> BG (B omits *que*): V omits.

<sup>2</sup> *Cilicia*, Clark,  
<sup>3</sup> *coepissent*,  
<sup>4</sup> *per*, added

finish what they had begun. And for that not long afterwards he was burned alive.

18. And because Montius, when about to breathe his last in the hands of those who were rending him, cried out upon Epigonus and Eusebius, but without indicating their profession or rank, men of the same name were sought for with great diligence. And in order that the excitement might not cool, a philosopher Epigonus was brought from Cilicia, and a Eusebius, surnamed Pittacas, a vehement orator, from Edessa, although it was not these that the quaestor had implicated, but some tribunes of forges,<sup>1</sup> who had promised arms in case a revolution should be set on foot. 19. In those same days Apollinaris, son-in-law of Domitianus, who a short time before had been in charge of Caesar's palace, being sent to Mesopotamia by his father-in-law, inquired with excessive interest among the companies of soldiers whether they had received any secret messages from Gallus which indicated that he was aiming higher; but when he heard what had happened at Antioch, he slipped off through Lesser Armenia and made for Constantinople, but from there he was brought back by the guards and kept in close confinement.

20. Now, while these things were happening, there was discovered at Tyre a royal robe that had been made secretly, but it was uncertain who had ordered it or for whose use it was made. Consequently the governor of the province at that time, who was the father of Apollinaris and of the same name, was brought to trial as his accomplice; and many others

<sup>1</sup> I.e. in charge of workshops for making arms. *Fabrica* is applied to Vulcan's forge in Cic., *De Nat. Deo.* iii. 22, 55.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

sunt ex diversis civitatibus multi, qui atrocium criminum ponderibus urgebantur.

21. Iamque lituis eladium concrepantibus internarum. non celate<sup>1</sup> (ut antea) turbidum saeviebat ingenium, a veri consideratione detortum, et nullo impositorum vel compositorum fidem sollemniter inquirente, nec discernente a societate noxiorum insoutes, velut exturbatum e iudiciis fas omne discessit et causarum legitima silente defensione, carnifex rapinarum sequester, et obductio capitum, et bonorum ubique multatio versabatur per orientales provincias; quas recensere puto nunc oportunum. absque Mesopotamia. iam<sup>2</sup> digesta cum bella Parthica narrarentur,<sup>3</sup> et Aegypto, quam necessario aliud reiciemus<sup>4</sup> ad tempus.

### 8. *Orientis provinciarum descriptio.*

1. Superatis Tauri montis verticibus. qui ad solis ortum sublimius attolluntur, Cilicia spatiis porrigitur late distentis. dives bonis omnibus terra, eiusque lateri dextro annexa Isauria, pari sorte uberi, palmite viret et frugibus multis, quam mediam navigabile flumen Calycadnus interscindit. 2. Et hanc quidem praeter oppida multa duae civitates exornant, Seleucia opus Seleuci regis, et Claudio-polis, quam deduxit coloniam Claudius Caesar.

<sup>1</sup> *concite*, Her.; *concelatae*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *iam*, added by Val.; *Mesopotamiam*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *narrarentur*, Her.; *dicerentur*, G; (lac. of 5 letters) *rentur*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *reiciemus*, Traube; *reici* (lac. of 4 letters), V.

were gathered together from various cities and were bowed down by the weight of charges of heinous crimes.

21. And now, when the clarions of internal disaster were sounding, the disordered mind of Caesar, turned from consideration of the truth, and not secretly as before, vented its rage ; and since no one conducted the usual examination of the charges either made or invented, or distinguished the innocent from association with the guilty, all justice vanished from the courts as though driven out. And while the legitimate defence of cases was put to silence, the executioner, the go-between of plunderers, hoodwinking, and the confiscation of property were everywhere in evidence throughout the eastern provinces. These I think it now a suitable time to review, excepting Mesopotamia, which has already been described in connection with the account of the Parthian wars,<sup>1</sup> and Egypt, which we have necessarily postponed to another time.<sup>2</sup>

### 8. *Description of the Eastern Provinces.*

1. After one passes the summits of Mount Taurus, which rise to a lofty height, Cilicia spreads out in widely extended plains, a land abounding in products of every kind ; and adjoining its right side is Isauria, equally blest with fruitful vines and abundant grain, being divided in the middle by the navigable river Calycadnus. 2. This province too, in addition to many towns, is adorned by two cities ; Seleucia, the work of king Seleucus, and Claudiopolis, which

<sup>1</sup> In a lost book.

<sup>2</sup> See xxii. 15-16.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Isaura<sup>1</sup> enim antehac nimium potens, olim subversa ut rebellatrix inter neciva, aegre vestigia claritudinis pristinae monstrat admodum pauca. 3. Ciliciam vero, quae Cydno anni exultat, Tarsus nobilitat, urbs perspicabilis—hanc condidisse Perseus memoratur, Iovis filius et Danaes, vel certe ex Aethiopia profectus Sandan quidam nomine vir opulentus et nobilis — et Anazarbus auctoris vocabulum referens, et Mobsuestia, vatis illius domicilium Mobsi, quem a commilitio Argonautarum, cum aureo vellere direpto redirent, errore abstractum, delatumque ad Africae litus, mors repentina consumpsit, et ex eo caespite punico tecti, manes eius heroici, dolorum varietati medentur plerumque sospitales. 4. Hac duae provinciae, bello quondam piratico catervis mixtae praedonum, a Servilio pro consule missae sub iugum, factae sunt vectigales. Et hae quidem regiones velut in prominenti terrarum lingua positae, ob orbe eoo monte Amano disparantur. 5. Orientis vero limes in longum protentus et rectum, ab Euphratis fluminis ripis ad usque supercilia porrigitur Nili, laeva Saracenis conterminans gentibus, dextra pelagi fragoribus patens, quam plagam Nicator Seleucus occupatam auxit magnum in modum, cum post Alexandri Macedonis obitum successorio iure teneret regna Persidis, efficaciae impetrabilis rex (ut

<sup>1</sup> *Isaura*, Val. ; *Isauria*, W<sup>2</sup>BG ; *Caesaris aurenimante*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Claudius, A.D. 41-54.

Claudius Ceasar<sup>1</sup> founded as a colony. For Isaura, which was formerly too powerful, was long ago overthrown as a dangerous rebel, and barely shows a few traces of its former glory. 3. Cilicia, however, which boasts of the river Cydnus, is ennobled by Tarsus, a fair city; this is said to have been founded by Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danæe, or else by a wealthy and high-born man, Sandan by name, who came from Ethiopia. There is also Anazarbus, bearing the name of its founder, and Mobsuestia, the abode of that famous diviner Mobsus. He, wandering from his fellow-warriors when they were returning after having carried off the golden fleece, and being borne to the coast of Africa, met a sudden death. Thereafter his heroic remains, covered with Punie sod, have been for the most part effective in healing a variety of diseases. 4. These two provinces, crowded with bands of brigands, were long ago, during the war with the pirates, sent under the yoke by the proconsul Servilius<sup>2</sup> and made to pay tribute. And these regions indeed, lying, as it were, upon a promontory, are separated from the eastern continent by Mount Amanus. 5. But the frontier of the East, extending a long distance in a straight line, reaches from the banks of the Euphrates to the borders of the Nile, being bounded on the left by the Saracenic races and on the right exposed to the waves of the sea. Of this district Nicator Seleucus took possession and greatly increased it in power, when by right of succession he was holding the rule of Persia after the death of Alexander of Macedon; and he was a successful and efficient

<sup>2</sup> P. Servilius Isauricus, in 74 B.C.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

indicat cognomentum). 6. Abusus enim multitudine hominum, quam tranquillis in rebus diutius rexit, ex agrestibus habitaculis urbes construxit, multis opibus firmas et viribus, quarum ad praesens pleraeque, licet Graecis nominibus appellentur, quae eisdem ad arbitrium imposita sunt conditoris, primigenia tamen nomina non amittunt, quae eis Assyria lingua institutores veteres indiderunt.

7. Et prima post Osdroenam quam (ut dictum est) ab hac descriptione discrevimus, Commagena (nunc Euphratensis) clementer assurgit, Hierapoli (vetere Nino) et Samosata civitatibus amplis<sup>1</sup> illustris.

8. Dein Syria per speciosam interpatet diffusa planitiem. Hanc nobilitat Antiochia, mundo cognita civitas, cui non certaverit alia advecticiis ita affluere copiis et internis, et Laodicia et Apamia, itidemque Seleucia iam<sup>2</sup> inde a primis auspiciis florentissimae.

9. Post hanc acclinis Libano monti Phoenice, regio plena gratiarum et venustatis, urbibus decorata magnis et pulchris; in quibus amoenitate celebritateque nominum Tyros excellit, Sidon et Berytus eisdemque pares Emissa et<sup>3</sup> Damascus saeculis condita priscis. 10. Has autem provincias, quas Orontes ambiens annis, imosque pedes Cassii montis illius celsi praetermeans, funditur in<sup>4</sup> Parthenium

<sup>1</sup> *amplis*, EG; *amplis et*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *Seleucia iam*, Val.; *Seleuciam*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *et*, A; V omits.      <sup>4</sup> *in*, added by E, Lind.; omitted by the other MSS., and by G.



king, as his surname Nicator indicates. 6. For by taking advantage of the great number of men whom he ruled for a long time in peace, in place of their rustic dwellings he built cities of great strength and abundant wealth; and many of these, although they are now called by the Greek names which were imposed upon them by the will of their founder, nevertheless have not lost the old appellations in the Assyrian tongue which the original settlers gave them.

7. And first after Osdroene, which, as has been said, I have omitted from this account, Commagene, now called Euphratensis, is gradually rising into power; it is famous for the great cities of Hierapolis, the ancient Ninus, and Samosata.

8. Next Syria spreads for a distance over a beautiful plain. This is famed for Antiochia, a city known to all the world, and without a rival, so rich is it in imported and domestic commodities; likewise for Laodicia, Apamia, and also Seleucia, most flourishing cities from their very origin.

9. After this comes Phoenicia, lying at the foot of Mount Libanus,<sup>1</sup> a region full of charm and beauty, adorned with many great cities; among these in attractiveness and the renown of their names Tyre, Sidon and Berytus are conspicuous, and equal to these are Emissa and Damascus, founded in days long past. 10. Now these provinces, encircled by the river Orontes, which, after flowing past the foot of that lofty mountain Cassius, empties into the Parthenian Sea,<sup>2</sup> were taken from the realms of the

<sup>1</sup> Lebanon.

<sup>2</sup> Near the Gulf of Issos, in south-eastern Cilicia.

mare, Gnaeus Pompeius superato Tigraue, regnis Armeniorum abstractas, ditioni Romanae coniunxit.

11. Ultima Syriarum est Palaestina, per intervalla magna protenta, cultis abundans terris et nitidis, et civitates habens quasdam egregias, nullam nulli cedentem. sed sibi vicissim velut ad perpendicularum aemulas: Caesaream, quam ad honorem Octaviani principis exaedificavit Herodes, et Eleutheropolim et Neapolim, itidemque Ascalonem Gazam, aevo superiore exstructas. 12. In his tractibus navigerum nusquam visitur flumen, et in locis plurimis aquae suapte natura calentes emergunt, ad usus aptae multiplicium medellarum. Verum has quoque regiones pari sorte Pompeius Iudeis domitis et Hierosolymis captis, in provinciae<sup>1</sup> speciem delata iuris dictione formavit.

13. Huic Arabia est conserta, ex alio latere Nabataeis contigua, opima varietate commerciorum, castrisque oppleta validis et castellis, quae ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excursus, sollicitudo pervigil veterum per opportunos saltus erexit et cautos. Haec quoque civitates habet inter oppida quaedam ingentes, Bostram et Gerasam atque Philadelphiam, murorum firmitate cautissimas. Hanc provinciae imposito nomine, rectoreque adtributo, obtemperare legibus nostris Traianus compulit imperator, incolarum tumore saepe contunso, cum glorioso Marte Mediam urgeret et Parthos.

<sup>1</sup> *provinciae*, Val. : *provincias*, V.

<sup>1</sup> In 64 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. exactly.

<sup>3</sup> Herod the Great.

Armenians by Gnaeus Pompeius, after his defeat of Tigranes,<sup>1</sup> and brought under Roman sway.

11. The last region of the Syrias is Palestine, extending over a great extent of territory and abounding in cultivated and well-kept lands ; it also has some splendid cities, none of which yields to any of the others, but they rival one another, as it were, by plumb-line.<sup>2</sup> These are Caesarea, which Herodes<sup>3</sup> built in honour of the emperor Octavianus.<sup>4</sup> Eleutheropolis, and Neapolis, along with Ascalon and Gaza, built in a former age. 12. In these districts no navigable river is anywhere to be seen, but in numerous places natural warm springs gush forth, adapted to many medicinal uses. But these regions also met with a like fate, being formed into a province by Pompey, after he had defeated the Jews and taken Jerusalem,<sup>5</sup> but left to the jurisdiction of a local governor.

13. Adjacent to this region is Arabia, which on one side adjoins the country of the Nabataei, a land producing a rich variety of wares and studded with strong castles and fortresses, which the watchful care of the early inhabitants reared in suitable and readily defended defiles, to check the inroads of neighbouring tribes. This region also has, in addition to some towns, great cities, Bostra, Gerasa and Philadelphia, all strongly defended by mighty walls. It was given the name of a province, assigned a governor, and compelled to obey our laws by the emperor Trajan,<sup>6</sup> who, by frequent victories crushed the arrogance of its inhabitants when he was waging glorious war with Media and the Parthians.

<sup>1</sup> Augustus.

<sup>5</sup> In 63 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> In A.D. 107.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

14. Cyprum itidem insulam procul a continenti<sup>1</sup> discretam et portuosam, inter municipia crebra urbes duae faciunt claram, Salamis et Paphus, altera Iovis delubris, altera Veneris templo insignis. Tanta autem tamque multiplici fertilitate abundat rerum omnium eadem Cyprus, ut nullius externi indigens adminiculi, indigenis viribus, a fundamento ipso carinae ad supremos usque carbasos, aedificet onerariam navem, omnibusque armamentis instructam, mari committat. 15. Nec piget dicere avide magis hanc insulam populum Romanum invassisse quam iuste. Ptolomaeo enim rege foederato nobis et socio, ob aerarii nostri angustias iusso sine ulla culpa proscribi, ideoque hausto veneno, voluntaria morte deleto, et tributaria facta est, et velut hostiles eius exuviae classi impositae, in urbem advectae sunt per Catonem. Nunc repetetur ordo gestorum.

### 9. De Constantio Gallo Caesare.

1. Inter has ruinarum varietates, a Nisibi quam tuebatur accitus Ursicinus,<sup>2</sup> cui nos obsecuturos iunxerat imperiale praeceptum, dispicere litis exitialis crimina<sup>3</sup> cogebatur, abnuens et reclamans, adulatorum oblatrantibus turmis, bellicosus sane milesque semper et militum ductor, sed forensibus iurgiis longe

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<sup>1</sup> *continenti*, EBG; *continendisque tam*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *Ursicinus*, E<sup>2</sup>, Val. : V omits.    <sup>3</sup> *crimina*, W<sup>2</sup>DE, Clark (c. *iam*, W<sup>2</sup>DE) : *lese* (lac. of 2 letters) *mina*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy Auletes, King of Egypt and Cyprus from 80 B.C.    <sup>2</sup> Cato Uticensis in 58 B.C.

14. Cyprus, too, an island far removed from the mainland, and abounding in harbours, besides having numerous towns, is made famous by two cities, Salamis and Paphos, the one celebrated for its shrines of Jupiter, the other for its temple of Venus. This Cyprus is so fertile and so abounds in products of every kind, that without the need of any help from without, by its native resources alone it builds cargo ships from the very keel to the topmast sails, and equipping them completely entrusts them to the deep. 15. Nor am I loth to say that the Roman people in invading that island showed more greed than justice: for King Ptolemy,<sup>1</sup> our ally joined to us by a treaty, without any fault of his, merely because of the low state of our treasury was ordered to be proscribed, and in consequence committed suicide by drinking poison; whereupon the island was made tributary and its spoils, as though those of an enemy, were taken aboard our fleet and brought to Rome by Cato.<sup>2</sup> I shall now resume the thread of my narrative.

### 9. *Of Constantius Gallus Caesar.*

1. Amid this variety of disasters Ursicinus, to whose attendance the imperial command had attached me, was summoned from Nisibis, of which he was in charge, and was compelled, in spite of his reluctance and his opposition to the clamorous troops of flatterers, to investigate the origin of the deadly strife. He was in fact a warrior, having always been a soldier and a leader of soldiers, but far removed from the wranglings of the forum;

discretus. qui metu sui discriminis anxius, cum accusatores quaesitoresque subditivos sibi conso-  
ciatos, ex eisdem foveis cerneret emergentes, quae  
clam palamve agitabantur occultis Constantium  
litteris edocebat, implorans subsidia, quorum metu  
tumor notissimus Caesaris exhalaret. 2. Sed cautela  
nimia in peiores haeserat plagas, ut narrabimus  
postea, aemulis consarcinantibus insidias graves  
apud Constantium. cetera medium principem, sed  
siquid auribus eius huius modi quivis infudisset  
ignotus, acerbum et implacabilem, et in hoc causarum  
titulo dissimilem sui.

3. Proinde die funestis interrogationibus praesti-  
tuto, imaginarius iudex equitum resedit magister,  
adhibitis aliis, iam quae essent agenda praedoctis, et  
assistebant hinc inde notarii, quid quaesitum esset  
quidve responsum, cursim ad Caesarem perferentes ;  
cuius imperio truci. stimulis reginae exsertantis ora <sup>1</sup>  
subinde per aulaeum, nec diluere obiecta permissi  
nec defensi periere complures. 4. Primi igitur om-  
nium statuuntur Epigonus et Eusebius, ob nominum  
gentilitatem oppressi. Praediximus enim Montium  
sub ipso vivendi termino his vocabulis appellatos,  
fabricarum culpasse tribunos, ut adminicula futu-  
rae molitioni <sup>2</sup> pollicitos. 5. Et Epigonus quidem  
amictu tenuis philosophus, ut apparuit, prece frustra  
temptata. sulcatis lateribus, mortisque metu admoto,

<sup>1</sup> *ora*. Novák. Her. (cf. *Aen.* iii. 425) ; *aura*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *molitioni*. Lind. ; *miltitioni*, V (*melitioni*, V<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 7, 18, above.

<sup>1</sup> See note on 7, 18, above.

accordingly, worried by fear of the danger which threatened him, seeing the corrupt accusers and judges with whom he was associated all coming forth from the same holes, he informed Constantius by secret letters of what was going on furtively or openly, and begged for aid, that through fear of it the well-known arrogance of the Caesar might subside. 2. But by too great caution he had fallen into worse snares, as we shall show later, since his rivals patched up dangerous plots with Constantius, who was in other respects a moderate emperor, but cruel and implacable if anyone, however obscure, had whispered in his ear anything of that kind, and in cases of that nature unlike himself.

3. Accordingly, on the day set for the fatal examinations the master of the horse took his seat, ostensibly as a judge, attended by others who had been told in advance what was to be done; and on either side of him were shorthand writers who reported the questions and answers post-haste to Caesar; and by his cruel orders, instigated by the queen, who from time to time listened at a curtain, many were done to death without being allowed to clear themselves of the charges or to make any defence. 4. First of all, then, Epigonus and Eusebius were brought before them and ruined by the affinity of their names; for Montius, as I have said,<sup>1</sup> at the very end of his life had accused certain tribunes of forging<sup>1</sup> called by those names of having promised support to some imminent enterprise. 5. And Epigonus, for his part, was a philosopher only in his attire, as became evident: for when he had tried entreaties to no purpose, when his sides had

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

turpi confessione cogitatorum socium (quae nulla erant) fuisse firmavit, cum nec vidisset quicquam nec audisset, penitus expertus forensium rerum ; Eusebius vero obiecta fidentius negans, suspensus in eodem gradu constantiae stetit,<sup>1</sup> latrocinium illud esse, non iudicium clamans. 6. Cumque pertinacius (ut legum gnarus) accusatorem flagitaret atque sollemnia, doctus id Caesar, libertatemque superbiam ratus, tamquam obtrectatorem audacem excarnificari praecipit, qui ita evisceratus ut cruciatibus membra deessent, implorans caelo iustitiam, torvum renidens, fundato pectore mansit immobilis. nec se incusare nec quemquam alium passus, et tandem nec confessus nec confutatus, cum abiecto consorte poenali est morte multatus. Et ducebatur intrepidus, temporum iniquitati insultans, imitatus Zenonem illum veterem Stoicum, qui ut mentiretur quaedam laceratus diutius, avulsam sedibus linguam suam cum cruento sputamine, in oculos interrogantis Cyprii regis impegit.

7. Post haec indumentum regale quaerebatur, et ministris fucandae purpurae tortis, confessisque pectoralem tuniculam sine manicis textam. Maras nomine quidam inductus est (ut appellant Christiani)

<sup>1</sup> *constantiae stetit*, Lind. : *cunctantia est et id*, V.



been furrowed and he was threatened with death, by a shameful confession he declared that he was implicated in plans which never existed, since he was wholly unacquainted with political matters and had neither seen nor heard anything. Eusebius, on the contrary, courageously denied the charges, and although he was put upon the rack, he remained firm in the same degree of constancy, crying out that it was the act of brigands and not of a court of justice. 6. And when, being acquainted with the law, he persistently called for his accuser and the usual formalities, Caesar, being informed of his demand and regarding his freedom of speech as arrogance, ordered that he be tortured as a reckless slanderer. And when he had been so disembowled that he had no parts left to torture, calling on Heaven for justice and smiling sardonically, he remained unshaken, with stout heart, neither deigning to accuse himself or anyone else ; and at last, without having admitted his guilt or been convicted, he was condemned to death along with his abject associate. And he was led off to execution unafraid, railing at the wickedness of the times and imitating the ancient stoic Zeno, who, after being tortured for a long time, to induce him to give false witness, tore his tongue from its roots and hurled it with its blood and spittle into the eyes of the king of Cyprus, who was putting him to the question.

7. After this, the matter of the royal robe was investigated, and when those who were employed in dyeing purple were tortured and had confessed to making a short sleeveless tunic to cover the chest, a man named Maras was brought in, a deacon, as

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

diaconus; cuius prolatae litterae scriptae Graeco sermone, ad Tyrrii textrini praepositum, celerari speciem perurgebant, quam autem non indicabant; denique etiam idem ad usque discrimen vitae vexatus, nihil fateri compulsus est. 8. Quaestione igitur per multiplices dilatata fortunas, cum ambigerentur quaedam, non nulla levius actitata constaret, post multorum clades Apollinares ambo pater et filius, in exilium acti, cum ad locum Crateras nomine pervenissent, villam scilicet suam, quae ab Antiochia vicensimo et quarto disiungitur lapide, ut mandatum est, fractis eruribus occiduntur. 9. Post quorum necem nihilo lenius ferociens Gallus, ut leo cadaveribus pastus, multa huius modi scrutabatur. Quae singula narrare non refert, ne professionis modum (quod sane vitandum<sup>1</sup> est) excedamus.

### 10. *Pax Alamannis petentibus datur a Constantis A.*

1. Haec dum oriens diu<sup>2</sup> perferret, caeli reserato tepore, Constantius consulatu suo septies et Caesaris iterum, egressus Arelate Valentiam petit, in Gundomadum et Vadomarium fratres Alamannorum reges arma moturus, quorum crebris excursibus vastabantur confines limitibus terrae Gallorum. 2. Dumque ibi diu moratur, commeatus opperiens, quorum

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<sup>1</sup> *sane vitandum*, Cornelissen, Traube; *saevitatum*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *diu*, V: *dira*, Damsté.

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<sup>1</sup> It was Gallus' third Consulship; Valesius proposed to read *tertium* or *ter*.

the Christians call them. A letter of his was presented, written in Greek to the foreman of a weaving plant in Tyre, strongly urging him to speed up a piece of work ; but what it was the letter did not say. But although finally Maras also was tortured within an inch of his life, he could not be forced to make any confession. 8. So when many men of various conditions had been put to the question, some things were found to be doubtful and others were obviously unimportant. And after many had been put to death, the two Apollinares, father and son, were exiled ; but when they had come to a place called Craterae, namely, a villa of theirs distant twenty-four miles from Antioch, their legs were broken, according to orders, and they were killed. 9. After their death Gallus, no whit less ferocious than before, like a lion that had tasted blood, tried many cases of the kind ; but of all of these it is not worth while to give an account, for fear that I may exceed the limits which I have set myself, a thing which I certainly ought to avoid.

10. *The Alamanni sue for peace, which is granted by Constantius Augustus.*

1. While the East was enduring this long tyranny, as soon as the warm season began, Constantius, being in his seventh consulship with Gallus in his third,<sup>1</sup> set out from Arelate for Valentia, to make war upon the brothers Gundomadus and Vadomarius, kings of the Alamanni, whose frequent raids were devastating that part of Gaul which adjoined their frontiers. 2. And while he delayed there for a long time,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

translationem ex Aquitania verni imbres solito crebriores prohibebant auctique torrentes, Herculanus advenit protector domesticus, Hermogenis ex magistro equitum filius, apud Constantinopolim (ut supra retulimus) popularium<sup>1</sup> quondam turbela discerpti. Quo verissime referente quae Gallus egerat coniuxque,<sup>2</sup> super praeteritis maerens, et futurorum timore suspensus, angorem animi quam diu potuit amendabat.<sup>3</sup> 3. Miles tamen interea omnis apud Cabyllona collectus, morarum impatiens saeviebat, hoc irritator, quod nec subsidia vivendi suppeterent, alimentis nondum ex usu translatis. 4. Unde Rufinus ea tempestate praefectus praetorio, ad discrimen trusus est ultimum. Ire enim ipse compellebatur ad militem, quem exagitabat inopia simul et feritas, et alioqui coalito more in ordinarias dignitates asperum semper et saevum, ut satisfaceret, atque monstraret, quam ob causam annonae convectio sit impedita. 5. Quod opera consulta cogitabatur astute, ut hoc insidiarum genere Galli periret avunculus, ne eum ut praepotens acueret in fiduciam, exitosa coeptantem. Verum navata est opera diligens, hocque dilato, Eusebius praepositus cubiculi missus est Cabyllona,

<sup>1</sup> *popularium*, Pet.; *populari ui*, Mommsen; *populari ut*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *coniuxque*, Heraeus; *damnis*, BG; *domus quae*, V (*quae del. V<sup>3</sup>*).      <sup>3</sup> *amendabat*, Bentley, Clark; *emendabat*, V.

<sup>1</sup> In a lost book.

<sup>2</sup> Châlons sur Saône.

<sup>3</sup> That is, praetorian prefect in Gaul.

<sup>4</sup> *Praefectus praetorio* at this time was a civil, not a military, official.

waiting for supplies, the transport of which from Aquitania was hindered by spring rains of unusual frequency and by rivers in flood, Herculanius came there, one of his body-guard, the son of Hermogenes, formerly commander of the cavalry and, as we have before related,<sup>1</sup> torn to pieces in a riot of the people at Constantinople. When this man gave a true account of what Gallus and his wife had done, the emperor, grieving over the past disasters and made anxious by fear of those to come, concealed the distress that he felt as long as he could. 3. The soldiers, however, who in the meantime had been assembled at Châlons,<sup>2</sup> began to rage with impatience at the delay, being the more incensed because they lacked even the necessities of life, since the usual supplies had not yet been brought. 4. Therefore Rufinus, who was at that time praetorian prefect,<sup>3</sup> was exposed to extreme danger; for he was forced to go in person before the troops, who were aroused both by the scarcity and by their natural savage temper, and besides are naturally inclined to be harsh and bitter towards men in civil positions,<sup>4</sup> in order to pacify them and explain why the convoy of provisions was interrupted. 5. This was thought to have been a shrewdly devised plan, in order that by such a plot the uncle of Gallus<sup>5</sup> might perish, for fear that so very powerful a man might whet the boldness of his nephew and encourage his dangerous designs. But great precautions were taken, and when the danger was deferred, Eusebius, the grand chamberlain,<sup>6</sup> was

<sup>5</sup> Rufinus was his mother's brother.

<sup>6</sup> In charge of the imperial household. At this time a very important official; see *Introd.* pp. xxxv f.

## CONSTANTIUS ET CALLUS

aurum secum perferens, quo per turbulentos seditionum concitores occultius distributo, et tumor consenuit militum, et salus est in tuto locata praefecti. Deinde cibo abunde perlato, castra die praedicto sunt mota. 6. Emensis itaque difficultatibus multis, et nive obrutis callibus plurimis, ubi prope Rauracum ventum est ad supereilia fluminis Rheni, resistente multitudine Alamanna, pontem suspendere navium compage Romani vi nimia vetabantur, ritu grandinis undique convolantibus telis; et cum id impossibile videretur, imperator cogitationibus magnis attonitus, quid capesseret ambigebat. 7. Ecce autem ex improvise index quidam regionum gnarus advenit, et mercede accepta, vadosum locum nocte monstravit, unde superari potuit flumen. Et potuisset aliorum intentis hostibus exercitus inde transgressus, nullo id opinante, euncta vastare, ni pauci ex eadem gente, quibus erat honoratioris militis cura commissa, populares suos haec per nuntios docuissent occultos, ut quidam existimabant. 8. Infamabat autem haec suspicio Latinum domesticorum comitem et Agilonem tribunum stabuli atque Scudilonem scutariorum rectorem, qui tunc, ut dextris suis gestantes rem publicam, colebantur. 9. At barbari suscepto pro<sup>1</sup> instantium rerum ratione consilio, dirimentibus forte auspiciis, vel congregi prohibente auctoritate sacrorum, mollito rigore, quo

<sup>1</sup> *pro*, added by G; V omits.

<sup>1</sup> Augusta Rauricorum, modern Augst.

<sup>2</sup> See Introd. p. xlii, and note 3, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> See Introd., pp. xliii f.

<sup>4</sup> See note 3, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Val. Max. ii. 8, 5. *humeris suis salutem patriae gestantes* (of Scipio and Marcellus).

sent to Châlons, taking gold with him ; when this had been secretly distributed among the turbulent inciters of rebellion, the rage of the soldiers abated and the safety of the prefect was assured. Then an abundant supply of food arrived and the camp was moved on the appointed day. 6. And so, after surmounting many difficulties, over paths many of which were heaped high with snow, they came near to Rauracum<sup>1</sup> on the banks of the river Rhine. There a great force of the Alamanni opposed them, and hurling weapons from all sides like hail, by their superior numbers prevented the Romans from making a bridge by joining boats together. And when that was obviously impossible, the emperor was consumed with anxious thought and in doubt what course to take. 7. But lo ! a guide acquainted with the region unexpectedly appeared, and, in return for money, pointed out by night a place abounding in shallows, where the river could be crossed. And there the army might have been led over, while the enemy's attention was turned elsewhere, and devastated the whole country without opposition, had not a few men of that same race, who held military positions of high rank, informed their countrymen of the design by secret messengers, as some thought. 8. Now the shame of that suspicion fell upon Latinus, count in command of the body-guard,<sup>2</sup> Agilo, tribune<sup>3</sup> in charge of the stable, and Scudilo, commander of the targeteers,<sup>4</sup> who were then highly regarded as having in their hands the defence of the state.<sup>5</sup> 9. But the savages, taking such counsel as the immediate circumstances demanded, since the courage which inspired a bold resistance was

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

fidentius resistebant, optimates misere, delictorum veniam petituros et pacem. 10. Tentis igitur regis utriusque legatis, et negotio tectius diu pensato, cum pacem oportere tribui quae iustis condicionibus petebatur, eamque ex re<sup>1</sup> fore sententiarum via concinens approbasset, advocato in contionem exercitu, imperator pro tempore pauca dicturus, tribunali adsistens, circumdatus potestatum coetu eelsarum, ad hunc disseruit modum :

11. " Nemo (quaeso) miretur, si post exsudatos labores itinerum longos, congestosque adfatim comneatus, fiducia vestri ductante, barbaricos pagos adventans, velut mutato repente consilio, ad placidiora deverti. 12. Pro suo enim loco et animo, quisque vestrum reputans id inveniet verum, quod miles ubique, licet membris vigentibus firmius,<sup>2</sup> se solum vitamque propriam circumspicit et defendit, imperator vero officiorum, dum aquis omnibus consulit, plenus,<sup>3</sup> alienae custos salutis, nihil non ad sui spectare tutelam rationes populorum cognoscit,<sup>4</sup> et remedia cuncta quae status negotiorum admittit, arripere debet alacriter, secunda numinis voluntate delata. 13. Ut<sup>5</sup> in breve igitur conferam et ostendam qua ex causa omnes vos simul adesse

<sup>1</sup> *re*, E<sup>2</sup>bG; *re tum*, A; *rerum*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *firmius*, V, Pet.; *firmior*, Clark.      <sup>3</sup> *consulit. plenus*, added by Novák.      <sup>4</sup> *rationes populorum cognoscit*, BG; *ratio* (lac. of 33 letters), V.      <sup>5</sup> *ut*, Lind.; *id*, V.



diminished perhaps because the auspices were unfavourable or because the authority of the sacrifices forbade an engagement, sent their chiefs to sue for peace and pardon for their offences. 10. Therefore the envoys of both kings were detained and the matter was discussed for a long time in secret ; and since there was general agreement in the opinion that peace which was asked for on reasonable conditions ought to be granted, and that it would be expedient to do so under the present circumstances, the emperor summoned an assembly of the army, intending to say a few words appropriate to the occasion ; and taking his place upon a tribunal, surrounded by a staff of high officials, he spoke after this fashion :

11. “ Let no one, I pray, be surprised, if after going through the toil of long marches and getting together great quantities of supplies, I now, when approaching the abode of the savages, with my confidence in you leading the way, as if by a sudden change of plan have turned to milder designs. 12. For each one of you, according to his rank and judgment, upon consideration will find it to be true, that the soldier in all instances, however strong and vigorous of body, regards and defends only himself and his own life. The commander, on the other hand, has manifold duties, since he aims at fairness to all ; and being the guardian of others’ safety, he realises that the interests of the people cannot be separated from his own, and that therefore he ought eagerly to seize upon all remedies which the condition of affairs allows, as though offered to him by the favour of Heaven. 13. To put the matter, then, in a few words, and to explain why I have wished you all to be present

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

volui, commilitones mei fidissimi, accipite aequis auribus quae succinctius explicabo. Veritatis enim absolutio <sup>1</sup> semper est <sup>2</sup> simplex. 14. Arduos vestrae gloriae gradus, quos fama per plagarum quoque accolae extimarum diffundit, excellenter accrescens, Alamannorum reges et populi formidantes, per oratores quos videtis, summissis cervicibus, concessionem praeteritorum poseunt et pacem. Quam ut cunctator et cautus, utiliumque monitor, (si vestra voluntas adest) tribui debere censeo multa contemplans. Primo ut Martis ambigua declinentur, dein ut auxiliares pro adversariis adsciscamus, quod pollicentur, tum autem ut incruenti mitigemus ferociae flatus, perniciosos saepe provinciis, postremo id reputantes, quod non ille hostis vincitur solus, qui cadit in acie, pondere armorum oppressus et virium, sed multo tutius etiam tuba tacente, sub iugum mittitur voluntarius, qui sentit expertus, nec fortitudinem in rebelles nec lenitatem in supplices animos abesse <sup>3</sup> Romanis.<sup>4</sup> 15. In summa tamquam arbitros vos quid suadetis opperior, ut princeps tranquillus, temperanter adhibere modum adlapsa felicitate decernens. Non enim inertiae sed modestiae humanitatisque (mihi credite) hoc quod recte consultum est adsignabitur."

16. Mox dicta finierat. multitudo omnis ad quae

<sup>1</sup> *absolutio*, E, Madvig, Novák: *absolimo*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *est*, Novák, deleting *at per* as dittography: *at per est*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *abesse*, Eyssen.; *adesse*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *Romanis*, scripsi in lac. of 8 letters.

here together. my loyal fellow-soldiers, receive with favourable ears what I shall briefly set forth ; for perfect<sup>1</sup> truth is always simple. 14. The kings and peoples of the Alamanni, in dread of the rising progress of your glory, which fame, growing greatly, has spread abroad even among the dwellers in far off lands, through the envoys whom you see with bowed heads ask for peace and indulgence for past offences. This I, being cautious, prudent, and an advisor of what is expedient. think ought to be granted them (if I have your consent), for many reasons. First, to avoid the doubtful issue of war ; then, that we may gain friends in place of enemies, as they promise ; again, that without bloodshed we may tame their haughty fierceness, which is often destructive to the provinces ; finally, bearing in mind this thought, that not only is the enemy vanquished who falls in battle, borne down by weight of arms and strength, but much more safely he who, while the trumpet is silent, of his own accord passes under the yoke and learns by experience that Romans lack neither courage against rebels nor mildness towards suppliants. 15. In short. I await your decision as arbiters, as it were, being myself convinced as a peace-loving prince, that it is best temperately to show moderation while prosperity is with us. For, believe me, such righteous conduct will be attributed, not to lack of spirit, but to discretion and humanity."

16. No sooner had he finished speaking than the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Cic., *De Fin.* v. 14, 38, *ex qua virtus est, quae rationis absolutio definitur*, "virtue is defined as the perfection of reason" (*L.C.L.* p. 437).

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

imperator voluit promptior, laudato consilio, consensit in pacem, ea ratione maxime percita, quod norat expeditionibus crebris<sup>1</sup> fortunam eius in malis tantum civilibus vigilasse; cum autem bella moverentur externa, accidisse plerumque luctuosa. Icto post haec foedere gentium ritu, perfectaue sollemnitate, imperator Mediolanum ad hiberna discessit.

### 11. *Constantius Gallus Caesar evocatur a Constantio A. et capite truncatur.*

1. Ubi curarum abiectis ponderibus aliis, tamquam nodum et obicem<sup>2</sup> difficillimum, Caesarem convellere nisu valido cogitabat; eique deliberanti cum proximis, clandestinis colloquiis et nocturnis, qua vi quibusve commentis id fieret, antequam effundendis rebus pertinacius incumberet confidentia, acciri mollioribus scriptis, per simulationem tractatus publici nimis urgentis,<sup>3</sup> eundem placuerat Gallum, ut auxilio destitutus, sine ullo interiret obstaculo.

2. Huic sententiae versabilium adulatorum refragantibus globis, inter quos erat Arbitio, ad insidiandum acer et flagrans, et Eusebius tunc praepositus cubiculi effusior ad nocendum, id occurrebat, Caesare discedente, Ursicinum in oriente perniciose

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<sup>1</sup> *et crebris*, V; *e crebris*, E, Mommsen.      <sup>2</sup> *obicem*, R. Unger; *odiem*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *urgentis*, N, Val.; *argentis*, V.

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 10, 5, and note 6.

whole throng, fully in agreement with the emperor's wish, praised his purpose and unanimously voted for peace. They were influenced especially by the conviction, which they had formed from frequent campaigns, that his fortune watched over him only in civil troubles, but that when foreign wars were undertaken, they had often ended disastrously. After this a treaty was struck in accordance with the rites of the Alamanni, and when the ceremony had been concluded, the emperor withdrew to Mediolanum for his winter quarters.

11. *Constantius Gallus Caesar is summoned by Constantius Augustus and executed.*

1. There having laid aside the burden of other cares, Constantius began to consider, as his most difficult knot and stumbling-block, how to uproot the Caesar by a mighty effort. And as he deliberated with his closest friends, in secret conferences and by night, by what force or by what devices that might be done before the Caesar's assurance should be more obstinately set upon throwing everything into disorder, it seemed best that Gallus should be summoned by courteous letters, under pretence of very urgent public business, to the end that, being deprived of support, he might be put to death without hindrance.

2. But this view was opposed by the groups of fickle flatterers, among whom was Arbetio, a man keen and eager in plotting treachery, and Eusebius, at that time grand chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> who was sufficiently inclined to mischief, and it occurred to them to say that, if Caesar left the East, it would be dangerous to leave Ursicinus there, since he would

relinquendum, si nullus esset qui prohiberet <sup>1</sup> altiora meditaturum. 3. Eisdemque residui regii accessere spadones, quorum ea tempestate plus habendi cupiditas ultra mortalem modum adolescebat, inter ministeria vitae secretioris per arcanos susurros nutrimenta fictis criminibus subserentes; qui ponderibus invidiae gravioris virum fortissimum opprimebant. subolescere imperio adultos eius filios mussitantes, decore corporum favorabiles et aetate, per multiplicem armaturae scientiam, agilitatemque membrorum, inter cotidiana prologia exercitus, consulto consilio cognitos: Gallum suoapte ingenio trucem, per suppositos quosdam ad saeva facinora ideo animatum, ut eo digna omnium ordinum detestatione exoso, ad magistri equitum liberos principatus insignia transferantur.

4. Cum haec taliaque sollicitas eius aures everberarent. expositas semper eius modi rumoribus et patentes. vario animi <sup>2</sup> motu miscente <sup>3</sup> consilia, tandem id ut <sup>4</sup> optimum factu elegit: et Ursicinum primum ad se venire summo cum honore mandavit, ea specie ut pro rerum tunc urgentium captu, disponderetur concordia consilio, quibus virium incrementis, Parthicarum gentium arma minantium impetus frangerentur. 5. Et nequid suspicaretur adversi venturus, vicarius eius (dum redit) Prosper missus est comes: acceptisque litteris. et copia rei

<sup>1</sup> *prohiberet*, EA<sub>g</sub>; *prohibeat*, G; *prohibet*, V; *prohibebit*, Clark.      <sup>2</sup> *animi*, Her.; *animo*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *motu miscente*, Her. (cf. *Aen.* xii. 217); *tumescente*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *id ut*, Val.; *dot*, V.

be likely to think of a loftier station, if there were no one to restrain him. 3. And this faction was supported by the royal eunuchs as well, whose love of gain at that time was growing beyond mortal limits. These, while performing duties of an intimate nature, by secret whispers supplied fuel for false accusations. They overwhelmed that most gallant man with the weight of a grave suspicion, muttering that his sons, who were now grown up, were beginning to have imperial hopes, being popular because of their youth and their handsome persons and trained also by daily exercise in the use of many kinds of weapons and in bodily activity, besides being known to be of sound judgment; that Gallus, while naturally savage, had been incited to deeds of cruelty by persons attached to his person, to the end that, when he had incurred the merited detestation of all classes, the emblems of empire might be transferred to the children of the master of the horse.

4. When these and similar charges were dinned into the emperor's anxious ears, which were always attentive and open to such gossip, the turmoil of his mind suggesting many plans, he at last chose the following as the best. First, in the most complimentary terms he directed Ursicinus to come to him, under pretence that, because of the urgent condition of affairs at the time, they might consult together and decide what increase of forces was necessary in order to crush the attacks of the Parthian tribes, which were threatening war. 5. And that Ursicinus might not suspect any unfriendly action, in case he should come, Count Prosper was sent to be his deputy until his return. So, when the letter was

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

vehiculariae data, Mediolanum itinerebus properavimus magnis.

6. Restabat ut Caesar post haec properaret accitus, et abstergendae causa suspicionis, sororem suam (eius uxorem) Constantius ad se tandem desideratam venire, multis fictisque blanditiis hortabatur. Quae licet ambigeret, metuens saepe cruentum, spe tamen quod eum lenire poterit<sup>1</sup> ut germanum, profecta, cum Bithyniam introisset, in statione quae Caenos Gallicanos appellatur, absumpta est vi febrium repentina. Cuius post obitum maritus contemplanus cecidisse fiduciam qua se fultum existimabat, anxia cogitatione quid moliretur haerebat. 7. Inter res enim impeditas et turbidas, ad hoc unum mentem sollicitam dirigebat, quod Constantius cuncta ad suam sententiam conferens, nec satisfactionem suscipiet aliquam, nec erratis ignoscet, sed ut erat in propinquitatis perniciem inclinior, laqueos ei latenter obtendens, si cepisset incautum, morte multaret. 8. Eo necessitatis adductus, ultimaque ni vigilasset opperens, principem locum, si copia patuisset, clam<sup>2</sup> affectabat, sed perfidiam proximorum ratione bifaria verebatur, qui eum ut truculentum horrebant et levem, quique altiorem Constantii fortunam in discordiis civilibus formidabant. 9. Inter has curarum moles immensas, imperatoris

<sup>1</sup> *poterit*, Kellerbauer; *poterat*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *clam*, Her.; *quam*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Ammianus was attached to the suite of Ursicinus; see ch. 9. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ch. 10, 16, above.



received and abundant transportation facilities were furnished, we <sup>1</sup> hastened at full speed to Mediolanum.

6. After this the next thing was to summon Caesar and induce him to make equal haste, and in order to remove suspicion, Constantius with many feigned endearments urged his sister, the Caesar's wife, at last to satisfy his longing and visit him. And although she hesitated, through fear of her brother's habitual cruelty, yet she set forth, hoping that, since he was her own brother, she might be able to pacify him. But after she had entered Bithynia, at the station called Caeni Gallicani, she was carried off by a sudden attack of fever. After her death the Caesar, considering that the support on which he thought he could rely had failed him, hesitated in anxious deliberation what to do. 7. For in the midst of his embarrassments and troubles his anxious mind dwelt on this one thought, that Constantius, who measured everything by the standard of his own opinion, was not one to accept any excuse or pardon mistakes; but, being especially inclined to the ruin of his kin, would secretly set a snare for him and punish him with death, if he caught him off his guard. 8. But in such a critical situation and anticipating the worst if he were not on the watch, he secretly aimed at the highest rank, if any chance should offer; but for a twofold reason he feared treachery on the part of those nearest to his person, both because they stood in dread of him as cruel and untrustworthy, and because they feared the fortune of Constantius which in civil discords usually had the upper hand.<sup>2</sup> 9. Amid this huge mass of anxieties he received constant letters from

scripta suscipiebat assidua, monentis orantisque ut ad se veniret, et mente monstrantis obliqua, rem publicam nec posse dividi nec debere, sed pro viribus quemque ei ferre suppetias fluctuanti, nimirum Galliarnm indicans vastitatem. 10. Quibus subserebat non adeo vetus exemplum, quod Diocletiano et eius collegae, ut apparitores Caesares non resides sed ultro citroque discurrentes, obtemperabant, et in Syria Augusti vehiculum irascentis, per spatium mille passuum fere pedes antegressus est Galerius purpuratus.

11. Advenit post multos Seudilo scutariorum tribunus, velamento subagrestis ingenii, persuasionis opifex callidus. Qui cum adulabili sermone periuriis<sup>1</sup> admixto, solus omnium proficisci pellexit. vultu assimulato saepius replicando, quod flagrantibus votis eum videre frater cuperet patruelis, siquid<sup>2</sup> per imprudentiam gestum est, remissurus, ut mitis et clemens, participemque eum suae maiestatis asscisceret,<sup>3</sup> futurum laborum quoque socium, quos Arctoae provinciae diu fessae posebant. 12. Utque solent manum iniectantibus fati, hebetari sensus hominum et obtundi. his illecebris ad meliorum expectationem erectus. egressusque Antiochia numine laevo ductante, prorsus ire tendebat de fumo, ut proverbium loquitur vetus. ad flammam; et ingressus

<sup>1</sup> *periuriis*, Clark: *pcriis*, V (*seriis*, V<sup>3</sup> EBG).      <sup>2</sup> *siquid*, Kiessling: *quid*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *adscisceret*, C. F. W. Müller; *adscisco et*. V; *adsciscet*, Clark.

the emperor, admonishing and begging him to come to him and covertly hinting that the commonwealth could not be divided and ought not to be, but that each ought to the extent of his powers to lend it aid when it was tottering, doubtless referring to the devastation of Gaul. 10. To this he added an example of not so very great antiquity, that Diocletian and his colleague<sup>1</sup> were obeyed as superiors by their Caesars, who did not remain in one place but hastened about hither and thither, and that in Syria Galerius, clad in purple, walked for nearly a mile before the chariot of his Augustus<sup>2</sup> when the latter was angry with him.

11. After many other messengers came Scudilo, tribune of the targeteers, a skilled artist in persuasion, under the cloak of a somewhat rough nature. He alone of all, by means of flattering words mingled with false oaths, succeeded in persuading Gallus to set out, constantly repeating with hypocritical expression that his cousin ardently desired to see him, that being a mild and merciful prince he would overlook anything that was done through inadvertence; that he would make him a sharer in his rank, to be a partner also in the labours which the northern provinces, for a long time disaffected, demanded. 12. And since, when the fates lay hands upon men, their senses are apt to be dulled and blunted, Gallus was roused by these blandishments to the hope of a better destiny, and leaving Antioch under the lead of an unpropitious power, he proceeded to go straight from the smoke into the fire, as the old proverb has

<sup>1</sup> Maximianus.<sup>2</sup> Diocletian.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Constantinopolim, tamquam in rebus prosperis et securis, editis equestribus ludis, capiti Thoracis<sup>1</sup> aurigae coronam imposuit, ut victoris.

13. Quo cognito Constantius ultra mortalem modum exarsit; ac nequo casu idem Gallus de futuris incertus, agitare quaedam conducentia saluti suae per itinera conaretur, remoti sunt omnes de industria milites agentes in civitatibus perviis. 14. Eoque tempore Taurus quaestor ad Armeniam missus, confidenter nec appellato eo nec viso transivit. Venere tamen aliqui iussu imperatoris, administrationum specie diversarum, eundem ne commovere se posset, neve temptaret aliquid occulte custodituri; inter quos Leontius erat, postea urbi praefectus, ut quaestor, et<sup>2</sup> Lucillianus quasi domesticorum comes et scutariorum tribunus nomine Bainobaudes. 15. Emensis itaque longis intervallis et planis, cum Hadrianopolim introisset, urbem Haemimontanam, Uscudamam antehac appellatam, fessasque labore diebus duodecim recreans vires, comperit Thebaeas legiones in vicinis oppidis hiemantes, consortes suos misisse quosdam, eum ut remaneret promissis fidis hortaturos et firmis, cum animarentur roboris<sup>3</sup> sui fiducia, abunde per stationes locatae<sup>4</sup> confines, sed observante cura pervigili proximorum, nullam videndi vel audiendi quae ferebant, furari potuit facultatem. 16. Inde aliis super alias urgentibus litteris exire et

<sup>1</sup> *capiti Thoracis*, T<sup>2</sup>; *capita thoracis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *et*, EG; *ut*, V; *ac*, Traube.      <sup>3</sup> *cum a. roboris*, added by Novák.  
<sup>4</sup> *locatae*, Novák; *locat*, V.

it ; and entering Constantinople as if in the height of prosperity and security, he exhibited horse-races and crowned Thorax the charioteer as victor.

13. On learning this Constantius was enraged beyond all human bounds, and lest by any chance Gallus should become uncertain as to the future and should try in the course of his journey to take measures for his own safety, all the soldiers in the towns through which he would pass were purposely removed. 14. And at that time Taurus, who had been sent to Armenia as quaestor, boldly passed that way without addressing him or going to see him. Others, however, visited him by the emperor's orders, under pretext of various matters of business, but really to take care that he should not be able to make any move or indulge in any secret enterprise ; among these was Leontius, then quaestor and later prefect of the city, Lucullianus, as count commander of the household troops, and a tribune of the targeteers called Bainobaudes. 15. Thus, after covering long distances over level country, he had entered Hadrianopolis, a city in the region of Mt. Haemus, formerly called Uscudama, and was recovering his strength, exhausted by twelve days of travel. There he learned that certain Theban legions that were passing the winter in near-by towns had sent some of their comrades to encourage him by faithful and sure promises to remain there, since they were full of confidence in themselves and were posted in large numbers in neighbouring encampments ; but owing to the watchful care of those about him, he could not steal an opportunity of seeing them or hearing the message that they brought. 16. Then, as letter

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

decem vehiculis publicis, ut praeceptum est, usus, relicto palatio omni, praeter paucos tori ministros et mensae, quos avexerat secum, squalore concretus, celerare gradum compellebatur, adigentibus multis, temeritati suae subinde flebiliter imprecatus, quae eum iam despectum et vilem arbitrio subdiderat infimorum. 17. Inter haec tamen per indutias naturae conquiescentis, sauciabantur eius sensus circumstridentium terrore larvarum, interfectorumque catervae. Domitiano et Montio praeviis, correptum eum (ut existimabat in somnis), uncis furialibus obiectabant. 18. Solutus enim corporeis nexibus, animus semper vicens motibus indefessis, ex cogitationibus subiectis et curis, quae mortalium sollicitant mentes, colligit visa nocturna, quas φαντασίας nos appellamus.

19. Pandente itaque viam fatorum sorte tristissima, qua praestitutum erat eum vita et imperio spoliari, itineribus rectis <sup>1</sup> permutatione iumentorum emensis, venit Petobionem oppidum Noricorum, ubi reseratae sunt insidiarum latebrae omnes, et Barbatio repente apparuit Comes, qui sub eo domesticis praefuit, cum Apodemio agente in rebus, milites ducens, quos beneficiis suis oppigneratos elegerat

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<sup>1</sup> *rectis*, Lind. ; *eiectis*, V. ; *directis*, Novák.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. we Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> The *agentes in rebus* constituted the imperial secret service under the direction of the *magister officiorum*. These were the original *frumentarii*, who at first had charge of the grain supply of the troops, but towards the beginning of the second century A.D. became secret police

followed letter, urging him to leave, making use of ten public vehicles, as was directed, and leaving behind all his attendants with the exception of a few whom he had brought with him to serve in his bedroom and at his table, he was driven to make haste, being without proper care of his person and urged on by many, railing from time to time at the rashness which had reduced him, now mean and abject, to submit to the will of the lowest of mankind. 17. Yet all this time, whenever nature allowed him sleep, his senses were wounded by frightful spectres that shrieked about him, and throngs of those whom he had slain, led by Domitianus and Montius, would seize him and fling him to the claws of the Furies, as he imagined in his dreams. 18. For the mind, when freed from the bonds of the body, being always filled with tireless movement, from the underlying thoughts and worries which torment the minds of mortals, conjures up the nocturnal visions to which we<sup>1</sup> give the name of phantasies.

19. And thus with the way opened by the sad decree of fate, by which it was ordained that he should be stripped of life and rank, he hurried by the most direct way and with relays of horses and came to Petobio, a town of Noricum. There all the secret plots were revealed and Count Barbatio suddenly made his appearance—he had commanded the household troops under Gallus—accompanied by Apodemius, of the secret service,<sup>2</sup> and at the head of soldiers whom Constantius had chosen because they were under obligation to him for favours and could

agents. It was Diocletian who changed the name *frumentarii* to *agentes in rebus*.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

imperator, certus nec praemiis nec miseratione ulla posse deflecti.

20. Iamque non umbratis fallaciis res agebatur, sed qua palatium est extra muros, armatis Barbatio<sup>1</sup> omne circumdedit. Ingressusque obscuro iam die, ablatis regiis indumentis, Caesarem tunica texit et paludamento communi, eum post haec nihil passurum, velut mandato principis iurandi crebritate confirmans, et "Statim" inquit "exsurge," et inopinum carpento privato impositum, ad Histriam duxit, prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam peremptum Constantini filium accipimus Crispum. 21. Et cum ibi servaretur artissime, terrore propinquantis exitii iam praesepultus, accurrit Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, Pentadiusque notarius, et Mallobaudes armaturarum tribunus, iussu imperatoris compulsuri eum singillatim docere, quam ob causam quemque apud Antiochiam necatorum iusserat trucidari. 22. Ad quae Adrasteo pallore perfusus, hactenus valuit<sup>2</sup> loqui, quod plerosque incitante coniuge iugulaverit Constantina, ignorans profecto Alexandrum Magnum urgenti matri ut occideret quendam insontem, et dictitanti spe impetrandi postea quae vellet, eum se per novem menses utero portasse praegnantem, ita respondisse prudenter: "Aliam, parens optima, posce mercedem: hominis enim salus beneficio nullo pensatur." 23. Quo comperto

<sup>1</sup> *Barbatio*, added by Damsté.

<sup>2</sup> *valuit*, vulgo; *volut*, V.

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Proverbial; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 480, *Adrasti pallentis imago*. Adrastus turned pale at the death of his sons-in-law Tydeus and Polynices (when the seven champions attacked Thebes), and never recovered his colour.



not, he felt sure, be influenced by bribes or any feeling of pity.

20. And now the affair was being carried on with no disguised intrigue, but where the palace stood without the walls Barbatio surrounded it with armed men. And entering before dawn and removing the Caesar's royal robes, he put upon him a tunic and an ordinary soldier's cloak, assuring him with frequent oaths, as if by the emperor's command, that he would suffer no further harm. Then he said to him : " Get up at once," and having unexpectedly placed him in a private carriage, he took him to Histria, near the town of Pola, where in former times, as we are informed, Constantine's son Crispus was killed. 21. And while he was kept there in closest confinement, already as good as buried by fear of his approaching end, there hastened to him Eusebius, at that time grand chamberlain, Pentadius, the secretary, and Mallobaudes, tribune of the guard,<sup>1</sup> to compel him by order of the emperor to inform them, case by case, why he had ordered the execution of all those whom he had put to death at Antioch. 22. At this, o'erspread with the pallor of Adrastus,<sup>2</sup> he was able to say only that he had slain most of them at the instigation of his wife Constantina, assuredly not knowing that when the mother of Alexander the Great urged her son to put an innocent man to death and said again and again, in the hope of later gaining what she desired, that she had carried him for nine months in her womb, the king made this wise answer : " Ask some other reward, dear mother, for a man's life is not to be weighed against any favour." 23. On hearing this the emperor, smitten with

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

irrevocabili ira princeps percitus et dolore, fiduciam omnem fundandae securitatis in eodem posuit abolendo. Et misso Sereniano, quem in crimen maiestatis vocatum praestrigiis quibusdam absolutum esse supra monstravimus, Pentadio quin etiam notario, et Apodemio agente in rebus. eum capitali supplicio destinavit, et ita colligatis manibus in modum noxii cuiusdam latronis, cervice abscisa, ereptaque vultus et capitis dignitate, cadaver est relictum informe, paulo ante urbibus et provinciis formidatum. 24. Sed vigilavit utrubique superni numinis aequitas. Nam et Gallum actus oppressere<sup>1</sup> crudeles, et non diu postea ambo cruciabili morte absumpti sunt, qui eum licet nocentem, blandius palpantes periuriis, ad usque plagas perduxere letales. Quorum Scudilo destillatione iecoris pulmones vomitans interiit; Barbatio, qui in eum iam diu falsa composuerat crimina, cum ex magisterio peditum altius niti quorundam susurris incusaretur, damnatus extincti per fallacias Caesaris manibus<sup>2</sup> illacrimoso obitu parentavit.

25. Haec et huius modi quaedam innumerabilia ultrix facinorum impiorum, bonorumque praemiatrice, aliquotiens operatur Adrastia. (atque utinam semper!): quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesim appellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficacis,

<sup>1</sup> *oppressere*, NT, Val. ; *oppresse*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *manibus anima*, V ; *anima*, del. Val.

implacable anger and resentment, rested all his hopes of securing his safety on destroying Gallus; and sending Serenianus, who, as I have before shown, had been charged with high treason and acquitted by some jugglery or other, and with him Pentadius the secretary and Apodemius of the secret service, he condemned him to capital punishment. Accordingly his hands were bound, after the fashion of some guilty robber, and he was beheaded. Then his face and head were mutilated, and the man who a little while before had been a terror to cities and provinces was left a disfigured corpse. 24. But the justice of the heavenly power was everywhere watchful; for not only did his cruel deeds prove the ruin of Gallus, but not long afterwards a painful death overtook both of those whose false blandishments and perjuries led him, guilty though he was, into the snares of destruction. Of these Scudilo, because of an abscess of the liver,<sup>1</sup> vomited up his lungs and so died; Barbatio, who for a long time had invented false accusations against Gallus, charged by the whispers of certain men of aiming higher than the mastership of the infantry, was found guilty and by a lamentable end made atonement to the shades of the Caesar, whom he had treacherously done to death.

25. These and innumerable other instances of the kind are sometimes (and would that it were always so!) the work of Adrastia,<sup>2</sup> the chastiser of evil deeds and the rewarder of good actions, whom we also call by the second name of Nemesis. She is, as it were, the sublime jurisdiction of an efficient divine power,

<sup>1</sup> Augustus was cured of this disease by Antonius Musa (Suet., *Aug.* 81, 1).

<sup>2</sup> See Index.

humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum, vel ut definiunt alii. substantialis tutela generali potentia partilibus praesidens fati, quam theologi veteres fingentes Iustitiae filiam, ex abdita quadam aeternitate tradunt omnia despectare terrena. 26. Haec ut regina causarum, et arbitra rerum ac disceptatrix, urnam sortium temperat. accidentium vices alternans, voluntatumque nostrarum exorsa interdum alio quam quo contendebant exitu terminans. multiplices actus permutando convolvit. Eademque necessitatis insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis vinciens fastus, tumentes in cassum, et incrementorum detrimentorumque momenta versans (ut novit), nunc erectas eminentium<sup>1</sup> cervices opprimit et enervat, nunc bonos ab imo suscitans ad bene vivendum extollit. Pinnas autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volucris cunctis existimetur, et praetendere gubernaculum dedit, eique subdidit rotam. ut universitatem regere per elementia discurrens omnia non ignoretur.

27. Hoc immaturo interitu. ipse quoque sui pertaesus, excessit e vita. aetatis nono anno atque vicen-  
simo, cum quadriennio imperasset. Natus apud Tuscos in Massa Veternensi patre Constantio, Constantini fratre imperatoris, matreque Galla, sorore Rufini et Cerealis, quos trabeae consulares

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<sup>1</sup> *eminentium*, Fletcher, C.Q. 1930, p. 193; *tumentium*, Günther; *mentium*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic., *Acad.* ii. 28, 91. *veri et falsi quasi disceptatricem et iudicem.*

dwelling, as men think, above the orbit of the moon : or as others define her, an actual guardian presiding with universal sway over the destinies of individual men. The ancient theologians, regarding her as the daughter of Justice, say that from an unknown eternity she looks down upon all the creatures of earth. 26. She, as queen of causes and arbiter and judge<sup>1</sup> of events, controls the urn with its lots and causes the changes of fortune,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes she gives our plans a different result than that at which we aimed, changing and confounding many actions. She too, binding the vainly swelling pride of mortals with the indissoluble bond of fate, and controlling, as she knows how to do, the causes of gain and loss, now bends and weakens the uplifted necks of the proud, and now, raising the good from the lowest estate, lifts them to a happy life. Moreover, the storied past has given her wings in order that she might be thought to come to all with swift speed ; and it has given her a helm to hold and has put a wheel beneath her feet, in order that none may fail to know that she runs through all the elements and rules the universe.<sup>3</sup>

27. By this untimely death, although himself weary of his existence, the Caesar passed from life in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a rule of four years. He was born in Etruria at Massa in the district of Veternum, being the son of Constantius, the brother of the emperor Constantine, and Galla, the sister of Rufinus and Cerealis, who were distinguished by the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 409, *alternare vices*.

<sup>3</sup> With this description cf. that of Fortune in Pacuvius, *inc.* xiv., Ribbeck (p. 144), and Horace, *Odes*, i. 34.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

nobilitarunt, et praefecturae. 28. Fuit <sup>1</sup> autem forma conspicuus bona, decente filo corporis membrorumque recta compage, flavo capillo et molli, barba licet recens emergente lanugine tenera, ita tamen ut maturius auctoritas emineret; tantum a temperatis moribus Iuliani differens fratris, quantum inter Vespasiani filios fuit Domitianum et Titum. 29. Assumptus autem in amplissimum fortunae fastigium, versabilis eius motus expertus est, qui ludunt mortalitatem, nunc evehentes quosdam in sidera, nunc ad Coeyti profunda mergentes. Cuius rei cum innumera sint exempla, pauca tactu summo transcurram. 30. Haec fortuna mutabilis et inconstans fecit Agathoclem Siculum ex figulo regem, et Dionysium, gentium quondam terrorem, Corinthi of litterario ludo praefecit. 31. Haec Adramytenum Andriseum, in fullonio natum, ad Pseudophilippi nomen evexit, et Persei legitimum filium artem ferrariam ob quaerendum docuit victum. 32. Eadem Mancinum post imperium dedidit <sup>2</sup> Numaninis. Samnitum atrocitati Veturium, et Claudium Corsis, substravitque feritati Carthaginis Regulum; istius iniquitate Pompeius, post quaesitum Magni ex

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<sup>1</sup> *fuit*, in lac. of 5 letters, EDW<sup>2</sup>NA (defendo, cf. Suet., *Aug.* 79, 1, *Tib.* 68, 1, *Calig.* 50, 1); *erat*, Heraeus, Clark (cf. xxv. 4, 22).      <sup>2</sup> *dedidit*, Val.; *dedit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The *trabea* was a toga, or robe, in white, ornamented with horizontal stripes of purple. It was worn by the knights on public occasions and by the early kings and consuls. In the classical period it was, in that form, the distinctive garb of the *equites* (see Tac., *Ann.* iii. 2;

vesture<sup>1</sup> of consul and prefect. 28. He was conspicuous for his handsome person, being well proportioned, with well-knit limbs. He had soft golden hair, and although his beard was just appearing in the form of tender down, yet he was conspicuous for the dignity of greater maturity. But he differed as much from the disciplined character of his brother Julian as did Domitian, son of Vespasian, from his brother Titus. 29. Raised to the highest rank in Fortune's gift, he experienced her fickle changes, which make sport of mortals, now lifting some to the stars, now plunging them in the depths of Cocytus. But although instances of this are innumerable, I shall make cursory mention of only a few. 30. It was this mutable and fickle Fortune that changed the Sicilian Agathocles from a potter to a king, and Dionysius, once the terror of nations, to the head of an elementary school, at Corinth. 31. She it was that raised Andriscus<sup>2</sup> of Adramyttium, who was born in a fullery, to the title of the Pseudo-Phillip, and taught the legitimate son of Perseus the blacksmith's trade as a means of livelihood.<sup>3</sup> 32. She, too, delivered Mancinus, after his supreme command, to the Numantians, Veturius to the cruelty of the Samnites, and Claudius to the Corsicans, and she subjected Regulus to the savagery of the Carthaginians. Through her injustice Pompey, after he had gained the surname Great by his

Val. Max., ii. 2, 9), but it varied in its colour and its use at different periods. One form, wholly of purple, was worn by the kings and later emperors; another, of purple and saffron, by the augurs.

<sup>2</sup> For Andriscus and other names in 31-33, see Index.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Aem.* 37.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

rerum gestarum amplitudine cognomentum. ad spardonum libidinem in Aegypto trucidatur. 33. Et Eunus quidam ergastularius servus ductavit in Sicilia fugitivos. Quam multi splendido loco nati Romani,<sup>1</sup> eadem rerum domina conivente, Viriathi genua sunt amplexi vel Spartaci? Quot capita quae horruere gentes funesti carnifices absciderunt? Alter in vincula ducitur, alter insperatae praeficitur potestati, alius a summo culmine dignitatis executitur. 34. Quae omnia si scire quisquam velit quam varia sint et assidua, harenarum numerum idem iam desipiens et montium pondera scrutari putabit.<sup>2</sup>

### LIBER XV

#### 1. *Mors Galli Caesaris imperatori nuntiatur.*

1. Utcumque potui veritatem<sup>3</sup> scrutari. ea quae videre licuit per aetatem. vel perplexe interrogando versatos in medio scire, narravimus ordine casuum exposito diversorum; residua quae secuturus aperiet textus, pro virium captu limatius absolvemus, nihil obtrectatores longi (ut putant) operis formidantes. Tunc enim laudanda est brevitatis, cum moras rumpens intempestivas, nihil subtrahit cognitioni gestorum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *nati Romani*. Novák; *nati*, E<sup>2</sup>BG; *natura*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *putabit*, E, Val. (in text); *posse putabit*, Val.; *putavit*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *utcumque potui veritatem*, Traube; *ut cumippo tumeritate*, V.    <sup>4</sup> *gestorum*, E, Val.; *iustorum*, V.



glorious deeds, was butchered in Egypt to give the eunuchs' pleasure. 33. Eunus, too, a workhouse slave, commanded an army of runaways in Sicily. How many Romans of illustrious birth at the nod of that same arbiter of events embraced the knees of a Viriathus<sup>1</sup> or a Spartacus!<sup>2</sup> How many heads dreaded by all nations has the fatal executioner lopped off. One is led to prison, another is elevated to unlooked-for power, a third is cast down from the highest pinnacle of rank. 34. But if anyone should desire to know all these instances, varied and constantly occurring as they are, he will be mad enough to think of searching out the number of the sands and the weight of the mountains.

## BOOK XV

### 1. *The death of Gallus Caesar is reported to the Emperor.*

1. So far as I could investigate the truth, I have, after putting the various events in clear order, related what I myself was allowed to witness in the course of my life, or to learn by meticulous questioning of those directly concerned. The rest, which the text to follow will disclose, we shall set forth to the best of our ability with still greater accuracy, feeling no fear of critics of the prolixity of our work, as they consider it; for conciseness is to be praised only when it breaks off ill-timed discursiveness, without detracting at all from an understanding of the course of events.

<sup>1</sup> Flor., i. 33, 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Flor., ii. 8, 3 ff.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

2. Nondum apud Noricum exuto penitus Gallo, Apodemius quoad vixerat igneus turbarum incentor, raptos eius calceos vehens, equorum permutatione veloci, ut nimietate eogendi quosdam exstingueret, praecursorius index Mediolanum advenit ingressusque regiam, ante pedes proiecit Constantii, velut spolia regis occisi Parthorum; et perlato nuntio repentino, docente rem insperatam et arduam ad sententiam tota facilitate completam, hi qui summam aulam tenebant, omni placendi studio in adulationem ex more collato, virtutem felicitatemque imperatoris extollebant in caelum, cuius nutu in modum gregariorum militum (licet diversis temporibus) duo exauctorati sunt principes, Veteranio nimirum et Gallus. 3. Quo ille studio blanditiarum exquisito sublatus, immunemque se deinde fore ab omni mortalitatis incommodo fidenter existimans, confestim a iustitia declinavit ita intemperanter, ut "Aeternitatem meam" aliquotiens subsereret ipse dictando, scribendoque propria manu orbis totius se dominum appellaret; quod dicentibus aliis, indignanter admodum ferre deberet is qui ad aemulationem civilium principum formare vitam moresque suos, ut praedicabat, diligentia laborabat enixa. 4. Namque etiam si mundorum infinitates Democriti regeret, quos Anaxarcho incitante Magnus somniabat Alexander, id reputasset legens vel audiens, quod (ut docent mathematici concinentes),

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<sup>1</sup> He joined in the attempt of Magnentius; see note 2, p. 3. The name seems really to be Veteranio.

2. Hardly had Gallus been wholly stripped in Noricum, when Apodemius, a fiery inciter of disorder so long as he lived, seized and carried off Caesar's shoes, and with such swift relays of horses that he killed some of them by over-driving, was the first to arrive in Milan as an advance informer. Entering the palace, he cast the shoes at Constantius' feet, as if they were the spoils of the slain Parthian king. And on the arrival of the sudden tidings, which showed that an apparently hopeless and difficult enterprise had been carried out to their satisfaction with perfect ease, the highest court officials, as usual turning all their desire to please into flattery, extolled to the skies the emperor's valour and good fortune, since at his beck two princes, though at different times, Veteranio<sup>1</sup> to wit and Gallus, had been cashiered like common soldiers. 3. So Constantius, elated by this extravagant passion for flattery, and confidently believing that from now on he would be free from every mortal ill, swerved swiftly aside from just conduct so immoderately that sometimes in dictation he signed himself "My Eternity," and in writing with his own hand called himself lord of the whole world—an expression which, if used by others, ought to have been received with just indignation by one who, as he often asserted, laboured with extreme care to model his life and character in rivalry with those of the constitutional emperors. 4. For even if he ruled the infinity of worlds postulated by Democritus, of which Alexander the Great dreamed under the stimulus of Anaxagoras, yet from reading or hearsay he should have considered that (as the astronomers unanimously teach)

ambitus terrae totius, quae nobis videtur immensa. ad<sup>1</sup> magnitudinem universitatis instar brevis optinet puncti.

2. *Ursicinus, magister equitum per orientem, Julianus, Galli Caesaris frater, et Gorgonius, praepositus Caesariani cubiculi, accusantur maiestatis.*

1. Iamque post miserandum<sup>2</sup> delati Caesaris cladem, sonante periculorum iudicialium tuba, in crimen laesae maiestatis arcessebatur Ursicinus, adulescente magis magisque contra eius salutem livore, omnibus bonis infesto. 2. Hac enim superabatur difficultate, quod ad suscipiendas defensiones aequas et probabiles, imperatoris aures oclusae, patebant<sup>3</sup> susurris insidiantium clandestinis, qui Constantii nomine per orientis tractus omnes abolito, ante dictum ducem domi forisque desiderari, ut formidolosum Persicae genti, fingebant. 3. Sed contra accidentia vir magnanimus stabat immobilis, ne se proiceret abiectius cavens, parum tuto loco innocentiam stare medullitus gemens, hocque uno tristior quod amici ante haec frequentes ad potiores desciverant, ut ad successores officiorum, more poscente, solent transire lictores. 4. Impugnabat autem eum per fetae benignitatis illecebras, collegam et virum fortem propalam saepe appellans Arbitio, ad innectendas letales insidias vitae simplici perquam

<sup>1</sup> *ad*, added by G; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *miserandam*, E: *petiscrandam*, V; *detestandam*, Traube.      <sup>3</sup> *occlusae*, W<sup>2</sup>AG: *patebant*, BG; *occluserat ebant*, V.

the circuit of the whole earth, which to us seems endless, compared with the greatness of the universe, has the likeness of a mere tiny point.

2. *Ursicinus, commander of the cavalry in the Orient. Julian, brother of Gallus Caesar. and Gorgonius, his grand chamberlain, are accused of treason.*

1. And now, after the pitiful downfall of the murdered Caesar, the trumpet of court trials sounded and Ursicinus was arraigned for high treason, since jealousy, the foe of all good men, grew more and more dangerous to his life. 2. For he fell victim to this difficulty, that the emperor's ears were closed for receiving any just and easily proved defence, but were open to the secret whispers of plotters, who alleged that Constantius' name was got rid of throughout all the eastern provinces and that the above-mentioned general was longed for both at home and abroad as being formidable to the Persian nation. 3. Yet in the face of events this high-souled hero stood immovable, taking care not to abase himself too abjectly, but lamenting from his heart that uprightness was so insecure, and the more depressed for the single reason that his friends, who had before been numerous, had deserted him for more powerful men. just as lictors are in the habit of passing, as custom requires, from magistrates to their successors. 4. Furthermore, he was attacked with the blandishments of counterfeit courtesy by Arbitio, who kept openly calling him his colleague and a brave man, but who was exceedingly shrewd in devising

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

callens, et ea tempestate nimium potens. Ut enim subterraneus serpens, foramen subsidens occultum, adsultu subito singulos transitores observans incessit, ita ille odio alienae sortis <sup>1</sup> etiam post adeptum summum <sup>2</sup> militiae munus, nec laesus aliquando nec lacessitus, inexplebili quodam laedendi proposito, conscientiam polluebat. 5. Igitur paucis arcanorum praesentibus <sup>3</sup> consensu, latenter cum imperatore sententia diu digesta, <sup>4</sup> id sederat, ut nocte ventura, procul a conspectu militarium raptus, Ursicinus indemnatus occideretur, ut quondam Domitius Corbulo dicitur caesus, in colluvione illa Neroniani saeculi provinciarum fidus defensor et cautus. 6. Quibus ita compositis, cum ad hoc destinati praedictum tempus operirentur, consilio in lenitudinem flexo, facinus impium ad deliberationem secundam differri praeceptum est.

7. Indeque ad Iulianum, recens perductum, calumniarum vertitur machina, memorabilem postea principem, gemino crimine, ut iniquitas aestimabat, implicitum: quod a Macelli fundo, in Cappadocia posito, ad Asiam demigrarat, liberalium desiderio doctrinarum, et <sup>5</sup> per Constantinopolim transeuntem

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<sup>1</sup> *odio alienae sortis*, Pet. ; *addicta maesortes*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *adeptum summum*, added in lac. of 15 letters, Clark.      <sup>3</sup> *praesentibus*, Heraeus : *praefectibus*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *diu digesta*, added in lac. of 9 letters, Novák (cf. xv. 4. 1 ; xiv. 6. 14).  
<sup>5</sup> *et*, added by G ; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> A villa or castle near Caesarea, where Gallus and Julian were brought up.

<sup>2</sup> Julian was devoted to the study of Greek literature and philosophy. He wrote a great many books, some of

deadly snares for a straightforward character and was at that time altogether too powerful. For just as an underground serpent, lurking below the hidden entrance to its hole, watches each passer-by and attacks him with a sudden spring, so he, through envy of others' fortune even after reaching the highest military position, without ever being injured or provoked kept staining his conscience from an insatiable determination to do harm. 5. So, in the presence of a few accomplices in the secret, after long deliberation it was privately arranged with the emperor that on the following night Ursicinus should be carried off far from the sight of the soldiers and slain without a trial, just as in days gone by it is said that Domitius Corbulo was murdered, a man who had been a loyal and prudent defender of the provinces amid the notorious corruption of Nero's time. 6. When this had been so arranged and the persons appointed for it were awaiting the allotted time, the emperor changed his mind in the direction of mercy, and orders were given to postpone the wicked deed until after a second consultation.

7. But then the artillery of slander was turned against Julian, the future famous emperor, who had just arrived, and he was involved, as was unjustly held, in a two-fold accusation: first, that he had moved from the estate of Macellum,<sup>1</sup> situated in Cappadocia, into the province of Asia, in his desire for a liberal education:<sup>2</sup> and, second, that he had visited his brother Gallus as he passed through

which have been preserved: orations, letters, satires, and a few epigrams.

viderat fratrem. 8. Qui cum obiecta dilueret, ostenderetque neutrum sine iussu fecisse, nefando assentatorum coetu perisset urgente, ni adspiratione superni numinis Eusebia suffragante regina, ductus ad Comum oppidum Mediolano vicinum, ibique paulisper moratus, procudendi ingenii causa (ut cupidine flagravisset) ad Graeciam ire permissus est. 9. Nec defuere deinceps ex his emergentia casibus, quae diceret<sup>1</sup> secundis avibus contigisse, dum punirentur ex iure, vel tamquam irrita disfluebant et vana. Sed accidebat non numquam, ut opulenti pulsantes praesidia potiorum, eisdemque tamquam ederae celsis arboribus adhaerentes, absolutionem pretiis mercarentur immensis; tenues vero, quibus exiguae vires<sup>2</sup> erant ad redimendam salutem aut nullae, damnabantur abrupte. Ideoque et veritas mendaciis velabatur, et valere pro veris aliquotiens falsa.

10. Perductus est eisdem diebus et Gorgonius, cui erat thalami Caesariani cura commissa, cumque eum ausorum fuisse participem, concitoremque interdum, ex confesso pateret, conspiratione spadonum iustitia concinnatis mendaciis obumbrata, periculo evolutus abscessit.

<sup>1</sup> diceret, Her. : dispice, V.  
vere serant, V.

<sup>2</sup> vires, EA : res, W<sup>2</sup>G ;



Constantinople. 8. And although he cleared himself of these implications and showed that he had done neither of these things without warrant, yet he would have perished at the instigation of the accursed crew of flatterers, had not, through the favour of divine power, Queen Eusebia befriended him; so he was brought to the town of Comum, near Milan, and after abiding there for a short time, he was allowed to go to Greece for the sake of perfecting his education, as he earnestly desired. 9. Nor were there wanting later actions arising from these occurrences which one might say had a happy issue, since the accusers were justly punished, or their charges came to naught as if void and vain. But it sometimes happened that rich men, knocking at the gates of the mighty, and clinging to them as ivy does to lofty trees, bought their acquittal at monstrous prices; but poor men, who had little or no means for purchasing safety, were condemned out of hand. And so both truth was masked by lies and sometimes false passed for true.

10. At that same time Gorgonius also, who had been appointed the Caesar's head chamberlain, was brought to trial; and although it was clear from his own confession that he had been a party in his bold deeds, and sometimes their instigator, yet through a plot of the eunuchs justice was overshadowed with a clever tissue of lies, and he slipped out of danger and went his way.

3. *In Galli Caesaris amicos et ministros animadvertitur.*

I. Haec dum Mediolani aguntur, militarium catervae ab oriente perductae sunt Aquileiam, cum aulicis pluribus, membris inter catenas fluentibus, spiritum trahentes exiguum vivendique moras per aerumnas detestati multiplices. Arcessebantur enim ministri fuisse Galli ferocientis, perque eos Domitianus discerptus credebatur et Montius, et alii post eos acti in exitium praeceps. 2. Ad quos audiendos Arbetio<sup>1</sup> missus est et Eusebius, cubiculi tunc praepositus, ambo inconsideratae iactantiae, iniusti pariter et cruenti. Qui nullo perspicaciter inquisito,<sup>2</sup> sine innocentium sontiumque differentia, alios verberibus vel tormentis afflictos exsulari poena damnarunt, quosdam ad infimam trusere militiam, residuos capitalibus addixere suppliciis. Impletisque funerum bustis, reversi velut ovantes, gesta rettulerunt ad principem, erga haec et similia palam obstinatum et gravem. 3. Vehementius hinc et deinde Constantius, quasi praescriptum factorum ordinem convulsurus, recluso pectore patebat insidiantibus multis. Unde rumorum aucupes subito exstiterere complures, honorum vertices ipsos ferinis morsibus appetentes, posteaque pauperes et divites indiscrete: non ut Cibyratae illi Verrini, tribunal

<sup>1</sup> *Arbetio*, Kellerbauer: *Arbitio*, Seeck: *arborum*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *inquisito*, added by Hadr. Val.

<sup>1</sup> Two brothers from Cibyra, in Phrygia, Tlepolemus and Hiero, tools of Verres; cf. Cic., *Verr.*, iv. 21, 47: iv. 13, 30.

3. *Punishment is inflicted on the friends and tools of Gallus Caesar.*

1. While these events were taking place at Milan, troops of soldiers were brought from the East to Aquileia together with several courtiers, their limbs wasting in chains as they drew feeble breaths and prayed to be delivered from longer life amid manifold miseries. For they were charged with having been tools of the savagery of Gallus, and it was through them, it was believed, that Domitianus and Montius were torn to pieces and others after them were driven to swift destruction. 2. To hear their defence were sent Arbetio and Eusebius, then grand chamberlain, both given to inconsiderate boasting, equally unjust and cruel. They, without examining anyone carefully or distinguishing between the innocent and the guilty, scourged and tortured some and condemned them to banishment, others they thrust down to the lowest military rank, the rest they sentenced to suffer death. And after filling the tombs with corpses, they returned as if in triumph and reported their exploits to the emperor, who in regard to these and similar cases was openly inflexible and severe. 3. Thereupon and henceforth Constantius, as if to upset the predestined order of the fates, more eagerly opened his heart and laid it bare to the plotters, many in number. Accordingly, numerous gossip-hunters suddenly arose, snapping with the jaws of wild beasts at even the highest officials, and afterwards at poor and rich indifferently, not like those Cibyrate hounds of Verres<sup>1</sup> fawning upon the tribunal of only one

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

unius legati lambentes, sed rei publicae membra totius per incidentia mala vexantes. 4. Inter quos facile Paulus et Mercurius eminebant : hic origine Persa, ille<sup>1</sup> natus in Dacia : notarius ille, hic a ministro triclinii rationalis. Et Paulo quidem, ut relatum est supra, Catenae inditum est cognomentum, eo quod in complicandis calumniarum nexibus erat indissolubilis, mira<sup>2</sup> inventorum sese varietate dispendens, ut in colluctationibus callere nimis quidam solent artifices palaestritae. 5. Mercurius vero<sup>3</sup> somniorum appellatus est<sup>4</sup> comes, quod ut clam mordax canis interna saevitia<sup>5</sup> submissus agitans caudam, epulis coetibusque se crebris inserens, si per quietem quisquam. ubi fusius natura vagatur, vidisse aliquid amico narrasset, id venenatis artibus coloratum in peius, patulis imperatoris auribus infundebat, et ob hoc homo tamquam inexpiabili obnoxius culpa, gravi mole criminis pulsabatur. 6. Haec augente vulgatus fama. tantum aberat, ut proderet quisquam visa nocturna. ut contra<sup>6</sup> aegre homines dormisse sese praesentibus faterentur externis, maerebantque docti quidam. quod apud Atlanteos nati non essent. ubi memorantur somnia non videri ; quod unde eveniat, rerum scientissimis relinquamus.

7. Inter has quaestionum suppliciorumque species diras, in Illyrico exoritur alia clades. ad multorum

<sup>1</sup> ille, added by G ; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> mira, Gronov, Haupt. ; intra, V.      <sup>3</sup> vero, added by Her.      <sup>4</sup> est, added by Clark, c.c.      <sup>5</sup> saevitia, Hermann ; vitia, V.      <sup>6</sup> ut contra, Traube ; ut. AG, C. F. W. Müller ; cum, V.

<sup>1</sup> xiv. 5, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herodotus, v. 184.

governor, but afflicting the members of the whole commonwealth with a visitation of evils. 4. Among these Paulus and Mercurius were easily the leaders, the one a Persian by origin, the other born in Dacia; Paulus was a notary, Mercurius, a former imperial steward, was now a treasurer. And in fact this Paulus, as was told before,<sup>1</sup> was nicknamed "the Chain," because he was invincible in weaving coils of calumny, exerting himself in a wonderful variety of schemes, just as some expert wrestlers are in the habit of showing excessive skill in their contests. 5. But Mercurius was dubbed "Count of Dreams," because, like a slinking, biting cur, savage within but peacefully wagging its tail, he would often worm his way into banquets and meetings, and if anyone had told a friend that he had seen anything in his sleep, when nature roams more freely, Mercurius would give it a worse colour by his venomous skill and pour it into the open ears of the emperor; and on such grounds a man, as though really chargeable with inexpiable guilt, would be beaten down by a heavy burden of accusation. 6. Since rumour exaggerated these reports and gave them wide currency, people were so far from revealing their nightly visions, that on the contrary they would hardly admit in the presence of strangers that they had slept at all, and certain scholars lamented that they had not been born near Mount Atlas, where it is said that dreams are not seen<sup>2</sup>; but how that happens we may leave to those who are most versed in natural science.

7. Amid these dire aspects of trials and tortures there arose in Illyricum another disaster, which

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

pericula ex verborum inanitate progressa. In convivio Africani, Pannoniae secundae rectoris, apud Sirmium poculis amplioribus madefacti quidam, arbitrum adesse nullum existimantes, licenter imperium praesens ut molestissimum incusabant; quibus alii optatam permutationem temporum adventare, veluti e praesagiis affirmabant, non nulli maiorum augurio<sup>1</sup> sibi portendi, incogitabili dementia promittebant. 8. E quorum numero Gaudentius agens<sup>2</sup> in rebus, mente praecipiti stolidus, rem ut seriam detulerat ad Rufinum, apparitionis praefecturae praetorianae tunc principem, ultimorum semper avidum hominem, et coalita pravitate famosum. 9. Qui confestim quasi pinnis elatus, ad comitatum principis advolavit, eumque ad suspiciones huius modi mollem et penetrabilem, ita acriter inflammavit, ut sine deliberatione ulla Africanus, et omnes letalis mensae participes, iuberentur rapi sublimes. Quo facto delator funestus, vetita ex more humano validius cupiens, biennio id quod agebat (ut postularat) continuare praeceptus est. 10. Missus igitur ad eos corripiendos Teutomeres protector domesticus cum collega onustos omnes catenis (ut mandatum est) perducebat. Sed ubi ventum est Aquileiam, Marinus tribunus<sup>3</sup> ex campidoctore eo tempore vacans, auctor perniciosi sermonis, et alioqui naturae ferventis, in taberna

<sup>1</sup> *augurio*, EW<sup>2</sup> N, Mommsen; *auguria*, G; *auirio*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *agens*, E, Val.; *magis*, V; *magnis*, W<sup>2</sup> BG.      <sup>3</sup> *tribunus*, Val. added in lac. of 8 letters.

<sup>1</sup> The principal city of Pannonia; see Index.

<sup>2</sup> See note 2, p. 98.

began with idle words and resulted in peril to many. At a dinner-party given by Africanus, governor of Pannonia Secunda, at Sirmium,<sup>1</sup> certain men who were deep in their cups and supposed that no spy was present freely criticized the existing rule as most oppressive : whereupon some assured them, as if from portents, that the desired change of the times was at hand ; others with inconceivable folly asserted that through auguries of their forefathers it was meant for them. 8. One of their number, Gaudentius, of the secret service,<sup>2</sup> a dull man but of a hasty disposition, had reported the occurrence as serious to Rufinus, who was then chief steward of the praetorian prefecture, a man always eager for extreme measures and notorious for his natural depravity. 9. Rufinus at once, as though upborne on wings, flew to the emperor's court and inflamed him, since he was easily influenced by such suspicions, to such excitement that without any deliberation Africanus and all those present at the fatal table were ordered to be quickly hoisted up and carried out. That done, the dire informer, more strongly desirous of things forbidden, as is the way of mankind, was directed to continue for two years in his present service, as he had requested. 10. So Teutomeres, of the emperor's bodyguard,<sup>3</sup> was sent with a colleague to seize them, and loading them with chains, as he had been ordered, he brought them all in. But when they came to Aquileia, Marinus, an ex-drillmaster<sup>4</sup> and now a tribune,<sup>5</sup> who was on furlough at the

<sup>3</sup> See note 3, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> His office was to drill and exercise the soldiers.

<sup>5</sup> See *Introd.*, pp. xliii f.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

relictus, dum parantur itineri necessaria, lateri cultrum longiorem<sup>1</sup> casu repertum impegit, statimque extractis vitalibus, interiit. 11. Residui ducti Mediolanum, exeruciatique tormentis, et confessi inter epulas petulanter se quaedam locutos, iussi sunt attineri poenalibus claustris, sub absolutionis aliqua spe (licet incerta). Protectores vero pronuntiati vertere solum exilio, ut Marino eisdem consciis mori permissio, veniam Arbetione meruere precante.

### 4. *Lentienses Alamanni a Constantio Aug. pars caesi, pars fugati.*

1. Re hoc modo finita, . . .<sup>2</sup> et Lentiensibus, Alamannicis pagis, indictum est bellum, collimitia saepe Romana latius irrumpentibus. Ad quem prociectum imperator egressus, in Raetias camposque venit Caninos, et digestis diu consiliis, id visum est honestum et utile, ut eo cum militis parte ibidem opperiente.<sup>3</sup> Arbetio magister equitum cum validiore exercitus manu, relegens margines lacus

<sup>1</sup> *longiorem*, Novák added in lac. of 9 letters, cf. xvi. 12, 39; xvii. 12, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The lac. (12 letters) contained the name of another tribe of the Alamanni, which cannot be supplied.

<sup>3</sup> *ibidem opperiente*, Her. added in lac. indicated by Schneider; *pater* for *parte* without lac., V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cod. Just., x. 19, 2, *carcer poenaliūm*.

<sup>2</sup> See critical note.



time, the originator of that mischievous talk and besides a man of hot temper, being left in a tavern while things necessary for their journey were preparing, and chancing upon a long knife, stabbed himself in the side. at once plucked forth his vitals, and so died. 11. The rest were brought to Milan and cruelly tortured; and since they admitted that while feasting they had uttered some saucy expressions, it was ordered that they be kept in close confinement<sup>1</sup> with some hope (though doubtful) of acquittal. But the members of the emperor's guard, after being sentenced to leave the country for exile, since Marinus with their connivance had been allowed to die, at the suit of Arbetio obtained pardon.

4. *Of the Lentienses, a tribe of the Alamanni, a part were slain and a part put to flight by Constantius Augustus.*

1. The affair thus ended, war was declared on the . . .<sup>2</sup> and Lentienses,<sup>3</sup> tribes of the Alamanni, who often made extensive inroads through the Roman frontier defences. On that expedition the emperor himself set out and came to Raetia and the Campi Canini;<sup>4</sup> and after long and careful deliberation it seemed both honorable and expedient that, while he waited there with a part of the soldiers, Arbetio, commander of the cavalry, with the stronger part of the army should march on,

<sup>3</sup> Dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lentia, modern Lenze.

<sup>4</sup> Plains in Raetia, round about Bellinzona.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Brigantiae pergeret, protinus barbaris congressurus. Cuius loci figuram breviter quantum ratio patitur, designabo.

2. Inter montium celsorum amfractus, immani pulsu Rhenu exoriens, per<sup>1</sup> scopulos extenditur celsos,<sup>2</sup> nullos advenas amnes<sup>3</sup> adoptans, ut per<sup>4</sup> cataractas inclinatione praecipiti funditur Nilus. Et navigari ab ortu poterat primigenio copiiis exuberans propriis, ni ruenti curreret similis potius<sup>5</sup> quam fluenti lenius amni.<sup>6</sup> 3. Iamque ad plana volutus,<sup>7</sup> altaque divortia riparum adradens, lacum invadit rotundum et vastum, quem Brigantiam accola Raetus appellat, perque quadringenta et sexaginta stadia longum, parique paene spatio late diffusum, horrore silvarum squalentium inaccessum, nisi qua vetus illa Romana virtus et sobria iter composuit latum, barbaris et natura locorum et caeli inclementia refragante. 4. Hanc ergo paludem spumosis strependo<sup>8</sup> verticibus amnis irrumpens, et undarum quietem permeans pigram, mediam velut finali intersecat libramento, et tamquam elementum perenni discordia separatum, nec aucto nec imminuto agmine quod intulit, vocabulo et viribus absolvitur integris, nec contagia deinde ulla perpetuens, oceani gurgitibus intimatur. 5. Quodque

<sup>1</sup> *exoriens per*, scripsi; *exoriens per praeruptos*, Val. in lac. of 11 letters; *pulsurhen . . . pulos*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *celsos*, scripsi;      <sup>3</sup> *nullos advenas am*, Gronov added in lac. of 10 letters *extenditur . . . nes*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *per*, Val. added in lac. of 3 letters.      <sup>5</sup> *similis potius*, Val.; *sim* (lac. of 8 letters), *quam*, V.      <sup>6</sup> *lenius amni*, scripsi in lac. of 6 letters.      <sup>7</sup> *ad plana volutus*, Petschenig; *ad* (lac. 7 letters) *solutus*, V.      <sup>8</sup> *strepando*, G; *stridendo*, Traube; *stertendo* from *tertendo*, V<sup>2</sup>.

skirting the shores of Lake Brigantia.<sup>1</sup> in order to engage at once with the savages. Here I will describe the appearance of this place as briefly as my project allows.

2. Between the defiles of lofty mountains the Rhine rises and pours with mighty current over high rocks, without receiving tributary streams, just as the Nile with headlong descent pours over the cataracts. And it could be navigated from its very source, since it overflows with waters of its own, did it not run along like a torrent rather than a quietly flowing river. 3. And now broadening and cutting its way between high and widely separated banks, it enters a vast round lake, which its Raetian neighbour calls Brigantia;<sup>2</sup> this is four hundred and sixty stades long and in breadth spreads over an almost equal space; it is inaccessible through dread of the forest wilderness except where that old-time practical Roman ability, in spite of the opposition of the savages, the nature of the region, and the rigour of the climate, constructed a broad highroad. 4. Into this pool, then, the river bursts roaring with frothing eddies, and cleaving the sluggish quiet of the waters, cuts through its midst as if with a boundary line. And as if the element were divided by an everlasting discord, without increasing or diminishing the volume which it carried in, it emerges with name and force unchanged, and without thereafter suffering any contact it mingles with Ocean's flood. 5. And, what is exceeding

<sup>1</sup> The Lake of Constance.

<sup>2</sup> The Lake of Constance.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

est impendio mirum, nec stagnum aquarum rapido transcurso movetur, nec limosa subluvie tardatur properans flumen, et confusum misceri non potest corpus; quod, ni ita agi ipse doceret aspectus, nulla vi credebatur posse discerni. 6. Sic Alpheus oriens in Arcadia, cupidine fontis Arethusae captus, scindens Ionium mare, ut fabulae ferunt, ad usque amatae confinia proruit nymphae.<sup>1</sup> 7. Arbetio qui adventus barbarorum nuntiarent non exspectans dum<sup>1</sup> adessent, licet sciret aspera orta bellorum, in occultas delatus insidias, stetit<sup>2</sup> immobilis, malo repentino percussus. 8. Namque improvisi<sup>3</sup> e latebris hostes exsiliunt, et sine parsimonia quicquid offendi poterat telorum genere multiplici configebant; nec enim resistere nostrorum quisquam potuit, nec aliud vitae subsidium, nisi discessu sperare veloci. Quocirca vulneribus declinandis intenti, incomposito agmine milites huc et illuc dispalantes, terga ferienda dederunt. Plerique tamen per angustas semitas sparsi, periculoque praesidio tenebrosae noctis extracti, revoluta iam luce, redintegratis viribus agmini quisque proprio sese consociavit. In quo casu ita tristi et inopino, abundans numerus armatorum, et tribuni desiderati sunt decem. 9. Ob quae Alamanni sublatis animis ferocius incedentes secuto die<sup>4</sup> prope munimenta Romana, adimente matutina nebula lucem, strictis

<sup>1</sup> proruit (*progreditur*, G) nymphae, Arbetio . . . expectans, BG; *progrontusque barbaros* (lac. of 2½ lines) barbaros dum, V.    <sup>2</sup> insidias stetit, E, Val.; *insi* (lac. of 6 letters), V.    <sup>3</sup> namque improvisi, Langen added in lac. of 7 letters: . . . visi, V.    <sup>4</sup> secuto die, Clark; *se cotidie*, V.

<sup>1</sup> The spring of Ortygia, at Syracuse in Sicily.

strange, neither is the lake stirred by the swift passage of the waters nor is the hurrying river stayed by the foul mud of the lake, and though mingled they cannot be blended into one body ; but if one's very sight did not prove it to be so, one would not believe it possible for them to be kept apart by any power. 6. In the same way the river Alpheus, rising in Arcadia and falling in love with the fountain Arethusa, cleaves the Ionian Sea, as the myth tells us, and hastens to the retreat<sup>1</sup> of the beloved nymph. 7. Arbetio did not wait for the coming of messengers to announce the arrival of the savages, although he knew that a dangerous war was on foot, and when he was decoyed into a hidden ambushade, he stood immovable, overwhelmed by the sudden mischance. 8. For the enemy sprang unexpectedly out of their lurking-places and without sparing pierced with many kinds of weapons everything within reach ; and in fact not one of our men could resist, nor could they hope for any other means of saving their lives than swift flight. Therefore the soldiers, bent on avoiding wounds, straggled here and there in disorderly march, exposing their backs to blows. Very many, however, scattering by narrow by-paths and saved from danger by the protecting darkness of the night, when daylight returned recovered their strength and rejoined each his own company. In this mischance, so heavy and so unexpected, an excessive number of soldiers and ten tribunes were lost. 9. As a result the Alamanni, elated in spirit, came on more boldly the following day against the Roman works ; and while the morning mist obscured

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

mucronibus discurrerant, frendendo minas tumidas intentantes. Egressique repente scutarii, cum obiectu turmarum hostilium repercussi stetissent, omnes suos conspiratis mentibus ciebant ad pugnam. 10. Verum cum plerosque recentis aerumnae documenta terrerent, et<sup>1</sup> intuta fore residua credens haereret Arbetio, tres simul exsiluere tribuni, Arintheus agens vicem armaturarum rectoris, et Seniauchus qui equestrem turmam comitum tuebatur, et Bappo ducens promotos. 11. Qui cum commissis sibi militibus, pro causa communi se velut propria Deciorum veterum exemplo voventes, more<sup>2</sup> fluminis hostibus superfusi, non iusto proelio sed disursionibus rapidis,<sup>3</sup> universos in fugam coegere foedissimam. Qui dispersi laxatis ordinibus, dumque elabi properant impediti, corpora nudantes intecta, gladiatorum hastarumque densis ictibus truncabantur. 12. Multique cum equis interfecti iacentes, etiam tum eorum dorsis videbantur innexi; quo viso omnes e castris effusi, qui prodire in proelium cum sociis ambigebant, cavendi immemores, proterebant

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<sup>1</sup> *et intuta*, Val.; *intota*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *Qui cum commissis* . . . *uoventes, more*, Her. (cf. xxiii. 5, 19; xxviii. 1, 4); *promoto* (lac. 30 letters) *missis sibi* (lac. of 11 letters) *causa communis velut proprii* (lac. of 18 letters) *ueterum exemplo usuenter*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *rapidis*, Her. in lac. of 9 letters.

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> A picked body of troops, perhaps the same as the *comitalenses*; they were divided into several bodies, distinguished by various names.

the light they rushed about with drawn swords, gnashing their teeth and giving vent to boastful threats. But the targeteers<sup>1</sup> suddenly sallied forth, and when they were driven back by the opposition of the enemy's battalions, and were at a standstill, with one mind they called out all their comrades to the fight. 10. But when the majority were terrified by the evidence of the recent disaster, and Arbetio hesitated, believing that the sequel would be dangerous, three tribunes sallied forth together: Arintheus, lieutenant-commander of the heavy-armed bodyguard, Seniauchus, leader of a squadron of the household cavalry,<sup>2</sup> and Bappo, an officer of the veterans.<sup>3</sup> 11. They with the soldiers under their command, making the common cause their own, after the manner of the Decii of old,<sup>4</sup> poured like a torrent upon the enemy, and not in a pitched battle, but in a series of swift skirmishes, put them all to most shameful flight. And as they scattered with broken ranks and encumbered by their haste to escape, they exposed themselves unprotected, and by many a thrust of swords and spears were cut to pieces. 12. And many, as they lay there, slain horse and man together, seemed even then to be sitting fast upon the back of their mounts. On seeing this, all who had been in doubt about going into battle with their comrades poured forth from the camp, and careless of all precaution trod under foot the horde of savages, except those whom flight

<sup>3</sup> Soldiers who were given a higher rank on account of good service or favour: cf. Vegetius, ii. 3, *legionum robur infractum est, cum per gratiam promoverentur milites, qui promoveri consueverant per labores.*

<sup>4</sup> See Index.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

barbaram plebem, nisi quos fuga exemerat morte, calcantes cadaverum strues, et perfusi sanie peremptorum. 13. Hocque exitu proelio terminato, imperator Mediolanum ad hiberna ovans revertit et laetus.

5. *Silvanus Fraucus. magister peditum per Gallias, Coloniae Augustus adpellatur. et xxiii. imperi die per insidias opprimitur.*

1. Exoritur iam hinc rebus afflictis, haut dispari provinciarum malo calamitatum turbo novarum, exstincturus omnia simul, ni fortuna moderatrix humanorum casuum motum eventu celeri consummavit, impendio formidatum. 2. Cum diuturna incuria Galliae caedes acerbis rapinasque et incendia, barbaris licenter grassantibus, nullo iuvante perferrent, Silvanus pedestris militiae rector, ut efficax ad haec corrigenda, principis iussu perrexit,<sup>1</sup> Arbetione id maturari modis quibus poterat adigente, ut absenti aemulo quem superesse adhuc gravabatur periculosae molis onus impingeret.<sup>2</sup>

3. Dynamius quidam<sup>3</sup> actuarius sarcinalium principis iumentorum, commendaticias ab eo petierat litteras ad amicos, ut quasi familiaris eiusdem esset

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<sup>1</sup> *principis iussu perrexit*, Val.; *primum ipsius superrexit*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *gravabatur . . . impingeret*, BG in lac. of about 3 lines.    <sup>3</sup> *Dynamius quidam*, Val. added; G has lac. of 3 letters.

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<sup>1</sup> He had charge during campaigns and journeys of the transportation of the emperor's baggage; other *actuarii* are mentioned in xx. 5, 9 (see note), and *actuarii*



had saved from death, trampling on heaps of dead bodies and drenched with the blood of the slain. 13. The battle thus done and ended, the emperor returned in triumph and joy to Milan, to pass the winter.

5. *Silvanus the Frank, commander of the infantry in Gaul, is hailed as Augustus at Cologne, but is treacherously slain on the twenty-eighth day of his reign.*

1. Now there arises in this afflicted state of affairs a storm of new calamities, with no less mischief to the provinces; and it would have destroyed everything at once, had not Fortune, arbitress of human chances, brought to an end with speedy issue a most formidable uprising. 2. Since through long neglect Gaul was enduring bitter massacres, pillage, and the ravages of fire, as the savages plundered at will and no one helped, Silvanus, an infantry commander thought capable of redressing these outrages, came there at the emperor's order; and Arbetio urged by whatever means he could that this should be hastened, in order that the burden of a perilous undertaking might be imposed upon an absent rival, whose survival even to this time was looked upon as an affliction.

3. A certain Dynamius, superintendent of the emperor's pack-animals,<sup>1</sup> had asked Silvanus for letters of recommendation to his friends, in order to make himself very conspicuous, as if he were one

*a rationibus scrutandis* in xxv. 10, 7. *Actuarius* is an adjective, sc. *scriba*.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

notissimus. Hoc impetrato, cum ille nihil suspiciens simpliciter praestitisset, servabat epistulas, ut perniciosum aliquid in tempore moliretur. 4. Memorato itaque duce Gallias ex re publica discursante, barbarosque propellente, iam sibi diffidentes et trepidantes, idem Dynamius inquietius agens, ut versutus et in fallendo exercitatus, fraudem comminiscitur impiam, subornatore et conseio, ut iactavere rumores incerti, Lampadio praefecto praetorio, et Eusebio ex comite rei privatae, cui cognomentum erat inditum Mattyocopi, atque Aedesio ex magistro memoriae, quos ad consulatum ut amicos iunctissimos idem curarat rogari praefectus; et peniculo serie litterarum abstersa, solaque<sup>1</sup> incolumi relicta subscriptione, alter multum a vero illo dissonans superscribitur textus: velut Silvano rogante verbis obliquis, hortanteque amicos agentes intra palatium, vel privatos, inter quos et Tuscus erat Albinus, alique plures, ut se altiora coeptantem, et prope diem loci principalis aditum petiturum iuarent.<sup>2</sup> 5. Hunc fascem ad arbitrium figmenti compositum,<sup>3</sup> vitam pulsaturum insontis, a Dynamio susceptum

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<sup>1</sup> *solaque*, Traube; *sola*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *aditum petiturum iuarent*, Petschenig; *aditurum*, without lac., V.      <sup>3</sup> *compositum*, Val.; *co* (lac. of 7 letters) *sit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See Introd. pp. xli. f.

<sup>2</sup> "Glutton," from *κοπέω*, "cut," and *ματρία*, "delicacies," "delicate food."

of his intimates. On obtaining this request, for Silvanus, suspecting nothing, had innocently granted it, he kept the letters, intending to work some mischief at the proper time. 4. So when the above-mentioned commander was traversing Gaul in the service of the government and driving forth the savages, who had now lost their confidence and courage, this same Dynamius, being restless in action, like the crafty man he was and practised in deceit, devised a wicked plot. He had as abettors and fellow conspirators, as uncertain rumours declared, Lampadius, the praetorian prefect, and Eusebius, former keeper of the privy purse,<sup>1</sup> who had been nicknamed Mattyocopus,<sup>2</sup> and Aedisius, late master of the rolls,<sup>3</sup> all of whom the said prefect had arranged to have called to the consulship as his nearest friends. With a sponge he effaced the contents of the letters, leaving only the signature intact, and wrote above it another text far different from the original, indicating that Silvanus in obscure terms was asking and urging his assistants within the palace or without official position, including both Tuscus Albinus and many more, to help him, aiming as he was at a loftier position and soon to mount to the imperial throne. 5. This packet of letters, thus forged at his pleasure to endanger the life of an innocent man, the prefect received from Dynamius, and coming into the

<sup>3</sup> The *magister memoriae* was a subordinate of the *magister officiorum*, and head of the *scrinium memoriae* (first established by Caracalla) consisting of 62 clerks and 12 *adiutores*. They sent out the *acta* prepared by the *scrinia epistularum et libellorum*, and kept on record answers to petitions.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

praefectus imperatori, avide scrutari haec et similia consueto. secreta obtulit<sup>1</sup> soli, ingressus intimum conclave in tempore,<sup>2</sup> deinde sperans accepturum se a principe praemium,<sup>3</sup> ut pervigilem salutis custodem et cautum,<sup>4</sup> lectaque consistorio astu callido consarcinata materia, tribuni iussi sunt custodiri. et de provinciis duci privati, quorum epistulae nomina designabant. 6. Confestimque iniquitate rei percitus Malarichus, gentilium rector, collegis adhibitis strepebat immaniter, circumveniri homines dicatos imperio per factiones et dolos minime debere proclamans, petebatque ut ipse relictis obsidum loco necessitudinibus suis, Mallobaude armaturarum tribuno spondente quod remeabit, velocius iuberetur ire ducturus Silvanum, aggredi nihil tale conatum, quale insidiatores acerrimi concitarunt; vel contra se paria promittente, Mallobaudem orabat properare permitti, haec quae ipse pollicitus est impleturum. 7. Testabatur enim id se procul dubio scire, quod siqui mitteretur externus, suoapte ingenio Silvanus etiam nulla re perterrente timidior. composita forte turbabit.

8. Et quamquam utilia moneret et necessaria, ventis tamen loquebatur incassum. Namque Arbitione auctore, Apodemius ad eum vocandum cum

<sup>1</sup> *consueto, secreta obtulit*, Haupt.; *consue terreret* (second *r* added by V<sup>2</sup>) *e* (lac. 8 letters) *id* V.      <sup>2</sup> *conclave in tempore*, Novák; *capere tempore*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *accepturum . . . praemium*, added by Novák.      <sup>4</sup> *et cautum*, added by Novák in lac. of about 9 letters.

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<sup>1</sup> The emperor's council, or secret cabinet; see *Introd.*, pp. xxix. f.

<sup>2</sup> The foreign contingent of the household troops; see note 3, p. 56.

emperor's private room at an opportune time and finding him alone, secretly handed it to him, accustomed as he was eagerly to investigate these and similar charges. Thereby the prefect hoped that he would be rewarded by the emperor, as a most watchful and careful guardian of his safety. And when these letters, patched together with cunning craft, were read to the consistory,<sup>1</sup> orders were given that those tribunes whose names were mentioned in the letters should be imprisoned, and that the private individuals should be brought to the capital from the provinces. 6. But Malarichus, commander of the gentiles,<sup>2</sup> was at once struck with the unfairness of the procedure, and summoning his colleagues, vigorously protested, exclaiming that men devoted to the empire ought not to be made victims of cliques and wiles. And he asked that he himself—leaving as hostages his relatives and having Mallobaudes, tribune of the heavy-armed guard, as surety for his return—might be commissioned to go quickly and fetch Silvanus, who was not entering upon any such attempt as those most bitter plotters had trumped up. Or as an alternative, he asked that he might make a like promise and that Mallobaudes be allowed to hurry there and perform what he himself had promised to do. 7. For he declared that he knew beyond question that, if any outsider should be sent, Silvanus, being by nature apprehensive, even when there was nothing alarming, would be likely to start a rebellion.

8. But although his advice was expedient and necessary, yet he was talking vainly to the winds. For by Arbetio's advice Apodemius, an inveterate

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

litteris mittitur, inimicus honorum omnium diuturnus et gravis. Qui incidentia parvi ducens<sup>1</sup> cum venisset in Gallias, dissidens a mandatis, quae proficiscenti sunt data, nec viso Silvano nec oblatis scriptis ut veniret admonito,<sup>2</sup> remansit adscitoque rationali, quasi proscripti iamque necandi magistri peditum clientes et servos hostili tumore vexabat. 9. Inter haec tamen dum praesentia Silvani speratur, et Apodemius quieta perturbat, Dynamius ut argumento validiore impie structorum adsereret fidem, compositas litteras his concinentes quas obtulerat principi per praefectum, ad tribunum miserat fabricae Cremonensis, nomine Silvani et Malarichi, a quibus ut arcanorum conscius monebatur parare propere cuncta. 10 Qui cum haec legisset, haerens et ambigens diu quidquam id esset—nec enim meminerat secum aliquando super negotio ullo interiore hos quorum litteras acceperat collocutos—epistulas ipsas per baiulum qui portarat, iuncto milite ad Malarichum remisit,<sup>3</sup> obsecrans ut doceret aperte quae vellet, non ita perplexe; nec enim intellexisse firmabat, ut subagrestem et simplicem, quid significatum esset obscurius. 11. Haec Malarichus subito nactus, etiam tunc squalens et maestus, suamque

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<sup>1</sup> *incidentia parvi ducens*, Val.: *incidentis*, lac. of 27 letters, V; lac. of 6 letters, G.    <sup>2</sup> *admonito*, AG; *admonuit*, EB; *admonit*, V. Clark indicates lac.    <sup>3</sup> *remisit*, Her.: *misit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The *rationales* were subordinates of the *comes rerum privatarum* and *comites sacrarum largitionum*; they looked after the interests of the *fiscus* in the provinces.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Silvanus.

and bitter enemy of every patriot, was sent with a letter to recall Silvanus. He, caring little for what might happen, on arriving in Gaul, departed from the instructions given him on his setting out and remained there without either interviewing Silvanus or citing him to come to court by delivering the letter; and associating with himself the fiscal agent of the province,<sup>1</sup> as if the said infantry commander<sup>2</sup> were proscribed and at once to be executed he abused his dependents and slaves with the arrogance of an enemy. 9. In the meantime, however, while Silvanus' presence was awaited and Apodemius was disturbing the peace, Dynamius, in order to maintain the credibility of his wicked inventions with a stronger argument, had made up a letter tallying with the one which he had presented to the emperor through the prefect, and sent it to the tribune of the Cremona armory, in the name of Silvanus and Malarichus; in this letter the tribune, as one privy to their secret designs, was admonished to prepare everything with speed. 10. When the tribune had read this, hesitating for a long time and puzzling as to what in the world it meant (for he did not remember that the men whose letter he had received had ever talked with him about any confidential business), he sent the identical letter back to Malarichus by the carrier who had brought it, and with him a soldier, begging Malarichus to explain openly what he wanted, and not so enigmatically. For he declared that, being a somewhat rude and plain man, he had not understood what had been obscurely intimated. 11. Malarichus, on unexpectedly receiving this, being even then troubled and

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

et popularis Silvani vicem graviter ingemiscens, adhibitis Francis, quorum ea tempestate in palatio multitudo florebat, erectius iam loquebatur; tumultuando patefactis<sup>1</sup> insidiis reserataque<sup>2</sup> iam fallacia, per quam ex confesso salus eorum appetebatur. 12. Hisque cognitis statuit imperator, dispicientibus consistorianis et militaribus universis, in negotium perspicaciter inquiri.<sup>3</sup> Cumque iudices resedissent,<sup>4</sup> Florentius Nigriniani filius agens tunc pro magistro officiorum, contemplans diligentius scripta, apicunque pristinorum quasi quandam umbram<sup>5</sup> reperiens animadvertit (ut factum est) priore textu interpolato longe alia quam dictarat Silvanus, ex libidine consarcinatae falsitatis adscripta. 13. Proinde fallaciarum nube discussa, imperator doctus gesta relatione fideli, abrogata potestate praefectum statui sub quaestione praecepit, sed absolutus est enixa conspiratione multorum. Suspensus autem Eusebius ex comite privatarum, se conscio haec

<sup>1</sup> *tumultuando patefactis*, Val.; *tumultua* (lac. of 10 letters) *factis*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *reserataque*, Kiessling; *refe* (lac. of 3 letters) *que*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *perspicaciter inquiri*, Her.; *praeter morem inquiri*, Traube, Novák; *praeterinquiri*, V.    <sup>4</sup> *resedissent*, Novák; *festidissent*, V.    <sup>5</sup> *umbram*, added by Her.; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> The *magister officiorum* was a very important official, to whom many of the former functions of the praetorian prefect had been transferred (or shared with the prefect). Along with his many duties was complete charge of the discipline of the palace. See *Introd.*, pp. xxxvii. f.



sad, and grievously lamenting his own lot and that of his fellow-countryman Silvanus, called together the Franks, who at that time were numerous and influential in the palace, and now spoke more boldly, raising an outcry over the disclosure of the plot and the unveiling of the deceit by which their lives were avowedly aimed at. 12. And on learning this, the emperor decided that the matter should be investigated searchingly through the medium of his council and all his officers. And when the judges had taken their seats, Florentinus, son of Nigrinianus, at the time deputy master of the offices,<sup>1</sup> on scrutinizing the script with greater care, and finding a kind of shadow, as it were, of the former letters,<sup>2</sup> perceived what had been done, namely, that the earlier text had been tampered with and other matter added quite different from what Silvanus had dictated, in accordance with the intention of this patched-up forgery. 13. Accordingly, when this cloud of deceit had broken away, the emperor, learning of the events from a faithful report, deprived the prefect of his powers, and gave orders that he should be put under examination; but he was acquitted through an energetic conspiracy of many persons. Eusebius, however, former count of the privy purse,<sup>3</sup> on being put upon the rack, admitted that this had been set on foot with his cognizance.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of *apices*, see *Amer. Jour. of Philol.*, xlviii. (1927), pp. 1 ff. The word is wrongly translated by Holland, "prickes or accents over the letters," and by Yonge, "some vestiges of the *tops* of former words"; rightly by Tross, "einige Spuren der früheren Buchstaben."

<sup>3</sup> See *Introd.*, pp. xli. f.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

dixerat concitata. 14. Aedesius quid actum sit pertinaci infitiatione contendens omnino nescisse,<sup>1</sup> abiit innoxius, et ita finito negotio, omnes sunt absoluti quos exhiberi delatio compulit criminosa. Dynamius vero ut praeclaris artibus illustratus, cum correctoris dignitate regere iussus est Tuscos et Umbros.<sup>2</sup>

15. Agens inter haec apud Agrippinam Silvanus, assiduisque suorum comperiens<sup>3</sup> nuntiis, quae Apodemius in labem suarum ageret fortunarum, et sciens animum tenerum versabilis principis, timensque ne trucidaretur<sup>4</sup> absens et inauditus,<sup>5</sup> in difficultate positus maxima barbaricae se fidei committere cogitabat. 16. Sed Laniogaiso vetante (tunc tribuno) quem dum militaret candidatus solum adfuisse morituro Constanti supra rettulimus, docenteque Francos, unde oriebatur, interfectores eum aut accepto praemio prodituros, nihil tutum ex praesentibus ratus, in consilia agitabatur<sup>6</sup> extrema et sensim cum principiorum verticibus erectius<sup>7</sup> collocutus, eisdemque magnitudine promissae mercedis accensis, cultu purpureo a draconum et vexillorum

<sup>1</sup> omnino nescisse, Traube; enim minus scisse, V. <sup>2</sup> et Umbros, Seeck added in lac. of 15 letters. <sup>3</sup> comperiens, Clark; conperiis, V. <sup>4</sup> timensque ne trucidaretur (trucidaretur for perageretur reus, Gronov; -que added by Clark), BG; (lac. of 15 letters) aretur, V. <sup>5</sup> inauditus, Val.; indamnatus, V. <sup>6</sup> agitabatur, E, Eyssen.; cogitabatur, V. <sup>7</sup> erectius, Traube; erectus, V.

14. Aedesius, who maintained with stout denial that he had known nothing of what was done, got off scot-free. And so at the close of the business all those were acquitted whom the incriminating report had forced to be produced for trial; in fact Dynamius, as if given distinction by his illustrious conduct, was bidden to govern Etruria and Umbria with the rank of corrector.<sup>1</sup>

15. Meanwhile Silvanus, stationed at Cologne and learning from his friends' constant messages what Apodemius was undertaking to the ruin of his fortunes, knowing the pliant mind of the fickle emperor, and fearing lest he should be condemned to death absent and unheard, was put in a most difficult position and thought of entrusting himself to the good faith of the savages. 16. But he was prevented by Laniogaisus, at that time a tribune, whom I have earlier stated to have been the sole witness of Constans' death, while he was serving as a subaltern.<sup>2</sup> He assured Silvanus that the Franks, whose fellow-countryman he was, would kill him or on receipt of a bribe betray him. So Silvanus, seeing no safety under present conditions, was driven to extreme measures, and having gradually spoken more boldly with the chief officers, he aroused them by the greatness of the reward he promised; then as a temporary expedient he tore the purple decorations from the standards of

<sup>1</sup> *Correctores* in the fourth century were governors of smaller provinces, ranking between the highest (*consulares*) and the lowest (*praesides*). Originally a *corrector* governed the whole of Italy. The title gradually died out, being replaced by *consulares* or *praesides*. See Index II.

<sup>2</sup> See Index II, s.v. *candidatus*.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

insignibus ad tempus abstracto, ad culmen imperiale surrexit.

17. Dumque haec aguntur in Galliis, ad occasum inclinato iam die, perfertur Mediolanum insperabilis nuntius, aperte Silvanum demonstrans, dum ex magisterio peditum altius nititur, sollicitato exercitu ad angustum culmen evectum. 18. Hac mole casus inopini Constantio icto, quasi fulmine fati, primates, consilio secunda vigilia convocato, properarunt omnes in regiam. Cumque nulli ad eligendum quid agi deberet, mens suppetere posset aut lingua, submissis verbis perstringebatur Ursicini<sup>1</sup> mentio, ut consiliis rei bellicae praestantissimi, frustra quoque gravi iniuria lacessiti, et per admissionum magistrum—qui mos est honoratior—accito eodem, ingresso consistorium offertur purpura multo quam antea placidius. Diocletianus enim Augustus<sup>2</sup> omnium primus, externo et regio more<sup>3</sup> instituit adorari, cum semper antea ad similitudinem iudicum salutatos principes legerimus. 19. Et qui paulo antea cum insectatione malivola, orientis vorago, invadendaeque<sup>4</sup> summae rei per filios affectator compellabatur, tunc dux prudentissimus, et Constantini<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ursicini*, Val. ; *sic inimentio*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *Diocletianus Augustus* added by Val. (*enim* by Gardt.) in lac. of 16 letters.  
<sup>3</sup> *extero* (*externo*, Traube, Novák, Her., cf. Livy, xxix. 19, 4) *ritu et regio more*, G ; *extortio ei regio re*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *vorago invadendaeque*, G ; *voragi* (lac. of 8 letters) *vadendaeque*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *Constantii*, suggested by Clark, Her. ; *Constantini*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The *magister admissionum* was a subordinate of the *magister officiorum* ; imperial audiences were obtained

the cohorts and the companies, and so mounted to the imperial dignity.

17. And while this was going on in Gaul, as the day was already drawing to its close, an unexpected messenger reached Milan, openly declaring that Silvanus, aiming higher than the command of the infantry, had won over his army and risen to imperial eminence. 18. Constantius, struck down by the weight of this unexpected mischance as by a thunderbolt of Fate, called a council at about midnight, and all the chief officials hastened to the palace. And when no one's mind or tongue was equal to showing what ought to be done, mention in subdued tones was made of Ursicinus, as a man conspicuous for his sagacity in the art of war, and one who had been without reason provoked by serious injustice. And when he had been summoned by the master of ceremonies<sup>1</sup> (which is the more honourable way) and had entered the council chamber, he was offered the purple to kiss much more graciously than ever before. Now it was the emperor Diocletian who was the first to introduce this foreign and royal form of adoration, whereas we have read that always before our emperors were saluted like the higher officials.<sup>2</sup> 19. So the man who shortly before with malicious slander was called the maelstrom of the East and a seeker after acquisition of imperial power through his sons, then became a most politic leader and mighty fellow-soldier of Constantine's, and the only person to

through the latter, and the actual entrance into the audience chamber was under the direction of the former.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of *iudices*, see Index of Officials, s.v.

magnus erat commilito, solusque ad extinguendum, probis quidem sed insidiosis rationibus petebatur. Diligens enim opera navabatur, extinguere Silvanum, ut fortissimum perduellem, aut (si secus accidisset) Ursicinum exulceratum iam penitus aboleri, ne superesset scopulus<sup>1</sup> impendio formidandus. 20. Igitur cum de profectione celeranda disponderetur, propulsationem obiectorum criminum eundem ducem parantem praegressus, oratione leni prohibet imperator, non id esse memorans tempus, ut controversa defensio causae susciperetur, cum vicissim restitui in pristinam concordiam partes necessitas subigeret urgentium rerum, antequam cresceret mollienda. 21. Habita igitur deliberatione multiplici, id<sup>2</sup> potissimum tractabatur, quo commento Silvanus gesta etiam tum imperatorem ignorare existimaret. Et<sup>3</sup> probabili argumento ad<sup>4</sup> firmandam fidem reperto monetur honorificis scriptis, ut accepto Ursicino successore cum potestate rediret intacta. 22. Post haec ita digesta protinus iubetur exire, tribunis et protectoribus domesticis decem, ut postularat, ad iuvandas necessitates publicas ei coniunctis, inter quos ego quoque eram cum Veriniano collega, residui omnes propinqui et

<sup>1</sup> *scopulus*, Her., cf. Florus, iv. 9. 1; *scrupulus*, EBG; *scropulus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *id*, added by Gardt.; V omits.      <sup>3</sup> *et*, added by Val.; V omits.      <sup>4</sup> *ad*, E<sup>2</sup>G; V omits.

extinguish the fire ; but he was really being attacked under motives honourable, to be sure, but yet insidious. For great care was being taken that Silvanus should be destroyed as a very strong rebel ; or, if that should fail, that Ursicinus, already deeply gangrened, should be utterly annihilated, in order that a rock<sup>1</sup> so greatly to be dreaded should not be left. 20. Accordingly, when arrangements were being made for hastening his departure, and the general undertook the refutation of the charges brought against him, the emperor, forestalling him by a mild address, forbade it, declaring that it was not the time for taking up the defence of a disputed case, when the urgency of pressing affairs which should be mitigated before it grew worse, demanded that parties should mutually be restored to their old-time harmony. 21. Accordingly, after a many-sided debate, this point was chiefly discussed, namely, by what device Silvanus might be led to think that the emperor even then had no knowledge of his action. And they invented a plausible means of strengthening his confidence, advising him in a complimentary letter to receive Ursicinus as his successor and return with his dignities unimpaired. 22. After this had been thus settled, Ursicinus was ordered to set forth at once, accompanied (as he had requested) by some tribunes and ten of the body-guard, to assist the exigencies of the state. Among these I myself was one, with my colleague Verinianus ; all the rest were relatives

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Florus, ii. 19. 1 ; *cum scopulus et nodus et mora publicae securitatis superesset Antonius*, "a rock in his path" (*L.C.L.*, p. 316).

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

familiares.<sup>1</sup> 23. Iamque eum egressum solum de se metuens quisque per longa spatia deducebat. Et quamquam ut bestiarum obiceremur intractabilibus feris, perpendentes tamen hoc bonum habere tristia accidentia,<sup>2</sup> quod in locum suum<sup>3</sup> secunda substituunt,<sup>4</sup> mirabamur illam sententiam Tullianam, ex internis veritatis ipsius promulgatam, quae est talis: "Et quamquam optatissimum est perpetuo fortunam quam florentissimam permanere, illa tamen aequalitas vitae non tantum habet sensum, quantum cum ex miseris<sup>5</sup> et perditis rebus ad meliorem statum fortuna revocatur."

24. Festinamus itaque itineribus magnis, ut ambitiosus magister armorum, ante allapsam per Italicos de tyrannide ullum rumorem, in suspectis finibus appareret, verum cursim nos properantes aëria quadam via<sup>6</sup> antevolans prodiderat fama, et Agrippinam ingressi, invenimus cuncta nostris conatibus altiora. 25. Namque convena undique multitudine trepide coepta fundante, coactisque copiis multis, pro statu rei praesentis id aptius videbatur, ut ad imperatoris novelli, per ludibrosa auspicia virium accessu firmandi sensum ac voluntatem dux flexibilis<sup>7</sup> verteretur; quo variis

<sup>1</sup> omnes propinqui et familiares. iamque, BG; omni (lac. of 21 letters) Iamque, V. <sup>2</sup> tristia, EAG; accidentia, Clark; haberet tristitia recidentia, V. <sup>3</sup> locum suum, Her.; locos (from locis) sunt. V<sup>2</sup>. <sup>4</sup> V has lac. of 10 lines at end of page; no lac.. BG. <sup>5</sup> miseris, Kiessling; seris, V. <sup>6</sup> aëria quadam via, Novák; aëria viâ; Clark, cf. xviii. 6, 3; aeraria quadam, V. <sup>7</sup> flexibilis, Bentley; flexilis, Pet.; flebilis, V.



and friends. 23. And when he left, each of us attended him for a long distance in fear only for our own safety. But although we were, like gladiators,<sup>1</sup> cast before ravening wild beasts, yet reflecting that melancholy events after all have this good sequel, that they give way to good fortune, we admired that saying of Tully's, delivered even from the inmost depths of truth itself, which runs as follows: "And although it is most desirable that our fortune always remain wholly favourable, yet that evenness of life does not give so great a sense of satisfaction as when, after wretchedness and disaster, fortune is recalled to a better estate."<sup>2</sup>

24. Accordingly, we hastened by forced marches, since the commander of the forces, in his zeal, wished to appear in the suspected districts before any rumour of the usurpation had made its way into Italy. But for all our running haste, rumour had flown before us by her aerial path and revealed our coming; and on arriving at Cologne we found everything above our reach. 25. For since a great crowd assembled from all sides gave a firm foundation to the enterprise so timidly begun, and large forces had been mustered, it seemed, in view of the state of affairs, more fitting that our general<sup>3</sup> should complaisantly favour the upstart<sup>4</sup> emperor's purpose and desire to be strengthened in the growth of his power by deceptive omens; to the end that by means of manifold devices of flattery his feeling

<sup>1</sup> The *bestiarii* were matched against wild beasts.

<sup>2</sup> This passage does not occur in Cicero's extant works. A similar one appears in *Ad Quir. post Reditum*, i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ursicinus.

<sup>4</sup> *Novelli* is contemptuous; cf. xxvi. 6, 15.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

assentandi figmentis in mollius vergente securitate. nihil metuens hostile deciperetur. 26. Cuius rei finis arduus videbatur; erat enim cautius observandum. ut appetitus opportunitati obtemperarent, nec praecurrentes eam nec deserentes. Qui si eluxissent intempestive, constabat nos omnes sub elogio uno morte multandos.

27. Susceptus tamen idem dux leniter adactusque, inclinante negotio ipso cervices, adorare sollemniter anhelantem celsius purpuratum, ut spectabilis colebatur et intimus: facilitate aditus honoreque mensae regalis adeo antepositus aliis, ut iam secretius de rerum summa consultaretur. 28. Aegre ferebat Silvanus ad<sup>1</sup> consulatum potestatesque sublimes elatis indignis, se et<sup>2</sup> Ursicinum solos post exsudatos magnos pro re publica labores et crebros, ita fuisse despectos, ut ipse quidem per quaestiones familiarium sub disceptatione ignobili crudeliter agitatus, commisisse in maiestatem accesseretur, alter vero ab oriente raptus odiis inimicorum addiceretur: et haec assidue clam querebatur et palam. 29. Terrebant nos tamen, cum dicerentur haec et similia, circumfremencia undique murmura causantis inopiam militis, et rapida celeritate ardentis angustias Alpium perrumpere Cottiarum.

30. In hoc aestu mentis ancipiti, ad effectum tendens consilium occulta scrutabamus indagine,

<sup>1</sup> *ad*, W<sup>2</sup>BG: V omits.

<sup>2</sup> *et*, W<sup>2</sup>BG: V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> In order to march to Italy against Constantius himself.

of security might become more assured, and he might be caught off his guard against anything hostile. 26. But the issue of this project seemed difficult; for special care had to be observed that the onsets should take advantage of the right moment, neither anticipating it nor falling short of it. Since if they should break out prematurely, we were all sure to suffer death under a single sentence.

27. However, our general, being kindly received and forcing himself—since our very commission bent our necks—formally to reverence the high-aiming wearer of the purple, was welcomed as a distinguished and intimate friend. In freedom of access and honourable place at the royal table he was so preferred to others that he came to be confidentially consulted about the most important affairs. 28. Silvanus took it ill that while unworthy men were raised to the consulship and to high positions, he and Ursicinus alone, after having toiled through such heavy and repeated tasks for the government, had been so scorned that he himself had been cruelly harrassed in an unworthy controversy through the examination of friends of his, and summoned to trial for treason, while Ursicinus, haled back from the East, was delivered over to the hatred of his enemies; and these continual complaints he made both covertly and openly. 29. We however were alarmed, in spite of these and similar speeches, at the uproarious complaints of the soldiers on every hand, pleading their destitution and eager to burst through the passes of the Cottian Alps<sup>1</sup> with all speed.

30. Amid this perplexing distress of spirit we kept casting about in secret investigation for some plan

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

sederatque tandem mutatis prae timore saepe sententiis, ut quaesitis magna industria cautis rei ministris, obstricto religionum consecratione colloquio, Bracchiati sollicitarentur atque Cornuti. fluxioris fidei et<sup>1</sup> ubertate mercedis ad momentum omne versabiles.

31. Firmato itaque negotio per sequestres quosdam gregarios, obscuritate ipsa ad id patrandum idoneos, praemiorum exspectatione accensus solis ortu iam rutilo, subitus armatorum globus erupit, atque ut solet in dubiis rebus, audentior caesis custodibus, regia penetrata, Silvanum<sup>2</sup> extractum aedicula, quo exanimatus confugerat, ad conventiculum ritus Christiani tendentem, densis gladiatorum ictibus trucidarunt.

32. Ita dux haut exsilium meritorum hoc genere oppetit mortis, metu calumniarum, quibus factione iniquorum irretitus est absens, ut tueri possit salutem, ad praesidia progressus extrema. 33. Licet enim ob tempestivam illam cum armaturis proditorem ante Mursense proelium obligatum gratia retineret Constantium, ut dubium tamen et mutabilem verebatur, licet patris quoque Boniti praetenderet fortia facta, Franci quidem sed pro Constantini partibus in bello civili acriter contra Licinianos saepe versati. 34. Evenerat autem

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<sup>1</sup> *fidei et*, G in lac. of 22 letters; two letters are erased at the end.      <sup>2</sup> *Silvanum*, W<sup>2</sup>G; *signorum*, Mommsen (*signiorium*, B); *signarum*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Against Magnentius; see note 2, p. 3.

likely to have results ; and in the end, after often changing our minds through fear, we resolved to search with the greatest pains for discreet representatives, to bind our communication with solemn oaths, and try to win over the Bracchiati and Cornuti, troops wavering in their allegiance and ready to change sides at any moment for an ample bribe. 31. Accordingly, the matter was arranged through some common soldiers as go-betweens, men who through their very inconspicuousness were suited to accomplish it ; and just as sunrise was reddening the sky, a sudden group of armed men, fired by the expectation of rewards, burst forth ; and as usually happens in critical moments, made bolder by slaying the sentinels, they forced their way into the palace, dragged Silvanus from a chapel where he had in breathless fear taken refuge, while on his way to the celebration of a Christian service, and butchered him with repeated sword-thrusts.

32. So fell by this manner of death a general of no slight merits, who through fear due to the slanders in which he was ensnared during his absence by a clique of his enemies, in order to save his life had resorted to the uttermost measures of defence. 33. For although he held Constantius under obligation through gratitude for that timely act of coming over to his side with his soldiers before the battle of Mursa,<sup>1</sup> yet he feared him as variable and uncertain, although he could point also to the valiant deeds of his father Bonitus, a Frank it is true, but one who in the civil war often fought vigorously on the side of Constantine against the soldiers of Licinius. 34. Now it had happened that before

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ut,<sup>1</sup> antequam huius modi aliquid ageretur in Galliis, Romae in Circo maximo populus, incertum relatione<sup>2</sup> quadam percitus an praesagio, "Silvanus devictus est" magnis vocibus exclamaret.

35. Igitur Silvano Agrippinae (ut relatum est) interfecto, inaestimabili gaudio re cognita princeps, insolentia coalitus et tumore, hoc quoque felicitatis suae prosperis cursibus assignabat, eo more quo semper oderat fortiter facientes, ut quondam Domitianus, superare tamen quaecumque arte contraria cupiebat. 36. Tantumque a fuit laudare industrie gesta, ut etiam quaedam scriberet de Gallicanis intercepta thesauris, quos nemo attigerat. Idque scrutari iusserat artius interrogato Remigio, etiam tum rationario apparitionis armorum magistri, cui multo postea Valentianiani temporibus laqueus vitam in causa Tripolitanae legationis eripuit. 37. Post quae ita completa. Constantius ut iam caelo contiguus, easibusque imperaturus humanis, magniloquentia sufflabatur adulatorum, quos augebat ipse spernendo prociendoque id genus parum calentes, ut Croesum legimus ideo regno suo Solonem<sup>3</sup> expulisse praecipitem, quia blandiri nesciebat; et Dionysium intentasse poetae Philoxeno mortem, cum eum recitantem proprios versus absurdos et

<sup>1</sup> *ut antequam*, Traube, Clark (*ut before Silvanus*, BG; before *Romae*, Val.); *tantae quam*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *relatione*, Bentley; *ratione*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gellius, xv. 18, for a similar prophecy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxviii. 6, 8 and xxx. 2, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Herodotus, i. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Diod. Sic. xv. 6, and see Index.

anything of the kind was set on foot in Gaul, the people at Rome in the Great Circus (whether excited by some story or by some presentiment is uncertain) cried out with a loud voice : " Silvanus is vanquished." <sup>1</sup>

35. Accordingly, when Silvanus had been slain at Cologne, as has been related, the emperor learned of it with inconceivable joy, and swollen with vanity and pride, ascribed this also to the prosperous course of his own good fortune, in accordance with the way in which he always hated brave and energetic men, as Domitian did in times gone by, yet tried to overcome them by every possible scheme of opposition. 36. And so far was he from praising conscientious service, that he actually wrote that Ursicinus had embezzled funds from the Gallic treasury, which no one had touched. And he had ordered the matter to be closely examined, questioning Remigius, who at that time was already auditor of the general's office of infantry supplies, and whose fate it was, long afterwards, in the days of Valentinian, to take his life with the halter because of the affair of the embassy to Tripoli.<sup>2</sup> 37. After this turn of affairs, Constantius, as one that now touched the skies with his head and would control all human chances, was puffed up by the grandiloquence of his flatterers, whose number he himself increased by scorning and rejecting those who were not adepts in that line ; as we read of Croesus,<sup>3</sup> that he drove Solon headlong out of his kingdom for the reason that he did not know how to flatter ; and of Dionysius, that he threatened the poet Philoxenus <sup>4</sup> with death, because when the tyrant was reading aloud

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ineconcinuos, laudantibus eunetis, solus audiret immobilis. 38. Quae res pernicioſa vitiorum eſt altrix. Ea demum enim laus grata eſſe poteſtati debet excelsae, cum interdum et vituperationi ſecus geſtorum pateat locus.

### 6. *Silvani amici et conſcii necati.*

1. Iamque poſt ſecuritatē quaerſtiones agitabantur ex more, et vinculis catenisque plures ut noxii plectebantur. Exurgebat enim effervens laetitia Paulus, tartareus ille delator, ad venenatas artes ſuas licentius exercendas, et inquirentibus in negotium conſiſtorianis atque militaribus (ut praeceptum eſt) Proculus admovetur eculeo, Silvani domesticus, homo gracilis et morboſus, metuentibus eunetis, ne vi nimia tormentorum, levi corpore fatigato, reos atrocium criminum promiſcuae citari faceret multos. Verum contra quam ſperatum eſt contigit. 2. Memor enim ſomnii quo vetitus erat per quietem (ut ipſe firmavit) pulſare quendam inſontem, uſque ad confinia mortis vexatus, nec nominavit nec prodidit aliquem, ſed aſſerebat factum Silvani conſtanter, id eum cogitaſſe quod iniit, non cupiditate ſed neceſſitate compulſum. argumento evidenti demonſtrans. 3. Cauſam enim probabilem ponebat in medio, multorum teſtimoniis claram, quod die quinto antequam infuſas ſuſciperet principatus,



his own silly and unrythmical verses, and every one else applauded, the poet alone listened unmoved. 38. But this fault is a pernicious nurse of vices. For praise ought to be acceptable in high places only when opportunity is also sometimes given for reproach of things ill done.

6. *The friends and accomplices of Silvanus are put to death.*

1. And now after this relief the usual trials were set on foot, and many men were punished with bonds and chains, as malefactors. For up rose that diabolical informer Paulus, bubbling over with joy, to begin practising his venomous arts more freely; and when the councillors and officers (as was ordered) inquired into the matter, Proculus, Silvanus' adjutant, was put upon the rack. Since he was a puny and sickly man, every one feared that his slight frame would yield to excessive torture, and that he would cause many persons of all conditions to be accused of heinous crimes. But the result was not at all what was expected. 2. For mindful of a dream, in which he was forbidden while asleep, as he himself declared, to strike a certain innocent person, although tortured to the very brink of death, he neither named nor impeached anyone, but steadfastly defended the action of Silvanus, proving by credible evidence that he had attempted his enterprise, not driven on from ambition, but compelled by necessity. 3. For he brought forward a convincing reason, made clear by the testimony of many persons, namely, that four days before Silvanus assumed

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

donatum stipendio militem Constanti nomine allocutus est, fortis esset et fidus. Unde apparebat quod si praesumere fortunae superioris insignia conaretur, auri tam grave pondus largiretur<sup>1</sup> ut suum. 4. Post hunc damnatorum sorte Poemenius raptus ad supplicium interiit, qui (ut supra rettulimus) cum Treveri civitatem Caesari clausissent Decentio, ad defendendam plebem electus est. Tum Asclepiodotus et Lutto et Maudio comites interempti sunt, aliique plures, haec et similia perplexae temporis obstinatione scrutante.

7. *Ab Leontio praefecto urbi populi R. seditiones repressae. Liborius episcopus sede pulsus.*

1. Dum has exitiorum communium clades suscitatur turbo feralis, urbem aeternam Leontius regens, multa spectati iudicis documenta praebebat, in audiendo celerior<sup>2</sup> in disceptando iustissimus, natura benevolus. licet auctoritatis causa servandae acer quibusdam videbatur, et inclinatio ad damnandum.<sup>3</sup> 2. Prima igitur causa<sup>4</sup> seditionis in eum concitandae vilissima fuit et levis. Philorum enim aurigam rapi praeceptum, secuta plebs omnis, velut defensora proprium pignus, terribili impetu praefectum

<sup>1</sup> *largiretur*, Boxborn, Val. : *giretur*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *celerior*, or *celerrimus*, Clark, c.e. : *celeri*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *damnandum*, Bentley, Erfurdt : *amandum*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *causa*, vulgo ; *ars*, BG ; *aut*, V.

<sup>1</sup> These were improvised for the occasion ; see 5, 16, at the end.

<sup>2</sup> In one of the lost books.

the badges<sup>1</sup> of empire, he paid the soldiers and in Constantius' name exhorted them to be brave and loyal. From which it was clear that if he were planning to appropriate the insignia of a higher rank, he would have bestowed so great a quantity of gold as his own gift. 4. After him Poemenius was condemned as a malefactor, haled to execution and perished; he was the man (as we have told above)<sup>2</sup> who was chosen to protect his fellow-citizens when Treves closed its gates against Decentius Caesar.<sup>3</sup> Then the counts Asclepiodotus, Lutto and Maudio were put to death, and many others, since the obduracy of the times made an intricate investigation into these and similar charges.

7. *Riots of the Roman people are suppressed by Leontius, prefect of the City. The Bishop Liberius is deposed.*

1. While the dire confusion was causing these calamities of general destruction, Leontius, governor of the Eternal City, gave many proofs of being an excellent judge; for he was prompt in hearing cases, most just in his decisions, by nature kindly, although for the sake of maintaining his authority he seemed to some to be severe and too apt to condemn. 2. Now the first device for stirring up rebellion against him was very slight and trivial. For when the arrest of the charioteer Philoromus was ordered, all the commons followed, as if to defend their own darling, and with a formidable

<sup>3</sup> Decentius had been given the rank of Caesar by his brother Magnentius.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

incessebat ut timidum, sed ille stabilis et erectus, immissis apparitoribus, correptos aliquos vexatosque tormentis, nec strepente ullo nec obsistente, insulari poena multavit. 3. Diebusque paucis secutis eum itidem plebs excita calore quo consuevit, vini eausando inopiam, ad Septemzodium convenisset, celebrem locum, ubi operis ambitiosi Nymphaeum Marcus condidit imperator, illuc de industria pergens praefectus, ab omni toga apparitioneque rogabatur enixius, ne in multitudinem se arrogantem immitteret et minacem, ex commotione pristina saevientem; difficilis ad pavorem, recta tetendit, adeo ut eum obsequentium pars<sup>1</sup> desereret, licet in periculum festinantem abruptum. 4. Insidens itaque vehiculo, eum speciosa fiducia contuebatur acribus oculis tumultuantium undique cuneorum, veluti serpentium vultus, perpessusque multa diei probrosa, agnitum quendam inter alios eminentem vasti corporis rutilique capilli, interrogavit, an ipse esset Petrus Valuomeres (ut audierat) cognomento; eumque cum esse sonu respondisset obiurgatorio, ut seditiosorum antesignanum olim sibi compertum, reclamantibus multis, post<sup>2</sup> terga manibus vinctis, suspendi praecepit. 5. Quo viso sublimi. tribuliumque adiumentum nequicquam implorante, vulgus

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<sup>1</sup> *obsequentium pars*, G; *obsequens praefecturae apparitio*, SeecK; *obsequen* (lac. of 12 letters), V.      <sup>2</sup> *pos*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the well-known building of Severus at the south-eastern corner of the Palatine, named from the seven planets; see Suet., *L.C.L.* ii. p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the *Septizodium*, which was the work of Septimius Severus. See Index.

onslaught set upon the governor, thinking him to be timid. But he, firm and resolute, sent his officers among them—seized some and put them to the torture, and then without anyone protesting or opposing him he punished them with exile to the islands. 3. And a few days later the people again, excited with their usual passion, and alleging a scarcity of wine, assembled at the Septemzodium,<sup>1</sup> a much frequented spot, where the emperor Marcus Aurelius erected a Nymphaeum<sup>2</sup> of pretentious style. Thither the governor resolutely proceeded, although earnestly entreated by all his legal and official suite not to trust himself to the self-confident and threatening throng, which was still angry from the former disturbance; but he, hard to frighten, kept straight on, so that a part of his following deserted him, though he was hastening into imminent danger. 4. Then, seated in his carriage, with every appearance of confidence he scanned with keen eyes the faces of the crowds raging on all sides of him like so many serpents, and allowed many insults to be hurled at him; but recognising one fellow conspicuous among the rest, of huge stature and red-headed, he asked him if he were not Peter, surnamed Valuomeres, as he had heard. And when the man had replied in insolent tones that he was none other, the governor, who had known him of old as the ringleader of the malcontents, in spite of the outcries of many, gave orders to bind his hands behind him and hang him up.<sup>3</sup> 5. On seeing him aloft, vainly begging for the aid of his fellows, the

<sup>3</sup>To be flogged.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

omne paulo ante confertum, per varia urbis membra diffusum, ita evanuit ut turbarum acerrimus concitor, tanquam in iudiciali secreto exaratis lateribus, ad Picenum eieceretur, ubi postea ausus eripere virginis non obscurae pudorem. Patruini consularis sententia supplicio est <sup>1</sup> capitali addictus.

6. Hoc administrante Leontio, Liberius Christianae legis antistes, a Constantio ad eomitatum mitti praeceptus est, tanquam imperatoriis iussis et plurimorum sui consortium decretis obsistens, in re quam brevi textu percurram. 7. Athanasium episcopum eo tempore apud Alexandriam, ultra professionem altius se efferentem, scitarique conatum externa, ut prodidere rumores assidui, coctus in unum quaesitus eiusdem legis cultorum <sup>2</sup> (synodus ut appellant) removit a sacramento quod optinebat. 8. Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quaeve augurales portenderent alites, scientissime callens, aliquotiens praedixisse futura; super his intendebantur ei alia quoque, a proposito legis abhorrentia cui praesidebat. 9. Hunc per subscriptionem abicere sede sacerdotali, paria sentiens ceteris, iubente principe Liberius monitus, perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem nec auditum damnare nefas ultimum saepe exclamans, aperte

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<sup>1</sup> *est*, W<sup>2</sup>, vulgo; *perit*, Eyssen.; *oppetit*, Her.; *ei id*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *legis cultorum*, Kiessling; *loci multorum*, V.

<sup>1</sup> At Mediolanum, where Constantius then was.

whole mob, until then crowded together, scattered through the various arteries of the city and vanished so completely that this most doughty promoter of riots had his sides well flogged, as if in a secret dungeon, and was banished to Picenum. There later he had the hardihood to offer violence to a maiden of good family, and, under sentence of the governor Patruinus, suffered capital punishment.

6. During the administration of this Leontius, a priest of the Christian religion, Liberius by name, by order of Constantius<sup>1</sup> was brought before the privy council on the charge of opposing the emperor's commands and the decrees of the majority of his colleagues in an affair which I shall run over briefly. 7. Athanasius, at that time bishop of Alexandria, was a man who exalted himself above his calling and tried to pry into matters outside his province, as persistent rumours revealed; therefore an assembly which had been convoked of members of that same sect—a synod, as they call it—deposed him from the rank that he held. 8. For it was reported that, being highly skilled in the interpretation of prophetic lots or of the omens indicated by birds, he had sometimes foretold future events; and besides this he was also charged with other practices repugnant to the purposes of the religion over which he presided. 9. Liberius, when directed by the emperor's order to depose him from his priestly position by an official decree, although holding the same opinion as the rest strenuously objected, crying out that it was the height of injustice to condemn a man unseen and unheard, thus, of course, openly defying the emperor's will.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio. 10. Id enim ille Athanasio semper infestus, licet sciret impletum, tamen auctoritate quoque potiore aeternae urbis episcopi firmari desiderio nitebatur ardenti; quo non impetrato, Liberius aegre populi metu, qui eius amore flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis medio potuit asportari.

### 8. *Julianus, Galli frater, a Constantio Aug. fratre patrueli Caesar creatur, ac praeficitur Galliae.*

1. Et haec quidem Romae (ut ostendit textus superior) agebantur. Constantium vero exagitabant assidui nuntii,<sup>1</sup> deploratas iam Gallias indicantes, nullo renitente ad internecionem barbaris vastantibus universa; aestuansque diu qua vi propulsaret aerumnas, ipse in Italia residens, ut cupiebat—periculosum enim existimabat se in partem contrudere longe dimotam—repperit tandem consilium reetum, et Iulianum patruelem fratrem haut ita dudum ab Achaico tractu accitum, etiam tum palliatum, in societatem imperii adsciscere cogitabat.

2. Id ubi, urgente malorum impendentium mole, confessus est proximis, succumbere tot necessitatibus tamque crebris unum se (quod numquam fecerat) aperte demonstrans, illi in assentationem nimiam

<sup>1</sup> *nuntii*, added by W<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>BG; *rumores*, Traube; V omits.

<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest indications of the growing importance of the Roman bishops.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zosimus, iii. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The *pallium* was the characteristic Greek cloak, worn among others by students.



10. For although Constantius, who was always hostile to Athanasius, knew that the matter had been carried out, yet he strove with eager desire to have it ratified also by the higher power of the bishop of the Eternal City; <sup>1</sup> and since he could not obtain this, Liberius was spirited away, but only with the greatest difficulty and in the middle of the night, for fear of the populace, who were devotedly attached to him.

8. *Julian, brother of Gallus, is appointed Caesar by his cousin Constantius, and given command over Gaul.*

1. This, then, was the situation at Rome, as the preceding text has shown. But Constantius was disquieted by frequent messages reporting that Gaul was in desperate case, since the savages were ruinously devastating everything without opposition. And after worrying for a long time how he might forcibly avert these disasters, while himself remaining in Italy as he desired—for he thought it risky to thrust himself into a far-distant region—he at length hit upon the right plan and thought of associating with himself in a share of the empire his cousin Julian,<sup>2</sup> who not so very long before had been summoned from the district of Achaia and still wore his student's cloak.<sup>3</sup>

2. When Constantius, driven by the weight of impending calamities, admitted his purpose to his intimates, openly declaring (what he had never done before) that in his lone state he was giving way before so many and such frequent crises, they,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

eruditi, infatuabant hominem,<sup>1</sup> nihil esse ita asperum dietitantes, quod praepotens eius virtus, fortunaque tam vicina sideribus, non superaret ex more. Addebantque noxarum conscientia stimulante complures, deinceps caveri debere Caesaris nomen, replicantes gesta sub Gallo. 3. Quis annitentibus obstinate opponebat se sola regina, incertum migrationem ad longinqua pertimescens, an pro nativa prudentia consulens in commune, omnibusque memorans anteponi debere propinquum. Post multa itaque<sup>2</sup> per deliberationes ambiguas actitata, stetit fixa sententia. abiectisque disputationibus irritis, ad imperium placuit Iulianum assumere. 4. Et cum venisset accitus, praedieto die advocato omni quod aderat commilitio, tribunali ad altiorem suggestum erecto, quod aquilae circumdederunt et signa, Augustus insistens<sup>3</sup> eumque manu retinens dextera, haec sermone placido peroravit :

5. " Adsistimus apud vos—optimi rei publicae defensores—causae communi uno paene omnium spiritu vindicandae, quam acturus tamquam apud aequos iudices succinctus edocebo. 6. Post interitum rebellium tyrannorum, quos ad haec temptanda quae moverunt, rabies egit et furor, velut impiis eorum manibus Romano sanguine parentantes, persultant barbari Gallias, rupta limitum pace ;

<sup>1</sup> *infatuabant hominem*, V ; *infatuabant imperatorem, spirantem iam ultra hominem*, Her.      <sup>2</sup> *multa itaque*, Novák ; *multaque*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *insistens*, Val., Haupt. : *inscendens*, G ; *insiginens*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. their offences against Julia, which made them fear his rise to greater power.

being trained to excessive flattery, tried to cajole him, constantly repeating that there was nothing so difficult that his surpassing ability and a good fortune so nearly celestial could not overcome as usual. And several, since the consciousness of their offences<sup>1</sup> pricked them on, added that the title of Caesar ought henceforth to be avoided, rehearsing what had happened under Gallus. 3. To them in their obstinate resistance the queen alone opposed herself, whether she dreaded journeying to a far country or with her native intelligence took counsel for the common good, and she declared that a kinsman ought to be preferred to every one else. So, after much bandying the matter to and fro in fruitless deliberations, the emperor's resolution stood firm, and setting aside all bootless discussion, he decided to admit Julian to a share in the imperial power. 4. So when he had been summoned and had arrived, on an appointed day all his fellow-soldiers there present were called together, and a platform was erected on a lofty scaffolding, surrounded by the eagles and the standards. On this Augustus stood, and holding Julian by the right hand, in a quiet tone delivered the following address :

5. " We stand before you, valiant defenders of our country, to avenge the common cause with one all but unanimous spirit ; and how I shall accomplish this I shall briefly explain to you, as impartial judges. 6. After the death of those rebellious tyrants whom mad fury drove to attempt the designs which they projected, the savages, as if sacrificing to their wicked Manes with Roman blood, have forced our peaceful frontier and are

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

haec animati fiducia, quod nos per disiunctissimas terras arduae necessitates adstringunt. 7. Huic igitur malo ultra apposita iam proserpenti, si dum patitur tempus, occurrerit nostri vestrique consulti suffragium, et colla superbarum gentium detumescant, et imperii fines erunt intacti. Restat ut venturorum<sup>1</sup> spem quam gero secundo roboretis effectu. 8. Iulianum hunc fratrem meum patruelem (ut nostis,) verecundia qua nobis ita ut necessitudine carus est, recte spectatum, iamque eluciscentis industriae iuvenem, in Caesaris adhibere potestatem exopto. coeptis (si videntur utilia) etiam vestra consensione firmandis.”

9. Dicere super his plura conantem, interpellans contio lenius prohibebat, arbitrium summi numinis id esse non mentis humanae velut praescia venturi proclamans.<sup>2</sup> 10. Stansque imperator immobilis dum silerent, residua fidentius explicavit: “Quia igitur vestrum quoque favorem adesse fremitus indicat laetus. adulescens vigoris tranquilli, cuius temperati mores imitandi sunt potius quam praedicandi, ad honorem prosperante deo delatum<sup>3</sup> exsurgat; cuius praeclaram indolem bonis artibus institutam, hoc ipso plene videor exposuisse quod elegi. Ergo eum, praesente nutu dei caelestis, amictu principali velabo.”

11. Dixit moxque indutum avita purpura Iulianum,

<sup>1</sup> *ut venturorum*, Her., cf. xxi. 10. 2; *ucturum*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *proclamans*, W<sup>2</sup>. Clark, c.c.; *praedans*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *prosperante deo delatum*, Novák, cf. xviii. 6. 3, etc., *pro re speratum*, Her.; *prope speratum*, V.

over-running Gaul, encouraged by the belief that dire straits beset us throughout our far-flung empire. 7. If this evil therefore, which is already creeping on beyond set bounds, is met by the accord of our and your wills while time permits, the necks of these proud tribes will not swell so high, and the frontiers of our empire will remain inviolate. It remains for you to confirm with happy issue the hope of the future which I cherish. 8. This Julian, my cousin as you know, rightly honoured for the modesty through which he is as dear to us as through ties of blood, a young man of ability which is already conspicuous, I desire to admit to the rank of Caesar, and that this project, if it seems advantageous, may be confirmed also by your assent."

9. As he was attempting to say more to this effect, the assembly interrupted and gently prevented him, declaring as if with foreknowledge of the future that this was the will of the supreme divinity rather than of any human mind. 10. And the emperor, standing motionless until they became silent, went on with the rest of his speech with greater assurance: "Since, then," said he, "your joyful acclaim shows that I have your approval also, let this young man of quiet strength, whose temperate behaviour is rather to be imitated than proclaimed, rise to receive this honour conferred upon him by God's favour. His excellent disposition, trained in all good arts, I seem to have fully described by the very fact that I have chosen him. Therefore with the immediate favour of the God of Heaven I will invest him with the imperial robes."

11. This he said and then, after having clothed

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

et Caesarem cum exercitus gaudio declaratum, his alloquitur contractiore vultu submaestum :

12. "Recepisti primaevus originis tuae splendidum florem, amantissime mihi omnium frater; aucta gloria mea, confiteor, qui iustius in deferenda suppari<sup>1</sup> potestate nobilitati mihi propinquae, quam ipsa potestate videor esse sublimis. 13. Adesto igitur laborum periculorumque particeps, et tutelam ministerii suscipe Galliarum, omni beneficentia partes levaturus afflictas: et si hostilibus congredi sit necesse, fixo gradu consiste inter signiferos ipsos, audendi in tempore consideratus hortator, pugnantes accendens praeundo cautissime, turbatosque subsidiis fulciens, modesteque<sup>2</sup> increpans desides, verissimus testis adfuturus industriis et ignavis. 14. Proinde urgente rei magnitudine, perge vir fortis, ducturus viros itidem fortes. Aderimus nobis vicissim amoris robusta constantia, militabimus simul, una orbem pacatum, deus modo velit quod oramus, pari moderatione pietateque recturi. Mecum ubique videberis praesens, et ego tibi quodcumque acturo non deero. Ad summam i. propera sociis omnium votis, velut assignatam tibi ab ipsa re publica, stationem cura pervigili defensurus."

<sup>1</sup> *suppari*, Cornelissen; *superari*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *modesteque*, Clark; *modeste* \*\*\*\* (formerly *quid*), V.

Julian in the ancestral purple and proclaimed him Caesar to the joy of the army, he thus addressed him, somewhat melancholy in aspect as he was, and with careworn countenance :

12. " My brother, dearest to me of all men, you have received in your prime the glorious flower of your origin ; with increase of my own glory, I admit, since I seem to myself more truly great in bestowing almost equal power on a noble prince who is my kinsman, than through that power itself. 13. Come, then, to share in pains and perils, and undertake the charge of defending Gaul, ready to relieve the afflicted regions with every bounty. And if it becomes necessary to engage with the enemy, take your place with sure footing amid the standard-bearers themselves ; be a thoughtful advisor of daring in due season, animate the warriors by taking the lead with utmost caution, strengthen them when in disorder with reinforcements, modestly rebuke the slothful, and be present as a most faithful witness at the side of the strong, as well as of the weak. 14. Therefore, urged by the great crisis, go forth, yourself a brave man, ready to lead men equally brave. We shall stand by each other in turn with firm and steadfast affection, we shall campaign at the same time, and together we shall rule over a pacified world, provided only God grants our prayers, with equal moderation and conscientiousness. You will seem to be present with me everywhere, and I shall not fail you in whatever you undertake. In fine, go, hasten, with the united prayers of all, to defend with sleepless care the post assigned you, as it were, by your country herself."

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

15. Nemo post haec finita retieuit, sed militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes (quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra cum hastis clipei feriuntur, irae documentum est et doloris)<sup>1</sup> immane quo quantoque gaudio praeter paucos Augusti probavere iudicium, Caesaremque admiratione digna suscipiebant. imperatorii murieis fulgore flagrantem. 16. Cuius oculos cum venustate terribilis. vultumque excitatius gratum, diu multumque contuentes, qui futurus sit colligebant velut scrutatis veteribus libris, quorum lectio per corporum signa pandit animorum interna. Eumque ut potiori reverentia servaretur. nec supra modum laudabant. nec infra quam decebat. atque ideo censorum voces sunt aestimatae, non militum. 17. Susceptus denique ad consessum vehiculi. receptusque in regiam. hunc versum ex Homerico carmine susurrabat :

ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.

Haec diem octavum iduum Novembrium gesta sunt, cum Arbetionem consulem annus haberet et Lollianum. 18. Deinde diebus paucis Helena virgine, Constanti sorore. eidem Caesari iugali foedere

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<sup>1</sup> Damsté regards *nam contra . . . doloris* as a gloss and incorrect, citing xx. 5, 8; xxi. 5, 9.

<sup>1</sup> See critical note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gellius, i. 9, 2, (*Pythagoras*) *iam a principio adules-*



15. After this address was ended, no one held his peace, but all the soldiers with fearful din struck their shields against their knees (this is a sign of complete approval; for when, on the contrary, they smite their shields with their spears it is an indication of anger and resentment),<sup>1</sup> and it was wonderful with what great joy all but a few approved Augustus' choice and with due admiration welcomed the Cæsar, brilliant with the gleam of the imperial purple. 16. Gazing long and earnestly on his eyes, at once terrible and full of charm, and on his face attractive in its unusual animation, they divined what manner of man he would be, as if they had perused those ancient books, the reading of which discloses from bodily signs the inward qualities of the soul.<sup>2</sup> And that he might be regarded with the greater respect, they neither praised him beyond measure nor less than was fitting, and therefore their words were esteemed as those of censors, not of soldiers. 17. Finally, he was taken up to sit with the emperor in his carriage and conducted to the palace, whispering this verse from the Homeric song<sup>3</sup>:

“By purple death I'm seized and fate supreme.”

This happened on the sixth of November of the year when Arbetio and Lollianus were consuls. 18. Then, within a few days, Helena, the maiden sister of Constantius, was joined in the bonds of wedlock to the Caesar; and when everything had

*centes ἐφυσιογνωμόνει. Id verbum significat, mores . . . de oris et vultus ingenio . . . sciscitari.*

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*, v. 83; cf. § 20; a play on πορφύρεος as the colour of blood and of royalty.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

copulata. paratisque universis quae maturitas proficiscendi posebat, comitatu parvo suscepto. kalendis Decembribus egressus est deductusque ab Augusto ad usque locum duabus columnis insignem, qui Laumellum interiacet et Ticinum. itineribus rectis Taurinos pervenit. ubi nuntio perecellitur gravi. qui nuper in comitatum Augusti perlatus, de industria silebatur. ne parata diffluerent. 19. Indicabat autem Coloniam Agrippinam, ampli nominis urbem in secunda Germania, pertinaci barbarorum obsidione reseratam magnis viribus et deletam. 20. Quo maerore percussus. velut primo adventantium malorum auspicio. murmurans querulis vocibus saepe audiebatur : nihil se plus assecutum. quam ut occupatior interiret. 21. Cumque Viennam venisset, ingredientem optatum quidem et impetrabilem<sup>1</sup> honorifice susceptura omnis aetas concurrebat et dignitas. proculque visum plebs universa, cum vicinitate finitima, imperatorem clementem appellans et faustum, praevia consonis laudibus celebrabat, avidius pompam regiam in principe legitimo cernens : communiumque remedium aerumnarum in eius locabat adventu. salutarem quendam genium affulsisse conclamatis negotiis arbitrata. 22. Tunc anus quaedam orba luminibus, cum percontando quinam esset ingressus, Iulianum Caesarem comperisset. exclamavit hunc deorum templa reparaturum.

<sup>1</sup> *impetrabilem*, Val. : *insperabilem*, Pet. : *imperabilem*, V.

been prepared which the imminence of his departure demanded, taking a small suite. he set out on the first of December, escorted by Augustus as far as the spot marked by two columns, lying between Laumello and Pavia, and came by direct marches to Turin. There he was staggered by serious news, which had lately been brought to the emperor's council but had purposely been kept secret, for fear that the preparations might come to nothing. 19. Now he learned that Cologne, a city of great renown in Lower Germany, after an obstinate siege by the savages in great force, had been stormed and destroyed. 20. Overwhelmed by sorrow at this, the first omen, as it were, of approaching ills, he was often heard to mutter in complaining tones that he had gained nothing, except to die with heavier work. 21. But when he reached Vienne and entered the city, all ages and ranks flocked together to receive him with honour, as a man both longed for and efficient; and when they saw him afar off, the whole populace with the immediate neighbourhood, saluted him as a commander gracious and fortunate, and marched ahead of him with a chorus of praise, the more eagerly beholding royal pomp in a legitimate prince. And in his coming they placed the redress of their common disasters, thinking that some helpful spirit had shone upon their desperate condition. 22. Then an old woman, who had lost her sight, on inquiring who had entered and learning that it was the Caesar Julian, cried out that he would repair the temples of the Gods.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

### 9. *De origine Gallorum; et unde dicti Celtæ ac Galatæ; deque eorum doctoribus.*

1. Proinde quoniam—ut Mantuanus vates prædixit excelsus—“maius opus moveo”<sup>1</sup> maiorque mihi rerum nascitur ordo. Galliarum tractus et situm ostendere puto nunc tempestivum, ne inter procinctus ardentis. proeliorumque varios casus, ignota quibusdam expediens imitari videar desides nauticos, attrita lintea cum rudentibus, quæ licuit parari securius, inter fluctus resarcire coactos et tempestates. 2. Ambigentes super origine prima Gallorum, scriptores veteres notitiam reliquere negotii simplenam, sed postea Timagenes, et diligentia Graecus et lingua, hæc quæ diu sunt ignorata collegit ex multiplicibus libris. Cuius fidem secuti, obscuritate dimota, eadem distincte docebimus et aperte. 3. Aborigines primos in his regionibus quidam visos esse firmarunt, Celtas nomine regis amabilis et matris eius vocabulo Galatas dictos—ita enim Gallos sermo Graecus appellat—alii Dorienses antiquiorem secutos Herculem oceani locos inhabitasse confines. 4. Drysidæ memorant re vera fuisse

<sup>1</sup> So the text of Ammianus; see note on translation.

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<sup>1</sup> *Aen.* vii. 44 f, *maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, Maius opus moveo.*

<sup>2</sup> Timagenes of Alexandria, who, according to Suidas, was brought to Rome as a prisoner of war by Pompey. He wrote a *History of Alexander* and a *History of the Gauls*. Cf. *Hor.*, *Epist.* i. 19, 15; *Quint.*, i. 10. 10; x. i. 75.

<sup>3</sup> “Earlier” seems to be contrasted with “the son of Amphytrion” in 9, 6, below and “the Theban Hercules” in 10, 9, whom Ammianus identifies with the son of Amphytrion. The story of a hero similar to Hercules is found in

9. *Of the origin of the Gauls ; and why the Celts and Galatians were so called ; and of their learned men.*

1. Now, since—as the lofty bard of Mantua said of old<sup>1</sup>—a greater work I undertake, a greater train of events ariseth before me, I think now a suitable time to describe the regions and location of the Gauls, for fear that amid fiery encounters and shifting fortunes of battle I may treat of matters unknown to some and seem to follow the example of slovenly sailors, who are forced amid surges and storms to mend their worn sails and rigging, which might have been put in order with less danger. 2. The ancient writers, in doubt as to the earliest origin of the Gauls, have left an incomplete account of the matter, but later Timagenes,<sup>2</sup> a true Greek in accuracy as well as language, collected out of various books these facts that were long unknown ; which, following his authority, and avoiding any obscurity, I shall state clearly and plainly. 3. Some asserted that the people first seen in these regions were Aborigines, called Celts from the name of a beloved king, and Galatae (for so the Greek language terms the Gauls) from the name of his mother. Others stated that the Dorians, following the earlier Hercules,<sup>3</sup> settled in the lands bordering on the Ocean. 4. The

Greece, Italy, Egypt, the Orient, and among the Celts and Germans. Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 16, 42, names six Herculeses, Serv., *ad Aen.* viii. 564, four: the Tirynthian, Argive, Theban, and Libyan. The Theban Hercules is generally regarded as the son of Amphitryon, but the one here referred to seems to have been the Italic hero, locally called Recaranus and Garanus, who was later identified with the Greek Heracles.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

populi partem indigenam. sed alios quoque ab insulis  
 extimis confluxisse et <sup>1</sup> tractibus transrhœnanis, cre-  
 britate bellorum et alluvione fervidi maris sedibus  
 suis expulsos. 5. Aiunt quidam paucos post ex-  
 cidium Troiae fugitantes Græcos ubique dispersos  
 loca hæc occupasse tunc vacua. 6. Regionum  
 autem incolæ id magis omnibus asseverant, quod  
 etiam nos legimus in monumentis eorum incisum,  
 Amphitryonis filium Herculem ad Geryonis et  
 Taurisci sævum <sup>2</sup> tyrannorum perniciem festinasse,  
 quorum alter Hispanias, alter Gallias infestabat;  
 superatisque ambobus, coisse cum generosis feminis  
 suscepisseque liberos plures, et eos partes quibus  
 imperitabant suis nominibus appellasse. 7. A Pho-  
 cæa vero Asiaticus populus, Harpali inclementiam  
 vitans, Cyri regis præfecti, Italiam navigio petit.  
 Cuius pars in Lucania Veliam, alia condidit in  
 Viennensi Massiliam: dein secutis ætatibus oppida,  
 aucta virium copia, instituere non pauca. Sed de-  
 clinanda varietas sæpe satietati coniuncta. 8. Per  
 hæc loca hominibus paulatim excultis, viguere  
 studia laudabilium doctrinarum, inchoata per bar-  
 dos et euhagis et drysidas. Et Bardi quidem fortia  
 virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus,

<sup>1</sup> *et, G; ex, V.*      <sup>2</sup> *sævum, V. Norden (cf. xxix. 5, 48); sævium, Val., Clark; sævorum, BG.*

<sup>1</sup> Druids.

<sup>2</sup> An error for Harpagus, see Index.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Castellamare della Bruca.

<sup>4</sup> Marseilles.

Drysidæ<sup>1</sup> say that a part of the people was in fact indigenous, but that others also poured in from the remote islands and the regions across the Rhine, driven from their homes by continual wars and by the inundation of the stormy sea. 5. Some assert that after the destruction of Troy a few of those who fled from the Greeks and were scattered everywhere occupied those regions, which were then deserted. 6. But the inhabitants of those countries affirm this beyond all else, and I have also read it inscribed upon their monuments, that Hercules, the son of Amphytrion, hastened to destroy the cruel tyrants Geryon and Tauriscus, of whom one oppressed Spain, the other, Gaul: and having overcome them both that he took to wife some high-born women and begat numerous children, who called by their own names the districts which they ruled. 7. But in fact a people of Asia from Phœœa, to avoid the severity of Harpalus,<sup>2</sup> prefect of king Cyrus, set sail for Italy. A part of them founded Velia<sup>3</sup> in Lucania, the rest, Massilia<sup>4</sup> in the region of Vienne. Then in subsequent ages they established no small number of towns, as their strength and resources increased. But I must avoid discursiveness, which is often linked with satiety. 8. Throughout these regions men gradually grew civilised and the study of the liberal arts flourished, initiated by the Bards, the Euhages and the Druids.<sup>5</sup> Now, the Bards sang to the sweet strains of the lyre the valorous deeds of famous men composed in heroic

<sup>5</sup> The three are connected also by Strabo (iv. 4. 4), who says that the *bards* were poets; the *euhages* (*Ὀυάταις*), diviners and natural philosophers; while the Druids studied both natural and moral philosophy. *L.C.L.* ii. p. 245.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

cum dulcibus lyrae modulis cantitarunt. Euhages vero scrutantes sublimia, leges<sup>1</sup> naturae pandere conabantur internas.<sup>2</sup> Drysidæ ingeniis celsiores, ut auctoritas Pythagoræ decrevit, sodaliciis astricti consortiis, quaestionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt, et despectantes humana, pronuntiarunt animas immortales.

### 10. De Alpibus Gallicanis; et de variis per eas itineribus.

1. Hanc Galliarum plagam ob suggestus montium arduos. et horrore nivali semper obductos. orbis residui incolis antehac paene ignotam. nisi qua litoribus est vicina, munimina claudunt undique natura velut arte circumdata. 2. Et a latere quidem australi. Tyrreno alluitur et Gallico mari; qua caeleste suspicit plastrum. a feris gentibus fluentis distinguitur Rheni; ubi occidentali subiecta est sideri, oceano et altitudine Pyrenaea arcetur;<sup>3</sup> unde ad solis ortus attollitur, aggeribus cedit Alpium Cottiarum; quas rex Cottius perdomitis Galliis, solus in angustiis latens, inviaque locorum

<sup>1</sup> *sublimia, leges naturae*, Novák; *serviani et sublimia naturae*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *internas*, Novák; *inter es*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *Pyrenaea arcetur*, Clark; *Pyrenaei saltus urgetur*, F. Walter; *pyrenaei surgitur*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Properly, Vates (*Ὀυάταις*).

<sup>2</sup> The *septentriones*, the constellation of *ursa major*, representing the north.



verse, but the Euhages,<sup>1</sup> investigating the sublime, attempted to explain the secret laws of nature. The Druids, being loftier than the rest in intellect, and bound together in fraternal organisations, as the authority of Pythagoras determined, were elevated by their investigation of obscure and profound subjects, and scorning human affairs, pronounced the soul immortal.

### 10. *Of the Gallic Alps and the various passes through them.*

1. This country of Gaul, because of its lofty chains of mountains always covered with formidable snows, was formerly all but unknown to the inhabitants of the rest of the globe, except where it borders on the coast: and bulwarks enclose it on every side, surrounding it naturally, as if by the art of man.

2. Now on the southern side it is washed by the Tuscan and the Gallic Sea: where it looks up to the heavenly Wain,<sup>2</sup> it is separated from the wild nations by the channels<sup>3</sup> of the Rhine. Where it lies under the west-sloping sun<sup>4</sup> it is bounded by the Ocean and the Pyrenaean heights; and where it rises towards the East it gives place to the bulk of the Cottian Alps. There King Cottius, after the subjugation of Gaul, lay hidden alone in their defiles, trusting to the pathless ruggedness of the

<sup>3</sup>As it enters the sea, the Rhine divides into several branches.

<sup>4</sup>As there is no specific western constellation, *sidus* seems to mean "sun"; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 12; etc., and *solis ortus*, below, of the east.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

asperitate confusus. lenito tandem tumore, in amicitiam Octaviani principis <sup>1</sup> receptus molibus magnis exstruxit. ad vicem memorabilis muneris, compendiaras et viantibus oportunas, medias inter alias Alpes vetustas, super quibus comperta paulo postea referemus. 3. In his Alpibus Cottiis, quarum initium a Segusione est oppido. praecelsum erigitur iugum, nulli fere sine discrimine penetrabile. 4. Est enim e Galliis venientibus prona humilitate devexum, pendentium saxorum altrinsecus visu terribile praesertim verno tempore.<sup>2</sup> cum liquente gelu nivibusque solutis flatu calidiore ventorum. per diruptas utrimque angustias et lacunas. pruinarum congerie latebrosas, descendentes eunctantibus plantis homines et iumenta procidunt et carpenta; idque remedium ad arcendum exitium repertum est solum. quod pleraque vehicula vastis funibus illigata pone cohibente virorum vel boum nisu valido vix gressu reptante. paulo tutius devoluuntur. Et haec (ut diximus) anni verno contingunt. 5. Hieme vero humus crustata frigoribus et tamquam levigata ideoque labilis incessum praecipitantem impellit: et patulae valles per spatia plana glacie perfidae vorant non numquam transeuntes. Ob quae locorum callidi eminentes ligneos stilos per cautiora loca defigunt. ut eorum series viatorem ducat innoxium: qui si

<sup>1</sup> *principis*, V; deleted by Damsté, obelized by Clark c.c.; *receptus* and *principis* transposed by Novák; *principiis*, Her. <sup>2</sup> *tepore*, Damsté; *tempore*, V.

region ; finally, when his disaffection was allayed, and he was admitted to the emperor Octavian's friendship, in lieu of a memorial gift he built with great labour short cuts convenient to travellers, since they were midway between other ancient Alpine passes, about which I shall later tell what I have learned. 3. In these Cottian Alps, which begin at the town of Susa, there rises a lofty ridge, which scarcely anyone can cross without danger. 4. For as one comes from Gaul it falls off with sheer incline, terrible to look upon because of overhanging cliffs on either side, especially in the season of spring, when the ice melts and the snows thaw under the warmer breath of the wind : then over precipitous ravines on either side and chasms rendered treacherous through the accumulation of ice, men and animals descending with hesitating step slide forward, and waggons as well. And the only expedient that has been devised to ward off destruction is this : they bind together a number of vehicles with heavy ropes and hold them back from behind with powerful efforts of men or oxen at barely a snail's pace ; and so they roll down a little more safely. And this, as we have said, happens in the spring of the year. 5. But in winter the ground, caked with ice, and as it were polished and therefore slippery, drives men headlong in their gait and the spreading valleys in level places, made treacherous by ice, sometimes swallow up the traveller. Therefore those that know the country well drive projecting wooden stakes along the safer spots, in order that their line may guide the traveller in safety. But if these are covered with snow and

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

nivibus operti latuerint, aut montanis<sup>1</sup> defluentibus rivis eversi, calles<sup>2</sup> agrestibus praeviis difficile pervadunt. 6. A summitate autem huius Italici clivi, planities ad usque stationem nomine Martis per septem extenditur milia, et hinc alia celsitudo erectior, aegreque superabilis, ad Matronae porrigitur verticem, cuius vocabulum casus feminae nobilis dedit. Unde declive quidem iter sed expeditius ad usque castellum Brigantiam patet. 7. Huius sepulcrum reguli, quem itinera struxisse retulimus. Segusione est moenibus proximum, manesque eius ratione gemina religiose<sup>3</sup> coluntur, quod iusto moderamine rexerat suos, et asseitus in societatem rei Romanae, quietem genti praestitit sempiternam. 8. Et licet haec quam diximus viam media sit et compendiaria, magisque celebris, tamen etiam aliae multo antea temporibus sunt constructae diversis. 9. Et primam Thebaeus Hercules, ad Geryonem extinguendum (ut relatum est) et Tauriscum lenius gradiens, prope inarritimas composuit Alpes, hisque<sup>4</sup> Graiarum<sup>5</sup> indidit nomen: Monoeci similiter arcem et portum ad perennem sui memoriam consecravit. Deinde emensis postea saeculis multis, hac ex causa sunt Alpes excogitatae Poeninae. 10. Superioris Africani pater Publius

<sup>1</sup> aut *montanis*, W<sup>2</sup>, Bentley; *montanisuc*, Gardt.; *montanis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *calles*, Pet.; *glacies*, Bentley; *gnaris*, Haupt.; *graves*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *religiose*, vulgo; *religione*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *hisque*, T. Val.; *hique*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *Graiarum*, Val.; *harum*, V.

hidden, or are overturned by the streams running down from the mountains, the paths are difficult to traverse even with natives leading the way. 6. But from the peak of this Italian slope a plateau extends for seven miles, as far as the post named from Mars<sup>1</sup>; from there on another loftier height, equally difficult to surmount, reaches to the peak of the Matrona,<sup>2</sup> so called from an accident to a noble lady. After that a route, steep to be sure, but easier to traverse extends to the fortress of Briançon. 7. The tomb of this prince, who, as we said, built these roads, is at Susa next to the walls, and his shades are devoutly venerated for a double reason: because he had ruled his subjects with a just government, and when admitted to alliance with the Roman state, procured eternal peace for his nation. 8. And although this road which I have described is the middle one, the short cut, and the more frequented, yet there are also others, constructed long before at various times. 9. Now the first of these the Theban Hercules,<sup>3</sup> when travelling leisurely to destroy Geryon and Tauriscus, constructed near the Maritime Alps and gave them the name of the Graian<sup>4</sup> Alps. And in like manner he consecrated the castle and harbour of Monaco to his lasting memory. Then, later, after the passage of many centuries, the name Pennine was devised for these Alps for the following reason. 10. Publius Cornelius Scipio,

<sup>1</sup> Modern Oulx, in the *Ant. Itin.* called *mansio Martis*; in the *Itin. Burdigalensis, ad Martis*. Amm. uses *statio* both of a military post, and of a station on the *cursus publicus*;

<sup>2</sup> Mont Genève.

<sup>3</sup> See note, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> Grecian.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Cornelius Scipio, Saguntinis memorabilibus aerumnis et fide, pertinaci destinatione Afrorum obsessis, iturus auxilio, in Hispaniam traduxit onustam manu valida classem, sed civitate potiore Marte deleta, Hannibalem sequi nequiens, triduo ante transito Rhodano, ad partes Italiae contendentem, navigatione veloci intercurso spatio maris haut longo, degressurum montibus apud Genuam observabat, Liguria oppidum, ut cum eo (si copiam fors dedisset) viarum asperitate fatigato decerneret in planitie. II. Consulens tamen rei communi, Cn. Scipionem fratrem ire monuit in Hispanias, ut Hasdrubalem exinde similiter erupturum arceret. Quae Hannibal doctus a perfugis, ut erat expeditae mentis et callidae, Taurinis ducentibus accolis, per Tricasinus et oram Vocontiorum extremam, ad saltus Tricorios venit. Indeque exorsus, aliud iter antehac insuperabile fecit; excisaque rupe in immensum elata, quam cremando vi magna flammarum acetoque infuso dissolvit. per Druentiam flumen, gurgitibus vagis intutum. regiones occupavit Etruscas. Hactenus super Alpibus. Nunc ad restantia veniamus.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, the Carthaginians, in 219 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> After a siege of eight months.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Livy, xxi. 37. 1-3; Juvenal, x. 153: etc. Pliny, N.H. xxiii. 57, attributes this power to vinegar, but Polybius does not mention the story, which is doubted for various reasons.

father of the elder Africanus, when the Saguntines, famous both for their catastrophies and their loyalty, were besieged by the Africans<sup>1</sup> with persistent obstinacy, wishing to help them, crossed to Spain with a fleet manned by a strong army. But as the city had been destroyed by a superior force,<sup>2</sup> and he was unable to overtake Hannibal, who had crossed the Rhone three days before and was hastening to the regions of Italy, by swift sailing he crossed the intervening space—which is not great—and watched at Genoa, a town of Liguria, for Hannibal's descent from the mountains, so that if chance should give him the opportunity, he might fight with him in the plain while exhausted by the roughness of the roads. 11. At the same time, having an eye to the common welfare, he advised his brother, Gnaeus Scipio, to proceed to Spain and hold off Hasdrubal, who was planning to burst forth in like manner from that quarter. But Hannibal learned of this from deserters, and being of a nimble and crafty wit, came, under the guidance of natives from among the Taurini, through the Tricasini and the extreme edge of the Vocontii to the passes of the Tricorii. Starting out from there, he made another road, where it hitherto had been impassable; he hewed out a cliff which rose to a vast height by burning it with flames of immense power and crumbling it by pouring on vinegar;<sup>3</sup> then he marched along the river Druentia, dangerous with its shifting eddies, and seized upon the district of Etruria. So much about the Alps; let us now turn to the rest of the country.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

### 11. *Brevis divisio ac descriptio Galliarum ; et cursus fluminis Rhodani.*

1. Temporibus prisciis, cum laterent hae partes ut barbarae, tripertitae fuisse creduntur in Celtas eosdemque Gallos divisae, et Aquitanos et Belgas, lingua institutis legibusque discrepantes. 2. Et Gallos quidem (qui Celtae sunt) ab Aquitanis Garumna disternat flumen, a Pyrenaeis oriens collibus, postque oppida multa transcursa, in oceano delitescens. 3. Belgis vero eandem gentem Matrona discindit et Sequana, amnes magnitudinis geminae ; qui fluentes per Lugdunensem, post circumclausum ambitu insulari Parisiorum castellum, Lutetiam nomine, consociati, meantesque protinus prope castra Constantia funduntur in mare. 4. Horum omnium apud veteres Belgae dicebantur esse fortissimi, ea propter quod ab humaniore cultu longe discreti, nec adventiciis effeminati deliciis, diu cum transrhenanis certavere Germanis. 5. Aquitani enim, ad quorum litora ut proxima placidaque, merces adventiciae convehuntur, moribus ad mollietiam lapsis, facile in dicionem venire Romanam. 6. Regebantur autem Galliae omnes, iam inde uti crebritate bellorum urgenti cessere Iulio dictatori, potestate in partes divisa quattuor, quarum Narbonensis una Viennensem intra se continebat et Lugdunensem ; altera Aquitanis praecerat universis :

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<sup>1</sup> With this part of the account, cf. Caesar, *B.G.*, i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Paris.

<sup>3</sup> The site of Harfleur.

<sup>4</sup> Referring to Caesar's campaigns, 58-49 B.C.



11. *A brief description of the various parts of Gaul and of the course of the Rhone.*

1. In early times, when these regions lay in darkness as savage, they were thought to have been threefold,<sup>1</sup> divided into Celts (the same as the Gauls), the Aquitanians, and the Belgians, differing in language, habits and laws. 2. Now the Gauls (who are the Celts) are separated from the Aquitanians by the Garonne river, which rises in the hills of the Pyrenees, and after running past many towns empties into the Ocean. 3. But from the Belgians this same nation is separated by the Marne and the Seine, rivers of identical size: they flow through the district of Lyons, and after encircling in the manner of an island a stronghold of the Parisii called Lutetia,<sup>2</sup> they unite in one channel, and flowing on together pour into the sea not far from Castra Constantia.<sup>3</sup> 4. Of all these nations the Belgae had the reputation in the ancient writers of being the most valiant, for the reason that being far removed from civilised life and not made effeminate by imported luxuries, they warred for a long time with the Germans across the Rhine. 5. The Aquitanians, on the contrary, to whose coasts, as being near at hand and peaceable, imported wares were conveyed, had their characters weakened to effeminacy and easily came under the sway of Rome. 6. All the Gauls, ever since under the perpetual pressure of wars<sup>4</sup> they yielded to the dictator Julius, have been governed by an administration divided into four parts. Of these Gallia Narbonensis by itself comprised the districts of Vienne and Lyons: the

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

superiorem et inferiorem Germaniam Belgasque duae iurisdictiones eisdem rexere temporibus. 7. At nunc numerantur provinciae per omnem ambitum Galliarum: secunda Germania, prima ab occidentali exordiens cardine, Agrippina et Tungris munita, civitatibus amplis et copiosis. 8. Dein prima Germania, ubi praeter alia municipia Mogontiacus est et Vangiones, et Nemetae et Argentoratus, barbaricis eladibus nota. 9. Post has Belgica prima Mediomatricos praetendit et Treviros, domicilium principum clarum. 10. Huic annexa secunda est Belgica, qua Ambiani sunt, urbs inter alias eminens, et Catelauni et Remi. 11. Apud Sequanos Bisontios videmus et Rauraeos, aliis potiores oppidis multis. Lugdunensem primam Lugdunus ornat et Cabyllona et Senones et Biturigae et moenium Augustuduni magnitudo vetusta. 12. Secundam enim Lugdunensem Rotomagi et Turini, Mediolanum ostendunt et Tricasini: Alpes Graiae et Poeninae exceptis obscurioribus<sup>1</sup> habent et Aventicum, desertam quidem civitatem sed non ignobilem quondam, ut aedificia semirutata nunc quoque demonstrant. Haec provinciae urbesque sunt splendidae Galliarum. 13. In<sup>2</sup> Aquitania quae Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem spectat oceani quae pertinet ad Hispanos,

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<sup>1</sup> *obscurioribus*, followed by lac. of 4 letters, V; no lac., G.      <sup>2</sup> *in*, added by A; VBG omit.

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<sup>1</sup> At the battle of Argentoratus (Strasbourg); see xvi. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Augusta Trevirorum was the headquarters of the Roman commanders on the Rhine, and a frequent residence of the

second had control of all Aquitania: Upper and Lower Germany, as well as the Belgians, were governed by two administrations at that same time. 7. But now the provinces over the whole extent of Gaul are reckoned as follows: The first province (beginning on the western front) is Lower, or Second, Germany, fortified by the wealthy and populous cities of Cologne and Tongres. 8. Next comes First, or Upper, Germany where besides other free towns are Mayence and Worms and Spires and Strasburg, famous for the disasters of the savages.<sup>1</sup> 9. After these the First province of Belgium displays Metz and Treves, splendid abode of the emperors.<sup>2</sup> 10. Adjoining this is the Second province of Belgium, in which are Amiens, a city eminent above the rest, and Châlons<sup>3</sup> and Rheims. 11. In the Seine province we see Besançon and Augst, more important than its many other towns. The first Lyonnese province is made famous by Lyons, Châlons-sur-Saône, Sens, Bourges, and Autun with its huge ancient walls. 12. As for the second Lyonnese province, Rouen and Tours make it distinguished, as well as Evreux and Troyes. The Graian and Pennine Alps, not counting towns of lesser note, have Avenche, a city now abandoned, to be sure, but once of no slight importance, as is even yet evident from its half-ruined buildings. These are the goodly provinces and cities of Gaul. 13. In Aquitania, which trends towards the Pyrenees mountains and that part of the Ocean which extends

Roman emperors; Ausonius, in his *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* gives it sixth place.

<sup>3</sup> Châlons-sur-Marne.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

prima provincia est Aquitanica, amplitudine civitatum admodum culta omissis aliis multis, Burdigala et Arverni excellunt, et Santones et Pictavi. 14. Novem populos Ausci commendant et Vasatae. In Narbonensi Elusa et Narbona et Tolosa<sup>1</sup> principatum urbium tenent. Viennensis civitatum exultat decore multarum, e<sup>2</sup> quibus potiores sunt Vienna ipsa et Arelate et Valentia; quibus Massilia iungitur, cuius societate et viribus in discriminibus arduis fultam aliquotiens legimus Romam. 15. His prope Salluvii sunt et Nicaea et Antipolis. insulaeque Stoechades. 16. Et quoniam ad has partes opere contexto pervenimus, silere super Rhodano, maximi nominis flumine, incongruum est et absurdum. A Poeninis Alpibus effusiore copia fontium Rhodanus fluens, et proclivi impetu ad planiora degrediens, proprio agmine ripas occultat, et paludi sese ingurgitat, nomine Lemanno, eamque intermeans, nusquam aquis miscetur externis, sed altrinsecus summitates undae praeterlabens segnioris, quaeritans exitus, viam sibi impetu veloci molitur. 17. Unde sine iactura rerum per Sapaudiam fertur et Sequanos, longeque progressus, Viennensem latere sinistro perstringit, dextro Lugdunensem, et emensus spatia flexuosa, Ararim quem Sauconnam appellant, inter

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<sup>1</sup> *Tolosa*, N, Val.: *Tolosa et*, V: *Tolosa quae*, BG.  
<sup>2</sup> *e*, added by Damsté; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> The country between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, Aquitania in the narrower sense. The names of the nine nations are not known.

towards Spain, the first province is Aquitania, much adorned by the greatness of its cities ; leaving out numerous others, Bordeaux and Clermont are conspicuous, as well as Saintorige and Poitiers. 14. The " Nine Nations " <sup>1</sup> are ennobled by Auch and Bazas. In the Narbonese province Eauze, Narbonne, and Toulouse hold the primacy among the cities. The Viennese province rejoices in the distinction conferred by many cities, of which the most important are Vienne itself, Arles and Valence : and joined to these is Marseilles, by whose alliance and power we read that Rome was several times supported in severe crises. 15. Near these are Aix-en-Provence, Nice, Antibes, and the Isles d'Hyères. 16. And since we have reached these parts in the course of our work, it would be unfitting and absurd to say nothing of the Rhone, a river of the greatest celebrity. Rising in the Pennine Alps from a plenteous store of springs, the Rhone flows in headlong course towards more level places. It hides its banks with its own stream <sup>2</sup> and bursts into the lagoon called Lake Lemman. This it flows through, nowhere mingling with the water outside, but gliding over the surface of the less active water on either hand, it seeks an outlet and forces a way for itself by its swift onset. 17. From there without any loss of volume it flows through Savoy and the Seine Province, and in a long detour it bounds the Viennese Province with its left bank and the Lyonnese with its right. Next, after describing many meanders, it receives the Arar, which

<sup>2</sup> That is, it receives no tributaries, yet fills its channel full.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Germaniam primam fluentem et Sequanos,<sup>1</sup> suum in nomen asciscit, qui locus exordium est Galliarum. Exindeque non millenis passibus sed leugis itinera metiuntur. 18. Dein Isarae<sup>2</sup> Rhodanus aquis advenis locupletior, vehit grandissimas naves, ventorum difflatu iactari saepius assuetas. finitisque intervallis quae ei natura praescripsit, spumeus Gallico mari concorporatur, per patulum sinum quem vocant Ad gradus, ab Arelate octavo decimo ferme lapide disparatum. Sit satis de situ locorum. Nunc figuras et mores hominum designabo.

### 12. De moribus Gallorum.

1. Celsioris staturae et candidi paene Galli sunt omnes et rutili, luminumque torvitate terribiles, avidi iurgiorum, et sublatius insolentes. Nec enim eorum quemquam adhibita uxore rixantem, multo se<sup>3</sup> fortiore et glauca, peregrinorum ferre poterit globus, tum maxime cum illa inflata cervice suffrendens, ponderansque niveas ulnas et vastas, admixtis calcibus emittere coeperit pugnos, ut catapultas tortilibus nervis excussas. 2. Metuendae voces complurium et minaces, placatorum iuxta et irascentium, tersi tamen pari diligentia cuncti et mundi, nec in tractibus illis, maximeque apud Aquitanos, uir<sup>4</sup> poterit aliquis videri vel femina.

<sup>1</sup> et Sequanos, Novák; lac. after *fluentem*, Val.; no lac., V.

<sup>2</sup> *Dein Isarae*, Clark; *hinc Rhodanus*, Val.; (lac. 3 letters) *han* (lac. 2 letters) *Rhodanus*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *multo se*, Her.; *multos*, V. <sup>4</sup> *Aquitanos*, Val.; *A.*, *uir*, Her.; *aqua* (lac. 12 letters) *poterit*, V.

they call the Sauconna,<sup>1</sup> flowing between Upper Germany and the Seine Province, and gives it its own name. This point is the beginning of Gaul, and from there they measure distances, not in miles but in leagues. 18. After this the Rhone, enriched by the tributary waters of the Iser, carries very large craft, which are frequently wont to be tossed by gales of wind, and having finished the bounds which nature has set for it, its foaming waters are mingled with the Gallie Sea through a broad bay which they call Ad Gradus<sup>2</sup> at about the eighteenth milestone distant from Arles. Let this suffice for the topography of the region: I shall now describe the appearance and manners of its people.

## 12. *The Manners and Customs of the Gauls.*

1. Almost all the Gauls are of tall stature, fair and ruddy, terrible for the fierceness of their eyes, fond of quarrelling, and of overbearing insolence. In fact, a whole band of foreigners will be unable to cope with one of them in a fight, if he call in his wife, stronger than he by far and with flashing eyes: least of all when she swells her neck and gnashes her teeth, and poising her huge white arms, begins to rain blows mingled with kicks, like shots discharged by the twisted cords of a catapult. 2. The voices of most of them are formidable and threatening, alike when they are good-natured or angry. But all of them with equal care keep clean and neat, and in those districts, particularly in Aquitania, no man or woman can be seen, be she never

<sup>1</sup> Saône.

<sup>2</sup> The Gulf of Lyons; cf. Grau-du-Roi.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

licet perquam pauper, ut alibi frustis squalere pauperum. 3. Ad militandum omnis aetas aptissima, et pari pectoris robore senex ad procinctum ducitur et adultus, gelu duratis artibus et labore assiduo, multa contempturus et formidanda. Nec eorum aliquando quisquam (ut in Italia) munus Martium pertimescens, pollicem sibi praecidit, quos localiter murcos appellant. 4. Vini avidum genus, affectans ad vini similitudinem multiplices potus, et inter eos humiles quidam, obtunsis ebrietate continua sensibus, quam furoris voluntariam speciem esse Catoniana sententia definivit, raptantur discursibus vagis, ut verum illud videatur quod ait defendens Fonteium Tullius: "Gallos post haec dilutius esse poturos quod illi venenum esse arbitrabantur."

5. Hae regiones, praecipueque confines Italicis, paulatim levi sudore sub imperium venere Romanum, primo temptatae per Fulvium, deinde proeliis parvis quassatae per Sextium, ad ultimum per Fabium Maximum domitae. Cui negotii plenus effectus, asperiore Allobrogum gente devicta, hoc indidit cognomentum. 6. Nam omnes Gallias (nisi qua paludibus inviae fuere, ut<sup>1</sup> Sallustio docetur auctore) post decennalis belli mutuas clades subegit Caesar dictator.<sup>2</sup> societatique nostrae foederibus

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<sup>1</sup> ut, E<sup>2</sup> G; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> subegit Caesar, societatique. Lind. (*dictator*, addidi); sub (lac. 13 letters) *societatisque*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 24, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro Font.* 4, 8.

<sup>3</sup> M. Fulvius Flaccus; see Index and cf. Livy, *Periochae*, lx. and lxi.



so poor, in soiled and ragged clothing, as elsewhere. 3. All ages are most fit for military service, and the old man marches out on a campaign with a courage equal to that of the man in the prime of life; since his limbs are toughened by cold and constant toil, and he will make light of many formidable dangers. Nor does anyone of them, for dread of the service of Mars, cut off his thumb, as in Italy<sup>1</sup>: there they call such men "murci," or cowards. 4. It is a race greedy for wine, devising numerous drinks similar to wine, and some among them of the baser sort, with wits dulled by continual drunkenness (which Cato's saying pronounced a voluntary kind of madness) rush about in aimless revels, so that those words seem true which Cicero spoke when defending Fonteius<sup>2</sup>: "The Gauls henceforth will drink wine mixed with water, which they once thought poison."

5. These regions, and especially those bordering on Italy, came gradually and with slight effort under the dominion of Rome; they were first essayed by Fulvius,<sup>3</sup> then undermined in petty battles by Sextius,<sup>4</sup> and finally subdued by Fabius Maximus,<sup>5</sup> on whom the full completion of this business (when he had vanquished the formidable tribe of the Allobroges)<sup>5</sup> conferred that surname.<sup>6</sup> 6. Now the whole of Gaul (except where, as the authority of Sallust<sup>7</sup> informs us, it was impassable with marshes), after losses on both sides during ten years of war the dictator Caesar subdued and joined to us in the

<sup>1</sup> C. Sextius Calvinus; see Index and cf. Livy, *Periocha*, lxi.

<sup>5</sup> In 121 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Allobrogicus.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist.* i. 11, Maurenbrecher.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

iunxit aeternis. Evectus sum longius ; sed remcabo tandem ad coepta.

### 13. *De Musoniano praefecto praetorio per Orientem.*

1. Domitiano crudeli morte consumpto. Musonianus eius successor orientem praetoriani regebat potestate praefecti. facundia sermonis utriusque clarus. Unde sublimius quam sperabatur eluxit.

2. Constantinus enim cum limatius superstitionum quaereret sectas, Manichaeorum et similium, nec interpretes inveniretur idoneus, hunc sibi commendatum ut sufficientem elegit ; quem, officio functum perire, Musonianum voluit appellari, ante Strategium dictitatum, et ex eo percursis honorum gradibus multis, ascendit ad praefecturam, prudens alia tolerabilisque provincieis, et mitis et blandus, sed ex qualibet occasione, maximeque ex controversis litibus (quod nefandum est) et in totum<sup>1</sup> lucrandi aviditate sordescens, ut inter alia multa, evidenter apparuit in quaestionibus agitatae super morte Theophili Syriae consularis, proditione Caesaris Galli, impetu plebis promiscuae discerpti, ubi damnatis pauperibus, quos cum haec agerentur, peregre fuisse constabat, auctores diri facinoris exutis patrimoniis absoluti sunt divites.

<sup>1</sup> *in totum*, V ; *inlotum*, Her.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xiv. 7, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Greek and Latin ; cf. Suet., *Claud.* 42, 1.

everlasting covenant of alliance. I have digressed too far, but I shall at last return to my subject.

**13.** *The doings of the praetorian prefect, Musonianus, in the Orient.*

1. After Domitianus was dispatched by a cruel death,<sup>1</sup> his successor Musonianus governed the East with the rank of pretorian prefect, a man famed for his command of both languages,<sup>2</sup> from which he won higher distinction than was expected. 2. For when Constantine was closely investigating the different religious sects, Manichaeans and the like, and no suitable interpreter could be found, he chose him, as a person recommended to him as competent : and when he had done that duty skilfully, he wished him to be called Musonianus, whereas he had hitherto had the name of Strategius. From that beginning, having run through many grades of honour, he rose to the prefecture, a man intelligent in other respects and satisfactory to the provinces, mild also and well-spoken, but on any and every occasion, and especially (which is odious) in hard-fought lawsuits and under all circumstances greedily bent upon filthy lucre. This became clearly evident (among many other instances) in the investigations set on foot regarding the death of Theophilus, governor of Syria, who, because of the betrayal of Gallus Caesar, was torn to pieces in an onslaught of the rabble upon him : on which occasion sundry poor men were condemned, although it was known that they had been away when this happened, while the wealthy perpetrators of the foul crime were set free after being stripped of their property.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

3. Hunc Prosper adaequabat, pro magistro equitum agente etiam tum in Galliis, militem regens, abiecte ignavus et (ut ait comicus) arte despecta furtorum rapiens propalam.

4. Quis concordantibus, mutuaque commercia vicissim sibi conciliando locupletatis, Persici duces vicini fluminibus, rege in ultimis terrarum suarum terminis occupato, per praedatorios globos nostra vexabant, nunc Armeniam aliquotiens Mesopotamiam confidentius incursantes, Romanis ductoribus ad colligendas oboedientium exuvias occupatis.

## LIBER XVI

### 1. *Iuliani Caesaris laus.*

1. Haec per orbem Romanum factorum ordine contexto versante, Caesar apud Viennam in collegium factorum a consule octiens Augusto adscitus, urgente genuino vigore. pugnarum fragores caedesque barbaricas somniabat, colligere provinciae fragmenta iam parans, si adfuisset fortuna<sup>1</sup> flatu tandem secundo. 2. Quia igitur res magnae quas per Gallias virtute felicitateque correxit, multis veterum factis fortibus praestant, singula serie

<sup>1</sup> *fortuna*, added by Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> Ursicinus (see xiv. 11, 5).

<sup>2</sup> Plautus, *Epidicus*, 12, *minus iam furtificus sum quam antehac. Quid ita? Rapio propalam.*

<sup>3</sup> That is, Constantius Augustus.

3. He was matched by Prosper, who was at that time still representing the cavalry commander<sup>1</sup> in Gaul and held military authority there, an abject coward and, as the comic poet says,<sup>2</sup> scorning artifice in thieving and plundering openly.

4. While these men were in league and enriching themselves by bringing mutual gain one to the other, the Persian generals stationed by the rivers, while their king was busied in the farthest bounds of his empire, kept raiding our territories with predatory bands, now fearlessly invading Armenia and sometimes Mesopotamia, while the Roman officers were occupied in gathering the spoils of those who paid them obedience.

## BOOK XVI.

### 1. *Praise of Julianus Caesar.*

1. While the linked course of the fates was bringing this to pass in the Roman world, Julian Caesar at Vienne was admitted by Augustus,<sup>3</sup> then consul for the eighth time, into the fellowship of the consular fasti. Urged on by his native energy, he dreamed of the din of battle and the slaughter of savages, already preparing to gather up the broken fragments of the province, if only fortune should at last aid him with her favouring breeze.

2. Accordingly, since the great deeds that he had the courage and good fortune to perform in Gaul surpass many valiant achievements of the ancients, I shall describe them one by one in ascending order,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

progrediente monstrabo, instrumenta omnia medio-cris ingenii (si suffecerint) commoturus. 3. Quicquid autem narrabitur, quod non falsitas arguta concinnat, sed fides integra rerum absolvit, documentis evidentibus fulta, ad laudativam paene materiam pertinebit. 4. Videtur enim lex quaedam vitae melioris hunc invenem a nobilibus cunis ad usque spiritum comitata supremum. Namque incrementis velocibus ita domi forisque colluxit, ut prudentia Vespasiani filius Titus alter aestimaretur, bellorum gloriosis cursibus Traiani simillimus, clemens ut Antoninus, rectae perfectaeque rationis indigine congruens Marco, ad cuius aemulationem actus suos effungebat et mores. 5. Et quoniam (ut Tulliana docet auctoritas) "omnium magnarum artium sicut arborum altitudo nos delectat, radices stirpesque non item." sic praeclarae huius indolis rudimenta, tunc multis obnubilantibus tegebantur, quae anteferri gestis eius postea multis et miris, hac ratione deberent, quod adulescens primaevus, ut Erechtheus in secessu Minervae nutritus, ex Academiae quietis umbraculis, non e militari tabernaculo, in pulverem Martium tractus, strata Germania, pacatisque rigentis Rheni meatibus, cruenta spirantium regum hic sanguinem fudit, alibi manus catenis afflixit.

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<sup>1</sup>This is also stated by Eutropius, x. 16, 5, and by Julian himself in his *Letter to Themistius*, p. 253, 13; ii. p. 203, L.C.L.

<sup>2</sup>*De Oratore*, iii. 46, 179; a very free quotation.

endeavouring to put in play all the resources of my modest ability, if only they will suffice. 3. Now whatever I shall tell (and no wordy deceit adorns my tale, but untrammelled faithfulness to fact, based upon clear proofs, composes it) will almost belong to the domain of the panegyric. 4. For some law of a higher life seems to have attended this youth from his noble cradle even to his last breath. For with rapid strides he grew so conspicuous at home and abroad that in his foresight he was esteemed a second Titus, son of Vespasian, in the glorious progress of his wars as very like Trajan, mild as Antoninus Pius, and in searching out the true and perfect reason of things in harmony with Marcus Aurelius, in emulation of whom he moulded his conduct and his character.<sup>1</sup> 5. And since (as the authority of Cicero informs us)<sup>2</sup> "we take delight in the loftiness of all noble arts, as we do of trees, but not so much in their roots and stumps," just so the beginnings of his surpassing ability were then veiled by many overshadowing features. Yet they ought to be preferred to his many admirable later achievements, for the reason that while still in early youth, educated like Erectheus<sup>3</sup> in Minerva's retreat, and drawn from the peaceful shades of the Academy, not from a soldier's tent, to the dust of battle, he vanquished Germany, subdued the meanders of the freezing Rhine, here shed the blood of kings breathing cruel threats, and there loaded their arms with chains.

<sup>3</sup> One of the earliest kings of Athens, because of his discovery of many useful arts said to have been educated by Minerva; cf. *Iliad*, ii. 546 f.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

2. *Iulianus Caesar Alamannos adoritur, caedit, capit. et fugat.*

1. Agens itaque negotiosam hiemem apud oppidum ante dictum, inter rumores, qui volitabant assidui, comperit Augustuduni civitatis antiquae muros spatiosi quidem ambitus sed carie vetustatis invalidos, barbarorum impetu repentino insessos, torpente praesentium militum manu, veteranos concursatione pervigili defendisse, ut solet abrupta saepe discrimina salutis ultima desperatio propulsare. 2. Nihil itaque remittentibus curis, ancillari adulatione posthabita, qua eum proximi ad amoenitatem flectebant et luxum, satis omnibus comparatis, octavum kalendas Iulias Augustudunum pervenit, velut dux diuturnus viribus eminens et consiliis, per diversa palantes barbaros ubi dedisset fors copiam aggressurus. 3. Habita itaque deliberatione assistentibus locorum peritis, quodnam iter eligeretur ut tutum, multa ultro citroque dicebantur aliis per Arbor<sup>1</sup> . . . quibusdam per Sedelaucum et Coram iri debere firmantibus. 4. Sed eum subsererent quidam, Silvanum paulo ante magistrum peditum per compendiosas vias, verum suspectas, quia ramorum tenebris<sup>2</sup> multis umbrantur, cum octo auxiliarium milibus aegre transisse, fidentius Caesar audaciam viri fortis imitari magnopere

<sup>1</sup> *Arbor* (lac. 13 letters), V.      <sup>2</sup> *ramorum tenebris*, Fletcher, cf. xvi. 12, 59; *nemorum t.*, Her.; *tenebris*, G. Clark; *quante mumibris*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. Vienne.

<sup>2</sup> The name cannot be completed.

<sup>3</sup> In the department Côte d'Or.



2. *Julianus Caesar attacks the Alamanni, slaughters, captures, and vanquishes them.*

1. Accordingly, while he was passing a busy winter in the above-mentioned town,<sup>1</sup> in the thick of rumours which kept persistently flying about, he learned that the walls of the ancient city of Autun, of wide circuit, to be sure, but weakened by the decay of centuries, had been besieged by a sudden onset of the savages; and then, though the force of soldiers garrisoned there was paralysed, it had been defended by the watchfulness of veterans who hurried together for its aid, as it often happens that the extreme of desperation wards off imminent danger of death. 2. Therefore, without putting aside his cares, and disregarding the servile flattery with which his courtiers tried to turn him to pleasure and luxury, after making adequate preparation he reached Autun on the 24th of June, like some experienced general, distinguished for power and policy, intending to fall upon the savages, who were straggling in various directions, whenever chance should give opportunity. 3. Accordingly, when he held a council, with men present who knew the country, to decide what route should be chosen as a safe one, there was much interchange of opinion, some saying that they ought to go by Arbor<sup>2</sup> . . . others by way of Saulieu<sup>3</sup> and Cora.<sup>4</sup> 4. But when some remarked that Silvanus, commander of the infantry, with 8000 reserve troops had shortly before passed (though with difficulty) by roads shorter but avoided because of the heavy shade of the branches, the Caesar with the greater confidence

<sup>1</sup> A small place in the neighbourhood of Autun.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

nitebatur. 5. Et nequa interveniat mora, adhibitis cataphractariis solis et ballistariis, parum ad tuendum rectorem idoneis, percursu eodem itinere. Autosudorum pervenit. 6. Ubi brevi (sicut solebat) otio cum milite recreatus, ad Tricasinos tendebat, et barbaros in se catervatim ruentes partim, cum timeret ut ampliores, confertis lateribus observabat, alios occupatis habilibus locis, decursu facili proterens, non nullos pavore traditos cepit, residuos in curam celeritatis omne quod poterant conferentes, quia sequi non valebat, gravitate praepeditus armorum, innocuos abire perpessus est. 7. Proinde certiore iam spe ad resistendum ingruentibus confirmatus, per multa discrimina venit Tricasas, adeo insperatus, ut eo portas paene pulsante, diffusae multitudinis barbarae metu, aditus urbis non sine anxia panderetur ambage. 8. Et paulisper moratus, dum fatigato consulit militi, civitatem Remos, nihil prolatandum existimans, petit, ubi in unum congregatum exercitum vehementem mensis unius cibaria<sup>1</sup> iusserat operiri praesentiam suam; cui praesidebat Ursicini successor Marcellus, et ipse Ursicinus, ad usque expeditionis finem agere praeceptus eisdem in locis. 9. Post variatas itaque sententias

<sup>1</sup> *mensis cibaria*, added by Val., *unius* by Novák (in lac. 18 letters).

<sup>1</sup> The *cataphractarii* were mounted warriors; both horses and men were heavily clad in armour; see xvi. 10, 4.

<sup>2</sup> The *ballistarii* had charge of the *ballistae*, which took the place of modern artillery; described in xxiii. 4, 1.

made a strong resolve to emulate the daring of that hardy man. 5. And to avoid any delay, he took only the cuirassiers<sup>1</sup> and the crossbowmen,<sup>2</sup> who were far from suitable to defend a general, and traversing the same road, he came to Auxerre. 6. There with but a short rest (as his custom was) he refreshed himself and his soldiers and kept on towards Troyes; and when troops of savages kept making attacks on him, he sometimes, fearing that they might be in greater force, strengthened his flanks and reconnoitered; sometimes he took advantage of suitable ground, easily ran them down and trampled them under foot, capturing some who in terror gave themselves up, while the remainder exerted all their powers of speed in an effort to escape. These he allowed to get away unscathed, since he was unable to follow them up, encumbered as he was with heavy-armed soldiers. 7. So, as he now had firmer hope of success in resisting their attacks, he proceeded among many dangers to Troyes, reaching there so unlooked for, that when he was almost knocking at the gates, the fear of the widespread bands of savages was such, that entrance to the city was vouchsafed only after anxious debate. 8. And after staying there a short time, out of consideration for his tired soldiers, he felt that he ought not to delay, and made for the city of Rheims. There he had ordered the whole army to assemble with provisions for a month and to await his coming; the place was commanded by Ursicinus' successor Marcellus, and Ursicinus himself was directed to serve in the same region until the end of the campaign. 9. Accordingly, after the expression of

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

plures, cum placuisset per Decem pagos Alamannam aggredi plebem densatis agminibus, tendebat illuc solito alacrior miles. 10. Et quia dies umectus et decolor, vel contiguum eripiebat aspectum, iuvante locorum gnaritate hostes tramite obliquo discursu, post Cacsaris terga legiones duas arma cogentes adorti, paene delessent, ni subito concitus clamor sociorum auxilia coegisset. 11. Hinc et deinde nec itinera nec flumina transire posse sine insidiis putans, erat providus et cunctator, quod<sup>1</sup> praecipium bonum in magnis ductoribus, opem ferre solet exercitibus et salutem. 12. Audiens itaque Argentoratum. Brotomagum. Tabernas, Salisonem, Nemetas et Vangionas et Mogontiacum civitates barbaros possidentes, territoria earum habitare (nam ipsa oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant) primam omnium Brotomagum occupavit, eique iam adventanti Germanorum manus<sup>2</sup> pugnam intentans occurrit. 13. Cumque in bicornem figuram acie divisa, collato pede res agi coepisset. exitioque hostes urgerentur ancipiti. captis non nullis, aliis in ipso proelii fervore trunecatis, residui discessere, celeritatis praesidio tecti.

<sup>1</sup> *quod*, G; V omits.  
*nam* (without lac.), V.

<sup>2</sup> *G. manus p.*, W<sup>2</sup> G; *G. pug-*

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<sup>1</sup> Dieuse.

<sup>2</sup> In xxxi. 2, 4, a similar statement is made of the Huns, that they avoid houses as they would tombs. E. Maass.

many various opinions, it was agreed to attack the Alamannic horde by way of the Ten Cantons<sup>1</sup> and the soldiers closed ranks and went on in that direction with unusual alacrity. 10. And because the day was misty and overcast, so that even objects close at hand could not be seen. the enemy, aided by their acquaintance with the country, went around by a crossroad and attacked two legions behind the Caesar's back while they were gathering up their equipment. And they would nearly have annihilated them, had not the shouts that they suddenly raised brought up the reinforcements of our allies. 11. Then and thereafter. thinking that he could cross neither roads nor rivers without ambuscades. Julian was wary and hesitant. which is a special merit in great commanders, and is wont both to help and to save their armies. 12. Hearing therefore that Strasburg, Brumath, Saverne, Seltz, Worms. and Mayence were in the hands of the savages. who were living on their lands (for the towns themselves they avoid as if they were tombs surrounded by nets),<sup>2</sup> he first of all seized Brumath. but while he was still approaching it a band of Germans met him and offered battle. 13. Julian drew up his forces in the form of a crescent, and when the fight began to come to close quarters, the enemy were overwhelmed by a double danger; some were captured, others were slain in the very heat of the battle, and the rest got away, saved by recourse to speed.

*Neue Jahrb.*, xlix. (1922) pp. 205 ff., says that graves of women who died in childbed, and might return to get their offspring, were surrounded with nets.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

3. *Julianus Caesar Coloniam a Francis captam recipit, et pacem ibi cum Francorum regibus facit.*

1. Nullo itaque post haec repugnante, ad recuperandam ire placuit Agrippinam, ante Caesaris in Gallias adventum excisam, per quos tractus nec civitas ulla visitur nec castellum, nisi quod apud Confluentes, locum ita cognominatum, ubi amnis Mosella confunditur Rheno, Rigomagum oppidum est et una prope ipsam Coloniam turris. 2. Igitur Agrippinam ingressus, non ante motus est exinde, quam Francorum regibus furore mitescente perterritis, pacem firmaret rei publicae interim profuturam, et urbem reciperet munitissimam. 3. Quibus vincendi primitiis laetus, per Treveros hiematurus, apud Senonas oppidum tunc opportunum abscessit. Ubi bellorum inundantium molem umeris suis (quod dicitur) vehens, scindebatur in multiplices curas, ut milites qui a solitis descivere praesidiis reducerentur ad loca suspecta, et conspiratas gentes in noxam Romani nominis disiectaret, ac provideret ne alimenta deessent exercitui per varia discursuro.

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<sup>1</sup> See xv. 8, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Near Coblenz, which gets its name from *Confluentes*.

3. *Julian recovers Cologne, which had been captured by the Franks, and there makes peace with the kings of the Franks.*

1. Accordingly, as after this no one offered resistance. Julian decided to go and recover Cologne, which had been destroyed before his arrival in Gaul.<sup>1</sup> In all that region there is no city to be seen and no stronghold, except that at the Confluence, a place so called because there the river Moselle mingles with the Rhine, there is the town of Rheinmagen<sup>2</sup> and a single tower near Cologne itself.

2. So, having entered Cologne, he did not stir from there until he had overawed the Frankish kings and lessened their pugnacity, had made a peace with them which would benefit the state in the future, and had recovered that very strongly fortified city.

3. Pleased with these first-fruits of victory, he went to winter at Sens, a town of the Treveri then available. There, bearing on his shoulders, as the saying is, the burden of a flood of wars,<sup>3</sup> he was distracted by manifold cares—how the soldiers who had abandoned their usual posts might be taken back to danger-points, how he might scatter the tribes that had conspired to the hurt of the Roman cause, and how to see to it that food should not fail his army, as it was about to range in different directions.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 82, n. 4. 5

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

### 4. *Julianus Caesar apud Senonas oppidum ab Alemannis obsidetur.*

1. Haec sollicite perpensantem, hostilis aggreditur multitudo, oppidi capiundi spe in maius accensa, ideo confidenter quod ei nec seutarios adesse pro-  
dentibus perfugis didicerant nec gentiles, per municipia distributos, ut commodius vescerentur quam antea.<sup>1</sup> 2. Clausa ergo urbe murorumque intuta parte firmata, ipse cum armatis die noctuque inter propugnacula visebatur et pinnas, ira exundante substridens, cum erumpere saepe conatus, paucitate praesentis manus impediretur. Post tricesimum denique diem. abiere barbari tristes, inaniter stulteque cogitasse civitatis obsidium mussitantes. 3. Et <sup>2</sup> (quod indignitati rerum est assignandum) periclitanti Caesari distulit suppetias ferre Marcellus, magister equitum agens in stationibus proximis, cum etiam si civitas absque principe vexaretur, opposita multitudine malis obsidionalibus expediri deberet. 4. Hoc metu solutus, efficacissimus Caesar providebat constanti sollicitudine, ut militum diuturno labori quies succederet aliqua licet brevis, ad recreandas tamen sufficiens vires, quamquam ultima squalentes

<sup>1</sup> *quam antea* (without lac.), Heraeus; *cum autem* (lac. 42 letters) *clausa*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *et*, V (Pet. defends); *set*, Clark; *at*, Lind.

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<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 56.



4. *Julian is besieged by the Alemanni in the town of Sens.*

1. As he was anxiously weighing these problems, a host of the enemy attacked, fired with increased hope of taking the town, and full of confidence because they had learned from the statements of deserters that neither the targeteers nor the gentiles<sup>1</sup> were at hand; for they had been distributed in the towns, so as to be more easily provisioned than before. 2. So, having shut the city gates and strengthened a weak section of the walls, Julian could be seen day and night with his soldiers among the bulwarks and battlements, boiling over with rage and fretting because however often he tried to sally forth, he was hampered by the scanty numbers of the troops at hand. Finally, after a month the savages withdrew crestfallen, muttering that they had been silly and foolish to have contemplated the blockade of the city. 3. But—a thing to be assigned to the irony of fate—while Caesar was in jeopardy, Marcellus, master of the horse, although he was stationed in neighbouring posts, postponed sending him reinforcements; whereas even if the city alone was endangered, to say nothing of the prince's presence there, it ought to have been saved from the hardships of blockade by the intervention of a large force. 4. Once relieved of this fear, Caesar provided with the greatest efficiency and with unfailing solicitude that some rest should follow the long continued toil of the soldiers, a short one perhaps, but enough, at least, to restore their strength: and yet that region, a wilderness in its extreme

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

inopia terrae, saepe vastitatae exigua quaedam victui congrua suggerebant. 5. Verum hoc quoque diligentia curato pervigili, affusa laetiore spe prosperorum, sublato animo ad exsequenda plurima consurgebat.

### 5. *Iuliani Caesaris virtutes.*

1. Primum igitur factuque difficile, temperantiam ipse sibi indixit atque retinuit, tamquam adstrictus sumptuariis legibus viveret, quas ex rhetris Lycurgi (id est axibus) Romam translatas, diuque observatas et senescentes, paulatim reparavit Sulla dictator, reputans ex praedictis Democriti, quod ambitiosam mensam fortuna, parcam virtus apponit. 2. Id enim etiam Tusculanus Cato prudenter definiens, cui Censorii cognomentum, castior vitae indidit cultus: "Magna" inquit "cura cibi, magna virtutis incuria." 3. Denique cum legeret libellum assidue, quem Constantius, ut privignum ad studia mittens, manu sua conscripserat, praelicenter disponens quid in convivio Caesaris impendi deberet.

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<sup>1</sup> The rhetrae (*ῥῆτραι*) were oracular utterances which Lycurgus professed to have received directly from Apollo at Delphi; later the word was used generally for the laws of Lycurgus.

<sup>2</sup> The laws of Solon were called *ἄξονες* (*axes*) because they were written on wooden tablets. R. Scholl inserted *Solonis*, but the term may be used of the *rhetrae*; cf. Gellius, ii. 12, 1, *in legibus Solonis . . . quae Athenis*

destitution through having often been ravaged. provided very little suitable for rations. 5. But when this too had been provided for by his ever-watchful care. a happier hope of success was shed upon him, and with spirits revived he rose to the achievement of numerous enterprises.

### 5. *The merits of Julianus Caesar.*

1. First. then (and a hard thing to accomplish) he imposed moderation on himself, and kept to it, as if he were living bound by the sumptuary laws which were brought to Rome from the Edicts.<sup>1</sup> that is, the wooden tablets,<sup>2</sup> of Lycurgus : and when they had long been observed, but were going out of use, the dictator Sulla gradually renewed them.<sup>3</sup> taking account of one of the sayings of Democritus. that a pretentious table is set by Fortune. a frugal one by Virtue. 2. Furthermore. Cato of Tusculum, whose austere manner of living conferred upon him the surname Censorius, wisely defined that point, saying : “ Great care about food implies great neglect of virtue.”<sup>4</sup> 3. Lastly. though he constantly read the booklet which Constantius, when sending his stepson to the university, had written with his own hand, making lavish provision for what should be spent on Caesar’s table. he forbade the

*aribus ligneis incisae sunt.* There is, however, some confusion here, and perhaps *Lycurgi* should be *Solonis*, or *id est arones* should be deleted.

<sup>3</sup> See Gellius, ii. 24, 11 ; i. 204 f. L.C.L., for details of this and other sumptuary laws.

<sup>4</sup> P. 110, 22, Jordan.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

phasianum et vulvam et sumen exigi vetuit et inferri. munificis militis vili et fortuito cibo contentus.

4. Hinc contingebat ut noctes ad officia divideret tripertita, quietis et publicae rei et musarum, quod factitasse Alexandrum legimus Magnum; sed multo hic fortius. Ille namque aenea concha supposita, brachio extra cubile protento pilam tenebat argenteam. ut cum nervorum vigorem sopor laxasset infusus, gestaminis lapsi tinnitus abrumperet somnum. 5. Iulianus vero absque instrumento, quotiens voluit evigilavit, et nocte dimidiata semper exurgens, non e plumis vel stragulis sericis ambiguo fulgore nitentibus, sed ex tapete et sisyra<sup>1</sup>, quam vulgaris simplicitas susurnam appellat, occulte Mercurio supplicabat. quem mundi velociorem sensum esse motum mentium suscitantem, theologiae prodidere doctrinae; atque in tanto rerum defectu, exploreate rei publicae munera cuncta<sup>2</sup> curabat. 6. Post quae ut ardua et seria terminata, ad procudendum ingenium vertebatur, et incredibile quo quantoque ardore, principalium rerum notitiam celsam indagans, et quasi pabula quaedam animo ad sublimiora seandenti conquirens, per omnia philosophiae membra prudenter disputando currebat. 7. Sed tamen cum haec effecte pleneque

<sup>1</sup> ξυσίρα, bG; ξισύρα, B: σισύρα, Lind.; (lac. 7 letters at end of page) syra, V. <sup>2</sup> exploreate rei publicae munera, T, Val. (cuncta added by Novák, c.c.); exploranter. ci. p̄, Π (lac. 5 letters), V (nter . . . Π], V<sup>2</sup>).

ordering and serving of pheasants and of sow's matrix and udders, contenting himself with the coarse and ordinary rations of a common soldier.

4. So it came about that he divided his nights according to a threefold schedule—rest, affairs of state, and the Muses, a course which Alexander the Great, as we read, used to practise; but Julian was far more self-reliant. For Alexander used to set a bronze basin beside his couch and with outstretched arm hold a silver ball over it, so that when the coming of sleep relaxed the tension of his muscles, the clanging of the ball as it fell might break off his nap. 5. But Julian could wake up as often as he wished, without any artificial means. And when the night was half over, he always got up, not from a downy couch or silken coverlets glittering with varied hues, but from a rough blanket and rug, which the simple common folk call *susurna*.<sup>1</sup> Then he secretly prayed to Mercury, whom the teaching of the theologians showed to be the swift intelligence of the universe, arousing the activity of men's minds; and in spite of such great lack of material things he paid diligent heed to all his public duties. 6. And after bringing these (as his lofty and serious tasks) to an end, he turned to the exercise of his intellect, and it is unbelievable with what great eagerness he sought out the sublime knowledge of all chiefest things, and as if in search of some sort of sustenance for a soul soaring to loftier levels, ran through all the departments of philosophy in his learned discussions. 7. But yet,

<sup>1</sup>A coarse blanket made from the fur or hide of an animal.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

colligeret. nec humiliora despexit, poeticam mediocriter et rhetoricam tractans <sup>1</sup> (ut ostendit orationum epistularumque eius eum gravitate comitas incorrupta) et nostrarum externarumque rerum historiam multiformem. Super his aderat Latine quoque disserendi sufficiens sermo. 8. Si itaque verum est, quod scriptores varii memorant, Cyrum regem et Simonidem lyricum, et Hippian Eleum sophistarum acerrimum, ideo valuisse memoria, quod epotis quibusdam remediis id impetrarunt, credendum est hunc etiam tum adultum totum memoriae dolium (si usquam reperiri potuit) exhausisse. Et haec quidem pudicitiae virtutumque sunt signa nocturna.

9. Diebus vero quae ornate dixerit et facete, quaeve in apparatu vel in ipsis egerit congressibus proeliorum, aut in re civili magnanimitate correxit et libertate, suo quaeque loco singulatim <sup>2</sup> demonstrabuntur. 10. Cum exercere pro ludia disciplinae castrensium philosophus egeretur ut princeps, artemque modulatus incedendi per pyrricham concinentibus disceret fistulis, vetus illud proverbium "clitellae bovi sunt impositae: plane non est nostrum onus" Platonem crebro nominans exclamabat. 11. Cum inducti essent iussu eius <sup>3</sup> quadam sollemnitate agentes in rebus <sup>4</sup> in consistorium, ut aurum

<sup>1</sup> *tractans*, added by Novák; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *singulatim*, Her.; *singula*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *Cum inducti essent iussu eius*, Novák; *inducet et eius*. V; lac. after *inducet*, Seeck.      <sup>4</sup> *sollemnitate agentes*, Heraeus; *sollemni* (lac. 5 letters) *agens*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Att.* v. 15, 3, with *illa* or *illanc* for *plane*.

though he gained full and exhaustive knowledge in this sphere, he did not neglect more humble subjects, studying poetry to a moderate degree, and rhetoric (as is shown by the undefiled elegance and dignity of his speeches and letters) as well as the varied history of domestic and foreign affairs. Besides all this he had at his command adequate fluency also in Latin conversation. 8. If, then, it is true (as divers writers report) that King Cyrus and the lyric poet Simonides, and Hippias of Elis, keenest of the sophists, had such powerful memories because they had acquired that gift by drinking certain potions, we must believe that Julian, when only just arrived at manhood, had drained the entire cask of memory, if such could be found anywhere. These, then, were the nightly evidences of his self-restraint and his virtues.

9. But how he passed his days in brilliant and witty conversation, in preparation for war or in the actual clash of battle, or in lofty and liberal improvements in civil administration, shall later be shown in detail, each in its proper place. 10. When this philosopher, being a prince, was forced to practise the rudiments of military training and learn the art of marching rhythmically in pyrrhic measure to the harmony of the pipes, he often used to call on Plato's name, quoting that famous old saying :<sup>1</sup> "A pack-saddle is put on an ox ; that is surely no burden for me." 11. When the agents<sup>2</sup> had been summoned by his order on a festal day to his council chamber, to receive their

<sup>2</sup> The *agentes in rebus* formed the imperial secret service under the *Magister Officiorum* ; see note 2, p. 98.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

acciperent inter alios, quidam ex eorum consortio, non (ut moris est) pansa ehlamyde, sed utraque manu cavata suscepit. Et imperator "rapere" inquit "non accipere sciunt agentes in rebus." 12. Aditus a parentibus virginis raptae, eum qui violarat convictum relegari decrevit. Hisque indigna patientibus, quod non sit morte multatus, responderat hactenus: "Incusent iura clementiam, sed imperatorem mitissimi animi legibus praestare ceteris decet." 13. Egressurum eum ad expeditionem plures interpellabant ut laesi, quos audiendos provinciarum rectoribus commendabat: et reversus, quid egerint singuli quaerens, delictorum vindictas genuina lenitudine mitigabat. 14. Ad ultimum exceptis victoriis, per quas cadentes<sup>1</sup> saepe in eolumi contumacia barbaros fudit, quod profuerit anhelantibus extrema penuria Gallis, hinc maxime claret, quod primitus partes eas ingressus, pro capitulis singulis tributum nomine vicenos quinos aureos repperit flagitari, discedens vero septenos tantum munera universa complentes: ob quae tanquam solem sibi serenum post squallentes tenebras affulsisse, cum alacritate et tripudiis laetabantur. 15. Denique id eum ad usque imperii finem et vitae scimus utiliter observasse, ne per indulgentias (quas appellant) tributariae

<sup>1</sup> *audentes*, Birt; *uagantes*, Novák.

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<sup>1</sup> The *aureus* was the standard gold coin of Rome, equal to 100 sesterces.



gold with the rest, one of the company took it, not (as the custom is) in a fold of his mantle, but in both his open hands. Whereupon the emperor said, "It is seizing, not accepting, that agents understand." 12. When approached by the parents of a girl who had been assaulted, he ordered that her ravisher, if convicted, should be banished; and when they complained of the indignity suffered in that he was not punished with death, the emperor merely replied: "The laws may censure my clemency, but it is right for an emperor of very merciful disposition to rise above all other laws." 13. When he was on the point of leaving on a campaign, many persons would appeal to him, as having grievances; but he used to recommend them to the provincial governors for their hearings. On his return he would inquire what had been decided in each case, and with his native kindness would mitigate the punishment of the offences. 14. Last of all, not to speak of the victories in which he routed the savages, who often fell with spirits unbroken, what good he did to Gaul, labouring as it was in utmost destitution, appears most clearly from this fact: when he first entered those parts, he found that twenty-five pieces of gold<sup>1</sup> were demanded by way of tribute from every one as a poll-tax; but when he left, seven only for full satisfaction of all duties. And on account of this (as if clear sunshine had beamed upon them after ugly darkness), they expressed their joy in gaiety and dances. 15. To conclude, we know that to the very end of his reign, and of his life, he observed this rule profitably, not to remit arrears of tribute by so-called "indulgencies." For he had

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

rei concederet reliqua. Norat enim hoc facto se aliquid locupletibus additurum, cum constet ubique, pauperes inter ipsa indictorum<sup>1</sup> exordia solvere universa sine laxamento compelli.

16. Inter has tamen regendi moderandique vias, bonis principibus aemulandas, barbarica rabies exarserat rursus in<sup>2</sup> maius. 17. Utque bestiae custodum negligentia raptu vivere solitae. ne his quidem remotis. apposisisque fortioribus abseesserunt. sed tumescentes inedia. sine respectu salutis, armenta vel greges incursant, ita etiam illi, cunctis quae diripere consumptis, fame urgente, agebant aliquotiens praedas, interdum antequam contingerent aliquid. oppetebant.

### 6. *Arbetio vir consularis accusatur, et absolvitur.*

1. Haec per eum annum spe dubia eventu tamen secundo per Gallias agebantur. In comitatu vero Augusti, circumlatrabat Arbetionem invidia. velut summa mox adepturum. decora cultus imperatorii praestruxisse. instabatque ei strepens immania, comes Verissimus nomine, arguens coram. quod a gregario ad magnum militiae culmen evectus, hoc quoque non contentus (ut parvo) locum appeteret principalem. 2. Sed specialiter eum insectabatur

<sup>1</sup> *indictorum*, Pithoeus; *indictionum*, Seeck; *dictorum*, V. <sup>2</sup> *rursus in*, added by Heraeus; *in*, by BG; *e.m.* without lae., V.

learned that by so doing he would somewhat better the condition of the rich, since it is generally known that poor people at the very beginning of the tax-levying are forced to pay in full without easement.

16. However, in the midst of these courses of wise governing, worthy of the imitation of good emperors, the fury of the savages had blazed forth again more than ever. 17. And as wild beasts accustomed to live by plundering when their guards are slack do not cease even when these guards are removed and stronger ones put in their place, but ravening with hunger rush upon flocks or herds without regard for their own lives: so they too, when they had used up all that they had gotten by pillage, urged on by hunger, were continually driving off booty, and sometimes perishing of want before finding anything.

6. *Arbetio, a man of consular rank, is accused and acquitted.*

1. These were the events in Gaul during that year dubious in prospect, but successful in outcome. But in the court of the Augustus envy kept barking on every side at Arbetio, as one that would soon attain the highest rank and had already prepared the insignia of imperial dignity; and a certain count, Verissimus by name, assailed him with unbridled outcry, openly charging that although he had risen from the common soldiery to the chief military command, he was not satisfied even with this, but (as though it were a slight thing) was aiming at the imperial position. 2. But in particular one

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Dorus quidam ex medico scutariorum, quem niten-  
tium rerum centurionem sub Magnentio Romae  
provectum, retulimus accusasse Adelphium, urbi  
praefectum, ut altiora coeptantem. 3. Cumque  
res in <sup>1</sup> inquisitionem veniret, necessariisque negotio  
tentis, obiectorum probatio speraretur, tamquam  
per saturam subito cubiculariis suffragantibus, ut  
loquebatur pertinax rumor, et vinculis sunt exutae  
personae quae stringebantur ut consciae, et Dorus  
evanuit, et Verissimus ilico tacuit, velut aulaeo  
deposito scenae.

### 7. *Iulianus Caesar a praeposito cubiculi sui Eutherio apud imperatorem defenditur adversus Marcellum ; et laus Eutherii.*

1. Eisdem diebus, allapso rumore Constantius  
doctus, obsesso apud Senonas Caesari auxilium  
non tulisse Marcellum, eum sacramento solutum  
abire iussit in larem. Qui tamquam iniuria gravi  
percussus, quaedam in Iulianum moliebatur, auri-  
bus Augusti confisus. in omne patentibus crimen.

<sup>1</sup> *in*, added by EGB ; *ad*, by Novák ; V omits ; *in  
quaestionem*, Her.

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<sup>1</sup> In one of the lost books.

<sup>2</sup> Commander of the night-patrol in charge of public  
buildings and monuments.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sallust, *Jug.*, xxix. 5. where the reference is to  
voting on several questions at once ; *lex multis rebus con-  
ferta*, Festus, *s.v.*

Dorus, ex-surgeon of the targeteers, kept pursuing him ; he it was who (as I stated)<sup>1</sup> when promoted under Magnentius to be centurion in charge of works of art at Rome,<sup>2</sup> accused Adelfius, prefect of the city, of aiming at a higher station. 3. And when the matter came to an investigation, and everything needful for the business was at hand, a proof of the charges was looked for ; when suddenly, as if by an irregular vote,<sup>3</sup> at the instance of the chamberlains (as persistent rumour reported) both those persons under restraint as implicated were released from their fetters ; Dorus disappeared, and Verissimus at once held his peace, just as when on the stage the curtain is lowered and put away.<sup>4</sup>

7. *Julianus Caesar is defended against Marcellus before the emperor by Eutherius, his chief chamberlain ; and praise of Eutherius.*

1. At that same time Constantius, apprised by approaching rumour that when Caesar was blockaded at Sens, Marcellus had not brought aid,<sup>5</sup> discharged the latter from the army and commanded him to depart to his home. Whereupon Marcellus, as if staggered by a grievous insult, began to contrive a plot against Julian, presuming on Augustus, whose ears were open to every slander. 2. And so,

<sup>4</sup> We might say "The curtain is dropped," but the lowering of the curtain revealed the stage of the Roman theatre. Here the reference is to putting the curtain away and closing the theatre, as in Juvenal, vi. 67 ff., *quotiens aulaea recondita cessant et vacuo clusoque sonant fora sola theatro.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xvi. 4, 3.

2. Ideoque cum discederet, Eutherius praepositus cubiculi mittitur statim post eum, siquid finxerit convicturus. Verum ille hoc nesciens, mox venit Mediolanum, strepens et tumultuans, (ut erat vanidicus et amenti propior) : admissus in consistorium, Iulianum ut procacem insimulat, iamque ad evagandum altius validiores sibi pinnas aptare ; ita enim cum motu quodam corporis loquebatur ingenti. 3. Haec eo fingente licentius, Eutherius (ut postulavit) inductus, iussusque loqui quod vellet, verecunde et modice docet, velari veritatem mendaciis. Magistro enim armorum, ut credebatur, cessante consulto, industria vigili Caesarem obsessum apud Senonas diu barbaros reppulisse, apparitoremque fidum auctori suo quoad vixerit fore, obligata cervice sua spondebat.

4. Res monuit super hoc eodem Eutherio pauca subserere, forsitan non credenda, ea re quod si Numma Pompilius vel Socrates bona quaedam dicerent de spadone, dictisque religionum adderent fidem, a veritate descivisse arguebantur. Sed inter vepres rosae nascuntur, et inter feras non nullae mitescunt, itaque carptim eius praecipua, quae sunt comperta, monstrabo. 5. Natus in Armenia sanguine libero, captusque a finitimis hostibus, etiam tum parvulus

when Marcellus was on his way, Eutherius, the head chamberlain, was sent immediately after him, to confute him in case he should trump up anything. But Marcellus, unware of this, presently came to Milan, blustering and making trouble, being a vain talkative fool and all but mad ; and when admitted to the council, he charged Julian with being arrogant and already fitting himself with stronger pinions, so as to soar up higher ; for these were his words, accompanied by mighty gesticulations. 3. While he was freely forging these accusations, Eutherius (as he requested) was brought in, and being commanded to say what he wished, modestly and in few words showed that the truth was veiled with lies. For while the commander of the heavy-armed infantry (as was believed) deliberately held back, Caesar, who had long been blockaded in Sens, had by his watchful energy driven back the barbarians ; and Eutherius staked his own head on the promise that Julian would be a loyal servitor to his superior, so long as he should live.

4. The subject prompts me to add a few facts about this same Eutherius, perhaps hardly to be credited, for the reason that if a Numa Pompilius or a Socrates should give any good report of a eunuch, and should back their statements by a solemn oath, they would be charged with having departed from the truth. But among brambles roses spring up, and among savage beasts some are tamed. Accordingly, I shall give a brief summary of the chief facts known about him. 5. He was born in Armenia of free parents, but when still very young he was kidnapped by hostile tribesmen in that neighbourhood,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

abstractis geminis Romanis mercatoribus venundatus. ad palatium Constantini deducitur; ubi paulatim adulescens rationem <sup>1</sup> recte vivendi, sollertiamque ostendebat, litteris quantum tali fortunae satis esse poterat eruditus, cogitandi inveniendique dubia et scrupulosa, acumine nimio praestans, immensum quantum memoria vicens, benefaciendi avidus plenusque iusti consilii, quem si Constans imperator olim ex adulto iamque <sup>2</sup> maturum audiret, honesta suadentem et recta, nulla vel venia certe digna peccasset. 6. Is praepositus cubiculi etiam Iulianum aliquotiens corrigebat. Asiaticis coalitum moribus, ideoque levem. Denique digressus ad otium, asseitusque postea in palatium, semper sobrius et in primis consistens, ita fidem continentiamque virtutes coluit amplas, ut nec prodidisse aliquando arcanum, nisi tuendae causa alienae salutis, nec exarsisse cupidine plus habendi arcesseretur, ut ceteri. 7. Unde factum est ut subinde Roman secedens, ibique fixo domicilio consenescens, comitem circumferens conscienciam bonam, colatur a cunctis ordinibus et ametur, cum soleant id genus homines post partas ex iniquitate divitias latebras captare secretas, ut lucifugae vitantes multitudinis laesae conspectus. 8. Cui spadonum veterum hunc comparare debeam,

<sup>1</sup> *paulatim adulescens rationem*, Val.; *paulatim* (lac. 14 letters) *acules* (lac. 9 letters) *irationem*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *adulto iamque*, Val.; *adulto* (lac. 14 letters) *tamque*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Text and meaning are uncertain. On the faults of Constans, cf. Aurel. Victor, 41, and Zosimus, ii. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See note 6, p. 81.



who gelded him and sold him to some Roman traders and brought to Constantine's palace. There, as he grew up, he gradually gave evidence of virtuous living and ambition. He received as much training in letters as might suffice for one of that station; conspicuous for his remarkable keenness in devising and finding out difficult and knotty problems, he had extraordinary powers of memory; he was eager to do kindnesses and full of sound counsel. And if the emperor Constans had listened to him in times past, when Eutherius had grown up and was already mature, and urged honourable and upright conduct upon him, he would have been guilty of no faults, or at least of only pardonable ones.<sup>1</sup> 6. When he had become head chamberlain,<sup>2</sup> he would sometimes criticise even Julian, as trained in the manners of Asia and therefore inconstant. Finally going into retirement, but afterwards summoned to the palace, always temperate and especially consistent, he so cultivated the noble virtues of loyalty and self-restraint that he was never charged, as the rest have been, with having disclosed a secret, unless it were to save another's life, or to have been kindled with a desire to increase his wealth. 7. The result was, that when he presently retired to Rome and grew old there in a permanent home, he carried about with him a good conscience as his companion; he was honoured and loved by all classes, whereas that type of man, after amassing wealth by iniquitous means, usually seeks out secret lurking-places, like creatures of darkness shunning the sight of the multitude they have wronged. 8. In unrolling many records of the past, to see to which of the

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

antiquitates replicando complures invenire non potui. Fuerunt enim apud veteres (licet oppido pauci) fideles et frugi, sed ob quaedam vitia maculosi. Inter praecipua enim, quae eorum quisque studio possederat vel ingenio, aut rapax aut feritate contemptior fuit, aut propensior ad laedendum; vel regentibus<sup>1</sup> nimium blandus, aut potentiae fastu superbior: ex omni latere autem ita paratum,<sup>2</sup> neque legisse me neque audisse confiteor, aetatis nostrae testimonio locupletem confisus. 9. Verum si forte scrupulosus quidam lector antiquitatum, Menophilum Mithridatis Pontici regis eunuchum, nobis opponat, hoc monitu recordetur, nihil super eo relatum praeter id solum, quod in supremo discrimine gloriose monstravit. 10. Ingenti proelio superatus a Romanis et Pompeio rex praedictus, fugiensque ad regna Colchorum, adultam filiam nomine Drypetinam, vexatam asperitate morborum, in castello Sinhorio huic Menophilo commissam reliquit. Qui virginem omni remediorum solacio plene curatam, patri tutissime servans, eum a Mallio Priseo, imperatoris legato, munimentum quo claudebatur obsideri coepisset, defensoresque eius deditorem meditari sentiret, veritus ne parentis opprobrio puella nobilis captiva superasset et violata, interfecta illa mox

<sup>1</sup> *regentibus*, Erfurdt, Mommsen; *clieutibus*, Val.; *largientibus*, Novák; *ligendi mus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *paratum*, Damsté, cf. Cic. in *Cat.* iii. 7, 17; *peritum*, V.

eunuchs of old I ought to compare him. I could find none. True, there were in times gone by those that were loyal and virtuous (although very few), but they were stained with some vice or other. For along with the excellent qualities which anyone of them had acquired by studious endeavour or natural ability he was either extortionate and despicable for his cruelty, or prone to do mischief, or too subservient to the rulers, or insolent through pride of power; but of one so well equipped in every direction I confess I have neither read nor heard, although I have relied on the abundant testimony of our age. 9. But if haply any curious student of ancient history should confront me with Menophilus, the eunuch of Mithridates, king of Pontus, let this reminder recall to him that nothing was recorded of Menophilus save this one fact, that in the supreme crisis he made a glorious showing. 10. The aforesaid king, after having been defeated in a mighty battle by Pompey and the Romans, fled to the kingdom of Cholcis; he left his grown daughter, Drypetina by name, who was afflicted with a grievous disease, in the fortress of Sinhorium under the charge of this Menophilus. He, resorting to every healing remedy, completely cured the girl and was guarding her in complete security for her father, when the fortress in which he was beleaguered began to be blockaded by Mallius Priscus, the Roman commander's lieutenant-general; and when Menophilus learned that its defenders were thinking of surrender, fearing lest, to her father's reproach, the high-born girl might be taken alive and suffer outrage, he killed her and then plunged the sword

gladium in viscera sua compegit. Nunc redeam unde diverti.

8. *Delationes et calumniae in castris Constantii Augusti, et aulicorum rapacitas.*

1. Superato ut dixi Marcello, reversoque<sup>1</sup> Serdicam, unde oriebatur, in castris Augusti per simulationem tuendae maiestatis imperatoriae, multa et nefanda perpetrabantur.<sup>2</sup> 2. Nam si super occentu soricis vel occursu mustelae, vel similis signi gratia consulisset quisquam<sup>3</sup> peritum, aut anile incantamentum ad leniendum adhibuisset dolorem, quod medicinae quoque admittit auctoritas, reus unde non poterat opinari delatus, raptusque in iudicium, poenaliter interibat.

3. Per id tempus fere servum<sup>4</sup> quendam, nomine Danum, terrore tenus uxor rerum levium incusarat : hanc incertum unde notam<sup>5</sup> Rufinus subsedit,<sup>6</sup>—quo indicante quaedam cognita per Gaudentium, agentem in rebus, consularem Pannoniae tunc Africanum, cum convivis rettulimus interfectum—apparitionis praefecturae praetorianae tum etiam princeps ob devotionem. 4. Is<sup>7</sup> (ut loquebatur iactantius) versabilem feminam, post nefandum concubitum, in

<sup>1</sup> *reversoque*, Lind : *cuersoque*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *perpetrabantur*  
G : *perpetrabant*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *quisquam*, Heraeus, cf. xxii.  
16, 19 : *quomquam*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *fere* or *ferme*, Wagner,  
*servum*, Heraeus ; *fer* (lac. II letters) *num*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *hanc*  
*incertum unde notam*, Heraeus : *incusarat* (lac. of 7 letters)  
*certum an\*incertum* (*c* after \* added by V<sup>2</sup>) *undenso tum*, V.  
<sup>6</sup> *subsedit*, Clark ; *subsedeat*, Val. ; *subseda*, V.      <sup>7</sup> *is*,  
Val ; *bis*, V.

into his own vitals.<sup>1</sup> Now let me return to the point from which I digressed.

8. *Slanders and calumnies in the camp of Constantius Augustus, and the greed of the courtiers.*

1. After Marcellus had been worsted, as I have said, and had returned to Serdica,<sup>2</sup> his native place, in the camp of Augustus, under pretext of upholding his imperial majesty, many abominable acts were committed. 2. For if anyone consulted a soothsayer about the squeaking of a field-mouse, the meeting with a weasel on the way, or any like portent, or used some old wife's charm to relieve pain (a thing which even medical authority allows), he was indicted (from what source he could not guess), was haled into court, and suffered death as the penalty.

3. At about that time a certain slave, Danus by name, was accused by his wife on trifling charges merely to intimidate him; this woman was approached by Rufinus, who had come to know her in some way or other. He was the man who had given certain information that he had learned through Gaudentius, one of the agents,<sup>3</sup> and had caused the death of Africanus, then governor-general of Pannonia, along with his guests, as I have related;<sup>4</sup> he was even then, because of his obsequiousness, chief steward of the praetorian prefecture. 4. This Rufinus (as he kept boastfully saying) led the fickle woman, first into shameful

<sup>1</sup>This action is not mentioned elsewhere, not even by Val. Max., i. 8. 13, where he speaks of Drypetina.

<sup>2</sup>Modern Sophia, Bulgaria. <sup>3</sup>See note 2, p. 98. <sup>4</sup>xv. 3, 7.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

periculosam fraudem illexit; suasit consarcinatis mendaciis laesae maiestatis accessere maritum insontem, et fingere quod velamen purpureum, a Diocletiani sepulcro furatus, quibusdam consciis occultabat. 5. Hisque ad multorum exitium ita formatis, ipse spe potiorum ad imperatoris pervolat castra, excitaturus calumnias consuetas. Reque comperta, iubetur Mavortius, tunc praefectus praetorio, vir sublimis constantiae, crimen aeri inquisitione spectare, iuncto ad audiendi societatem Ursulo (largitionum comite) severitatis itidem non improbandae. 6. Exaggerato itaque negotio ad arbitrium temporum, cum nihil post tormenta multorum inveniretur, iudicesque haerent ambigui, tandem veritas respiravit oppressa, et in abrupto necessitatis mulier Rufinum totius machinae confitetur auctorem, nec adulterii foeditate suppressa; statimque legibus contemplatis, illi amore recti concordēs et iusti,<sup>1</sup> ambos sententia damnare letali. 7. Quo cognito Constantius fremens, et tamquam vindicem salutis suae lugens exstinctum, missis equitibus citis, Ursulum redire ad comitatum minaciter iussit. Qui cum eo venisset adireque principem vellet, ab aulicis arcebat, ne defendendae

<sup>1</sup> *contemplatis*, Val.; *illi amore recti*, Novák (*iudices idem*, scripseram); *concordes et iusti*, Eyssen.; *contem* (lac. 24 letters) *ordes*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See Introd., pp. xl f.

relations with him, and then into a dangerous deceit ; he induced her by a tissue of lies to charge her guiltless husband with high treason, and to allege that he had stolen a purple robe from Diocletian's tomb and with several accomplices was concealing it. 5. And having thus framed these matters to the destruction of many persons, Rufinus himself, in hope of greater profit, flies to the emperor's camp, to stir up his customary scandals. And when the fact was divulged, Mavortius, then praetorian prefect, a man of high resolution, was bidden to look into the charge with a keen investigation, having associated with him, to hear the case in common. Ursulus, count of the largesses,<sup>1</sup> likewise a man of praiseworthy severity. 6. So when the affair had been exaggerated, after the standard of the times, and after the torture of many persons nothing was discovered, and the judges were hesitating in perplexity, at last truth, crushed to earth, breathed again, and at the point of necessity the woman confessed that Rufinus was the contriver of the whole plot, and did not even keep back the shame of her adultery. And at once the laws were consulted and the judges, unanimous in their love of right and justice, condemned them both to death. 7. Constantius, on learning this, raged and lamented, as if the defender of his own life had perished ; he sent fast horsemen and commanded Ursulus in threatening terms to return to the court. And when he had come there and wished to approach the emperor, the courtiers tried to keep him from being able to appear in defence of the truth. But he, scorning those who would hold him back, burst through

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

posset assistere<sup>1</sup> veritati; sed ille spretis qui prohibebant, perrupit intrepidus, ingressusque consistorium, ore et pectore libero docuit gesta; haeque fiducia linguis adulatorum oclusis, et praefectum et se discrimine gravi subtraxit.

8. Tunc illud apud Aquitanos evenit, quod latior fama vulgarat. Veterator quidam ad lautum convivium rogatus et mundum, qualia sunt in his regionibus plurima, cum vidisset linteorum toralium purpureos<sup>2</sup> clavos ita latissimos, ut sibi vicissim arte ministrantium cohaerent, mensamque operimentis paribus tectam, anteriorem chlamydis partem utraque manu vehens intrinsecus, structuram omnem ut amictus adornaverat principalis; quae res patrimonium dives evertit.

9. Malignitate simili quidam agens in rebus in Hispania ad cenam itidem invitatus, cum inferentes vespertina lumina pueros exclamasse audisset ex usu "vincamus," verbum sollemne<sup>3</sup> interpretatum atrociter delevit nobilem domum.

10. Haec taliaque ideo magis magisque crescebant, quod Constantius impendio timidus et de vita sollicitus,<sup>4</sup> semper se ferro peti<sup>5</sup> sperabat, ut Dionysius tyrannus ille Siciliae, qui ob hoc idem vitium

<sup>1</sup> qui cum eo . . . assistere, Novák; posse assistere veritatis et tale, V.      <sup>2</sup> purpureos, Günther; per duos, V.

<sup>3</sup> verbum, Her., sollemne, Lind.; perun (lac. 8 letters) lemne (lac. 11 letters), V.      <sup>4</sup> et . . . sollicitus, Novák

in lac. of 18 letters.      <sup>5</sup> ferro peti, Novák; feriri, EBG; ferri, V.

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<sup>1</sup>The *veterator* showed that the table decorations could be used for an imperial cloak, and implied that they had been so used.



fearlessly and, entering the council-chamber, with frank speech and bold heart told what had been done; and by this confidence having stopped the mouths of the flatterers, he delivered both the prefect and himself from a grave danger.

8. Then a thing happened in Aquitania which fame bruited more widely abroad. A crafty old fellow who was invited to a sumptuous and elegant banquet, such as are very frequent in that country, noticed that the purple borders of the linen couch-covers were so very broad that the skill of the attendants made them seem all one piece, and that the table was covered with similar cloths: and by turning the front part of his cloak inward with both hands, he so adorned its whole structure, that it resembled an emperor's garment<sup>1</sup>; and this action ruined a rich estate.

9. With like malice a certain member of the secret service in Spain, who also was invited to a dinner, when he heard the slaves who were bringing in the evening lights cry (as the manner is): "May we conquer."<sup>2</sup> he gave the expression a serious meaning, and wickedly destroyed a noble house.<sup>3</sup>

10. These and similar actions kept growing more and more common, for the reason that Constantius, who was excessively timid and fearful for his life, always anticipated that a knife was at his throat, like that famous Sicilian despot, Dionysius, who because

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the darkness, a formula at lighting up: cf. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* vi. 4, *Graeci quoque, cum lumen affertur, solent dicere φῶς ἀγαθόν*: *perun* (see crit. note) may possibly be for *pereundum est nocti*.

<sup>3</sup> *Vincamus* was interpreted as referring to some plot.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

et tonstrices docuit filias, necui alieno ora committeret leviganda, aedemque brevem, ubi cubitare sueverat, alta circumdedit fossa eamque ponte solubili superstravit, cuius disiectos asseres et axiculos secum in somnum abiens transferebat, eosdemque compaginabat, lucis initio processurus. 11. Inflabant itidem has malorum civilium bucinas potentes in regia, ea re ut damnatorum petita bona suis accorporarent, essetque materia per vicinitates eorum late grassandi. 12. Namque ut documenta liquida prodiderunt, proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus, sed eos medullis provinciarum saginavit Constantius. 13. Sub hoc enim ordinum singulorum auctores, infinita cupidine divitiarum arserunt, sine iustitiae distinctione vel recti, inter ordinarios iudices Rufinus primus praefectus praetorio, et inter militares equitum magister Arbetio, praepositusque cubiculi Eusebius,<sup>1</sup> . . . anus quaestor, et in urbe Anicii, quorum ad <sup>2</sup>avorum aemulationem posteritas tendens, satiari numquam potuit cum possessione multo maiore.

<sup>1</sup> *Eusebius*, Lind. ; *Lucillianus* (?), Val. ; *laps* (lac. 19 letters) *anus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *quorum ad*, Pet. ; *anicique* (lac. 27 letters) *uorum*, V.

of that same infirmity actually taught his daughters to be barbers, in order that he might not trust the shaving of his cheeks to an outsider ; and he surrounded the little house in which he used to sleep, with a deep trench and spanned it with a knock-down bridge,<sup>1</sup> the planks and pins of which he took apart and carried with him when he went off to bed ; and reassembled them at daybreak, when he was on his way out. 11. These trumpet-blasts of internal revolt<sup>2</sup> were likewise increased by powerful courtiers, to the end that they might lay claim to the property of condemned persons and incorporate it with their own, and thus have the means of encroaching widely on their neighbours. 12. For as clear proofs bore witness, the first of all to open the jaws of those nearest to him was Constantine, but it was Constantius who fattened them with the marrow of the provinces. 13. For under him the leading men of every rank were inflamed with a boundless eagerness for riches, without consideration for justice or right ; among the civil functionaries first came Rufinus, the praetorian prefect ; among the military, Arbetio, master of the horse, and the head-chamberlain Eusebius, . . . anus,<sup>3</sup> the quaestor, and in Rome itself the members of the Anician family, whose younger generation, striving to outdo their forefathers, could never be satisfied with even much greater possessions.

<sup>1</sup> That is, a bridge which could be taken apart.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. signs of coming disturbances in the state.

<sup>3</sup> Only the ending of the name has been preserved.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

### 9. *Agitur de pace cum Persis.*

1. At Persae in oriente per furta et latrocinia potius quam (ut solebant antea) per concursatorias pugnas, hominum praedas agitabant et pecorum, quas<sup>1</sup> non numquam lucrabantur ut repentini, aliquotiens superati multitudine militum amittebant, interdum nihil conspicerere<sup>2</sup> prorsus quod poterat rapi permittebantur. 2. Musonianus tamen praefectus praetorio, multis (ut ante diximus) bonis artibus eruditus, sed venalis et flecti a veritate pecunia facilis, per emissarios quosdam, fallendi perstringendique gnaros, Persarum scitabatur consilia, assumpto in deliberationes huius modi Cassiano Mesopotamiae duce, stipendiis et discriminibus indurato diversis. 3. Qui cum fide concinente speculatorum aperte cognossent Saporem in extremis regni limitibus, suorum sanguine fuso multiplici, aegre propulsare gentes infestas. Tamsaporem ducem parti nostrae contiguum, occultis per ignotos milites temptavere colloquiis, ut si copiam fors dedisset, suaderet regi per litteras pacem tandem aliquando cum principe Romano firmare, ut hoc facto ab occidentali latere omni<sup>3</sup> securus, perduelles involaret<sup>4</sup> assiduos. 4. Paruit Tamsapor, hisque fretus refert ad regem, quod bellis acerrimis Constantius implicatus, pacem postulat precativam. Dumque ad

<sup>1</sup> *quas*, C. F. W. Müller; *quis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *conspicere*, C. F. W. Müller (*con* from *cu* in *percumittebantur* of V): *prospicere*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ab occidentali latere omni* (*ab uno latere*, scripseram), Novák; *a latere damni*, Clark, Mommsen; *latere adomnis*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *involaret*, Novák; *aduolaret*, V.

9. *Negotiations for peace with the Persians.*

1. But the Persians in the East, rather by thieving and robbery than (as their former manner was) in set battles, kept driving off booty of men and animals; sometimes they were successful, being unexpected; again they lost, overmatched by the great number of our soldiers; occasionally they were not allowed to see anything at all which could be carried off. 2. None the less, Musonianus, the praetorian prefect, a man (as I have said before) gifted with many excellent accomplishments, but corrupt and easy to turn from the truth by a bribe, inquired into the designs of the Persians through emissaries of his who were adepts in deceit and incrimination; and he took into his counsels on this subject Cassianus, duke of Mesopotamia, who had been toughened by various campaigns and dangers. 3. When the two had certain knowledge from the unanimous reports of their scouts that Sapor, on the remotest frontiers of his realm, was with difficulty and with great bloodshed of his troops driving back hostile tribesmen, they made trial of Tamsipor, the commander nearest to our territory, in secret interviews through obscure soldiers, their idea being that, if chance gave an opportunity, he should by letter advise the king finally to make peace with the Roman emperor, in order that by so doing he might be secure on his whole western frontier and could rush upon his persistent enemies. 4. Tamsapor consented and relying on this information, reported to the king that Constantius, being involved in very serious wars, entreated and begged for peace.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Chionitas et Euseuos haec scripta mittuntur, in quorum confiniis agebat hiemem Sapor, tempus interstitit longum.

### 10. *Constantii Aug. militaris ac velut triumphalis in urbem Romam adventus.*

1. Haec dum per eas partes et Gallia pro captu temporum disponuntur, Constantius quasi cluso<sup>1</sup> Iani templo stratisque hostibus cunctis, Romam visere gesticbat, post Maguenti exitium absque nomine ex sanguine Romano triumphaturus. 2. Nec enim gentem ullam bella cientem per se superavit, aut victam fortitudine suorum comperit dueum, vel addidit quaedam imperio, aut usquam in necessitatibus summis primus vel inter primos est visus, sed ut pompam nimis extentam, rigentiaeque auro vexilla, et pulcritudinem stipatorum ostenderet agenti tranquillius populo, haec vel simile quicquam videre nec speranti unquam nec optanti. 3. Ignorans fortasse, quosdam veterum principum in pace quidem lictoribus fuisse contentos, ubi vero procliorum ardor nihil perpeti poterat segne, alium anhelante rabido flatu ventorum lenunculo se commisisse piscantis, alium ad Deciorum exempla vovisse pro re publica spiritum, alium

<sup>1</sup> *quasi cluso*, Her. ; *quam recluso*, V.

But while these communications were being sent to the Chionitæ and Euseni, in whose territories Sapor was passing the winter, a long time elapsed.

10. *Constantius Augustus in military attire and like a triumphator arrives in Rome.*

1. While these events were so being arranged in the Orient and in Gaul in accordance with the times, Constantius, as if the temple of Janus had been closed and all his enemies overthrown, was eager to visit Rome and after the death of Maguentius to celebrate, without a title, a triumph over Roman blood. 2. For neither in person did he vanquish any nation that made war upon him, nor learn of any conquered by the valour of his generals: nor did he add anything to his empire; nor at critical moments was he ever seen to be foremost, or among the foremost; but he desired to display an inordinately long procession, banners stiff with goldwork, and the splendour of his retinue, to a populace living in perfect peace and neither expecting nor desiring to see this or anything like it. 3. Perhaps he did not know that some of our ancient commanders in time of peace were satisfied with the attendance of their lictors; but when the heat of battle could tolerate no inaction, one, with the mad blast of the winds shrieking, entrusted himself to a fisherman's skiff;<sup>1</sup> another, after the example of the Decii, vowed his life for the commonwealth;<sup>2</sup> a third in his own person together with common soldiers explored the

<sup>1</sup> Julius Caesar; see Lucan, v. 533 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Claudius II., in the Gothic war.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

hostilia castra per semet ipsum cum militibus infinis explorasse, diversos denique actibus inclaruisse magnificis, ut glorias suas posteritatis celebri memoriae<sup>1</sup> commendarent.

4. Ut igitur multa quaeque consumpta sunt in apparatu regio, pro meritis cuilibet munera reddita,<sup>2</sup> secunda Orfiti praefectura, transcurso Oericulo, elatus honoribus magnis, stipatusque agminibus formidandis, tamquam acie ducebatur instructa, omnium oculis in eum<sup>3</sup> contuitu pertinaci intentis.

5. Cumque urbi propinquaret, senatus officia, reverendasque patriciae stirpis effigies, ore sereno contemplans, non ut Cineas ille Pyrrhi legatus, in unum coactam multitudinem regum, sed asylum mundi totius adesse existimabat.

6. Unde cum se vertisset ad plebem, stupebat qua celebritate<sup>4</sup> omne quod ubique est hominum genus confluerit Romam. Et tamquam Euphraten armorum specie territurus aut Rhenum, altrinsecus praecedentibus signis, insidebat aureo solus ipse carpento, fulgenti claritudine lapidum variorum, quo micante lux quaedam misceri videbatur alterna.

7. Eumque post antegressos multiplices alios, purpureis subtegminibus texti, circumdedere dracones, hastarum aureis gemmatisque summitatibus illigati, hiatu vasto perflabiles, et ideo velut ira perciti sibilantes, caudarumque volumina relinquentes in ventum.

8. Et

<sup>1</sup> *memoriae*, Kiessling; *memoria*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *regio* . . .  
*reddita*, BG in lac. of 17 letters.      <sup>3</sup> *eum*, Bentley,  
 Günther; *eo*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *celebritate*, Bentley; *celeritate*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Galerius Maximianus, who in person reconnoitred the Persian camp.      <sup>2</sup> The imperial standards.



enemy's camp;<sup>1</sup> in short, various among them became famous through splendid deeds, so that they commended their glories to the frequent remembrance of posterity.

4. So soon, then, as much had been disbursed in regal preparation, and every sort of man had been rewarded according to his services, in the second prefecture of Orfitus he passed through Ocriculi, elated with his great honours and escorted by formidable troops; he was conducted, so to speak, in battle array and everyone's eyes were riveted upon him with fixed gaze. 5. And when he was nearing the city, as he beheld with calm countenance the dutiful attendance of the senate and the august likenesses of the patrician stock, he thought, not like Cineas, the famous envoy of Pyrrhus, that a throng of kings was assembled together, but that the sanctuary of the whole world was present before him. 6. And when he turned from them to the populace, he was amazed to see in what crowds men of every type had flocked from all quarters to Rome. And as if he were planning to overawe the Euphrates with a show of arms, or the Rhine, while the standards preceded him on each side, he himself sat alone upon a golden car in the resplendent blaze of various precious stones, whose mingled glitter seemed to form a sort of second daylight. 7. And behind the manifold others that preceded him he was surrounded by dragons,<sup>2</sup> woven out of purple thread and bound to the golden and jewelled tops of spears, with wide mouths open to the breeze and hence hissing as if roused by anger, and leaving their tails winding in the wind. 8. And there marched on either side

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

incedebat hinc inde ordo geminus armatorum, clipeatus atque cristatus, corusco lumine radians, nitidis loriceis indutus, sparsisque cataphracti equites (quos clibanarios dictitant) personati thoracum muniti tegminibus, et limbis ferreis cincti, ut Praxitelis manu polita crederes simulacra, non viros; quos laminarum circuli tenues, apti corporis flexibus ambicbant, per omnia membra diducti, ut quocumque artus necessitas commovisset, vestitus congrueret, iunctura cohaerenter aptata. 9. Augustus itaque faustis vocibus appellatus, non montium<sup>1</sup> litorumque intonante fragore cohorrui, talem se tamque immobilem, qualis in provinciis suis visebatur, ostendens. 10. Nam et corpus perhumile curvabat portas ingrediens celsas, et velut collo munito, rectam aciem luminum tendens, nec dextra vultum nec laeva flectebat et<sup>2</sup> (tamquam figmentum hominis) nec<sup>3</sup> cum rota concuteret nutans, nec spuens, aut os aut nasum tergens vel fricans, manumve agitans visus est umquam. 11. Quae licet affectabat, erant tamen haec et alia quaedam in ceteriore vita, patientiae non mediocris indicia, ut existimari dabatur, uni illi concessae. 12. Quod autem per omne tempus imperii, nec in consessum vehiculi quemquam suscepit, nec in trabea socium privatum asscivit, ut fecere principes consecrati, et similia multa elatus in arduum super-

<sup>1</sup> *appellatus*, EG; *non*, added by Her.; *montium*, Val.; *apella* (lac. 10 letters) *otium*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *et*, added by Clark; V omits; asyndeton def. Heilmann.      <sup>3</sup> *nec*, Clark; *nam*, V; *non*, AG.

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<sup>1</sup> Cuirassiers; the word is derived from *κλιβανος*, "oven," and means entirely encased in iron; see Index of Officials, or Index II.

twin lines of infantrymen with shields and crests gleaming with glittering light, clad in shining mail; and scattered among them were the full-armoured cavalry (whom they call *clibanarii*).<sup>1</sup> all masked, furnished with protecting breastplates and girt with iron belts, so that you might have supposed them statues polished by the hand of Praxiteles, not men. Thin circles of iron plates, fitted to the curves of their bodies, completely covered their limbs; so that whichever way they had to move their members, their garment fitted, so skilfully were the joinings made. 9. Accordingly, being saluted as Augustus with favouring shouts, while hills and shores thundered out the roar, he never stirred, but showed himself as calm and imperturbable as he was commonly seen in his provinces. 10. For he both stooped when passing through lofty gates (although he was very short), and as if his neck were in a vise, he kept the gaze of his eyes straight ahead, and turned his face neither to right nor to left, but (as if he were a lay figure) neither did he nod when the wheel jolted nor was he ever seen to spit, or to wipe or rub his face or nose, or move his hands about. 11. And although this was affectation on his part, yet these and various other features of his more intimate life were tokens of no slight endurance, granted to him alone, as was given to be understood. 12. Furthermore, that during the entire period of his reign he neither took up anyone to sit beside him in his car, nor admitted any private person to be his colleague in the insignia of the consulship, as other anointed princes did, and many like habits which in his pride of lofty conceit he observed as

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

cilium. tamquam leges acquissimas observavit, praetereo. memor ea me rettulisse cum incidissent.

13. Proinde Romam ingressus imperii virtutumque omnium larem. cum venisset ad rostra. perspicitissimum priscae potentiae forum, obstipuit, perque omne latus quo se oculi contulissent, miraculorum densitate praestricus, allocutus nobilitatem in curia. populumque e<sup>1</sup> tribunali. in palatium receptus favore multiplici, laetitia fruebatur optata, et saepe. cum equestres ederet ludos, dicacitate plebis oblectabatur, nec superbae nec a libertate coalita desciscentis. reverenter modum ipse quoque debitum servans. 14. Non enim (ut per civitates alias) ad arbitrium suum certamina finire patiebatur, sed (ut mos est) variis casibus permittebat. Deinde intra septem montium culmina, per acclivitates planitiemque posita urbis membra collustrans et suburbana, quicquid viderat<sup>2</sup> primum, id eminere inter alia cuncta sperabat: Iovis Tarpei delubra, quantum terrenis divina praecellunt; lavaera in modum provinciarum exstructa: amphitheatri molem solidatam lapidis Tiburtini compage, ad cuius summitatem aegre visio humana conscendit; Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam; elatosque vertices qui<sup>3</sup> scansili<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *c.*, Val.; *pro.*, BG; V omits.

<sup>2</sup> *viderat*, Val.:

*erat*, V. <sup>3</sup> *qui*, added by Novák.

<sup>4</sup> *vertice scansili*, G;

*vertices rasilii*, B; *u. s.*, Lind; *u. cassili*, V.

though they were most just laws, I pass by, remembering that I set them down when they occurred.

13. So then he entered Rome, the home of empire and of every virtue, and when he had come to the Rostra, the most renowned forum of ancient dominion, he stood amazed; and on every side on which his eyes rested he was dazzled by the array of marvellous sights. He addressed the nobles in the senate-house and the populace from the tribunal, and being welcomed to the palace with manifold attentions, he enjoyed a longed-for pleasure; and on several occasions, when holding equestrian games, he took delight in the sallies of the commons, who were neither presumptuous nor regardless of their old-time freedom, while he himself also respectfully observed the due mean. 14. For he did not (as in the case of other cities) permit the contests to be terminated at his own discretion, but left them (as the custom is) to various chances. Then, as he surveyed the sections of the city and its suburbs, lying within the summits of the seven hills, along their slopes, or on level ground, he thought that whatever first met his gaze towered above all the rest: the sanctuaries of Tarpeian Jove so far surpassing as things divine excel those of earth; the baths built up in the manner of provinces; the huge bulk of the amphitheatre, strengthened by its framework of Tiburtine stone,<sup>1</sup> to whose top human eyesight barely ascends; the Pantheon like a rounded city-district,<sup>2</sup> vaulted over in lofty

<sup>1</sup> Travertine.

<sup>2</sup> *Regio* here refers to one of the regions, or districts, into which the city was divided.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

suggestu consurgunt, priorum principum imitamenta portantes, et Urbis templum forumque Pacis, et Pompei theatrum et Odeum et Stadium, aliaque inter haec decora urbis aeternae. 15. Verum cum ad Traiani forum venisset, singularem sub omni caelo structuram, ut <sup>1</sup> opinamur, etiam numinum assensione mirabilem, haerebat attonitus, per giganteos contextus circumferens mentem, nec relatu effabiles, nec rursus mortalibus appetendos. Omni itaque spe huius modi quicquam conandi depulsa. Traiani equum solum, locatum in atrii medio, qui ipsum principem vehit, imitari se velle dicebat et posse. 16. Cui prope adstans regalis Ormisda, cuius e Perside discessum supra monstravimus, respondit astu gentili: "Ante" inquit "imperator, stabulum tale condi iubeto, si vales; equus <sup>2</sup> quem fabricare disponis, ita late succedat, ut iste quem videmus." Is ipse interrogatus quid

<sup>1</sup> *et ut*, Her.

<sup>2</sup> *ut equus*, Her.

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<sup>1</sup> The columns of Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. The platform at the top was reached by a stairway within the column.

<sup>2</sup> The double temple of Venus and Roma, built by Hadrian on the Velia and dedicated in A.D. 135.

<sup>3</sup> The Forum Pacis, or Vespasiani, was begun by Vespasian in A.D. 71, after the taking of Jerusalem, and dedicated in 75. It lay behind the basilica Aemilia.

<sup>4</sup> Built in 55 B.C. in the Campus Martius.

<sup>5</sup> A building for musical performances, erected by Domitian, probably near his Stadium.

<sup>6</sup> The Stadium of Domitian in the Campus Martius, the shape and size of which is almost exactly preserved by the modern Piazza Navona.

beauty ; and the exalted columns which rise with platforms to which one may mount, and hear the likenesses of former emperors ;<sup>1</sup> the Temple of the City,<sup>2</sup> the Forum of Peace.<sup>3</sup> the Theatre of Pompey,<sup>4</sup> the Odeum,<sup>5</sup> the Stadium.<sup>6</sup> and in their midst the other adornments of the Eternal City. 15. But when he came to the Forum of Trajan, a construction unique under the heavens, as we believe, and admirable even in the unanimous opinion of the gods, he stood fast in amazement, turning his attention to the gigantic complex about him, begging description and never again to be imitated by mortal men. Therefore abandoning all hope of attempting anything like it, he said that he would and could copy Trajan's steed alone, which stands in the centre of the vestibule, carrying the emperor himself. 16. To this prince Ormisda, who was standing near him, and whose departure from Persia I have described above,<sup>7</sup> replied with native wit : " First, Sire," said he, " command a like stable to be built, if you can ; let the steed which you propose to create range as widely as this which we see." When Ormisda was asked directly what he thought of Rome, he said that he took comfort<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In 323 (Zosimus, ii. 27) ; hence in one of the lost books of Ammianus.

<sup>8</sup> Valesius read *displicuisse*, and was followed by Gibbon. Robert Heron (pseudonym of John Pinkerton) in *Letters of Literature* (London, 1789), xii., p. 68, discusses this remark at some length, disagreeing with Gibbon. He thinks that " the prince's envy at the pleasures of the inhabitants of Rome could only be moderated by the reflection that their pleasures were transitory."

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

de Roma sentiret. id tantum sibi placuisse aiebat, quod didicisset ibi quoque homines mori. 17. Multis igitur cum stupore visis horrendo. imperator de<sup>1</sup> fama querebatur. ut invalida vel maligna,<sup>2</sup> quod augens omnia semper in maius, erga haec explicanda quae Romae sunt obsolescit, deliberansque diu quid ibi<sup>3</sup> ageret, urbis addere statuit ornamentis, ut in maximo<sup>4</sup> circo erigeret obeliscum, cuius originem formamque loco competenti monstrabo.

18. Inter haec Helenae sorori Constanti, Iuliani coniugi Caesaris, Romam affectionis specie ductae, regina tunc insidiabatur Eusebia. ipsa quoad vixerat sterilis, quaesitumque venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quotienscumque concepisset, immaturum abiceret partum. 19. Nam et pridem in Galliis, cum marem genuisset infantem, hoc perdidit dolo, quod obstetrix corrupta mercede, mox<sup>5</sup> natum, praesecto plus quam convenerat umbilico, necavit; tanta tamque diligens opera navabatur, ne fortissimi viri soboles appareret.

20. Cupiens itaque augustissima omnium sede morari diutius imperator. ut otio puriore frueretur et voluptate, assiduis nuntiis terrebatur et certis, indicantibus Suebos Raetias incursare. Quadosque

<sup>1</sup> *imperator de*, AG; *imperator in*, Gronov; *imperatorii*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *maligna*, A; *magna*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *quid ibi*, suggested by Clark; *quid*, E<sup>2</sup> BG; V omits.      <sup>4</sup> *maximo*, E<sup>2</sup>, Val.; *proximo*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *mox*, V, cf. Columella, iii. 20, 4; *molo*, Dausté.



in this fact alone, that he had learned that even there men were mortal. 17. So then, when the emperor had viewed many objects with awe and amazement, he complained of Fame as either incapable or spiteful, because while always exaggerating everything, in describing what there is in Rome, she becomes shabby. And after long deliberation what he should do there, he determined to add to the adornments of the city by erecting in the Circus Maximus an obelisk, the provenance and figure of which I shall describe in the proper place.<sup>1</sup>

18. Meanwhile Constantius' sister Helena, wife of Julian Caesar, had been brought to Rome under pretence of affection, but the reigning queen, Eusebia, was plotting against her; she herself had been childless all her life, and by her wiles she coaxed Helena to drink a rare potion, so that as often as she was with child she should have a miscarriage. 19. For once before, in Gaul, when she had borne a baby boy, she lost it through this machination: a midwife had been bribed with a sum of money, and as soon as the child was born cut the umbilical cord more than was right, and so killed it; such great pains and so much thought were taken that this most valiant man might have no heir.

20. Now the emperor desired to remain longer in this most majestic abode of all the world, to enjoy freer repose and pleasure; but he was alarmed by constant trustworthy reports, stating that the Suebi were raiding Raetia and the Quadri Valeria,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> xvii. 4, 6 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A division of Pannonia, named from Valeria daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius; see xix. 11, 4.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Valeriam, et Sarmatas, latrocinandi peritissimum genus. superiorem Moesiam et secundam populari Pannoniam; quibus pereitus tricensimo postquam ingressus est die, quartum kal. Iunias ab urbe profectus, per Tridentum iter in Illyricum festinavit. 21. Unde misso in locum Marcelli Severo, bellorum usu et maturitate firmato, Ursicinum ad se venire praecepit. Et ille litteris gratanter acceptis, Sirmium venit, comitantibus sociis.<sup>1</sup> libratisque diu super pace consiliis, quam fundari posse cum Persis Musonianus rettulerat, in orientem cum magisterii remittitur potestate, proVectis e consortio nostro ad regendos milites natu maioribus. adolescentes eum sequi iubemur. quicquid pro re publica mandaverit impleturi.

11. *Julianus Caesar Alamannos in insulis Rheni. quo se et sua receperant. aggreditur. et Tres Tabernas adversus eos reparat.*

I. At Caesar exacta apud Senonas hieme turbulenta. Augusto novies seque iterum consule. Germanicis undique circumfremantibus minis, secundis ominibus motus, Remos properavit alaerior, magisque laetus quod exercitum regebat Severus, nec

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<sup>1</sup> *sociis*, BG : *solis* (lac.), Clark : *solis*, V.

<sup>2</sup> Trent.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1, p. 122; modern Sirmisch.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 7, 1, above.

while the Sarmatians, a tribe most accomplished in brigandage, were laying waste Upper Moesia and Lower Pannonia. Excited by this news, on the thirtieth day after entering Rome he left the city on May 29th. and marched rapidly into Illyricum by way of Tridentum.<sup>1</sup> 21. From there he sent Severus, a general toughened by long military experience, to succeed Marcellus, and ordered Ursicinus to come to him. The latter received the letter with joy and came to Sirmium<sup>2</sup> with his companions; and after long deliberations about the peace which Musonius had reported might be established with the Persians, Ursicinus was sent back to the Orient with the powers of commander-in-chief; the elder members of our company were promoted to the command of his soldiers, while we younger men were directed to escort him and be ready to perform whatever he should direct on behalf of the commonwealth.

11. *Julianus Caesar attacks the Alamanni on the islands of the Rhine, to which they had fled with their belongings, and refits Tres Tabernae against them.*

1. But Julianus Caesar, after having passed a troubled winter at Sens,<sup>3</sup> in the year when the emperor was consul for the ninth time and he for the second, with the threats from the Germans thundering on every side, set out with favourable omens and hastened to Rheims. He felt the greater eagerness and pleasure because Severus was commanding the army, a man neither insubordinate nor overbearing

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

discors nec arrogans, sed longa militiae frugalitate compertus, et cum recta praecedentem secutus,<sup>1</sup> ut ductorem morigerus<sup>2</sup> miles. 2. Parte alia Barbatio, post Silvani interitum promotus ad peditum magistrum, ex Italia iussu principis cum XXV milibus armatorum Rauracos venit. 3. Cogitatum est enim, solliciteque praestructum, ut saevientes ultra solitum Alamanni vagantesque fusius, multitudine geminata nostrorum, forcipis specie, trusi in angustias caederentur. 4. Dum haec tamen rite disposita celerantur, Laeti barbari ad tempestiva furta sollertes, inter utriusque exercitus castra occulte transgressi, invasere Lugdunum incautam, eamque populatam vi subita<sup>3</sup> concremassent, ni clausis aditibus repercussi, quicquid extra oppidum potuit inveniri vastassent. 5. Qua elade cognita, agili studio Caesar missis cuneis tribus equitum expeditorum et fortium, tria observavit itinera, sciens per ea erupturos procul dubio grassatores; nec conatus ei insidiantis<sup>4</sup> irritus fuit. 6. Cunctis enim qui per eos tramites exiere truncatis, receptaque praeda omni intacta, hi soli innoxii absoluti sunt, qui per vallum Barbationis transiere securi, ideo labi permissi, quod Bainobaudes tribunus, et Valentinianus postea

<sup>1</sup> *secutus*, Clark, c.c.; *secuturus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *morigerus*, Petavius; *morigerum*, EBG; *morigerum*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *subita*, Hermann; *summa*, Gronov; *uisu* (lac. 8 letters) *aconcremassent*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *ei insidiantis*, Novák; *neco* (V<sup>2</sup> in lac. 9 letters) *inanti*, V.

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<sup>1</sup>The *forceps* or *forfex* was a military formation with diverging wings for meeting and baffling a *cuneus*; cf. Vegetius, iii, 19, *nam ex lectissimis militibus in V litteram*

but well known for his long excellent record in the army, who had followed Julian as he advanced straight ahead, as an obedient soldier follows his general. 2. From another direction Barbatio, who had been promoted after Silvanus' death to the command of the infantry, came from Italy at the emperor's order with twenty-five thousand soldiers to Augst. 3. For it was planned and carefully arranged beforehand that the Alamanni, who were raging beyond their customary manner and ranging more afield, should be driven into straits as if with a pair of pliers<sup>1</sup> by twin forces of our soldiers, and cut to pieces. 4. But while these well-laid plans were being hurried on, the Laeti, a savage tribe skilled in seasonable raids, passed secretly between the encampments of both armies and made an unlooked for attack on Lyons ; and with their sudden onset they would have sacked and burned the town, had they not been driven back from the closed gates but made havoc of whatever they could find outside the town. 5. This disaster was no sooner known than Caesar, with quick grasp of the situation, sent three squadrons of strong light cavalry and watched three roads, knowing that the raiders would doubtless burst forth by them ; and his ambushade was not in vain. 6. For all who passed out by those roads were butchered and all their booty recovered intact, and only those escaped unharmed who made their way undisturbed past the rampart of Barbatio ; being allowed so to slip by because Bainobaudes, the tribune,

*ordo componitur, et illum cuneum excipit atque utraque parte concludit.* The open part of the V of course faced the enemy. Here *forceps* is perhaps used in its literal sense.

imperator, cum equestribus turmis quas regebant, ad exsequendum id ordinati, a Cella tribuno scutari-  
orum, qui Barbationi sociatus venerat ad proeinctum, iter observare sunt vetiti, unde redituros didicere Germanos. 7. Quo non contentus, magister peditu-  
m ignavus et gloriarum Iuliani pervicax obtrec-  
tator, sciens se id contra utilitatem Romanae rei<sup>1</sup> iussisse—hoc enim cum argueretur, Cella confessus est—relatione fefellit Constantium, fluxitque hos eosdem tribunos, ad sollicitandos milites quos duxerat per speciem venisse negotii publici; qua causa abrogata potestate ad lares rediere privati.

8. Eisdem diebus, exercituum adventu perterriti barbari, qui domicilia fixere eis Rhenum, partim difficiles vias et suapte natura clivosas, concaedibus clausere sollerter, arboribus immensi roboris caesis; alii occupatis insulis sparsis crebro per flumen Rhenum, ferum<sup>2</sup> ululantes et lugubre. conviciis Romanos inessebant et Caesarem; qui graviore motu animi percitus, ad corripandos aliquos septem a Barbatione petierat naves, ex his quas velut transiturus amnem ad compaginandos paraverat pontes;

<sup>1</sup> *Romanae rei*, Mommsen; *Romanam*, W<sup>2</sup> G; *Romaniae*, V. <sup>2</sup> *ferum*, added by Schneider; in place of *Rhenum*, Heraeus, c.c.; V omits.

and Valentinian, afterwards emperor, who with the cavalry troops they commanded had been ordered to attend to that matter, were forbidden by Cella, tribune of the targeteers, who had come to the campaign as Barbatio's colleague, to watch the road over which they were informed that the Germans would return. 7. And not content with that, the infantry commander, who was a coward and a persistent detractor of Julian's reputation, knowing that what he had ordered was against the interests of the Roman cause (for when Cella was charged with this, he confessed it), deceived Constantius in his report and pretended that these same tribunes had come, under the pretext of public business, to tamper with the soldiers whom he had been commanding; and for that reason they were cashiered and returned to their homes in a private capacity.

8. At that same time the savages who had established their homes on our side of the Rhine, were alarmed by the approach of our armies, and some of them skilfully blocked the roads (which are difficult and naturally of heavy grades) by barricades of felled trees of huge size; others, taking possession of the islands which are scattered in numbers along the course of the Rhine, with wild and mournful cries heaped insults upon the Romans and Caesar. Whereupon he was inflamed with a mighty outburst of anger, and in order to catch some of them, asked Barbatio for seven of the ships which he had got ready for building bridges with the intention of crossing the river; but Barbatio burned them all, in order that he might be unable

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

qui. nequid per eum impetraretur. omnes incendit. 9. Doctus denique exploratorum delatione recens captorum, aestate iam torrida fluvium vado posse transiri, hortatus auxiliares velites cum Bainobaude Cornutorum misit tribuno,<sup>1</sup> facinus memorabile si iuvisset fors patraturus, qui nunc incedendo per brevia, aliquotiens scutis in modum alveorum suppositis, nando ad insulam venire propinquam, egressisque promiscue virile et muliebre secus sine aetatis ullo discrimine trucidabant ut pœudes, nantique vacuas lintres. per eas licet vacillantes evecti, huius modi loca plurima perruperunt, et ubi caedendi satias cepit, opimitate praedarum onusti, cuius partem vi fluminis amiserunt, rediere omnes incolumes. 10. Hocque comperto, residui Germani, ut infido praesidio insularum relicto, ad ulteriora necessitudines et fruges opesque barbaricas contulerunt. 11. Conversus hinc Iulianus ad reparandas Tres Tabernas (munimentum ita cognominatum,) haut ita dudum obstinatione subversum hostili, quo aedificato constabat ad intima Galliarum (ut consueverant) adire Germanos arceri, et opus spe celerius consummavit, et victum defensoribus ibi locandis, ex barbaricis messibus non sine discriminis metu collectum militis manu, condidit ad usus anni totius. 12. Nec sane hoc solo contentus, sibi

<sup>1</sup> *misit tribuno*, tr. by Heilmann; *tribuno dimisit*, Clark, c.c.; *misit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xiv. 2, 10, *cavatis arborum truncis*; xxxi. 4, 5, *navibus ratibusque et cavatis arborum alveis*.

<sup>2</sup> The Three Taverns; modern Savernes, Germ. Rhein-zabern.



to give any help. 9. Finally Julian, learning from the report of some scouts just captured, that now in the heat of summer the river could be forded, with words of encouragement sent the light-armed auxiliaries with Bainobaudes, tribune of the Cornuti, to perform a memorable feat, if fortune would favour them; and they, now wading through the shallows, now swimming on their shields, which they put under them like canoes,<sup>1</sup> came to a neighbouring island and landing there they butchered everyone they found, men and women alike, without distinction of age, like so many sheep. Then, finding some empty boats, they rowed on in these, unsteady as they were, and raided a large number of such places; and when they were sated with slaughter, loaded down with a wealth of booty (a part of which they lost through the force of the current) they all came back safe and sound. 10. And the rest of the Germans, on learning of this, abandoned the islands as an unsafe refuge and carried off into the interior their families, their grain, and their rude treasures. 11. From here Julian turned aside to repair the fortress called Tres Tabernas,<sup>2</sup> destroyed not long before by the enemy's obstinate assault, the rebuilding of which ensured that the Germans could not approach the interior of Gaul, as they had been wont to do. And he both finished this work sooner than was expected and, for the garrison that was to be stationed there, he stored up food for the needs of a whole year, gathered together by the hands of the soldiers, not without fear of danger, from the savages' crops. 12. And not content with that alone, he gathered for

quoque viginti dierum alimenta parata collegit. Libentius enim bellatores quaesito dexteris propriis utebantur, admodum indignati, quoniam ex com-  
 meatu, qui eis recens advectus est, ideo nihil sumere potuerunt, quod partem eius Barbatio, cum transiret iuxta, superbe praesumpsit; residuumque quod<sup>1</sup> superfuit congestum in acervum exussit, quae utrum ut vanus gerebat et demens, an mandatu principis confidenter nefanda multa<sup>2</sup> temptabat,<sup>3</sup> usque in id temporis latuit. 13. Illud tamen rumore tenus ubique iactabatur, quod Iulianus non levaturus incommoda Galliarum electus est, sed ut possit per bella deleri saevissima, rudis etiam tum ut existimabatur, et ne sonitum quidem duraturus armorum. 14. Dum castrorum opera<sup>4</sup> mature consurgit,<sup>5</sup> militisque pars stationes praetendit agrarias, alia frumenta insidiarum metu colligit caute, multitudo barbarica rumorem nimia velocitate praeversa, Barbationem cum exercitu quem regebat (ut praedictum est) Gallico vallo discretum impetu repentino aggressa, sequensque fugientes ad usque Rauracos et ultra quoad potuit, rapta sarcinarum et iumentorum cum calonibus parte maxima redit ad suos.<sup>6</sup> 15. Et ille tamquam expeditione eventu prospero terminata, milite disperso per stationes hibernas, ad comitatum imperatoris revertit, crimen compositurus in Caesarem (ut solebat).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -que quod, Günther (*quod*, EBG); *quae*, V.      <sup>2</sup> multa, E<sup>2</sup> G; *ut multi*, Her.; *multi*, V.      <sup>3</sup> temptabat, Her.; *tentabant*, Val.; *temptabatus que tamen*, added by V<sup>2</sup> in margin.      <sup>4</sup> castrorum opus militum opera, Mommsen.      <sup>5</sup> consurgit, V; *consurgunt*, G.      <sup>6</sup> lac. 13 letters at end of page, V.      <sup>7</sup> lac. 6 letters at end of line, V; *graviter semper incessens*, BG.

himself also rations to serve for twenty days. For the warriors the more willingly made use of what they had won by their own right hands, being greatly incensed because from the supplies which had just been brought them they could get nothing, since Barbatio had arrogantly appropriated a part of them, when they were passing near him ; and piled what remained over in a heap and burned it. Whether he did this like an empty-headed fool, or at the emperor's bidding brazenly perpetrated his many abominable acts, has remained obscure up to this time. 13. However, it was current rumour everywhere, that Julian was not chosen to relieve the distress of Gaul, but that he might meet his death in the cruellest of wars, being even then (as it was thought) inexperienced and one who could not stand even the clash of arms. 14. While the fortifications of the camp were rapidly rising and part of the soldiers were garrisoning the country posts, part gathering in grain warily for fear of ambush, a horde of savages, outstripping by their extraordinary speed any rumour of their coming, with a sudden attack set upon Barbatio and the army he commanded, which was (as has been said) separated from the Gallic camp ; and they followed them in their flight as far as Augst, and as much farther as they could ; then, after seizing the greater part of his baggage and pack-animals, together with the camp-followers, they returned home again. 15. And Barbatio, as if he had ended the campaign successfully, distributed his soldiers in winter quarters and returned to the emperor's court, to frame some charge against Caesar, as was his custom.

12. *Iulianus C. vii Alamannorum reges Galliam incubantes aggreditur, et barbaros apud Argentoratum acie fundit.*

1. Quo dispalato foedo terrore, Alamannorum reges Chonodomarius et Vestralpus, Urius quin etiam et Ursicinus, cum Serapione et Suomario et Hortario, in unum robore virium suarum omni collecto, bellicumque canere bucinis iussis, venire<sup>1</sup> prope urbem Argentoratum, extrema metuentem Caesarem arbitrati retrocessisse, cum ille tum<sup>2</sup> etiam perficiendi munimenti studio stringeretur. 2. Erexit autem confidentiam caput altius attollentum scutarius perfuga, qui commissi criminis metuens poenam, transgressus ad eos post ducis fugati discessum, armatorum tredecim milia tantum remansisse cum Iuliano docebat—is enim numerus eum sequebatur—barbara feritate certaminum rabiem undique concitante. 3. Cuius asseveratione eadem subinde replicantis, ad maiora stimulati fiducia, missis legatis, satis pro imperio Caesari mandaverunt, ut terris abscederet virtute sibi quaesitis et ferro; qui ignarus pavendi, nec ira nec dolore percussus, sed fastus barbaricos ridens, tentis legatis ad usque perfectum opus castrorum, in eodem gradu constantiae stetit immobilis.

<sup>1</sup> *canere bucinis iussis*, Novák; *canentibus bucinis uenere*, Her.; *belli. cumque foedere*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *tum*, Val.; *dum*, V.

12. *Julianus Caesar attacks the seven kings of the Alamanni, who were oppressing the Gauls, and routs the savages in a battle at Argentoratum (Strasburg).*

1. When this disgraceful panic had been spread abroad, the kings of the Alamanni, Chonodomarius and Vestralpus, as well as Urius and Ursicinus, together with Serapion and Suomarius and Hortarius, collected all the flower of their forces in one spot and having ordered the horns to sound the war-note, approached the city of Strasburg, thinking that Caesar had retired through fear of the worst, whereas he was even then busily employed in his project of completing the fort. 2. Moreover, as they tossed their heads proudly, their confidence was increased by a deserter from the targeteers; who, in fear of punishment for a crime he had committed, went over to them after the departure of his defeated leader, and informed them that only thirteen thousand soldiers had stayed with Julian; and in fact that was the number of his followers, while savage ferocity was arousing the frenzy of battle on every side. 3. Through this deserter's frequent repetition of that statement their confidence was raised still higher: they sent delegates to Caesar and imperiously enough commanded him to depart from the lands which they had won by valour and the sword. But he, a stranger to fear, neither lost his temper nor felt aggrieved, but laughing at the presumption of the savages, he detained the envoys until the work of fortification was ended and remained steadfast in the same attitude of resolution.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

4. Agitabat autem miscebatque omnia. sine modo ubique sese diffunditans, et princeps audendi periculosa, rex Chonodomarius, ardua subrigens supercilia, ut saepe secundis rebus elatus. 5. Nam et Decentium Caesarem superavit, aequo Marte congressus, et civitates erutas multas vastavit et opulentas, licentiusque diu nullo refragante Gallias persultavit. Ad cuius roborandam fiduciam, recens quoque fuga ducis accessit, numero praestantis et viribus. 6. Alamanni enim scutorum insignia contuentes, norant eos milites permisisse paucis suorum latronibus terram, quorum metu aliquotiens, antequam<sup>1</sup> gradum conferrent, amissis pluribus abiere dispersi. Quae anxie ferebat sollicitus Caesar, quod trudente ipsa necessitate, digresso periculi socio,<sup>2</sup> cum paucis (licet fortibus) populosis gentibus occurrere cogebatur.

7. Iamque solis radiis rutilantibus, tubarumque concinente clangore, pedestres copiae lentis incessibus educuntur, earumque lateri equestres iunctae<sup>3</sup> sunt turmae. inter quas cataphractarii erant et sagittarii, formidabile genus armorum. 8. Et quoniam a loco, unde Romana promota sunt signa, ad usque vallum barbaricum quarta leuga signabatur et decima, id est unum et viginti milia passuum, utilitati securitatisque recte consulens Caesar, revocatis procuratoribus<sup>4</sup> iam antegressis, indictaque

<sup>1</sup> *antequam*. C. F. W. Müller, Haupt.: *inaliquam*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *periculi socio*, Günther, Mommsen (*s.p.*, Madvig); *periculis*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *iunctae*, E. C. F. W. Müller: *cunctae*, V.  
<sup>4</sup> *procuratoribus*, Her.; *praecursoribus*. BG: *praecursoribus*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, Barbatio.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1. p. 206.

4. Now King Chonodomarius was raising general disturbance and confusion, making his presence felt everywhere without limit, a leader in dangerous enterprises, lifting up his brows in pride, being as he was conceited over frequent successes. 5. For he both met Decentius Caesar on equal terms and defeated him, and had destroyed and sacked many wealthy cities, and for a long time freely overran Gaul without opposition. To strengthen his confidence, there was added besides the recent rout of a general superior in numbers and strength.<sup>1</sup> 6. For the Alamanni, on seeing the devices of their shields, realised that these soldiers, who had given ground before a few of their brigands, were the men in fear of whom they had at times in the past scattered and fled with heavy losses, before coming to close quarters. All this caused Julian worry and anxiety, because at the instance of urgent necessity, with the partner of his danger gone, he was forced with only a few (though brave) troops to meet swarming tribes.

7. Already the beams of the sun were reddening the sky, and the blare of the trumpets was sounding in unison, when the infantry forces were led out at a moderate pace, and to their flank were joined the squadrons of cavalry, among whom were the cuirassiers<sup>2</sup> and the archers, a formidable branch of the service. 8. And since from the place where the Roman standards had begun advancing, the distance to the enemy's camp was figured to be fourteen leagues—that is, twenty-one miles—Caesar had proper regard for both advantage and security, and having recalled his outposts, who had already

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

solitis vocibus quiete, cuneatim circumstantes alloquitur, genuina placiditate sermonis :

9. “ Urget ratio salutis tuendae communis, ut parcissime dicam, non iacentis animi Caesarem hortari vos et orare,—commilitones mei—ut adulta robustaque vitute confisi, cautiorem viam potius eligamus, ad toleranda vel ad depellenda quae sperantur, non praeproperam et ancipitem. 10. Ut enim in periculis iuventutem impigram esse convenit et audacem, ita (cum res postulat) regibilem et consultam. Quid igitur censeo, si arbitrium affuerit vestrum, iustaque sustinet indignatio, paucis absolvam. 11. Iam dies in meridiem vergit, lassitudine nos itineris fatigatos, scrupulosi tramites excipient et obscuri, nox senescente luna nullis sideribus adiuvanda, terrae protinus aestu flagrantem, nullis aquarum subsidiis fultae; quae si dederit quisquam commode posse transiri, ruentibus hostium examinibus post otium cibique refectionem et potus, quid nos agamus? <sup>1</sup> Quo vigore inedia siti laboreque membris marcentibus occurramus? 12. Ergo quoniam negotiis difficillimis quoque <sup>2</sup> saepe dispositio tempestitiva prospexit, et statum nutantium rerum, recto consilio in bonam partem accepto, aliquotiens divina remedia repararunt. hic quaeso

<sup>1</sup> *agamus*, Clark, c.c. ; *agimus*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *quoque* before *saepe*.  
Her. ; *q.* before *Ergo*, V.



gone ahead, and having proclaimed silence by the usual announcements, with his native calmness of speech he addressed the soldiers, who stood about him in companies, as follows :

9. " Regard for maintaining our common safety (to speak most sparingly) urges me, a Caesar far from pusillanimous, to urge and entreat you, fellow soldiers, to have confidence in your mature and sturdy courage, and to choose for all of us rather the path of caution, not the over-hasty and doubtful one, if we are to withstand or to repulse what we have to expect. 10. For in the midst of peril, while it is proper that young men should be energetic and daring, they should also (when occasion requires) be docile and circumspect. Let me therefore in few words detail what my opinion is and see if your judgment sanctions, and your just anger upholds it. 11. The day is already nearing noon ; we are exhausted by the fatigue of the march ; steep and blind paths will receive us ; the moon is waning and the night will be relieved by no stars ; the country is fairly ablaze with heat and relieved by no supply of water. If anyone should grant us the ability to pass through all this comfortably, what are we to do when the enemy's swarms rush upon us, refreshed as they will be with rest and food and drink ? What strength can we have, when our limbs are enfeebled with hunger, thirst and toil, to offer resistance ? 12. Therefore, since even the most difficult situations have often been met by timely arrangement, and when suitable advice has been taken in good part, heaven-sent remedies have frequently restored the condition of affairs which threatened ruin,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

vallo fossaque circumdati, divisis vigiliis, quiescamus, somnoque et victu congruis potiti pro tempore, pace dei sit dictum, triumphaturas aquilas et vexilla victricia primo lucis moveamus exordio.”

13. Nec finiri perpessi quae dicebantur, stridore dentium infrendentes, ardoremque pugnandi hastis illidendo scuta monstrantes, in hostem se duci iam conspicuum exorabant, caelestis dei favore, fiduciaque sui, et fortunati rectoris expertis virtutibus freti, atque (ut exitus docuit) salutaris quidam genius praesens ad dimicandum eos (dum adesse potuit), incitabat. 14. Accessit huic alacritati plenus caesarum potestatum assensus, maximeque Florenti praefecti praetorio, periculose quidem sed ratione secunda pugnandum esse censentis, dum starent<sup>1</sup> barbari conglobati, qui si diffluxissent, motum militis in seditiones nativo calore propensioris ferri non posse aiebat, extortam sibi victoriam (ut putavit) non sine ultimorum conatu graviter toleraturi.<sup>2</sup> 15. Addiderat autem fiduciam nostris consideratio gemina, recordantibus quod anno nuper emenso, Romanis per transrhenana spatia fusius volitantibus, nec visus est quisquam laris sui defensor, nec obvius

<sup>1</sup> *starent*, Haupt. ; *instarent*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *toleraturi*, G (with following lac. c.c. Her.) ; *tolleratur*, V.

here. I ask of you, protected by a rampart and a trench and with our sentinels picketed, let us rest and for the present enjoy sleep and food suitable to the occasion; and then (with God's leave be it spoken) let us advance our triumphant eagles and victorious standards at the first break of day."

13. The soldiers did not allow him to finish what he was saying, but gnashed and ground their teeth and showed their eagerness for battle by striking their spears and shields together, and besought him that they might be led against an enemy who was already in sight, trusting in the favour of God in Heaven, in their own self-confidence, and in the tried valour of their lucky general; and (as the event showed) a sort of helpful guardian spirit was urging them to the fray, so long as he could be at hand. 14. In support of this eagerness was the full assent of the high command and especially of Florentius, the praetorian prefect, who judged that though it was risky, they must none the less fight with hope of success while the savages were standing massed together; but if they scattered, the resentment of our soldiers, who, he said, are inclined by their native hotness of temper towards insubordination, would be impossible to withstand; for that victory (as they would think) should be wrested from their hands they would hardly endure without recourse to the last extremity. 15. Furthermore, our men's confidence had been increased by a two-fold consideration, since they recalled that during the year just elapsed, when the Romans were ranging freely all through the country beyond the Rhine, not a man was seen to defend his own home

stetit, sed concaede arborum densa undique semitis clausis, sidere urente brumali, aegre vixere barbari longius amendati, quodque imperatore terras eorum ingresso, nec resistere ausi, nec apparere, pacem impetraverunt, suppliciter obsecrantes. 16. Sed nullus mutatam rationem temporis advertibat, quod tunc tripertito exitio premebantur, imperatore urgente per Raetias, Caesare proximo nusquam elabi permittente, finitimis, quos hostes fecere discordiae, modo non occipitia conculcantibus hinc indeque cinctorum. Postea vero pace data discesserat imperator, et sedata iurgiorum materia, vicinae gentes iam concordabant, et turpissimus ducis Romani digressus ferociam natura conceptam auxit in maius. 17. Alio itidem modo res est aggravata Romana, ex negotio tali. Regii duo fratres vinculo pacis adstricti, quam anno praeterito impetraverant a Constantio, nec tumultuare nec commoveri sunt ausi. Sed paulo postea uno ex his Gundomado, qui potior erat, fideique firmioris, per insidias interempto, omnis eius populus cum nostris hostibus conspiravit et confestim Vadomarii plebs (ipso invito,<sup>1</sup> ut asserebat) agminibus bella cientium barbarorum sese coniunxit.

<sup>1</sup> *ipso invito*, Clark, c.c. : *ipso repugnante*, Haupt. : lac. 12 letters at end of line, V.

or to make a stand against them ; but after blocking the paths everywhere with a thick barricade of trees, the savages, frost-bitten by the winter constellations, had much ado to live, moving far out of the way ; and once the emperor had entered into their country they did not dare either to resist or show themselves, and obtained peace by suppliant entreaties. 16. But no one noticed that now the state of the case was changed, since then they were threatened with a triple catastrophe : the emperor was menacing them by way of Raetia, Caesar was near at hand and would not allow them to slip out anywhere, and their neighbours (whom civil strife had made their enemies) were all but treading on their necks while they were hemmed in on all sides. But later, peace was granted and the emperor had departed ; the source of their quarrels having disappeared, the border tribes were now in agreement ; and the shameful departure of the Roman commander had greatly increased the savageness implanted in them by nature. 17. In another way also the Roman situation was made worse in consequence of the following occurrence : there were two brothers of royal blood, who, bound by the obligation of the peace which they had obtained from Constantius the year before, dared neither to raise a disturbance nor to make any move ; but a little later, when one of them, Gundomadus, who was the stronger of the two and truer to his promise, had been treacherously murdered, all his tribe made common cause with our enemies, and at once the subjects of Vadomarius (against his will, as he insisted) united with the armies of the savages who were clamouring for war.

18. Cunctis igitur summis infimisque approbanti-  
 bus tunc opportune congregiendum, nec de rigore  
 animorum quicquam remittentibus, exclamavit  
 subito signifer "Perge, felicissime omnium Caesar,  
 quo te fortuna prosperior ducit; tandem per te vir-  
 tutem et consilia militare sentimus. Praevius<sup>1</sup>  
 ut faustus antesignanus et fortis, experieris quid  
 miles sub conspectu bellicosi ductoris testisque  
 individui gerendorum, modo adsit superum numen,  
 viribus efficiet excitatis." 19. His auditis cum  
 nullae laxarentur indutiae, promotus exercitus  
 prope collem advenit molliter editum, opertum  
 segetibus iam maturis, a superciliis Rheni haut  
 longo intervallo distantem; ex cuius summitate  
 speculatores hostium tres equites exciti, subito  
 nuntiaturi Romanum exercitum adventare, festi-  
 narunt ad suos, unus vero pedes qui sequi non  
 potuit, captus agilitate nostrorum, indicavit per  
 triduum et trinoctium flumen transisse Germanos.  
 20. Quos cum iam prope densantes semet in cuneos  
 nostrorum conspexere ductores, steterunt vestigiis  
 fixis, antepilanis hastatisque et ordinum primis,  
 velut insolubili muro fundatis, et pari cautela hostes

<sup>1</sup> *praevious*, V (defended by Her.); *i praevius*, G; *praei-  
 nos*, Clark.

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning is uncertain. The *antepilani* were the  
 soldiers of the first two lines, the *hastati*, or spearmen, were  
 also part of the first line, so that there seems to be a  
 repetition. Büchele thought that the *hastati* were the  
 standard-bearers (*signiferi* and *draconarii*), citing *Petulan-*

18. So, since the whole army, from the highest to the lowest, agreed that then was the suitable time to fight, and did not in the least abate their inflexibility of spirit, one of the standard bearers suddenly cried: "Forward, most fortunate of all Caesars, whither your lucky star guides you; in you at last we feel that both valour and good counsel are in the field. Leading the way for us like a lucky and valiant commander, you will find what the soldier will accomplish when his strength is called out to the full. under the eyes of a warlike general, the immediate witness of his achievements, if only the favour of the supreme deity be present." 19. On hearing this no delay was permitted, but the army moved forward and approached a hill of gentle slope, covered with grain already ripe, and not far distant from the banks of the Rhine. From its top three of the enemy's cavalry scouts galloped off and hastened to their troops, to bring speedy word of the Roman army's approach. But one infantryman, who could not keep up with them, was caught through the quickness of our men, and reported that the Germans had been crossing the river for three days and three nights. 20. When our leading officers espied them, now near at hand, taking their places in close wedge-formation, they halted and stood fast, making a solid line, like an impregnable wall, of the vanguard, the standard bearers, and the staff-officers; <sup>1</sup> and with like wariness the enemy held their ground without

*tium hastatus*, xx. 4, 18, where *hastatus* clearly has that sense, and that the *ordinum primi* were officers ranking between the centurions and the tribunes, citing Frontinus, *Strat.*, xx. 4, which seems probable.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

stetere cuneati. 21. Cumque ita ut ante dictus docuerat perfuga, equitatum omnem a dextro latere sibi vidissent oppositum, quicquid apud eos per equestres copias praepollebat, in laevo cornu loca vere confertum. Eisdemque sparsim pedites miscuere discursatores et leves. profecto ratione tutos poscente. 22. Norant enim licet prudentem ex equo bellatorem cum clibanario nostro congressum frena retinentem et scutum, hasta una manu vibrata tegminibus ferreis abscondito bellatori nocere non posse, peditem vero inter ipsos discriminum verticem cum nihil caveri solet praeter id quod occurri humiliter et<sup>1</sup> occulte reptantem, latere foratium iumentum, incautum rectorem praecipitem ager levi negotio trucidandum. 23. Hoc itaque disposito, dextrum sui latus struxere clandestinis insidiis et obscuris. Ductabant autem populi omnes pugnaces et saevos Chonodomarius et Serapio potestate excelsiores ante alios reges. 24. Chonodomarius quidem nefarius turbinis<sup>2</sup> totum incentor, cuius vertici flammeus torulus aptabatur anteibat cornu sinistrum, audax et fidens ingenio robore lacertorum. ubi ardor proelii sperabatur immanis, equo spumante sublimior, erectus iaculum formidandae vastitatis, armorumque nitens conspicuus ante alios,<sup>3</sup> et strenuus<sup>4</sup> miles et ut praeter ceteros ductor. 25. Latus vero dextrum Serapio agebat etiam tum adultae lanuginis iuvenis.

<sup>1</sup> *et*, added by Clark: V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *turbinis*, Herodotus; *belli*, AG; *boni*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ante alios*, Mommsen (vs. *conspicuus*, Her.).      <sup>4</sup> *et strenuus*, transposed by Clark; deleted by Her.: *antea strenuus et miles*, V.



advancing. 21. And when (just as the above-mentioned deserter had told them) they saw all our cavalry opposite them on the right flank, they put all their strongest cavalry forces on their left flank in close order. And among them here and there they intermingled skirmishers and light-armed infantry, as safe policy certainly demanded. 22. For they realised that one of their warriors on horseback, no matter how skilful, in meeting one of our cavalry in coat-of-mail, must hold bridle and shield in one hand and brandish his spear with the other, and would thus be able to do no harm to a soldier hidden in iron armour; whereas the infantry soldier in the very hottest of the fight, when nothing is apt to be guarded against except what is straight before one, can creep about low and unseen, and by piercing a horse's side throw its unsuspecting rider headlong, whereupon he can be slain with little trouble. 23. Having made this arrangement, they provided their right flank with secret and puzzling ambuscades. Now all these warlike and savage tribes were led by Chonodomarius and Serapio, kings higher than all the rest in authority. 24. And Chonodomarius, who was in fact the infamous instigator of the whole disturbance, rode before the left wing with a flame-coloured plume on his helmet, a bold man, who relied upon his mighty muscular strength, a huge figure wherever the heat of battle was looked for; erect on his foaming steed, he towered with a lance of formidable size; made conspicuous above others by the gleam of his armour, he was both a doughty soldier and a skilful general beyond all the rest. 25. But the right-wing was led by Serapio, who was

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLIS

efficacia praecurrens aetatem; Mederichi fratris Chonodomarii filius, hominis quoad vixerat perfidissimi; ideo sic appellatus, quod pater eius diu obsidatus pignore tentus in Galliis, doctusque Graeca quaedam arcana, hunc filium suum, Agenarichum genitalem vocabulo dictitatum, ad Serapionis transtulit nomen. 26. Hos sequebantur potestate proximi reges, numero quinque, regalesque decem, et optimatum series magna, armatorumque milia triginta et quinque, ex variis nationibus partim mercede, partim pacto vicissitudinis reddendae quaesita.

27. Iamque torvum concrepantibus tubis, Severus dux Romanorum, aciem dirigens laevam, cum prope fossas armatorum refertas venisset, unde dispositum erat ut abditi repente exorti cuncta turbarent, stetit impavidus, suspectiorque de obscuris, nec referre gradum nec ulterius ire temptavit. 28. Quo viso, animosus contra labores maximos Caesar, ducentis equitibus saeptus, ut ardor negotii flagitabat, agmina peditum impetu<sup>1</sup> veloci discurrerent, verbis hortabatur et gestu.<sup>2</sup> 29. Et quoniam alloqui pariter omnes nec longitudo spatiorum extenta, nec in unum coetae multitudinis permetteret crebritas, (et alioqui vitabat gravioris invidiae pondus, ne videretur id affectasse quod soli sibi deberi Augustus existimabat) incautior sui hostium

<sup>1</sup> *ut impetu*, suggested by Clark.      <sup>2</sup> *et gestu*, added by Novák, cf. xix. II. 9.

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<sup>1</sup> The name is connected with Serapis, as that of a god similar to Dis; cf. Caesar, *BG.* vi. 18; *Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant.*

still a young man with downy cheeks, but his ability outran his years; he was the son of Mederichus, Chonodomarius' brother, a man of the utmost treachery all his life; and he was so named because his father, who had for a long time been kept as a hostage in Gaul and had been taught certain Greek mysteries, changed his son's original native name of Agenarichus to that of Serapio.<sup>1</sup> 26. These were followed by the kings next in power, five in number, by ten princes, with a long train of nobles, and 35,000 troops levied from various nations, partly for pay and partly under agreement to return the service.

27. And now as the trumpets blared ominously, Severus, the Roman general in command of the left wing, on coming near the trenches filled with soldiers, from which it had been arranged that the men in concealment should rise up suddenly and throw everything into confusion, halted fearlessly, and being somewhat suspicious of ambushades, made no attempt either to draw back or to go further. 28. On seeing this, Caesar, who was courageous in the face of the greatest dangers, surrounded himself with an escort of two hundred horsemen, as the exigencies of the service demanded, and with word and action urged the lines of infantry to deploy with swift speed. 29. And since to address them all at once was impossible, both on account of the wide extent of the field and the great numbers of the multitude that had been brought together (and besides he avoided the heavy burden of jealousy, for fear of seeming to have affected that which the emperor supposed to be due to himself alone) without

tela praetervolans, his et similibus notos pariter et ignotos ad faciendum fortiter accendebat. 30. "Advenit—o socii—iustum pugnandi iam tempus, olim exoptatum mihi vobiscum, quod antehac arcessentes, arma inquietis<sup>1</sup> motibus poseebatis." 31. Item cum ad alios postsignanos, in acie locatos extrema, venisset. "En" inquit "commilitones, diu speratus praesto est dies, compellens nos omnes, elutis pristinis maculis, Romanae maiestati reddere proprium decus. Hi sunt barbari quos rabies et immodicus furor ad perniciem rerum suarum coegit occurrere, nostris viribus opprimendos." 32. Alios itidem bellandi usu diutino callentes, aptius ordinans, his exhortationibus adiuvabat: "Exsurgamus—viri fortes—propulsemus<sup>2</sup> fortitudine congrua illisa nostris partibus probra, quae contemplans Caesaris nomen cunctando suscepi." 33. Quoscumque autem pugnae signum inconsulte poscentes, rupturosque imperium irrequietis motibus praevideret, "Quaeso" inquit "ne hostes vertendos in fugam sequentes avidius, futurae victoriae gloriam violetis, neu quis ante necessitatem ultimam cedat. Nam fugituros procul dubio deseram, hostium terga caesuris adero

<sup>1</sup> *inquietis*, V. Damsté, cf. xvii. 1, 13: *inrequietis*, Kellerbauer (cf. § 33), Clark. <sup>2</sup> *propulsemus*, Her.; *propellamus*, BG; *propellemus*, V.

thought of his own safety he flew past the enemy's weapons and by these and similar speeches animated the soldiers, strangers as well as acquaintances, to deeds of valour. 30. "There has come now, comrades, the real time for fighting, which you and I have long since desired, and which you were just now demanding, when you were tumultuously calling for your weapons." 31. Also, when he had come to others, who were stationed behind the standards and in the extreme rear, he said: "Behold, fellow-soldiers, the long-hoped-for day is now here, forcing us all to wash away the old-time stains and restore its due honour to the majesty of Rome. These are the savages whom madness and excessive folly have driven on to the ruin of their fortunes, doomed as they are to be overwhelmed by our might." 32. In the same way, as he arranged in better order others who were experienced by long practice in warfare, he cheered them with such words of encouragement as these: "Let us bestir ourselves, brave soldiers, and by seasonable valour do away with the reproaches inflicted upon our cause, in consideration of which I have hesitatingly accepted the title of Caesar." 33. But whenever he saw any soldiers who were calling for the battle-signal out of season, and foresaw that they would by their riotous actions break discipline, he said: "I beg of you, do not mar the glory of our coming victory by following too eagerly the enemy whom you are about to put to flight; and let none yield ground before the extremity of need. For I shall surely abandon those who are likely to flee, but I shall be inseparably present with those who shall wound their foemen's

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

indiscretus, si hoc pensatione moderata fiat et cauta.”

34. Haec aliaque in eundem modum saepius replicando, maiorem exercitus partem primae barbarorum opposuit fronti, et subito Alamannorum peditum fremitus, indignationi mixtus auditus est, unanimi conspiratione vociferantium, relictis equis secum oportere versari regales, ne siquid contigisset adversum, deserta miserabili plebe, facilem discedendi copiam reperirent. 35. Hocque comperto, Chonodomarius iumento statim<sup>1</sup> desiluit, et secuti cum residui idem fecere,<sup>2</sup> nihil morati; nec enim eorum quisquam ambigebat partem suam fore victricem.

36. Dato igitur aenatorum accentu sollemniter signo ad pugnandum utrimque, magnis concursum est viribus. Paulisper<sup>3</sup> praepilabantur missilia, et properantes concito<sup>4</sup> quam considerato cursu Germani, telaque dextris explicantes, involavere nostrorum equitum turmas, frendentes immania, eorumque ultra solitum saevientium, comae fluentes horrebant, et elacebat quidam ex oculis furor, quos contra pertinax miles, scutorum obicibus vertices tegens, eiectansque gladios, vel tela con crispans, mortem minitanti perterrebat. 37. Cumque in ipso procliorum articulo eques se fortiter conturmaret, et muniret latera sua firmiter pedes, frontem artissimis conserens parmis, erigebantur crassi

<sup>1</sup> *id statim*, V; *id* deleted by Novák; *ipse s.*, Eyssen.  
<sup>2</sup> *fecere*, Kiessling; *facere*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *paulisper*, Mommsen;  
*populis*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *concito*, Schneider, Clark; *cito*, E G;  
*cuto*, V.

backs, provided that it be done with regard for judgment and caution.

34. While he kept often repeating these and other words to the same effect, he placed the greater part of his army opposite the forefront of the savages, and suddenly there was heard the outcry of the German infantry, mingled with indignation, as they shouted with one accord that their princes ought to leave their horses and keep company with them, for fear that they, if anything adverse should occur, abandoning the wretched herd, would easily make shift to escape. 35. On learning of this, Chonodomarius at once sprang down from his horse, and the rest, following his example, did the same without delay; for not one of them doubted that their side would be victorious.

36. So, when the call to battle had been regularly given on both sides by the notes of the trumpeters, they began the fight with might and main; for a time missiles were hurled, and then the Germans, running forward with more haste than discretion, and wielding their weapons in their right hands, flew upon our cavalry squadrons; and as they gnashed their teeth hideously and raged beyond their usual manner, their flowing hair made a terrible sight, and a kind of madness shone from their eyes. Against them our soldiers resolutely protected their heads with the barriers of their shields, and with sword thrusts or by hurling darts threatened them with death and greatly terrified them. 37. And when in the very crisis of the battle the cavalry grouped themselves in a strong position, and the infantry stoutly protected their flanks by making a front of

pulveris nubes, variique fuere discursus, nunc resistens, nunc cedentibus nostris, et obnixi genibus quidam barbari peritissimi bellatores, hostem propellere laborabant, sed destinatione nimia dexteræ dexteris miscebantur et umbo trudebat umbonem, caelumque exsultantium cadentiumque resonabat a vocibus magnis, et cum cornu sinistrum artius<sup>1</sup> gradiens, urgentium tot agmina Germanorum vi nimia pepulisset, iretque in barbaros fremens, equites nostri cornu tenentes dextrum, praeter spem incondite discesserunt, dumque primi fugientium postremos impediunt, gremio legionum protecti, fixerunt integrato proelio gradum. 38. Hoc autem exinde acciderat, quod dum ordinum restituitur series, cataphracti equites viso rectore suo leviter vulnerato, et consorte quodam per cervicem equi labente,<sup>2</sup> pondere armorum oppressi, dilapsi qua quisque poterat, peditesque calcando cuncta turbassent, nisi conferti illi sibi vicissim innexi<sup>3</sup> stetissent immobiles. Igitur cum equites nihil praeter fugae circumspectantes praesidia, vidisset longius Caesar, concito equo, eos velut repagulum quoddam cohibuit. 39. Quo agnito per purpureum<sup>4</sup> signum draconis, summitati hastae longioris aptatum,

<sup>1</sup> *artius*, Pet.; *altius*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *labente*, Cornelissen, *labentis*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *innexi*, Her.; *innixi*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *per purpureum*, W<sup>2</sup>G; *perpureum*, V.



their bucklers joined fast together, clouds of thick dust arose. Then there were various manœuvres, as our men now stood fast and now gave ground, and some of the most skilful warriors among the savages by the pressure of their knees tried to force their enemy back ; but with extreme determination they came to hand-to-hand fighting, shield-boss pushed against shield, and the sky re-echoed with the loud cries of the victors or of the falling. And although our left wing, marching in close formation had driven back by main force the onrushing hordes of Germans and was advancing with shouts into the midst of the savages, our cavalry, which held the right wing, unexpectedly broke ranks and fled ; but while the foremost of these fugitives hindered the hindmost, finding themselves sheltered in the bosom of the legions, they halted, and renewed the battle. 38. Now that had happened for the reason that while the order of their lines was being re-established, the cavalry in coat-of-mail, seeing their leader slightly wounded and one of their companions slipping over the neck of his horse, which had collapsed under the weight of his armour, scattered in whatever direction they could ; and the horse would have caused complete confusion by trampling the infantry under foot, had not the latter, who were packed close together and intertwined one with the other, held their ground without stirring. So, when Caesar had seen from a distance that the cavalry were looking for nothing except safety in flight, he spurred on his horse and held them back like a kind of barrier. 39. On recognising him by the purple ensign of a dragon, fitted to the top of a very long lance and spreading

velut senectutis pandentis exuvias, stetit unius turmae tribunus, et pallore timoreque percussus, ad aciem integrandam recurrit. 40. Utque in rebus amat fieri dubiis, eosdem lenius increpans Caesar, "Quo" inquit "cedimus, viri fortissimi? an ignoratis, fugam quae salutem numquam repperit, irriti conatus stultitiam indicare? Redeamus ad nostros, saltim gloriae futuri participes, si eos pro re publica dimicantes reliquimus inconsulte." 41. Haec reverenter dicendo, reduxit omnes ad munia subeunda bellandi, imitatus salva differentia veterem Sullam, qui cum contra Archelaum (Mithridatis ducem) educta acie proelio fatigabatur ardenti, relictus a militibus cunctis, cucurrit in ordinem primum, raptoque et coniecto vexillo in partem hostilem, "Ite" dixerat "socii periculorum electi, et scitantibus ubi relictus sum imperator, respondete nihil fallentes: 'solus in Boeotia pro omnibus nobis cum dispendio sanguinis sui decernens.'"

42. Proinde Alamanni, pulsus disiectisque equitibus nostris, primam aciem peditum incesserunt, eam abiecta resistendi animositate pulsuri. 43. Sed postquam comminus ventum est, pugnabatur paribus diu momentis. Cornuti enim et Bracchiati, usu procliorum diuturno firmati, eos iam gestu terrentes, barritum ciere vel maximum: qui clamor

out like the slough of a serpent. the tribune of one of the squadrons stopped, and pale and struck with fear rode back to renew the battle. 40. Whereupon Caesar, as is best to do in times of panic, rebuked them mildly and said: "Whither are we fleeing, my most valiant men? Do you not know that flight never leads to safety, but shows the folly of a useless effort? Let us return to our companions, to be at least sharers in their coming glory, if it is without consideration that we are abandoning them as they fight for their country." 41. By his tactful way of saying this he recalled them all to perform their duty as soldiers, following (though with some difference) the example of Sulla of old. For when he had led out his forces against Mithradates' general Archelaus and was being exhausted by the heat of battle and deserted by all his men, he rushed to the front rank, caught up a standard, flung it towards the enemy, and cried: "Go your way, you who were chosen to be companions of my dangers, and to those who ask you where I, your general, was left, answer truthfully: 'Fighting alone in Boeotia, and shedding his blood for all of us.'"

42. Then the Alamanni, having beaten and scattered our cavalry, charged upon the front line of the infantry, supposing that their courage to resist was now lost and that they would therefore drive them back. 43. But as soon as they came to close quarters, the contest continued a long time on equal terms. For the Cornuti and the Bracchiati, toughened by long experience in fighting, at once intimidated them by their gestures, and raised their mighty battle-cry. This shout in the very heat of

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ipso fervore certaminum, a tenui susurro exoriens, paulatimque adulescens ritu extollitur fluctuum, cautibus illisorum; iaculorum deinde stridentium crebritate, hinc indeque convolante, pulvis aequali motu adsurgens, et prospectum eripiens arma armis corporaque corporibus obtrudebat. 44. Sed violentia iraque incompositi, barbari in modum exarsere flammaram, nexamque scutorum compagem, quae nostros in modum testudinis tuebatur, scindebant ictibus gladiatorum assiduis. 45. Quo cognito opitulatum conturmalibus suis celeri cursu Batavi venire cum regibus, formidabilis manus, extremae necessitatis articulo circumventos, (si iuvisset fors) ereptura, torvumque canentibus classicis, adultis viribus certabatur. 46. Verum Alamanni bella alaeriter ineuntes, altius anhelabant, velut quodam furoris afflatu,<sup>1</sup> opposita omnia deleturi. Spicula tamen verrutaque missilia non cessabant, ferrataeque arundines fundebantur, quamquam etiam comminus mucro feriebat contra mucronem, et loricae gladiis findebantur, et vulnerati nondum effuso cruore ad audendum exsertius consurgebant. 47. Pares enim quodam modo coiere cum paribus, Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles; illi feri et turbidi, hi quieti et cauti; animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti. 48. Resurgebat tamen aliquotiens armorum pondere

<sup>1</sup> *afflatu*, Bentley, Hertz: *adfectu*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> In this formation the soldiers held their shields close together over their heads; here, before their bodies.

<sup>2</sup> The *reges* (cf. *regii* in *Notitia Imp. Occident*, p. 1466)

combat rises from a low murmur and gradually grows louder, like waves dashing against the cliffs. Then a cloud of hissing javelins flew hither and thither, the dust arose from the movements of both sides and hid the view, so that weapon struck blindly on weapon and body against body. 44. But the savages, thrown into disorder by their violence and anger, flamed up like fire, and hacked with repeated strokes of their swords at the close-jointed array of shields, which protected our men like a tortoise-formation.<sup>1</sup> 45. On learning this, the Batavians, with the "kings"<sup>2</sup> (a formidable band) came at the double quick to aid their comrades and (if fate would assist) to rescue them, girt about as they were, from the instant of dire need; and as their trumpets pealed savagely, they fought with all their powers. 46. But the Alamanni, who enter eagerly into wars, made all the greater effort, as if to destroy utterly everything in their way by a kind of fit of rage. Yet darts and javelins did not cease to fly, with showers of iron-tipped arrows, although at close quarters also blade clashed on blade and breastplates were cleft with the sword: the wounded too, before all their blood was shed, rose up to some more conspicuous deed of daring. 47. For in a way the combatants were evenly matched: the Alamanni were stronger and taller, our soldiers disciplined by long practice: they were savage and uncontrollable, our men quiet and wary, these relying on their courage, while the Germans presumed upon their huge size. 48. Yet frequently the Roman, seem to have been a select body of household troops. The Batavians had no kings at this time.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

pulsus loco Romanus, lassatisque impressus genibus laevum reflectens poplitem barbarus subsidebat, hostem ultro lacessens, quod indicium est obstinationis extremae. 49. Exsiluit itaque subito ardens optimatum globus, inter quos decernebant et reges, et sequente vulgo ante alios agmina nostrorum irrupit, et iter sibi aperiendo,<sup>1</sup> ad usque Primanorum legionem pervenit locatam in medio—quae confirmatio castra praetoria dicitur,—ubi densior et ordinibus frequens, miles instar turrium fixa firmitate consistens, proelium maiore spiritu repetivit, et vulneribus declinandis intentus, seque in modum mirmillonis operiens, hostium latera, quae nudabat ira flagrantior, districtis gladiis perforabat. 50. At illi prodigere vitam pro victoria contententes, temptabant agminis nostri laxare compagem. Sed continuata serie peremptorum, quos Romanus iam fidentior stravit, succedebant barbari superstites interfectis, auditoque occumbentium gemitu crebro, pavore perfusi torpebant. 51. Fessi denique tot aerumnis, et ad solam deinceps strenui fugam, per diversos tramites tota celeritate digredi<sup>2</sup> festinabant. ut e mediis saevientis pelagi fluctibus, quocumque avexerit ventus, eici nautici properant et

<sup>1</sup> *aperiendo*, EBG; *pendendo*, Her.; *rapiendo*, suggested by Clark. cf. xviii. 9, 3; *pariendo*, V. <sup>2</sup> *digredi*. Her. cf. *deici*. § 51; *egredi*. W<sup>2</sup>; *gredi*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Primani* formed a part of the household troops, under command of the *magister militum*. Here, probably, a select legion forming a reserve corps.

<sup>2</sup> *Turres* was also a military formation (Gell., x, 9, 1), but here the word is clearly used in its literal sense; see note on *forceps*, xvi. 11, 3.

driven from his post by the weight of armed men, rose up again ; and the savage, with his legs giving way from fatigue, would drop on his bended left knee and even thus attack his foe, a proof of extreme resolution. 49. And so there suddenly leaped forth a fiery band of nobles, among whom even the kings fought, and with the common soldiers following they burst in upon our lines before the rest ; and opening up a path for themselves they got as far as the legion of the Primani,<sup>1</sup> which was stationed in the centre—a formation called praetorian camp—there our soldiers, closely packed and in fully-manned lines, stood their ground fast and firm, like towers,<sup>2</sup> and renewed the battle with greater vigour ; and being intent upon avoiding wounds, they protected themselves like *murmillos*,<sup>3</sup> and with drawn swords pierced the enemy's sides, left bare by their frenzied rage. 50. But the enemy strove to lavish their lives for victory and kept trying to break the fabric of our line. But as they fell in uninterrupted succession, and the Romans now laid them low with greater confidence, fresh savages took the places of the slain ; but when they heard the frequent groans of the dying, they were overcome with panic and lost their courage. 51. Worn out at last by so many calamities, and now being eager for flight alone, over various paths they made haste with all speed to get away, just as sailors and passengers hurry to

<sup>3</sup> The *murmillo*, a kind of gladiator, so called from a fish which they wore on their helmets, were armed in Gallic fashion. They were matched against the *retiarii*, who tried to throw a net over them : Festus, s.v. *retiario*, p. 358, Lind (p. 285, M.).

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

vectores ; quod voti magis quam spei fuisse fatebitur quilibet tunc praesens. 52. Aderatque propitiati numinis arbitrium clemens, et secans terga cedentium miles cum interdum flexis ensibus feriendi non suppeterent instrumenta. erepta<sup>1</sup> ipsis barbaris tela eorum vitalibus immergebat, nec quisquam vulnerantium sanguine iram explevit nec satiavit caede multiplici dexteram, vel miseratus supplicentem abscessit. 53. Iacebant itaque plurimi transfixi letaliter, remedia mortis compendio postulantes, alii semineces, labente iam spiritu, lucis usuram oculis morientibus inquirebant, quorundam capita discissa trabalibus telis, et pendentia iugulis cohaerebant, pars per<sup>2</sup> limosum<sup>3</sup> et lubricum solum, in sociorum cruore relapsi,<sup>4</sup> intactis ferro corporibus, acervis superruentium obruti necabantur. 54. Quae ubi satis evenere prosperrime, validius instante victore, acumina densis ictibus hebescebant, splendentisque galeae sub pedibus volvebantur et scuta, ultimo denique trudente discrimine, barbari, cum elati cadaverum aggeres exitus impedirent, ad subsidia fluminis petivere, quae sola restabant, eorum terga iam perstringentis. 55. Et quia cursu sub

<sup>1</sup> *erepta*, added by Haupt. (*rapta*, Novák); V omits.  
<sup>2</sup> *per*, added by W<sup>2</sup>G; V omits.      <sup>3</sup> *limosum*, Clark; *scruposum*, Her.; *lutosum*, BG; *cliuosum*, W<sup>2</sup>; *lubrosum*, omitting *per*, V.  
<sup>4</sup> *relapsi*, Clark, *prolapsi*, Her. c. c.; *lapse*, V.



be cast up on land out of the midst of the billows of a raging sea, whichever way the wind may carry them ; and anyone there present will admit that it was a means of escape more prayed for than expected. 52. Moreover, the gracious will of an appeased deity was on our side, and our soldiers slashed the backs of the fugitives ; when sometimes their swords were bent, and no weapons were at hand for dealing blows, they seized their javelins from the savages themselves and sank them into their vitals ; and not one of those who dealt these wounds could with their blood glut his rage or satiate his right hand by continual slaughter, or take pity on a suppliant and leave him. 53. And so a great number of them lay there pierced with mortal wounds, begging for death as a speedy relief ; others half-dead, with their spirit already slipping away, sought with dying eyes for longer enjoyment of the light ; some had their heads severed by pikes heavy as beams, so that they hung down, connected only by their throats ; some had fallen in their comrades' blood on the miry, slippery ground, and although their persons were untouched by the steel, they were perishing, buried beneath the heaps of those who kept falling above them. 54. When all this had turned out so very successfully, our victorious troops pressed on with greater vigour, blunting the edges of their swords with stroke after stroke, while gleaming helms and shields rolled about under foot. At last the savages, driven on by the utmost extremity, since the heaps of corpses were so high as to block their passage, made for the only recourse left, that of the river, which now almost grazed their backs. 55. And since

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

armis concito, fugientes miles indefessus urgebat, quidam nandi peritia eximi se posse discriminibus arbitrati, animas fluetibus commiserunt. Qua causa celeri corde futura praevidens Caesar, cum tribunis et ducibus clamore obiugatorio prohibebat, ne hostem avidius sequens, nostrorum quisquam se gurgitibus committeret verticosis. 56. Unde id observatum est, ut marginibus insistentes, confoderent telorum varietate Germanos, quorum siquem morti velocitas subtraxisset, iacti corporis pondere ad ima fluminis subsidebat. 57. Et velut in quodam theatriali spectaculo, aulaeis miranda monstrantibus multa, licebat iam sine metu videre nandi strenuis quosdam nescios adhaerentes, fluitantes alios cum expeditioribus linquerentur ut stipites, et velut luctante amnis violentia vorari quosdam fluetibus involutos, non nullos clipeis veetos, prae-ruptas undarum occursantium molis, obliquatis meatibus declinantes, ad ripas superiores post multa discrimina pervenire. Spumans denique cruore barbarico, decolor alveus insueta stupebat augmenta.

58. Dum haec ita aguntur,<sup>1</sup> rex Chonodomarius reperta copia discedendi, lapsus per funerum strues, cum satellitibus paucis, celeritate rapida properabat

<sup>1</sup> *ita aguntur*, Novák, cf. xvii. 11, 5, etc. (*aguntur* added by AG: V omits).

our indefatigable soldiers, running fast even under their armour, pressed upon them as they fled, some of them, thinking that by their skill in swimming they could save themselves from the dangers, committed their lives to the waves. Whereupon Caesar, with swift intelligence foreseeing what might happen, joined with the tribunes and higher officers in restraining shouts, forbidding any of our men in their over-eager pursuit of the enemy to entrust themselves to the eddying flood. 56. That had this result, that they stood on the banks and transfixed the Germans with various kinds of darts; and if any of them by his speed escaped this death, he would sink to the bottom of the river through the weight of his struggling body. 57. And just as in some theatrical scene, when the curtain displays many wonderful sights, so now one could without apprehension see how some who did not know how to swim clung fast to good swimmers; how others floated like logs when they were left behind by those who swam faster; and some were swept into the currents and swallowed up, so to speak, by the struggling violence of the stream: some were carried along on their shields, and by frequently changing their direction avoided the steep masses of the onrushing waves, and so after many a risk reached the further shores. And at last the reddened river's bed, foaming with the savages' blood, was itself amazed at these strange additions to its waters.

58. While this was thus going on, King Chonodomarius found means to get away by slipping through the heaps of corpses with a few of his attendants, and hastened at top speed towards the

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ad castra, quae prope Tribuncos et Concordiam munimenta Romana, fixit intrepidus, ut escensis navigiis, dudum paratis ad casus ancipites, in secretis<sup>1</sup> secessibus se<sup>2</sup> amendaret.<sup>3</sup> 59. Et quia non nisi Rheno transito ad territoria sua poterat pervenire, vultum ne agnosceretur operiens, sensim retulit pedem. Cumque propinquaret iam ripis, lacunam palustribus aquis interfusam circumgrediens ut transiret, calcata mollitie glutinosa, equo est evolutus, et confestim licet obeso corpore gravior, ad subsidium vicini collis evasit, quem agnitum (nec enim potuit celare qui fuerit, fortunae prioris magnitudine proditus), statim anhelato cursu cohors eum tribuno secuta. armis circumdatum aggerem nemorosum. cautius obsidebat. perrumpere verita, ne fraude latenti inter ramorum tenebras exciperetur occultas. 60. Quibus visis, compulsus ad ultimos metus. ultro se dedit<sup>4</sup> solus egressus, comitesque eius ducenti numero et tres amici iunctissimi, flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere, vel pro rege non mori, si ita tulerit casus, tradidere se vincendos. 61. Utque nativo more sunt barbari humiles in adversis, disparesque in secundis. servus alienae voluntatis trahebatur pallore confusus, claudente noxarum conscientia linguam, immensum quantum

<sup>1</sup> *in secretis*. V; *in* deleted by Her.      <sup>2</sup> *se*, added by Val. before *secessibus*; transposed by Novák; V omits.      <sup>3</sup> *amendaret*, Val.: *se mandaret*, Mommsen; *emendarct*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *dedit*. Bentley; *dedit*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Near Strasburg.

<sup>2</sup> Drusenheim.

camp which he had boldly pitched near the Roman fortifications of Tribunci<sup>1</sup> and Concordia,<sup>2</sup> his purpose being to embark in some boats which he had sometime before got ready for any emergency, and hide himself away in some secret retreat. 59. And since he could not reach his own territories except by crossing the Rhine, he covered his face for fear of being recognised and slowly retired. But when he was already nearing the river-bank and was skirting a lagoon which had been flooded with marsh water, in order to get by, his horse stumbled on the muddy and sticky ground and he was thrown off; but although he was fat and heavy, he quickly escaped to the refuge of a neighbouring hill. But he was recognised (for he could not conceal his identity, being betrayed by the greatness of his former estate); and immediately a cohort with its tribune followed him with breathless haste and surrounded the wooded height with their troops and cautiously invested it, afraid to break in for fear that some hidden ambush might meet them among the dark shadows of the branches. 60. On seeing them he was driven to the utmost fear and surrendered of his own accord, coming out alone; and his attendants, two hundred in number, with three of his closest friends, thinking it a disgrace to survive their king, or not to die for their king if an emergency required it, gave themselves up to be made prisoners. 61. And as the savages are by nature humble in adversity and overbearing in success, subservient as he now was to another's will he dragged himself along pale and abashed, tongue-tied by the consciousness of his crimes—how vastly different from

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ab eo differens, qui post feros lugubresque terrores, cineribus Galliarum insultans, multa minabatur et saeva.

62. Quibus ita favore superni numinis terminatis, post exactum iam diem, occinente liticine revocatus invitissimus miles, prope supercilia Rheni tendebat, scutorumque ordine multiplicato vallatus, victu fruebatur et somno. 63. Ceciderunt autem in hac pugna Romani quidem CCXL et III. rectores vero III: Bainobaudes Cornutorum tribunus, adaeque Laipso et Innocentius cataphractarios ducens, et vacans quidam tribunus, cuius non suppetit nomen; ex Alamannis vero sex<sup>1</sup> milia corporum numerata sunt, in campo constrata, et alii<sup>2</sup> inaestimabiles mortuorum acervi per undas fluminis ferebantur. 64. Tunc Iulianus, ut erat fortuna sui spectator, meritisque magis quam imperio potens, Augustus acclamatione concordi totius exercitus appellatus, ut agentes petulantius milites increpabat, id se nec sperare nec adipisci velle iurando confirmans. 65. Et ut augeter eventus secundi laetitiam, concilio convocato propositisque praemiis, propitio ore<sup>3</sup> Chonodomarium sibi iussit offerri. Qui primo curvatus, deinde humi suppliciter fusus, gentilique prece veniam poscens, bono animo esse est iussus. 66. Et diebus postea paucis ductus ad comitatum

<sup>1</sup> *sex aliis*, V; *sex*, G. Her. (cf. note 2); *sex aut septem* (ĀVII), Clark.      <sup>2</sup> *alii*, added by Her. (cf. note 1).

<sup>3</sup> *conuocato . . . ore*, Gardt.; *concilio omni spectante* (*contione*, Kiessling), Haupt.; *concilio* (lac. 9 letters) *mus peciare*, V.

the man who, after savage and woeful outrages, trampled upon the ashes of Gaul and threatened many dire deeds.

62. So the battle was thus finished by the favour of the supreme deity; the day had already ended and the trumpet sounded; the soldiers, very reluctant to be recalled, encamped near the banks of the Rhine, protected themselves by numerous rows of outposts, and enjoyed food and sleep. 63. Now there fell in this battle on the Roman side two hundred and forty-three soldiers and four high officers: Bainobaudes, tribune of the Cornuti, and also Laipsus; and Innocentius, commander of the mailed cavalry, and one unattached tribune, whose name does not come to me. But of the Alamanni there were counted six thousand corpses lying on the field, and heaps of dead, impossible to reckon, were carried off by the waves of the river. 64. Thereupon, since Julian was a man of greater mark than his position, and more powerful in his deserts than in his command, he was hailed as Augustus by the unanimous acclamation of the entire army; but he rebuked the soldiers for their thoughtless action, and declared with an oath that he neither expected nor desired to attain that honour. 65. And to enhance their rejoicing over their success, he called an assembly and offered rewards, and then courteously gave orders that Chonodomarius should be brought before him: the king at first bowed down and then humbly prostrated himself on the ground; and when he begged for forgiveness in his native tongue, he was told to be of good courage. 66. And a few days later he was

imperatoris, missusque exinde Romam, in castris peregrinis, quae in monte sunt Caelio, morbo veterni consumptus est.

67. His tot ac talibus prospero peractis eventu, in palatio Constanti quidam Iulianum culpantes, ut princeps ipse delectaretur, irrisive Victorinum ideo nominabant, quod verecunde referens quotiens imperaret, superatos indicabat saepe Germanos.

68. Interque exaggerationem inanium laudum, ostentationemque aperte lucentium, inflabant ex usu imperatorem, suoapte ingenio nimium, quicquid per omnem terrae ambitum agebatur, felicibus eius auspiciis assignantes.

69. Quocirca magniloquentia elatus adulatorum, tunc et deinde edictis propositis, arroganter satis multa mentiebatur, se solum (cum gestis non adfuisset) et dimicasse et vicisse et supplices reges gentium erexisse aliquotiens scribens, et si verbi gratia eo agente tunc in Italia, dux quidam egisset fortiter contra Persas, nulla eius mentione per textum longissimum facta, laureatas litteras ad provinciarum damna mittebat, se inter primores versatum cum odiosa sui iactatione significans.

70. Exstant denique eius dicta, in tabulariis principis<sup>1</sup> publicis condita,<sup>2</sup> in quibus ambitiose<sup>3</sup> delata narrandi extollendique semet in caelum. Ab Argentorato cum pugnaretur, mansione quadragesima

<sup>1</sup> *principis*, put after *eius* by Val.; *tabulariis principis* (*principis*, W<sup>2</sup>BG), V.      <sup>2</sup> *condita*, W<sup>2</sup>ED; *condi* (lac. 27 letters) *delata*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *in quibus ambitiose*, added by Val.

<sup>1</sup> They were a detriment because of the expense they caused for celebrations, and "graft" by the *agentes in rebus*.



conducted to the emperor's court and thence sent to Rome; there in the *Castra Peregrina*, which is on the *Caelian Hill*, he wasted away and died.

67. On the successful outcome of these exploits, so numerous and so important, some of the courtiers in Constantius' palace found fault with Julian, in order to please the emperor himself, or facetiously called him *Victorinus*, on the ground that, although he was modest in making reports whenever he led the army in battle, he often mentioned defeats of the Germans. 68. And between piling on empty praise, and pointing to what was clearly evident, they as usual puffed up the emperor, who was naturally conceited, by ascribing whatever was done anywhere in the world to his favourable auspices. 69. As a consequence, he was elated by the grandiloquence of his sycophants, and then and later in his published edicts he arrogantly lied about a great many matters, frequently writing that he alone (although he had not been present at the action) had both fought and conquered, and had raised up the suppliant kings of foreign nations. If, for example, when he himself was then in Italy, one of his generals had fought bravely against the Persians, he would make no mention of him in the course of a very long account, but would send out letters wreathed in laurel to the detriment <sup>1</sup> of the provinces, indicating with odious self-praise that he had fought in the front ranks. 70. In short, there are extant sayings filed among the public records of this emperor, in which ostentatious reports are given, of his boasting and exalting himself to the sky.<sup>2</sup> When this

<sup>2</sup> The text is uncertain, but the general sense is clear.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

disparatus, describens proelium aciem ordinasse, et stetisse inter signiferos. et barbaros fugasse praecipites. sibi que oblatum falso indicat Chonodomarium (pro rerum indignitas) super Iuliani gloriosis actibus conticescens, quos sepelierat penitus, ni fama res maximas, vel obumbrantibus plurimis. silere nesciret.

### LIBER XVII.

1. *Iulianus C. transito Rheno Alamannorum rivos diripit ac incendit; ibi munimentum Traiani reparat, et decimestres indutias barbaris concedit.*

1. Hae rerum varietate, quam iam digessimus, ita<sup>1</sup> conclusa, Martius iuvenis, Rheno post Argentoratensem pugnam otiose fluente, securus, sollicitusque idem ne dirae<sup>2</sup> volucres consumerent corpora peremptorum, sine discretionem eunctos humari mandavit, absolutisque legatis, quos ante certamen superba quaedam portasse praediximus, ad Tres Tabernas revertit. 2. Unde cum captivis omnibus praedam Mediomatricos servandam ad reditum usque suum duci praecipit, et petiturus ipse Mogontiacum, ut ponte compacto transgressus, in suis

<sup>1</sup> *varietate . . . ita*, Clark: *quis varietatem iam digessimus ita*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *idem ne dirae*, Her.; *ne dire*, EBG; *inedire*, V.

battle was fought near Strasburg, although he was distant forty days' march, in his description of the fight he falsely asserts that he arranged the order of battle, and stood among the standard-bearers, and drove the barbarians headlong, and that that Chonodomarius was brought to him, saying nothing (Oh, shameful indignity!) of the glorious deeds of Julian, which he would have buried in oblivion, had not fame been unable to suppress his splendid exploits, however much many people would have obscured them.

## BOOK XVII.

1. *Julianus Caesar, having crossed the Rhine, sacks and burns the villages of the Alamanni; he repairs a fortress of Trajan and grants the barbarians a truce of ten months.*

1. After this conclusion of the variety of events which I have now summarised the young warrior, with mind at ease, since the Rhine flowed on peacefully after the battle of Strasburg, took care to keep birds of prey from devouring the bodies of the slain; and he gave orders that they should all be buried without distinction. Then, having dismissed the envoys, who (as we have related) had brought some insolent messages before the battle, he returned to Savernes. 2. From there he ordered the booty, with all the captives, to be taken to Metz and kept there until his return; he was himself planning to go to Mayence with the purpose of building a bridge, crossing the Rhine, and searching out the

regionibus<sup>1</sup> requireret barbaros, cum nullum reliquisset in nostris, refragante vetabatur exercitu; verum facundia iucunditateque sermonum allectum, in voluntatem traduxerat suam. Amor enim post documenta flagrantior, sequi libenter hortatus est omnis operae conturmalem, auctoritate magnificum ducem, plus laboris indicere sibi quam militi, sicut perspicue contigit, assuetum. Moxque ad locum praedictum est ventum, flumine pontibus constratis transmissis, occupavere terras hostiles. 3. At barbari perstricti negotii magnitudine, qui se in tranquillo positos otio, tunc parum inquietari posse sperabant, aliorum exitio quid fortunis suis immineret anxie cogitantes, simulata pacis petitione, ut primae vertiginis impetum declinarent, misere legatos cum verbis compositis, quae denuntiarent concordem foederum firmitatem; incertumque quo consilio statim instituto,<sup>2</sup> mutata voluntate, per alios cursu celeri venire compulsos, acerrimum nostris minati sunt bellum, ni eorum regionibus excessissent.

4. Quibus clara fide compertis, Caesar noctis prima quiete, navigiis modicis et velocibus octingentos imposuit milites, ut spatio stadiorum XX<sup>3</sup> sursum versus decurso egressi, quicquid invenire potuerint,

<sup>1</sup> *regionibus*, added by Damsté, cf. § 3.      <sup>2</sup> *statim instituto* or *statim impetu restituto*, Mommsen; *stat institutos*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ut spatio studiorum .x.c.*, Novák; *militis eorum .x.c.*, V.

savages on their own ground, since he had left none of them in our territory ; but he was opposed by the protests of the army. However, by his eloquence and the charm of his language he won them over and converted them to his will. For their affection, warmer after their experiences with him, prompted them to follow willingly one who was a fellow-soldier in every task, a leader brilliant in his prestige, and accustomed to prescribe more drudgery for himself than for a common soldier, as was clearly evident. And so they soon came to the place above mentioned, crossed the river on the bridges which they made, and possessed themselves of the enemy's country. 3. But the savages, thunderstruck at the vastness of the feat, since they little expected that they could be molested, settled as they were amid undisturbed peace, gave anxious thought to what might threaten their own fortunes, in view of the destruction of the others ; and so under pretence of a prayer for peace, with the purpose of avoiding the brunt of the first onslaught, they sent envoys with set speeches, to declare the harmonious validity of the treaties with them ; but for some unknown design that they suddenly formed they changed their minds, and by other messengers whom they forced to come post haste, they threatened our men with most bitter warfare, unless they should withdraw from their territory.

4. On learning this from a sure source, Caesar at the first quiet of nightfall embarked eight hundred soldiers on small, swift boats, so that they might go up the Rhine for a distance of twenty stadia. disembark, and with fire and sword lay waste

ferro violarent et flammis. 5. Quo ita disposito, solis primo exortu, visis per montium vertices barbaris, ad celsiora ducebatur alacrior miles, nulloque invento (hoc si quidem opinati discessere confestim) eminus ingentia fumi volumina visebantur, indicantia nostros perruptas populari terras hostiles. 6. Quae res Germanorum percudit animos, atque desertis insidiis, quas per arcta loca et latebrosa struxerant nostris, trans Menum nomine fluvium ad opitulandum suis necessitudinibus avolarunt. 7. Ut enim in<sup>1</sup> rebus amat fieri dubiis et turbatis, hinc equitum nostrorum accursu, inde navigiis vectorum militum impetu repentino perterrefacti, evadendi subsidium velox locorum invenere prudentes, quorum digressu miles libere gradiens, opulentas pecore villas et frugibus rapiebat, nulli parcendo, extractisque captivis, domicilia cuncta, curatius ritu Romano constructa, flammis subditis exurebat. 8. Emensaque aestimatione decimi lapidis, cum prope silvam venisset squalore tenebrarum horrendam, stetit dux<sup>2</sup> diu cunctando, indicio perfugae doctus per subterranea quaedam occulta, fossasque multifidas, latere hostium<sup>3</sup> plurimos, ubi habile visum fuerit erupturos. 9. Ausi tamen omnes accedere fidentissime, ilicibus incisus et fraxinis, roboreque

<sup>1</sup> *in*, added by Novák, cf. xvi. 20, 40.      <sup>2</sup> *dux*, added by Clark; V omits.      <sup>3</sup> *hostium*, added by Novák; lac. after *laterc*, Clark, c.e.

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<sup>1</sup> Main.

whatever they could find. 5. This arrangement thus made, at the very break of day the savages were seen drawn up along the hill-tops, and the soldiers in high spirits were led up to the higher ground: but they found no one there (since the enemy, suspecting this, had hastily decamped), and then great columns of smoke were seen at a distance, revealing that our men had burst in and were devastating the enemy's territory. 6. This action broke the Germans' spirit, and abandoning the ambuscades which they had laid for our men in narrow and dangerous places, they fled across the river, Menus<sup>1</sup> by name, to bear aid to their kinsfolk. 7. For, as is apt to happen in times of doubt and confusion, they were panic-stricken by the raid of our cavalry on the one side, and on the other by the sudden onset of our infantry, who had rowed up the river in their boats; and with their knowledge of the ground they had quick recourse to flight. Upon their departure our soldiers marched on undisturbed and plundered farms rich in cattle and crops, sparing none; and having dragged out the captives, they set fire to and burned down all the houses, which were built quite carefully in Roman fashion. 8. After having advanced approximately ten miles, they came to a forest formidable with its forbidding shade and their general stood in hesitation for some time, being informed by the report of a deserter that large forces were lurking in some hidden underground passages and wide-branching trenches, ready to burst forth when they saw an opportunity. 9. Yet they all ventured to draw near with the greatest confidence, but found the

abietum magno, semitas iuvenere constratas. Ideoque gradientes cautius retro, non nisi per anfractus longos et asperos ultra progredi posse, vix indignationem capientibus animis, advertebant. 10. Et quoniam aeris urente saevitia cum discriminibus ultimis laboratur in cassum (aequinoctio quippe autumnali exacto, per eos tractus superfusae nives opplevere montes simul et campos) opus arreptum est memorabile. 11. Et dum nullus obsisteret, munimentum quod in Alamanorum solo conditum Traianus suo nomine voluit appellari, dudum violentius oppugnatum, tumultuario studio reparatum est; locatisque ibi pro tempore defensoribus, ex barbarorum visceribus alimenta congesta sunt. 12. Quae illi maturata ad suam perniciem contemplantes, metuque rei peractae volucriter congregati, precibus et humilitate suprema, petiere missis oratoribus pacem; quam Caesar omni consiliorum via firmatam,<sup>1</sup> causatus veri similia plurima, per decem mensuum tribuit intervallum; id nimirum sollerti colligens mente, quod castra supra quam optari potuit occupata sine obstaculo, tormentis muralibus et apparatu deberent valido communiri. 13. Hac fiducia tres immanissimi reges venerunt tandem aliquando iam trepidi, ex his qui misere victis apud Argentoratum auxilia, iurantes conceptis ritu patrio

<sup>1</sup> *firmatam*, Wagner; *firmata*, V.



paths heaped with felled oak and ash-trees and a great quantity of fir. And so they warily retreated, their minds hardly containing their indignation, as they realised that they could not advance farther except by long and difficult detours. 10. And since the rigorous climate was trying to them and they struggled in vain with extreme difficulties (for the autumnal equinox had passed, and in those regions the fallen snows covered mountains and plains alike) they took in hand a memorable piece of work. 11. And while there was no one to withstand them, with eager haste they repaired a fortress which Trajan had built in the territory of the Alamanni and wished to be called by his name, and which had of late been very forcibly assaulted. There a temporary garrison was established and provisions were brought thither from the heart of the savages' country. 12. When the enemy saw these preparations rapidly made for their destruction, they quickly assembled, dreading the completion of the work, and with prayers and extreme abasement sent envoys and sued for peace. And Caesar granted this for the space of ten months, since it was recommended by every kind of consideration, and he could allege very many plausible reasons for it; for doubtless he appreciated with his keen mind that the stronghold which, beyond any possible hope, he had seized without opposition, ought to be fortified with artillery on the walls and powerful appliances of war. 13. Confiding in this peace, three very savage kings finally appeared, though still somewhat apprehensive since they were of the number of those who had sent aid to the vanquished

verbis nihil inquietum<sup>1</sup> acturos, sed foedera ad praestitutum usque diem, quia id nostris placuerat, cum munimento servaturos intacto, frugesque portaturos humeris suis,<sup>2</sup> si defuisse sibi docuerint defensores. Quod utrumque, metu perfidiam frenante, fecerunt.

14. Hoc memorabili bello, comparando quidem Punicis et Teutonicis, sed dispendiis rei Romanae peracto levissimis, ut faustus Caesar exultabat et felix; credique obtrectatoribus potuit, ideo fortiter eum ubique fecisse fingentibus, quod oppetere dimicando gloriose magis optabat, quam damnatorum sorte (sicut sperabat,) ut frater Gallus occidi, ni pari proposito post excessum quoque Constanti actibus mirandis inclaruisset.

2. *Iulianus Caesar DC Francos, Germaniam II rastautes obsidet, et ad deditionem fame compellit.*

1. Quibus ut in tali re compositis firmiter, ad sedes revertens hibernas, sudorum reliquias reperit tales. Remos Severus magister equitum per Agrippinam petens et Iuliaeum, Francorum

<sup>1</sup> *verbis nihil inquietum*, G (*uerbis*, EH); *uero* (lac. 10 letters) *linquietum*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *suis*, added by Clark, Her. c.e., or tr. *p.h.*, Clark, Novák.

at Strasburg ; and they took oath in words formally drawn up after the native manner that they would not disturb the peace, but would keep the agreement up to the appointed day, since that was our pleasure, and leave the fortress untouched ; and they would even bring grain in on their shoulders, in case the defenders would let them know that they needed any : both of which things they did, since fear curbed their treacherous disposition.

14. In this memorable war, which in fact deserves to be compared with those against the Carthaginians and the Teutons, but was achieved with very slight losses to the Roman commonwealth, Caesar took pride as a fortunate and successful general. And one might well believe his detractors, who pretended that he had acted so courageously on all occasions because he chose rather to perish fighting gloriously than to be put to death like a condemned criminal (as he expected), after the manner of his brother Gallus—had he not with equal resolution, even after Constantius' death, increased his renown by marvellous exploits.

2. *Julianus Caesar besieges six hundred Franks, who were devastating Second Germany, and starves them into surrender.*

1. Matters thus being firmly settled, so far as circumstances would permit, he returned to winter quarters and found the following sequel to his exertions. Severus, master of the horse, while on his way to Rheims by way of Cologne and Juliers, fell in with some very strong companies of Franks, to

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

validissimos cuneos, in sexcentis velitibus (ut postea claruit,) vacua praesidiis loca vastantes, offendit; hac opportunitate in scelus audaciam erigente, quod Caesare in Alamannorum secessibus occupato, nulloque vetante, expleri se posse praedarum opimitate sunt arbitrati. Sed metu iam reversi exercitus, munimentis duobus, quae olim exinanita sunt, occupatis, se quoad fieri poterat, tuebantur. 2. Hac Iulianus rei novitate percussus, et coniciens quorsum erumperet, si eisdem transisset intactis, retento milite circumvallare disposuit castella munita, quae Mosa<sup>1</sup> fluvius praeterlambit, et ad usque quartum et quinquagesimum diem, Decembri scilicet et Ianuario mense, obsidionales tractae sunt morae, destinatis barbarorum animis incredibili pertinacia reluctantibus.<sup>2</sup> 3. Tunc pertimescens sollertissimus Caesar, ne observata nocte inlumi, barbari gelu vinctum annum pervaderent, cotidie a sole in vesperam flexo, ad usque lucis principium, lusoriis navibus discurrere flumen ultro citroque milites ordinavit, ut crustis pruinarum diffractis, nullus ad erumpendi copiam facile perveniret.<sup>3</sup> Hocque commento, inedia et vigiliis et desperatione postrema lassati, sponte se propria

<sup>1</sup> *castella munita, quae*, scripsi: *castellum oppidum, quod Mosa*, BG; *disposuit* (lac. 16 letters) *osa*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *reluctantibus*, EW<sup>2</sup>, Mommsen; *reluctantis*, V.      <sup>3</sup> lac. 12 letters, end of page, V; no lac., EBG.

the number (as appeared later) of six hundred light-armed skirmishers, who were plundering the districts unprotected by garrisons; the favourable opportunity that had roused their boldness to the point of action was this, that they thought that while Caesar was busily employed among the fastnesses of the Alamanni, and there was no one to prevent them, they could load themselves with a wealth of booty. But in fear of the army, which had now returned, they possessed themselves of two strongholds, which had long since been left empty, and there defended themselves as well as they could.

2. Julian, disturbed by the novelty of the act, and guessing what might come of it if he passed by leaving them unmolested, halted his army and made his plans to surround the strongholds, which the river Meuse flows past: and for fifty-four days (namely in the months of December and January) the delays of the siege were dragged out, while the savages with stout hearts and incredible resolution withstood him.

3. Then Caesar, being very shrewd and fearing that the savages might take advantage of some moonless night and cross the frozen river, gave orders that every day, from near sunset to the break of dawn, soldiers should row up and down stream in scouting vessels,<sup>1</sup> so as to break up the cakes of ice and let no one get an opportunity of easy escape. And because of this device, since they were worn out by hunger, sleeplessness, and extreme desperation, they surrendered of their

<sup>1</sup>The Romans kept such armed vessels on the rivers which formed the boundaries of the empire: cf. *Iusoriat* (*naves*), Vopiscus, *Bononus*, 15, 1.

dederunt, statimque ad comitatum Augusti sunt missi. 4. Ad quos eximendos periculo, multitudo Francorum egressa, cum captos comperisset et asportatos, nihil amplius ausa, repedavit ad sua, hisque perfectis, acturus hiemem revertit Parisios Caesar.

3. *Iulianus C. Gallos tributis oppressos levare conatur.*

1. Quia igitur plurimae gentes vi maiore colaturae capita sperabantur, dubia bellorum coniecans, sobrius rector magnis curarum molibus stringebatur. Dumque per indutias, licet negotiosas et breves, aerumnosis possessorum damnis mederi posse credebat, tributis ratioecinia dispensavit. 2. Cumque Florentius praefectus praetorio, cuncta permensus (ut contendebat,) quicquid in capitacione deesset, ex conquisitis se supplere firmaret, talium gnarus, animam prius amittere quam hoc sinere fieri memorabat. 3. Norat enim huius modi provisionum, immo eversionum, ut verius dixerim, insanabilia vulnera, saepe ad ultimam egestatem provincias contrusisse,<sup>1</sup> quae res (ut docebitur postea,) penitus evertit Illyricum. 4. Ob quae praefecto praetorio ferri non posse clamante, se repente

<sup>1</sup> *contrusisse*, Bentley; *conducisse*, Mommsen; *contraxisse*, V.

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<sup>1</sup>The words *provisionum* and *eversionum* seem to be chosen for the sake of a word-play. He means that the arrangement proposed would amount to confiscation and the ruin of the province.

own accord and were sent at once to Augustus' court. 4. A large troop of Franks had set out to rescue them from their danger: but on learning that they had been captured and carried off, without venturing on anything further they retired to their strongholds. And Caesar after these successes returned to Paris to pass the winter.

### 3. *Julianus Caesar tries to relieve the Gauls of oppressive tributes.*

1. Now since it was expected that a great number of tribes with greater forces would make head together, our cautious commander, weighing the doubtful issue of wars, was perplexed with great burdens of anxiety. So, thinking that during the truce, short though it was and full of business, some remedy might be found for the calamitous losses incurred by the land-holders, he set in order the system of taxation. 2. And whereas Florentius, the praetorian prefect, after having reviewed the whole matter (as he asserted) stated that whatever was lacking in the poll-tax accounts he supplied out of special levies, Julian, knowing about such measures, declared that he would rather lose his life than allow it to be done. 3. For he knew that the incurable wounds of such arrangements, or rather derangements<sup>1</sup> (to speak more truly) had often driven provinces to extreme poverty—a thing which (as will be shown later) was the complete ruin of Illyricum.<sup>2</sup> 4. For this reason, though the praetorian prefect exclaimed that it was unbearable that he

<sup>2</sup> See xix. 11, 2 ff.

factum infidum, cui Augustus summam commiserit rerum, Iulianus eum sedatius leniens, scrupulose computando et vere, docuit non sufficere solum, verum etiam exuberare capitationis calculum ad comneatum necessarios apparatus. 5. Nihilominus tamen, diu postea indictionale augmentum oblatum sibi nec recitare nec subnotare perpessus, humi proiecit. Litterisque Augusti monitus ex relatione praefecti, non agere ita perplexo, ut videretur parum Florentio credi, rescripsit, gratandum esse si provincialis, hinc inde vastatus, saltem sollemnia praebeat nedum incrementa quae nulla supplicia egenis possent hominibus extorquere. Factumque est tunc et deinde, unius animi firmitate, ut praeter solita nemo Gallis quicquam exprimere conaretur. 6. Denique,<sup>1</sup> inusitato exemplo, id petendo Caesar impetraverat a praefecto, ut secundae Belgicae multiformibus malis oppressae, dispositio sibi committeretur, ea videlicet lege, ut nec praefectianus nec praesidialis apparitor ad solvendum quemquam urgeret. Quo levati solatio cuncti, quos in curam susceperat suam,<sup>2</sup> nec interpellati, ante praestitutum tempus debita contulerunt.

<sup>1</sup> *conaretur*. *Denique*, Val.: *conaretur* (lac. 21 letters) *inique*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *curam susceperat suam* W<sup>2</sup>; *cura* (lac. 11 letters) *separat suam*, V.



should suddenly become distrusted, when Augustus had conferred upon him the supreme charge of the state ; Julian calmed him by his quiet manner, and by an exact and accurate computation proved that the amount of the poll-tax was not only sufficient, but actually in excess of the inevitable requirements for government expenditures. 5. But when long afterwards an increase of taxation was nevertheless proposed to him, he could not bring himself to read it or sign it, but threw it on the ground. And when he was advised by a letter of Augustus, after the prefect's report, not to act so meticulously as to seem to discredit Florentius, he wrote back that it would be a cause for rejoicing if the provincials, harried as they were on every side, might at least have to furnish only the prescribed taxes, not the additional amounts, which no tortures could wring from the poverty-stricken. And so it came to pass then and thereafter, that through the resolution of one courageous spirit no one tried to extort from the Gauls anything beyond the normal tax. 6. Finally, contrary to precedent, Caesar by entreaty had obtained this favour from the prefect, that he should be entrusted with the administration of the province of Second Belgium, which was overwhelmed by many kinds of calamities, and indeed with the proviso that no agent either of the prefect or of the governor should force anyone to pay the tax. So every one whom he had taken under his charge was relieved by this comforting news, and without being summoned they brought in their dues before the appointed date.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

### 4. *Iussu Constantii Aug. obeliscus Romae in Circo Maximo subrectus constituitur ; et de obeliscis ac de notis hicorglyphicis.*

1. Inter haec recreandarum exordia Galliarum, administrante secundam adhuc Orfito praefecturam, obeliscus Romae in circo erectus est maximo. Super quo nunc (quia tempestivum est) pauca discurrem. 2. Urbem priscis saeculis conditam, ambitiosa moenium strue et portarum centum quondam aditibus celebrem, hecatompylos Thebas, institutores ex facto cognominarunt, cuius vocabulo provincia nunc usque Thebais appellatur. 3. Hanc inter exordia paudentis se late Carthaginis, improviso excursu duces oppressere Poenorum, posteaque reparatam. Persarum rex ille Cambyses, quoad vixerat alieni cupidus et immanis, Aegypto perrupta aggressus est, ut opes exinde raperet invidendas, ne deorum quidem donariis parcens. 4. Qui dum inter praedatores turbulente concursat, laxitate praepeditus indumentorum, concidit pronus, ac suomet pugione, quem aptatum femori dextro gestabat, subita vi ruinae nudato, vulneratus paene letaliter interisset. 5. Longe autem postea Cornelius Gallus Octaviano res tenente Romanas, Aegypti procurator, exhaust civitatem plurimis interceptis, reversusque cum furtorum arcesseretur, et populatae provinciae, metu nobilitatis acriter indignatae, cui

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<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 383 ff. ; Mela, i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Thebes.

<sup>3</sup> Gallus was *praefectus Aegypti* (not *procurator*) from 30 to 26 B.C.

4. *By order of Constantius Augustus an obelisk is set up at Rome in the Circus Maximus ; also an account of obelisks and hieroglyphics.*

1. During these first steps towards the rehabilitation of Gaul, and while Orfitus was still conducting his second praefecture, an obelisk was set up at Rome in the Circus Maximus ; and of it, since this is a suitable place, I shall give a brief account.

2. The city of Thebes, founded in primitive times and once famous for the stately structure of its walls and for the hundred approaches formed by its gates, was called by its builders from that feature Hecatompylos,<sup>1</sup> or Hundred-gated Thebes ; and from this name<sup>2</sup> the province is to this day called the Thebaid.

3. When Carthage was in its early career of wide expansion, Punic generals destroyed Thebes by an unexpected attack : and when it was afterwards rebuilt, Cambyses, that renowned king of Persia, all his life covetous of other possessions, and cruel, overran Egypt and attacked Thebes, in the hope of carrying off therefrom its enviable wealth, since he did not spare even gifts made to the gods.

4. But while he was excitedly running about among the plundering troops, tripped by the looseness of his garments he fell headlong ; and his own dagger, which he wore fastened to his right thigh, was unsheathed by the sudden force of the fall and wounded him almost mortally.

5. Again, long afterwards, when Octavian was ruling Rome, Cornelius Gallus, procurator<sup>3</sup> of Egypt, drained the city by extensive embezzlements ; and when on his return he was accused of peculation and the robbery of the province, in his fear of the bitterly exasperated nobility,

negotium spectandum dederat imperator, stricto incubuit ferro. Is est (si recte existimo) Gallus poeta, quem flens quodam modo in postrema Bucolicorum parte Vergilius carmine leni decontat.

6. In hac urbe inter delubra <sup>1</sup>ingentia, diversasque moles, figmenta Aegyptiorum numinum exprimentes, obeliscos vidimus plures, aliosque iacentes et comminutos, quos antiqui reges bello domitis gentibus, aut prosperitatibus summarum rerum elati, montium venis vel apud extremos orbis incolas perscrutatis excisos, et <sup>2</sup>erectos dis superis in religione dicarunt. 7. Est autem obeliscus asperrimus lapis, in figuram metae cuiusdam sensim ad proceritatem consurgens excelsam, utque radium imitetur, gracilescens paulatim, specie quadrata in verticem productus angustum, manu levigatus artificii. 8. Formarum autem innumeras notas, hieroglyphicas appellatas, quas ei undique videmus incisas, initialis sapientiae vetus insignivit auctoritas. 9. Voluerum enim ferarumque etiam alieni mundi genera multa sculpsentes, ut <sup>3</sup>ad aevi quoque sequentis aetates, impetratorum vulgatus perveniret memoria, promissa vel soluta regum vota monstrabant. 10. Non enim ut nunc litterarum numerus praestitutus et facilis exprimit,

<sup>1</sup> *delubra*, Cornelissen; *labra*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *et*, added by Clark; V omits; *erectosque*, BG.      <sup>3</sup> *ut* before *ad*.  
Clark; after *aetates*, Val.; *uti*, Gronov; V omits.

<sup>1</sup> *Eclogue*, x.

<sup>2</sup> A *meta* was one of the three conical columns on the end of the *spine* of a circus.

to whom the emperor had committed the investigation of the case, he drew his sword and fell upon it. He was (if I am right in so thinking) the poet Gallus, whom Vergil laments in a way in the latter part of the *Bucolics*<sup>1</sup> and celebrates in gentle verse.

6. In this city, amid mighty shrines and huge structures of various kinds, which depict the likenesses of the Egyptian deities, we have seen many obelisks, and others prostrate and broken, which kings of long ago, when they had subdued foreign nations in war or were proud of the success of their lofty achievements, hewed out of the veins of the mountains (or they sought them out even among the remotest dwellers on the globe), set them up, and in their religious devotion dedicated them to the gods of heaven. 7. Now an obelisk is a very hard stone, rising gradually somewhat in the form of a turning-post<sup>2</sup> to a lofty height; little by little it grows slenderer, to imitate a sunbeam; it is four-sided, tapers to a narrow point, and is polished by the workman's hand. 8. Now the infinite carvings of characters called hieroglyphics, which we see cut into it on every side, have been made known by an ancient authority of primeval wisdom.<sup>3</sup> 9. For by engraving many kinds of birds and beasts, even of another world, in order that the memory of their achievements might the more widely reach generations of a subsequent age, they registered the vows of kings, either promised or performed. 10. For not as nowadays, when a fixed and easy series of letters

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Diod. Siculus, iii. 3, 5, who says that hieroglyphics were understood by the priests alone, and that the knowledge was handed down from father to son.

quicquid humana mens concipere potest, ita prisci quoque scriptitarunt Aegyptii, sed singulae litterae singulis nominibus serviebant et verbis; non numquam significabant integros sensus. 11. Cuius rei scientiam<sup>1</sup> his interim duobus exemplis monstrari sufficiet: <sup>2</sup> per vulturem naturae vocabulum pandunt, quia mares nullos posse inter has alites inveniri, rationes memorant physicae, perque speciem apis mella conficientis, indicant regem, moderatori cum iucunditate aculeos quoque innasci debere his rerum insignibus<sup>3</sup> ostendentes. Et similia plurima.

12. Et quia sufflantes adultores ex more Constantium id sine modo strepebant, quod cum Octavianus Augustus obeliscos duos ab Heliopolitana civitate transtulisset Aegyptia, quorum unus in Circo Maximo alter in Campo locatus est Martio, hunc recens advectum, difficultate magnitudinis territus, nec contrectare ausus est nec movere, discant qui ignorant, veterem principem translatis aliquibus hunc intactum ideo praeterisse, quod Deo Soli speciali munere dedicatus, fixusque intra ambitiosi templi delubra, quae contingi non poterant, tamquam apex omnium eminebat. 13. Verum Constantinus id parvi ducens, avulsam hanc molem sedibus suis, nihilque committere in religionem

<sup>1</sup> *scientiam*, Eyssen.; *scientia in*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *duobus exemplis monstrare sufficiet*, Novák (*d.e. expediam*, Schneider); lac. indicated by Clark; *exemplum* without lac., V.  
<sup>3</sup> *rerum insignibus*, Novák; *signibus (signis, V<sup>3</sup>)*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The females were said to be impregnated by the south or the east winds; Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* ii. 46; cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 93.

expresses whatever the mind of man may conceive, did the ancient Egyptians also write ; but individual characters stood for individual nouns and verbs ; and sometimes they meant whole phrases. 11. The principle of this thing for the time it will suffice to illustrate with these two examples : by a vulture they represent the word " nature," because, as natural history records, no males can be found among these birds ;<sup>1</sup> and under the figure of a bee making honey they designate " a king," showing by this imagery that in a ruler sweetness should be combined with a sting as well ;<sup>2</sup> and there are many similar instances.

12. And because sycophants, after their fashion, kept puffing up Constantius and endlessly dinning it into his ears that, whereas Octavianus Augustus had brought over two obelisks from the city of Heliopolis in Egypt, one of which was set up in the Circus Maximus, the other in the Campus Martius, as for this one recently brought in, he neither ventured to meddle with it nor move it, overawed by the difficulties caused by its size—let me inform those who do not know it that that early emperor, after bringing over several obelisks, passed by this one and left it untouched because it was consecrated as a special gift to the Sun God, and because being placed in the sacred part of his sumptuous temple, which might not be profaned, there it towered aloft like the peak of the world. 13. But Constantine,<sup>3</sup> making little account of that, tore the huge mass from its foundations ; and since he rightly thought that he was committing no

<sup>2</sup> Seneca, *De Clem.* i. 19, 2 ff., compares a king to a bee.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Constantine the Great.

recte existimans, si ablatum uno templo miraculum Romae sacraret, id est in templo mundi totius, iacere diu perpessus est, dum translationi pararentur utilia. Quo convecto per alveum Nili, proiectoque Alexandriae, navis amplitudinis antehac inusitatae aedificata est, sub trecentis remigibus agitanda. 14. Quibus ita provisus, digressoque vita principe memorato, urgens effectus intepuit. tandemque sero inpositus navi, per maria fluentaque Tibridis, velut paventis, ne quod paene ignotus miserat Nilus, ipse parum sub emeatus<sup>1</sup> sui discrimine moenibus alumnis inferret, defertur in vicum Alexandri, tertio lapide ab urbe seiunctum. Unde chamulcis inpositus, tractusque lenius per Ostiensem portam piscinamque publicam, Circo illatus est Maximo. 15. Sola post haec restabat erectio, quae vix aut ne vix quidem sperabatur posse compleri. At ea ita est facta: aggestis erectisque digestisque ad perpendicularum<sup>2</sup> altis trabibus (ut machinarum cerneret nemus) innectuntur vasti funes et longi, ad speciem multiplicium liciorum, caelum densitate nimia subtexentes. Quibus colligatus mons ipse effigiatus scriptilibus elementis, paulatimque in

<sup>1</sup> *emeatus*, G, Clark; *emeatu*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *at ea . . . erectisque*, Novák; *digestis ad perpendicularum*, Haupt.; *ilestisque periculum*, V.

<sup>1</sup> The origin of the name is unknown; it was obviously on the Tiber, below Rome.

<sup>2</sup> *Chamulcus*, which occurs only here, is the Greek *χαμουλκός* glossed by Latin *traha* (cf. Virg. *Georg.* i. 164). Here, a kind of sledge or platform without wheels, on which ships were launched or drawn up on the shore.



sacrilege if he took this marvel from one temple and consecrated it at Rome, that is to say, in the temple of the whole world, he let it lie for a long time, while the things necessary for its transfer were being provided. And when it had been conveyed down the channel of the Nile and landed at Alexandria, a ship of a size hitherto unknown was constructed, to be rowed by three hundred oarsmen. 14. After these provisions, the aforesaid emperor departed this life and the urgency of the enterprise waned, but at last the obelisk was loaded on the ship, after long delay, and brought over the sea and up the channel of the Tiber, which seemed to fear that it could hardly forward over the difficulties of its course to the walls of its foster-child the gift which the almost unknown Nile had sent. But it was brought to the vicus Alexandri<sup>1</sup> distant three miles from the city. There it was put on cradles<sup>2</sup> and carefully drawn through the Ostian Gate and by the Piscina Publica<sup>3</sup> and brought into the Circus Maximus. 15. After this there remained only the raising, which it was thought could be accomplished only with great difficulty, perhaps not at all. But it was done in the following manner: to tall beams which were brought and raised on end (so that you would see a very grove of derricks) were fastened long and heavy ropes in the likeness of a manifold web hiding the sky with their excessive numbers. To these was attached that veritable mountain written over with engraved characters, and it was gradually drawn up on high through the empty

<sup>3</sup> One of the regions of the city, a part of the Aventine Hill.

arduum per inane <sup>1</sup> protentus, diu <sup>2</sup> pensilis, hominum milibus multis tamquam molendinarias rotantibus metas, cavea locatur in media, eique sphaera superponitur ahenea, aureis lamminis nitens, qua confestim vi ignis divini contacta, ideoque sublata, facis imitamentum infigitur <sup>3</sup> aereum, itidem auro imbracteatum, velut abundantanti flamma eadentis. 16. Secutaeque aetates alios transtulerunt, quorum unus in Vaticano, alter in hortis Sallusti, duo in Augusti monumento erecti sunt. 17. Qui autem notarum textus obeliseo incisus est veteri, quem videmus in Circo, Hermapionis librum secuti interpretatum litteris subiecimur Graccis.<sup>4</sup>

ΑΡΧΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΤΙΟΥ ΔΙΕΡΜΗΝΕΥ-  
ΜΕΝΑ ΕΧΕΙ ΣΤΙΧΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΤΑΔΕ  
ΛΕΓΕΙ

18. Ἡλιος βασιλεῖ Ῥαμέστη · δεδώρημαί σοι  
ἀνὰ πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην μετὰ χαρᾶς βασιλεύειν, ὄν

<sup>1</sup> *in arduum per inane*, Eyssen.; *id per arduum inane*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *diuque*, BG; *diutius*, Her.      <sup>3</sup> *infigitur*, Val.; *infigura*, V.      <sup>4</sup> The entire inser. is preserved only in G. V has two unintelligible lines with lac. of 1½ pages. Several MSS. omit the Greek, a greater number have the same amount of Greek as V. It seems best to refer to Clark's crit. app. for the numerous variants and conjectures.

<sup>1</sup> Here *meta* must refer to the upper (outer) part of the mill, which was turned around the inner stone.

<sup>2</sup> *Cavea*, regularly used for the spectators' seats, here

air, and after hanging for a long time, while many thousand men turned wheels<sup>1</sup> resembling millstones. it was finally placed in the middle of the circus<sup>2</sup> and capped by a bronze globe gleaming with gold-leaf; this was immediately struck by a bolt of the divine fire and therefore removed and replaced by a bronze figure of a torch, likewise overlaid with gold-foil and glowing like a mass of flame. 16. And subsequent generations have brought over other obelisks, of which one was set up on the Vatican,<sup>3</sup> another in the gardens of Sallust,<sup>4</sup> and two at the mausoleum of Augustus.<sup>5</sup> 17. Now the text of the characters cut upon the ancient obelisk which we see in the Circus<sup>6</sup> I add below in its Greek translation, following the work of Hermapion.<sup>7</sup> 18. The translation of the first line, beginning on the South side, reads as follows: "The Sun speaks to King Ramestes. I have granted to thee that thou shouldst with joy rule over the whole earth, thou

means the circus as a whole; cf. Plautus, *Truc.* 931, *quod verbum in cavea dixit histrio*; Cic., *De Leg.* ii. 15, 38.

<sup>3</sup> On the *spina* of the *Circus Gai et Neronis*; it is now in front of St. Peter's; it is 25.36 m. high and without hieroglyphics.

<sup>4</sup> These now belonged to the imperial house; the obelisk is at present in the *Piazza della Trinità dei Monte*; it is 13 m. high and has a copy, made in Rome, of the hieroglyphics on the obelisk set up by Augustus in the Circus Maximus.

<sup>5</sup> These are now before the church of Sta Maria Maggiore and on the Quirinal; the former is 14.40 m. high, the latter somewhat less; neither has hieroglyphics.

<sup>6</sup> This obelisk, the greatest of them all (32.50 m.), was set up at the Lateran by Fontana in 1588.

<sup>7</sup> He seems to have lived in the time of Augustus.

"Ἡλιος φιλεῖ. - |καὶ| Ἐπόλλων κρατερός φιλαλή-  
θης υἱὸς Ἡρώου, δεογένητος κτιστῆς τῆς οἰκου-  
μένης, ὃν Ἡλιος προέκρινεν, ἄλκιμος Ἄρεως  
βασιλεὺς Ῥαμέστης. ᾧ πᾶσα ὑποτέτακται ἡ γῆ  
μετὰ ἀλκῆς καὶ θάρσους. βασιλεὺς Ῥαμέστης  
Ἡλίου παῖς αἰωνόβιος.

### ΣΤΙΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

19. Ἐπόλλων κρατερός, ὁ ἐστὼς ἐπ' ἀληθείας,  
δεσπότης διαδήματος, τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοξάσας κεκτη-  
μένος, ὁ ἀγλαοποιήσας Ἡλίου πόλιν, καὶ κτίσας  
τὴν λοιπὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ πολυτιμήσας τοὺς ἐν  
Ἡλίου πόλει θεοὺς ἀνιδρυμένους, ὃν Ἡλιος φιλεῖ.

### ΤΡΙΤΟΣ ΣΤΙΧΟΣ

20. Ἐπόλλων κρατερός Ἡλίου παῖς παμφεγγῆς,  
ὃν Ἡλιος προέκρινεν καὶ Ἄρης ἄλκιμος ἐδωρή-  
σατο. οὗ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν παντὶ διαμένει καιρῷ. ὃν  
Ἄμμων ἀγαπᾷ, πληρώσας τὸν νέων τοῦ φοίνικος  
ἀγαθῶν. ᾧ οἱ θεοὶ ζωῆς χρόνον ἐδωρήσαντο.

Ἐπόλλων κρατερός υἱὸς Ἡρώου βασιλεὺς  
οἰκουμένης Ῥαμέστης, ὃς ἐφύλαξεν Αἴγυπτον τοὺς  
ἄλλοεθνεῖς νικήσας, ὃν Ἡλιος φιλεῖ, ᾧ πολὺν  
χρόνον ζωῆς ἐδωρήσαντο θεοὶ. δεσπότης οἰκου-  
μένης Ῥαμέστης αἰωνόβιος.

whom the Sun loveth—and powerful Apollo, lover of truth, son of Heron, god-born, creator of the world, whom the Sun hath chosen, the doughty son of Mars, King Ramestes. Unto him the whole earth is made subject through his valour and boldness. King Ramestes, eternal child of the Sun.”

## SECOND LINE.

19. “Mighty Apollo, seated upon truth, Lord of the Diadem, who hath gloriously honoured Egypt as his peculiar possession, who hath beautified Heliopolis, created the rest of the world, and adorned with manifold honours the Gods erected in Heliopolis—he whom the Sun loveth.”

## THIRD LINE.

20. “Mighty Apollo, child of the Sun, all-radiant, whom the Sun hath chosen and valiant Mars endowed; whose blessings shall endure forever; whom Ammon<sup>1</sup> loveth, as having filled his temple with the good fruits of the date palm; unto whom the Gods have given length of life.

“Apollo, mighty son of Heron,<sup>2</sup> Ramestes,<sup>2</sup> king of the world, who hath preserved Egypt by conquering other nations; whom the Sun loveth; to whom the Gods have granted length of life; Lord of the world, Ramestes ever-living.”

<sup>1</sup> Ammon (or Hammon), was an important Egyptian and Libyan god, identified by the Romans with Jupiter, cf. Virg., *Aen.* iv. 198 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Index.

ΛΙΒΟΣ ΣΤΙΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

21. Ἡλιος θεὸς μέγας δεσπότης οὐρανοῦ. δεδώρημαί σοι βίον ἀπρόσκοπον. Ἀπόλλων κρατερὸς κύριος διαδήματος ἀνείκαστος, ὃς τῶν θεῶν ἀνδριάντας ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βασιλείᾳ, δεσπότης Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐκόσμησεν Ἡλίου πόλιν ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸν Ἡλιον δεσπότην οὐρανοῦ. συνετελεύτησεν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν Ἡλίου παῖς βασιλεὺς αἰωνόβιος.

ΤΡΙΤΟΣ ΣΤΙΧΟΣ

22. Ἡλιος θεὸς δεσπότης οὐρανοῦ Ῥαμέστη βασιλεῖ. δεδώρημαι τὸ κράτος καὶ τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν. ὃν Ἀπόλλων φιλαλήθης δεσπότης χρόνων καὶ Ἡφαιστος ὁ τῶν θεῶν πατὴρ προέκρινεν διὰ τὸν Ἄρεα. βασιλεὺς παγχαρῆς Ἡλίου παῖς, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡλίου φιλούμενος.

ΑΦΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΣΤΙΧΟΣ

23. Ὁ ἀφ' Ἡλίου πόλεως μέγας θεὸς ἐνουράνιος Ἀπόλλων κρατερός, Ἡρωνος υἱὸς, ὃν Ἡλιος ἠγάπησεν, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ ἐτίμησαν, ὁ πάσης γῆς βασιλεύων, ὃν Ἡλιος προέκρινεν, ὁ ἄλκιμος διὰ τὸν Ἄρεα βασιλεὺς, ὃν Ἄμμων φιλεῖ. καὶ ὁ παμφεγγῆς συγκρίνας αἰώνιον βασιλέα et reliqua.

WEST SIDE, SECOND LINE.<sup>1</sup>

21. "The Sun, great God, Lord of Heaven; I have granted to thee life hitherto unforeseen. Apollo the mighty, Lord incomparable of the Diadem, who hath set up statues of the Gods in this kingdom, ruler of Egypt, and he adorned Heliopolis just as he did the Sun himself, Ruler of Heaven; he finished a good work, child of the Sun, the king ever-living."

## THIRD LINE.

22. "The God Sun, Lord of Heaven, to Ramestes the king. I have granted to thee the rule and the authority over all men; whom Apollo, lover of truth, Lord of seasons, and Vulcan, father of the Gods, hath chosen for Mars. King all-gladdening, child of the Sun and beloved of the Sun."

## EAST SIDE, FIRST LINE.

23. "The great God of Heliopolis, heavenly, mighty Apollo, son of Heron, whom the Sun hath loved, whom the Gods hath honoured, the ruler over all the earth, whom the Sun hath chosen, a king valiant for Mars, whom Ammon loveth, and he that is all-radiant, having set apart the king eternal"; and so on.

<sup>1</sup>There seems to be no reason to suspect lacunae. Ammianus gave only parts of the inscriptions as specimens, in order not to weary his readers by repetitions of the same general purport.

5. *Constantius Aug. et Sapor Persarum rex frustra de pace per litteras et legatos agant.*

1. Datiano et Cereali consulibus, cum universa per Gallias studio cautiore disponderentur, formidoque praeteritorum barbaricos hebetaret excursus, rex Persarum in confiniis agens adhuc gentium extimarum, iamque cum Chionitis et Gelanis, omnium acerrimis bellatoribus, pignore icto societatis, rediturus ad sua, Tamsaporis scripta suscepit, pacem Romanum principem nuntiantis poscere precativam.

2. Ideoque non nisi infirmato imperii robore temptari talia suspicatus, latius semet extentans, pacis amplectitur nomen, et condiciones proposuit graves, missoque cum muneribus Narseo quodam legato, litteras ad Constantium dedit nusquam a genuino fastu declinans, quarum hunc fuisse accepimus sensum :

3. “ Rex regum Sapor. particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae, Constantio Caesari fratri meo salutem plurimam dico.

“ Gaudeo tandemque mihi placet, ad optimam viam te revertisse, et incorruptum aequitatis agnovisse suffragium, rebus ipsis expertum pertinax alieni cupiditas quas aliquotiens ediderit strages.

4. Quia igitur veritatis ratio soluta esse debet et



5. *Constantius Augustus and Sapor, king of the Persians, negotiate for peace through letters and envoys ; but to no purpose.*

1. In the consulship of Datianus and Cerealis, while all provisions in Gaul were being made with very careful endeavour, and dismay due to past losses halted the raids of the savages, the king of Persia was still encamped in the confines of the frontier tribes ; and having now made a treaty of alliance with the Chionitae and Gelani, the fiercest warriors of all, he was on the point of returning to his own territories, when he received Tamsapor's letter, stating that the Roman emperor begged and entreated for peace. 2. Therefore, imagining that such a step would not be attempted unless the fabric of the empire were weakened, he swelled with still greater pride, embraced the name of peace, and proposed hard conditions ; and dispatching one Narseus with gifts as his envoy, he sent a letter to Constantius, in no wise deviating from his native haughtiness, the tenor of which, as we have learned, was as follows :—

3. “ I Sapor, King of Kings, partner with the Stars, brother of the Sun and Moon, to my brother Constantius Caesar offer most ample greeting.

“ I rejoice and at last take pleasure that you have returned to the best course and acknowledged the inviolable sanction of justice, having learned from actual experience what havoc has been caused at various times by obstinate covetousness of what belongs to others. 4. Since therefore the consideration of truth ought to be free and untrammelled.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

libera, et celsiores fortunas idem loqui decet atque sentire, propositum meum in pauca conferam reminiscens, haec quae dicturus sum me saepius replicasse. 5. Ad usque Strymona flumen et Macedonicos fines tenuisse maiores imperium<sup>1</sup> meos, antiquitates quoque vestrae testantur; haec me convenit flagitare (ne sit arrogans quod affirmo) splendore virtutumque insignium serie, vetustis regibus antistantem. Sed ubique mihi cordi est recta ratio,<sup>2</sup> cui coalitus ab adulescentia prima, nihil unquam paenitendum admisi. 6. Ideoque Armeniam recuperare cum Mesopotamia debeo, avo meo composita fraude praereptam. Illud apud nos numquam in acceptum feretur,<sup>3</sup> quod asseritis vos exsultantes, nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli, prosperos omnes laudari debere bellorum eventus. 7. Postremo si morem gerere suadenti volueris recte, contemne partem exiguam, semper luctificam et cruentam, ut cetera regas securus, prudenter reputans medellarum quoque artifices urere non numquam et secare et partes corporum amputare, ut reliquis uti liceat integris, hocque bestias factitare: quae cum advertant cur maximo opere capiantur, illud propria sponte amittunt, ut vivere deinde possint impavidae. 8. Id sane pronuntio, quod si haec mea legatio redierit irrita, post tempus

<sup>1</sup> *imperium*, added by Clark c.e.; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *recta ratio*, Erfurdt; *moderatio* or *ratio*, Val.; *recordatio*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *feretur*, Haupt.; *fretus*, V.

and it befits those in high station to speak as they feel, I shall state my proposal in brief terms, recalling that what I am about to say I have often repeated. 5. That my forefathers' empire reached as far as the river Strymon and the boundaries of Macedonia even your own ancient records bear witness; these lands it is fitting that I should demand, since (and may what I say not seem arrogant) I surpass the kings of old in magnificence and array of conspicuous virtues. But at all times right reason is dear to me, and trained in it from my earliest youth, I have never allowed myself to do anything for which I had cause to repent. 6. And therefore it is my duty to recover Armenia with Mesopotamia, which double-dealing wrested from my grandfather. That principle shall never be brought to acceptance among us which you exultantly maintain, that without any distinction between virtue and deceit all successful events of war should be approved. 7. Finally, if you wish to follow my sound advice, disregard this small tract, always a source of woe and bloodshed, so that you may rule the rest in security, wisely recalling that even expert physicians sometimes cauterize, lance, and even cut away some parts of the body, in order to save the rest sound for use; and that even wild beasts do this: for when they observe for what possession they are being relentlessly hunted, they give that up of their own accord, so as afterwards to live free from fear.<sup>1</sup> 8. This assuredly I declare, that if this embassy of mine returns unsuccessful, after the time of the winter

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Cic., *pro Scauro*, 2, 7; Juv. xii. 34 f., of the beaver.

hiemalis quietis exemptum, viribus totis accinctus, fortuna condicionumque aequitate spem successus secundi fundante, venire, quoad ratio siverit, festinabo.”

9. His litteris diu libratis, recto pectore (quod dicitur) considerateque responsum est, hoc modo :

10. “Victor terra marique Constantius, semper Augustus, fratri meo Saporì regi salutem plurimam dico.

Sospitati quidem tuae gratulor ut futurus (si velis,) amicus, cupiditatem vero semper indeflexam fusiusque vagantem, vehementer insimulo. 11. Mesopotamiam poscis ut tuam, perindeque Armeniam, et suades integro corpori adimere membra quaedam, ut salus eius deinceps locetur in solido, quod infindendum<sup>1</sup> est potius quam ulla consensione firmandum. Accipe igitur veritatem, non obtectam praestigiis, sed perspicuam, nullisque minis inanibus perterrendam. 12. Praefectus praetorio meus, opinatus aggredi negotium publicae utilitati conducens, cum duce tuo per quosdam ignobiles, me inconsulto, sermones conseruit super pace. Non refutamus hanc nec repellimus : adsit modo cum decore et honestate, nihil pudori nostro praereptura vel maiestati. 13. Est enim absonum et insipiens nunc cum<sup>2</sup> gestarum rerum ordines (placatae siint aerae invidiae !) nobis multipliciter

<sup>1</sup> *infindendum*, Damsté, cf. Val. Flacc. i. 687 ; *infringendum*, Haupt. ; *in fundendum*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *nunc cum*, Clark ; *cum*, F<sup>2</sup> BG ; *nam*, Bentley ; *num*, V.

rest is past I shall gird myself with all my strength and with fortune and the justice of my terms upholding my hope of a successful issue, I shall hasten to come on, so far as reason permits."

9. After this letter had long been pondered, answer was made with upright heart, as they say, and circumspectly, as follows:—

10. "I, Constantius, victor by land and sea, perpetual Augustus, to my brother King Sapor, offer most ample greeting.

"I rejoice in your health, and if you will, I shall be your friend hereafter; but this covetousness of yours, always unbending and more widely encroaching, I vehemently reprobate. 11. You demand Mesopotamia as your own and likewise Armenia, and you recommend lopping off some members of a sound body, so that its health may afterwards be put upon a firm footing—advice which is rather to be refuted than to be confirmed by any agreement. Therefore listen to the truth, not obscured by any juggling, but transparent and not to be intimidated by any empty threats. 12. My praetorian prefect, thinking to undertake an enterprise conducing to the public weal, entered into conversations with a general of yours, through the agency of some individuals of little worth and without consulting me, on the subject of peace. This we neither reject nor refuse, if only it take place with dignity and honour, without at all prejudicing our self-respect or our majesty. 13. For at this time, when the sequence of events (may envious ears be placated!) has beamed in manifold form upon us, when with the overthrow of the

illuxerunt, cum deletis tyrannis, totus orbis Romanus nobis obtemperat, ea prodere, quae contrusi<sup>1</sup> in orientales angustias, diu servavimus inlibata. 14. Cessent autem quaeso formidines, quae nobis intentantur ex more. cum ambigi nequeat, non inertia nos sed modestia, pugnas interdum excepisse potius quam intulisse, et nostra quotiens lacescimus, fortissimo bonae conscientiae<sup>2</sup> spiritu defensare. id experiendo legendoque scientes, in proeliis quibusdam raro rem titubasse Romanam, in summa vero bellorum numquam ad deteriora prolapsam.”

15. Hanc legationem nullo impetrato remissam,—nec enim effrenatae regis cupiditati responderi amplius quicquam potuit—post paucissimos dies secutus est Prosper comes et Speetatus tribunus, et notarius itemque Eustathius, Musoniano suggerente philosophus, ut opifex suadendi; imperatoris scripta perferentes et munera. enisuri apparatus interim Saporis arte quadam suspendere, ne<sup>3</sup> supra humanum modum provinciae munirentur arctoe.

<sup>1</sup> *contrusi*, Bentley, Haupt.; *contra si*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *bonae conscientiae*, Novák, cf. xvi. 7, 7, etc.; *benecolentiae*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *ne*, added by Clark; *ut*, BG; *dum*, Bentley; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, when Constantius shared the rule with his brothers and governed only the eastern provinces.

usurpers the whole Roman world is subject to us, it is absurd and silly to surrender what we long preserved unmolested when we were still confined within the bounds of the Orient.<sup>1</sup> 14. Furthermore, pray make an end of those intimidations which (as usual) are directed against us, since there can be no doubt that it was not through slackness, but through self-restraint that we have sometimes accepted battle rather than offered it, and that when we are set upon, we defend our territories with the most valiant spirit of a good conscience: for we know both by experience and by reading that while in some battles, though rarely, the Roman cause has stumbled, yet in the main issue of our wars it has never succumbed to defeat.”

15. This embassy having been sent back without obtaining anything—for no fuller answer could be made to the king's unbridled greed—after a very few days it was followed by Count Prosper,<sup>2</sup> Spectatus, tribune and secretary,<sup>3</sup> and likewise, at the suggestion of Musonianus,<sup>4</sup> the philosopher Eustathius,<sup>5</sup> as a master of persuasion; they carried with them letters of the emperor and gifts, and meanwhile planned by some craft or other to stay Sapor's preparations, so that his northern provinces might not be fortified beyond the possibility of attack.

<sup>2</sup> See xiv. 11, 5; xv. 13, 3.

<sup>3</sup> There were three classes of secretaries. The highest held the rank of tribune; see *Introd.*, pp. xliii f.

<sup>4</sup> See xv. 13, 1; xvi. 9, 2.

<sup>5</sup> From Cappadocia, a pupil of Iamblicus.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

### 6. *Iuthungi. gens Alamannica, in Raetiis quas populabantur, a Romanis caesi fugatique.*

1. Inter quae ita ambigua, Iuthungi Alamannorum pars Italicis conterminans tractibus. obliti pacis et foederum, quae adepti sunt obsecrando, Raetias turbulente vastabant, adeo ut etiam oppidorum temptarent obsidia praeter solitum. 2. Ad quos repellendos cum valida manu missus Barbatio, in locum Silvani peditum promotus magister, ignavus sed verbis effusior, alacritate militum vehementer erecta, prostravit acerrime multos, ita ut exigua portio, quae periculi metu se dedit in fugam, aegre dilapsa. lares<sup>1</sup> suos non sine lacrimis reviseret et lamentis. 3. Huic pugnae Nevitta, postea consul, equestris praepositus turmae, et adfuisse et fortiter fecisse firmatur.

### 7. *Nicomedia terrae motu prostrata : et quot modis terra quatiatur.*

1. Eisdem diebus terrae motus horrendi. per Macedoniam Asiamque et Pontum, assiduis pulsibus oppida multa concusserunt et montes. Inter monumenta tamen multiformium aerumnarum, eminere Nicomediae clades, Bithyniae urbium matris, cuius ruinarum eventum vere breviterque absolvam.

<sup>1</sup> lares, N<sup>2</sup> E<sup>2</sup>, Gardt. : res, V.



6. *The Juthungi, a tribe of the Alamanni, who were devastating Retia, were defeated and put to flight by the Romans.*

1. In the midst of these uncertainties the Juthungi, a branch of the Alamanni bordering on Italian territory, forgetful of the peace and the treaty which they had obtained by their prayers, were laying waste Raetia with such violence as even to attempt the besieging of towns, contrary to their habit. 2. To drive them back Barbatio was sent with a strong force; he had been promoted in place of Silvanus to be infantry commander. He was a coward but a fluent speaker, and having thoroughly roused the enthusiasm of the soldiers he utterly defeated a large number of the foe, so that only a small remnant, who for fear of danger had taken to flight, barely escaped and returned to their homes, not without tears and lamentations. 3. In this battle, we are assured, Nevitta, commander of a troop of cavalry and afterwards consul,<sup>1</sup> was present and conducted himself manfully.

7. *Nicomedia is destroyed by an earthquake; the different ways in which the earth is shaken.*

1. At that same time fearful earthquakes throughout Asia, Macedonia, and Pontus with their repeated shocks shattered numerous cities and mountains. Now among the instances of manifold disaster was pre-eminent the collapse of Nicomedia, the metropolis of Bithynia; and of the misfortune of its destruction I shall give a true and concise account.

<sup>1</sup> With Mamertinus in 362.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

2. Primo lucis exortu, diem nonum kal. Septembrium, concreti nubium globi nigrantium, lactam paulo ante caeli speciem confuderunt, et amendato solis splendore, nec contigua vel apposita cernebantur; ita oculorum obtutu praestricto, humo involutus crassae caliginis squalor insedit. 3. Dein velut numine summo fatales contorquente manubias, ventosque ab ipsis excitante cardinibus, magnitudo furentium incubuit procellarum, cuius impetu pulsorum auditus est montium gemitus, et elisi litoris fragor, haecque secuti typhones atque presteres, cum horrifico tremore terrarum, civitatem et suburbana funditus everterunt. 4. Et quoniam acclivitate collium aedes pleraeque vehebantur, aliae super alias concidebant, reclaudentibus eunctis sonitu ruinarum immenso. Inter quae clamoribus variis celsa culmina resultabant, quaeritantium coniugium liberosque, et siquid necessitudines artae constringunt. 5. Post horam denique secundam (multo<sup>1</sup> ante tertiam) aer iam sudus et liquidus latentes retexit funereas strages. Non nulli enim superuentium rudерum vi nimia constipati, sub ipsis interiere ponderibus; quidam collo tenus aggeribus

<sup>1</sup> non multo, Eyssen. ; paulo, Bentley ; multo, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Augural language; see Seneca. *N.Q.* ii. 41: for the usual meaning of *manubiae*, see Gellius, xiii. 25: he does not seem to know this use of the word.

<sup>2</sup> *Cardines* are the four cardinal points, north, south,

2. On the twenty-fourth of August, at the first break of day, thick masses of darkling clouds overcast the face of the sky, which had just before been brilliant; the sun's splendour was dimmed, and not even objects near at hand or close by could be discerned, so restricted was the range of vision, as a foul, dense mist rolled up and settled over the ground. 3. Then, as if the supreme deity were hurling his fateful bolts<sup>1</sup> and raising the winds from their very quarters,<sup>2</sup> a mighty tempest of raging gales burst forth; and at its onslaught were heard the groans of the smitten mountains and the crash of the wave-lashed shore; these were followed by whirlwinds and waterspouts, which, together with a terrific earthquake, completely overturned the city and its suburbs. 4. And since most of the houses were carried down the slopes of the hills, they fell one upon another, while everything resounded with the vast roar of their destruction. Meanwhile the highest points re-echoed all manner of outcries, of those seeking their wives, their children, and whatever near kinsfolk belonged to them. 5. Finally, after the second hour, but well before the third, the air, which was now bright and clear, revealed the fatal ravages that lay concealed. For some who had been crushed by the huge bulk of the debris falling upon them perished under its very weight; some were buried up to their necks

east, and west. Gellius, ii. 22, in his description of the winds, does not use *cardines* (probably because he speaks also of winds coming from between the *cardines*), but *loca*, *regiones* (§ 2), *limites regionesque* (§ 3), *regiones caeli* (§ 13), *caeli partibus* (§ 17).

obruti, cum superesse possent siqui iuissent, auxiliorum inopia necabantur; alii lignorum exstantium acuminibus fixi pendebant. 6. Uno ietu caesi complures, paulo ante homines tunc promiscuae strages cadaverum cernebantur. Quosdam domorum inclinata fastigia intrinsecus servabant<sup>1</sup> intactos, angore et inedia consumendos. Inter quos Aristae-netus affectatam recens dioecensin curans vicaria potestate, quam Constantius ad honorem uxoris Eusebiae, Pietatis cognominarat, animam hoc casu cruciatam diutius exhalavit. 7. Alii subita magnitudine ruinae oppressi, eisdem adhuc molibus conteguntur. Collis is quidam capitibus, vel umeris praeseectis aut cruribus, inter vitae mortisque con-finia, aliorum adiumenta paria perferentium im-plorantes, cum obstestatione magna descrebantur. 8. Et superesse potuit aedium sacrarum et privatarum, hominumque pars maior, ni palantes abrupti flammaram ardores per quinque dies et noctes, quicquid consumi poterat exussissent.

9. Adesse tempus existimo, pauca dicere quae de terrae pulsibus coniectura veteres collegerunt. Ad ipsius enim veritatis arcana, non modo haec nostra vulgaris incitia, sed ne sempiterna quidem lueubra-tionibus longis nondum exhausta, physicorum iurgia penetrarunt. 10. Unde et in ritualibus et ponti-ficio<sup>2</sup> sacerdotio obtemperantibus libris super auctore

<sup>1</sup> *seruabant*, N. Bentley, Novák: *serabant*, E. Haupt.; *sepiebant*, Cornelissen: *sercbant*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *pontificio . . . dicitur*, Novák (lac. suspected by Clark); *pontificiis* (without lac.) *obtemperantur obtemperantibus observantibus sacerdotiis*, V.

in the heaps of rubbish, and might have survived had anyone helped them, but died for want of assistance; others hung impaled upon the sharp points of projecting timbers. 6. The greater number were killed at one blow, and where there were just now human beings, were then seen confused piles of corpses. Some were imprisoned unhurt within fallen houseroofs, to be consumed by the agony of starvation. Among these was Aristaenetus, vice-governor of the recently created diocese which Constantius, in honour of his wife, Eusebia, had named Pietas; by this kind of mishap he slowly panted out his life amid torments. 7. Others, who were overwhelmed by the sudden magnitude of the disaster, are still hidden under the same ruins; some who with fractured skulls or amputated arms or legs hovered between life and death, imploring the aid of others in the same case, were abandoned, despite their strong entreaties. 8. And, the greater part of the temples and private houses might have been saved, and of the population as well, had not a sudden onrush of flames, sweeping over them for five days and nights, burned up whatever could be consumed.

9. I think the time has come to say a few words about the theories which the men of old have brought together about earthquakes; for the hidden depths of the truth itself have neither been sounded by this general ignorance of ours, nor even by the everlasting controversies of the natural philosophers, which are not yet ended after long study. 10. Hence in the books of ritual<sup>1</sup> and in those which are in

<sup>1</sup> See Cic., *de Div.* i. 33, 72; Festus, p. 285 M.

motus terrae nihil dicitur caute, ne alio deo pro alio nominato, cum qui eorum terram concutiat, sit in abstruso, piacula committantur. 11. Accidunt autem, (ut opiniones aestimant inter quas Aristoteles aestuat et laborat), aut in cavernis minutis terrarum, quas Graece *σίπρυγας* appellamus, impulsu erebriore aquis undabundis; aut certe (ut Anaxagoras affirmat,) ventorum vi subeuntium ima terrarum; qui cum soliditatibus conerustatis inciderint, eruptiones nullas reperientes, eas partes soli convibrant, quas subreperierint tumidi.<sup>1</sup> Unde plerumque observatur, terra tremente, ventorum apud nos spiramina nulla sentiri, quod in ultimis eius secessibus occupantur. 12. Anaximander ait, arescentem nimia aestuum siccitate, aut post madores imbrium terram rimas pandere grandiores, quas penetrat supernus aer violentus et nimius, ac per eas vehementi spiritu quassatam, cieri propriis sedibus. Qua de causa terrores huius modi, vaporatis temporibus, aut nimia aquarum caelestium superfusione, contingunt. Ideoque Neptunum, umentis substantiae potestatem. Ennosigaeon et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncuparunt.

<sup>1</sup> *tumidi*, suggested by Gardt.: *amidi*, V; Cornelissen deleted as dittography.

<sup>1</sup> The *pontificiales libri* of Seneca, *Epist.* 108, 31.

<sup>2</sup> The Roman ritual required that in addressing a god, the identity of the god must be made sure and he must be called by his proper name; cf. for example, Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6, 20, *Matutine pater, seu "Iane" libentius audis*, and the altar at the foot of the Palatine, *sei deo sei deivae sacrum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Meteorologica*, ii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Subterranean passages.

conformity with the pontifical priesthood.<sup>1</sup> nothing is said about the god that causes earthquakes, and this with due caution, for fear that by naming one deity instead of another,<sup>2</sup> since it is not clear which of them thus shakes the earth, impieties may be perpetrated.

11. Now earthquakes take place (as the theories state, and among them Aristotle<sup>3</sup> is perplexed and troubled) either in the tiny recesses of the earth, which in Greek we call *σείριγγαι*,<sup>4</sup> under the excessive pressure of surging waters; or at any rate (as Anaxagoras asserts) through the force of the winds, which penetrate the innermost parts of the earth; for when these strike the solidly cemented walls and find no outlet, they violently shake those stretches of land under which they crept when swollen. Hence it is generally observed that during an earthquake not a breath of wind is felt where we are.<sup>5</sup> because the winds are busied in the remotest recesses of the earth.

12. Anaximander says that when the earth dries up after excessive summer drought, or after soaking rainstorms, great clefts open, through which the upper air enters with excessive violence; and the earth, shaken by the mighty draft of air through these, is stirred from its very foundations. Accordingly such terrible disasters happen either in seasons of stifling heat or after excessive precipitation of water from heaven. And that is why the ancient poets and theologians call Neptune (the power of the watery element) Ennosigaeos<sup>6</sup> and Sisichthos.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> But compare the *procellae* of § 3, above.

<sup>6</sup> Earthshaker, Juv. x. 182.

<sup>7</sup> Earthquaker, Gell. ii. 28, 1.

13. Finit autem terrarum motus modis quattuor : aut enim brasmatiae sunt, qui humum more aestus imitus<sup>1</sup> suscitantes. sursum propellunt immanissimae moles, ut in Asia Delos emersit, et Hiera et Anaphe et Rhodus, Ophiusa et Pelagia, prioribus saeculis dictitata. aureo quondam imbri perfusa, et Eleusin in Boeotia, et apud Tyrrenos Vuleanus, insulaeque plures; aut climatiae qui limes ruentes atque<sup>2</sup> obliqui, urbes aedificia montesque complanant; aut chasmatiae qui grandiore motu patefactis subito voratrinis, terrarum partes absorbent, ut in Atlantico mari, Europaeo orbe spatiosior insula, et in Crisaeo sinu Helice et Bura, et in Ciminia Italiae parte, oppidum Saccumum, ad Erebi profundos hiatus abactae, aeternis tenebris occultantur. 14. Inter haec tria genera terrae motuum, mycematiae sonitu audiuntur minaci, cum dissolutis elementa compagibus, ultro assiliunt, vel relabuntur con-sidentibus terris. Tunc enim necesse est velut taurinis reboare mugitibus, fragores fremitusque terrenos. Sed hinc ad exorsa.

<sup>1</sup> *aestus imitus*, Her., Clark: *imitus*, Haupt.; *itus*, V<sup>1</sup>; *itus molestus*, V<sup>2</sup>.    <sup>2</sup> *atque*, suggested by Clark, c.e.: *et*, V.

<sup>1</sup> A Greek word from βράδευ. "boil up."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Claudian, *De Cons. Stil.* iii. 226. *Auratos Rhodiis imbres nascente Minerva indulsisse Iovem perhibent: Iliad.* ii. 670; Pindar, *Olymp.* 7, 59 ff. (L.C.L. pp. 72 f.)

<sup>3</sup> An ancient town of Boeotia near Lake Copais. It was not swallowed up by an earthquake, but destroyed by an



13. Now earthquakes take place in four ways ; for they are either *brasmatae*,<sup>1</sup> or upheavings, which lift up the ground from far within, like a tide and force upward huge masses, as in Asia Delos came to the surface, and Hiera, Anaphe, and Rhodes, called in former ages Ophiusa and Pelagia, and once drenched with a shower of gold ;<sup>2</sup> also Eleusis<sup>3</sup> in Boeotia, Vulcanus in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and many more islands. Or they are *climatiae*<sup>4</sup> which rush along to one side and obliquely, levelling cities, buildings, and mountains. Or they are *chasmatae*, or gaping, which with their intensive movement suddenly open abysses and swallow up parts of the earth ; as in the Atlantic Ocean an island more extensive than all Europe,<sup>5</sup> and in the Crisaeon Gulf,<sup>6</sup> Helice and Bura ; and in the Cimintian district of Italy the town of Saccumum ;<sup>7</sup> these were all sunk into the deep abysses of Erebus, and lie hidden in eternal darkness. 14. Among these three sorts of earthquakes the *mycematae*<sup>8</sup> are heard with a threatening roar, when the elements break up into their component parts and clash of their own accord. or slide back when the ground settles. For then of necessity the crashing and rumbling of the earth must resound like the bellowing of a bull. But to return to the episode which we began.

inundation (Strabo, ix. 2, 18 : Paus. ix. 24, 2) : and it was not an island.

<sup>1</sup> Moving sidewise.

<sup>2</sup> Atlantis ; see Plato, *Timaeus*, pp. 24e-25a.

<sup>3</sup> Salona Bay, a part of the Corinthian Gulf ; see Diod. xiv. 48, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Its exact location is unknown : near Lago di Vico ; see Index I.

<sup>8</sup> Bellowing.

8. *Iulianus C. Salios. gentem Francicam. in dediti-  
onem accipit; Chamavorum alios caedit, alios  
capit, reliquis pacem tribuit.*

1. At Caesar hiemem apud Parisios agens, Alaman-  
nos praevenire studio maturabat ingenti, non-  
dum in unum coactos, sed ad<sup>1</sup> insaniam post  
Argentoratum audaces omnes et saevos, opperiensque  
Iulium mensem, unde sumunt Gallicani procinctus  
exordia. diutius angebatur. Nec enim egredi pot-  
erat, antequam ex Aquitania aestatis remissione,  
solutis frigoribus et pruinis, veheretur annona.

2. Sed ut est difficultatum paene omnium diligens  
ratio victrix, multa mente versans et varia, id tan-  
dem repperit solum, ut anni maturitate non ex-  
spectata, barbaris occurreret insperatus, firmatoque  
consilio. XX dierum frumentum. ex eo quod erat  
in sedibus consumendum. ad usus diuturnitatem  
excoctum, bucellatum (ut vulgo appellant,) umeris  
imposuit libentium militum, hocque subsidio fretus,  
secundis (ut ante,) auspiciis profectus est, intra  
mensem quintum vel sextum, duas expeditiones  
consummari posse urgentes et necessarias arbitratus.

3. Quibus paratis, petit primos omnium Francos,  
eos videlicet quos consuetudo Salios appellavit,

<sup>1</sup> *ad.* A. Novák; *in.* Lind.; V omits.

8. *Julianus Caesar receives the surrender of the Salii, a Frankish people ; he kills a part of the Chamavi, captures others, and grants peace to the rest.*

1. Now Caesar, while wintering in Paris, hastened with the greatest diligence to forestall the Alamanni, who were not yet assembled in one body, but were all venturesome and cruel to the point of madness after the battle of Strasburg ; and while waiting for the month of July, when the campaigns in Gaul begin, he was for a long time in much anxiety. For he could not leave until the grain supply was brought up from Aquitania during the mild summer season, after the breaking up of the cold weather and frost. 2. But as careful planning is victorious over nearly all difficulties, he turned over in his mind many various possibilities ; and this at last he found to be the only one, namely, without waiting for the height of the season, to fall upon the savages before he was looked for. And having settled on this plan, he had the grain allowance for twenty days taken from what was to be consumed in the winter quarters, and baked up to serve for some time ; he put this hard-tack (as they commonly call it) on the backs of his willing soldiers, and relying on this supply he set out under favourable auspices (as he did before), thinking that within the fifth or sixth month two urgent and inevitable campaigns might be brought to completion. 3. After these preparations he first of all aimed at the Franks, those namely whom custom calls the Salii,<sup>1</sup> who once had the great assurance to venture to

<sup>1</sup> They dwelt between the Maas and the Schelde.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ausos olim in Romano solo apud Toxiandriam, locum habitacula sibi figere praelicenter. Cui cum Tungros venisset, occurrit legatio praedictorum, opinantium reperiri imperatorem etiam tum in hibernis, pacem sub hac lege praetendens, ut quiescentes eos tamquam in suis, nec lacerasset quisquam nec vexaret. Hos legatos negotio plene digesto, oppositaeque condicionum perplexitate, ut in eisdem tractibus moraturus, dum redeunt, muneratos absolvit. 4. Dietoque citius secutus profectos, Severo duce misso per ripam, subito cunctos aggressus, tamquam fulminis turbo percussit, iamque precantes potius quam resistentes, in opportunam clementiae partem effectu victoriae flexo, dedentes se cum opibus liberisque suscepit. 5. Chamavos itidem ausos similia adortus, eadem celeritate partim eecidit, partim acriter repugnantes, vivosque captos, compegit in vincula. alios praecipiti fuga repedantes<sup>1</sup> ad sua, ne militem spatio longo defatigaret, abire interim permisit innocuos; quorum legatis paulo postea missis precatum consultumque rebus suis, humi prostratis sub obtutibus eius, pacem hoc tribuit pacto, ut ad sua redirent inecolomes.

<sup>1</sup> *repedantes*, Bentley; *trepidantes*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The capital of the Toxiandri, who dwelt in modern Zealand and the northern part of Flanders. It was then connected territory, but intersected by many marshes; modern Tessenger Lo.

<sup>2</sup> In the Belgian part of the province of Limberg; see Tac., *Germ.* 2.

<sup>3</sup> A German people, living at the mouth of the Rhine;

fix their abodes on Roman soil at Toxiandria.<sup>1</sup> But when he had reached Tongres,<sup>2</sup> a deputation of the aforesaid people met him, expecting to find the commander even then in winter quarters; and they offered peace on these terms, that while they remained quiet, as in their own territories, no one should attack or molest them. After having fully discussed the matter and proposed in reply some puzzling conditions, as if intending to remain in the same district until they returned, he gave these envoys gifts and dismissed them. 4. But quicker than a flash he followed them up after their departure, and sending his general Severus along the river bank, fell upon the whole troop suddenly and smote them like a thunderstorm; at once they took to entreaties rather than to resistance, and he turned the outcome of his victory into the timely direction of mercy by receiving them in surrender with their property and their children. 5. The Chamavi<sup>3</sup> also had ventured to make a similar attempt; with the same rapidity he attacked these, killed a part of them, and a part, who resisted stoutly and were taken alive, he put in irons; others, who made tracks for home in headlong flight, he allowed for the time to get away unharmed, in order not to tire his soldiers by a long chase. A little later they sent delegates to make supplication and to provide for their safety, and as they lay prostrate on the ground before his eyes he granted them peace on condition that they should return unmolested to their homes.

they later crossed the river, to drive the Salii from their homes.

9. *Iulianus C. tria munimenta ad Mosam eversa a barbaris instaurat, et a milite famem patiente probris ac minis incessitur.*

1. Cunctis igitur ex voto currentibus, studio pervigili properans, modis omnibus utilitatem fundare provinciarum, munimenta tria recta serie superciliis imposita fluminis Mosae, subversa dudum obstinatione barbarica, reparare pro tempore cogitabat, et ilico sunt instaurata, procinetu paulisper omisso. 2. Atque<sup>1</sup> ut consilium prudens celeritas faceret tutum, ex annona decem dierum et septem, quam in<sup>2</sup> expeditionem pergens vehebat cervicibus miles, portionem subtractam in eisdem condidit castris, sperans ex Chamavorum segetibus id suppleri posse quod ablatum est. 3. Longe autem aliter accidit. Frugibus enim nondum etiam maturis, miles, expensis quae portabat, nusquam reperiens victus, extrema minitans Iulianum compellationibus incessebat et probris, Asianum appellans Graeculum et fallacem, et specie sapientiae stolidum. Utque inveniri solent quidam inter armatos verborum volubilitate conspicui, haec et similia multa strepabant: 4. "Quo trahimur spe meliorum abolita,

<sup>1</sup> *atque*, BG; *utque*, V; *utque id*, Novák, Pet.      <sup>2</sup> *in*, E<sup>2</sup> G; *ad*, A; V omits.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quint. xii. 10, 17, *Asiana gens tumidior alioqui atque iactantior, vaniore etiam dicendi gloria inflata est.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Juvenal. iii. 78 ff.

9. *Julianus Caesar rebuilds three fortresses on the Meuse that had been destroyed by the savages, and is assailed with insults and threats by the soldiers, who are suffering from hunger.*

1. So, as everything was proceeding in accordance with his prayers, he made haste with watchful solicitude to put the well-being of the provinces in every way on a firm footing: and he planned to repair (as time would permit) three forts situated in a straight line along the heights overhanging the river Meuse, which had long since been overthrown by the obstinate assaults of the savages; and they were immediately restored, the campaign being interrupted for a short time. 2. And to the end that speed might make his wise policy safe, he took a part of the seventeen days' provisions, which the soldiers, as they marched forward on their expedition carried about their necks, and stored it in those same forts, hoping that what had been deducted might be replaced from the harvests of the Chamavi. 3. But it turned out far otherwise; for the crops were not yet even ripe, and the soldiers, after using up what they carried, could find no food anywhere; and resorting to outrageous threats, they assailed Julian with foul names and opprobrious language, calling him an Asiatic,<sup>1</sup> a Greekling<sup>2</sup> and a deceiver, and a fool with a show of wisdom. And as some are usually to be found among the soldiers who are noteworthy for their volubility, they kept bawling out such words as these and many others to the same purport: 4. "Where are we being dragged, robbed of the

olim quidem dura et perpessu asperrima per nives tolerantantes et acumina crudelium pruinarum? Sed nunc (pro nefas!) cum ultimis hostium fatibus instamus, fame, ignavissimo mortis genere tabescentes. 5. Et nequi nos turbarum existimet concitatores, pro vita loqui sola testamur, non aurum neque argentum petentes, quae olim nec contrectare potuimus nec videre, ita nobis negata, velut contra rem publicam, tot suscepisse labores et pericula confutatis." 6. Et erat ratio iusta querellarum. Inter tot enim rerum probabilium cursus, articulosque necessitatum ancipites, sudoribus Gallicanis miles exhaustus, nec donativum meruit nec stipendium, iam inde ut Iulianus illo est missus, ea re quod nec ipsi quod daret suppetere poterat usquam, nec Constantius erogari more solito permittebat. 7. Hocque exinde claruit fraude potius quam tenacitate committi, quod cum idem Caesar petenti ex usu gregario cuidam, ut barbas detonderet, dedisset aliquid vile, contumeliosis calumniis appetitus est a Gaudentio tunc notario, ad explorandos eius actus diu morato per Gallias, quem postea ipse interfici iusserat. ut<sup>1</sup> loco monstrabitur competenti.

<sup>1</sup> *ut*, added by EG; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> He appears as *agens in rebus*, xv. 3, 8, and as set as a spy over Julian in xxi. 7, 2. He was finally executed by Julian's order.

<sup>2</sup> xxii. 11, 1.



hope of a better lot ? We have long endured hardships of the bitterest kind to bear, in the midst of snows and the pinch of cruel frosts ; but now (Oh shameful indignity !), when we are pressing on to the final destruction of the enemy it is by hunger, the most despicable form of death, that we are wasting away. 5. And let no man imagine us incitors to mutiny ; we protest that we are speaking for our lives alone, asking for neither gold nor silver, which we have not been able to handle or even look upon for a long time, and which are denied us just as if it were against our country that we had been convicted of having undertaken so much toil and danger." 6. And they had good reason for their complaints. For through all their career of laudable achievements, and the inevitable moments of hazard, the soldiers in Gaul, though worn out by their labours, had received neither donative nor pay from the very day that Julian was sent there, for the reason that he himself had no funds available anywhere from which to give, nor did Constantius allow any to be expended in the usual manner. 7. And it was evident that this was done through malice rather than through niggardliness, from the fact that when this same Julian was asked by a common soldier, as they often do, for money for a shave, and had given him some small coin, he was assailed for it with slanderous speeches by Gaudentius,<sup>1</sup> who was then a secretary. He had remained in Gaul for a long time to watch Julian's actions, and Caesar afterwards ordered that he be put to death, as will be shown in the proper place.<sup>2</sup>

10. *Suomarius et Hortarius, Alamannorum reges, captivis redditis, ab Iuliano Caes. pacem impetrant.*

1. Lenito tandem tumultu, non sine blanditiarum genere vario, contextoque navali ponte transito Rheno,<sup>1</sup> terris Alamannorum calcatis, Severus magister equitum, bellicosus ante haec et industrius, repente commareuit. 2. Et qui saepe universos ad fortiter faciendum hortabatur et singulos, tunc dissuasor pugnandi, contemptus videbatur et timidus, mortem fortasse metuens adventantem, ut in Tagedicis libris legitur vel<sup>2</sup> Vegoicis<sup>3</sup> fulmine mox tangendos adeo hebetari, ut nec tonitruum<sup>4</sup> nec maiores aliquos possint audire fragores. Et iter ignaviter egerat praeter solitum, ut ductores, viarum prae-euntes alaeri gradu, ultima minitendo terreret, ni omnes conspirantes in unum, se loca penitus ignorare firmarent. Qui interdicti, metuentes auctoritatem, nusquam deinde sunt progressi.

3. Inter has tamen moras, Alamannorum rex Suomarius ultro cum suis improvisus occurrit, ferox ante saeviensque in damna Romana, sed tum

<sup>1</sup> *transito Rheno*, tr. by Clark, Novák, c.c. : *R. flumine transito*, Her. : *R. transito*, V.   <sup>2</sup> *uel*, added by Preller, Haupt. : *et*, Gardi : V omits.   <sup>3</sup> *uegonicis*, V.   <sup>4</sup> *tonitruum*, E : *tonitrum*, BG ; *nectores nitrum*, V.

<sup>1</sup> According to Censorinus, *De Die Nat.* 4, 13, and others, these books came from a certain Tages, who came up from the ground when a peasant was ploughing near Tarquinii in Etruria, and taught the people who flocked to him the secrets of prophecy. He is described as a boy with the wisdom of an old man : see Cic., *De Div.* ii. 23, 50 and Pease's note. The Tarquitian books of xxv. 2, 7 are perhaps the same.

10. *Suomarius and Hortarius, kings of the Alamanni, on giving back their prisoners are granted peace by Julianus Caesar.*

1. At length, after the mutiny had been quelled, not without various sorts of fair words, they built a pontoon bridge and crossed the Rhine; but when they set foot in the lands of the Alamanni, Severus, master of the horse, who had previously been a warlike and energetic officer, suddenly lost heart.

2. And he that had often encouraged one and all to brave deeds, now advised against fighting and seemed despicable and timid—perhaps through fear of his coming death, as we read in the books of Tages<sup>1</sup> or of Vegoe<sup>2</sup> that those who are shortly to be struck by lightning are so dulled in their senses that they can hear neither thunder nor any louder crashes whatsoever. And contrary to his usual custom, he had marched so lazily that he intimidated the guides, who were leading the way rapidly, and threatened them with death unless they would all agree, and unanimously make a statement, that they were wholly ignorant of the region. So they, being thus forbidden, and in fear of his authority, on no occasion went ahead after that.

3. Now in the midst of these delays Suomarius, king of the Alamanni, of his own initiative met the Romans unexpectedly with his troops, and although he had previously been haughty and cruelly bent upon harming the Romans, at that time on the

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Servius, on *Aen.* vi. 72, *libri Begoes nymphae, quae artem scripserat fulguritorum apud Tuscos.* The correct spelling is *Vegoe*.

lucrum existimans insperatum, si propria retinere permetteretur. Et quia vultus incessusque supplicem indicabat. susceptus bonoque animo esse iussus et placido, nihil arbitrio suo relinquens, pacem genibus curvatis oravit. 4. Et eam cum concessione praeteritorum sub hac meruit lege, ut captivos redderet nostros, et quotiens sit necesse, militibus alimenta praeberet, susceptorum vilium more securitates accipiens pro illatis : quas si non ostendisset in tempore, sciret se rursus eadem flagitandum.<sup>1</sup>

5. Quod ita recte dispositum est, impraepecte completo, Hortari nomine petendus erat regis alterius pagus, et quia nihil videbatur deesse praeter ductores, Nesticae tribuno scutariorum, et Charietoni viro fortitudinis mirae, imperaverat Caesar, ut magna quaesitum industria, comprehensumque offerrent sibi captivum, et correptus velociter, adulescens ducitur Alamannus, pacto obtinendae salutis pollicitus itinera se monstraturum. 6. Hoc progresso secutus exercitus, celsarum arborum obsistente concaede, ire protinus vetabatur. Verum per circuitus longos et flexuosos ubi<sup>2</sup> ventum est tandem ad loca, ira quisque percitus armorum urebat agros et<sup>3</sup> pecora diripiebat et homines,

<sup>1</sup> *eadem flagitandum*, Pet., Niemeyer ; *ea defatigandum*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *flexuosos ubi*, Her. ; *flexu dissos*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *et*, before *pecora*, Her., Clark ; before *ira*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, he was to receive receipts from those in charge of the supplies, and show them to Julian.

contrary he thought it an unlooked-for gain if he were allowed to keep what belonged to him. And inasmuch as his looks and his gait showed him to be a suppliant, he was received and told to be of good cheer and set his mind at rest ; whereupon he completely abandoned his own independence and begged for peace on bended knee. 4. And he obtained it, with pardon for all that was past, on these terms : that he should deliver up his Roman captives and supply the soldiers with food as often as it should be needed, receiving security<sup>1</sup> for what he brought in just like any ordinary contractor. And if he did not present it on time, he was to know that the same amount would again be demanded of him.

5. So this was properly arranged and immediately carried out. And since the territory of a second king, Hortarius by name, was to be attacked and nothing seemed to be lacking but guides, Caesar had given orders to Nestica, a tribune of the targeteers, and Charietto, a man of extraordinary bravery, to take great pains to seek out and catch one and bring him in captive. Quickly a young Aleman was seized and led in, and on condition of having his life spared he promised to show the way. 6. He led and the army followed, but it was prevented from going forward by a barricade of tall trees in the way. But when they finally, by long and circuitous detours, reached the spot, every man in the army,<sup>2</sup> wild with anger, joined in setting the fields on fire and raiding flocks and men ; and if

<sup>2</sup> For this use of *armorum*, cf. xxxi. 10, 5, *cum quadraginta armorum milibus* ; etc.

resistentesque sine ulla parsimonia contruncabant. 7. His malis percussus, rex cum multiplices legiones,<sup>1</sup> vicorumque reliquias cerneret exustorum, ultimas fortunarum iacturas adesse iam contemplatus, oravit ipse quoque veniam, facturum se imperanda iurandi execratione promisit.<sup>2</sup> Captivos<sup>3</sup> restituere universos—id enim cura agebatur impensiore—iussus fidem non praestitit.<sup>4</sup> Detentisque plurimis reddidit paucos. 8. Quo cognito ad indignationem iustam Iulianus erectus, cum munerandus venisset ex more, quattuor comites eius, quorum ope et fide maxime nitebatur, non ante absolvit, dum omnes redire captivi. 9. Ad colloquium tandem accitus a Caesare, tremantibus oculis adorato, victorisque superatus aspectu, condicione difficili premebatur, hac scilicet ut quoniam consentaneum erat, post tot secundos eventus, civitates quoque reparari, vi barbarorum excisas, carpenta et materias ex opibus suis suorumque praeberet; et haec pollicitus imprecatusque (si perfidum quicquam egisset,) luenda sibi cruore supplicia, ad propria remeare permissus est. Annonam enim transferre, ita ut Suomarius, ea re compelli non potuit, quod ad internicionem regione eius vastata, nihil inveniri poterat quod daretur.

10. Ita reges illi tumentes quondam immaniter, rapinisque ditescere assueti nostrorum, Romanae

<sup>1</sup> *legiones*, Hadr. Val.; *regiones*, V; *regionum direptiones*, Her.      <sup>2</sup> *promisit*, tr. after *execratione*, Novák; after *universos*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *captivos*, scripsi; *captivosque* added by Haupt.; lac. after *execratione*. Her., Clark.      <sup>4</sup> *iussus* . . . *praestitit*, added by Novák; lac. indicated by Clark, Her.

they resisted, they butchered them, without compunction. 7. The king was overwhelmed by these calamities, and when he saw the numerous legions and the ruins of his villages which they had burned down, now fully convinced that the final wreck of his fortunes was at hand, he too begged for pardon and under the solemn sanction of an oath promised that he would do what might be ordered. Being bidden to restore all his prisoners—for that was insisted on with particular earnestness—he kept back a large number and delivered only a few. 8. On learning this, Julian was roused to righteous indignation, and when the king came to receive presents, as was usual, he would not release his four attendants, on whose aid and loyalty he chiefly relied, until all the captives returned. 9. Finally the king was summoned by Caesar to an interview and revered him with trembling eyes; and overcome at the sight of the conqueror, he was forced to accept these hard terms, namely, that inasmuch as it was fitting that after so many successes the cities also should be rebuilt which the violence of the savages had destroyed, the king should furnish carts and timber from his own supplies and those of his subjects. And when he had promised this and taken oath that if he did any disloyal act, he should expiate it with his heart's blood, he was allowed to return to his own domains. For as to supplying grain, as Suomarius did, he could not be coerced, for the reason that his country had been ravaged to the point of ruin, and nothing to give to us could be found.

10. So those kings, who in times past were inordinately puffed up with pride, and accustomed to

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

potentiae iugo subdidere colla iam domita, et velut inter tributarios nati et educati, obsecundabant imperiis ingravate. Quibus hoc modo peractis, disperso per stationes milite consuetas, ad hiberna regressus est Caesar.

11. *Iulianus Caes., post res in Gallia bene gestas, in aula Constantii Aug. ab invidis deridetur, segnisque et timidus appellatur.*

1. Haec cum in comitatu Constantii subinde noscerentur—erat enim necesse, tamquam apparitorem, Caesarem super omnibus gestis ad Augusti referre scientiam—omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi professores iam docti, recte consulta prospereque completa vertebant in deridiculum, talia sine modo strepentes insulse: “In odium venit cum victoriis suis capella, non homo,” ut hirsutum Iulianum carpentes, appellantesque “loquacem talpam” et “purpuratam simiam” et “litterionem Graecum,” et his congruentia plurima. Atque ut tintinnabula<sup>1</sup> principi resonantes, audire haec taliaque gestienti, virtutes eius obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem. gesta que secus verbis comptioribus exornantem: quod non tunc primitus accidit. 2. Namque ut solet amplissima quaeque<sup>2</sup> gloria obiecta esse semper invidiae, legimus in veteres

<sup>1</sup>*tintinnabula*, R. Unger; *tintinnacula*, V, Clark.

<sup>2</sup>*amplissima quaeque*, Bentley, Eyssen.; *amplissimaeque*, V.



enrich themselves with the spoils of our subjects, put their necks, now bowed down, under the yoke of Roman dominion, and ungrudgingly obeyed our commander, as if born and brought up among our tributaries. And after this conclusion of events the soldiers were distributed among their usual posts and Caesar returned to winter quarters.

11. *Julianus Caesar, after these successful campaigns in Gaul, is derided by envious courtiers at the palace of Constantius, and called slothful and timid.*

1. Presently, when all this became known at Constantius' court—for it was necessary that Caesar, like any subordinate, should render an account to Augustus of all his acts—all those who had the chief influence in the palace and were now past masters in flattery turned Julian's well-devised and successful achievements into mere mockery by endless silly jests of this sort: "This fellow, a nanny-goat and no man, is getting insufferable with his victories," jibing at him for being hairy, and calling him a "talkative mole" and "an ape in purple," and "a Greekish pedant," and other names like these; and by ringing bells, so to speak, in the ears of an emperor eager to hear these and similar things, they tried to bury his merits with shameless speeches, railing at him as a lazy, timid, unpractical person, and one who embellished his ill success with fine words; all of which did not take place then for the first time. 2. For as the greatest glory is always habitually subject to envy,

quoque magnificos duces vitia criminaque, etiam si inveniri non poterant. finxisse malignitatem, spectatissimis actibus eorum offensam. 3. Ut Cim-onem Miltiadis filium, insimulatum incesti,<sup>1</sup> qui saepe ante et<sup>2</sup> prope Eurymedonta Pamphylium flumen Persarum populum delevit innumerum. coegitque gentem insolentia semper elatam obsecrare suppliciter pacem: Aemilianum itidem Scipionem ut somniculosum aemulorum incusari malivolentia, cuius impetrabili vigilantia, obstinatae in perniciem Romae, duae potentissimae sunt urbes excisae. 4. Nec non etiam in Pompeium obtrectatores iniqui, multa scrutantes, cum nihil unde vituperari deberet, inveniretur, duo haec observarunt ludibriosa et irrita: quod genuino quodam more caput digito uno scalpebat, quodque aliquandiu tegendi ulceris eausa deformis fasciola candida crus colligatum gestabat: <sup>3</sup> quorum alterum factitare ut dissolutum, alterum ut novarum rerum cupidum asserebant; nihil interesse oblatrantes argumento subfrigido. quam partem corporis redimiret regiae maiestatis insigni: eum virum, quo nec fortior nec autem cautior<sup>4</sup> quisquam patriae fuit, ut documenta praeclara testantur.

5. Dum haec ita aguntur, Romae Artemius curans vicariam praefecturam, pro Basso quoque agebat.

<sup>1</sup> *incesti*, added by Lind.; lac. before *saepe*, Gardt.; *intemperantiae*, Val. <sup>2</sup> *ante qui prope*, BG; *saepe ante et V* (no lac.). <sup>3</sup> *colligatum gestabat* (*habebat*, Novák), Her., cf. Val. Max. vi. 2, 7; *collibatam*, V. <sup>4</sup> *nec autem cautior*, Walter; *nec cautior*, WBG; *nec amantior*, Haupt.; *ne cautatior*, V.

we read that even against the renowned leaders of ancient days faults and charges were trumped up, even if none could be discovered, by spiteful persons incensed by their brilliant exploits. 3. As, for example, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was accused of incest, although often before and particularly near the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia he annihilated a countless host of the Persians, and compelled a nation always swollen with pride to sue humbly for peace. Likewise Scipio Aemilianus was accused of inactivity by the malice of his rivals, although by his effective vigilance two most powerful cities, bent on the destruction of Rome, were razed to the ground. 4. And also even in the case of Pompey, some malevolent critics, who after much search found nothing for which he could be blamed, noted these two laughable and silly facts: that in a certain characteristic way he used to scratch his head with one finger, and that for some time, to cover up an ugly ulcer, he wore a white bandage tied around his leg; the one of these things he did, they affirmed, because he was dissipated, the other because he planned a revolution, snarling at him with the somewhat pointless reason, that it mattered not what part of his body he bound with the emblem of kingly majesty<sup>1</sup>—and this to a man than whom, as the clearest of proofs show, none was more valiant or a greater lover of his country.

5. While these things were thus happening, at Rome Artemius, who held the office of vice-prefect,

<sup>1</sup>The white fillet, to which the bandage was likened, was emblematic of royalty; see Suet., *Jul.* 79, 1.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

qui recens promotus urbi praefectus, fatali decesserat sorte, cuius administratio seditiones perpessa est turbulenta, nec memorabile quicquam habuit quod narrari sit dignum.

12. *Constantius Aug. Sarmatas dominos olim, tum exules, et Quadros, Pannoniarum et Moesiae rastatores, ad obsides dandos et captivos reddendos compellit; atque exulibus Sarmatis, in libertatem aristasque sedes restituit, regem imposuit.*

1. Augusto inter haec quiescenti per hiemem apud Sirmium, indicabant nuntii graves et crebri, permixtos Sarmatas et Quadros, vicinitate et similitudine morum armaturaeque concordés, Pannonias Moesiarumque alteram cuneis incursare dispersis.

2. Quibus ad latrocinia magis quam aperto habilibus Marti, hastae sunt longiores et loricae ex cornibus rasis et laevigatis, plumarum specie linteis indumentis innexae; equorumque plurimi ex usu castri, ne aut feminarum visu exagitati, raptentur, aut in subsidiis ferocientes, prodant hinnitu densiore vectores. 3. Et per spatia discurrunt amplissima, sequentes alios vel ipsi terga vertentes, insidendo

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<sup>1</sup> Junius Bassus died in 359: according to Prudentius, *contra Symm.* i. 559, he was the first of his family to become a Christian.

<sup>2</sup> That is, First and Second (Lower) Pannonia; the province was divided by Galerius.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, i. 21, 6, says that the Sarmatians made such armour from horses' hoofs, having no iron, and that

also succeeded Bassus,<sup>1</sup> who a short time after he had been promoted to be prefect of the city had died a natural death. His administration suffered from mutinous disturbances, but had no remarkable incident which is worth relating.

12. *Constantius Augustus compels the Sarmatians, formerly rulers, but now exiles, and the Quadri, who were laying waste Pannonia and Moesia, to give hostages and return their prisoners; and over the exiled Sarmatians, whom he restored to freedom and their ancestral abode, he appointed a king.*

1. As Augustus meanwhile was taking his winter rest at Sirmium, frequent serious reports showed that the Sarmatians and the Quadri, who were in agreement because they were neighbours and had like customs and armour, had united and were raiding the Pannonias<sup>2</sup> and Second Moesia in detached bands. 2. These people, better fitted for brigandage than for open warfare, have very long spears and cuirasses made from smooth and polished pieces of horn, fastened like scales to linen shirts;<sup>3</sup> most of their horses are made serviceable by gelding, in order that they may not at sight of mares become excited and run away, or when in ambush become unruly and betray their riders by loud neighing. 3. And they run over very great distances, pursuing others or themselves turning their backs,

in the temple of Aesculapius at Athens, he saw a specimen, in which pieces of horn looked like clefts on a pine-cone.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

velocibus equis et morigeris, trahentesque singulos, interdum et binos, uti permutatio vires foveat iumentorum, vigorque otio integretur alterno.

4. Aequinoctio itaque temporis verni confecto, imperator coacta militum valida manu, ductu laetioris fortunae profectus, cum ad locum aptissimum pervenisset, flumen Histrum exundantem<sup>1</sup> pruinarum iam resoluta congerie, super navium foros ponte contexto transgressus, populandis barbarorum incubuit terris. Qui itinere festinato praeventi, catervasque bellatoris exercitus iugulis suis imminere cernentes, quem nondum per anni tempus colligi posse rebantur, nec spirare ausi nec stare, sed vitantes exitium insperatum, semet omnes effuderunt in fugam. 5. Stratisque plurimis, quorum gressus vinxerat timor, si<sup>2</sup> quos exemit celeritas morti, inter latebrosas convalles montium occultati, videbant patriam ferro pereuntem, quam vindicassent profecto, si vigore quo discesserant restitissent. 6. Gerebantur haec in ea parte Sarmatae, quae secundam prospectat Pannoniam, parique fortitudine circa<sup>3</sup> Valeriam opes barbaras urendo rapiendoque occurrentia militaris turbo vastabat. 7. Cuius cladis immensitate permoti, posthabito latendi consilio, Sarmatae petendae specie pacis, agmine tripertito agentes, securius

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<sup>1</sup> *exundans* (with comma), Novák, c.c.; *exundantem*, V. <sup>2</sup> *si*, Mommsen; *hi*, E<sup>2</sup> A; *ii*, BG; *his*, V. <sup>3</sup> *circa*, W<sup>2</sup> HTE, Val.; *contra*, DG; *c̄v*, V.

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, p. 253.

being mounted on swift and obedient horses and leading one, or sometimes even two, to the end that an exchange may keep up the strength of their mounts and that their freshness may be renewed by alternate periods of rest.

4. And so, when the spring equinox was past, the emperor mustered a strong force of soldiers and set out under the guidance of a more propitious fortune ; and although the river Ister was in flood since the masses of snow and ice were now melted, having come to the most suitable place, he crossed it on a bridge built over the decks of ships and invaded the savages' lands with intent to lay them waste. They were outwitted by his rapid march, and on seeing already at their throats the troops of a fighting army, which they supposed could not yet be assembled owing to the time of year, they ventured neither to take breath nor make a stand, but to avoid unlooked-for destruction all took to precipitate flight. 5. The greater number, since fear clogged their steps, were cut down ; if speed saved any from death, they hid in the obscure mountain gorges and saw their country perishing by the sword ; and they might undoubtedly have protected her, had they resisted with the same vigour that had marked their flight. 6. This took place in that part of Sarmatia which faces Second Pannonia, and with equal courage our soldiers, like a tempest, laid waste the enemies possessions round about Valeria.<sup>1</sup> burning and plundering everything before them. 7. Greatly disturbed by the vastness of this disaster, the Sarmatians abandoned their plan of hiding, and forming in three divisions, under pretence of suing for peace

nostros aggredi cogitarunt ut <sup>1</sup> nec expedire tela nec vim vulnerum declinare, nec quod est in rebus artissimis ultimum, verti possent in fugam. 8. Aderant autem ilico Sarmatis periculorum Quadi participes, qui noxarum saepe socii fuerant indiscreti, sed ne eos quidem prompta iuivit audacia, in discrimina ruentes aperta. 9. Caesis enim compluribus, pars quae potuit superesse, per notos calles <sup>2</sup> evasit; quo eventu vires et animos incitante, iunctis densius cuneis, ad Quadorum regna properabat exercitus, qui ex praeterito casu impendentia formidantes, rogaturi suppliciter pacem, fidentes ad principis venire conspectum, erga haec et <sup>3</sup> similia lenioris, dictoque die statuendis condicionibus pari <sup>4</sup> modo Zizais quoque etiam tum regalis, ardui <sup>5</sup> corporis iuvenis, ordines Sarmatarum more certaminis instruxit ad preces; visoque imperatore, abiectis armis pectore toto procubuit, exanimis stratus. Et amisso vocis officio prae timore, tum cum orare deberet, maiorem misericordiam movit, conatus aliquotiens, parumque impediante singultu, permissus explicare quae poscebat. 10. Recreatns denique tandem, iussusque exsurgere, genibus nixus, usu linguae recuperato, concessionem delictorum sibi tribui supplicavit et veniam, eoque ad

<sup>1</sup> *ut*, added by A in lac. indicated by Langen, Mommsen; V omits without lac. <sup>2</sup> *calles*, Kiessling, Gardt.; *colles*, V. <sup>3</sup> *et* added in EG; V omits. <sup>4</sup> *pari*, Her. in lac. ind. by Eyssen. (Lind. deleted *modo*.) <sup>5</sup> *ardu*, Novák; *haud parvi*, G; *apud vi*, V.



they planned to attack our soldiers when off their guard, so that they could neither get their weapons ready nor parry the force of wounds, nor turn to flight, which is the last recourse in times of stress. 8. Furthermore the Quadri, who had often been their inseparable companions in raids, came at once to share the perils of the Sarmatians; but their ready boldness did not help them either, rushing as they were upon evident hazards. 9. For after very many of them had been cut down, the part that could save themselves escaped by paths familiar to them, and our army, their strength and courage aroused by this success, formed in closer order and hastened to the domain of the Quadri. They, dreading from their past disaster what impended, planned to sue suppliantly for peace and confidently presented themselves before the emperor, who was somewhat too lenient towards those and similar offences; and on the day named for settling the terms in like fashion, Zizais, a tall young man who was even then a royal prince, drew up the ranks of the Sarmatians in battle array to make their petition. And on seeing the emperor he threw aside his weapons and fell flat on his breast, as if lying lifeless. And since the use of his voice failed him from fear at the very time when he should have made his plea, he excited all the greater compassion; but after several attempts, interrupted by sobbing, he was able to set forth only a little of what he tried to ask. 10. At last, however, he was reassured and bidden to rise, and getting up on his knees and recovering the use of his voice, he begged that indulgence for his offences, and pardon, be granted him. Upon this the throng

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

precandum admissa multitudo, cuius ora formido muta clauderat, periculo adhuc praestantioris ambiguo, ubi ille solo iussus attolli orandi signam exspectantibus diu monstravit, omnes elipeis telisque proiectis, manus precibus dederunt plura excogitantes, ut vincerent humilitate supplicandi regalem.

II. Duxerat potior cum ceteris Sarmatis etiam Rumonem et Zinafrum et Fragiledum subregulos, plurimosque optimates, cum impetrandi spe similia petituros. Qui, licet elati gaudio salutis indultae, condicionum sarcina compensare inimice facta pollicebantur, seque cum facultatibus et liberis et coniugibus terrarumque suarum ambitu Romanae potentiae libenter offerrent. Praevaluit tamen aequitati inneta benignitas, iussique obtinere sedes impavidi, nostros reddidere captivos. Duxeruntque obsides postulatos, et obedire praeceptis deinde promptissime spoponderunt.

12. Hortante hoc exemplo clementiae, advolarunt regalis<sup>1</sup> cum suis omnibus Araharius, et Usafer inter optimates excellens, agminum gentilium duces, quorum alter Transingitanorum Quadorumque parti, alter quibusdam Sarmatis praecerat, locorum confiniis et feritate iunctissimis; quorum plebem veritus<sup>2</sup> imperator, ne ferire foedera simulans, in arma

<sup>1</sup> *regalis*, Clark: *regules*, V.  
G: *acrius*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *veritus*, Val.: *arcuit*,

was admitted to make its entreaties, but mute terror closed their lips, so long as the fate of their superior was uncertain. But when he was told to get up from the ground and gave the long awaited signal for their petition, all threw down their shields and spears, stretched out their hands with prayers, and succeeded in many ways in outdoing their prince in lowly supplication. 11. Their superior had brought with the rest of the Sarmatians also Runo, Zinafer and Fragiledus, who were petty kings, and a number of nobles, to make like requests, which they hoped would be granted. They, though overjoyed that their lives were spared, offered to make up for their hostile acts by burdensome conditions, and would have willingly submitted themselves with their possessions, their children, their wives, and the whole of their territories to the power of the Romans. However, kindness combined with equity prevailed, and when they were told to retain their homes without fear, they returned all their Roman prisoners. They also brought in the hostages that were demanded and promised from that time on to obey orders with the utmost promptness. 12. Encouraged by this instance of mercy, there hastened to the spot with all their subjects the prince Araharius, and Usafer, a prominent noble, who were leaders of the armies of their countrymen; one of them ruled a part of the Transiugitani and the Quadri, the other some of the Sarmatians, peoples closely united by the same frontiers and like savagery. Since the emperor feared their people, lest under pretence of striking a treaty they might suddenly rise to arms, he separated the united divisions and bade those

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

repente consurgeret, discreto consortio, pro Sarmatis obsecrantes iussit paulisper abscedere, dum Araharii et Quadorum negotium spectaretur. 13. Qui cum reorum<sup>1</sup> ritu oblatis, stantes curvatis corporibus, facinora gravia purgare non possent, ultimae sortis infortunia metuentes, dederunt obsides imperatos, numquam antea pignora foederis exhibere compulsi. 14. His ex aequo bonoque compositis Usafer in preces admissus est, Arahario pertinaciter obstrepente, firmanteque pacem quam ipse meruit, ei quoque debere proficere, ut participi licet inferiori, et obtemperare suis imperiis consueto. 15. Verum quaestione discussa, aliena potestate eripi Sarmatae iussi (ut semper Romanorum clientes,) offerre obsides quietis vincula conservandae, grantanter amplexi sunt. 16. Ingerebat autem se post haec maximus numerus catervarum confluentium nationum et regum, suspendi a iugulis suis gladios obsecrantium, postquam Araharium impune compererat abscessisse; et pari modo ipsi quoque adepti pacem quam poscebant, accitos ex intimis regni procerum filios obsidatus sorte opinione celerius obtulerunt, itidemque captivos (ut placuerat) nostros, quos haut minore gemitu perdidere quam suos.

<sup>1</sup> *reorum*, Lind. ; *corum*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Lindenbrog and Wagner translate: "that swords should be placed at their throats as a symbol of an oath and what would happen to them if they broke it"; cf. xxi. 5, 10, *gladiis cervicibus suis admotis sub execrationibus diris iurare*; but that rendering does not seem to fit the following sentence.

who were interceding for the Sarmatians to withdraw for a time, while the case of Araharius and the Quadri was being considered. 13. When these presented themselves in the manner of criminals, standing with bended bodies, and were unable to clear themselves of serious misdeeds, in fear of calamities of the worst kind they gave the hostages which were demanded, although never before had they been forced to present pledges for a treaty. 14. When they had been justly and fairly disposed of. Usafer was admitted to make supplication, although Araharius stoutly objected and insisted that the terms which he himself had obtained ought to be valid also for the other as his partner, although Usafer was of inferior rank and accustomed to obey his commands. 15. But after a discussion of the question, orders were given that the Sarmatians (as permanent dependents of the Romans) should be freed from the domination of others and should present hostages as bonds for keeping the peace; an offer which they gladly accepted. 16. Moreover, after this there offered themselves a very great number of kings and nations, coming together in companies, and begged that the swords at their throats might be withdrawn,<sup>1</sup> as soon as they learned that Araharius had got off scot-free. And they too in the same way gained the peace which they sought, and sooner than was expected they summoned from the innermost parts of the kingdom and brought in as hostages the sons of eminent men, and also their prisoners (as had been stipulated), from whom they parted with as deep sighs as they did from their own countrymen.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

17. Quibus ordinatis translata est in Sarmatas cura. miseratione dignos potius quam simultate. Quibus incredibile quantum prosperitatis<sup>1</sup> haec attulit causa: ut verum illud aestimaretur. quod opinantur quidam. fatum vinci principis potestate vel fieri. 18. Potentes olim ac nobiles<sup>2</sup> erant huius indigenae regni, sed coniuratio clandestina servos armavit in facinus. Atque ut barbaris esse omne ius in viribus adsuevit. vicerunt dominos ferocia pares. et<sup>3</sup> numero praeminentes. 19. Qui confundente metu consilia. ad Victohalos discretos longius confugerunt. obsequi defensoribus. (ut in malis) optabile. quam servire<sup>4</sup> mancipiis arbitrati; quae deplorantes. post impetratam veniam recepti in fidem. poscebant praesidia libertati. eosque iniquitate rei permotus. inspectante omni exercitu. convocatos allocutus verbis mollioribus imperator. nulli nisi sibi ducibusque Romanis parere praecepit. 20. Atque ut restitutio libertatis haberet dignitatis augmentum. Zizaim regem eisdem praefecit. conspicuae fortunae tum insignibus aptum profecto. (ut res docuit) et fidelem. nec discedere quisquam post haec gloriose gesta permissus est. antequam (ut placuerat) remearent nostri captivi. 21. His in barbarico gestis. Bregetionem castra commota

<sup>1</sup> prosperitatis, G; in prosperitatis, V.   <sup>2</sup> ac nobiles, Lind.; potente soli magnobiles, V.   <sup>3</sup> et, V.; sed, vulgo.  
<sup>4</sup> scruire, W<sup>2</sup> A, Novák; scruire suis, G; scruire servitutem (cf. Gell. i. 12, 5). Her.; servitute, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Since Julius Capitolinus, *Ant. Phil.* xiv. 1. mentions them in connection with the Marcomanni, they probably lived in the region of Bohemia.

17. These affairs once set in order, his attention was turned to the Sarmatians, who were deserving rather of pity than of anger: and to them this situation brought an incredible degree of prosperity; so that the opinion of some might well be deemed true, that fortune is either mastered or made by the power of a prince 18. The natives of this realm were once powerful and noble, but a secret conspiracy armed their slaves for rebellion; and since with savages all right is commonly might, they vanquished their masters, being their equals in courage and far superior in number. 19. The defeated, since fear prevented deliberation, fled to the Victohali,<sup>1</sup> who dwelt afar off, thinking that to submit to protectors (considering their evil plight) was preferable to serving slaves. Bemoaning this situation, after they had gained pardon and been assured of protection they asked that their freedom be guaranteed; whereupon the emperor, deeply moved by the injustice of their condition, in the presence of the whole army called them together, and addressing them in gracious terms, bade them yield obedience to none save himself and the Roman generals. 20. And to give their restoration to freedom an increase of dignity, he set over them as their king Zizais,<sup>2</sup> a man even then surely suited for the insignia of a conspicuous fortune and (as the event showed) loyal; but no one was allowed, after these glorious achievements, to leave the place, until (as had been agreed) the Roman prisoners should come back. 21. After these achievements in the savages' country, the camp

<sup>2</sup> See p. 373, above.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

sunt, ut etiam ibi belli Quadorum reliquias, circa illos agitantium tractus, lacrimae vel sanguis extingueret. Quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, aliique optimates et iudices, variis populis praesidentes, viso exercitu in gremio regni solique genitalis, sub gressibus militum iacuerunt.<sup>1</sup> et adepti veniam iussa fecerunt, sobolemque suam obsidatus pignore (ut obsecuturi condicionibus impositis) tradiderunt. eductisque mucronibus, quos<sup>2</sup> pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide.

13. *Constantius Aug. Limigantes Sarmatas servos, post magnam ipsorum caedem factam, cogit sedibus suis emigrare, ac milites suos alloquitur.*

1. His (ut narratum est) secundo finitis eventu, ad Limigantes. Sarmatas servos, ocus signa transferri utilitas publica flagitabat. quos erat admodum nefas. impune multa et nefaria perpetrasse. Nam velut obliti priorum. tunc erumpentibus Liberis, ipsi quoque tempus aptissimum nacti. limitem perrupere Romanum. ad hanc solam fraudem dominis suis hostibusque concordem. 2. Deliberatum est

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<sup>1</sup> *militum iacuerunt*, Clark, Novák, c.c.: *i.m.*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *quos*, added by EW<sup>2</sup>BG; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently Flecken Szöny in Hungary, not far from Komorn.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of *iudices* see Index of Officials, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> For their revolt, see 12, 18. above. Limigantes seems to be the name that they assumed (Gibbon, ch. xviii.)



was moved to Bregetio,<sup>1</sup> to the end that there also tears or blood might quench what was left of the war of the Quadri, who were astir in those regions. Then their prince Vitrodorus, son of King Viduarius, and Agilimundus, his vassal, along with other nobles and officials<sup>2</sup> governing various nations, seeing the army in the heart of their kingdom and native soil, prostrated themselves before the marching soldiers, and having gained pardon, did what was ordered, giving their children as hostages by way of pledge that they would fulfil the conditions imposed upon them. Then, drawing their swords, which they venerate as gods, they swore that they would remain loyal.

**13.** *Constantius Augustus compels the Limigantes, former slaves of the Sarmatians, after inflicting great bloodshed upon them, to leave their abodes : then he addresses his soldiers.*

1. When these events had been brought to a successful issue, as has been said, the public welfare required that the standards quickly be transported to the Limigantes, former slaves of the Sarmatians,<sup>3</sup> for it was most shameful that they had with impunity committed many infamous outrages. For as if forgetting the past, when the free Sarmatians rebelled, those others also found the opportunity most favourable and broke over the Roman frontier, for this outrage alone making common cause with their masters and enemies. 2. Nevertheless, it was determined

after driving out their former masters : according to others, the Limigantes were a tribe of the Sarmatians.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

tamen, id quoque lenius vindicari, quam criminum magnitudo poscebat. hactenus ultione porrecta, ut ad longinqua translati, amitterent copiam nostra vexandi, quos pericula formidare monebat scelerum conscientia diutius commissorum. 3. Ideoque in se pugnae molem suspicati vertendam, dolos parabant et ferrum et preces. Verum aspectu primo exercitus tamquam fulminis ictu percussi, ultimaque cogitantes, vitam precati, tributum annuum delectumque validae iuventutis et servitium sponderunt, abnuere parati si iuberentur aliorsum migrare. ut gestibus indicabant et vultibus. locorum confisi praesidio, ubi lares post exactos dominos fixere securi. 4. Has enim terras Parthiscus irruens obliquatis meatibus. Histro miscetur. Sed dum solus licentius fluit, spatia longa et lata sensim prae-labens,<sup>1</sup> et ea coartans prope exitum in angustias. accolas ab impetu Romanorum alveo Danubii defendit, a barbaricis vero excursibus suo tutos praestat obstaculo. ubi pleraque umidioris soli natura. et incrementis fluminum redundantia, stagnosa sunt et referta salicibus. ideoque invia, nisi perquam gnaris: et super his insularem au-

<sup>1</sup> *praelabens*, Novák. *praeterluens*, Clark. c.c.; *praeterlabens*, V.

<sup>1</sup> The modern Theiss.

<sup>2</sup> The Danube.

after deliberation that this act also should be punished less severely than the heinousness of their crimes demanded, and vengeance was confined to transferring them to remote places, where they would lose the opportunity of molesting our territories ; yet the consciousness of their long series of misdeeds warned them to fear danger. 3. Accordingly, suspecting that the weight of war would be directed against them, they got ready wiles and arms and entreaties. But at the first sight of our army, as if smitten by a stroke of lightning and anticipating the utmost, after having pleaded for life they promised a yearly tribute, a levy of their able youth, and slavery ; but they were ready, as they showed by gestures and expression, to refuse if they should be ordered to move elsewhere, trusting to the protection of the situation in which they had established themselves in security, after driving out their masters. 4. For the Parthiscus<sup>1</sup> rushing into those lands with winding course, mingles with the Hister.<sup>2</sup> But while it flows alone and unconfined, it traverses a long expanse of broad plain ; near its mouth, however, it compresses this into a narrow tract, thus protecting those who dwell there from a Roman attack by the channel of the Danube, and making them safe from the inroads of other savages by the opposition of its own stream ; for the greater part of the country is of a marshy nature, and since it is flooded when the rivers rise, is full of pools and overgrown with willows, and therefore impassable except for those well acquainted with the region. Besides this the larger river, enclosing the winding circuit of an island, which almost reaches the mouth

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

fractum, aditu Parthisci paene contiguum, amnis potior ambiens, terrae consortio separavit. 5. Hortante igitur principe, cum genuino fastu ad citeriorem venere fluminis ripam, ut exitus docuit, non iussa facturi, sed ne viderentur militis praesentiam formidasse, stabantque contumaciter, ideoque propinquasse monstrantes, ut iubenda repudiarent. 6. Quae imperator accidere posse contemplanis, in agmina plurima clam distributo exercitu, celeritate volucris morantes<sup>1</sup> intra suorum acies elausit. Stansque in aggere celsiore cum paucis, et stipatorum praesidio tectus, eos ne ferocirent lenius admonebat. 7. Sed fluctuantes ambiguitate mentium in diversa rapiebantur, et furori mixta versutia, temptabant cum precibus proelium, vicinumque sibi in nostros parantes excursum, proiecere<sup>2</sup> consulto longius seuta, ut ad ea recuperanda sensim progressi, sine ullo fraudis indicio spatia furarentur.

8. Iamque vergente in vesperum die, cum moras rumpere lux moneret excedens, erectis vexillis in eos igneo miles impetu ferebatur. Qui conferti acieque densiore contracta, adversus ipsum principem stantem (ut dictum est) altius, omnem impetum contulerunt, eum oculis incessentes et vocibus truculentis. 9. Cuius furoris amentiam

<sup>1</sup> *morantes*, Novák; *pigrantes*, Pet.; *mirantes*, Her.; *migrantes*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *proiecere*, EA; *proicere*, BG; *proicere*, V.

of the Parthicus, separates it from connection with the land. 5. So, at the emperor's request, they came with their native arrogance to their bank of the river, not, as the event proved, intending to do what they were bidden, but in order not to appear to have feared the presence of the soldiers; and there they stood defiantly, thus giving the impression that they had come there to reject any orders that might be given. 6. But the emperor, suspecting that this might happen, had secretly divided his army into several bands, and with swift speed enclosed them, while they were delaying, within the lines of his own soldiers; then standing with a few followers on a loftier mound, protected by the defence of his guards, in mild terms he admonished them not to be unruly. 7. But they, wavering in uncertainty of mind, were distracted different ways, and with mingled craft and fury they thought both of entreaties and of battle; and aiming at getting nearer for an attack upon our men, they purposely threw forward their shields a long way, so that by advancing step by step to recover them they might without any show of treachery gain ground by stealth.

8. When the day was now declining to evening and the waning light warned them to do away with delay, the soldiers lifted up their standards and rushed upon them in a fiery attack. Thereupon the foe massed themselves together, and, huddled in close order, directed all their attack against the emperor himself, who, as was said, stood on higher ground, charging upon him with fierce looks and savage cries. 9. The furious madness of this onset

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

exercitus ira ferre non potuit, eosque imperatori (ut dictum est) acriter imminentes, desinente in angustum fronte (quem habitum caput porci simplicitas militaris appellat,) impetu disiecit ardenti, et dextra pedites catervas peditum obtruncabant, equites laeva equitum se turmis agilibus infuderunt. 10. Cohors praetoria ex adverso Augustum cautius stipans, resistentium pectora moxque terga fugientium incidebat, et eadentes insuperabili contumacia barbari non tam mortem<sup>1</sup> dolere, quam nostrorum laetitiam, horrendo stridore monstrabant, et iacentes absque mortuis plurimi, succisis poplitibus ideoque adempto fugiendi subsidio, alii dexteris amputatis, non nulli ferro quidem intacti, sed superruentium collisi ponderibus, cruciatus alto silentio perferebant. 11. Nec eorum quisquam inter diversa supplicia veniam petit aut ferrum proiecit, aut exoravit celerem mortem, sed arma iugiter retinentes, licet afflicti, minus criminis aestimabant, alienis viribus potius quam conscientiae suae iudicio vinci; mussantesque audiebantur interdum, fortunae non meriti fuisse quod evenit. Ita in semihorae curriculo discrimine proeliorum emenso, tot procubuere subito barbari, ut pugnam fuisse sola victoria declararet.

<sup>1</sup> *suam mortem*. C. F. W. Müller : *mortem*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Vegetius, iii. 19, says that the soldiers gave the name *caput porcinum* to the *cuneus*, a V-shaped formation, with the apex towards the enemy. It was the opposite of the *forceps*, or *forfex* (xvi. 11, 3).

so angered our army that it could not brook it, and as the savages hotly menaced the emperor (as was said), they took the form of a wedge (an order which the soldier's naïve parlance calls "the pig's head,")<sup>1</sup> and scattered them with a hot charge; then on the right our infantry slaughtered the bands of their infantry, while on the left our cavalry poured into the nimble squadrons of their cavalry. 10. The praetorian cohort, which stood before Augustus and was carefully guarding him, fell upon the breasts of the resisting foe, and then upon their backs as they took flight. And the savages with invincible stubbornness showed as they fell, by their awful gnashing, that they did not so much resent death as the triumph of our soldiers: and besides the dead many lay about hamstrung and thus deprived of the means of flight, others had their right hands cut off, some were untouched by any steel but crushed by the weight of those who rushed over them; but all bore their anguish in deep silence. 11. And amid their varied torments not a single man asked for pardon or threw down his weapon, or even prayed for a speedy death, but they tightly grasped their weapons, although defeated, and thought it less shameful to be overcome by an enemy's strength than by the judgement of their own conscience,<sup>2</sup> while sometimes they were heard to mutter that they had not deserved the fortune that befell them. Thus in the course of half an hour the decision of this battle was reached, and so many savages met a sudden death that the victory alone showed that there had been a fight.

<sup>2</sup> That is, to be overcome by a superior force rather than yield voluntarily.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

12. Vix dum populis hostilibus stratis, gregatim peremptorum necessitudines ducebantur, humilibus extractae tuguriis, actatis sexusque promiscui, et fastu vitae prioris abolito, ad infimitatem obsequiorum venire servilium, et exiguo temporis intervallo decurso, caesorum aggeres et captivorum agmina cernebantur. 13. Incitante itaque fervore certaminum, fructuque vincendi, consurrectum est in perniciem eorum qui deseruerant<sup>1</sup> proelia, vel in tuguriis latitantes occultabantur. Hos, cum ad loca venisset avidus barbarici sanguinis miles, disiectis culmis levibus obtruncabant, nec quemquam casa, vel trabibus compacta firmissimis, periculo mortis extraxit. 14. Denique cum inflammarentur omnia nullusque latere iam posset, cunctis vitae praesidiis circumcisis, aut obstinate igni peribat absorptus, aut incendium vitans, egressusque uno supplicio declinato, ferro sternebatur hostili. 15. Fugientes tamen aliqui tela incendiorumque magnitudinem, amnis vicini se commiserere gurgitibus, peritia nandi ripas superiores occupare posse sperantes, quorum plerique summersi necati sunt, alii iaculis periere confixi, adeo ut abunde cruore diffuso, meatus fluminis spumaret immensi; ita per elementum utrumque. Sarmatas vincentium ira virtusque delevit.

16. Placuerat igitur post hunc rerum ordinem

<sup>1</sup> *deseruerant*, suggested by Clark, c.c.; *deseruere*, V.

<sup>1</sup> With which the houses were thatched.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xvi. 12, 57.



12. Hardly yet had the hordes of the enemy been laid low, when the kinsfolk of the slain, dragged from their humble eots, were led forth in droves without regard to age or sex, and abandoning the haughtiness of their former life, were reduced to the abjectness of servile submission; and only a brief space of time had elapsed, when heaps of slain and throngs of captives were to be seen. 13. Then, excited by the heat of battle and the fruits of victory, our soldiers roused themselves to destroy those who had deserted the battle or were lurking in concealment in their huts. And these, when the soldiers had come to the spot thirsting for the blood of the savages, they butchered after tearing to pieces the light straw; <sup>1</sup> and no house, even though built with the stoutest of timbers, saved a single one from the danger of death. 14. Finally, when everything was in flames and none could longer hide, since every means of saving their lives was cut off, they either fell victims to fire in their obstinacy, or, fleeing the flames and coming out to avoid one torture, fell by the enemy's steel. 15. Yet some escaped the weapons and the fires, great as they were, and plunged into the depths of the neighbouring river, hoping through skill in swimming to be able to reach the opposite banks; of these the most lost their lives by drowning, others were pierced by darts and perished, in such numbers that the whole course of the immense river foamed with the blood that flowed everywhere in abundance.<sup>2</sup> Thus with the aid of two elements the wrath and valour of the victors annihilated the Sarmatians.

16. Then it was decided, after this course of events,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

cunctis adimi spem omnem vitaeque solacium. Et post lares incensos, raptasque familias, navigia iussa sunt colligi, ad indagandos eos quos a nostrorum acie ulterior discreverat ripa. 17. Statimque ne alacritas intepesceret pugnatorum, impositi lintribus, per abdita ducti, velites expediti occuparunt latibula Sarmatarum, quos repentinus fefellit aspectus, gentiles lembos et nota remigia conspicientes. 18. Ubi vero procul micantibus telis, quod verebantur, propinquare senserunt, ad suffugia locorum palustrium se<sup>1</sup> contulerunt, eosque secutus infestius miles, caesis plurimis ibi victoriam repperit, ubi nec caute posse consistere, nec audere aliquid credebatur. 19. Post absumptos paene diffusosque Amicenses, petiti sunt sine mora Picenses, ita ex regionibus appellati conterminis: quos tutiores fecere sociorum aerumnae, rumorum assiduitate compertae. Ad quos opprimendos, (erat enim arduum sequi per diversa conspersos, imprudentia viarum arcente,) Taifalorum auxilium et Liberorum adaeque Sarmatarum assumptum est. 20. Cumque auxiliorum agmina locorum ratio separaret, tractus contiguos Moesiae sibi miles elegit. Taifali proxima

<sup>1</sup> *se*, added by NG (deleted by Löfstedt): V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> A Sarmatian people: *T.L.L.*

<sup>2</sup> Put by Ptolemy in Upper Moesia.

<sup>3</sup> A tribe of the West Goths; cf. xxxi. 3, 7.

that every hope and comfort of life should be taken from all, and after their homes had been burned and their families carried off, orders were given that boats should be brought together, for the purpose of hunting down those whom the opposite bank had kept aloof from our army. 17. And at once, for fear that the ardour of the warriors might cool, light-armed troops were put into skiffs, and taking the course which offered the greatest secrecy, came upon the lurking-places of the Sarmatians; and the enemy were deceived as they suddenly came in sight, seeing their native boats and the manner of rowing of their own country. 18. But when from the glittering of the weapons afar off they perceived that what they feared was approaching, they took refuge in marshy places; but the soldiers, following them still more mercilessly, slew great numbers of them, and gained a victory in a place where it seemed impossible to keep a firm footing or venture upon any action. 19. After the Amicenses<sup>1</sup> had been scattered and all but wholly destroyed, the army immediately attacked the Picenses,<sup>2</sup> so named from the adjoining regions, who had been put on their guard by the disasters to their allies, which were known from persistent rumours. To subdue these (for it was hard to pursue them, since they were scattered in divers places, and unfamiliarity with the roads was a hindrance) they resorted to the help of the Taifuli<sup>3</sup> and likewise of the free Sarmatians. 20. And as consideration of the terrain made it desirable to separate the troops of the allies, our soldiers chose the tracts near Moesia, the Taifuli undertook those next to their own homes, and the

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

suis sedibus obtinebant, Liberi terras occupaverant e regione sibi oppositas.

21. Quae <sup>1</sup> perpressi <sup>2</sup> Limigantes territique subactorum exemplis et subitum <sup>3</sup> prostratorum, diu haesitabant ambiguis mentibus, utrum oppeterent an rogarent, cum utriusque rei suppeterent documenta non levia. Vicit tamen ad ultimum coetu seniorum urgente, dedendi sese <sup>4</sup> consilium. Variarumque palmarum victoriarum accessit eorum quoque supplicatio, qui armis libertatem invaserant, et reliqui eorum <sup>5</sup> cum precibus, ut superatos et imbelles dominos aspernati, fortioribus visis inclinavere cervices.

22. Accepta itaque publica fide, deserto montium propugnaculo, ad castra Romana convolvit eorum pars maior, diffusa per spatia ampla camporum, cum parentibus et natis atque coniugibus, opumque vilitate, quam eis celeritatis ratio furari permisit.

23. Et qui animas amittere potius, quam cogi solum vertere putabantur, dum licentem amentiam libertatem existimarent, parere imperiis, et sedes alias suscipere sunt assensi, tranquillae et fidae, ut nec bellis vexari, nec mutari seditionibus possint. Eisdemque ex sententia (ut credebatur,) acceptis,

<sup>1</sup> *quae*, restored and lac. indicated by Clark. <sup>2</sup> *per-*  
*pressi*, added by Pet.; *contemplantes*, by Günther.  
<sup>3</sup> *subitum*, Pet.; *subacie*, D<sup>2</sup>W<sup>2</sup>; *subacrum*, V. <sup>4</sup> *sese*,  
Her. c.c.; *sc*, V.  
<sup>5</sup> *reliqui eorum*, G; *re iniquiore*,  
Her.; *reliqui ore*, V.

free Sarmatians occupied the lands opposite their district.

21. The Limigantes<sup>1</sup> having now suffered this fate, and terrified by the example of those who had been conquered and suddenly slain, hesitated long with wavering minds whether to resist or plead, since for either course they had lessons of no slight weight ; finally, however, the urgency of an assembly of the older men prevailed. and the resolve to surrender. Thus to the laurels of various victories there was added also the submission of those who had usurped freedom by arms : and such of them as survived bowed their necks with prayers before their former masters, whom they had despised as vanquished and weak. but now saw to be the stronger.

22. And so, having received a safe-conduct, the greater number of them forsook the defence of the mountains and hastened to the Roman camp, pouring forth over the broad and spacious plains with their parents, their children and wives, and as many of their poor possessions as haste allowed them to carry off by stealth. 23. And those who (as it was supposed) would rather lose their lives than be compelled to change their country, since they believed mad licence to be freedom, now consented to obey orders and take other quiet and safe abodes, where they could neither be harried by wars nor affected by rebellions. And these men, being taken under protection according to their own wish (as was believed) remained quiet for a short time : later, through their inborn savagery they were aroused

<sup>1</sup> See note on 13, 1, above.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

quievere paulisper, post feritate nativa in exitiale scelus ereeti, ut congruo docebitur textu.

24. Hoc rerum prospero currente successu, tutela Illyrico competens gemina est ratione firmata, cuius negotii duplicem magnitudinem imperator aggressus utramque perfecit. Infidis attritis stratisque,<sup>1</sup> exsulès populos (licet mobilitate suppres<sup>2</sup>) acturos tamen paulo verecundius, tandem reductos in avitis sedibus collocavit. Eisdemque ad gratiae cumulum, non ignobilem quempiani regem, sed quem ipsi antea sibi praefecere regalem, imposuit, bonis animi corporisque praestantem. 25. Tali textu recte factorum. Constantius iam metuente sublimior, militarique consensu, secundo Sarmaticus appellatus, ex vocabulo subactorum, iamque discessurus, convocatis cohortibus, et centuriis, et manipulis omnibus, tribunali<sup>3</sup> insistens, signisque ambitus et aquilis, et agmine multiplicium potestatum, his exercitum allocutus est, ore omnium favorabilis, (ut solebat).

26. "Hortatur recordatio rerum gloriose gestarum, omni iucunditate viris fortibus gratior, ea<sup>4</sup> ad modum verecundiae replicare, quae divinitus delata sorte vincendi, et ante proelia et in ipso correximus fervore pugarum. Romanae rei fidissimi defensores. Quid enim tam pulchrum tamque

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<sup>1</sup> *attritis stratisque*, scripsi (cf. 28 below.), in lac. indicated by Haupt.; *infidis populus* without lac., V. <sup>2</sup> *suppres*, Haupt.; *supra\*res*, V. <sup>3</sup> *tribunali*, Novák; *tribunal*, V. <sup>4</sup> *gratior*, EAG; *gratior ea*, Novák; *gratiore ad*, V.

<sup>1</sup> See xix. 11.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Zizais, see 12, 9, above.

to an outrage which brought them destruction. as will be shown in the proper place.<sup>1</sup>

24. Through this successful sequel of events adequate protection was provided for Illyricum in a twofold manner ; and the emperor having in hand the greatness of this task fulfilled it in both ways. The unfaithful were laid low and trodden under foot. but exiled peoples (although equally unstable) who yet seemed likely to act with somewhat more respect, were at length recalled and settled in their ancestral homes. And as a crowning favour. he set over them, not some low-born king. but one whom they themselves had previously chosen as their ruler. a man eminent for his mental and physical gifts.<sup>2</sup>

25. After such a series of successes Constantius, now raised above any fear. by the unanimous voice of the soldiers was hailed a second time as Sarmaticus, after the name of the conquered people ; and now, on the point of departure, he called together all the cohorts. centuries, and maniples. and standing on a tribunal. surrounded by standards, eagles and a throng of many officers of high rank. he addressed the army with these words, being greeted (as usual) with the acclaim of all :

26. " The recollection of our glorious deeds. more grateful to brave men than any pleasure. moves me to rehearse to you. with due modesty. what abuses we most faithful defenders of the Roman state have corrected by the fortune of victory vouchsafed us by Providence both before our battles and in the very heat of combat. For what is so noble, or so justly worthy to be commended to the memory of posterity, as that the soldier should rejoice in his

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

posteritatis memoriae iusta ratione mandandum, quam ut miles strenue factis, ductor prudenter consultis exultet? 27. Persultabat Illyricum furor hostilis, absentiam nostram inanitate tumentis despiciens, dum Italos tueremur et Gallos, variisque discursibus vastabat extima limitum, nunc cavatis roboribus, aliquotiens peragrans pedibus flumina, non congressibus nec armis fretus aut viribus, sed latrociniis assuetus occultis, astu et ludificandi varietate, iam inde ab instituta gente nostris quoque maioribus formidatus; quae longius disparati, qua<sup>1</sup> ferri poterant tulimus, saeviores<sup>2</sup> iacturas efficacia ducum vitari<sup>3</sup> posse sperantes. 28. Ubi vero per licentiam scandens in maius, ad funestas provinciarum clades erepsit et crebras, communis aditibus Raeticis, tutelaque pervigili Galliarum securitate fundata, terrore nullo relicto post terga, venimus in Pannonias, si placuerit<sup>4</sup> numini sempiterno, labentia firmaturi; cunctisque paratis (ut nostis,) vere adulto egressi, arripuimus negotiorum maximas moles: primum ne struendo textis compagibus ponti, telorum officeret multitudo, quo opera levi perfecto, visis terris hostilibus et calcatis, obstinatis ad mortem animis conatos resistere Sarmatas, absque nostrorum dispendio stravimus, parique petulantia ruentes in agmina nobilium legionum, Quados Sarmatis adiumenta ferentes attrivimus.

<sup>1</sup> *qua*, Lind.; *quae*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *saeviores*, Fletcher, cf. Tac., *Ann.* ii. 26, 3; *leviores*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *vitari*, Cornelissen; *vetari*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *si placuerit*, Bentley; *si placebit*, suggested by Clark; *placuit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See xiv. 2, 10, end.



valiant deeds, and the leader in the sagacity of his plans. 27. Our enemies in their madness were overrunning all Illyricum, with arrogant folly despising us in our absence, while we were defending Italy and Gaul, and in successive raids were laying waste our farthest frontiers, crossing the rivers now in canoes<sup>1</sup> and sometimes on foot; they did not trust to engagements nor to arms and strength, but, as is their custom, to lurking brigandage, with the craft and various methods of deceit dreaded also by our forefathers from our very first knowledge of the race. These outrages we, being far away, endured as well as they could be borne, hoping that any more serious losses could be obviated by the efficiency of our generals. 28. But when, encouraged by impunity, they mounted higher and burst forth in destructive and repeated attacks upon our provinces, after securing the approaches to Raetia and by vigilant guard ensuring the safety of Gaul, leaving no cause of fear behind us, we came into Pannonia, intending, if it should please eternal God, to strengthen whatever was tottering. And sallying forth when all was ready (as you know) and spring was well advanced, we took in hand a mighty burden of tasks: first, to build a close-jointed bridge, without being overwhelmed by a shower of missiles, a work which was easily completed; and when we had seen and set foot upon the enemy's territories, without any loss of our men we laid low the Sarmatians who, with spirits regardless of death attempted to resist us. And when with like impudence the Quadri bore aid to the Sarmatians and rushed upon the ranks of our noble legions, we

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Qui post acrumnosa dispendia, inter discursus et repugnandi minaces anhelitus, quid nostra valeat virtus experti, manus ad dimicandum aptatas, armorum abiecto munimine, pone terga vinxerunt, restareque solam salutem contemplantes in precibus, affusi sunt vestigiis Augusti elementis, cuius proelia saepe compererant exitus habuisse felices. 29. His sequestratis Limigantes quoque fortitudine superavimus pari, interfectisque pluribus, alios periculi declinatio adegit suffugia petere latebrarum palustrium. 30. Hisque secundo finitis eventu, lenitatis tempus aderat tempestivae. Limigantes ad loca migrare compulimus longe discreta, ne in perniciem nostrorum se commovere possent ulterius et pepercimus plurimis, et Zizaim praefecimus Liberis, dicatum nobis futurum et fidum, plus aestimantes creare quam auferre barbaris regem, hoc decore augente sollemnitatem, quod eisdem quoque rector tributus antehac electus est et acceptus. 31. Quadruplex igitur praemium, quod unus prociectus absolvit, nos quaesivimus et res publica, primo ultione parta de grassatoribus noxiis, deinde quod vobis abunde sufficient ex hostibus capta.<sup>1</sup> His enim virtutem oportet esse contentam, quae sudore quaesivit et dexteris. 32. Nobis amplae facultates opumque sunt magni thesauri, si <sup>2</sup> integra

<sup>1</sup> *capta*, Novák : *captivis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *si*, added by Bentley, Haupt. ; V omits.

trod them under foot. The latter, after grievous losses, having learned amid their raids and menacing efforts at resistance what our valour could effect, cast aside the protection of arms and offered hands that had been equipped for battle to be bound behind their backs; and seeing that their only safety lay in entreaties, they prostrated themselves at the feet of a merciful Augustus, whose battles they had often learned to have come to a happy issue. 29. These barely disposed of, we vanquished the Limigantes as well with equal valour, and after many of them had been slain, avoidance of danger forced the rest to seek the protection of their lairs in the marshes. 30. When these enterprises were brought to a successful issue, the time for seasonable mildness was at hand. The Limigantes we forced to move to remote places, so that they could make no further attempts to destroy our subjects, and very many of them we spared. And over the free Sarmatians we set Zizais, knowing that he would be devoted and loyal to us, and thinking it better to appoint a king for the savages than to take one from them; and it added to the happiness of the occasion, that a ruler was assigned them whom they had previously chosen and accepted. 31. Hence a fourfold prize, the fruit of a single campaign, was won by us and by our country: first, by taking vengeance on wicked robbers; then, in that you will have abundant booty taken from the enemy; for valour ought to be content with what it has won by toil and a strong arm. 32. We ourselves have ample wealth and great store of riches, if our labours and courage have preserved safe and sound

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

omnium patrimonia nostri labores et fortitudo servarint. Hoc enim boni principis menti, hoc successibus congruit prosperis. 33. Postremo ego quoque hostilis vocabuli spoliū prae me ferō, secundo Sarmatici cognomentum, quod vos unum idemque sentientes, mihi (ne sit arrogans dicere,) merito tribuistis.”

Post hunc dicendi finem contio omnis alacrior solito, aucta spe potiorum et lucris, vocibus festis in laudes imperatoris adsurgens, deumque ex usu testata non posse Constantium vinci, tentoria repetit laeta. Et reductus imperator ad regiam, otioque bidui recreatus, Sirmium eum pompa triumphali regressus est, et militares numeri destinatas remearunt ad<sup>1</sup> sedes.

14. *Romani legati de pace, re infecta revertuntur ex Perside, Sapore Armeniam et Mesopotamiam repeteute.*

14. 1. Hisce eisdem diebus, Prosper et Spectatus atque Eustathius, legati ad Persas (ut supra docuimus) missi, Ctesiphonta reversum regem adiere, litteras perferentes<sup>2</sup> imperatoris et munera, poscebantque rebus integris pacem, et mandatorum

<sup>1</sup> *ad*, added by Clark, c.c.; before *destinatas*, C. F. W. Müller; V omits. <sup>2</sup> *perferentes*, Kellerbauer; *praeferentes*, V.

the patrimonies of all; for this it is that beseems the mind of a good prince, this accords with prosperous successes. 33. Lastly, I also display the spoil of an enemy's name, surnamed as I am Sarmaticus for the second time, a title not undeserved (without arrogance be it said), which you have with one accord bestowed upon me."

After this speech was thus ended, the entire assembly with more enthusiasm than common, since the hope of betterment and gains had been increased, broke out into festal cries in praise of the emperor, and in customary fashion calling God to witness that Constantius was invincible, went back to their tents rejoicing. And when the emperor had been escorted to his palace and refreshed by two days' rest, he returned in triumphal pomp to Sirmium, and the companies of soldiers went back to the quarters assigned them.

14. *The Roman envoys about peace return from Persia without result, since Sapor was bent on recovering Armenia and Mesopotamia.*

1. On these very same days Prosper, Spectatus, and Eustathius, who had been sent as envoys to the Persians (as we have shown above),<sup>1</sup> approached the king on his return to Ctesiphon,<sup>2</sup> bearing letters and gifts from the emperor, and demanded peace with no change in the present status. Mindful of the emperor's instructions, they sacrificed no whit

<sup>1</sup> xvii. 5, 15.

<sup>2</sup> A city of Assyria, on the Tigris, the capital of the Parthian (Persian) king.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

principis <sup>1</sup> memores, nusquam ab utilitate Romanae rei maiestateque discedebant, amicitiae foedus sub hac lege firmari debere adseverantes, ne super turbando Armeniae vel Mesopotamiae statu quicquam moveretur. 2. Diu igitur ibi morati, cum obstinatissimum regem, nisi harum regionum dominio sibi adiudicato, obdurescentem ad suscipiendam cernerent pacem, negotio redierunt infecto. 3. Post quod id ipsum condicionum robore pari impetraturi, Lucillianus missus est comes, et Procopius tunc notarius, qui postea nodo quodam violentae necessitatis adstrictus, ad res consurrexerat <sup>2</sup> novas.

### LIBER XVIII

1. *Iulianus Caesar Gallorum commodis consulit, et ubique ab omnibus ius servandum curat.*

1. Haec per orbis varias partes uno eodemque anno sunt gesta. At in Galliis cum in meliore statu res essent, et Eusebium atque Hypatium fratres sublimarent vocabula consulum. Iulianus contextis successibus clarus, apud Parisios hibernans,<sup>3</sup> sequestratis interim sollicitudinibus bellicis, haut minore cura provinciarum fortunis multa conducentia disponebat, diligenter observans nequem tributorum sarcina praegravaret, neve potentia praesumeret

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<sup>1</sup> *principis*, added by Clark. c.c.      <sup>2</sup> *consurrexerat*, Novák: *consurrexit*, HAG: *consurrexerit*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *apud Parisios hibernans*. Clark: *apud hibernans* (*ns* from *s*, V<sup>2</sup>), V.

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<sup>1</sup> See xxvi. 5 and 6.

of the advantage and majesty of Rome, insisting that a treaty of friendship ought to be established with the condition that no move should be made to disturb the position of Armenia or Mesopotamia. 2. Having therefore tarried there for a long time, since they saw that the king was most obstinately hardened against accepting peace, unless the dominion over those regions should be made over to him, they returned without fulfilling their mission. 3. Afterwards Count Lucilianus was despatched, together with Procopius, at that time state secretary, to accomplish the self-same thing with like insistence on the conditions; the latter afterwards, bound as it were by a knot of stern necessity, rose in revolution.<sup>1</sup>

## BOOK XVIII

1. *Julianus Caesar looks out for the welfare of Gaul, and sees to it that justice be observed everywhere by every one.*

1. Such are the events of one and the same year in various parts of the world. But in Gaul, now that affairs were in a better condition and the brothers Eusebius and Hypatius had been honoured with the high title of consul, Julian, famed for his series of successes and in winter quarters at Paris, laid aside for a time the cares of war and with no less regard made many arrangements leading to the well-being of the provinces, diligently providing that no one should be overloaded with a burden of tribute: that the powerful should not grasp the

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

aliena, aut hi versarentur in medio, quorum patrimonium publicae clades augebant. vel iudicium quisquam ab aequitate deviaret impune. 2. Idque ea re levi labore correxit, quod ipse iurgia dirimens, ubi causarum cogebat magnitudo vel personarum, erat indeclinabilis iustorum iniustorumque distinctor. 3. Et licet multa sint eius laudanda in huius modi controversiis, unum tamen sufficere ponitur, ad cuius similitudinem acta vel dicta sunt. 4. Numerium Narbonensis paulo ante rectorem, accusatum ut furem, inusitato censorio vigore. pro tribunali palam admissis volentibus audiebat, qui cum infitiatione defenderet obiecta, nec posset in quoquam confutari, Delphidius orator acerrimus. vehementer eum impugnans, documentorum inopia percitus, exclamavit: "Ecquis, florentissime Caesar, nocens esse poterit usquam, si negare sufficere?" Contra quem Iulianus prudenter motus ex tempore, "Ecquis" ait "innocens esse poterit, si accusasse sufficere?" Et haec quidem et huius modi multa civilia.

2. *Iulianus C. castellorum ad Rhenum quae receperat moenia reparat; Rhenum transit, et hostili Alamanniae parte vastata, V Alamannorum reges ad pacem petendam et captivos reddendos compellit.*

1. Egressurus autem ad procinctum urgentem, cum Alamannorum pagos aliquos esse reputaret

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<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *iudex* see Index of Officials, s.v.



property of others, or those hold positions of authority whose private estates were being increased by public disasters; and that no official<sup>1</sup> should with impunity swerve from equity. 2. And this last abuse he reformed with slight difficulty, for the reason that he settled controversies himself whenever the importance of the cases or of the persons required, and distinguished inflexibly between right and wrong. 3. And although there are many praiseworthy instances of his conduct in such cases, yet it will suffice to cite one, as a sample of his acts and words. 4. Numerius, shortly before governor of Gallia Narbonensis, was accused of embezzlement, and Julian examined him with unusual judicial strictness before his tribunal publicly, admitting all who wished to attend. And when the accused defended himself by denying the charge, and could not be confuted on any point, Delphidius, a very vigorous speaker, assailing him violently and, exasperated by the lack of proofs, cried: "Can anyone, most mighty Caesar, ever be found guilty, if it be enough to deny the charge?" And Julian at once made this wise reply: "Can anyone be proved innocent, if it be enough to have accused him?" And this was one of many instances of his humanity.

2. *Julianus Caesar repairs the walls of the fortresses on the Rhine which he had recovered. He crosses the Rhine, and after laying waste the hostile part of Alamannia compels five of their kings to sue for peace and return their prisoners.*

1. But being on the point of entering upon an urgent campaign, since he considered that some

hostiles, et ausuros immania. ni ipsi quoque ad ceterorum sternerentur exempla. haerebat anxius qua vi qua celeritate, cum primum ratio copiam tribuisset, rumore praecurso, terras eorum invaderet repentinus. 2. Seditque tandem multa et varia cogitanti, id temptare quod utile probavit eventus. Hariobaudem vacantem tribunum, fidei fortitudinisque notae, nullo conscio legationis specie ad Hortarium miserat regem iam pacatum. ut exinde facile ad collimitia progressus eorum, in quos erant arma protinus commovenda, scitari possit quid molirentur, sermonis barbarici perquam gnarus. 3. Quo fidenter ad haec patrandam digresso. ipse anni tempore opportuno. ad expeditionem undique milite convocato, profectus, id inter potissima mature duxit implendum, ut ante proeliorum fervorem, civitates multo ante excisas ac vacuas<sup>1</sup> introiret. receptasque communiret, horrea quin etiam extrueret pro incensis, ubi condi possit annona, a Britannis sueta transferri. 4. Et utrumque perfectum est spe omnium citius. Nam et horrea veloci opere surrexerunt, alimentorumque in eisdem satias condita. et civitates occupatae sunt septem: Castra Herculis Quadriburgium Tricensima et Novesium,

<sup>1</sup> *excisas ac vacuas*, Her. : *excisa quas*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a fortress on the Rhine.

<sup>2</sup> Schenkenschanz.

<sup>3</sup> Kellen. also called *Colonia Traiani*, xvii. 1, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Nuys.

<sup>5</sup> Bonn.

districts of the Alamanni were hostile and would venture on outrages unless they also were overthrown after the example of the rest, he was anxious and doubtful with what force and with what speed (as soon as prudence gave an opportunity) he might anticipate the news of his coming and invade their territories unexpected. 2. And after thinking over many varied plans he at last decided to try the one which the outcome proved to be expedient. Without anyone's knowledge he had sent Hariobaudes, an unattached tribune of tried fidelity and courage, ostensibly as an envoy to Hortarius, a king already subdued, with the idea that he could easily go on from there to the frontiers of those against whom war was presently to be made, and find out what they were plotting : for he was thoroughly acquainted with the language of the savages. 3. When the tribune had fearlessly set out to execute these orders, Julian, since the season of the year was favourable, called together his soldiers from all quarters for a campaign, and set forth ; and he thought that above all things he ought betimes to attend to this, namely, before the heat of battle to enter the cities long since destroyed and abandoned, regain and fortify them, and even build granaries in place of those that had been burned, in which he could store the grain which was regularly brought over from Britain : and both things were accomplished sooner than anyone expected. 4. For not only did the granaries quickly rise, but a sufficiency of food was stored in them ; and the cities were seized, to the number of seven : *Castra Herculis*,<sup>1</sup> *Quadriburgium*,<sup>2</sup> *Tricensima*<sup>3</sup> and *Novesium*,<sup>4</sup> *Bonna*,<sup>5</sup>

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Bonna Antennacum et Vingo, ubi laeto quodam eventu, etiam Florentius praefectus apparuit subito, partem militum ducens, et comneatum perferens copiam, sufficientem usibus longis.

5. Post haec impetrata, restabat adigente necessitatum articulo, receptarum urbium moenia reparari, nullo etiam tum interturbante; idque<sup>1</sup> claris indiciis apparet, ea tempestate utilitati publicae metu barbaros oboedisse, rectoris amore Romanos. 6. Reges ex pacto superioris anni aedificiis habilia multa suis misere carpentis, et auxiliarii milites semper munia spernentes huius modi, ad obsequendi sedulitatem Iuliani blanditiis deflexi, quinquagenarias longioresque materias vexere cervicibus ingravate, et fabricandi ministeriis opem maximam contulerunt.

7. Quae dum diligenti maturantur effectu, Hario-baudes exploratis omnibus rediit, docuitque comperta. Post cuius adventum incitatis viribus omnes venere Mogontiacum, ubi Florentio et Lupicino (Severi successore) destinate certantibus, per pontem illic constitutum transiri debere, renitebatur firmissime Caesar, asserens pacatorum terras non debere calcari, ne (ut saepe contigit) per incivilitatem<sup>2</sup> militis<sup>3</sup> occurrentia vastitantis, abrupte foedera frangerentur.

8. Alamanni tamen omnes quos petebat exercitus, confine periculum cogitantes, Suomarium regem

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<sup>1</sup> *idque*, G; *et que*, V; *consociato labore cunctorum mox est perfectum*; unde, Novák between *idque* and *claris*. <sup>2</sup> *indivuitatem*, V (emended by a later hand). <sup>3</sup> *militis*, G; *militio*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Andernach.

<sup>2</sup> Bingen.

<sup>3</sup> See § 9, below.

Antennacum <sup>1</sup> and Vingo,<sup>2</sup> where by a happy stroke of fortune the prefect Florentius also appeared unexpectedly, leading a part of the forces and bringing a store of provisions sufficient to last a long time.

5. After this had been accomplished, one pressing necessity remained, namely, to repair the walls of the recovered cities, since even then no one hindered ; and it is evident from clear indications that the savages through fear, and the Romans through love for their commander, at that time served the public welfare. 6. The kings, according to the compact of the preceding year, sent in their wagons an abundance of building material, and the auxiliary soldiers, who always disdain such tasks, induced to diligent compliance by Julian's fair words, willingly carried on their shoulders timbers fifty feet or more in length, and in the work of building rendered the greatest service.

7. While these works were being pushed on with diligence and success, Hariobaudes returned after examining into everything, and reported what he had learned. After his arrival all came at top speed to Mayence ; and there, when Florentius and Lupicinus (successor to Severus) strongly insisted that they ought to build a bridge at that place and cross the river,<sup>3</sup> Caesar stoutly opposed, declaring that they ought not to set foot in the lauds of those who had submitted, for fear that (as often happens) through the rudeness of the soldiers, who destroy everything in their way, the treaties might be rudely broken.

8. However, the Alamanni as a whole, against whom our army was marching, thinking danger to be close at hand, with threats warned king

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

amicum nobis ex pactione praeterita monuerunt minaciter, ut a transitu Romanos arceret. Eius enim pagi Rheni ripis ulterioribus adhaerebant. Quo testante resistere solum non posse, in unum coacta barbara multitudo venit prope Mogontiacum, prohibitura viribus magnis exercitum, ne transmitteret flumen. 9. Gemina itaque ratione visum est habile quod suaserat Caesar, ne paeatorum terrae corrumperebuntur, neve renitente pugnacissima plebe, pons cum multorum discrimine iungeretur iri<sup>1</sup> in locum ad compaginandum pontem aptissimum. 10. Quod hostes sollertissime contemplati, per contrarias ripas leniter incedentes, ubi nostros figere tentoria, procul cernebant, ipsi quoque noctes agebant exsomnes, custodientes pervigili studio, ne transitus temptaretur. 11. Verum cum nostri locum adventarent provisum, vallo fossaque quievire circumdati, et ascito Lupicino in consilium, Caesar certis imperavit tribunis, ut trecentenos pararent cum sudibus milites expeditos, quid agi quoque iri deberet penitus ignorantes. 12. Et collecti nocte provecta, impositique omnes quos lusoriae naves quadraginta quae tunc aderant solae, ceperunt, decurrere iubentur per flumen, adeo taciti, ut etiam remi suspenderentur, ne barbaros sonitus excitaret undarum, atque mentis agilitate et corporum, dum

<sup>1</sup> lac. ind. Her., Clark : *iri*, added by Val., *ni* by T<sup>2</sup> ; no lac. in V.

<sup>1</sup> Text and exact meaning are uncertain : see crit. note.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 313.

Suomarus, a friend of ours through a previous treaty, to debar the Romans from passing over; for his territories adjoined the opposite bank of the Rhine. And when he declared that he could not resist single-handed, the savages united their forces and came to the neighbourhood of Mayence, intending with might and main to prevent our army from crossing the river. 9. Therefore for a twofold reason what Caesar had advised seemed fitting, namely, that they should not ravage the lands of peaceful natives, nor against the opposition of a most warlike people construct the bridge with loss of life to many of our men, but should go<sup>1</sup> to the place best suited for building a bridge. 10. This step the enemy observed with the greatest care, slowly marching along the opposite bank; and when from afar they saw our men pitching their tents, they themselves also passed sleepless nights, keeping guard with watchful diligence to prevent an attempt at crossing. 11. Our soldiers, however, on coming to the appointed place rested, protected by a rampart and a trench, and Caesar, after taking counsel with Lupicinus, ordered trusty tribunes to provide with stakes three hundred light-armed troops, who as yet were wholly unaware what was to be done or where they were to go. 12. And having been brought together when night was well advanced, all were embarked whom forty scouting boats<sup>2</sup> (as many as were available at the time) would hold, and ordered to go down stream so quietly that not even the oars were used, for fear that the sound of the waters might arouse the savages; and while the enemy were watching our campfires, the soldiers with

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

hostes nostrorum ignes observant, adversas percurrere milites <sup>1</sup> ripas.

13. Dum haec celerantur, Hortarius rex nobis antea foederatus, non novaturus quaedam, sed amicus finitimis quoque suis, reges omnes et regales et regulos ad convivium corrogatos retinuit, epulis ad usque vigiliam tertiam gentili more extentis; quos discedentes inde casu nostri ex improvise adorti, nec interficere nec corripere ullo genere potuerunt. tenebrarum equorumque adiumento, quo dubius impetus trahitur, abreptos; lixas vero vel servos, qui eos pedibus sequebantur, (nisi quos exemit discrimine temporis obscuritas) occiderunt.

14. Cognito denique transitu Romanorum,<sup>2</sup> qui tunc perque expeditiones praeteritas, ibi levamen sumere laborum opinabantur, ubi hostem contingeret inveniri, percussi reges eorumque populi, qui pontem ne strueretur, studio servabant intento, metu exhorrescentes diffuse vertuntur in pedes; et indomito furore sedato, necessitudines opesque suas transferre longius festinabant. Statinque difficultate omni depulsa, ponte constrato, sollicitarum gentium opinione praeventa, visus in barbarico miles per Hortarii regna transibat intacta.

15. Ubi vero terras infestorum etiam tum tetigit

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<sup>1</sup> *milites*, V, deleted by Eyssen., Novák: *limitis*, G.  
<sup>2</sup> *transitu Romanorum*, Clark, c.c.: *R.t.*, V.

<sup>1</sup> The text is corrupt and the account confused.



nimbleness of mind and body forced the opposite bank.

13. While this was being done with all haste. Hortarius, a king previously allied with us, not intending any disloyalty but being a friend also to his neighbours, invited all the kings, princes, and kinglets to a banquet and detained them until the third watch, prolonging the feasting after the native fashion. And as they were leaving the feast, it chanced that our men unexpectedly attacked them, but were in no way able to kill or take any of them, aided as they were by the darkness and their horses, which carried them off wherever panic haste drove them ; they did, however, slay the lackeys or slaves, who followed their masters on foot, except such as the darkness of the hour saved from danger.

14. When word at last came of the crossing of the Romans,<sup>1</sup> who then, as in former campaigns, expected to find rest from their labours wherever they had succeeded in finding the enemy, the kings and their peoples, who were watching with eager intentness to prevent the building of the bridge, panicstricken and shuddering with fear, took to their heels in all directions ; and their unbridled anger now laid aside, they hastened to transport their kindred and their possessions to a greater distance. And at once every difficulty was removed, the bridge was built, and before the anxious nations expected it our soldiers appeared in the land of the savages, and were passing through the realms of Hortarius without doing any damage. 15. But when they reached the territories of kings that were still hostile, they burned and pillaged everything.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

regum, urens omnia rapiensque,<sup>1</sup> per medium rebellium solum grassabatur intrepidus.

Postque saepimenta fragilium penetium inflammata, et obruncatam hominum multitudinem, visosque cadentes multos aliosque supplicantes, cum ventum fuisset ad regionem (cui Capillacii vel Palas nomen est) ubi terminales lapides Alamannorum et Burgundiorum confinia distinguebant, castra sunt posita, ea propter ut Macrianus et Hariobaudus, germani fratres et reges, susciperentur impavidi, qui propinquare sibi perniciem sentientes, venerant pacem anxiiis animis precaturi. 16. Post quos statim rex quoque Vadomarius venit, cuius erat domicilium contra Rauracos, scriptisque Constantii<sup>2</sup> principis, quibus commendatus est artius, allegatis, leniter susceptus est (ut<sup>3</sup> decebat), olim ab Augusto in clientelam rei Romanae susceptus. 17. Et Macrianus quidem cum fratre inter aquilas admissus et signa, stupebat armorum viriumque<sup>4</sup> varium decus, visa tunc primitus, proque suis orabat. Vadomarius vero nostris coalitus (utpote vicinus limiti) mirabatur quidem apparatus ambitiosi proinectus, sed vidisse se talia saepe ab adulescentia meminerat prima. 18. Libratis denique diu consilii, concordii assensione cunctorum, Macriano quidem et Hariobauda pax est attributa, Vadomario

<sup>1</sup> *rapiensque*, G; *rapinisque*, V, Gardt.      <sup>2</sup> *Constantii*, Clark, c.c.: *Constanti*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ut*, added by Henr. Val.; *ut conducebatur*, Hadr. Val.: V omits.  
<sup>4</sup> *viriumque*, del. Gardt. as dittography.

ranging without fear through the midst of the rebel country.

After firing the fragile huts that sheltered them, killing a great number of men, and seeing many falling and others begging for mercy, our soldiers reached the region called Capillacii or Palas<sup>1</sup> where boundary stones marked the frontiers of the Alamanni and the Burgundians. There they encamped with the design of capturing Macrianus and Hariobaudus, kings and own brothers, before they took alarm; for they, perceiving the ruin that threatened them, had come with anxious minds to sue for peace. 16. The kings were at once followed also by Vodomarius, whose abode was over against the Rauraci, and since he presented a letter of the emperor Constantius, in which he was strongly commended, he was received kindly (as was fitting), since he had long before been taken by Augustus under the protection of the Roman empire. 17. And Macrianus indeed, when admitted with his brother among the eagles and ensigns, was amazed at the variety and splendour of the arms and the forces, things which he saw then for the first time, and pleaded for his subjects. But Vodomarius, who was familiar with our affairs (since he lived near the frontier) did indeed admire the equipment of the splendid array, but remembered that he had often seen the like from early youth. 18. Finally, after long deliberation, by the unanimous consent of all, peace was indeed granted to Macrianus and Hariobaudus; but to Vidomarius, who had come to secure his own

<sup>1</sup> A district of the Alamanni on the frontier of the Burgundians.

vero, qui suam locaturus securitatem in tuto, et legationis nomine precator venerat. pro Urio et Ursicino et Vestralpo regibus pacem itidem obsecrans, interim responderi non poterat, ne (ut sunt fluxioris fidei barbari) post abitum recreati nostrorum, parum acquiescerent per alios impetratis. 19. Sed cum ipsi quoque missis legatis, post messes incensas et habitacula, captosque plures et interfectos, ita supplicarent tamquam ipsi <sup>1</sup> haec deliquissent in nostros, pacem condicionum similitudine meruerunt. Inter quas id festinatum <sup>2</sup> est maxime, ut captivos restituerent omnes, quos rapuerant excursibus crebris.

3. *Barbationi magistro peditum et uxori eius cur capita abscissa sint iussu Constantii Aug.*

I. Haec dum in Galliis caelestis corrigit cura, in comitatu Augusti turbo novarum exoritur rerum, a primordiis levibus ad luctus et lamenta progressus. In domo Barbationis, pedestris militiae tunc rectoris, examen apes fecere <sup>3</sup> perspicuum. Superque hoc ei prodigiorum gnaros sollicitè consulenti, discrimen magnum portendi responsum est, coniectura videlicet tali, quod hae volucres post compositas sedes,

<sup>1</sup> *ipsi*, V; *non ipsi*, Mommsen.      <sup>2</sup> *festinatum*, V; *destinatum*, Cornelissen.      <sup>3</sup> *fecere*, G; *texere*, A, Mommsen; *struxere*, Pet; *pestexere*, V (*ex* above the line, *ere* added by V<sup>2</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup> This was not always true. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 55 ff.: Tunc (apes) ostenta faciunt privata ac publica, uva dependente in domibus templisque, saepe expiata magnis

safety, but at the same time as an envoy and intercessor, begging for peace in behalf of the kings Urius, Ursicinus and Vestralpus, no immediate reply could be given, for fear that (since savages are of unstable loyalty) they might take courage after the departure of our army and not abide by a peace secured through others. 19. But when they themselves also, after the burning of their harvests and homes and the capture or death of many men, sent envoys and made supplication as if they too had committed these sins against our people, they won peace on the same terms; and among these conditions it was especially stressed that they should give up all the prisoners whom they had taken in their frequent raids.

3. *Why Barbatio, commander of the infantry, and his wife were beheaded by order of Constantius.*

1. While in Gaul the providence of Heaven was reforming these abuses, in the court of Augustus a tempest of new troubles arose, which from small beginnings proceeded to grief and lamentation. In the house of Barbatio, then commander of the infantry forces, bees made a conspicuous swarm; and when he anxiously consulted men skilled in prodigies about this, they replied that it portended great danger,<sup>1</sup> obviously inferring this from the belief, that

eventibus. Sedere in ore infantis tum etiam Platonis, suavitatem illam praedulcis eloqui portendentes. Sedere in castris Drusi imperatoris cum prosperrime pugnatum apud Arbalonem est, haud quaquam perpetua haruspicum coniectura, qui dirum id ostentum existimant semper.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

opesque congestas, fumo pelluntur, et turbulento sonitu cymbalorum. 2. Huic uxor erat Assyria nomine, nec taciturna nec prudens, quae eo ad expeditionem profecto, et multiplici metu suspensò, ob ea quae meminerat sibi praedicta, percussa vanitate muliebri, ancilla assecuta notarum perita, quam e patrimonio Silvani possederat, ad maritum scripsit intempestive, velut flens obtestans ne post obitum Constanti propinquantem, in imperium ipse ut sperabat admissus, despecta se anteponeret Eusebiae matrimonium tunc reginae, decore corporis inter multas feminas excellentis. 3. Quibus litteris occulte quantum fieri potuit missis, ancilla, quae domina dictante perscripserat, reversis omnibus e procinctu, exemplum ferens ad Arbetionem noctis prima quiete confugit, avidaeque suscepta, chartulam prodidit. 4. Hocque indicio ille confisus, ut erat ad criminandum aptissimus, principi detulit, atque ex usu, nec mora ulla negotio tributa nec quiete, Barbatio epistolam suscepisse confessus, et mulier scripsisse documento convicta non levi, cervicibus interiere praecisis. 5. Hisque punitis, quaestiones longe serpebant, vexatique multi nocentes sunt et innocentissimi.<sup>1</sup> Inter quos etiam

<sup>1</sup> *innocentissimi*. Damsté, c.c. : *innocentes*, V ; Fletcher would delete *sunt*, or write *n. simul et innocentes*.

when these insects have made their homes and gathered their treasures, they are only driven out by smoke and the wild clashing of cymbals. 2. Barbatio had a wife, Assyria by name, who was talkative and indiscreet. She, when her husband had gone forth on a campaign and was worried by many fears because of what he remembered had been foretold him, overcome by a woman's folly, confided in a maidservant skilled in cryptic writing, whom she had acquired from the estate of Silvanus. Through her Assyria wrote at this untimely moment to her husband, entreating him in tearful accents that when, after Constantius' approaching death, he himself had become emperor, as he hoped, he should not cast her off and prefer marriage with Eusebia, who was then queen and was conspicuous among many women for the beauty of her person. 3. After this letter had been sent with all possible secrecy, the maidservant, who had written it at her mistress' dictation, as soon as all had returned from the campaign took a copy of it and ran off to Arbetio in the first quiet of the night; and being eagerly received, she handed over the note. 4. Arbetio, who was of all men most clever in framing an accusation, trusting to this evidence reported the matter to the emperor. The affair was investigated, as usual, without delay or rest, and when Barbatio admitted that he had received the letter, and strong evidence proved that the woman had written it, both were beheaded. 5. When they had been executed, far-reaching inquisitions followed, and many suffered, the most innocent as well as the guilty. Among these also Valentinus, formerly

Valentinus ex primicerio protectorum tribunus, ut conscius inter complures alios tortus aliquotiens supervixit, penitus quid erat gestum ignorans. Ideoque ad iniuriæ periculique compensationem, ducis in Illyrico meruit potestatem.

6. Erat autem idem Barbatio subagrestis, arrogantisque propositi, ea re multis exosus, quod et dum domesticos protectores sub Gallo regeret Caesare, proditor erat et perfidus, et post eius excessum, nobilioris militiae fastu elatus, in Iulianum itidem Caesarem paria confingebat, crebroque detestantibus bonis, sub Augusti patulis auribus multa garriebat et saeva. 7. Ignorans profecto veteris<sup>1</sup> Aristotelis sapiens dictum, qui Callisthenem sectatorem et propinquum suum ad regem Alexandrum mittens, ei saepe mandabat, ut quam rarissime et iucunde apud hominem loqueretur, vitae potestatem et necis in acie linguae portantem. 8. Ne sit hoc mirum, homines profutura discernere non nunquam et nocentia, quorum mentes cognatas caelestibus arbitramur, animalia ratione carentia salutem suam interdum alto tueri silentio solent, ut exemplum est hoc perquam notum. 9. Linqentes orientem anseres ob calorem, plagamque petentes occidentem, cum montem penetrare coeperint Taurum, aquilis abundantem, timentes fortissimas volucres, rostra lapillis occludunt, ne eis eliciat vel necessitas extrema clangorem, eisdemque collibus agiliore volatu

<sup>1</sup> *veteris*, Cornelissen, Schneider; *vetus*, V.



captain of the guard and then a tribune, was suspected with many others of being implicated and, although wholly ignorant of what had been done, was tortured several times, but survived. And so, as compensation for his wrongs and his peril, he gained the position of a general in Illyricum.

6. Now the aforesaid Barbatio was a somewhat boorish fellow, of arrogant bearing, who was hated by many for the reason that, while he commanded the household troops under Gallus Caesar, he was a perfidious traitor; and after Gallus' death, puffed up with pride in his higher military rank, he made like plots against Julian, when he became Caesar: and to the disgust of all good men he poured into the open ears of the Augustus many cruel accusations.

7. He surely was unaware of the wise saying of Aristotle of old, who, on sending his disciple and relative Callisthenes to King Alexander, charged him repeatedly to speak as seldom and as pleasantly as possible in the presence of a man who had at the tip of his tongue the power of life and death. 8. And it should not cause surprise that men, whose minds we regard as akin to the gods, sometimes distinguish what is advantageous from what is harmful; for even unreasoning animals are at times wont to protect their lives by deep silence, as appears from this well-known fact. 9. The geese, when leaving the east because of heat and flying westward, no sooner begin to traverse Mount Taurus, which abounds in eagles, than in fear of those mighty birds they close their beaks with little stones, so that even extreme necessity may not call forth a sound from them: and after they have passed over those same hills in

transcursis, proiciunt calculos, atque ita securius pergunt.

4. *Rex Persarum Sapor Romanos totis viribus aggredi parat.*

1. Dum apud Sirmium haec diligentia quaeruntur impensa, orientis fortuna periculorum terribiles tubas reflabat. Rex enim Persidis, ferarum gentium quas placarat adiumentis accinctus, augendique regni cupiditate supra homines flagrans, arma viresque parabat et comneatus, consilia tartareis manibus miscens, et superstitiones<sup>1</sup> omnes consulens de futuris; hisque satis collectis, pervadere cuncta prima verni temperie cogitabat.

2. Et cum haec primo rumores, dein nuntii certi perferrent, omnesque suspensos adventantium calamitatum complicaret magna formido, comitatensis fabrica eandem incudem (ut dicitur) diu noctuque tundendo, ad spadonum arbitrium, imperatori suspicaci ac timido intendebat Ursicinum, velut vultus Gorgonei torvitatem, haec saepe taliaque replicans, quod interempto Silvano, quasi paenuria meliorum, ad tuendas partes eas denuo missus, altius anhelabat. 3. Hac autem assentandi nimia foeditate, mercari complures nitebantur Eusebi favorem, cubiculi tunc praepositi, apud quem (si vere dici debeat) multa Constantius posuit,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *superstitones*, Her.; *praesciones*, Gronov; *praestionis*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *posuit*, Damsté; *potuit*, V.

speedier flight, they cast out the pebbles and so go on with greater peace of mind.

4. *Sapor, king of the Persians, prepares to attack the Romans with all his forces.*

1. While at Sirmium these matters were being investigated with all diligence, the fortune of the Orient kept sounding the dread trumpets of danger ; for the king of Persia, armed with the help of the savage tribes which he had subdued, and burning with superhuman desire of extending his domain, was preparing arms, forces, and supplies, mingling with them counsel from infernal powers and consulting all superstitions about the future : and having assembled enough of these, he planned with the first mildness of spring to overrun everything.

2. And when news of this came, at first by rumours and then by trustworthy messengers, and great dread of impending disasters held all in suspense, the forge of the courtiers, hammering day and night at the instigation of the eunuchs on the same anvil (as the saying is), held up Ursicinus to the suspicious and timid emperor as a grim-visaged gorgon, often reiterating these and similar charges : that he, having on the death of Silvanus been sent as if in default of better men, to defend the east, was panting for higher honours.

3. Furthermore, by this foul and excessive flattery very many strove to purchase the favour of Eusebius, then head-chamberlain, upon whom (if the truth must be told) Constantius greatly depended, and who was vigorously attacking the safety of the aforesaid commander of the cavalry

ante dicti magistri equitum salutem acriter impugnantis ratione bifaria, quod omnium solus nec opes<sup>1</sup> eius augebat,<sup>2</sup> ut ceteri, et domo sua non cederet Antiochia, quam molestissime flagitabat.

4. Qui ut coluber copia virus exuberans, natorum multitudinem etiam tum aegre serpentium, excitans ad nocendum, emittebat cubicularios iam adultos, ut inter ministeria vitae secretioris, gracilitate vocis semper puerilis et blandae, apud principis aures nimium patulas, existimationem viri fortis invidia gravi pulsarent. Et brevi iussa fecerunt.

5. Horum et similium taedio iuvat veterem laudare Domitianum, qui licet patris fratrisque dissimilis, memoriam nominis sui inexpiabili detestatione perfudit, tamen receptissima inelaruit lege, qua minaciter interdixerat ne intra terminos iuris dictionis Romanae castraret quisquam puerum; quod ni contigisset, quis eorum ferret examina. quorum raritas<sup>3</sup> difficile toleratur? 6. Actum est tamen cautius, ne (ut fingebat) rursus accitus idem Ursicinus, metu cuncta turbaret, sed cum fors copiam detulisset, raperetur ad mortem.

7. Haec operientibus illis. et ancipiti cogitatione districtis, nobis apud Samosatam, Commageni

<sup>1</sup> *opes*, Her. : *opis*, G ; *opus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *augebat*, Her. : *agebat*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *raritas*, Boxh. : *paritas*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius. *Dom.* vii.

for a double reason : because he alone of all was not, like the rest, adding to Eusebius' wealth, and would not give up to him his house at Antioch, which the head-chamberlain most importunately demanded.

4. Eusebius then, like a viper swelling with abundant poison and arousing its multitudinous brood to mischief when they were still barely able to crawl, sent out his chamberlains, already well grown, with directions that, amid the duties of their more private attendance, with the soft utterances of voices always childish and persuasive they should with bitter hatred batter the reputation of that brave man in the too receptive ears of the prince. And they promptly did what they were ordered.

5. Through disgust with these and their kind, I take pleasure in praising Domitian of old, for although, unlike his father and his brother, he drenched the memory of his name with indelible detestation, yet he won distinction by a most highly approved law, by which he had under heavy penalties forbidden anyone within the bounds of the Roman jurisdiction to geld a boy ;<sup>1</sup> for if this had not happened, who could endure the swarms of those whose small number is with difficulty tolerated ?

6. However, Eusebius proceeded warily, lest (as he pretended) that same Ursicinus, if again summoned to court, should through fear cause general disturbance, but actually that he might, whenever chance should give the opportunity, be haled off to execution.

7. While they held these plots in abeyance and were distracted by anxious thoughts, and I was staying for a time at Samosata, the famous seat of the

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

quondam regni clarissimam sedem, parumper morantibus, repente novi motus rumoribus densis audiuntur et certis.<sup>1</sup> Quos docebit orationis progrediens textus.

5. *Antoninus protector cum suis omnibus ad Saporem transfugit; eumque in bellum Romanum sponte iam motum impellit.*

1. Antoninus quidam ex mercatore opulento rationarius apparitor Mesopotamiae ducis, tunc protector exercitatus et prudens, perque omnes illas notissimas terras, aviditate quorundam nexu ingentibus damnis, cum iurgando contra potentis, se magis magisque iniustitia frangi contempleretur, ad deferendam potioribus gratiam, qui spectabant negotium, inclinatis, ne contra acumina calcitraret, flexus<sup>2</sup> in blanditias molliores, confessusque debitum per colludia in nomen fisci translatus, iamque ausurus immania, rimabatur tectius rei publicae membra totius, et utriusque linguae litteras sciens, circa ratioecinia versabatur, qui vel quarum virium milites ubi agant, vel procinetus tempore quo sint venturi<sup>3</sup> describens, item armorum et comestuum copiae, aliaque usui bello futura, an abunde suppetant indefessa scitatione<sup>4</sup> percontans. 2. Et cum<sup>5</sup> totius orientis didicisset

<sup>1</sup> *certis*, Val.; *contextis*, Pet. in Index; *concertis*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *flexus*, Pet.; *flectens*, Mommsen; *flectis*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *quo sint venturi*, C. F. W. Müller; *q.s. ituri*, Bentley; *quos intuenturi*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *scitatione*, BG, Novák; *sciscitatione*, EA; *indefessas cititatione*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *cum*, Val.; *dum*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See note 2, p. 198.

former kingdom of Commagene. on a sudden repeated and trustworthy rumours were heard of new commotions ; and of these the following chapter of my history shall tell.

5. *Antoninus. of the household troops. goes over with all his household to Sapor. and urges him to the war against the Romans which he had already set on foot of his own accord.*

1. There was a certain Antoninus, at first a rich merchant, then an accountant in the service of the governor of Mesopotamia, and finally one of his body-guard, a man of experience and sagacity, who was widely known throughout all that region. This man, being involved in great losses through the greed of certain powerful men, found on contending against them that he was more and more oppressed by unjust means, since those who examined the case were inclined to curry favour with men of higher position. Accordingly, in order not to kick against the pricks, he turned to mildness and flattery and acknowledged the debt, which by collusion had been transferred to the account of the privy purse. And then, planning to venture upon a vast enterprise, he covertly pried into all parts of the entire empire, and being versed in the language of both tongues,<sup>1</sup> busied himself with calculations, making record of what troops were serving anywhere or of what strength, or at what time expeditions would be made, inquiring also by tireless questioning whether supplies of arms, provisions, and other things that would be useful in war were at hand in abundance. 2. And

interna, virorum stipendiique parte maxima per Illyricum distributa, ubi distinebatur ex negotiis seriis imperator, allapsuro iam praestituto die solvendae pecuniae, quam per sygrapham debere se confiteri. vi metuque compulsus est, cum omnibus se prospiceret undique periculis opprimendum, largitionum comite ad alterius gratiam infestius perurgente, fugam ad Persas cum coniuge liberis et omni vinculo caritatum, ingenti molimine conabatur. 3. Atque ut lateret stationarios milites, fundum in Iaspide (qui locus Tigridis fluentis adluitur.) pretio non magno mercatur. Hocque commento cum nullus causam veniendi ad extremas Romani limitis partes, iam possessorem cum plurimis auderet exigere. per familiares fidos peritosque nandi, occultis saepe colloquiis cum Tamsapore habitis, qui tractus omnes adversos ducis potestate tunc tuebatur, et antea cognitus, misso a Persicis castris auxilio virorum pernicium. lembis impositus, cum omni penatium<sup>1</sup> dulcedine, nocte concubia transfretatur<sup>2</sup> ex<sup>3</sup> contraria specie Zopyri illius similis Babylonii proditoris.

4. Rebus per Mesopotamiam in hunc statum deductis, Palatina cohors palinodiam in exitium concinens nostrum, invenit tandem amplam nocendi fortissimo viro, auctore et incitatore coetu spadonum,

<sup>1</sup> *penatium*, Bentley; *penatum*, AG; *paena dum*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *transfretatur*, Clark; *transfretat rex*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ex*, Mommsen: *rex*, V.

<sup>1</sup> The chief treasurer; see Introd., pp. xl. f.

<sup>2</sup> Zopyrus pretended to desert to Babylon, in order to betray the city to his king, Darius. Antoninus actually deserted, to betray his native country.



when he had learned the internal affairs of the entire Orient, since the greater part of the troops and the money for their pay were distributed through Illyricum, where the emperor was distracted with serious affairs, and as the stipulated time would soon be at hand for paying the money which he was compelled by force and threats to admit by his signature that he owed, foreseeing that he must be crushed by all manner of dangers on every side, since the count of the largesses<sup>1</sup> through favour to his creditor was pressing him more urgently, he made a great effort to flee to the Persians with his wife, his children, and all his dear ones. 3. And to the end that he might elude the sentinels, he bought at no great price a farm in Iaspis, a place washed by the waters of the Tigris. And since because of this device no one ventured to ask one who was now a landholder with many attendants his reason for coming to the utmost frontier of the Roman empire, through friends who were loyal and skilled in swimming he held many secret conferences with Tamsapore, then acting as governor of all the lands across the river, whom he already knew; and when active men had been sent to his aid from the Persian camp, he embarked in fishing boats and ferried over all his beloved household in the dead of night, like Zopyrus, that famous betrayer of Babylon, but with the opposite intention.<sup>2</sup>

4. After affairs in Mesopotamia had been brought to this pass, the Palace gang, chanting the old refrain with a view to our destruction, at last found an opportunity for injuring the most valiant of men, aided and abetted by the corps of eunuchs, who

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

qui feri et acidi semper, carentesque necessitudinibus ceteris, divitias solas ut filiolas iucundissimas amplectuntur. 5. Stetitque sententia, ut Sabini-  
 anus cultus<sup>1</sup> quidem senex et bene nummatus, sed imbellis et ignavus et ab impetranda magisterii dignitate per obscuritatem adhuc longe discretus, praeficiendus eoīs partibus mitteretur, Ursicinus vero curaturus pedestrem militiam, et successurus Barbationi, ad comitatum reverteretur, quo praesens rerum novarum avidus concitor. (ut iactabant,) a gravibus inimicis et metuendis incesseretur.

6. Dum haec in castris Constantii quasi per lustra aguntur et scaenam. et diribitores venundatae subito potestatis pretium per potiores diffunditant domos, Antoninus ad regis hiberna perductus, averter suscipitur, et apicis nobilitatus auctoritate, quo honore participantur mensae regales, et meritorum apud Persas ad suadendum, ferendasque sententias in contionibus ora panduntur, non contis nec remulco (ut aiunt,) id est non flexiloquis ambagibus vel obscuris, sed velificatione plena in rem publicam ferebatur, eundemque incitans regem, ut quondam Maharbal lentitudinis Hannibalem<sup>2</sup> increpans, posse eum vincere, sed victoria uti nescire, assidue praedicabat. 7. EducatuS enim in medio, ut rerum

<sup>1</sup> *cultus*, Her.; *uegetus*, Cornelissen and Novák; *cictus*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *Hannibalem increpans*, transposui, c.c.; *i. H.*, V. Probus (Gell. iv. 7) cites *Hannibalem* only for early writers.

<sup>1</sup> For *bene nummatus*, cf. Hor., *Epist.* i. 6. 38.

<sup>2</sup> The *diribitores* were originally those who sorted and counted the ballots at elections; in 7 B.C. Agrippa built the *diribitorium* in the Campus Martius for their use; see Suet., *Claud.* 18. *Diribitores* seems to have acquired

are always cruel and sour, and since they lack other offspring, embrace riches alone as their most dearly beloved daughters. 5. So it was decided that Sabinianus, a cultivated man, it is true, and well-to-do,<sup>1</sup> but unfit for war, inefficient, and because of his obscurity still far removed from obtaining magisterial rank, should be sent to govern the eastern regions; but that Ursicinus should return to court to command the infantry and succeed Barbatio: to the end that by his presence there that eager iuciter to revolution (as they persisted in calling him) might be open to the attacks of his bitter and formidable enemies.

6. While this was being done in the camp of Constantius, after the manner of brothels and the stage, and the distributors<sup>2</sup> were scattering the price of suddenly purchased power through the homes of the powerful, Antoninus was conducted to the king's winter quarters and received with open arms, being graced with the distinction of the turban, an honour shared by those who sat at the royal table and allowing men of merit among the Persians to speak words of advice and to vote in the assemblies. Thus, not with poles or tow-rope (as the saying is), that is, not by ambiguous or obscure subterfuges, but under full sail he was swept into public life, urging on the aforesaid king, as long ago Maharbal chided the slowness of Hannibal, and kept insisting that he could win victories, but not take advantage of them.<sup>3</sup> 7. For being brought forward as a man

the meaning of "distributors of bribes"; see Suet., *Aug.* 40, 2, where however the word itself does not occur.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxii. 51; Florus, i. 22, 19.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

omnium gnarus, auditorum nactus vegetos<sup>1</sup> sensus, et aurium delenimenta captantes, nec laudantium, sed secundum Homericos Phaeacas cum silentio admirantium, iam inde quadragesimi anni memoriam replicabat, post bellorum assiduos casus, et maxime apud Hileiam et Singaram, ubi acerrima illa nocturna concertatione pugnatum est, nostrorum copiis ingenti strage confossis, quasi dirimente quodam medio fetiali. Persas nondum Edessam nec pontes Euphratis tetigisse victores quos armipotencia fretos, successibusque magnificis, ita dilatasse decuerat regna,<sup>2</sup> ut<sup>3</sup> toti Asia imperarent,<sup>4</sup> eo maxime tempore quo diuturnis bellorum civilium motibus, sanguis utrimque Romani roboris fundebatur.

8. His ac talibus subinde inter epulas sobrius perfuga. ubi de apparatu bellorum et seriis rebus apud eos Graiorum more veterum consultatur, regem incendebat ardentem, ut exacta hieme statim arma fretus fortunae suae magnitudine concitaret, ipse quoque in multis ac necessariis operam suam fidenter promittens.

<sup>1</sup> *uegetos* (*eius* a corr. of *iliis*) cf. xxi. 16, 19, Her.; *vigiles*, G; *vigiliis eius*, V.      <sup>2</sup> lac. after *decuerat* indic. Eyssen.; *regna* added by Schneider; *decue ratarenteo*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *ut*, added by Eyssen.      <sup>4</sup> *toti Asiae imper(arent)*, added by Novák.

well informed on all matters, and finding eager hearers, desirous of having their ears tickled, who did not praise him but like Homer's Phaeaceans<sup>1</sup> admired him in silence, he would rehearse the history of the past forty years and show that after constant successes in war, especially at Hileia and Singara,<sup>2</sup> where that furious contest at night took place and our troops were cut to pieces with great carnage, as if some fetial priest were intervening<sup>3</sup> to stop the fight the Persians did not yet reach Edessa nor the bridges of the Euphrates, in spite of being victorious; whereas trusting to their prowess and their splendid successes, they ought so to have extended their kingdom as to rule over all Asia, especially at a time when through the continual commotions of civil wars Rome's stoutest soldiers were shedding their blood on two sides.

8. With these and similar speeches from time to time at banquets, where after the old Greek custom they used to consult about preparations for war and other serious affairs, the deserter kept sober and fired the already eager king, so soon as winter was over, at once to take the field, trusting to his good fortune, and Antoninus himself confidently promised to aid him in many important ways.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Odyssey*, xiii. 1, and Index.

<sup>2</sup> In 348, see Gibbon, ch. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> The fetiales had to do with treaties and declaring war. Their persons were sacrosanct and they sometimes intervened to present terms of peace when the opposing armies were drawn up ready for battle.

6. *Ursicinus magister militum ex oriente evocatus, cum iam venisset in Thraciam, remittitur in Mesopotamiam; quo reversus, per Marcellinum Saporis adventum explorat.*

1. Sub eisdem fere diebus, Sabinianus adepta repentina potestate sufflatus, et Ciliciae fines ingressus, decessori suo principis litteras dedit, hortantis ut ad comitatum dignitate afficiendus superiore citius properaret, eo necessitatum articulo, quo etiam si apud Thulen moraretur Ursicinus, acciri eum magnitudo rerum ratione probabili flagitabat, utpote disciplinae veteris et longo usu bellandi artis Persicae scientissimum. 2. Quo rumore provinciis percitis, ordines civitatum et populi, decretis et acclamationibus densis, iniecta manu detinebant paene publicum defensorem, memores quod relictus ad sui tutelam, cum inertis et umbratili milite, nihil amiserat per decennium: simul metuentes salutem, quod tempore dubio, remoto illo advenisse hominem compererant inertissimum. 3. Credimus (neque enim dubium est) per aërios tramites famam praepetem volitare, cuius indicio haec gesta pandente, consiliorum apud Persas summa proponebatur<sup>1</sup>: et multis ultro citroque deliberatis, placuit Antonino

<sup>1</sup> *proponebatur*, Lindl. : *praeponebatur*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Looked on by the Romans as a land north of Britain, apparently Scotland and the neighbouring islands, but of which they had no definite conception. It is a proverbial expression for "the ends of the earth."

6. *Ursicinus, commander of the army in the Orient, being summoned from there and having already reached Thrace, is sent back to Mesopotamia : on his return he tries to learn through Marcellinus of the coming of Sapor.*

1. At about that same time Sabinianus, puffed up by his suddenly acquired power, entered the confines of Cilicia and handed his predecessor the emperor's letter, which directed him to make all haste to the court, to be invested with a higher rank ; and that too at a crisis when, even if Ursicinus were living in Thule,<sup>1</sup> the weight of affairs with good reason demanded that he be sent for,<sup>2</sup> well acquainted as he was with the old-time discipline and with the Persian methods of warfare from long experience. 2. The rumour of this action greatly disquieted the provinces, and the senates and peoples of the various cities, while decrees and acclamations came thick and fast, laid hands on him and all but held fast their public defender, recalling that though he had been left to protect them with weak and ease-loving soldiers, he had for ten years suffered no loss ; and at the same time they feared for their safety on learning that at a critical time he had been deposed and a most inefficient man had come to take his place. 3. We believe (and in fact there is no doubt of it) that Rumour flies swiftly through the paths of air, since it was through her circulation of the news of these events that the Persians held council as to their course of action. And after long

<sup>2</sup> That is, to go to the seat of war against Sapor, instead of to the emperor's court.

suadente, ut Ursicino procul amoto, despectoque duce novello,<sup>1</sup> posthabitis civitatum perniciosis obsidiis, perrumperetur Euphrates, ireturque prorsus, ut occupari possint provinciae, fama celeritate praeventa, omnibus ante bellis (nisi temporibus Gallieni,) intactae, paeque longissima locupletes, cuius rei prosperante deo ductorem commodissimum fore spondebat. 4. Laudato firmatoque concordii omnium voluntate consilio, conversisque universis ad ea quae erant citius congerenda, commeatus milites arma ceteraque instrumenta, quae posebat procinctus adventans, perpetua hieme parabantur.

5. Nos interea paulisper cis Taurum morati, ex imperio ad partes Italiae festinantes, prope flumen venimus Hebrum, ex Odrysarum montibus decurrentem, ibique principis scripta suscepimus, iubentia omni causatione posthabita, reverti Mesopotamiam, sine apparitione ulla expeditionem curaturi periculosam, ad alium omni potestate translata. 6. Quod ideo per molestos formatores imperii struebatur, ut si Persae frustra habiti redissent ad sua,

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<sup>1</sup> *duce novello*, transposui c.c.; *n.d.*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Rufius Festus, ch. xxiii., says that in the time of Gallienus the Persians invaded Mesopotamia and thought themselves masters of Syria, when Odenatus (*decurio* in Palmyra and husband of Zenobia) gathered a band of Syrian farmers, defeated the Persians several times, and pressed on as far as Ctesiphon.



debate to and fro it was decided. on the advice of Antoninus, that since Ursicinus was far away and the new commander was lightly regarded. they should give up the dangerous sieges of cities. pass the barrier of the Euphrates, and push on with the design of outstripping by speed the news of their coming and seizing upon the provinces. which in all previous wars (except in the time of Gallienus) <sup>1</sup> had been untouched and had grown rich through long-continued peace; and Antoninus promised that with God's favour he would be a most helpful leader in this enterprise. 4. When this plan had been commended and approved by unanimous consent. all turned their attention to such things as must be amassed with speed; and so the preparation of supplies. soldiers. weapons. and other equipment which the coming campaign required, went on all winter long.

5. We <sup>2</sup> meanwhile lingered for a time on this side the Taurus. and then in accordance with our orders were hastening to the regions of Italy and had come to the vicinity of the river Hebrus.<sup>3</sup> which flows down from the mountains of the Odrysae: there we received the emperor's dispatch, which without offering any excuse ordered us to return to Mesopotamia without any attendants and take charge of a perilous campaign. after all power had been transferred to another. 6. This was devised by the mischievous moulders of the empire with the idea that, if the Persians were baffled and returned to their own country. the glorious deed

<sup>2</sup> Ammianus accompanied Ursicinus to the emperor's court.

<sup>3</sup> A river of Thrace, the modern Maritza.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ducis novi virtuti facinus adsignaretur egregium : si fortuna sequior ingruisset. Ursicinus reus proditae <sup>1</sup> rei publicae deferretur. 7. Agitatis itaque <sup>2</sup> rationibus, diu cunctati reversique, fastidii plenum Sabinianum invenimus, hominem mediocris staturae, et parvi angustique animi, vix sine turpi metu sufficientem ad levem convivii, nedum proelii strepitum, perferendum.

8. Tamen quoniam speculatores apparatus omnes apud hostes fervere, constanti asseveratione perfugis concinentibus, affirmabant, oscitante homunculo, Nisibin prope venimus, utilia paraturi, ne dissimulantes obsidium, Persae civitati supervenirent incautae. 9. Dumque intra muros maturanda perurgerentur, fumus micantesque ignes assidue a <sup>3</sup> Tigride per Castra Maurorum et Sisara et collimitia reliqua, ad usque civitatem continui perlucebant, solito crebriores, erupisse hostium vastatorias manus superato flumine permonstrantes. 10. Qua causa ne occuparentur itinera, celeri cursu praegressi, cum ad secundum lapidem venissemus, liberalis formae puerum torquatum, (ut coniectabamus) octennem, in aggeris medio vidimus heulantem, ingenui cuiusdam filium (ut aiebat) ; quem

<sup>1</sup> *proditae*, Cornelissen ; *ut proditor*, Bentley ; *proditor*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *itaque*, Bentley, Haupt. ; *ita siue*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *a*, added by Lind. ; *adsiduai trigidae*, V.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Sabinianus. For his small size see 6, 3. His inaction is vividly expressed by *oscitante*

<sup>2</sup> A city of Mesopotamia, in Mygdonia, surrendered to the Persians in the time of Jovian ; modern Nisibin.

<sup>3</sup> See also xxv. 7, 9. It lay north of Nisibis and was

would be attributed to the ability of the new leader : but if Fortune proved unfavourable, Ursicinus would be accused as a traitor to his country. 7. Accordingly, after careful consideration, and long hesitation, we returned, to find Sabinianus a man full of haughtiness, but of insignificant stature and small and narrow mind, barely able to endure the slight noise of a banquet without shameful apprehension, to say nothing of the din of battle.

8. Nevertheless, since scouts, and with them a chorus of deserters, persistently declared that the enemy were pushing all their preparations with hot haste, while the manikin<sup>1</sup> yawned, we hastily marched to Nisibis.<sup>2</sup> to prepare what was useful, lest the Persians, masking their design of a siege, might surprise the city when off its guard. 9. And while within the walls the things that required haste were being pushed vigorously, smoke and gleaming fires constantly shone from the Tigris on past *Castra Maurorum*<sup>3</sup> and *Sisara* and all the neighbouring country as far as the city, in greater number than usual and in a continuous line, clearly showing that the enemy's bands of plunderers had burst forth and crossed the river. 10. Therefore, for fear that the roads might be blocked, we hastened on at full speed, and when we were within two miles, we saw a fine-looking boy, wearing a neck-chain, a child eight years old (as we guessed) and the son of a man of position (as he said), crying in the

called by the Arabic geographers by a name meaning *pagus mororum*, or "the place of mulberries," of which *Maurorum* seems to be a corruption. *Sisara* is a neighbouring fortress.

mater dum imminentium hostium terrore percita fugeret, impeditior trepidando reliquerat solum. Hunc dum imperatu ducis miseratione<sup>1</sup> commoti, impositum equo, prae me ferens ad civitatem reduco, circumvallato murorum ambitu praedatores latius vagabantur. 11. Et quia me obsidionales aerumnae terrebant, intra semiclausam posticam exposito puero, nostrorum agmen agilitate voluceri repetebam exanimis, nec multum a fuit<sup>2</sup> quin caperer. 12. Nam cum Abdigildum<sup>3</sup> quendam tribunum, fugientem cum calone ala sequeretur hostilis, lapsoque per fugam domino servum deprehensum, cum ego rapido ietu transirem, interrogassent, quisnam pro-  
 vectus<sup>4</sup> sit iudex, audissentque Ursicinum paulo ante urbem ingressum, montem Izalam petere; occiso indice in unum quaesiti complures nos irrequietis cursibus sectabantur. 13. Quos cum iumenti agilitate praegressus, apud Amudin munimentum infirmum, dispersis per pabulum equis, recubantes nostros securius invenissem, porrecto extentius brachio, et summitatibus sagi contortis elatius, adesse hostes signo solito demonstrabam, eisdemque iunctus impetu communi ferebar, equo iam fatiscente. 14. Terrebat autem nos plenilunium noctis, et planities supina camporum, nulla (si occupasset artior casus,) latibula praebere sufficiens,

<sup>1</sup> *miseratione*, Her. : *miserati*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *afuit*, Bentley, C. F. W. Müller, Haupt. : *fuit*, V (defended by Löfstadt).  
<sup>3</sup> *Abdigildum*, Her. : *Abdigidum*, G : *abdigildum*, V.  
<sup>4</sup> *prorectus*, Val. : *profectus*, V.

middle of the highway : his mother, while she was fleeing, wild with fear of the pursuing enemy, being hampered and agitated had left him alone. While I, at the command of my general, who was filled with pity, set the boy before me on my horse and took him back to the city, the pillagers, after building a rampart around the entire wall, were ranging more widely. 11. And because the calamities of a siege alarmed me, I set the boy down within a half-open postern gate and with winged speed hastened breathless to our troop ; and I was all but taken prisoner. 12. For a tribune called Abdigildus was fleeing with his camp-servant, pursued by a troop of the enemy's cavalry. And while the master made his escape, they caught the slave and asked him (just as I passed by at full gallop) who had been appointed governor. And when they heard that Ursicinus had entered the city a short time before and was now on his way to Mount Izala, they killed their informant and many of them, uniting in pursuit of one man, followed me with tireless speed. 13. When through the fleetness of my mount I had outstripped them and come to Amudis, a weak fortress, I found our men lying about at their ease, while their horses had been turned out to graze. Extending my arm far forward and gathering up my cloak and waving it on high, I showed by the usual sign that the enemy were near, and joining with them I was hurried along at their pace, although my horse was now growing tired. 14. We were alarmed, however, by the fact that it was the full of the moon and by the wide stretch of plain, which (in case any pressing emergency surprised us) could offer no hiding-places,

ubi nec arbores nec frutea nec quicquam praeter herbas humiles visebatur. 15. Excogitatum est ergo ut ardente superposita lampade, et circumligata ne rueret, iumentum solum quod eam vehebat solutum, sine rectore laevorsus ire permetteretur, cum nos ad montanos excessus dextra positos tenderemus, ut praelucere sebalem facem duci lenius gradienti, Persae credentes, eum tenerent potissimum cursum; quod ni fuisset praevisum, circumventi et capti, sub dicionem venissemus hostilem.

16. Hoc extracti periculo, cum ad nemorosum quendam locum vineis arbustisque pomiferis consitum, Meiacarire nomine venissemus, cui fontes dedere vocabulum gelidi, dilapsis<sup>1</sup> accolis omnibus, solum in remoto secessu latentem invenimus militem, qui oblati duci et locutus varia prae timore, ideoque suspectus, adigente metu qui intentabatur,<sup>2</sup> pandit rerum integram fidem, docetque quod apud Parisios natus in Galliis, et equestri militans turma, vindictam quondam commissi facinoris timens, ad Persas abierat profugus, exindeque morum probitate spectata, sortita coniuge liberisque susceptis, speculatorem se missum ad nostra, saepe

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<sup>1</sup> *dilapsis*, Cornelissen; *lapsis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *intentatur*, suggested by Clark, c.c.

<sup>1</sup> *Sebalis fax*, which seems to occur only here, is the same as *sebacea*, a torch or candle made of tallow (*sebum*) instead of wax.

since neither trees nor shrubs were to be seen, but nothing except short grass. 15. Therefore we devised the plan of placing a lighted lantern on a single pack-animal, binding it fast, so that it should not fall off, and then turning loose the animal that carried the light and letting him go towards the left without a driver, while we made our way to the mountain heights lying on the right, in order that the Persians, supposing that a tallow torch<sup>1</sup> was carried before the general as he went slowly on his way, should take that course rather than any other; and had it not been for this stratagem, we should have been surrounded and captured and come into the power of the enemy.

16. Saved from this danger, we came to a wooded tract planted with vineyards and fruitbearing orchards, called Meiacarire,<sup>2</sup> so named from its cold springs. There all the inhabitants had decamped, but we found one soldier hiding in a remote spot. He, on being brought before the general, because of fear gave contradictory answers and so fell under suspicion. But influenced by threats made against him, he told the whole truth, saying that he was born at Paris in Gaul and served in a cavalry troop; but in fear of punishment for a fault that he had once committed he had deserted to the Persians. Then, being found to be of upright character, and having married and reared children, he was sent as a spy to our territories and often brought back trustworthy news. But now

<sup>2</sup> According to Valesius, from Syrian *maia* or *maio*, "water," and *carire*, "cold"; the former word appears also in *Emmaus*.

veros nuntios reportasse. At nunc se a Tamsapore et Nohodare optimatibus missum, qui catervas ductaverant praedatorum, ad eos redire quae didicerat perlaturum. Post haec, adiectis quae agi in parte diversa norat, occiditur.

17. Proinde curarum crescente sollicitudine, inde passibus citis Amidam pro temporis copia venimus, civitatem postea secutis cladibus inclutam. Quo reversis exploratoribus nostris, in vaginae internis notarum figuris membranam repperimus scriptam, a Procopio ad nos perferri mandatam, quem legatum ad Persas antea missum cum comite Lucilliano praedixi, haec consulto obscurius indicantem, ne captis baiulis, sensuque intellecto scriptorum, excitaretur materia funestissima.

18. "Amendatis procul Graiorum legatis, forsitan et necandis, rex ille<sup>1</sup> longaevis non contentus Hellesponto, iunctis Grenici<sup>2</sup> et Rhyndaei pontibus, Asiam cum numerosis populis pervasurus adueniet, suoapte ingenio irritabilis et asperrimus, auctore et incensore Hadriani quondam Romani Principis successore; actum et conclamatum est, ni caverit Graecia."

19. Qui textus significabat Persarum regem transitis fluminibus Anzaba et Tigride, Antonino hortante,

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<sup>1</sup> *ill(e)*, added by Clark; *flongeuus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *Greneci*, Her.; *gruenicia*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Diarbekir, see Gibbon, ii. p. 269, Bury.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. ix. below, and xix, 1-8.

<sup>3</sup> Two rivers of Mysia, in north-western Asia Minor, the former celebrated for the victory of Alexander the Great



he had been sent out by the grandees Tamsapor and Nohodares, who had led the bands of pillagers, and was returning to them, to report what he had learned. After this, having added what he knew about what the enemy were doing, he was put to death.

17. Then with our anxious cares increasing we went from there as quickly as circumstances allowed to Amida,<sup>1</sup> a city afterwards notorious for the calamities which it suffered.<sup>2</sup> And when our scouts had returned there, we found in the scabbard of a sword a parchment written in cipher, which had been brought to us by order of Procopius, who, as I said before, had previously been sent as an envoy to the Persians with Count Lucillianus. In this, with intentional obscurity, for fear that, if the bearers were taken and the meaning of the message known, most disastrous consequences would follow, he gave the following message :—

18. “ Now that the envoys of the Greeks have been sent far away and perhaps are to be killed, that aged king, not content with the Hellespont, will bridge the Granicus and the Rhyndacus<sup>3</sup> and come to invade Asia with many nations. He is naturally passionate and very cruel, and he has as an instigator and abetter the successor of the former Roman emperor Hadrian;<sup>4</sup> unless Greece takes heed, it is all over with her and her dirge chanted.”

19. This writing meant that the king of the Persians had crossed the rivers Anzaba and Tigris, and, urged on by Antoninus, aspired to the rule of the over the Persians, the latter for the defeat of Mithradates by Lucullus.

<sup>4</sup> Referring of course to the deserter Antoninus.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

dominium orientis affectare totius. His ob perplexitatem nimiam aegerrime lectis, consilium suscipitur prudens.

20. Erat eo tempore satrapa Corduenae, quae obtemperabat potestati Persarum, Iovinianus nomine appellatus in solo Romano,<sup>1</sup> adulescens nobiscum occulte sentiens ea gratia, quod obsidatus sorte in Syriis detentus, et dulcedine liberalium studiorum illectus, remeare ad nostra ardenti desiderio gestiebat. 21. Ad hunc missus ego cum centurione quodam fidissimo, exploratius noscendi gratia quae gerebantur, per avios montes angustiasque praecipites veni. Visusque et agnitus, comiterque susceptus, causam praesentiae meae uni illi confessus, adiuncto taciturno aliquo locorum perito, mittor ad praecelsas rupes exinde longe distantes, unde nisi oculorum deficeret acies, ad quinquagesimum usque lapidem, quodvis etiam minutissimum apparebat. 22. Ibi morati integrum biduum, cum sol tertius affulsisset, cernebamus terrarum omnes ambitus subiectos, quos ὀπίθουρας appellamus, agminibus oppletos innumeris, et antegressum regem vestis claritudine rutilantem. Quem iuxta laevus incedebat Grumbates, Chionitarum rex nervositate<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Romano, adulescens*, Mommsen; lac. after R. Corneliussen, or *educatus* for *adulescens*.      <sup>2</sup> *nervositate*, Pet.; *uenustate*, Her.; *nobilitate*, Mommsen; *nobis aetate*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> A mountainous region in Armenia, taken by Caesar Maximianus from the Persians in the time of Galerius.

entire Orient. When it had been read, with the greatest difficulty because of its excessive ambiguity, a sagacious plan was formed.

20. There was at that time in Corduene,<sup>1</sup> which was subject to the Persian power, a satrap called Jovinianus on Roman soil, a youth who had secret sympathy with us for the reason that, having been detained in Syria as a hostage and allured by the charm of liberal studies, he felt a burning desire to return to our country. 21. To him I was sent with a centurion of tried loyalty, for the purpose of getting better informed of what was going on; and I reached him over pathless mountains and through steep defiles. After he had seen and recognized me, and received me cordially, I confided to him alone the reason for my presence. Thereupon with one silent attendant who knew the country he sent me to some lofty cliffs a long distance from there, from which, unless one's eyesight was impaired, even the smallest object was visible at a distance of fifty miles. 22. There we stayed for two full days, and at dawn of the third day we saw below us the whole circuit of the lands (which we<sup>2</sup> call *ὀρίζοντας*<sup>3</sup>) filled with innumerable troops with the king leading the way, glittering in splendid attire. Close by him on the left went Grumbates, king of the Chionitae,<sup>4</sup> a man of moderate strength, it is true, and with shrivelled limbs, but of a certain

but not yet wholly freed from their rule. Later it was separated from the Persian dominion by Jovian: cf. xxv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Greeks.

<sup>3</sup> The horizon.

<sup>4</sup> Sapor had recently made peace with them; see xvi. 9, 4.

quidem media rugosisque membris, sed mente quadam grandifica, multisque victoriarum insignibus nobilis; dextra rex Albanorum, pari loco atque honore sublinis; post duces varii, auctoritate et potestatibus eminentes, quos ordinum omnium multitudo sequebatur, ex vicinarum gentium roboribus lecta, ad tolerandam rerum asperitatem diuturnis casibus erudita. 23. Quo usque nobis Doriseum Thraciae oppidum, et agminatiū intra consaepta exercitus, recensitos Graecia fabulosa narrabis? cum nos cauti vel (ut verius dixerim) timidi, nihil exaggeremus, praeter ea quae fidei testimonia neque incerta monstrarunt.

7. *Sapor cum Chionitarum et Albanorum regibus Mesopotamiam intrat. Romani suos ipsi agros incendunt, agrestes in oppida compellunt, ac citeriorem ripam Euphratis castellis praesidiisque communiunt.*

1. Postquam reges Nineve Adiabenaē ingenti civitate transmissa, in medio pontis Anzabae hostiis caesis, extisque prosperantibus, transiere laetissimi, coniectantes nos residuam plebem omnem aegre penetrare post triduum posse, citius exinde ad satrapen reversi quievimus, hospitalibus officiis recreati. 2. Unde per loca itidem deserta et sola, magno necessitatis ducente solacio, celerius quam

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<sup>1</sup> Dwelling in what is now Georgia.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herodotus, vii. 59. Xerxes, in order to reckon the size of his army, assembled ten thousand men and

greatness of mind and distinguished by the glory of many victories. On the right was the king of the Albani,<sup>1</sup> of equal rank, high in honour. After them came various leaders, prominent in reputation and rank, followed by a multitude of every degree, chosen from the flower of the neighbouring nations and taught to endure hardship by long continued training. 23. How long, storied Greece, will you continue to tell us of Doriscus, the city of Thrace, and of the armies drawn up in troops within enclosures and numbered?<sup>2</sup> For I am too cautious, or (to speak more truly) too timid, to exaggerate anything beyond what is proven by trustworthy and sure evidence.

7. *Sapor with the kings of the Chaonitae and the Albani invades Mesopotamia. The Romans set fire to their own fields, drive the peasants into the towns, and fortify our bank of the Euphrates with strongholds and garrisons.*

1. After the kings had passed by Nineveh, a great city of Adiabene, and after sacrificing victims in the middle of the bridge over the Anzaba and finding the omens favourable, had crossed full of joy, I judged that all the rest of the throng could hardly enter in three days; so I quickly returned to the satrap and rested, entertained with hospitable attentions. 2. Then I returned, again passing through deserted and solitary places, more quickly drew a circle around them; then he filled the space again and again with men, until the whole army was thus counted.

potuit sperari reversi. confirmavimus animos haesitantium. unum e navalibus pontem transisse reges absque ulla circumitione perdoctos. 3. Extemplo igitur equites citi mittuntur ad Cassianum, Mesopotamiae ducem, rectoremque provinciae tunc<sup>1</sup> Euphronium, compulsuri agrestes cum familiis et pecoribus universis ad tutiora transire,<sup>2</sup> et agiliter deserere Carras, oppidum invalidis circumdatum muris; super his campos omnes incendi, ne pabulorum suppeteret copia. 4. Et imperatis sine mora completis, iniecto igni furentis elementi vis maxima, frumenta omnia cum iam stipula flaverent turgerent, herbasque pubentes ita contorruit, ut ad usque Euphraten, ab ipsis marginibus Tigridis, nihil viride cerneretur. Tunc exustae sunt ferae complures, maximeque leones, per ea loca saevientes immaniter, consumi vel caecari sucti paulatim hoc modo. 5. Inter harundineta Mesopotamiae fluminum et fructecta, leones vagantur innumeri, clementia hiemis ibi mollissimae semper innocui. At ubi solis radiis exarserit tempus. in regionibus aestu ambustis. vapore sideris et magnitudine culicum agitantur, quorum examinibus per eas terras referta sunt omnia. Et quoniam oculos, quasi umida

<sup>1</sup> *tunc* after *Cassianum*, Günther, Mommsen: after *provinciac*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *transire compelli et*, VEBG, Bentley (*confestim*, Pet.).

than could be expected, led as I was by the great consolation of necessity, and cheered the spirits of those who were troubled because they were informed that the kings, without any detour, had crossed on a single bridge of boats. 3. Therefore at once swift horsemen were sent to Cassianus, commander in Mesopotamia, and to Euphronius, then governor of the province, to compel the peasants with their households and all their flocks to move to safer quarters, directing also that the city of Carrhae should quickly be abandoned, since the town was surrounded only by weak fortifications: and in addition that all the plains be set on fire, to prevent the enemy from getting supplies. 4. These orders were executed without delay, and when the fires had been kindled, the mighty violence of that raging element consumed all the grain, which was filled out on the now yellowing stalk, and every kind of growing plant, so utterly that from the very banks of the Tigris all the way to the Euphrates not a green thing was to be seen. At that time many wild beasts were burned up, especially lions, which are excessively savage in those regions and usually perish or are gradually blinded in the following manner. 5. Amid the reed-beds and thickets of the Mesopotamian rivers lions range in countless numbers; and during the moderate winter, which is there very mild, they are always harmless. But when the sun's rays have brought the season of burning heat, in regions parched by drought they are tormented both by the sultry breath of the sun and by huge gnats, swarms of which fill all parts of that land. And since these same insects make

et lucentia membra. eadem appetunt volucres, palpebrarum libramentis mordicus insidentes, idem leones. cruciati diutius, aut fluminibus mersi sorbentur. ad quae remedii causa confugiunt, aut amissis oculis, quos unguibus crebro lacerantes effodiunt, immanius efferaseunt; quod ni fieret, universus oriens huius modi bestiis abundaret.

6. Dum campi cremantur (ut dictum est) tribuni cum protectoribus missi, citerioris ripae Euphratis castellis et praeacutis sudibus omnique praesidiorum genere communibant, tormenta, qua parum<sup>1</sup> erat voraginosum, locis opportunis aptantes.

7. Dum haec celerantur, Sabinianus inter rapienda momenta periculorum communium lectissimus moderator belli internecivi, per Edessena sepulchra, quasi fundata cum mortuis pace, nihil formidans, more vitae remissioris fluxius agens, militari pyrrice<sup>2</sup> sonantibus modulis pro histrionicis gestibus, in silentio summo delectabatur, ominoso sane et incepto et loco,<sup>3</sup> cum haec et huius modi factu dictuque tristia. futuros praenuntiantia<sup>4</sup> motus, vitare optimum quemque debere saeculi progressionem discamus. 8. Interea reges, Nisibi pro statione<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *qua parum erat*, Günther; *qua flumen parum erat*, Mommsen; *quarum erat*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *pyrrice*, Clark; *pyrrica*, Val.; *pyrrico*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *et loco*, Wagner; *et in loco*, V.  
<sup>4</sup> *praenuntiantia*, Günther, Mommsen; *pronuntiant*, V;  
 *futuros . . . motus*, del. Val.      <sup>5</sup> *pro statione*, G;  
*prostratione*, V.

<sup>1</sup> So that the Persians would be likely to try to cross.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, ironical.



for the eyes, as the moist and shining parts of the body, and settling along the eyelids bite them, those same lions, after suffering long torture, either plunge into the rivers, to which they flee for protection, and are drowned, or after losing their eyes, which they dig out by constantly scratching them with their claws, become frightfully savage. And were it not for this, the entire Orient would be overrun by such beasts.

6. While the plains were burning (as was said), tribunes were sent with the guard and fortified the nearer bank of the Euphrates with towers, sharp stakes, and every kind of defence, planting hurling-engines in suitable places, where the river was not full of eddies.<sup>1</sup>

7. While these preparations were being hastened, Sabinianus, that splendid choice<sup>2</sup> of a leader in a deadly war, when every moment should have been seized to avert the common dangers, amid the tombs of Edessa, as if he had nothing to fear when he had made his peace with the dead, and acting with the wantonness of a life free from care, in complete inaction was being entertained by his soldiers with a pyrrhic dance,<sup>3</sup> in which music accompanied the gestures of the performers—conduct ominous both in itself and in its occasion, since we learn as time goes on that these and similar things that are ill-omened in word and deed ought to be avoided by every good man as foreboding coming troubles. 8. Meanwhile the kings passed

<sup>3</sup> These were originally war dances in armour, but their scope was extended to pantomime of all kinds; see Suet., *Nero*, 12, 1 and 2.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

vili transmissa, incendiis arida nutrimentorum varietate crescentibus. fugitantes inopiam pabuli, sub montium pedibus per valles gramineas incedebant. 9. Cumque Bebasen villam venissent, unde ad Constantinam usque oppidum, quod centesimo lapide disparatur, arescunt omnia siti perpetua, nisi quod in puteis aqua reperitur exilis, quid agerent diu cunctati, iamque suorum duritiae fiducia transitori. exploratore fido docente, cognoscunt Euphratem, nivibus tabefactis inflatum, late fuis gurgitibus evagari. ideoque vado nequaquam posse transiri. 10. Convertuntur ergo ad ea quae amplectenda fortuita daret occasio, spe concepta praeter opinionem exclusi, ac proposito pro abrupto rerum praesentium statu urgenti consilio, Antoninus dicere quid sentiat iussus, orditur, flecti iter suadens in dexterum latus. ut per longiorem circumitum, omnium rerum usu regionum feracium, et consideratione ea qua rectus pergeret hostis, adhuc intactarum. castra duo praesidiana Barzalo et Claudias<sup>1</sup> peterentur. sese ductante, ubi tenuis fluvius prope originem et angustus, nullisque adhuc aquis advenis adolescens, facile penetrari poterit ut vadosus. 11. His auditis laudatoque suasore, et iusso ducere

<sup>1</sup> *Barzalo et Claudias*, Kellerbauer: *barzalo te laudias*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Formerly Antoninopolis, renamed after its restoration by Constantine: see 9, 1, below.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Romans had not devastated that part of

by Nisibis as an unimportant place, and since the fires were spreading because of the variety of dry fuel, to avoid a scarcity of fodder were marching through the grassy valleys at the foot of the mountains. 9. And now they had come to a hamlet called Bebase, from which as far as the town of Constantina,<sup>1</sup> which is a hundred miles distant, everything is parched by constant drought except for a little water to be found in wells. There they hesitated for a long time what to do, and finally were planning to cross, being confident of the hardiness of their men, when they learned from a faithful scout that the Euphrates was swollen by the melted snows and overflowing in wide pools, and hence could not be forded anywhere. 10. Therefore, being unexpectedly disappointed in the hope that they had conceived, they turned to embrace whatever the chance of fortune should offer; and on holding a council, with reference to the sudden urgent difficulties of their present situation, Antoninus, on being bidden to say what he thought, began by advising that they should turn their march to the right, in order to make a long detour through regions abounding in all sorts of supplies, and still untouched by the Romans in the belief that the enemy would march straight ahead,<sup>2</sup> and that they should go under his guidance to the two garrison camps of Barzalo and Claudia; for there the river was shallow and narrow near its source, and as yet increased by no tributaries, and hence was fordable and easy to cross. 11. When this proposition had been heard and its author the country because they thought that the enemy would march straight to the river without making a detour.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

qua norat, agmina cuncta, ab instituto itinere conversa, praeivium sequebantur.

8. *Septingenti equites Illyriciani necopinantes a Persur coniciuntur in fugam. Evadunt hinc Ursicinus, inde Marcellinus.*

1. Quo certis speculationibus cognito, nos disposuimus properare Samosatam, ut superato exinde flumine, pontiumque apud Zeugma et Capersana iuncturis abscisis, hostiles impetus (si iuvisset fors ulla,) repelleremus. 2. Sed contigit atrox et silentio omni dedecus obruendum. Namque duarum turmarum equites circiter septingenti, ad subsidium Mesopotamiae recens ex Illyrico missi, enerves et timidi, praesidium per eos tractus<sup>1</sup> agentes, nocturnasque paventes insidias, ab aggeribus publicis vesperi, quando custodiri magis omnes tramites conveniret, longius discedebant. 3. Hocque observato, eos vino oppressos et somno, viginti milia fere Persarum, Tamsapore et Nohodare ductantibus, nullo prospiciente transgressa, post-tumulos celsos vicinos Amidae, occultabantur armata.

4. Moxque (ut dictum est) cum abituri Samosatam luce etiam tum dubia pergeremus, ab alta quadam specula radiantium armorum splendore perstricti, hostisque adesse excitatius clamitantes, signo dato

<sup>1</sup> *tractus*, Lind. : *traductus*, V.

commended and bidden to lead them by the way that he knew, the whole army changed its intended line of march and followed its guide.

8. *Seven hundred Illyrian horsemen are surprised and put to flight by the Persians. Ursicinus and Marcellinus escape in different directions.*

1. When this was known through trustworthy scouts, we planned to hasten to Samosata, in order to cross the river from there and break down the bridges at Zeugma and Capersana, and so (if fortune should aid us at all) repel the enemy's attacks. 2. But there befell a terrible disgrace, which deserves to be buried in utter silence. For about seven hundred horsemen, belonging to two squadrons who had recently been sent to the aid of Mesopotamia from Illyricum, a spiritless and cowardly lot, were keeping guard in those parts. And dreading a night attack, they withdrew to a distance from the public roads at evening, when all the paths ought to be better guarded. 3. This was observed by the Persians, and about twenty thousand of them, under the command of Tamsapor and Nohodares, passed by the horsemen unobserved, while these were overcome with wine and sleep, and hid themselves with arms behind some high mounds near Amida.

4. And presently, when we were on the point of going to Samosata (as has been said) and were on our way while it was still twilight. from a high point our eyes caught the gleam of shining arms, and an excited cry was raised that the enemy were upon

quod ad proelium solet hortari, restitimus conglobati, nec fugam capessere, cum essent iam in contuitu qui sectarentur, nec congregi cum hoste equitatu et numero praevalente, metu indubitatae mortis cautum existimantes. 5. Denique ex ultima necessitate manibus iam conserendis, cum quid agi oporteat cunctaremur, occiduntur quidam nostrorum, temere procursantes, et urgente utraque parte, Antoninus ambitiosius<sup>1</sup> praegrediens agmen,<sup>2</sup> ab Ursicino agnitus, et obiurgatorio sonu vocis increpitus, proditorque et nefarius appellatus, sublata tiara, quam capiti summi<sup>3</sup> ferebat honoris insigne, desiluit equo, curvatisque membris, humum vultu paene contingens, salutavit patronum appellans et dominum, manus post terga conectens, quod apud Assyrios supplicis indicat formam. 6. Et "Ignosce mihi" inquit "amplissime comes, necessitate non voluntate ad haec quae novi<sup>4</sup> scelesta, prolapso; egere me praecipitem iniqui<sup>5</sup> flagitatores, ut nosti, quorum avaritiae ne tua quidem excelsa illa fortuna, propugnans miseriis meis, potuit refragari." Simul haec dicens, e medio prospectu abscessit, non aversus, sed dum evanesceret, verecunde retrogradiens et pectus ostentans.

7. Quae dum in curriculo semihorae aguntur, postsignani nostri, qui tenebant editiora collis exclamant, aliam cataphractorum multitudinem

<sup>1</sup> *ambitiosius*, Mommsen; *ambitiosum*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *agmen*, Her.; *agmini*, Mommsen; *agmina bursicino*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *summi*, Damsté: *summo*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *novi*, HBG; *mouï*, Kellerbauer, Eyssen.; *novis*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *iniqui*, Haupt.; *inquit*, EBG; *inquit*, V.

us ; then the usual signal for summoning to battle was given and we halted in close order, thinking it prudent neither to take flight when our pursuers were already in sight, nor yet (through fear of certain death) to engage with a foe far superior in cavalry and in numbers. 5. Finally, after it became absolutely necessary to resort to arms, while we were hesitating as to what ought to be done, some of our men ran forward rashly and were killed. And as both sides pressed forward, Antoninus, who was ostentatiously leading his troops, was recognised by Ursicinus and rated with chiding language : and after being called traitor and criminal, Antoninus took off the tiara which he wore on his head as a token of high honour, sprang from his horse, and bending his body so that he almost touched the ground with his face, he saluted Ursicinus, calling him patron and lord, clasping his hands together behind his back, which among the Assyrians is a gesture of supplication. 6. Then, " Pardon me," said he. " most illustrious Count, since it is from necessity and not voluntarily that I have descended to this conduct, which I know to be infamous. It was unjust duns, as you know, that drove me mad, whose avarice not even your lofty station, which tried to protect my wretchedness, could check." As he said these words he withdrew from sight, not turning about, but respectfully walking backwards until he disappeared, and presenting his breast.

7. While all this took place in the course of half an hour, our soldiers in the rear, who occupied the higher part of the hill, cry out that another force,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

equitum pone visam, celeritate quam maxima propinquare. 8. Atque ut in rebus solent afflictis, ambigentes cuinam deberet aut posset occurri, trudente pondere plebis immensae, passim qua cuique proximum videbatur, diffundimur universi, dumque se quisque expedire discrimine magno conatur, sparsim disiecti hosti concursatori miscemur. 9. Itaque spreta iam vivendi cupiditate, fortiter decernentes, ad ripas pellimur Tigridis, alte excisas. Unde quidam praecipites pulsi, implicantibus armis, haeserunt, ubi vadosus est amnis, alii lacunarum hausti vertigine, vorabantur, non nulli cum hoste congressi, vario eventu certabant, quidam cuneorum densitate perterriti, petebant proximos Tauri montis excessus. 10. Inter quos dux ipse agnitus pugnantorumque mole circumdatus, cum Aiadalthe tribuno, caloneque uno, equi celeritate ereptus, abscessit.

11. Mihi dum avius ab itinere comitum quid agerem circumspicio. Verennianus domesticus protector occurrit, femur sagitta confixus, quam dum avellere obtestante collega conarer, cinctus undique antecedentibus Persis, civitatem petebam. anhelocursu rependo, ex eo latere quo incessebamus in



of heavy-armed cavalry, was to be seen behind the others, and that they were approaching with all possible speed. 8. And, as is usual in times of trouble, we were in doubt whom we should, or could, resist, and pushed onward by the weight of the vast throng, we all scattered here and there, wherever each saw the nearest way of escape; and while every one was trying to save himself from the great danger, we were mingled in scattered groups with the enemy's skirmishers. 9. And so, now scorning any desire for life and fighting manfully, we were driven to the banks of the Tigris, which were high and steep. From these some hurled themselves headlong, but entangled by their weapons stuck fast in the shoals of the river; others were dragged down in the eddying pools and swallowed up; some engaged the enemy and fought with varying success; others, terrified by the dense array of hostile ranks, sought to reach the nearest elevations of Mount Taurus. 10. Among these the commander himself was recognised and surrounded by a horde of warriors, but he was saved by the speed of his horse and got away, in company with Aiadalthes, a tribune, and a single groom.

11. I myself, having taken a direction apart from that of my comrades, was looking around to see what to do, when Verennianus, one of the guard, came up with an arrow in his thigh; and while at the earnest request of my colleague I was trying to pull it out, finding myself surrounded on all sides by the advancing Persians, I made up for the delay by breathless speed and aimed for the city, which from the point where we were attacked lay high up and could

arduo sitam, unoque ascensu perangusto meabilem, quem scissis collibus molinae,<sup>1</sup> ad calles aptandas<sup>2</sup> aedificatae, densius constringebant. 12. Hic mixti cum Persis, eodem ictu procurrentibus ad superiora nobiscum, ad usque ortum alterius solis immobiles stetimus, ita conferti, ut caesorum cadavera multitudine fulta, reperire ruendi spatium nusquam possent, utque miles ante me quidam, discriminato capite, quod in aequas partes ictus gladii fiderat validissimus, in stipitis modum undique coartatus haereret. 13. Et licet multiplicia tela, per tormentorum omnia genera, volarent e propugnaculis, hoc tamen periculo murorum nos propinquitas eximebat, tandemque per posticam civitatem ingressus, refertam inveni, confluyente ex finitimis virili et muliebri secus. Nam et casu illis ipsis diebus, in suburbanis peregrina commercia, circumacto anno solita celebrari,<sup>3</sup> multitudo convenarum augebat agrestium. 14. Interea sonitu vario cuncta miscentur, partim amissos gementibus, aliis cum exitio sauciis, multis caritates diversas, quas prae angustiis videre non poterant, invocantibus.

9. *Descriptio Amidae, et quot tum ibi legiones ac turmae in praesidio fuerint.*

1. Hanc civitatem olim perquam brevem. Caesar etiam tum Constantius, ut accolae suffugium possint

<sup>1</sup> *molinae*, V; *molimina*, Mommsen. <sup>2</sup> *aptandas*, Clark; *artandas*, V. <sup>3</sup> *celebrari* (*i* corr. from *um*), V; *celebrare*, G, Langen, Mommsen.

<sup>1</sup> That is, apparently, for preparing the material of which the paths were made.

be approached only by a single very narrow ascent ; and this was made still narrower by mills which had been built on the cliffs for the purpose of making the paths.<sup>1</sup> 12. Here, mingled with the Persians, who were rushing to the higher ground with the same effort as ourselves, we remained motionless until sunrise of the next day, so crowded together that the bodies of the slain, held upright by the throng, could nowhere find room to fall, and that in front of me a soldier with his head cut in two, and split into equal halves by a powerful sword stroke, was so pressed on all sides that he stood erect like a stump. 13. And although showers of weapons from all kinds of artillery flew from the battlements, nevertheless the nearness of the walls saved us from that danger, and when I at last entered the city by a postern gate I found it crowded, since a throng of both sexes had flocked to it from the neighbouring countryside. For, as it chanced, it was at that very time that the annual fair was held in the suburbs, and there was a throng of country folk in addition to the foreign traders. 14. Meanwhile there was a confusion of varied cries, some bewailing their lost kindred, others wounded to the death, many calling upon loved ones from whom they were separated and could not see because of the press.

9. *A description of Amida, and the number of the legions and troops of cavalry that were on guard there.*

1. This city was once very small, but Constantius, when he was still a Caesar, in order that the neighbours

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

habere tutissimum, eo tempore quo Antoninupolim oppidum aliud struxit, turribus circumdedit amplis et moenibus, locatoque ibi conditorio muralium tormentorum, fecit hostibus formidatam, suoque nomine voluit appellari. 2. Et a latere quidem australi, geniculato Tigridis meatu subluitur, propius emergentis; qua Euri opponitur flatibus, Mesopotamiae plana despectat; unde aquiloni obnoxia est, Nymphaeo amni vicina. verticibus Taurinis umbratur, gentes Transtigritanas dirimentibus et Armeniam; spiranti zephyro contraversa Gumathenam contingit, regionem ubere et<sup>1</sup> cultu iuxta fecundam, in qua vicus est Abarne nomine, sospitalium aquarum lavaeris calentibus notus. In ipso autem Amidae meditullio sub arce fons dives exundat, potabilis quidem, sed vaporatis aestibus non numquam faetens. 3. Cuius oppidi praesidio erat semper Quinta Parthica legio destinata, cum indigenarum turma non contemnenda. Sed tunc ingruentem Persarum multitudinem sex legiones, raptim percursis itineribus antegressae, muris adstitero firmissimis, Magnentiaci et Decentiaci, quos post consummatos civiles procinctus, ut fallaces et turbidos, ad orientem venire compulit imperator, ubi nihil praeter bella timetur externa, et Tricensimani Decimanique, Fortenses et Supervertores

<sup>1</sup> *ubere et*, Cornelissen; *uberem*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The soldiers enrolled by Magnentius and called by his name and that of his brother.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Ulpia.

<sup>3</sup> Called in early inscriptions Fretenses.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Notit. Imp.* these were light-armed horsemen; the former were used in surprise attacks, the latter as scouts.

might have a secure place of refuge, at the same time that he built another city called Antoninopolis, surrounded Amida with strong walls and towers; and by establishing there an armoury of mural artillery, he made it a terror to the enemy and wished it to be called after his own name. 2. Now, on the south side it is washed by the winding course of the Tigris, which rises near-by; where it faces the blasts of Eurus it looks down on Mesopotamia's plains; where it is exposed to the north wind it is close to the river Nymphaeus and lies under the shadow of the peaks of Taurus, which separate the peoples beyond the Tigris from Armenia; opposite the breath of Zephyrus it borders on Gumathena, a region rich alike in fertility and in tillage, in which is the village called Abarne, famed for its warm baths of healing waters. Moreover, in the very heart of Amida, at the foot of the citadel, a bountiful spring gushes forth, drinkable indeed, but sometimes malodorous from hot vapours. 3. Of this town the regular garrison was formed by the Fifth Legion, Parthica, along with a force of no mean size of natives. But at that time six additional legions, having outstripped the advancing horde of Persians by rapid marches, were drawn up upon its very strong walls. These were the soldiers of Magnentius and Decentius,<sup>1</sup> whom, after finishing the campaigns of the civil wars, the emperor had forced, as being untrustworthy and turbulent, to come to the Orient, where none but foreign wars are to be feared; also the soldiers of the Thirtieth,<sup>2</sup> and the Tenth, also called Fortenses,<sup>3</sup> and the Superventores and Praeventores<sup>4</sup> with Aelianus, who was then a count; these

atque Praeventores, cum Aeliano iam comite, quos tirones tum etiam novellos, hortante memorato adhuc protectore, erupisse a Singara, Persasque fusos<sup>1</sup> in somnum retullimus trucidasse complures. 4. Aderat comitum quoque sagittariorum pars maior, equestris<sup>2</sup> videlicet turmae ita cognominatae. ubi merent omnes ingenui barbari, armorum viriumque firmitudine inter alios eminentes.

10. *Sapor duo castella Romana in fidem recipit.*

1. Haec dum primi impetus turbo<sup>3</sup> conatibus agitatur insperatis, rex cum populo suo gentibusque quas ductabat, a Bebase loco itinere flexo dextrorsus ut monuerat Antoninus, per Horren et Meiacarire et Charcha, ut transiturus Amidam, cum prope castella Romana venisset, quorum unum Reman, alterum Busan appellatur, perfugarum indicio didicit, multorum opes illuc translatas servari, ut in munimentis praecelsis et fidis, additumque est, ibi cum suppellectili pretiosa, inveniri feminam pulchram cum filia parvula, Craugasii Nisibeni cuiusdam uxorem, in municipali ordine genere fama potentiaque circumspecti.<sup>4</sup> 2. Aviditate itaque rapiendi aliena festinans, petit impetu fidenti castella, unde subita animi consternatione defensores

<sup>1</sup> *Persasque fusos*, tr. in G; *f. Persasque*, V.   <sup>2</sup> *equestris*, Mommsen: *equestres*, V.   <sup>3</sup> *turbo*, added in G; *uertigo*, Her.: V omits.   <sup>4</sup> lac. of 23 letters at end of page, V.

<sup>1</sup> In one of the lost books.

troops, when still raw recruits, at the urging of the same Aelianus, then one of the guard, had made a sally from Singara (as I have said<sup>1</sup>) and slain great numbers of the Persians while they were buried in sleep. 4. There were also in the town the greater part of the *comites sagittarii*<sup>2</sup> (household archers), that is to say, a squadron of horsemen so-named, in which all the freeborn foreigners serve who are conspicuous above the rest for their prowess in arms and their bodily strength.

10. *Sapor receives two Roman fortresses in surrender.*

1. While the storm of the first attack was thus busied with unlooked-for undertakings, the king with his own people and the nations that he was leading turned his march to the right from the place called Bebase, as Antoninus had recommended, through Horre and Meiacarire and Charcha, as if he would pass by Amida; but when he had come near two fortresses of the Romans, of which one is called Rema and the other Busa, he learned from the information of deserters that the wealth of many people had been brought there and was kept in what were regarded as lofty and safe fortifications; and it was added that there was to be found there with a costly outfit a beautiful woman with her little daughter, the wife of a certain Craugasias of Nisibis, a man distinguished among the officials of his town for family, reputation, and influence. 2. Accordingly the king, with a haste due to his greed for seizing others' property, attacked the fortresses

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a division of the household cavalry; see xv. 4, 10, note 2, and Index II. (Index of Officials).

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

armorum varietate praestrici. se<sup>1</sup> cunctosque prodidere, qui ad praesidia confugerunt, et digredi iussi confestim claves obtulere portarum, patefactisque aditibus. quicquid ibi congestum erat eruitur, et productae sunt attonitae metu mulieres, et infantes matribus implicati, graves aerumnas inter initia tenerioris aetatis experti.<sup>2</sup> 3. Cumque rex percontando cuiusnam coniux esset. Craugasii comperisset, vim in se metuentem, prope venire permisit intrepidam, et confisam<sup>3</sup> opertamque ad usque<sup>4</sup> labra ipsa atro velamine, certiore iam spe mariti recipiendi, et pudoris inviolati mansuri, benignius confirmavit. Audiens enim coniugem miro eius amore flagrare, hoc praemio Nisibenam proditionem mercari se posse arbitrabatur. 4. Inventas tamen alias quoque<sup>5</sup> virgines, Christiano ritu cultui divino sacratas, custodiri intactas, et religioni servire solito more, nullo vetante, praecepit, lenitudinem profecto in tempore simulans. ut omnes quos antehac diritate crudelitaeque terrebat, sponte sua metu remoto venirent, exemplis recentibus docti. humanitate eum et moribus iam placidis magnitudinem temperasse fortunae.

<sup>1</sup> *praestrici se*, Val.; *praestricis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *lae.* after *expertis*, Clark.      <sup>3</sup> *confisam*, Novák; *invisam*, Damsté; *uisam*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *ad usque*, Gronovius pater, Bentley; *absque*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *alias quoque*, Lind.; *aliasque*, V.



with fiery confidence, whereupon the defenders, overcome with sudden panic and dazzled by the variety of arms, surrendered themselves and all those who had taken refuge with the garrison; and when ordered to depart, they at once handed over the keys of the gates. When entrance was given, whatever was stored there was brought out, and the women, paralysed with fear, were dragged forth with the children clinging to their mothers and experiencing grievous woes at the beginning of their tender years. 3. And when the king by inquiring whose wife the lady was had found that her husband was Craugasias, he allowed her, fearing as she did that violence would be offered her, to approach nearer without apprehension; and when she had been reassured and covered as far as her very lips with a black veil, he courteously encouraged her with sure hope of regaining her husband and of keeping her honour unsullied. For hearing that her husband ardently loved her, he thought that at this price he might purchase the betrayal of Nisibis. 4. Yet finding that there were others also who were maidens and consecrated to divine service according to the Christian custom, he ordered that they be kept uninjured and allowed to practise their religion in their wonted manner without any opposition; thus he made a pretence of mildness for the time, to the end that all whom he had heretofore terrified by his harshness and cruelty might lay aside their fear and come to him of their own volition, when they learned from recent instances that he now tempered the greatness of his fortune with kindness and gracious deportment.

# CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

## LIBER XIX

1. *Sapor, dum Amidenses ad deditionem hortatur, a praesidiariis sagittis et tragulis petitur. Idem dum temptat Grumbates rex, filius eius interficitur.*

1. Hoc miserae nostrorum captivitatis eventu rex laetus. successusque operiens similes, egressus exinde paulatimque incedens. Amidam die tertio venit. 2. Cumque primum aurora fulgeret, universa quae videri poterant armis stellantibus coruscabant, ac ferreus equitatus campos opplevit et colles. 3. Insidens autem equo. ante alios celsior, ipse praeibat agminibus cunctis, aureum capitis arientini figmentum, interstinctum lapillis. pro diademate gestans. multiplici vertice dignitatum, et gentium diversarum comitatu sublimis. Satisque eum constabat. colloquio tenus defensores moenium temptaturum, aliorum Antonini<sup>1</sup> consilio festinantem. 4. Verum caeleste numen ut Romanae rei totius aerumnas intra unius regionis concluderet ambitum. adegerat in immensum se extollentem. eredentemque quod viso statim obsessi omnes metu exanimati, supplices venirent in preces. 5. Portis obequitabat.<sup>2</sup> comitante cohorte regali. qui dum se prope confidentius inserit. ut etiam vultus eius possit aperte cognosci. sagittis missilibusque ceteris. ob

<sup>1</sup> Antonini dignitate (d. del. m. 1 ?), V.  
V : obequita (lac. 1 line) bat, Clark.

<sup>2</sup> obequitabat.

## BOOK XIX

1. *Sapor, while urging the people of Amida to surrender, is attacked by the garrison with arrows and spears. While King Grumbates attempts the same thing, his son is slain.*

1. The king, rejoicing in the wretched imprisonment of our men that had come to pass, and anticipating like successes, set forth from there, and slowly advancing, came to Amida on the third day. 2. And when the first gleam of dawn appeared, everything so far as the eye could reach shone with glittering arms, and mail-clad cavalry filled hill and dale. 3. The king himself, mounted upon a charger and overtopping the others, rode before the whole army, wearing in place of a diadem a golden image of a ram's head set with precious stones, distinguished too by a great retinue of men of the highest rank and of various nations. But it was clear that he would merely try the effect of a conference on the defenders of the walls, since by the advice of Antoninus he was in haste to go elsewhere. 4. However, the power of heaven, in order to compress the miseries of the whole Roman empire within the confines of a single region, had driven the king to an enormous degree of self-confidence, and to the belief that all the besieged would be paralysed with fear at the mere sight of him, and would resort to suppliant prayers. 5. So he rode up to the gates attended by his royal escort, and while with too great assurance he came so near that even his features could clearly be recognised, because of his

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

decora petitis insignia, corruisset, ni pulvere iaculantium adimente inspectum parte indumenti tragulae ictu discissa, editurus postea strages innumeras evasisset. 6. Hinc quasi in sacrilegos violati sacri templi, temeratumque tot regum et gentium dominum praedicans, eruendae urbis apparatibus magnis instabat, et orantibus potissimis ducibus ne profusus in iram a gloriosis descisceret coeptis, leni summatum petitione placatus, postridie quoque super deditioe moneri decreverat defensores.

7. Ideoque cum prima lux advenisset, rex Chionitarum Grumbates, fidenter domino suam<sup>1</sup> operam navaturus, tendebat ad moenia, cum manu promptissima stipatorum, quem ubi venientem iam telo forte contiguum contemplator peritissimus advertisset, contorta ballista, filium eius primae pubis adolescentem, lateri paterno haerentem, thorace cum pectore perforato perfodit,<sup>2</sup> proceritate et decore corporis aequalibus antestantem. 8. Cuius occasu in fugam dilapsi populares eius omnes, moxque ne raperetur, ratione iusta regressi, numerosas gentes ad arma clamoribus dissonis concitarunt, quarum concursu ritu grandinis hinc inde convolantibus telis, atrox committitur pugna. 9. Et post interneciva certamina, ad usque finem diei protenta,

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<sup>1</sup> *domino suam*, Thornell; *Sapori s.*, Clark; *suam*, Eyssen.; *ano per amna baturus* (*b* to *u*, V<sup>2</sup>), V.   <sup>2</sup> *perfodit*, G; *praecipitem fudit*, Novák; *praefudit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Which would be delayed by the siege of Amida.

conspicuous adornment he became the target of arrows and other missiles, and would have fallen, had not the dust hidden him from the sight of his assailants, so that after a part of his garment was torn by the stroke of a lance he escaped, to cause the death of thousands at a later time. 6. In consequence of this attack he raged as if against sacrilegious violators of a temple, and declaring that the lord of so many kings and nations had been outraged, he pushed on with great effort every preparation for destroying the city; but when his most distinguished generals begged that he would not under stress of anger abandon his glorious enterprises,<sup>1</sup> he was appeased by their soothing plea and decided that on the following day the defenders should again be warned to surrender.

7. And so, at the first dawn of day, Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, wishing to render courageous service to his lord, boldly advanced to the walls with a band of active attendants; but a skilful observer caught sight of him as soon as he chanced to come within range of his weapon, and discharging a ballista, pierced both cuirass and breast of Grumbates' son, a youth just come to manhood, who was riding at his father's side and was conspicuous among his companions for his height and his handsome person. 8. Upon his fall all his countrymen scattered in flight, but presently returned in well-founded fear that his body might be carried off, and with harsh outcries roused numerous tribes to arms; and on their onset weapons flew from both sides like hail and a fierce fight ensued. 9. After a murderous contest, protracted to the very end of

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

eum iam noctis esset initium, per acervos caesorum et scaturigines sanguinis aegre defensum caligine tenebrarum extrahitur corpus, ut apud Troiam quondam super comite Thessali ducis exanimi socii<sup>1</sup> Marte acerrimo conflixerunt. 10. Quo funere regia maesta, et optimatibus universis cum parente subita elade percussis, indicto iustitio, iuvenis nobilitate commendabilis et dilectus ritu nationis propriae lugebatur. Itaque ut armari solebat elatus, in amplo quodam suggestu locatur et celso, circaque eum lectuli decem sternuntur, figmenta vehentes hominum mortuorum, ita curate pollincta, ut imagines essent corporibus similes iam sepultis, ac per dierum spatium septem, viri quidem omnes per contubernia et manipulos epulis indulgebant, saltando, et cantando tristia quaedam genera naeniarum, regium iuvenem lamentantes. 11. Feminae vero miserabili planctu, in primaevo flore succisam spem gentis solitis fletibus conclamabant, ut lacrimare cultrices Veneris saepe spectantur, in sollemnibus Adonidis sacris, quod simulacrum aliquod esse frugum adularum religiones mysticae docent.

### 2. *Amida circumsidetur, et intra biduum bis oppugnatur a Persis.*

1. Post incensum corpus ossaque in argenteam urnam collecta,<sup>2</sup> quae ad gentem humo mandanda

<sup>1</sup> *exanimi socii Marte*, Pet.; *exanimis aciem arte*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *conlecta*, C. F. W. Müller; *coniecta*, Val.; *confecta*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Patroclus, comrade of Achilles.

the day, at nightfall the body, which had with difficulty been protected amid heaps of slain and streams of blood, was dragged off under cover of darkness, as once upon a time before Troy his companions contended in a fierce struggle over the lifeless comrade<sup>1</sup> of the Thessalian leader. 10. By this death the palace was saddened, and all the nobles, as well as the father, were stunned by the sudden calamity: accordingly a truce was declared and the young man, honoured for his high birth and beloved, was mourned after the fashion of his own nation. Accordingly he was carried out, armed in his usual manner, and placed upon a large and lofty platform, and about him were spread ten couches bearing figures of dead men, so carefully fashioned that the images were like bodies already in the tomb. For the space of seven days all men by communities and companies<sup>2</sup> feasted (lamenting the young prince) with dances and the singing of certain sorrowful dirges. 11. The women for their part, woefully beating their breasts and weeping after their wonted manner, loudly bewailed the hope of their nation cut off in the bloom of youth, just as the priestesses of Venus are often seen to weep at the annual festival of Adonis, which, as the mystic lore of religion tells us, is a kind of symbol of the ripened grain.

2. *Amida is besieged and assaulted twice within two days by the Persians.*

1. After the body had been burned and the ashes collected and placed in a silver urn, since the father

<sup>2</sup> That is, those that were associated by their living quarters or their places in the ranks.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

portari statuerat pater, agitata summa consiliorum, placuerat busto urbis subversae expiare<sup>1</sup> perempti iuvenis manes; nec enim Grumbates, inulta unici pignoris umbra, ire ultra patiebatur. 2. Biduoque ad otium dato, ac missis abunde qui pacis modo patentis agros pingues cultosque vastarent, quinque ordine multiplicato scutorum, cingitur civitas ac tertiae principio lucis, corusei globi turmarum impleverunt cuncta quae prospectus humanus potuit undique contueri, et sorte loca divisa, elementi gradu incedentes ordines occuparunt. 3. Persae omnes murorum ambitus obsidebant. Pars, quae orientem spectabat, Chionitis evenit, qua funestus nobis ceciderat adolescens, cuius manibus excidio urbis parentari debebat, Geloni<sup>2</sup> meridiano lateri sunt destinati, tractum servabant septentrionis Albani, occidentali portae oppositi sunt Segestani, acerrimi omnium bellatores, cum quibus elata in arduum specie elephantorum agmina rugosis horrenda corporibus, leniter incedebant, armatis onusta, ultra omnem dritatem taetri spectaeuli formidanda, ut rettulimus saepe.

4. Cernentes populos tam indimensos, ad orbis Romani incendium diu quaesitos, in nostrum conversos exitium, salutis rata desperatione, gloriosos vitae exitus deinde curabamus, iamque omnibus nobis optatos. 5. A sole itaque orto usque diei ultimum, acies immobiles stabant, ut fixae nullo

<sup>1</sup> *expiari* suggested by Clark.      <sup>2</sup> *manibus . . . Geloni*, added by Novák; cf. xiv. 8. 6; xix. 7. 1.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the burned city should take the place of the *bustum* where his body was burned; see *A.J.P.* liv. pp. 362 f.



had decided that they should be taken to his native land to be consigned to the earth, they debated what it was best to do ; and it was resolved to propitiate the spirit of the slain youth by burning<sup>1</sup> and destroying the city ; for Grumbates would not allow them to go farther while the shade of his only son was unavenged. 2. Accordingly, after two days had been given to rest, a large force was sent to devastate the rich, cultivated fields, which were unprotected as in time of peace ; then the city was begirt by a fivefold line of shields, and on the morning of the third day gleaming bands of horsemen filled all places which the eye could reach, and the ranks, advancing at a quiet pace, took the places assigned them by lot. 3. The Persians beset the whole circuit of the walls. The part which faced the east fell to the lot of the Chaonitae, the place where the youth so fatal to us was slain, whose shade was destined to be appeased by the destruction of the city. The Gelani were assigned to the southern side, the Albani guarded the quarter to the north, and to the western gate were opposed the Segestani, the bravest warriors of all. With them, making a lofty show, slowly marched the lines of elephants, frightful with their wrinkled bodies and loaded with armed men, a hideous spectacle, dreadful beyond every form of horror, as I have often declared.

4. Beholding such innumerable peoples, long sought for to set fire to the Roman world and bent upon our destruction, we despaired of any hope of safety and henceforth strove to end our lives gloriously, which was now our sole desire. 5. And so from sunrise until the day's end the battle lines stood fast,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

variato vestigio, nec sonitu vel equorum audito hinnitu, eademque figura digressi qua venerant, cibo recreati et somno, cum superesset exiguum noctis, aeneatorum clangore ductante, urbem ut mox casuram terribili corona cinxerunt. 6. Vixque ubi Grumbates hastam infectam sanguine ritu patrio nostrique more coniecerat fetialis, armis exercitus concrepans, involat <sup>1</sup> muros, confestimque lacrimabilis belli turbo crudescit, rapido turmarum processu, in procinctum alacritate omni tendentium. et contra acri intentaque occursatione nostrorum.

7. Proinde diffractis capitibus, multos hostium scorpionum iactu moles saxae colliserunt. alii traieci sagittis, pars confixi tragulis humum corporibus obstruebant, vulnerati alii socios fuga praecipiti repetebant. 8. Nec minores in civitate luctus aut mortes, sagittarum creberrima nube auras spissa multitudine obumbrante. tormentorumque machinis, quae direpta Singara possederant Persae, vulnera inferentibus plura. 9. Namque viribus collectis propugnatores, omnia vicissim certamina repetentes, in maximo defendendi ardore saucii perniciose cadebant, aut laniati volvendo stantes proxime subvertebant, aut certe spicula membris infixis, viventes adhuc vellendi peritos

<sup>1</sup> *inuolat*, Eyssen. ; *inuolanti*, V (second *n* del. V<sup>2</sup>).

as though rooted in the same spot ; no sound was heard, no neighing of horses ; and they withdrew in the same order in which they had come, and then refreshed with food and sleep, when only a small part of the night remained, led by the trumpeters' blast they surrounded the city with the same awful ring, as if it were soon to fall. 6. And hardly had Grumbates hurled a bloodstained spear, following the usage of his country and the custom of our fetial priest, than the army with clashing weapons flew to the walls, and at once the lamentable tempest of war grew fiercer, the cavalry advancing at full speed as they hurried to the fight with general eagerness, while our men resisted with courage and determination.

7. Then heads were shattered, as masses of stone, hurled from the scorpions, crushed many of the enemy ; others were pierced by arrows, some were struck down by spears and the ground strewn with their bodies, while others that were only wounded retreated in headlong flight to their companions. 8. No less was the grief and no fewer the deaths in the city, since a thick cloud of arrows in compact mass darkened the air, while the artillery which the Persians had acquired from the plunder of Singara inflicted still more wounds. 9. For the defenders, recovering their strength and returning in relays to the contest they had abandoned, when wounded in their great ardour for defence fell with destructive results ; or if only mangled, they overturned in their writhing those who stood next to them, or at any rate, so long as they remained alive kept calling for those who had the skill to pull

quaeritabant. 10. Ita strages stragibus implicatas, et ad extremum usque diei productas, ne vespertinae quidem hebetaverunt tenebrae, ea re quod obstinatione utrimque magna decernebatur. 11. Agitatis itaque sub onere armorum vigiliis, resultabant altrinsecus exortis clamoribus colles, nostris virtutes Constanti Caesaris extollentibus, ut domini rerum et mundi, Persis Saporem saansaan appellantis et pirosen, quod rex regibus imperans, et bellorum victor interpretatur.

12. Ac priusquam lux quinta<sup>1</sup> occiperet, signo per lituos dato, ad fervorem similium proeliorum excitae undique inaestimabiles copiae in modum alituum ferebantur, unde longe ac late prospici poterat, campis et convallibus nihil praeter arma micantia ferarum gentium demonstrantibus. 13. Moxque clamore sublato, cunctis temere prorumpentibus, telorum vis ingens volabat e muris, utque opinari dabatur, nulla frustra mittebantur inter hominum cadentia densitatem. Tot enim nos circumstantibus malis, non obtinendae causa salutis, (ut dixi) sed fortiter moriendi studio flagrabamus, et a diei principio ad usque lucem obscuram, neutri proelio inclinato, ferocius quam consultius pugnabatur. Exurgebant enim terrentium paventiumque<sup>2</sup> clamores, ut prae alaeritate consistere sine vulnere vix quisquam possit. 14. Tandemque nox finem caedibus fecit, et satias aerumnarum

<sup>1</sup> lux V (i.e. quinta), Her. ; lux, V. <sup>2</sup> terrentium paventiumque, Her., cf. Livy, xxii. 5. 4; ruentium ferientiumque, Val. ; terrentiumque, V.

out the arrows implanted in their bodies. 10. Thus slaughter was piled upon slaughter and prolonged to the very end of the day, nor was it lessened even by the darkness of evening, with such great determination did both sides fight. 11. And so the night watches were passed under the burden of arms, while the hills re-echoed from the shouts rising from both sides, as our men praised the power of Constantius Caesar as lord of the world and the universe, and the Persians called Sapor "saansaan" and "pirosen," which being interpreted is "king of kings" and "victor in wars."

12. And before the coming of daylight the signal was given on the trumpets and the countless forces were aroused anew from all sides to battles of equal heat, rushing to the strife like birds of prey; and the plains and dales as far and as wide as the eye could reach revealed nothing save the flashing arms of savage nations. 13. Presently a shout was raised and all rushed blindly forward, a vast shower of weapons flew from the walls, and as might be supposed, not one that fell among that dense throng of men was discharged in vain. For since so many ills hedged us about, we burned, not with the desire of saving our lives, but, as I have said, of dying bravely; and from the beginning of the day until the light was dim we fought with more fury than discretion, without a pause in the battle on either side. For the shouts of those who would terrify and of those who feared constantly rang out, and such was the heat of battle that scarcely anyone could stand his ground without a wound. 14. At length night put an end to the bloodshed and satiety

indutias partibus dederat longiores. Ubi enim quiescendi nobis tempus est datum, exiguas quae supererant vires, continuus cum insomnia labor absumpsit, sanguine et pallente expirantium facie perterrente, quibus ne suprema quidem humandi solacia tribui sinebant angustiae spatiorum, intra civitatis ambitum non nimium amplae, legionibus septem et promiscua advenarum civiumque sexus utriusque plebe, et militibus aliis paucis, ad usque numerum milium centum <sup>1</sup> viginti cunctis <sup>2</sup> inclusis. 15. Medebatur ergo suis quisque vulneribus pro possibilitate vel curantium copia, cum quidam graviter saucii, cruore exhausto, spiritus reluctantes efflarent, alii confossi mueronibus frustra<sup>3</sup> curati, animis in ventum solutis, proiciebantur extincti, aliquorum foratis undique membris mederi periti vetabant, ne offensionibus cassis animae vexarentur afflictæ, non nulli vellendis sagittis in ancipiti curatione graviora morte supplicia perferebant.

3. *Ursicinus noctu obsidentibus supervenire frustra conatur, Sabiniano magistro militum repugnante.*

1. Dum apud Amidam hac partium destinatione pugnatur, Ursicinus maerens, quod ex alterius penderat arbitrio, auctoritatis tunc in regendo milite potioris, Sabinianum etiam tum sepulcris haerentem, crebro monebat, ut compositis velitaribus cunctis,

<sup>1</sup> *centum*, added by Clark.      <sup>2</sup> *cunctis*, Eyssen.; *quinque*, Mommsen; *conclitis*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *frustra* *curati*, Novák; *post irritam curam*, Fletcher; *prostratique humi*, Clark, cf. xvii. 8, 5, xxii. 1, 2; *prostrati curam*, V.

<sup>1</sup> See xviii. 7, 7.

of woes had brought both sides a longer rest from fighting; for even when time for rest was given us, constant toil and sleeplessness sapped the little strength that remained, and we were terrified by the blood and the pale faces of the dying, to whom not even the last consolation of burial could be given because of the confined space; for within the limits of a city that was none too large there were shut seven legions, a promiscuous throng of strangers and citizens of both sexes, and a few other soldiers, to the number of 120,000 in all. 15. Therefore each cured his wounds according to his ability or the supply of helpers; some, who were severely hurt, gave up the ghost slowly from loss of blood; others, pierced through by arrows, after vain attempts to relieve them, breathed out their lives, and were cast out when death came; others, whose limbs were gashed everywhere, the physicians forbade to be treated, lest their sufferings should be increased by useless infliction of pain; still others plucked out the arrows and through this doubtful remedy endured torments worse than death.

3. *Ursicinus vainly attempts to surprise the besiegers by night, being opposed by Sabinianus, commander of the infantry.*

1. While the fight was going on at Amida with such determination on both sides, Ursicinus, grieving because he was dependent upon the will of another, who was then of greater authority in the command of the soldiers, frequently admonished Sabinianus, who was still clinging to his graves,<sup>1</sup> that, getting

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

per imos pedes montium occultis itineribus properarent, quo levium armorum auxilio, si qua fors iuvisset, stationibus interceptis, nocturnas hostium aggredierentur excubias, quae ingenti circumitu vallaverant muros, aut lacesitionibus crebris occuparent obsidioni fortiter adhaerentes.

2. Quibus Sabinianus renitebatur ut noxiis, palam quidem litteras imperiales praetendens, intacto ubique milite, quicquid geri potuisset impleri debere aperte iubentes, clam vero corde altissimo retinens, saepe in comitatu sibi mandatum, ut amplam omnem adipiscendae laudis decessori suo ardenti studio gloriae circumcideret, etiam ex re publica processuram.

3. Adeo vel cum exitio provinciarum festinabatur, ne bellicosus homo memorabilis alicuius facinoris auctor nuntiaretur aut socius. Ideoque his attonitus malis, exploratores ad nos saepe mittendo, licet ob custodias artas nullus facile oppidum poterat introire, et utilia agitando complura, nihil proficiens visebatur, ut leo magnitudine corporis et torvitate terribilis, inclusos intra retia catulos periculo ereptum ire non audens, unguibus ademptis et dentibus.



together all his skirmishers, he should hasten by secret paths along the foot of the mountains, in order that with the help of light-armed troops<sup>1</sup> (if fortune was at all favourable) he might surprise the pickets and attack the night-watches of the enemy, who had surrounded the walls in wide extent, or by repeated assaults distract the attention of those who were stoutly persisting in the siege. 2. These proposals Sabinianus opposed as dangerous, publicly offering as a pretext letters of the emperor, which expressly directed that whatever could be done should be effected without injury to the soldiers anywhere, but secretly in his inmost heart keeping in mind that he had often been instructed at court to cut off from his predecessor, because of his burning desire for glory, every means of gaining honour, even though it promised to turn out to the advantage of the state. 3. So great pains were taken, even though attended with the destruction of the provinces, that this valiant warrior should not receive mention as author of, or participant in, any noteworthy action. Therefore, alarmed by this unhappy situation, Ursicinus often sent us scouts, although because of the strict guard no one could easily enter the town, and attempted many helpful things; but he obviously could accomplish nothing, being like a lion of huge size and terrible fierceness which did not dare to go to save from danger his whelps that were caught in a net, because he had been robbed of his claws and teeth.

<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *armorum* see xvii. 10, 6, note; also xvi. 12, 7.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

### 4. *Pestilentia Amidae orta, intra decimum diem exiguo imbre sedatur. Et de causis ac generibus pestilentiae.*

1. Sed in civitate, ubi sparsorum per vias cada-verum multitudo humandi officia superaret, pestilentia tot malis accessit. verminantium corporum lue tabifica, vaporatis aestibus varioque plebis languore nutrita, quae genera morborum unde oriri solent breviter explicabo.

2. Nimietatem frigoris aut caloris, vel umoris vel siccitatis. pestilentias gignere philosophi et illustres medici tradiderunt. Unde accolentes loca palustria vel umecta tusses et oculares<sup>1</sup> casus et similia perferunt, contra confines caloribus tepore<sup>2</sup> febrium arescunt.<sup>3</sup> Sed quanto ignis materies ceteris est efficacior,<sup>4</sup> tanto ad perimendum celerior siccitas.

3. Hinc cum decennali bello Graecia desudaret, ne peregrinus poenas dissociati regalis matrimonii lucraretur, huius modi grassante pernecie, telis Apollinis periere complures (qui sol aestimatur).

4. Atque ut Thucydides exponit. clades illa. quae in Peloponnesiaci belli principiis Athenienses acerbo genere morbi vexavit. ab usque ferventi Aethiopiae

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<sup>1</sup> *humecta tussis et oculares*, Lind. ; *umectatus sese iocularis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *tepore*, G ; *tempore*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *arescunt*. G ; *arescentes*, V ; lac. after *arescentes*, Novák ; *arescunt frequentes*, Her.      <sup>4</sup> *materia est acrior ceteris et efficacior* suggested by Novák.

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<sup>1</sup> Paris, the cause of the Trojan War.

4. *A plague which broke out in Amida is ended within ten days by a light rain. Remarks on the causes and varieties of plagues.*

1. But within the city, where the quantity of corpses scattered through the streets was too great to admit of burial, a plague was added to so many ills, fostered by the contagious infection of maggot-infested bodies, the steaming heat, and the weakness of the populace from various causes. The origin of diseases of this kind I shall briefly set forth.

2. Philosophers and eminent physicians have told us that an excess of cold or heat, or of moisture or dryness, produces plagues. Hence those who dwell in marshy or damp places suffer from coughs, from affections of the eyes, and from similar complaints: on the other hand, the inhabitants of hot climates dry up with the heat of fever. But by as much as the substance of fire is fiercer and more effective than the other elements, by so much is drought the swifter to kill. 3. Therefore when Greece was toiling in a ten years' war in order that a foreigner<sup>1</sup> might not evade the penalty for separating a royal pair, a scourge of this kind raged and many men perished by the darts of Apollo,<sup>2</sup> who is regarded as the sun. 4. And, as Thucydides shows,<sup>3</sup> that calamity which, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, harassed the Athenians with a grievous kind of sickness, gradually crept

<sup>2</sup> See *Iliad*, i. 9 ff. and 43 ff. Apollo was angry because the request of his priest was denied. Ammianus rationalizes the myth, attributing the pestilence to the heat of the sun, and likening its rays to the arrows of the god.

Cf. Thuc. ii. 4, 7.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

plaga paulatim proserpens, Atticam occupavit. 5. Aliis placet auras (ut solent) aquasque vitiatas factore cadaverum, vel similibus, salubritatis violare maximam partem, vel certe aeris permutationem subitam aegritudines parere leviores. 6. Affirmant etiam aliqui, terrarum halitu densiore crassatum aera. emittendis corporis spiraminibus resistantem. necare non nullos, qua causa animalia praeter homines cetera iugiter prona. Homero auctore, et experimentis deinceps multis, cum talis incesserit labes, ante novimus interire. 7. Et prima species luis pandemus appellatur, quae efficit in aridioribus locis agentes, caloribus crebris interpellari, secunda epidemus, quae tempore ingruens, acies hebetat luminum. et concitat periculosos umores, tertia loemodes. quae itidem temporaria est, sed volueri velocitate letabilis.

8. Hac exitiali peste quassatis,<sup>1</sup> paucis intemperantia aestuum<sup>2</sup> consumptis, quos multitudo augebat. tandem nocte quae diem consecuta est decimum, exiguis imbribus disiecto concreto spiritu et crassato, sospitas retenta est corporum firma.

<sup>1</sup> *quassatis*, Dederichs, Pet.; *quassati*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *intemperantia aestuum*, Her.; *intemperanti* (second *n* added by V<sup>2</sup>) *aestu*, V.

all the way from the torrid region of Africa and laid hold upon Attica. 5. Others believe that when the air, as often happens, and the waters are polluted by the stench of corpses or the like, the greater part of their healthfulness is spoiled, or at any rate that a sudden change of air causes minor ailments. 6. Some also assert that when the air is made heavy by grosser exhalations from the earth, it checks the secretions that should be expelled from the body, and is fatal to some; and it is for that reason, as we know on the authority of Homer<sup>1</sup> as well as from many later experiences, that when such a pestilence has appeared, the other animals besides man, which constantly look downward, are the first to perish. 7. Now the first kind of plague is called endemic, and causes those who live in places that are too dry to be cut off by frequent fevers. The second is epidemic, which breaks out at certain seasons of the year, dimming the sight of the eyes and causing a dangerous flow of moisture. The third is *loemodes*,<sup>2</sup> which is also periodic, but deadly from its winged speed.

8. After we had been exhausted by this destructive plague and a few had succumbed to the excessive heat and still more from the crowded conditions, at last on the night following the tenth day the thick and gross exhalations were dispelled by light showers, and sound health of body was regained.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, i. 50, οὐρήτας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς.

<sup>2</sup> Pestilential.

5. *Amida hinc circum muros. inde per subterraneos fornices duce transfuga oppugnatur.*

1. Verum inter haec inquit Persa vineis civitatem pluteisque<sup>1</sup> circumdabat, et erigi aggeres coepti, turresque fabricabantur, frontibus ferratis excelsae, quarum fastigiis ballistae locatae sunt singulae, ut a propugnaculis propellerent defensores, levia tamen per funditores et sagittarios proelia ne puncto quidem brevi cessabant. 2. Erant nobiscum duae legiones Magnentiacae recens e Galliis ductae (ut praediximus) virorum fortium et perniciousum, ad planarios conflictus aptorum, ad eas vero belli artes quibus stringebamur, non modo inhabiles, sed contra nimii turbatores, qui cum neque in<sup>2</sup> machinis neque in operum constructione iuvarent, aliquotiens<sup>3</sup> stolidius<sup>4</sup> erumpentes, dimicantesque fidentissime minuto numero revertebant, tantum proficientes, quantum in publico (ut aiunt) incendio, aqua unius hominis manu adgesta. 3. Postremo obseratis portis praecaute vetantibusque<sup>5</sup> tribunis, egredi nequeunt, fremebant ut bestiae. Verum secutis diebus efficacia eorum eminuit (ut docebimus).

4. In summo loco partis meridiana murorum, quae despectat fluvium Tigrim, turris fuit in sublimitatem exurgens, sub qua hiabant rupes abscisae, ut despici sine vertigine horrenda non posset, unde cavatis fornicibus subterraneis, per radices montis

<sup>1</sup> *pluteisque*, Bentley, Kiessling; *et pluteis*, Pet., Mommsen; *pluteis*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *neque in*, E. Lind.; *nequem*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *aliquotiens*, Clark; *aliquem*, V.    <sup>4</sup> *stolidius*, G; *studiosius*, Fletcher; *studius*, V.    <sup>5</sup> *praecaute vetantibusque* (u., Bentley, Cornelissen), Novák; *praecantibusque*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xviii. 9, 3.

5. *Amida is attacked on one side about the walls, and on the other, under the lead of a deserter, by underground passages.*

1. But meanwhile the restless Persian was surrounding the city with sheds and mantlets, and mounds began to be raised and towers were constructed; these last were lofty, with ironclad fronts, and on the top of each a ballista was placed, for the purpose of driving the defenders from the ramparts: yet not even for a moment did the skirmishing by the slingers and archers slacken. 2. There were with us two Magnentian legions, recently brought from Gaul (as I have said) <sup>1</sup> and composed of brave, active men, experienced in battle in the open field, but to the sort of warfare to which we were constrained they were not merely unsuited, but actually a great hindrance: for when they were not helping with the artillery or in the construction of fortifications, they would sometimes make reckless sallies and after fighting with the greatest confidence return with diminished numbers, accomplishing just as much as would the pouring of a single handful of water (as the saying is) upon a general conflagration. 3. Finally, when the gates were very carefully barred, and their officers forbade them to go forth, they gnashed their teeth like wild beasts. But in the days that followed (as I shall show) their efficiency was conspicuous. 4. In a remote part of the walls on the southern side, which looks down on the river Tigris, there was a tower rising to a lofty height, beneath which yawned rocks so precipitous that one could not look down without

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

scalae ad usque civitatis ducebant planitiem, quo ex amnis alveo haurirentur aquae furtim, ut in omnibus per eas regiones munimentis quae contingunt flumina vidimus, fabre politae. 5. Per has tenebras ob derupta neglectas, oppidano transfuga quodam ductante, qui ad diversam partem desciverat, septuaginta sagittarii Persae ex agmine regio arte fiduciaque praestantes, silentio summoti loci defensi, subito singuli noctis medio ad contiguationem turris tertiam ascenderunt, ibique occultati, mane sago punici coloris elato, quod erat subeundae indicium pugnae, cum ex omni parte circumveniri urbem suis copiis inundantibus advertissent, exinanitis proiectisque ante pedes pharetris, clamoris ululabilis incendio tela summa peritia dispergebant. Moxque acies omnes densae petebant multo infestius quam antea civitatem. 6. Inter<sup>1</sup> incertos nos et ancipites, quibus occurri deberet, instantibus supra, au multitudini transcensu scalarum iam propugnacula ipsa prensanti, dividitur opera, et translatae leviores quinque ballistae, contra turrim locantur, quae ocius lignea tela fundentes, non numquam et<sup>2</sup> binos forabant, e quibus pars graviter vulnerati ruebant, alii machinarum

<sup>1</sup> *inter*, added by G; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *et*, added by Her., cf. xvii. 12, 3.



shuddering dizziness. From these rocks subterranean arches had been hollowed out, and skilfully made steps led through the roots of the mountain as far as the plateau on which the city stood, in order that water might be brought secretly from the channel of the river, a device which I have seen in all the fortifications in those regions which border on streams. 5. Through these dark passages, left unguarded because of their steepness, led by a deserter in the city who had gone over to the opposite side, seventy Persian bowmen from the king's bodyguard who excelled in skill and bravery, protected by the silence of the remote spot, suddenly one by one in the middle of the night mounted to the third story of the tower and there concealed themselves; in the morning they displayed a cloak of red hue, which was the signal for beginning battle, and when they saw the city surrounded on all sides with the floods of their forces, emptying their quivers, and throwing them at their feet, with a conflagration of shouts and yells they sent their shafts in all directions with the utmost skill. And presently all the Persian forces in dense array attacked the city with far greater fury than before. 6. We were perplexed and uncertain where first to offer resistance, whether to those who stood above us or to the throng mounting on scaling-ladders and already laying hold of the very battlements; so the work was divided among us and five of the lighter ballistae were moved and placed over against the tower, rapidly pouring forth wooden shafts, which sometimes pierced even two men at a time. Some of the enemy fell, severely wounded; others, through

metu stridentium praecipites acti, laniatis corporibus interibant. 7. Quibus hac celeritate confectis, relatisque ad loca sueta tormentis, paulo securius moenia omnium concursu defendebantur. 8. Et quoniam augebat iras<sup>1</sup> militum scelestum facinus perfugae, quasi decurrentes in planum, ita iaculantes diversa missilia lacertis fortibus incumbebant, ut vergente in<sup>2</sup> meridiem die, gentes<sup>3</sup> acri repulsa disiectae,<sup>4</sup> lacrimantes complurium mortes, tentoria repeterent vulnerum<sup>5</sup> metu.

6. *Gallicanarum legionum eruptio Persis exitiabilis.*

1. Adspiravit auram quandam salutis fortuna, innoxio die cum hostili clade emenso, cuius reliquo tempore ad quietem reficiendis corporibus dato, posterae lucis initio ex arce innumeram cernimus plebem, quae Ziata capto castello, ad hosticum ducebatur, quem in locum ut capacissimum et munitum—spatio quippe decem stadiorum ambitur—promiscua confugerat multitudo. 2. Nam etiam alia munimenta eisdem diebus rapta sunt et incensa, unde hominum milia extracta complura, servituri sequebantur, inter quos multi senecta infirmi, et mulieres iam grandaevae, cum ex variis deficerent causis, itineris longinquitate offensae, abiecta

<sup>1</sup> *iras*, Günther; *cumras*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *vergente in*, Gardt.;  
*vergentem*, V<sup>2</sup> (*vertem*, V<sup>1</sup>).      <sup>3</sup> *die gentes*, Gardt.;  
*degentes*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *disiectae*, Gardt.; *disiecta*, V.  
<sup>5</sup> *vulnerum*, tr. before *metu*, Clark; before *acri*, V.

fear of the clanging engines, leaped off headlong and were dashed to pieces. 7. This being so quickly accomplished and the engines restored to their usual places, with a little greater confidence all ran together to defend the walls. 8. And since the wicked deed of the deserter increased the soldiers' wrath, as if they were running down to a plain they used such strength of arm as they hurled their various weapons, that as the day inclined towards noon the enemy were scattered in bitter defeat, and lamenting the death of many of their number, retreated to their tents through fear of wounds.

6. *A sally of the Gallic legions, destructive to the Persians.*

1. Fortune thus breathed upon us some hope of safety, since a day had passed without harm to us and with disaster to the enemy; so the remainder of that day was devoted to rest, for refreshing our bodies. But at the arrival of the following dawn we saw from the citadel a countless throng which after the capture of the fortress of Ziata was being taken to the enemy's camp; for in that stronghold, which was both capacious and well fortified (it covers a space of ten stadia) a multitude of people of all sorts had taken refuge. 2. For other fortifications also were seized and burned during those same days, and from them many thousands of men had been dragged, and were following into slavery, among them many feeble old men, and women already advanced in years, who, when they gave out for various reasons, discouraged by the long march and

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

vivendi cupiditate, suris vel suffraginibus relinquebantur exsectis.

3. Has miserabiles turmas Galli milites contuentes, rationabili quidem sed intempestivo motu, conferendae cum hostibus manus copiam sibi dari posebant, mortem tribunis vetantibus, primisque ordinibus minitantes, si deinceps prohiberent. 4. Utque dentatae<sup>1</sup> in caveis bestiae, taetro paedore acerbius efferatae, evadendi spe repagulis versabilibus illiduntur, ita gladiis portas caedebant, quas supra diximus obseratas, admodum anxii, ne urbe excisa ipsi quoque sine ullo specioso facinore deleantur, aut exuta periculis, nihil egisse operae pretium pro magnanimitate Gallica memorentur, licet antea saepe egressi, structoresque aggerum confossis<sup>2</sup> quibusdam impedire conati, paria pertulerunt.

5. Inopes nos consilii, et quid opponi deberet saevientibus ambigentes, id potissimum aegre eisdem assentientibus, tandem elegimus, ut quoniam ultra ferri non poterant, paulisper morati, custodias aggredi permitterentur hostiles, quae non procul erant a coniectu locatae telorum, ut eis perruptis, pergerent prorsus. Apparebat enim eos (si impetrassent) strages maximas edituros. 6. Quaedum parantur, per varia certaminum genera defensabantur acriter muri, laboribus et vigiliis, et

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<sup>1</sup> *dentatae*, G; *tentate*, V (*tentatae*, def. Val.); *ut retentatae*, Bentley.      <sup>2</sup> *confossis*, Lind.; *confusis*, VG.

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<sup>1</sup> The wild beasts for the arena were kept in cages of iron lattice work, at the top of which was a bar that turned when struck by their claws and threw them back to the floor of the cage.

abandoning the desire to live, were left behind with their calves or hams cut out.

3. The Gallic soldiers, seeing these throngs of wretches, with a reasonable, but untimely, impulse demanded that the opportunity be given them of encountering the enemy, threatening death to the tribunes who forbade them, and to the higher officers, if they in their turn prevented them. 4. And just as ravening beasts in cages, roused to greater fierceness by the odour of carrion, in the hope of escape dash against the revolving bars,<sup>1</sup> so did they hew with swords at the gates, which (as I said above) were locked, being exceedingly anxious lest, if the city should be destroyed, they also might perish without any glorious action, or if it were saved from peril, they should be said to have done nothing worth while, as the greatness of Gaul demanded: and yet before this they had made frequent sallies and attempted to interfere with the builders of mounds, had killed some, and had suffered the like themselves.

5. We, at our wit's end and in doubt what opposition ought to be made to the raging Gauls, at last chose this course as the best, to which they reluctantly consented: that since they could no longer be restrained, they should wait for a while and then be allowed to attack the enemy's outposts, which were stationed not much farther than a bowshot away, with the understanding that if they broke through them, they might keep right on. For it was apparent that, if their request were granted, they would deal immense slaughter. 6. While preparations for this were going on, the walls were being vigorously defended by various kinds of effort: by toil and

tormentis, ad emittenda undique saxa telaque dispositis. Duo tamen aggeres celsi Persarum peditum manu, e regione et ex pugnaculo<sup>1</sup> civitatis, struebantur<sup>2</sup> operibus lentis, contra quos nostrorum quoque impensiore cura moles excitabantur altissimae, fastigio adversae celsitudinis aequatae, propugnatorum vel nimia pondera duraturae.

7. Inter haec Galli morarum impatientes, securibus gladiisque succincti, patefacta sunt egressi postica, observata nocte squalida et inluni,<sup>3</sup> orantes caeleste praesidium, ut propitium adesset et libens. Atque ipsum spiritum reprimentes, cum prope venissent, conferti valido cursu, quibusdam stationariis interfectis, exteriores castrorum vigiles (ut in nullo tali metu) sopitos obtruncant, et<sup>4</sup> supervenire ipsi regiae (si prosperior iuvisset eventus) occulte meditabantur. 8. Verum audito licet levi reptantium<sup>5</sup> sonitu, gemituque caesorum, discusso somno excitatis multis et ad arma pro se quoque clamitante, steterunt milites vestigiis fixis, progredi ultra non ausi; nec enim cautum deinde videbatur,<sup>6</sup> expergefacticis quos petebant insidiae, in apertum properare discrimen, cum iam undique freudentium catervae Persarum in proelia venirent accensae. 9. Contra Galli corporum robore, audaciaque quoad poterant inconcussi, gladiis secantes

<sup>1</sup> e regione et ex pugnaculo, Her. : erecti et expugnatio, V.  
<sup>2</sup> struebantur, Clark : struebatur, V.    <sup>3</sup> inluni, edd. before Lind., Cornelissen : interluni, V.    <sup>4</sup> obtruncant et, Her. : obstrunccatis, V.<sup>2</sup>    <sup>5</sup> levi reptantium, Haupt. : reue temp dentium, V.    <sup>6</sup> videbatur, added by Clark.

watchfulness and by placing engines so as to scatter stones and darts in all directions. Moreover, a band of Persian footsoldiers were slowly constructing two lofty mounds near the city and its ramparts, and in opposition to these our soldiers also with extreme care were rearing earthworks of great height, equal in elevation to those of the enemy and capable of supporting the greatest possible weight of fighting men.

7. Meanwhile the Gauls, impatient of delay, armed with axes and swords rushed out through an opened postern gate, taking advantage of a gloomy, moonless night and praying for the protection of heaven, that it might propitiously and willingly aid them. And holding their very breath when they had come near the enemy, they rushed violently upon them in close order, and having slain some of the outposts, they butchered the outer guards of the camp in their sleep (since they feared nothing of the kind), and secretly thought of a surprise attack on the king himself, if a favourable fortune smiled on them. 8. But the sound of their cautious advance, slight though it was, and the groans of the dying were heard, and many of the enemy were roused from sleep and sprang up, while each for himself raised the call to arms. Our soldiers stood rooted to the spot, not daring to advance farther: for it no longer seemed prudent, when those against whom the surprise was directed were aroused, to rush into open danger, since now throngs of raging Persians were coming to battle from every side, fired with fury. 9. But the Gauls faced them, relying on their strength of body and keeping their courage

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

adversos, parte suorum strata vel sagittarum undique volantium crebritate confixa, cum unum in locum totam periculi molem conversam, et concurrentium hostium agmina advertissent, nullo terga vertente, evadere festinabant, et velut repedantes sub modulis, sensim extra vallum protrusi, cum manipulos confertius invadentes sustinere non possent, tubarum perciti clangore castrensium, discedebant. 10. Et resultantibus e civitate lituis multis, portae panduntur, recepturae nostros si pervenire illuc usque valuissent, tormentorumque machinae stridebant sine iaculatione ulla telorum, ut stationibus praesidentes, post interemptos socios, quae pone<sup>1</sup> agerentur ignari. urbis oppositi moenibus nudarent intuta<sup>2</sup> et porta<sup>3</sup> viri fortes susciperentur innoxii. 11. Hacque arte Galli portam prope confinia lucis introiere minuto. numero quidam perniciose, pars leviter vulnerati, quadringentis ea nocte desideratis, qui non Rhesum nec cubitantes pro muris Iliacis Thracas, sed Persarum regem armatorum centum milibus circumsaeptum, ni obstitisset violentior casus, in ipsis tentoriis obruncarant. 12. Horum campiductoribus,<sup>4</sup> ut fortium factorum antesignanis, post civitatis exidium, armatas statuas apud Edessam in regione

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<sup>1</sup> *quae*, added by Her., Novák.      <sup>2</sup> *intuta et*, added by Novák.      <sup>3</sup> *porta*, Clark; *in aperta*, Novák; *misperta*, V. <sup>4</sup> *campiductoribus*, V; *campidoctoribus*, Cornelissen (see Val. *ad loc.*).

<sup>1</sup> Text and exact meaning are uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, x. 435 ff. : Virgil, *Aen.*, i. 469 ff.



unshaken as long as they could, cut down their opponents with the sword, while a part of their own number were slain or wounded by the cloud of arrows flying from every side. But when they saw that the whole weight of peril and all the troops of the enemy were turned against one spot, although not one of them turned his back, they made haste to get away ; and as if retreating to music, they were gradually forced out beyond the rampart, and being now unable to withstand the bands of foemen rushing upon them in close order, and excited by the blare of trumpets from the camp, they withdrew. 10. And while many clarions sounded from the city, the gates were thrown open to admit our men, if they could succeed in getting so far, and the hurling-engines roared constantly, but without discharging any missiles, in order that since those in command of the outposts, after the death of their comrades were unaware of what was going on behind them, the men stationed before the walls of the city might abandon their unsafe position, and the brave men might be admitted through the gate without harm.<sup>1</sup> 11. By this device the Gauls entered the gate about daybreak in diminished numbers, a part severely others slightly wounded (the losses of that night were four hundred) ; and if a mightier fate had not prevented, they would have slain, not Rhesus nor the Thracians encamped before the walls of Troy,<sup>2</sup> but the king of the Persians in his own tent, protected by a hundred thousand armed men. 12. In honour of their officers, as leaders in these brave deeds, after the destruction

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

celebri locari iusserat imperator, quae ad praesens servantur intactae.

13. Retectis sequenti luce funeribus, cum inter caesorum cadavera optimates invenirentur, et satrapae, clamoresque dissoni fortunam aliam alibi cum lacrimis indicabant, luctus ubique et indignatio regum audiebatur, arbitrantium per stationes muris obiectas irrupisse Romanos indutiisque ob haec tridui datis assensu communi, nos quoque spatium ad respirandum accepimus.

### 7. *Turres et alia opera urbis muris admoventur ; incenduntur a Romanis.*

1. Percussae deinde novitate rei efferataeque gentes, omissa omni cunctatione, operibus (quoniam vis minime procedebat) discernere iam censebant, et concito extremo belli ardore, omnes oppetere gloriose iam properabant, aut ruina urbis animis litasse caesorum.

2. Iamque apparatu cunctorum alacritate perfecto, exsiliente lucifero, operum variae species cum turribus ferratis admovebantur, quorum in verticibus celsis aptatae ballistae propugnatores agitantibus humiliter disiectabant. 3. Et albescente iam die, ferrea munimenta membrorum caelum omne subtexunt, densetaeque<sup>1</sup> acies non inordinatim ut antea, sed tubarum sonitu leni

<sup>1</sup> *densetaeque*, C. F. W. Müller ; *densataeque*, G. Bentley ; *tensitate quae*, V.

of the city the emperor ordered statues in full armour to be made and set up in a frequented spot at Edessa. and they are preserved intact to the present time.

13. When on the following day the slaughter was revealed, and among the corpses of the slain there were found grandees and satraps. and dissonant cries and tears bore witness to the disasters in this or that place, everywhere mourning was heard and the indignation of the kings at the thought that the Romans had forced their way in through the guards posted before the walls. And as because of this event a truce of three days was granted by common consent, we also gained time to take breath.

7. *Towers and other siege-works are brought up to the walls of the city ; they are set on fire by the Romans.*

1. Then the enemy, horrified and maddened by the unexpected mishap, set aside all delay, and since force was having little effect, now planned to decide the contest by siege-works ; and all of them, fired with the greatest eagerness for battle, now hastened to meet a glorious death or with the downfall of the city to make offering to the spirits of the slain.

2. And now through the zeal of all the preparations were completed, and as the morning star shone forth various kinds of siege-works were brought up, along with ironclad towers, on the high tops of which ballistae were placed, and drove off the defenders who were busy lower down. 3. And day was now dawning, when mail-clad siege-works veiled almost the entire sky, and the dense forces moved forward, not as before in disorder, but led by the

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ductante. nullis procurstantibus incedebant, machinarum operti tegminibus, cratesque vimineas praetendentes. 4. Cumque propinquantibus ad coniectum venire telorum, oppositis scutis, Persae pedites sagittas tormentis excussas e muris aegrius evitantes laxaverant<sup>1</sup> aciem, nullo paene iaculi genere in vanum cadente; etiam cataphraeti hebetati et cedentes animos auxere nostrorum. 5. Tamen quia hostiles ballistae ferratis impositae turribus, in humilia ex supernis valentes, ut loco dispari ita eventu dissimili, nostra<sup>2</sup> multo cruore foedabant, ingruente iam vespera, cum requiescerent partes, noctis spatium maius consumptum est, ut excogitari possit quid exitio ita atroci obiectaretur.

6. Et tandem multa versantibus nobis, sedit consilium quod tutius celeritas fecit, quattuor eisdem ballistis scorpiones opponi, qui dum translati e regione, caute (quod artis est difficillimae) collocantur, lux nobis advenit maestissima. Persarum manipulos formidatos ostentans, adiectis elephantorum agminibus, quorum stridore immanitateque corporum nihil humanae mentes terribilius cernunt. 7. Cumque omni ex latere armorum et operum beluarumque molibus urgeremur, per scorpionum ferreas fundas e propugnaculis subinde rotundi

<sup>1</sup> *laxaverant*, suggested by Clark, *c.c.*; *laxarunt*. V.  
<sup>2</sup> *nostros*, Mommsen.

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<sup>1</sup>The scorpion was an engine for hurling stones, also called *onager*, "wild ass." It is described in xxiii. 4, 4 ff.

slow notes of the trumpets and with no one running forward, protected too by pent-houses and holding before them wicker hurdles. 4. But when their approach brought them within bowshot, though holding their shields before them the Persian infantry found it hard to avoid the arrows shot from the walls by the artillery, and took open order ; and since almost no kind of dart failed to find its mark, even the mail-clad horsemen were checked and gave ground, and thus increased the courage of our men. 5. However, because the enemy's ballistae, mounted as they were upon iron-clad towers, were effective from their higher place against those lower down, on account of their different position they had a different result and caused terrible carnage on our side ; and when evening was already coming on and both sides rested, the greater part of the night was spent in trying to devise a remedy for this awful slaughter.

6. And at last, after turning over many plans, we resolved upon a plan which speedy action made the safer, namely, to oppose four scorpions<sup>1</sup> to those same ballistae ; but while they were being moved from their position and cautiously put in place (an act calling for the greatest skill) the most sorrowful of days dawned upon us, showing as it did formidable bands of Persians along with troops of elephants, than whose noise and huge bodies the human mind can conceive nothing more terrible. 7. And while we were hard pressed on every side by weight of arms, siege-works, and monsters, round stones hurled at intervals from the battlements by the iron arms of our scorpions shattered

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

lapides iacti.<sup>1</sup> dissolutis turrium coagmentis, ballistas earumque tortores ita fudere praecepites, ut quidam citra vulnerum noxas, alii<sup>2</sup> obruti magnitudine ponderum interirent. elephantis vi magna propulsis, quos flammis coniectis undique circumnexus, iam corporibus tactis, gradientesque retrosus regere<sup>3</sup> magistri non poterant. postque<sup>4</sup> exustis operibus, nulla quies certaminibus data. 8. Rex enim ipse Persarum, qui numquam adesse certaminibus cogitur, his turbinum infortuniis percitus, novo et nusquam antea cognito more, proelioris militis ritu prosiluit in confertos, et quia conspectior tegentium multitudine procul speculantibus visebatur. petitus crebritate telorum. multis stipatoribus stratis. absecessit. alternaus regibilis acies. et ad extremum diei. nec mortium truci visu<sup>5</sup> nec vulnerum territus, tandem tempus exiguum tribui quieti permisit.

8. *Amida per celsos aggeres muris proximos temptatur a Persis ac invaditur. Marcellinus post captam urbem nocte evadit, ac fuga Antiochiam petit.*

I. Verum nocte proelia dirimente, somno per breve otium capto. nitescente iam luce, ad potiunda

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<sup>1</sup> *iacti* Pet. ; *acti*. V.      <sup>2</sup> *alii*, V ; *at*, Mommsen ; *sola*, Her.      <sup>3</sup> *regere*, W<sup>2</sup>, Val. ; *retinere*, NBG ; *retere*. V.      <sup>4</sup> *post quae*, Pet.      <sup>5</sup> *visu*, C<sup>2</sup> A ; *viso*, BG ; *visione*, Günther, Pet. ; *visio*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, by the fall from the high towers.

the joints of the towers, and threw down the ballistae and those who worked them in such headlong fashion, that some perished without injury from wounds.<sup>1</sup> others were crushed to death by the great weight of debris. The elephants, too, were driven back with great violence. for they were surrounded by firebrands thrown at them from every side, and as soon as these touched their bodies, they turned tail and their drivers were unable to control them. But though after that the siege-works were burned up, there was no cessation from strife. 8. For even the king of the Persians himself, who is never compelled to take part in battles, aroused by these storms of ill-fortune, rushed into the thiek of the fight like a common soldier (a new thing, never before heard of) and because he was more conspicuous to those who looked on from a distance than the throng of his body-guard, he was the mark of many a missile; and when many of his attendants had been slain, he withdrew, passing from one part to another of the troops under his command, and at the end of the day. though terrified by the grim spectaele neither of the dead nor of the wounded, he at last allowed a brief time to be given to rest.

8. *Amida is attacked by the Persians over lofty mounds close to the walls, and is stormed. Marcellinus after the capture of the city escapes by night and flees to Antioch.*

1. But night put an end to the conflict; and having taken a nap during the brief period of rest,





the king, as soon as dawn appeared, boiling with wrath and resentment and closing his eyes to all right, aroused the barbarians against us, to win what he hoped for; and when the siege-works had been burned (as I have shown) they attempted battle over high mounds close to the walls, whereupon our men erected heaps of earth on the inside as well as they could with all their efforts, and under difficulties resisted with equal vigour.

2. For a long time the sanguinary battle remained undecided, and not a man anywhere through fear of death gave up his ardour for defence; and the contest had reached a point when the fate of both parties was governed by some unavoidable hap, when that mound of ours, the result of long toil, fell forward as if shattered by an earthquake. Thus the gulf which yawned between the wall and the heap built up outside was made a level plain, as if by a causeway or a bridge built across it, and opened to the enemy a passage blocked by no obstacles, while the greater part of the soldiers that were thrown down ceased fighting, being either crushed or worn out. 3. Nevertheless others rushed to the spot from all sides, to avert so sudden a danger; but in their desire for haste they impeded one another, while the boldness of the enemy was increased by their very success. 4. Accordingly, by the king's command all the warriors were summoned and there was a hand-to-hand contest with drawn swords; blood streamed on all sides from the vast carnage; the trenches were blocked with bodies and so a broader path was furnished. And now the city was filled with the eager rush of the enemy's forces,

civitate oppleta, cum omnis defendendi vel fugiendi spes esset abscisa. pecorum ritu armati et imbelles sine sexus discrimine truncabantur.

5. Itaque vespera tenebrante, cum adhuc licet iniqua reluctante fortuna, multitudo nostrorum manu conserta dstringeretur, in abstrusa quadam parte oppidi cum duobus aliis latens, obscurae praesidio noctis postica per quam nihil servabatur evado. et squalentum peritia locorum. comitumque adiutus celeritate, ad decimum lapidem tandem perveni. 6. In qua statione lenius recreati, cum ire protinus pergeremus, et incedendi nimietate iam superarer, ut insuetus ingenuus, offendi dirum aspectum, sed fatigato mihi lassitudine gravi levamen impendio tempestivum. 7. Fugaci equo nudo et infreni calorum quidam sedens (ne labi possit) ex more habenam qua ductabatur sinistra manu artius illigavit, moxque decussus, vinculi nodum abrumpere nequiens, per avia saltusque membratim discerptus, iumentum exhaustum cursu pondere cadaveris detinebat, cuius dorsuali<sup>1</sup> comprehensi servitio usus in tempore, cum eisdem sociis ad fontes sulphureos aquarum, suapte natura calentium, aegre perveni. 8. Et quia per aestum arida siti reptantes, aquam diu quaeritando, profundum bene<sup>2</sup> vidimus puteum, et neque descendendi prae

<sup>1</sup> *dorsuali*, Langen: *dorsuatis*, V.  
*paenae*, V; *pene*, WBG.

<sup>2</sup> *bene*, Lind.;

and since all hope of defence or of flight was cut off, armed and unarmed alike without distinction of sex were slaughtered like so many cattle.

5. Therefore when the darkness of evening was coming on and a large number of our soldiers, although adverse fortune still struggled against them, were joined in battle and thus kept busy, I hid with two others in a secluded part of the city, and under cover of a dark night made my escape through a postern gate at which no guard was kept; and, aided by my familiarity with desert places and by the speed of my companions, I at length reached the tenth milestone. 6. At the post-house there we got a little rest, and when we were making ready to go farther and I was already unequal to the excessive walking, to which as a gentleman I was unused, I met a terrible sight, which however furnished me a most timely relief, worn out as I was by extreme weariness. 7. A groom, mounted on a runaway horse without saddle or bit, in order not to fall off had tied the rein by which, in the usual manner, the horse was guided, tightly to his left hand; and afterwards, being thrown off and unable to loose the knot, he was torn limb from limb as he was dragged through desert places and woods, while the animal, exhausted by running, was held back by the weight of the dead body; so I caught it and making timely use of the service of its back, with those same companions I with difficulty reached some springs of sulphurous water, naturally hot. 8. And since the heat had caused us parching thirst, for a long time we went slowly about looking for water. And we fortunately found a deep well,

altitudine, nec restium aderat copia, necessitate docente postrema, indumenta lintea, quibus tegebamur.<sup>1</sup> in oblongos discidimus pannulos, unde explicato fune ingenti, centonem quem sub galea unus ferebat e nostris. ultimae aptavimus summitati, qui per<sup>2</sup> funem coniectus, aquasque hauriens ad peniculi modum, facile sitim qua urgebamus<sup>3</sup> extinxit. 9. Unde citi ferebamus ad flumen Euphratem, ulteriorem ripam petituri per navem, quam transfretandi causa iumenta et homines, in eo tractu diuturna consuetudo locarat. 10. Ecce autem Romanum agmen cum equestribus signis disiectum, eminus cernimus, quod persequebatur multitudo Persarum, incertum unde impetu tam repentino terga viantium aggressa. 11. Quo exemplo terribenas illos, non sinibus terrae emersos, sed exuberanti pernicitate credimus natos, qui quoniam inopini per varia visebantur, *σπαρτοί* vocitati, humo exsiluisse, vetustate rem<sup>4</sup> fabulosius extollente, sunt aestimati. 12. Hoc malo<sup>5</sup> conciti, cum omne iam esset in celeritate salutis praesidium, per dumeta et silvas montes petimus celsiores, exindeque Melitinam minoris Armeniae oppidum venimus.

<sup>1</sup> *tegebamur*, BGA; *tegebatur*, V; *lectulus tegebatur*, Clark.  
<sup>2</sup> *qui per*, added in G (lac. indicated by Clark). <sup>3</sup> *urgebamus*, Her.; *hauriebamus*, EBG; *hauriebamus*, V. <sup>4</sup> *rem*, Novák, Her.; *materiem*, Kiessling; *ut cetera*, G; *rem viatere* (see note 5), V. <sup>5</sup> *malo* (for *viatere*, Her.), put after *hoc* by G.

<sup>1</sup> Damsté, reading *tegebatur*, thinks that the groom's clothing is meant. But he seems to have been left some distance behind, and it is doubtful whether his garments were in a condition to use. Where they would find a couch (*lectulus*) is not clear.

but it was neither possible to go down into it because of its depth, nor were there ropes at hand; so taught by extreme need, we cut the linen garments in which we were clad<sup>1</sup> into long strips and from them made a great rope. To the extreme end of this we tied the cap which one of us wore under his helmet, and when this was let down by the rope and sucked up the water after the manner of a sponge, it readily quenched the thirst by which we were tormented. 9. From there we quickly made our way to the Euphrates river, planning to cross to the farther bank by a boat which long continued custom had kept in that vicinity for the transport of men and animals. 10. But lo! we saw afar off a scattered band of Romans with cavalry standards, pursued by a great force of Persians; and we could not understand how they appeared so suddenly behind us as we went along. 11. Judging from this instance, we believe that the famous "sons of earth" did not come forth from the bosom of the land, but were born with extraordinary swiftness—those so-called sparti,<sup>2</sup> who, because they were seen unexpectedly in sundry places, were thought to have sprung from the earth, since antiquity gave the matter a fabulous origin. 12. Alarmed by this danger, since now all hope of life depended upon speed through thickets and woods, we made for the higher mountains, and came from there to the town of Melitina in lesser Armenia, where we

<sup>2</sup> Σπαρτοί (from σπείρω, "sow") was a name applied to the Thebans, because of the fable of the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus. The Athenians, who claimed to be earthborn, were called ἀπόχθονες.

mox<sup>1</sup> repertum duce[m] comitatique<sup>2</sup> iam profecturum. Antiochiam revisimus insperati.<sup>3</sup>

9. *Amidae ex ducibus Rom. alii supplicio affecti, alii vincti. Craugasius Nisibenus desiderio uxoris captivae transfugit ad Persas.*

At Persae quia tendere iam introrsus autumnopraecipiti haedorumque iniquo<sup>4</sup> sidere exorto prohibebantur, captivos agentes et praedas, remeare cogitabant ad sua. 2. Inter haec tamen funera direptionesque civitatis excisae, Aeliano comite et tribunis, quorum efficacia diu defensa sunt moenia, stragesque multiplicatae Persarum, patibulis scelestis suffixis, Iacobus et Caesius, numerarii apparitionis magistri equitum aliique protectores, post terga vinctis manibus ducebantur, Transtigritanis qui sollicita quaerebantur industria, nullo infimi summi-que discrimine, ad unum omnibus contruncatis.

3. Uxor vero Craugasii, quae retinens pudorem inviolatum, ut matrona nobilis colebatur, maerebat velut orbem alium sine marito visura, quamquam sperabat documentis praesentibus altiora. 4. In rem itaque consulens suam, et accidentia longe

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<sup>1</sup> *mox*, Pet. ; *ubi*, W<sup>2</sup>, vulgo ; *uos*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *comitatique*, Her. ; *comitatumque*, Gardt. ; *comitateque*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *insperati*. At, Her. ; *interca Sapor et*, G ; *iam impetrata re*, Clark ; *iam imperator et*, V (*im*, added by V<sup>2</sup>).    <sup>4</sup> *haedorumque iniquo*, Pet. ; *haedorum quem pro*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Three stars in the constellation Auriga ; they rise at the beginning of October and bring stormy weather ; cf. Horace, *Odes*, iii. 1, 28.    <sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Persian deserters.

presently found and accompanied an officer, who was just on the point of leaving ; and so we returned unexpectedly to Antioch.

9. *At Amida some of the Roman leaders are executed, others imprisoned. Craugasius of Nisibis, through longing for his captive wife, deserts to the Persians.*

1. But the Persians, since the rapidly approaching end of autumn and the rising of the unfavourable constellation of the Kids<sup>1</sup> prevented them from marching farther inland, were thinking of returning to their own country with their prisoners and their booty. 2. But in the midst of the slaughter and pillage of the destroyed city Count Aelianus and the tribunes, by whose efficient service the walls had been so long defended and the losses of the Persians increased, were shamefully gibbeted ; Jacobus and Caesius, paymasters of the commander of the cavalry, and other officers of the bodyguard, were led off with their hands bound behind their backs ; and those who had come from across the Tigris<sup>1</sup> were hunted down with extreme care and butchered to a man, highest and lowest without distinction.

3. But the wife of Craugasius, who retained her chastity inviolate and was honoured as a woman of rank, grieved that she was likely to see another part of the world without her husband, although from present indications she had reason to hope for a loftier fortune. 4. Therefore, looking out for her own interests and foreseeing long beforehand what would happen, she was tormented by two-

ante prospiciens, anxietate bifaria stringebatur, viduitatem detestans et nuptias. Ideo familiarem suum perquam fidum, regionumque Mesopotamiae gnarum, per Izalam montem, inter castella praesidiaria duo Maride et Lorne introiturum, Nisibin occulte dimisit, mandatis arcanisque vitae secretioris, maritum exorans, ut auditis quae contigerint, veniret secum beate victurus. 5. Quibus conventis,<sup>1</sup> expeditus viator per saltuosos tramites et frutecta, Nisibin passibus citis ingressus, causatusque se domina nusquam visa, et forsitan interempta, data evadendi copia castris hostilibus abscessisse, et ideo ut vilis neglectus, docet Craugasium gesta; moxque accepta fide quod si tuto licuerit, sequetur coniugem libens, evasit, exoptatum mulieri nuntium ferens, quae hoc cognito per Tamsaporem ducem supplicaverat regi, ut si daretur facultas, antequam Romanis excederet finibus, in potestatem suam iuberet propitius maritum adscisci.

6. Praeter spem itaque omnium digresso advena repentino, qui postliminio reversus, statim sine ullius evanuit conscientia, percussus suspicione dux Cassianus, praesidentesque ibi proceres alii, minitantes ultima Craugasium iucessebant, non sine eius

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<sup>1</sup> *conventis*, Damsté, cf. Livy xxx. 43, 7; *contentus*, V; *contextis*, Cornelissen, Petschenig.

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<sup>1</sup> *Postliminium* is literally "a return behind the threshold"; *i.e.* a complete return home with restoration of one's former rank, privileges, and condition. The slave seems to have been captured by the Persians with his mistress, and pretended to have escaped from the enemy. On his return to Nisibis, he again became the slave of Craugasius.



fold anxiety, dreading both separation from her husband and marriage with another. Accordingly, she secretly sent a slave of hers, who was of tried fidelity and acquainted with the regions of Mesopotamia, to go over Mount Izala between the strongholds of Maride and Lorne to Nisibis, and take a message to her husband and certain tokens of their more private life, begging him that on hearing what had happened he should come to live happily with her. 5. When this had been arranged, the messenger, being lightly equipped, made his way with quick pace through forest paths and thickets and entered Nisibis. There giving out that he had seen his mistress nowhere, that she was perhaps slain, and that he himself, taking advantage of an opportunity to escape, had fled from the enemy's camp, he was accordingly disregarded as of no consequence. Thereupon he told Craugasius what had happened and then, after receiving assurance that if it could safely be done he would gladly follow his wife, the messenger departed, bearing to the woman the desired news. She on hearing it begged the king through his general Tamsapor that, if the opportunity offered before he left the Roman territory, he would graciously give orders that her husband be received under his protection.

6. The sudden departure, contrary to every one's expectation, of the stranger, who had returned by the right of postliminium<sup>1</sup> and immediately vanished without anyone's knowledge, aroused the suspicions of the general Cassianus and the other important officials in Nisibis, who assailed Craugasius with dire threats, loudly insisting that the man had

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

voluntate vel venisse vel abisse hominem clamitantes. 7. Qui proditoris<sup>1</sup> metuens crimen, impendioque sollicitus, ne transitione perfugae uxor eius superesse doceretur et tractari piissime, per simulationem matrimonium alterius splendidae virginis affectavit. Et velut paraturus necessaria convivio nuptiali, egressus ad villam octavo lapide ab urbe distantem, concito equo ad Persarum vastatorium globum, quem didicerat adventare, confugit, susceptusque averter, qui esset ex his cognitus quae loquebatur. Tamsapori post diem traditur quintum, perque eum regi oblatum, opibus et necessitudine omni recuperata cum coniuge, quam paucos post menses amiserat, erat<sup>2</sup> secundi loci post Antoninum, ut ait poeta praeclarus “longo proximus intervallo.” 8. Ille enim ingenio et usu rerum diuturno firmatus, consiliis validis sufficiebat in cuncta quae conabatur, hic natura simplicior, nominis tamen itidem pervulgati. Et haec quidem haut diu postea contigerunt.

9. Rex vero licet securitatem praeferens<sup>3</sup> vultu, exultansque specie tenus urbis excidio videbatur, profundo tamen animi graviter aestuabat, reputans in obsidionalibus malis saepe luctuosas se pertulisse iaecturas multoque ampliores se ipsum populos perdidisse, quam e nostris ceperat vivos, vel certe per diversas fuderat pugnas, ut apud Nisibin aliquotiens evenit, et Singaram, parique modo cum septuaginta

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<sup>1</sup> *proditoris*, W<sup>2</sup>, Lind. : *proditores*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *amiserat*,  
*erat*, Her. : *amisit*, *erat*, Val. : *amiserat*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *prae-*  
*ferens*, Val., Bentley : *referens*, V<sup>2</sup> (*refens*, V).

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Virgil. *Aen.* v. 320.

neither come nor gone without his wish. 7. He, then, fearing a charge of treason and greatly troubled lest through the coming of the deserter it should become known that his wife was alive and treated with great respect, as a blind sought marriage with another, a maiden of high rank, and, under pretence of preparing what was needed for the wedding-banquet, went to a country house of his eight miles distant from the city; then, at full gallop he fled to a band of Persian pillagers that he had learned to be approaching. He was received with open arms, being recognized from the story that he told, and five days later was brought to Tamsapor, and by him taken to the king. And after recovering his property and all his kindred, as well as his wife, whom he lost a few months later, he held the second place after Antoninus, but was, as the eminent poet says, "next by a long interval."<sup>1</sup> 8. For Antoninus, aided by his talent and his long experience of the world, had available plans at hand for all his enterprises, while Craugasius was by nature most simple, yet of an equally celebrated reputation. And these things happened not long afterward.<sup>2</sup>

9. But the king, although making a show of ease of mind in his expression, and to all appearance seeming to exult in the destruction of the city, yet in the depths of his heart was greatly troubled, recalling that in unfortunate sieges he had often suffered sad losses, and had sacrificed far more men himself than he had taken alive of ours, or at any rate had killed in the various battles, as happened several times at Nisibis and at Singara: and in the

<sup>2</sup> That is, not long after the fall of Amida.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

tresque dies Amidam multitudine circumsedisset armorum, trigiuta milia perdidit bellatorum, quae paulo postea per Discenen tribunum et notarium numerata sunt, haec discretione facilius, quod nostrorum cadavera mox caesorum fatiscunt ac<sup>1</sup> diffluunt,<sup>2</sup> adeo ut nullius mortui facies post quadriduum agnoscat, interfectorum vero Persarum inarescunt in modum stipitum corpora, ut nec liquentibus membris, nec sanie perfusa, madescant, quod vita pareior facit, et ubi nascuntur exustae caloribus terrae.

### 10. *Plebs Romana inopiam frumenti metuens, seditiones movet.*

1. Dum haec per varios turbines in orientis extimo festinantur, difficultatem adventantis inopiae frumentorum urbs verebatur aeterna, vique minacissimae plebis, famem ultimum malorum omnium exspectantis, subinde Tertullus vexabatur, ea tempestate praefectus, irrationabiliter plane; nec enim per eum steterat quo minus tempore congruo alimenta navibus veherentur, quas maris casus asperiores solitis ventorumque procellae reflantium, delatas in proximos sinus, introire portum Augusti discriminum magnitudine perterrebant. 2. Quocirca idem saepe praefectus seditionibus agitatus,

<sup>1</sup> *ac*, Kellerbauer; *et*, EBG: V. see note 2.    <sup>2</sup> *diffluunt*, C. F. W. Müller; *fatiscunt ac de fluunt* (*ne* from *m*, V<sup>2</sup>), V.

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<sup>1</sup> Prefect of the City.

same way, when he had invested Amida for seventy-three days with a great force of armed men, he lost 30,000 warriors, as was reckoned a little later by Discenes, a tribune and secretary, the more readily for this difference: that the corpses of our men soon after they are slain fall apart and waste away, to such a degree that the face of no dead man is recognisable after four days, but the bodies of the slain Persians dry up like tree-trunks, without their limbs wasting or becoming moist with corruption—a fact due to their more frugal life and the dry heat of their native country.

10. *The Roman commons rebel, fearing a scarcity of grain.*

1. While these storms were swiftly passing one after the other in the extreme East, the eternal city was fearing the disaster of a coming shortage of grain, and from time to time Tertullus, who was prefect<sup>1</sup> at the time, was assailed by the violent threats of the commons, as they anticipated famine, the worst of all ills; and this was utterly unreasonable, since it was no fault of his that food was not brought at the proper time in the ships, which unusually rough weather at sea and adverse gales of wind drove to the nearest harbours, and by the greatness of the danger kept them from entering the Port of Augustus.<sup>2</sup> 2. Therefore that same prefect, since he had often been disquieted by uprisings, and the common people, in fear of imminent

<sup>2</sup> The hexagonal basin at Ostia built by Trajan; also called *Portus urbis*, or simply *Portus*.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

ac plebe iam saeviente immanius, quoniam<sup>1</sup> verebatur impendens exitium, ab omni spe tuendae salutis exclusus, ut aestimabat, tumultuanti acriter populo, sed accidentia considerare sueto prudenter, obiecit parvulos filios, et lacrimans 3. “En” inquit “cives vestri (procul omen dii caelestes avertant!) eadem perlaturi vobiscum, ni fortuna affulserit laetior. Si itaque his abolitis nil triste accidere posse existimatis, praesto in potestate sunt vestra.” Qua miseratione vulgus ad clementiam<sup>2</sup> suapte natura proelive, lenitum contieuit, aequanimiter venturam operiens sortem. 4. Moxque divini arbitrio numinis, quod auxit ab incunabulis Romam, perpetuamque fore spondit,<sup>3</sup> dum Tertullus apud Ostia in aede sacrificat Castorum, tranquillitas mare mollivit, mutatoque in austrum placidum vento, velificatione plena portum naves ingressae, frumentis horrea referserunt.

11. *Limigantes Sarmatae, dum simulata petitione pacis deceptum imperatorem invadunt, maxima suorum strage reprimuntur.*

1. Inter haec ita ambigua, Constantium Sirmi etiam tum hiberna quiete curantem, permovebant nuntii metuendi et graves, indicantes id quod tunc magnopere formidabat, Limigantes Sarmatas, quos expulisse paternis avitisque sedibus dominos suos ante monstravimus, paulatim posthabitis locis

<sup>1</sup> quoniam, Clark: quam, V.      <sup>2</sup> clementiam, EG; clementia, V; clementiora, Her.      <sup>3</sup> spondit, E, Bentley, Haupt.; spondit, V.

destruction, were now raging still more cruelly, being shut off from all hope of saving his life, as he thought, held out his little sons to the wildly riotous populace, who had however been wont to take a sensible view of such accidents, and said with tears : 3. "Behold your fellow citizens, who with you (but may the gods of heaven avert the omen !) will endure the same fate, unless a happier fortune shine upon us. If therefore you think that by the destruction of these no heavy calamity can befall you, here they are in your power." Through pity at this sight the mob, of their own nature inclined to mercy, was appeased and held its peace, awaiting with patience the fortune that should come. 4. And presently by the will of the divine power that gave increase to Rome from its cradle and promised that it should last forever, while Tertullus was sacrificing in the temple of Castor and Pollux at Ostia, a calm smoothed the sea, the wind changed to a gentle southern breeze, and the ships entered the harbour under full sail and again crammed the storehouses with grain.

11. *The Limigates of Sarmatia deceive the emperor by a pretended request for peace and attack him ; but they are repulsed with great slaughter.*

1. In the midst of such troubles Constantius, who was still enjoying his winter rest at Sirmium, was disturbed by fearful and serious news, informing him of what he then greatly dreaded, namely, that the Sarmatian Limigantes, who (as we have already pointed out)<sup>1</sup> had driven their masters from their ancestral abodes, having gradually abandoned the

quae eis anno praeterito utiliter sunt destinata, ne (ut sunt versabiles) aliquid molirentur inicum,<sup>1</sup> regiones confines limitibus occupasse, vagarique licentius genuino more (ni pellerentur.) omnia turbaturos.

2. Quae superbius incitanda prope diem imperator dilato negotio credens, coacta undique multitudine militis ad bella promptissimi, nec dum adulto vere ad procintum egressus est gemina consideratione alacrior, quod expletus praedarum opimitate exercitus, aestate nuper emensa, similium spe fidenter in effectus animabitur prosperos, quodque Anatolio regente tunc per Illyricum praefecturam, necessaria cuncta, vel ante tempus coacta, sine ullius dispendiis affluebant. 3. Nec enim dispositionibus unquam alterius praefecturae (ut inter omnes constat) ad praesens Aretiae provinciae bonis omnibus floruerunt, correctione titubantium benevola et sollerti, vehiculariae rei iacturis ingentibus, quae clausere domos innumeras, et censuali professione speciosa fiducia relevatae : indemnesque deinde et innoxii earum incolae partium, querellarum sopitis materiis viverent, ni postea exquisitorum detestanda nomina titulorum, per offerentes suscipientesque criminose in maius exaggerata, his propugnare sibi nitentibus potestates, illis attenuatis

<sup>1</sup> *inicum* (= *inaequum*), Haupt. : *incon*, V<sup>1</sup>; *incum*, V<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> He was a Syrian from Berytus, who came to Rome and filled all the grades of rank up to the prefecture. He was noted for his energy, his eloquence, and his high character.



places which for the public good had been assigned them the year before for fear that they (as they are inconstant) might attempt some wrongful act, had seized upon the regions bordering upon their frontiers, were ranging freely in their native fashion, and unless they were driven back would cause general confusion.

2. The emperor, believing that these outrages would soon be pushed to greater heights if the matter were postponed, assembled from every quarter a great number of soldiers most eager for war and took the field before spring had yet fully come; he was the more eager for action from two considerations: first, because an army glutted with the rich booty of the past summer, by the hope of similar gains would be encouraged by a confident hope of successful enterprises, and because under Anatolius,<sup>1</sup> who at that time was prefect of Illyricum, all necessary supplies had been brought together even ahead of time and were still coming in without trouble to anyone. 3. For never under the management of any other prefect up to the present time, as was generally agreed, had the northern provinces so abounded in all blessings, since by his kindly and skilful correction of abuses they were relieved of the great cost of the courier-service, which had closed homes without number, and there was considerable hope of freedom from the income tax. And the dwellers in those parts might have lived without any grounds for complaint, were it not that later the most hated forms of taxation that could be imagined, criminally amplified by both tax-payers and tax-collectors, since the latter strove to gain

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

omnium opibus, se fore sperantibus tutos, ad usque proscriptiones miserorumque suspendia pervenerunt.

4. Rem igitur emendaturus urgentem, profectus cum instrumentis ambitiosis, imperator (ut dictum est) Valeriam venit, partem quondam Pannoniae, sed ad honorem Valeriae Dioeletiani filiae et institutam et ita cognominatam, sub pellibusque exercitu diffuso per Histri fluminis margines, barbaros observabat ante adventum suum amicitiae velamento, Pannonias furtim vastandas, invadere hiemis durissimo cogitantes, cum nec dum solutae vernis caloribus nives annem undique pervium faciunt, nostrique pruinis subdivales moras difficile tolerabunt.

5. Confestim itaque missis ad Limigantes duobus tribunis cum interpretibus singulis, explorabat modestius percunctando, quam ob rem relictis laribus post pacem et foedera petentibus attributa,<sup>1</sup> ita palarentur per<sup>2</sup> varia, limitesque contra interdicta pulsarent. 6. Qui vana quaedam causantes et irrita, pavore adigente mentiri, principem exorabant in veniam, obsecrantes ut simultate abolita, transmissio flumine ad eum venire permetterentur, docturi quae sustinerent incommoda, paratique intra spatia orbis Romani (si id placuerit) terras

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<sup>1</sup> *adtributa*, Eyssen.; *adtributis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *per*, added by C. F. W. Müller, Cornelissen; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> The Danube; usually its lower course, but used also of the whole river.

the protection of the governors and the former hoped for safety if all were impoverished, resulted finally in proscriptions and the suicide of the wretched victims.

4. Well, then, the emperor (as I have said), in order to improve the pressing situation, set out with splendid equipment and came to Valeria, once a part of Pannonia, but made into a province and named in honour of Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian. There, with his army encamped along the banks of the river Hister,<sup>1</sup> he watched the savages, who before his coming, under pretext of friendship but really intending secretly to devastate the country, were planning to enter Pannonia in the dead of winter, when the snows are not yet melted by the warmth of spring and so the river can be crossed everywhere. and when our soldiers would with difficulty, because of the frosts, endure life in the open.

5. Then having quickly sent two tribunes to the Limigantes, each with an interpreter, by courteous questioning he inquired why it was that they had left the homes which had been assigned them at their own request after the treaty of peace. and were thus roaming at large and disturbing the frontiers, notwithstanding orders to the contrary. 6. They gave some frivolous and unsatisfactory excuses. since fear forced them to lie, and begged for pardon, entreating the emperor to forget his anger and allow them to cross the river and come to him. in order to inform him of the difficulties that they were suffering. They were ready to take up far distant lands. but within the compass of the

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

suscipere longe discretas, ut diuturno otio involuti, et Quietem colentes (tamquam salutarem deam) tributariorum onera subirent et nomen.

7. His post reditum tribunorum compertis, imperator exultans, ut negotio quod rebatur inexplicabile sine ullo pulvere consummando, cunctos admisit, aviditate plus habendi incensus, quam adulatorum cohors augebat, id sine modo strepentium, quod externis sopitis, et ubique pace composita, proletarios lucrabitur plures, et tirocinia cogere poterit validissima: aurum quippe gratanter provinciales pro<sup>1</sup> corporibus dabunt, quae spes rem Romanam aliquotiens aggravavit.<sup>2</sup> 8. Proinde vallo prope Acimincum locato, celsoque aggere in speciem tribunalis erecto, naves vehentes quosdam legionarios expeditos alveum fluminis proximum ripis observare sunt iussae, cum Innocentio quodam agrimensore, huius auctore consilii. ut si barbaros tumultuare sensissent, aliorum intentos post terga pervaderent improvisi. 9. Quae Limigantes licet properari sentirent, nihil tamen praeter preces<sup>3</sup> fingentes, stabant

<sup>1</sup> *pro*, added by Reinesius, Mommsen; V omits.

<sup>2</sup> *adgrauavit*, G; *adgrauit*, V; *exaggeravit*, Pet.

<sup>3</sup> *praeter preces*, Val.; *praeces*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* they would rather contribute money than personal service.

Roman world, if he would allow them, in order that wrapped in lasting repose and worshipping Quiet (as a saving goddess), they might submit to the burdens and the name of tributaries.

7. When this was known after the return of the tribunes, the emperor, exulting in the accomplishment without any toil of a task which he thought insuperable, admitted them all, being inflamed with the desire for greater gain, which his crew of flatterers increased by constantly dinning it into his ears that now that foreign troubles were quieted, and peace made everywhere, he would gain more child-producing subjects and be able to muster a strong force of recruits; for the provincials are glad to contribute gold to save their bodies,<sup>1</sup> a hope which has more than once proved disastrous to the Roman state.<sup>2</sup> 8. Accordingly, having placed a rampart near Acimincum<sup>3</sup> and erected a high mound in the manner of a tribunal, ships carrying some light-armed legionaries were ordered to patrol the channel of the river near the banks, with one Innocentius, a field-measurer, who had recommended the plan, in order that, if they should see the savages beginning disorder, they might attack them in the rear, when their attention was turned elsewhere. 9. But although the Limigantes knew that these plans were being hastened, yet they stood with bared heads, as if thinking of nothing save entreaties,

<sup>2</sup> It was in fact this hope that led the Romans to allow the Goths to cross the Danube, and thus brought on the defeat at Adrianople in 378; see xxxi., 4, 4, *pro militari supplemento quod provinciatis annuum pendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus.*

<sup>3</sup> A city of Pannonia.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

incurvi. longe alia quam quae gestu praeferebant et verbis altis mentibus perpensantes.

10. Visoque imperatore ex alto suggestu, iam sermonem parante lenissimum, meditanteque alloqui velut morigeros iam futuros, quidam ex illis, furore percitus truci, calceo suo in tribunal contorto, “Marha marha” (quod est apud eos signum bellicum) exclamavit, eumque secuta incondita multitudo, vexillo elato repente barbarico, ululans ferum, in ipsum principem ferebatur. 11. Qui cum ex alto despiciens, plena omnia discurrentis turbae cum missilibus vidisset, reiectisque gladiis et verrutis iam propinquante<sup>1</sup> pernicie, externis mixtus et suis, ignotusque dux esset an miles, quia neque cunctandi aderat tempus, neque cessandi, equo veloci impositus, cursu effuso evasit. 12. Stipatores tamen pauci dum ignis more inundantes conabantur arcere, aut vulnerati interierunt, aut ponderibus superruentium solis afflicti, sellaque regalis cum aureo pulvinari, nullo vetante, direpta est.

13. Mox autem audito, quod ad ultimum paene tractus exitium, in abrupto staret adhuc imperator, antiquissimum omnium exercitus ratus eum iuvare (nondum enim exemptum periculis aestimavit salutis) fastu fidentior, licet ob proëursionem subitam semitectus, sonorum et Martium frendens,

<sup>1</sup> *propinquante pernicie*, Clark, cf. xxii. 3, 5; *propinquam perniciem*, W<sup>2</sup> G; *propinquam pernicie*, V.

but meditating deep in their hearts quite other things than their attitude and their words suggested.

10. And when the emperor was seen on the high tribunal and was already preparing to deliver a most mild address, intending to speak to them as future obedient subjects, one of their number, struck with savage madness, hurling his shoe at the tribunal, shouted "Marha, marha" (which is their warcry), and the rude crowd following him suddenly raised a barbarian banner and with savage howls rushed upon the emperor himself. 11. He, looking down from his high place and seeing everything filled with a mob running about with missiles, and death already imminent from their drawn swords and javelins, in the midst as he was of the enemy and of his own men, and with nothing to indicate whether he was a general or a common soldier, since there was no time for hesitation or delay mounted a swift horse and galloped off at full speed. 12. However, a few of his attendants, while they were trying to keep off the savages, who poured upon them like a stream of fire, were either wounded to the death or trampled down by the mere weight of those who rushed over them: and the royal seat with its golden cushion was seized without resistance.

13. But when presently it was heard that the emperor had all but been drawn into extreme peril and was not yet on safe ground, the soldiers considered it their first duty to aid him (for they thought him not yet free from danger of death); so, with greater confidence because of their contempt of the enemy, although the attack was so

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

barbarorum mori obstinatorum eatervis semet immersit. 14. Et quia virtute dedecus purgatura, ardens copia nostrorum erupit, iras in hostem perfidum parans, obvia quaeque obtruncabat, sine parsimonia vivos conculcans et semineces et peremptos; et antequam exsatiaret caedibus barbaricis manus, acervi constipati sunt mortuorum. 15. Urgebantur enim rebelles, aliis trucidatis, aliis terrore disiectis, quorum pars spem vitae cassis precibus usurpando multiplicatis ictibus caedebantur, postque deletos omnes in receptum canentibus lituis, nostri quoque licet rari videbantur exanimes, quos impetus conculcaverat vehemens, aut furori resistentes hostili, lateraque nudantes intecta, ordo fatalis absumpsit. 16. Mors tamen eminuit inter alios Cellae Sentariorum tribuni, qui inter confligendi exordia, primus omnium in medios semet<sup>1</sup> Sarmatarum globos immisit.

17. Post quae tam saeva, digestis pro securitate limitum<sup>2</sup> quae rationes monebant urgentes. Constantius Sirmium redit, ferens de hoste fallaci vindictam, et maturatis quae necessitates temporis posebant instantes, egressus exinde Constantino-polim petit, ut orienti iam proximus, cladibus apud

<sup>1</sup> *sc.* added by G (*semet*, Novák) before *immisit*; V omits.  
<sup>2</sup> *limitum*, Val.; *militum*, V.



sudden that they were only partly armed, with a wild battlecry they plunged into the bands of the savages, who were regardless of their lives. 14. And so eagerly did our forces rush forth in their desire to wipe out the disgrace by valour, at the same time venting their wrath on the treacherous foe, that they butchered everything in their way, trampling under foot without mercy the living, as well as those dying or dead; and before their hands were sated with slaughter of the savages, the dead lay piled in heaps. 15. For the rebels were completely overthrown, some being slain, others fleeing in terror in all directions; and a part of them, who hoped to save their lives by vain entreaties, were cut down by repeated strokes. And after all had been killed and the trumpets were sounding the recall, some of our men also, though few, were found among the dead, either trampled under foot in the fierce attack or, when they resisted the fury of the enemy and exposed their unprotected sides, destroyed by the fatal course of destiny. 16. But conspicuous above the rest was the death of Cella, tribune of the Targeteers, who at the beginning of the fight was first to rush into the thick of the Sarmatian forces.

17. After this cruel carnage Constantius, having made such arrangements for the safety of the frontiers as considerations of urgency recommended, returned to Sirmium after taking vengeance on a treacherous foe. Then, having quickly attended to what the pressing necessities of the time required, he set out from there and went to Constantinople, in order that being now nearer the Orient he might remedy the disaster which he had suffered at Amida,

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

Amidam mederetur acceptis, et redintegrato supplementis exercitu, impetus regis Persarum pari virium robore cohiberet. quem constabat (ni caelestis ratio impensiorque repelleret cura multorum) Mesopotamia relicta post terga, per extenta spatia signa moturum.

### 12. *Laesi maiestatis multi arcessiti atque damnati.*

1. Inter has tamen sollicitudines, velut ex recepto quodam antiquitus more, ad vicem bellorum civilium, inflabant litui quaedam colorata laesae crimina maiestatis. quorum exsecutor et administer, saepe dictus Tartareus<sup>1</sup> ille notarius missus est Paulus, qui peritus artium cruentarum, ut lanista ex commerciis libitinae vel ludi, ipse quoque ex eculeo vel carnifice quaestum fructumque captabat.

2. Ut enim erat obstinatum fixumque eius propositum ad laedendum, ita nec furtis abstinuit, innocentibus exitialis causas affingens,<sup>2</sup> dum in calamitosis stipendiis versaretur.

3. Materiam autem in infinitum quaestionibus extendendis dedit occasio vilis et parva. Oppidum est Abydum in Thebaidis partis situm extremo.<sup>3</sup> Hic Besae dei localiter appellati, oraculum quondam

<sup>1</sup> *dictus Tartareus*, Her. (*dictus*, W<sup>2</sup>); *dictamulus*, Val.; *dictaneus*, V; *dictus Catena*, Langen (cf. xiv. 5. 8; xv. 3, 4). <sup>2</sup> *adfringens dum*, G; *adfringen* \*\*\* *dum* (from *dum dum*), V; *adfringendo*, Cornelissen. <sup>3</sup> *partis situm extremo*, Pet.; *partis dum extremo*, V; *parte situm extrema*, AG.

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<sup>1</sup> From Tartarus, "the Diabolical." He is called *Catena* in xiv. 5, 8 and xv. 3, 4.

and by supplying the army there with reinforcements might with an equally strong force check the inroads of the Persian king; for it was clear that the latter (unless the will of heaven and the supreme efforts of many men repelled him) would leave Mesopotamia behind and seek a wider field for his arms.

12. *Many are tried and condemned for high treason.*

1. Yet in the midst of these anxieties, as if it were prescribed by some ancient custom, in place of civil wars the trumpets sounded for alleged cases of high treason; and to investigate and punish these there was sent that notorious state-secretary Paulus, often called Tartareus.<sup>1</sup> He was skilled in the work of bloodshed, and just as a trainer of gladiators seeks profit and emolument from the traffic in funerals<sup>2</sup> and festivals, so did he from the rack or the executioner. 2. Therefore, as his determination to do harm was fixed and obstinate, he did not refrain from secret fraud, devising fatal charges against innocent persons, provided only he might continue his pernicious traffic.

3. Moreover, a slight and trivial occasion gave opportunity to extend his inquiries indefinitely. There is a town called Abydum, situated in the remotest part of the Thebais<sup>3</sup>; here the oracle of a god called in that place Besa in days of old revealed the future and was wont to be honoured in

<sup>2</sup> Gladiatorial shows were given at the funerals of distinguished Romans, as well as at festivals.

<sup>3</sup> A nome, or province, of Egypt.

futura pandebat. priscis circumiacentium regionum caerimoniis solitum coli. 4. Et quoniam quidam praesentes, pars per alios desideriorum indice missa scriptura, supplicationibus expresse conceptis, consulta numinum scitabantur. chartulae sive<sup>1</sup> membranae. continentis quae petebantur, post data quoque responsa, interdum remanebant in fauo. 5. Ex his aliqua ad imperatorem maligne sunt missa, qui (ut erat angusti pectoris<sup>2</sup>) obsurdescens in aliis etiam nimium seriis, in hoc titulo ima (quod aiunt) auricula mollior, et suspicax et minutus, aeri felle concealuit: statimque ad orientem ocius ire monuit Paulum, potestate delata, ut instar ducis rerum experientia clari, ad arbitrium suum audiri efficeret causas. 6. Datumque est negotium Modesto (etiam tum per orientem comiti) apto ad haec et similia. Hermogenes enim Ponticus ea tempestate praefectus praetorio, ut lenioris ingenii, spernebatur.

7. Perrexit (ut praeceptum est) Paulus funesti furoris et auhelitus plenus. dataque calumniae indulgentia plurimis,<sup>3</sup> ducebantur ab orbe prope terrarum, iuxta nobiles et obscuro, quorum aliquos vinculorum afflixerant nexus, alios claustra poenalia consumpserunt. 8. Et electa est spectatrix suppliciorum feralium civitas in Palaestina Scythopolis, gemina ratione visa magis omnibus opportuna, quod

<sup>1</sup> *sive*, Clark; *sen*, EBG; *sacri*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *angusti pectoris*, G; *angusti rectoris*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *plurimis*, Clark with V, corr. l from r; *plurimi*, E<sup>2</sup>BG.

<sup>1</sup> So also at the temple of Jupiter at Baalbek.

the ancient ceremonials of the adjacent regions. 4. And since some in person, a part through others, by sending a written list of their desires,<sup>1</sup> inquired the will of the deities after definitely stating their requests, the papers or parchments containing their petitions sometimes remained in the shrine even after the replies had been given. 5. Some of these were with malicious intent sent to the emperor who (being narrow-minded), although deaf to other very serious matters, on this point was softer than an earlobe,<sup>2</sup> as the proverb has it; and being suspicious and petty, he grew furiously angry. At once he admonished Paulus to proceed quickly to the Orient, conferring on him, as a leader renowned for his experience, the power of conducting trials according to his good pleasure. 6. A commission was also given to Modestus (at that very time count in the Orient) a man fitted for these and similar affairs. For Hermogenes of Pontus, at that time praetorian prefect, was rejected as being of too mild a temper.

7. Off went Paulus (as he was ordered) in panting haste and teeming with deadly fury, and since free rein was given to general calumny, men were brought in from almost the whole world, noble and obscure alike; and some of them were bowed down with the weight of chains, others wasted away from the agony of imprisonment. 8. As the theatre of torture and death Scythopolis was chosen, a city of Palestine which for two reasons seemed more suitable than any other: because it is more secluded, and because it is midway between Antioch and Alexandria.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cic., *Q.F.* ii. 154, *me . . . fore auricula infima scito molliorem*; Catull. 25, 2 (*mollior*) *imula auricilla*.

secretior est <sup>1</sup> et inter Antiochiam Alexandria, atque media, unde multi plerumque ad erimina trahebantur.

9. Ductus est itaque inter primos Simplicius, Philippi filius, ex praefecto et consule, reus hac gratia postulatus, quod super adipiscendo interrogasse dicebatur imperio, perque elogium principis torqueri praeceptus, qui in his casibus nec peccatum aliquando pietati dederat nec erratum, fato quodam arcente, corpore immaculato lata <sup>2</sup> fuga damnatus est. 10. Dein Parnasius (ex praefecto Aegypti) homo simplicium morum, eo <sup>3</sup> adductus <sup>4</sup> periculi, ut pronuntiaretur capitis reus, itidem pulsus est in exilium, saepe auditus multo antehac rettulisse, quod cum Patras Achaicum oppidum, ubi genitus habuit larem, impetrandae causa cuiusdam relinquere potestatis, per quietem deducentia se habitus tragici figmenta viderat multa. 11. Andronicus postea, studiis liberalibus et claritudine carminum notus, in iudicium introductus cum securo mente nullis suspicionibus urgeretur, purgando semet <sup>5</sup> fidentius, absolutus est. 12. Demetrius itidem Cythras cognomento philosophus, grandaevus quidem sed <sup>6</sup> corpore durus et animo, sacrificasse aliquotiens confutatus, infitiri non potuit, asserens

<sup>1</sup> *est* (before or after *secretior*). Novák, Pet.: V omits.  
<sup>2</sup> *lata*, V; G omits; Cornelissen del. as dittography. <sup>3</sup> *eo*, added in NG; V omits. <sup>4</sup> *adductus*, Clark, cf. xiv. 11, 8; *deductus*, V (for which Her. cites Val. Max., viii. 1, abs. 6). <sup>5</sup> *semet*, Bentley, Günther: *semper et*, V.  
<sup>6</sup> *sed*, N<sup>2</sup> G; *set*, Hermann; *et*, V.

<sup>1</sup> On *elogium*, see p. 31, note 3.

from which cities the greater number were brought to meet charges.

9. Among the first, then, to be summoned was Simplicius, son of Philippus, a former prefect and consul, who was indicted for the reason that he had (as was said) inquired about gaining imperial power; and by a note<sup>1</sup> of the emperor, who in such cases never condoned a fault or an error because of loyal service, he was ordered to be tortured but, protected by some fate, he was banished to a stated place,<sup>2</sup> but with a whole skin. 10. Then Parnasius (ex-prefect of Egypt), a man of simple character, was brought into such peril that he was tried for his life, but he likewise was sent into exile; he had often been heard to say long before this, that when, for the purpose of gaining a certain office, he left Patrae, a town of Achaia where he was born and had his home, he had dreamt that many shadowy figures in tragic garb escorted him. 11. Later Andronicus, known for his liberal studies and the fame of his poems, was haled into court; but since he had a clear conscience, was under no suspicion, and most confidently asserted his innocence, he was acquitted. 12. Also Demetrius, surnamed Cythras, a philosopher of advanced years, it is true, but hardy of body and mind, being charged with offering sacrifice<sup>3</sup> several times, could not deny it;

<sup>2</sup> According to Marcianus, *Digest*, xlviii. 22, 5, there were three kinds of exile; exclusion from certain places specifically named (*liberum exsilium*); confinement to a designated place (*lata fuga*); banishment to an island (*insulae vinculum*).

<sup>3</sup> To Besa.

propitiandi causa numinis haec a prima adulescentia factitasse, non temptandi sublimiora scrutatis; nec enim quemquam id noverat affectare. Din itaque adhaerens ceuleo, cum fiducia gravi fundatus, nequaquam varians eadem oraret intrepidus, Alexandriam (unde oriebatur) innoxius abire permissus est.

13. Et hos quidem aliosque paucos aequa sors, veritatis adiutrix, periculis eximit abruptis. Criminibus vero serpentibus latius, per implicatos nexus sine fine distentos, quidam corporibus laniatis exstinguebantur, alii poenis ulterioribus damnati sunt bonis ereptis, Paulo succentore fabularum crudelium, quasi e<sup>1</sup> promptuaria cella, fallaciarum et nocendi species suggerente complures, cuius ex nutu (prope dixerim) pendeat incedentium<sup>2</sup> omnium salus. 14. Nam siqui remedia quartanae vel doloris alterius collo gestaret, sive per monumentum transisse vesper, malivolorum argueretur indicis, ut veneficus, sepulchrorumque horrores, et errantium ibidem<sup>3</sup> animarum ludibria colligens vana, pronuntiatus reus capitis interibat. 15. Et prorsus ita res agebatur, quasi Clarum, Dodonaeas arbores, et effata Delphorum olim sollemnia, in imperatoris

<sup>1</sup> *quasi e*, W, Lind.; *quas ce*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *incedentium*, V; *incidentium*, Clark, cf. xxvi. 10, 10.      <sup>3</sup> *ibidem*, Lind.; *intidem*, V.

<sup>1</sup> A city of Ionia near Colophon, the seat of a famous oracle of Apollo.



he declared, however, that he had done so from early youth for the purpose of propitiating the deity, not of trying to reach a higher station by his questions ; for he did not know of anyone who had such aspirations. Therefore, after being long kept upon the rack, supported by his firm confidence he fearlessly made the same plea without variation ; whereupon he was allowed to go without further harm to his native city of Alexandria.

13. These and a few others a just fate in alliance with truth saved from imminent danger. But as these charges made their way further by entangling snares extended endlessly, some died from the mangling of their bodies, others were condemned to further punishment and had their goods seized, while Paulus was the prompter of these scenes of cruelty, supplying as if from a storehouse many kinds of deception and cruelty ; and on his nod (I might almost say) depended the life of all who walk the earth. 14. For if anyone wore on his neck an amulet against the quartan ague or any other complaint, or was accused by the testimony of the evil-disposed of passing by a grave in the evening, on the ground that he was a dealer in poisons, or a gatherer of the horrors of tombs and the vain illusions of the ghosts that walk there, he was condemned to capital punishment and so perished. 15. In fact, the matter was handled exactly as if many men had importuned Claros,<sup>1</sup> the oaks of Dodona,<sup>2</sup> and the once famous oracles of Delphi with regard

<sup>2</sup> A city of Epirus, in the country of the Molossians, where there was in an oak grove a celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus.

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

exitium sollicitaverint multi. 16. Unde blanditiarum taetra commenta, palatina cohors exquisite confugens, immunem cum fore malorum communium asserebat, fatum eius vicens semper et praesens in abolendis adversa conantibus eluxisse, vocibus magnis exclamans.

17. Et inquisitum in haec negotia fortius, nemo qui quidem recte sapiat reprehendet. Nec enim abnuimus salutem legitimi principis, propugnatoris bonorum et defensoris, unde salus quaeritur aliis, consociato studio muniri debere cunctorum; cuius retinendae<sup>1</sup> causa validius, ubi maiestas pulsata defenditur, a quaestionibus vel cruentis, nullam Corneliae leges exemere fortunam. 18. Sed exsultare maestis casibus effrenate non decet, ne videantur licentia regi subiecti, non potestate. Imitandus sit Tullius, cum parcere vel laedere potuisset, ut ipse affirmat, ignoscendi quaerens causas, non puniendi occasiones, quod iudicis lenti et considerati est proprium.

19. Tunc apud Daphnen, amoenum illud et ambitiosum Antioebiae suburbanum, visu relatuque horrendum natum est monstrum, infans ore gemino cum dentibus binis et barba, quattuorque oculis,

<sup>1</sup> *retinendae*, EN. Gardt.; *redimentae*, WBG; *redinendae* V.

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<sup>1</sup> On the Cornelian Laws (*Lex Cornelia maiestatis*), see Cicero *in Pisonem*, 21. They were emended and enlarged by Julius Caesar as the *Lex Iulia maiestatis*.

to the death of the emperor. 16. Therefore the palace band of courtiers, ingeniously fabricating shameful devices of flattery, declared that he would be immune to ordinary ills, loudly exclaiming that his destiny had appeared at all times powerful and effective in destroying those who made attempts against him.

17. And that into such doings strict investigation was made no man of good sense will find fault. For we do not deny that the safety of a lawful prince, the protector and defender of good men, on whom depends the safety of others, ought to be safeguarded by the united diligence of all men; and in order to uphold him the more strongly when his violated majesty is defended, the Cornelian laws<sup>1</sup> exempted no one of whatever estate from examination by torture, even with the shedding of blood.<sup>2</sup> 18. But it is not seemly for a prince to rejoice beyond measure in such sorrowful events, lest his subjects should seem to be ruled by despotism rather than by lawful power. And the example of Tully ought to be followed, who, when it was in his power to spare or to harm, as he himself tells us,<sup>3</sup> sought excuses for pardoning rather than opportunities for punishing; and that is the province of a mild and considerate official.

19. At that same time in Daphne, that charming and magnificent suburb of Antioch, a portent was born, horrible to see and to report: an infant.

<sup>2</sup> See *Cod. Theod.* ix., Tit. 35, *in maiestatis crimine omnibus aequa est condicio.*

<sup>3</sup> A fragment of Cicero preserved only by Ammianus: perhaps from the *Oratio Metellina* (Cic., *ad Att.* 1. 13. 5).

## CONSTANTIUS ET GALLUS

et brevissimis duabus auriculis. qui partus ita distortus praemonebat rem publicam in statum verti deformem. 20. Nascuntur huius modi saepe portenta. indicantia rerum variarum eventus. quae quoniam non expiantur. ut apud veteres publice, inaudita praetereunt et incognita.

### 13. *Lauricus comes Isaurorum latrocinia compescit.*

1. His temporibus Isauri diu quieti post gesta quae superior continet textus. temptatumque Seleucia civitatis obsidium, paulatim reviviscentes, ut solent verno tempore foveis exsilire serpentes, saltibus degressi scrupulosis et inviis. confertique in cuneos densos per furta et latrocinia finitimos afflictabant. praetenturas militum (ut montani) fallentes. perque rupis et dumeta ex usu facile discurrentes. 2. Ad quos vi vel ratione sedandos Lauricius. adiecta comitis dignitate, missus est rector, homo civilis prudentiae, qui minis potius quam acerbitate pleraque correxit. adeo ut eo diu provinciam obtinente, nihil accideret, quod animadversione dignum aestimaretur.

namely, with two heads, two sets of teeth, a beard, four eyes and two very small ears; and this misshapen birth foretold that the state was turning into a deformed condition. 20. Portents of this kind often see the light, as indications of the outcome of various affairs; but as they are not expiated by public rites, as they were in the time of our forefathers, they pass by unheard of and unknown.

### 13. *Count Lauricius checks the raids of the Isaurians.*

1. In these days the Isaurians, who had long been quiet after the acts of which an account is given above<sup>1</sup> and the attempted siege of the city of Seleucia, gradually coming to life again just as snakes are wont to dart forth from their holes in the spring time, sallying forth from their rocky and inaccessible mountain fastnesses, and massed together in dense bands, were harrying their neighbours with thefts and brigandage, eluding the frontier-defences of our soldiers by their skill as mountaineers and from experience easily running over rocks and through thickets. 2. In order to quiet them by force or by reason, Lauricius was sent as governor with the added rank of count; being a man skilled in statesmanship, he corrected many evils by threats rather than by actual severity, so that for a long time, while he governed the province, nothing occurred which was thought deserving of punishment.

<sup>1</sup> See xiv. 2, 1 ff.



## I.—INDEX OF NAMES <sup>1</sup>

- Abarne, a village of Mesopotamia, located by Ammianus in Gumathena (*q.v.*), xviii. **9**, 2.
- Abdigidus, xviii. **6**, 12.
- Abora, a river of Mesopotamia, a tributary of the Euphrates, the Hermas or Albahali, xiv. **3**, 4.
- Aborigines, a name applied to the earliest inhabitants of various countries; to the Celtae in Gaul, xv. **9**, 3.
- Abydum (Abydus), a city of Egypt, under the native kings ranking next to Thebes, xix. **12**, 3, note. It was the seat of the palace of Memnon, and of a temple of Osiris, Pliny, *N.H.* v. 60.
- Achaicus, -a, -um, adj. from Achaia, a district on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus: *oppidum*, xix. **12**, 10. Used also of the whole of Greece: *tractus*, xv. **8**, 1.
- Achilleus, the famous Greek hero, xix. **1**, 9.
- Acilius Glabrio, M', consul in 191 B.C. and commander against Antiochus. He was the first Roman to be honoured with a golden statue. His son of the same name dedicated a temple of Pietas at Rome, and placed the statue of his father in it, xiv. **6**, 8.
- Acimincum (Acumineum), a city of Lower Pannonia, xix. **11**, 8.
- Adelphius (Clodius), prefect of Rome under Magnentius in 350, xvi. **6**, 2.
- Ad Gradus, a part of the Gulf of Lyons at the mouth of the Rhone. *Gradus* means "a landing-place" (Val. Max. iii. 6, 1) and is found in connection with the mouths of other rivers, xv. **11**, 18, note.
- Adiabene, a district of Assyria, Modern Hadjab, xviii. **7**, 1.
- Adonis, a beautiful youth, son of Cinyras, king of Cyprus, beloved by Aphrodite. He was killed by a boar, but was allowed to spend half of each year with Aphrodite. His death and return to life were celebrated at Alexandria and elsewhere by festivals (*Adonia*), typical of the death of nature in winter and its revival in the spring, xix. **1**, 11.
- Adramytenus (Adramyttenus), adj. from Adramyttium (Adramyttium), a town on the river Caicus in Mysia, on the road between the Hellespont and Pergamum, xiv. **11**, 31; see Andrisicus.
- Adrastea, used as another name for Nemesis, the goddess of retributive justice, xiv. **11**, 25.
- Adrastens pallor, xiv. **11**, 22, note.
- Aedesius (Sextilius Agesilans), xv. **5**, 4, 14. Cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 510.
- Aegyptia civitas, xvii. **4**, 6.

<sup>1</sup> Historical, geographical, and mythological, as they appear in Vol. I. only. Additional information found in later books is given in the Indices to Vols. II. and III. Where nothing can be added to the information given in the text and the notes, usually only the reference is given.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Aegyptii, the Egyptians, xvii. 4, 12.
- Aegyptus, Egypt, in the time of Ammianus an oriental province, part of the Prefecture of the East, xiv. 7, 21; 11, 32; xvii. 4, 3, 5. *Αἴγυπτος*, xvii. 4, 19, 20.
- Aelianus, a count crucified by the Persians after the taking of Amida, xix. 9, 2.
- Aemilianus, see Scipio (4).
- Aethiopia, Ethiopia, a country south of Egypt, corresponding in general to modern Nubia and Abyssinia, but of somewhat vague limits, xiv. 8, 3.
- Afri, xv. 10, 10, note.
- Africae litus, xiv. 8, 3.
- Africanus superior, see Scipio (1).
- Africanus, governor of Pannonia Secunda in 354-6, xv. 3, 7 (*rector*); xvi. 8, 3 (*consularis*).
- Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse from 361-289 B.C., xiv. 11, 30.
- Agenarichus, see Serapion.
- Agilimundus, xvii. 12, 21.
- Agilo, xv. 10, 8.
- Agrippina, Colonia, a city of Second, or Lower, Germany, originally the chief town of the Ubii, made a Roman colony by Claudius in A.D. 51 and named from his wife Agrippina; modern Cologne, xv. 5, 15; 8, 19; xvi. 3, 1; xvii. 2, 1.
- Aiadalthes, xviii. 8, 10.
- Αἴγυπτος*, see Aegyptus.
- Alamanni, a tribe of the Germans, inhabiting Suebia and a part of Helvetia; sometimes used by Ammianus as a designation of the Germans as a whole, xiv. 10, 6 and *passim*.
- Alamannici pagi, xv. 4, 1.
- Albani, an Asiatic people, whose territory extended from Iberia to the Caspian Sea, allies of the Persians, xviii. 6, 22, note; xix. 2, 3.
- Albinus Tuscus, xv. 5, 4; see also Tuscus.
- Alexander the Great, the famous king of Macedon: his wise reply to his mother, xiv. 11, 22; his dream of an infinity of worlds, Alexander the Great—*continued*, xv. 1, 4; how he warded off sleep, xvi. 5, 4; made Seleucus his heir, xiv. 8, 5.
- Alexandri vici, xvii. 4, 14, note.
- Alexandria, the famous Egyptian city at the mouth of the Nile, xv. 7, 7, etc.
- Alexandrinus nobilis, xiv. 1, 3.
- Allobroges, a tribe of Gallia Narbonensis, dwelling between the Rhone, the Isarus (Isère), the Graian Alps and the Lake of Geneva, xv. 12, 5.
- Alpes, the Alps, xiv. 6, 4, etc., including the Cottian (xv. 5, 29), Maritime (xv. 10, 9), Pennine (xv. 11, 16), Graian (xv. 10, 9, note), and Julian, formerly Venetic (xxi. 10, 4); devices for crossing them, xv. 10, 4.
- Alpes Graiae et Poeninae, a province of the diocese of Gaul in the Prefecture of Gaul, xv. 11, 12.
- Alpheus, the largest river of the Peloponnesus, rising in Arcadia and flowing through Elis into the Ionian Sea, xv. 4, 6.
- Amanus, a mountain range of southern Asia Minor, in eastern Cilicia, near the frontier of Syria, xiv. 8, 4.
- Ambiani, a Belgic tribe; in Ammianus' time their capital. Samarobriua, was called Ambiani; it was a city of Belgica Secunda, modern Amiens, xv. 11, 10.
- Amicenses, a tribe of the Sarmatians, living in Dacia near the confluence of the Tibiscus and the Danube, xvii. 13, 19, note.
- Amida, a city of south-western Armenia, on the Tigris near the source of the river, xviii. 9, 2; 6, 17; 8, 3; xix. 9, 1, 2, 9; 10, 1. Its siege and capture by the Persians, xix. 1-8. It was fortified by Constantius, who wished it to be called Constantia, xviii. 9, 1.
- Ammianus, see *Intro.*, pp. ix ff.
- Ἄμμων*, xvii. 4, 20, note.
- Amphiarus, xiv. 1, 7, note.



## INDEX OF NAMES

- Amphitheatrum (Flavianum), later known as the Colosseum, xv. 7, 3; xvi. 10, 14.
- Amudis, a fortress of Mesopotamia, xviii. 6, 13.
- Anaphe, an island in the Aegean Sea, one of the Sporades, east of Thera, said by Ammianus to have been formed by an earthquake, xvii. 7, 13.
- Anatolius, pretorian prefect in Illyricum in 359, afterwards made master of petitions and then master of offices by Julian, xix. 11, 2.
- Anaxagoras, a Greek philosopher of the Ionian school, born at Clazomenae about 500 B.C. He was a friend of Pericles and Euripides. He was banished from Athens in 481 B.C. on a charge of atheism and died at Lampsacus a few years later (*circa* 428 B.C.), xvii. 7, 11.
- Anaxarchus, a philosopher of Abdera in Thrace of the school of Democritus, hence called Democritus by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 22, 52. He accompanied Alexander the Great to Asia, xv. 1, 4.
- Anaximander, a natural philosopher of Miletus, *circa* 610-547 B.C., xvii. 7, 12.
- Anazarbus, a city of eastern Cilicia, on the upper course of the Pyramus river, xiv. 8, 3.
- Andriscus, of Aramytium in Mysia, called Pseudophilippus. He claimed to be Philippus, the son of Perseus, king of Macedonia, and waged war with the Romans for two years, but was defeated by Caecilius Metellus and taken prisoner in 148 B.C. (see Florus, i. 30, 3; i.e. Livy, *Periocha* 50), xiv. 11, 31.
- Andronicus, xix. 12, 11.
- Ancii, a noble family of Rome, xvi. 8, 13.
- Antennacum, a city of Germany, modern Andernach, xviii. 2, 4.
- Anthemusia, a district and city of Mesopotamia near the frontier of Syria, not far from Edessa
- Anthemusia—*continued.*  
and Batne, xiv. 3, 3. (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* v. 86, and Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 41, who gives the name of the city as Anthemusias.)
- Antiochia, the famous city of north-eastern Syria near the mouth of the Orontes, xiv. 1, 6, 7; 7, 10; 8, 8, etc.; see *Introd.*, p. ix.
- Antiochensis -e, adj. from Antiochia: *ordo*, xiv. 7, 2; *plebs*, xiv. 7, 5.
- Antiochus, King of Syria from 223 to 187 B.C., surnamed the Great. He was defeated by the Romans in 190 B.C., xiv. 6, 8, note.
- Antipolis, a city of Gallia Narbonensis, a colony of Massilia; modern Antibes (Antiboul in Provençal), xv. 11, 15. Supposed to be so named because it was opposite Nicaea.
- Antoninus imperator, referring to Marcus Aurelius (see Marcus), xvi. 1, 4.
- Antoninopolis (Antoninopolis), a town of Mesopotamia, between Nisibis and Carrhae, apparently founded by Caracalla. It was rebuilt by Constantius II, when Caesar, xviii. 9, 1.
- Antoninus, a Roman who deserted to the Persians, xviii. 5, 1-3.
- Anzaba, a river of Mesopotamia, xviii. 6, 19; 7, 1.
- Apamia (Apamea) a city of Syria in the valley of the Orontes, xiv. 8, 8.
- Apodemius, xiv. 11, 19, note; xv. 1, 2; 5, 8.
- Ἀπολλων, xvii. 4, 18 ff.
- Apollinaris, governor of the province of Phoenicia in 354, xiv. 7, 20.
- Apollinaris, son of the above, chief steward of the palace of Gallus Caesar, xiv. 7, 19.
- Aquileia, a city of Gallia Transpadana, at the head of the Adriatic, ranked ninth in the Roman empire by Ausonius (*Ordo Nob. Urbium*, ix.), and fourth in Italy, xv. 3, 10.
- Aquilo, the north wind, xviii. 9, 2.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Aquitani, the people of Aquitania, xv. 11, 1, 2, 5, 6, etc.
- Aquitania, one of the four principal divisions of Gaul, between the Garonne river and the Pyrenees, later a Roman province. It was extended to the Liger (Loire), and finally divided into First and Second Aquitania and Novempopulana (see *Novem populi*), xv. 11, 13; xvii. 8, 1; see also *Aquitania*.
- Aquitania, xv. 11, 13. Apparently a substantive, used to avoid the repetition of *Aquitania* just before. The cities named show that it included both First and Second Aquitania. *Aquitania* is not cited for Ammianus in the *T.L.L.*, nor is *Aquitanicus* as an adjective.
- Arabia, the westernmost of the three great peninsulas of southern Asia, made a province by Trajan, but given up by Hadrian. In the time of Ammianus the province of Arabia was a small part of eastern Asia Minor, xiv. 8, 13.
- Araharis, xvii. 12, 12 ff.
- Arar, a river of Gaul, a tributary of the Rhone, also called *Sauconna*; modern Saône, xv. 11, 17.
- Arbetio, Flavius, apparently a barbarian name. He rose from the grade of a common soldier to the rank of commander of the cavalry. He was consul with Lollianus in 355, and was accused of aspiring to imperial power, xiv. 11, 2; xv. 2, 4; 3, 2; 4, 1; 8, 17; xvi. 6, 1, etc.
- Arbor . . ., part of the name of a Gallic city, xvi. 2, 3, note.
- Areadia, a district in the centre of the Peloponnesus, xv. 4, 6.
- Archelaus, a native of Cappadocia, the ablest of Mithradates' generals, xvi. 12, 41.
- Arctoae provinciae, the northern provinces, so called from Arctos, the constellation of the Great Bear, xiv. 11, 11; xix. 11, 3.
- Arelate, a city on the left bank of the Rhone near its mouth;
- Arelate—*continued*.  
 it was at first in the Roman Province of Gaul, then in Gallia Narbonensis, finally in Gallia Viennensis; modern Arles, xiv. 5, 1, etc.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ἄρης*, Ares, the Greek god of war, with whom the Roman Mars was identified, xvii. 4, 18.
- Arethusa, a nymph beloved by the river Alpheus; see xv. 4, 6, note.
- Argentoratus (Argentorate), a city of the Vangiones in north-eastern Gaul, in the time of Ammianus in the province of Germania Prima; modern Strasbourg, xv. 11, 8, etc. The scene of the defeat of the Alamanni by Julian (xvi. 12).
- Argonautae, the crew of the *Argo*, who, under the lead of Jason, sailed in quest of the Golden Fleece, xiv. 8, 3.
- Arintheus (Arinthaëus), a tribune who rose to high military rank under Julian, xv. 4, 10.
- Aristaenetus, vicarius of the diocese of Pictas in Bithynia, who lost his life in the earthquake which destroyed Nicomedia in 358, xvii. 7, 6.
- Aristotle, the famous philosopher (384-322 B.C.), founder of the Peripatetic school, xvii. 7, 11, note; xviii. 3, 7.
- Armenia, a large district between Asia Minor and the Caspian Sea. It was divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia in 190 B.C. In A.D. 114 it was made a Roman province, but soon abandoned. In the fourth century First and Second Armenia included a part of Armenia Minor, xiv. 11, 14; xv. 13, 4; xvi. 7, 5; xviii. 9, 2.
- Armenia Minor, see *Armenia*.
- Artemius, deputy-prefect and then prefect of the city of Rome in 358, xvii. 11, 5.
- Arverni, a people of Celtic Gaul, rivals of the Aedui for supremacy (Caesar, *B.G.* i. 31). Their chief town in Caesar's

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Arverni *continued*.  
 time was Gergovia; later it was Augustonemetum, also called Arverni (xv. 11, 13), modern Clermont in Auvergne, which perpetuates the name of the people.
- Ascalon, a city of Palestine on the coast of Judaea, modern Ascalon, xiv. 8, 11.
- Asclepiodotus, xv. 6, 4.
- Ascræus vates, Hesiod, born at Asera in Boeotia, the father of didactic poetry: he seems to have flourished towards the end of the eighth century B.C., xiv. 6, 8, note.
- Asia, the Roman province, xvii. 7, 1, 13; xviii. 6, 18.
- Asianus, an Asiatic, applied to Julian, xvii. 9, 3.
- Asiatici mores, applied to Julian, xvi. 7, 6.
- Asiaticus populus, xv. 7, 9.
- Assyria, the wife of Barbatio, xviii. 3, 2.
- Assyria lingua, xiv. 8, 6.
- Assyrii, the people of Assyria, originally the whole of Mesopotamia; in xiv. 4, 3 referring to the Persian province, also called Adiabene.
- Athanasius, *circa*. A.D. 296-373, bishop and archbishop of Alexandria, and the chief defender of orthodox Christianity against Arianism. He was deposed and reinstated several times. His zeal and eloquence secured the adoption of the Nicene creed in 325, xv. 7, 7, 10, note.
- Athenienses, also called Attici, the Athenians, xix. 4, 4; xviii. 23, 5, etc.
- Atlantei, the dwellers on Mount Atlas in north-western Africa, xv. 3, 6, note.
- Atlanticum mare, the Atlantic Ocean, xvii. 7, 13.
- (Atlantis), an island, larger than Europe, supposed to have existed west of the pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar), and to have been swallowed up by an earthquake, xvii. 7, 13, note, and Plin., *N.H.* vi. 199.
- Augustudunum, a city of Lugdunensis Prima, modern Autun. It was originally Bibracte, the largest and richest town of the Aedui, xv. 11, 11; xvi. 2, 1, 2.
- Ausci, a people of Aquitania; the name is also applied to their principal town, Augusta Auscorum, modern Auch, xv. 11, 14.
- Autosiodorum (Autessiodorum), a city of the Senones in Gallia Lugdunensis, modern Auxerre, xvi. 2, 5.
- Aventicum, a city in western Gaul, the chief town of the Helvetii (Tac., *Hist.* i. 68); modern Avenches. It was made a Roman colony in Trajan's time, with the name Pia Flavia Constans Emerita, xv. 11, 12.
- Babylon, the famous city of Babylonia, on the Euphrates, xviii. 5, 3, note.
- Bainobaudes, a tribune with a German name, xiv. 11, 14; xvi. 11, 6; 12, 63.
- Bappo, leader of the Promoti, xv. 4, 10, note. Afterwards prefect of the city of Rome.
- Barbatio, count-commander of the household troops of Gallus (xiv. 11, 19, 24), later commander of the infantry in place of Silvanus (xvi. 11, 2), a calumniator of Julian (xvi. 11, 7); executed and succeeded by Ursicinus (xviii. 3, 4; 5, 5).
- Bardi, a Gallic word meaning "singers", xv. 9, 8, note; cf. Lucan, i. 449.
- Barzalo (Barzala, Barsalium), a fortress of Armenia Minor (*T.L.L.*), located by Ammianus (xviii. 7, 10) in Mesopotamia, perhaps with reference to the province of his own day.
- Bassus (Iunius), prefect of the city of Rome in 358. Ammianus says that he died in that year, but an inscription (De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* i. 141; Dessau, 1286) gives the year as 359; xvii. 11, 5, note.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Batavi, a people of Lower Germany, dwelling on the *insula Batavorum*, corresponding to the modern province of South Holland. They were often employed in the Roman armies, xvi. 12, 45.
- Batnae (Batne), a city of Osdroene, in the district of Anthenusia, near the Euphrates. A celebrated emporium, xiv. 3, 3.
- Bebase, a villa in Mesopotamia, xviii. 7, 9; 10, 1.
- Belgae, the people inhabiting the north-eastern division of ancient Gaul. The province of Belgica was formed in A.D. 17 and later divided into Prima and Secunda Belgica, xv. 11, 1, 3, 4. Their territory also included the later provinces of First and Second Germany.
- Belgica Prima and Secunda, see Belgae, xv. 11, 9, 10.
- Berytus, a city of Phoenicia, modern Beirut. Renowned as a seat of Greek learning, xiv. 8, 9.
- Besa (Besas), Bess, a god of the Egyptian Thebaid, xix. 12, 3.
- Bisontii (Vesantio), a city in the country of the Sequani, modern Besançon, xv. 11, 11.
- Bithynia, a province in northern Asia Minor, xiv. 11, 7; xvii. 7, 1.
- Biturrigae, a people of Celtic Gaul, later included in Aquitania. The name is also applied to a city of Lugdunensis Prima, modern Bourges, xv. 11, 11.
- Blemmyae (Blemyes), a people of Ethiopia dwelling near the cataracts of the Nile, xiv. 4, 3.
- Bocotia, the district in Central Greece, xvi. 12, 41; xvii. 7, 13.
- Bonitus, a Frank, father of Silvanus, xv. 5, 33.
- Bonna, a town of the Ubii; later a city of Germany on the Rhine, xviii. 2, 4, note.
- Bostra, the principal city of Arabia, situated in an oasis in the Syrian desert, south-west of Damascus; it was made by Trajan the capital of the Roman province of Arabia, xiv. 8, 13.
- Bregetio (Brigetio), a city of Lower Pannonia, on the Danube, xvii. 12, 21, note.
- Brigantia (Brigantinus lacus), a lake in Raetia, the modern Lake of Constance, xv. 4, 1, 3.
- Brigantia (Brigantium, Brigantio), a fortress in western Raetia, modern Briançon, xv. 10, 6.
- Britannia, Roman Britain, in the time of Ammianus consisting of four provinces, to which a fifth was added by Theodosius, xiv. 5, 6; xviii. 2, 3.
- Brotomagus (Brocomagus), a city of the Triboci in north-eastern Gaul, near Strasburg. Later included in the province of First Germany; modern Brumat, xvi. 2, 12.
- Bucolica, the pastoral poems of Virgil, xvii. 4, 5.
- Bura (Buris), a city of Achaia, destroyed by an earthquake in 373 B.C., xvii. 7, 13; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 293; Plin., *N.H.* ii. 206, *Helicen et Buram sinus Corinthius (abstulit)*.
- Burdigala, the chief town of the Bituriges Vivisci, in Aquitania, on the left bank of the Garonne, modern Bordeaux. It was the native town of Ausonius, who describes it in his *Ordo Nob. Urbium*, xx.; xv. 11, 13.
- Burgundii (Burgundiones), a Germanic people, who later settled in eastern Gaul; xviii. 2, 15.
- Busan, a fortress of Mesopotamia, xviii. 10, 1.
- Cabylona (Cavillonum), a city of the Aedui on the western bank of the Arar, later of Gallia Lugdunensis; modern Châlons-sur-Saône, xiv. 10, 3, 5; xv. 11, 11.
- Caelius mons, the Caelian hill, one of the seven hills of Rome, between the Aventine and the Esquiline, xvi. 12, 66.
- Caeni Gallicani, xiv. 11, 6.
- Caesarea, a city of Palestine on the sea-coast with a fine harbour, artificially constructed, xiv. 8, 11, notes; see also Herodes.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Caesius, xix. 9, 2.
- Callisthenes, a philosopher born at Olynthus, a pupil of Aristotle, xviii. 3, 7. He was put to death by Alexander (Curtius, viii. 8, 21).
- Calycadnus (Calycadnus), a river in the western part of Cilicia (Isauria) flowing into the Mediterranean, xiv. 2, 15; 8, 1; cf. Strabo, xiv. 5, 4.
- Cambyses, the second king of Persia, who succeeded his father, Cyrus the Great, and reigned from 529 to 522 B.C., xvii. 4, 3-4.
- Campana lascivia, the wantonness characteristic of Campania, xiv. 6, 25; cf. Gellius, i. 24, 2 and note.
- Campus Martius, the plain made by a bend of the Tiber in the north-western part of the city of Roma, xvii. 4, 12.
- Canini campi, plains in Raetia Prima, xv. 4, 1, note.
- Capellacii, also called Palas, xviii. 2, 15, note.
- Capersana, a city of Syria on the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of Samosata and Zeugma, xviii. 8, 1.
- Carræ (Carrhae), a city of north-western Mesopotamia, notorious for the disastrous defeat of M. Crassus in 53 B.C., xviii. 7, 3.
- Carthago, the famous city of northern Africa, xiv. 7, 32; xvii. 4, 3.
- Cassianus, a Roman general (*dux*) in Mesopotamia and governor of the province, probably referring to the province of Ammianus' time, xvi. 9, 2; xviii. 7, 3; xix. 9, 6.
- Cassius mons (also Casius), a mountain of northern Syria near the upper course of the river Orontes and Antioch, xiv. 8, 10.
- Castorum aedes, a temple at Ostia, xix. 10, 4.
- Castra Constantia, also called Constantia, a city of Gaul at the mouth of the Sequana (Seine), xv. 11, 3, note.
- Castra Herculis, a place in Germany on the lower course of the Rhine, perhaps modern Hervelt, xviii. 2, 4.
- Castra Maurorum, a place in Mesopotamia, xviii. 6, 9, note.
- Castra peregrina, a camp at Rome for non-Italian troops detached for special service in the city, especially the *frumentarii* (see note 2, p. 98). It was established on the Caelian hill, perhaps by Septimius Severus; it contained a shrine of Iuppiter Redux, built by the soldiers *pro salute et reditu* of Alexander Severus and Mamaea (*C.I.L.* vi. 428); xvi. 12, 66.
- Castra praetoria*, see Index II.
- Castricius, count-governor of Isauria, xiv. 2, 14.
- Cataractae Nili, the cataracts of the Nile in the southern part of Egypt, which country the river enters at the first cataract, near the island of Philae. The boundary of the Roman province was farther to the south, xiv. 4, 3; xv. 4, 2.
- Catelauni (Catalauni), a people and city of Belgica Secunda, or eastern Belgium, modern Châlons-sur-Saône, xv. 11, 10.
- Catena, The Chain, a nickname of Paulus, *q.v.*, xiv. 5, 8; xv. 3, 4.
- Cato Censorius, M. Porcius Cato, the elder (234-149 B.C.), xiv. 6, 8; xv. 12, 4; xvi. 5, 2.
- Cato Uticensis, great-grandson of Cato the Censor (95-46 B.C.), xiv. 8, 15, note.
- Catulus, Q. Lutatius, consul in 78 B.C., son of the victor with Marius over the Cimbri in 101 B.C.; xiv. 6, 25, note.
- Cella, xvi. 11, 6, 7; xix. 11, 16.
- Celse, xiv. 7, 7.
- Celtae, another name for the Gauls (xv. 11, 1, 2); the reason for the name, xv. 9, 3.
- Cerealis, Neratius, maternal uncle of Gallus Caesar, prefect of Rome in 352-3 and consul in 358, xiv. 11, 27; xvii. 5, 1.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Chamavi, a people of Lower Germany at the mouth of the Rhine, in a country later occupied by the Usipetes, subdued by Julian, xvii. 8, 5, note; 9, 2. They belonged to a confederacy of the Franks.
- Charcha, a fortress of Babylonia, on the Tigris, xviii. 10, 1.
- Charietto, xvii. 10, 5.
- Chionitae, a warlike tribe, neighbours of the Persians. Sapor made war on them (xvi. 9, 4), but later concluded a peace (xvii. 5, 1) and they became his allies (xviii. 6, 22). Their king was Grumbates (*q.v.*). For their manner of mourning see xix. 1, 10.
- Chonodomarius, xvi. 12, 1, 60, 65.
- Christianus -a, -um, adj.; *legis antistes*, xv. 7, 6; *ritus*, xviii. 9, 4; *ritus conrenticulum*, xv. 5, 31.
- Cibyrateae, xv. 3, 3, see note.
- Cicero, M. Tullius, the celebrated orator, quoted xiv. 2, 2; xv. 3, 3; 5, 23; 12, 4; xvi. 1 5; xix. 12, 18.
- Cilicia, a country in south-eastern Asia Minor, made a Roman province (with Cyprus) in 64 B.C.; in the time of Ammianus divided into First and Second Cilicia and Isauria, xiv. 8, 1 ff.; xviii. 6, 1.
- Ciminia, a part of Italy in the neighbourhood of the Ciminian lake (Lago di Vico) in southern Etruria, near Falerii (Civita Castellana), xvii. 7, 13.
- Cimop, son of Miltiades and leader of the aristocratic party at Athens (flor. 489-449 B.C.), xvii. 11, 3.
- Cineas, a native of Thessaly, a friend and minister of King Pyrrhus of Epirus. He was sent to Rome in 280 B.C. with proposals for peace, which the senate rejected on the advice of Appius Claudius Caecus, xvi. 10, 5.
- Circus Maximus, the Great Circus at Rome, between the Palatine and Aventine hills, xv. 5, 34; xvi. 10, 17; xvii. 4, 1.
- Clarus, a city of Ionia in western Asia Minor near Colophon, containing a celebrated temple and oracle of Apollo, xix. 12, 15.
- Claudias, a fortress of Mesopotamia, xviii. 7, 10.
- Claudiopolis, a city of Isauria, founded as a colony by the emperor Claudius Caesar; perhaps modern Mout, xiv. 8, 2.
- Claudius Caesar, emperor of Rome from A.D. 41 to 54, xiv. 8, 2.
- Claudius, M., because of a disgraceful peace he was surrendered to the Corsicans (xiv. 11, 32); rejected by them, he was executed in prison in 236 B.C.; cf. Val. Max. vi. 3, 3.
- Clematius, xiv. 1, 3.
- Cocytus, a tributary of the river Acheron in Epirus; usually, a river of the Lower World, as in xiv. 11, 29.
- Colchorum regna, the realms of the Colchians in western Asia, south of the Caucasus mountains and on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, xvi. 7, 10.
- Colonia Agrippina, see Agrippina, Colonia.
- Commagene, a district in the northern part of Syria, east of Cilicia and bordering on the Euphrates. In the time of Ammianus it was called Euphratensis, xiv. 8, 7.
- Commagenum regnum, see Commagene, xviii. 4, 7.
- Comum, a city of Transpadine Gaul at the southern end of Lake Larins (Lago di Como), the birthplace of the two Plinys; modern Como, xv. 2, 8.
- Concordia, a Roman fortress in Germany near Argentoratus (Strasburg), xvi. 12, 58, 1, note.
- Confluentes (Confluentia), a city of Gaul, later of Germania Prima, at the confluence of the Moselle with the Rhine, xvi. 3, 1, note.
- Constans, son of Constantine the Great, see Introd., p. xxv; xv. 5, 16; xvi. 7, 5, note.
- Constantia, see Castra Constantia,

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Constantina, daughter of Constantine the Great, wife of King Anniballianus and afterwards of Gallus Caesar, xiv. **1**, 1, note 1; **7**, 4; **9**, 3; **11**, 6, 22.
- Constantina (Constantia, *T.L.L.*), a city of Mesopotamia, xviii. **7**, 9; see Amida.
- Constantinopolis, Constantinople, formerly Byzantium, on the Bosphorus; it was made the capital of the Roman empire in 330; modern Istanboul, xiv. **7**, 19; **11**, 12; xv. **2**, 7; xix. **11**, 17.
- Constantinus (C. Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius), Constantine, surnamed the Great, a title which Ammianus does not apply to him; see *Introd.*, p. xxiv ff.; xiv. **11**, 20, 27; xv. **5**, 19; **13**, 2; xvi. **7**, 5; xvii. **4**, 13.
- Constantius, Iulius, father of Gallus Caesar and Julian, xiv. **11**, 27.
- Constantius II, see *Introd.*, p. xxv ff., *passim*.
- Cora (Chora), a small town of Gallia Lugdunensis, modern Saint Moré, xvi. **2**, 3, note.
- Corbulo, see Domitius.
- Corduene (Corduena), xviii. **6**, 20, note.
- Corinthus, the famous Grecian city, xiv. **11**, 30.
- Corneliae leges, xix. **12**, 17, note.
- Cornelius Gallus (C.), 69-26 B.C., famous as an elegiac poet. He was prefect of Egypt under Augustus, but offended the emperor in some way and committed suicide, xvii. **4**, 5, note; cf. *Suet., Aug.* lxvi. 1 ff., vol. i. 225, *L.C.L.*
- Corsi, xiv. **11**, 32.
- Cottius, king of several Ligurian tribes in the Cottian Alps, which derived their name from him. He submitted to Augustus, who made him ruler over twelve of the tribes with title *praefectus*. He built several roads over the Alps and an arch at Susa in honour of Augustus, xv. **10**, 2; cf. xv. **10**, 7.
- Crateras, a villa of the Apollinares (*q.v.*), xiv. **9**, 8.
- Craugasius, a noble of Nisibis, who deserted to the Persians, xviii. **10**, 1; xix. **9**, 3.
- Cremonensis fabrica, a manufactory of arms at Cremona in Cisalpine Gaul, xv. **5**, 9.
- Crisaeus sinus, a gulf in Phocis in central Greece, taking its name from the town of Crisa situated on it. Ammianus applies the name to the entire Corinthian Gulf in xvii. **7**, 13; see note. See also Bura with the quotation from Pliny.
- Crispus, son of Constantine the Great, made a Caesar, but put to death at Pola in 326; see *Introd.* p. xxv, and xiv. **11**, 20.
- Croesus, king of Lydia from 560 to 546, xv. **5**, 37, note.
- Ctesiphon, xvii. **14**, 1, note; modern Tak-i-Kesra.
- Cydnus, a river in Cilicia flowing south-east to Tarsus and then south-west into the Mediterranean, xiv. **8**, 3.
- Cyprius, -a, -um, adj. from Cyprus: *litora*, xiv. **2**, 3; *rex*, xiv. **9**, 6.
- Cyprus, a large island in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. It was unjustly seized by the Romans in 58 B.C. (xiv. **8**, 14). It was annexed to the province of Cilicia, and made an imperial province in 27 B.C.
- Cyrus, founder of the Persian monarchy, xv. **9**, 7; his wonderful memory, xvi. **5**, 8.
- Damascus, the capital of Syria, a title disputed by Antioch; in the time of Ammianus it was included in the province of Phoenicia Libani, xiv. **8**, 9.
- Danaë, the mother of Perseus, wooed by Jupiter in a shower of gold, xiv. **8**, 3.
- Danubius, see Hister.
- Danus, a slave, the victim of Rufinus, xvi. **8**, 3.
- Daphne, a suburb of Syrian Antioch, noted for its beauty, xix. **12**, 19.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Datianus (Censorius), a native of Antioch, consul in 358 with Neratius Cerealis, xvii. 5, 1.
- Decem pagi, a district of Belgium in the country of the Mediomatrici, modern Dieuze, xvi. 2, 9.
- December mensis, xv. 8, 18; xvii. 2, 2.
- Decentiaci, xviii. 9, 3, note.
- Decentius Caesar, brother of Magnentius and by him made Caesar in 351 and consul in 352. He was defeated by King Chonodomarius (xvi. 12, 5). Killed himself at Sens in 353, xv. 6, 4.
- Decii, a father and son, both named P. Decius Mus. The father, consul in 340 B.C., during the war with the Latins, having dreamt that the general of one side and the army of the other side would perish, gave his life for his country. His son followed his example at the battle of Sentinum in 295 B.C.; xvi. 10, 3.
- Delos, the centre of the Cyclades in the Aegean Sea, xvii. 7, 13.
- Delphidius (Attius Tiro?), an orator of the time of Constantius II. and Julian, xviii. 1, 4.
- Delphorum oraculum, the Delphic oracle, in Phocis on the slope of Mt. Parnassus, xix. 12, 15.
- Demetrius Cythras, a philosopher of Alexandria, xix. 12, 12.
- Democritus, a celebrated Greek philosopher, a contemporary of Socrates, born at Abdera in Thrace. He developed the atomic theory, and was known as "the laughing philosopher," xv. 1, 4. A saying of his is quoted at xvi. 5, 1.
- Diocletianus (C. Aurelius Valerius), Roman emperor from 284-305. See *Introd.* p. xxiii; xiv. 11, 10; xvi. 8, 4.
- Dionysius, the elder, tyrant of Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C., xiv. 11, 30; xv. 5, 37. For his fear of plots against his life see xvi. 8, 10.
- Dioscenes, xix. 9, 9.
- Dodoneae arbores, the celebrated oak grove of Dodona in Epirus, the oldest Greek oracle, dedicated to Zeus. Its importance was eclipsed by the oracle at Delphi, and it was destroyed by the Aetolians in 219 B.C., xix. 12, 15.
- Domitianus, count of the privy purse and later praetorian prefect of the East, slain at Antioch, xiv. 7, 9, 16, 19; 11, 17; xv. 3, 1.
- Domitianus, Domitian, emperor of Rome from A.D. 81 to 96, xiv. 11, 28; xv. 5, 35; xviii. 4, 5.
- Domitius Corbulo, Cn., a distinguished Roman general of the time of Claudius and Nero. He committed suicide in A.D. 47, to avoid being put to death by Nero, xv. 2, 5.
- Dorienses, the Dorians, xv. 9, 3.
- Dorisus, a coast town of Thrace in a plain west of the river Hebrus, xviii. 6, 23, note.
- Dorus, xvi. 6, 2, see note.
- Druentia, a river of Gallia Narbonensis, a tributary of the Rhone, the modern Duranee, xv. 10, 11.
- Drypetina, daughter of King Mithradates of Pontus, xvi. 7, 10.
- Drysidæ, the Druids, xv. 9, 4, note, 8, note.
- Dynamius, xv. 5, 3-5. See note, p. 132.
- Edessa, an ancient city in the northern part of Mesopotamia in the province of Osdroene, where Caracalla was murdered in A.D. 217; xviii. 5, 7; xix. 6, 12.
- Edessena sepulchra; tombs at Edessa, xviii. 7, 7.
- Eleusis, xvii. 7, 13, note.
- Ennosigæus, a surname of Poseidon (Neptune), xvii. 7, 12, note.
- Eoae, adj. from Eos, eastern: *partes*, xvi. 10, 1; *provinciae*, xvii. 5, 15.
- Epigonus, a philosopher from Lycia, xiv. 7, 18.



## INDEX OF NAMES

- Erebus, the place of darkness in Hades, the abode of Pluto and Proserpina, xvii. 7, 13.
- Erectheus, xvi. 1, 5, note.
- Eruli, see Aeruli.
- Etruscae regiones, xv. 10, 11.
- Eubulus, xiv. 7, 6.
- Euhages, xv. 9, 8, note.
- Eunus, a native of Apamea in Syria, who became the slave of Antigenes at Henna in Sicily. He led the revolt of the slaves in Sicily in 130 B.C., which was quelled only after a war of three years, in which they several times defeated the Romans; xiv. 11, 33; cf. Florus, ii. 7, 4.
- Euphratensis, see Commagene.
- Euphrates, the great river of western Asia. Mesopotamia lies between it and the Tigris, xiv. 3, 3 and *passim*.
- Euphronius, civil governor (*rector*) of the province of Mesopotamia in 359, in association with a military commander (*dux*), xviii. 7, 3.
- Europaeus orbis, xvii. 7, 13.
- Eurus ventus, the east wind, xviii. 9, 2.
- Eurymedon, a river of Asia Minor flowing southward through Pisidia and Pamphylia into the Mediterranean. It was the scene of the defeat of the Persians by Cimon in 466 B.C., xvii. 11, 3.
- Eusebia, wife of Constantius II, xv. 2, 8; 8, 3; xvi. 10, 18; xvii. 7, 6.
1. Eusebius, an orator of Emissa, also called Pittacas, xiv. 7, 18; 9, 4-6.
  2. Eusebius, grand chamberlain under Constantius II, xiv. 10, 5, note; 11, 2, 21; xviii. 4, 3, etc.
  3. Eusebius, surnamed Mattyocopus, xv. 5, 4, note.
  4. Eusebius, Flavius, consul in 359 with his brother Hypatius, xviii. 1, 1.
- Euseni, an oriental people, neighbours of the Persians, xvi. 9, 4.
- Eustathius, a neoplatonist philosopher, sent in 358 as an envoy to Sapor, xvii. 5, 15, note; 14, 1.
- Eutherius, head chamberlain at the court of Julian; he was a eunuch of high character, xvi. 7, 2-8.
- Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, Q., consul in 121 B.C., and victor over the Allobroges and their ally the king of the Arverni, xv. 12, 5, notes.
- Fama, Fame or Rumour, personified, xviii. 6, 3; cf. Virg., *Aen.* iv. 173 ff.; Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 39 ff.
- Florentius, praetorian prefect of Gaul, who made trouble for Julian when Caesar, xvi. 12, 14; xvii. 3, 2, etc.
- Florentius, son of Nigrinianus, xv. 5, 12, note.
- Fonteius, M., defended by Cicero, in an extant speech delivered in 59 B.C., against the charge of extortion and mismanagement in his propraetorship of Gallia Narbonensis, xv. 12, 4.
- Fortuna, Fortune, personified as a goddess, xvi. 6, 3; 10, 16.
- Forum Pacis*, xvi. 10, 14, note.
- Forum Traiani, see xvi. 10, 15 ff.
- Fragiledus, xvii. 12, 11.
- Franci, the Franks, a Teutonic people, also called Salii (xvii. 8, 3), whose dominion extended over the northern part of Gaul and the western part of Germany. Many of them were attached to the Roman court, xv. 5, 11.
- Fulvius (Flaccus, M.), consul in 125 B.C. Called on by the Massiliots to aid them against the Saluvii (Salyses), a Ligurian tribe, he was the first of the Romans to wage war with the Gauls, xv. 12, 5.
- Galerius (Valerius Maximianus), at first, Caesar under Diocletian; later, Augustus in the Orient (305-311) with Constantius Chlorus in the West. For an anecdote about him, see xiv. 11, 10.
- Galla, mother of Gallus Caesar, xiv. 11, 27.
- Galli, the Gauls, xvii. 3, 5, etc.; see Gallia.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Gallia, Gaul, description of, xv. 9-11; customs of the people, xv. 12; called *Gallorum terra*, xiv. 10, 1. In the time of Ammianus the Prefecture of Gaul was one of the four grand divisions of the empire, including the dioceses of Spain, Gaul and Britain.
- Galliae, the provinces of Gaul, xv. 5, 2, 4.
- Gallicanus, -a, -um, adj. from Galli: *procinctus*, xvii. 8, 1; *sudores*, xvii. 9, 6; *thesauri*, xv. 5, 36.
- Gallicus, -a, -um, adj. from Gallia: *mare*, xv. 10, 2; 11, 18; *magnanimitas*, xix. 6, 4.
- Gallienus (P. Licinius Valerianus Egnatius), emperor of Rome, 253-268, xviii. 6, 3; xiv. 1, 9.
- Gallus Caesar, see note, p. 2, and introd., p. xxvi.
- Garumna, a river of Aquitania, rising in the Pyrenees and flowing in a north-westerly direction into the Atlantic (Bay of Biscay), xv. 11, 2.
- Gaudentius, appointed by Constantius to watch Julian, xvii. 9, 7, note; xv. 3, 8; xvi. 8, 3, note.
- Gaza, an ancient city of Judaea, apparently the capital of the Philistines (*Judges*, xvi. 21); it was taken after an obstinate defence by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.; xiv. 8, 11.
- Gelani, an Oriental people, at war with Sapor, afterwards his allies, xvii. 5, 1.
- Genua, a town of Liguria, on the Ligusticus Sinus (Gulf of Genoa); modern Genoa, xv. 10, 10.
- Gerasa, a city of Coele Syria, thirty-five miles west of the Jordan, modern Gerash or Jerash. In the time of Ammianus it was included in the province of Arabia, xiv. 8, 13.
- Germania, Germany; in the time of Ammianus the Roman province of Germany, divided into First (xv. 11, 8, 17) and Second (xv. 11, 7), also called Upper and Lower (xv. 11, 6) was on the western side of the Rhine.
- Gerontius, xiv. 5, 1.
- Geryones, a mythical king of Spain, represented as a monster with three heads, or more commonly with three bodies. He was a cruel tyrant and was slain by Hercules, xv. 9, 6; 10, 9.
- Gordiani, a father and three sons, all having the name of M. Antonius Gordianus. The father, and the eldest son were emperors of Rome for about six weeks in 238, the second son from 238 to 244, xiv. 1, 8.
- Gorgoneus vultus, referring to the gorgon Medusa, slain by Perseus, xviii. 4, 2.
- Gorgonius, xv. 2, 10.
- Gradus, see Ad Gradus.
- Graecia, xviii. 6, 18.
- Graeculus, a Greekling, said contemptuously of Julian, xvii. 9, 3, note.
- Graecus, -a, -um, Greek: *nomina*, xiv. 8, 6; *arcana*, xvi. 12, 25; *sermo*, xv. 9, 2; as substantive, xv. 9, 2.
- Graeci veteres the ancient Greeks, a less frequent and mostly poetical word for Graeci, xviii. 5, 8; *Graecorum legatis*, xviii. 6, 18.
- Grenicus (Granicus), a river rising in Mt. Ida and flowing into the Propontis, xviii. 6, 18, note.
- Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, xviii. 6, 22; xix. 1, 7.
- Gumathena, another name, or an error, for Commagene (*q.v.*), xviii. 9, 2.
- Gundomadus, a king of the Alamanni in the time of Constantius II. He made peace with Constantius, but was killed by his own subjects in 357, xiv. 10, 1; xvi. 12, 17.
- Hadrianopolis, a city near Mt. Haemus in Thrace, the most important of many towns founded by Hadrian; previously called Uscudama, xiv. 11, 15.
- Hadrianus, emperor of Rome from A.D. 117 to 138, xviii. 6, 18.
- Haedorum sidus, the constellation of the Kids, xix. 9, 1, note.

## INDEX ON NAMES

- Haemimontana urbs, referring to Hadrianopolis, which in the time of Ammianus was in the province of Haemimontium; xiv. 11, 15.
- Hannibal, the celebrated Carthaginian general, xv. 10, 10; xviii. 5, 6; his march over the Alps, xv. 10, 11.
- Hannibalianus, a nephew of Constantine the Great, xiv. 1, 2, note, and *Introd.*, p. xxv. He was king of Pontus from 335 to 337, appointed by Constantius, in order to recover Armenia, which had been overrun by the Persians. It was apparently he who drove the Persians from Armenia in 336.
- Hariobaudes, xviii. 2, 2, 7.
- Hariobaudus, brother of Macrianus, a king of the Germans who made peace with Julian, xviii. 2, 15.
- Harpalus, a satrap of Cyrus the Great, xv. 9, 7; an error for Harpagus, perhaps following Gellius, x. 16, 4.
- Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, xv. 10, 11.
- Hebrus, the principal river of Thrace, rising in Mt. Rhodope and flowing in a south-easterly direction to Hadrianopolis, and then south-westerly into the Aegean, xviii. 6, 5.
- Helena, sister of Constantius II. and wife of Julian, xv. 8, 18; xvi. 10, 18.
- Helice, a city of Achaia in the northern part of the Peloponnesus on the Corinthian Gulf (see Crisaeus sinus and cf. Bura), xvii. 7, 13.
- Ἡλιος, The Sun, as a god, xvii. 4, 18 ff.
- Heliopolis (Heliopolis), a city of Lower Egypt, near the apex of the delta of the Nile; on its site is the modern hamlet of Matarich, about six miles north of Cairo, xvii. 4, 12.
- Hellespontus, the strait connecting the Aegean Sea with the Propontis and separating Europe from Asia, xviii. 6, 18.
- Ἡφαιστος, The Greek god Hephaestus, with whom the Roman Vulcan was identified, xvii. 4, 22.
- Herculanus, xiv. 10, 2.
- Hercules, son of Amphytrion, xv. 9, 6; see note 3, p. 176.
- Hercules Thebanus, also called *antiquior*, xv. 9, 3, note.
- Hermapion, xvii. 4, 17, note.
- Hermogenes, xiv. 10, 2.
- Hermogenes Ponticus, pretorian prefect of the Orient in 358-359, xix. 12, 6.
- Herodes, Herod the Great, king of the Jews from 40 to 4 B.C. In 13 B.C. he rebuilt the city of Caesarea, formerly Stratonis Turris, on the coast of Palestine, in honour of Augustus, xiv. 8, 11.
- Ἡρως, in xvii. 4, 18.
- Hesiod, see Ascreaus vates.
- Hiaspis, see Iaspis.
- Hiera, an island formed by an earthquake, xvii. 7, 13. There were four or more islands of that name; from the association with Delos it would seem to be the one near Thera in the southern part of the Cyclades.
- Hierapolis, a city of Chyrestice in Syria on the highroad between Antioch and Mesopotamia; it was formerly called Bambyce, and was given the name of Hierapolis by Seleucus Nikator. Under Constantine it was the capital of the new province of Euphratensis, formerly Comma-gene, xiv. 7, 5; 8, 7.
- Hierosolymae, Jerusalem, xiv. 8, 12.
- Hileia, a city of Mesopotamia, the scene of a defeat of the Romans by the Persians in 348, xviii. 5, 7.
- Hippias, a famous sophist of Elis in the north-western part of the Peloponnesus. He travelled over Greece, lecturing, teaching, and displaying his skill in craftsmanship (see Apuleius, *Florida*, ii. 8, 1-3). His philosophical knowledge was superficial, xvi. 5, 8.
- Hispani, the people of Spain, xv. 11, 13.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Hispania, Spain, the Roman province as a whole. xiv. 5, 6, etc.
- Hister, another name for the Danubius, xvii. 13, 4, note.
- Homerus, Homer, cited or quoted in xiv. 6, 21; xv. 8, 17; xviii. 5, 7; xix. 4, 6.
- Honoratus, xiv. 1, 3; 7, 2.
- Hormida, see Ormizda.
- Horre, a small town of Mesopotamia, xviii. 10, 1.
- Hortarius, a king of the Alamanni who surrendered to Julian and remained loyal, xvi. 12, 1; xvii. 10, 5; xviii. 2, 2, 13, 14.
- Horti Sallustiani, the Gardens of Sallust on the Pincian Hill, on which he spent much of the wealth which he had amassed in Numidia. They were laid out in 47 B.C.; later, probably in the time of Tiberius, they became the property of the emperors. They were sacked by the Goths under Alaric in 410, xvii. 4, 16.
- Hypatius, consul in 359 with his brother Eusebius, xviii. 1, 1.
- Iacobus, xix. 9, 2.
- Ianuarius mensis, xvii. 2, 2.
- Ianus, Janus, an ancient Italic deity; his temple in the Roman forum was open in time of war and closed in time of peace, xvi. 10, 1.
- Iaspis (Hiaspis), xviii. 5, 3.
- Iconium, xiv. 2, 1. Under Claudius it was called Claudiconium, and between 130 and 138, Colonia Aelia Hadriana Iconiensium; modern Conia.
- Illyricum, a country extending along the eastern side of the Adriatic from Epirus to Noricum. In the time of Ammianus the prefecture of Illyricum was one of the four grand divisions of the empire, extending southward from the Danube and including the dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, xv. 3, 7; xvi. 10, 20; xvii. 3, 3; 13, 24.
- Indi, the people of India; in xiv. 3, 3, used generally, with Seres, for far Eastern peoples.
- Innocentius, xvi. 12, 63.
- Innocentius, xix. 11, 8.
- Ionium Mare, the part of the Mediterranean between Italy and Sicily, sometimes including the Mare Siculum and the Mare Creticum, xv. 4, 6.
- Iovinianus, xviii. 6, 20.
- Isaura, the capital of Isauria (*q.v.*), in ruins in the time of Ammianus, xiv. 8, 2.
- Isauri, the natives of Isauria (*q.v.*), xiv. 2, 1, note, 19; xix. 13, 1.
- Isauria, a district of Asia Minor, bounded by Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cilicia and Pamphylia. In the third century the Isaurians united with the Cilicians of the highlands, xiv. 2, 3, 4, 13; 3, 1; 8, 1.
- Itali, the people of Italy, xvii. 13, 27.
- Italia, xiv. 7, 9, etc. In the time of Ammianus the Prefecture of Italy was one of the four grand divisions of the empire, including the dioceses of Africa, of the City of Rome, and of Italy.
- Italicus, -a, -um, adj. from Italia: *sc. regionibus*, xv. 12, 5; *tractus*, xvii. 6, 1; as substantive, xv. 5, 24.
- Iudaei, the people of Judaea, xiv. 8, 12.
- Iuliacum, a city of Belgic Gaul, modern Juliers (Jülich); in the time of Ammianus it was in the province of Second (Upper) Germany, xvii. 2, 1.
- Iulianus, Julian, emperor from 360 to 363, son of (Julius) Constantius and Basilina, xiv. 11, 28; xv. 2, 7, 8; xv. 8, 1, 16; xvi. 1, 1-4; 5, 5 ff.; 7, 1; 10, 18, etc.
- Iulius Caesar the dictator; xv. 11, 6; 12, 6.
- Iulius mensis, xvi. 2, 2.
- Iunius mensis, xvi. 10, 20.
- Iuppiter, Jupiter, xiv. 8, 3; (Salaminius), xiv. 8, 14; *Tarpeius*, xvi. 10, 14.
- Iustitia, Justice, personified as a goddess, xiv. 11, 25.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Iuthungi, a tribe associated with the Alamanni, apparently of Gothic origin. Their name was perhaps another form of *Gothones*, xvii. 6, 1.
- Izala, a mountain of northern Mesopotamia in the neighbourhood of Nisibis, xviii. 6, 12; xix. 9, 4.
- Laeti, a tribe of the Alamanni, xvi. 11, 4.
- Laipso, xvi. 12, 63.
- Lampadius, pretorian prefect in Italy in 355, xv. 5, 4.
- Laniogaisus, a chieftain of the Franks, called *tribunus*, xv. 5, 16.
- Laodicia (Laodicea), a city on the coast of Syria, fifty miles south of Antioch. It was built by Seleucus Nikator (*circa* 358-230 B.C.) and named after his mother; modern Latakia, xiv. 8, 8.
- Laranda, a city in the southern part of Lycaonia, one of the chief seats of the Isaurian pirates, xiv. 2, 11.
- Latinus, xiv. 10, 8, note.
- Laumellum, a town of Transalpine Gaul on the road from Ticinum to Vercellae, xv. 8, 18.
- Lauricus, xix. 13, 2.
- Lemannus lacus, a lake in the western part of Gaul, now Lake Lemane, or the Lake of Geneva, xv. 11, 16.
- Lentienses, the southernmost tribe of the Alamanni, dwelling on the northern and southern borders of the Lake of Constance and north of Raetia, xv. 4, 1, note.
- Leontinus, xiv. 11, 14; xv. 7, 6.
- Libanus, a mountain of Syria, the Biblical Lebanon. Its name seems to be derived from a Hebrew root, "to be white," and it retains patches of snow even in summer; cf. Tac., *Hist.* v. 6, *Libanum, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus*, xiv. 8, 9.
- Liberi Sarmatae, former slaves, who expelled their masters from their lands and made themselves free, xvii. 13, 1, 15.
- Limigantes Sarmatae, the free Sarmatians (*Liberi Sarmatae, q.v.*), xvii. 13; xix. 11.
- Lollianus, also called Mavortius (xvi. 8, 5), consul in 355, formerly praetorian prefect in Italy, and prefect of Rome in 342, xv. 8, 17.
- Lorne, a fortress on the northern frontier of Mesopotamia, on Mt. Izala, xix. 9, 4.
- Lotophagi, the Lotus eaters of Homer, xiv. 6, 21.
- Lucania, a district of Italy, south-east of Campania, xv. 9, 7.
- Lucillianus, count-commander of the household troops, sent as an envoy to the Persian king; afterwards commander of the cavalry and of Julian's fleet on the Euphrates, xiv. 11, 14; xvii. 14, 3; xviii. 6, 17.
- Lugdunensis, a province of Gaul, divided into First and Second, xv. 11, 3; 11, 11, 12, 17.
- Lugdunus (Lugdunum), a city of Gaul at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, modern Lyons, xv. 11, 11; xvi. 11, 4.
- Lupicinus, appointed commander of the cavalry in Gaul in place of Severus in 359, xviii. 2, 7, 11.
- Luscus, xiv. 7, 17.
- Lutetia, a city of Gaul on the Seine, modern Paris; also called Lutetia Parisiorum, xv. 11, 3.
- Lutto, a count, a Frank by birth, xv. 6, 4.
- Lycaonia, a district of southern Asia Minor between Mt. Taurus and Galatia, and bordering on Isauria, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, xiv. 2, 4, 8.
- Lycia, a province in south-western Asia Minor, xiv. 7, 18.
- Lycurgus, the celebrated Spartan legislator (*flor. circa* 800 B.C.), xvi. 5, 1, notes.
- Macedonia, a country north of Greece, made prominent by

## INDEX OF NAMES

Macedonia—*continued*.

Phillip II. and Alexander the Great; a Roman province from 146 B.C., at first with Achaia. In the fourth century it was divided into the provinces of Macedonia and Macedonia Salutaris, xvii. 7, 1.

Macedonici fines, xvii. 5, 5.

Macelli fundus, a villa or fortress of Cappadocia, near Caesarea and Mt. Mazaea, xv. 2, 7, note.

Marcianus, a king of the Alamanni, xvii. 2, 15.

Magnentiacae legiones, xix. 5, 2;

Magnentiaci, xviii. 9, 3; see note.

Magentiana pars, xiv. 5, 1.

Magentius, Flavius Popilius, a German by birth, who rose under Constantine from the position of a common soldier to the rank of count. He was made commander of the Joviani and Herculiani, troops substituted by Diocletian for the former pretorian guard; see note 2, p. 3; xiv. 5, 6; xvi. 6, 2; 10, 1.

Mabarbal, commander of Hannibal's cavalry, xviii. 5, 6.

Malarichus, xv. 5, 6.

Mallius (Manlius) Priscus, lieutenant general of Pompey in the Mithradatic war, xiv. 7, 10.

Mallobaudes, tribune of the heavy-armed guard (*armaturae*). He was a Frank by birth and afterwards became king of the Franks, xvi. 11, 21; xv. 5, 6.

Mancinus, C. Hostilius, delivered to the Numantines for having concluded a shameful peace with them in 137 B.C.; xiv. 11, 32; cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 1; Flor. i. 34, 7.

Manichaei, followers of Mani, the founder of an heretical Christian sect based on an old Babylonian religion modified by Christian and Persian elements. He was born about A.D. 215, and crucified in 277. His religion penetrated the Roman empire about 280 and spread rapidly after 330, especially in Africa, xv. 13, 2.

Maras, a deacon of the Christian sect, xiv. 9, 7.

Marcellus, successor of Ursicinus as commander of the cavalry and infantry (xvi. 2, 8); an enemy and calumniator of Julian (xvi. 4, 3; 7, 1; 8, 1); succeeded in turn by Severus, xvi. 10, 21.

Marcus, an early Italian seer, xiv. 1, 7, note.

Marcus Aurelius, Roman emperor from A.D. 161 to 180, xiv. 4, 2; xvi. 1, 4. The mention of his name (Marcus) in xv. 7, 3 in connection with the septizonium of Septimius Severus is an error, due to the fact that the name Marcus appears first in the dedicatory inscription (*C.I.L.* vi. 1032, 31229).

Maride, a fortress of Mesopotamia, perhaps modern Mardin, xix. 9, 4.

Marinus, xv. 3, 10-11.

Martinus, deputy-governor (*vicarius*) of Britain in 353-354, xiv. 5, 7 f.

Martis statio, xv. 10, 6, note.

Massa Veternensis, a city of Tuscia (Etruria) about twelve miles from the sea, on a hill overlooking the Maremma, xiv. 11, 27.

Massilia, the famous city of southern Gaul, modern Marseilles; founded by the Phocaeans (xv. 9, 7); an ally of Rome xv. 11, 14.

Matrona, an Alpine peak between Briançon and Cesanne; see xv. 10, 6, note.

Matrona, a river of Gaul, a tributary of the Sequana (Seine); modern Marne; xv. 11, 3.

Mattyoepus, see Eusebius (3), and note on, xv. 5, 4.

Maudio, a Frank holding the rank of count, xv. 6, 4.

Mavortius, see Lollianus.

Maximinus (C. Julius Verus), a Thracian, emperor of Rome from 235 to 238; his wife, xiv. 1, 8, note.

Medericus, a king of the Alamanni, xvi. 12, 25.

Media, a country of western Asia, lying south and south-west of the Caspian sea, one of the most important provinces of the Persian empire, afterwards conquered by the Parthians, xiv. 8, 13.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Mediolanum, originally the chief town of the Insubres in Cisalpine Gaul, between the Alps, the Po, and the rivers Ticinus and Addua; modern Milan. Under the Roman empire it increased greatly in importance, especially after it was made an imperial residence (about A.D. 303), xiv. 10, 16, etc.
- Mediolanum, at first the chief town of the Auleri Ebuovices; later an important city of Lugdunensis Secunda; modern Evreux, xv. 11, 12.
- Mediomatrici (Mediomatricum), a city of Belgica Prima, on the Mosella; modern Metz. The Mediomatrici were originally a Belgic people; their chief city, Divodurum, was later called Mediomatrici, xv. 11, 9; xvii. 1, 2.
- Megaera, xiv. 1, 2, note.
- Meiacarire, a small town of Mesopotamia, xviii. 6, 16, note.
- Melas, a navigable river of Pamphylia, flowing southward from Mt. Taurus into the Mediterranean, xiv. 2, 9.
- Melitina (Melitene), a town of Armenia Minor or eastern Cappadocia; in the fourth century the capital of Armenia Secunda, xix. 8, 12.
- Menophilus, a eunuch of King Mithradates; praised in xvi. 7, 9-10; see note.
- Menus (Moenus, Maenus), a navigable river of Germany, flowing into the Rhine not far from Mogontiacus (Mayence), the modern Main, xvii. 1, 6.
- Mercurius, the Roman god, identified with the Greek Hermes, xvi. 5, 5.
- Mercurius, a Persian, a pernicious informer, xv. 3, 4-5.
- Mesopotamia, the country of western Asia between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. It was annexed to the Roman empire by Trajan in A.D. 114, forming the three provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria. These were given up by Hadrian, but
- Mesopotamia—*continued*.
- Mesopotamia was again conquered by Lucius Verus. It was taken by the Persians from Valerius, recovered later, and finally surrendered to Persia by Jovian in 363. In the time of Ammianus the Roman province was a small district in the north-western part of Mesopotamia, xiv. 3, 1, 2; xvii. 5, 6, 11; 14, 1; xviii. 6, 5; 7, 3; 8, 2.
- Miltiades, the father of Cimon, xvii. 11, 3. Victor at Marathon in 490 B.C.
- Minerva, the Roman goddess identified with the Greek Athena, xvi. 1, 5.
- Mithradates (Mithridates), referring to Mithradates VI, surnamed the Great, king of Pontus from 120 to 63 B.C. He waged three wars with the Romans, but was conquered by Pompey and took his own life rather than fall into the hands of the Romans, xvi. 7, 9; 12, 41.
- Mobsuestia, a city in the eastern part of Cilicia on the river Pyramus, xiv. 8, 3.
- Mobsus (Mopsus), one of the Thessalian Lapithae: he was a seer, and he took part in the expedition of the Argonauts (xiv. 8, 3) and the Calydonian hunt. He is said to have died in Libya from the bite of a snake, and to have been buried there by the Argonauts.
- Modestus, xix. 12, 6.
- Moesia, a region of south-western Europe, including modern Servia and Bulgaria, made a Roman province about A.D. 6. It was divided by Domitian into Moesia Superior and Inferior, later called Prima and Secunda, xvi. 10, 20; xvii. 13, 20.
- Mogontiacus (Moguntiacus), a city of Gaul on the Rhine, modern Mayence (Mainz), xv. 11, 8, etc.
- Monoccus, a stronghold and port at the foot of the Alps, supposed to have been founded by Hercules, modern Monaco, xv. 10, 9.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Montius, xiv. 7, 12, 14, 15, 18; 9, 4; 11, 18, etc.
- Mosa, a river of Belgium, flowing northward into the North Sea; modern Maas (Meuse), xvii. 2, 2; 9, 1.
- Mosella, a tributary of the Rhine, modern Moselle. It joins the Rhine at Confluentes, xvi. 3, 1.
- Mursa, a town of Pannonia, the scene of the defeat of Magnentius; modern Essek, xv. 5, 33, note.
- Musonianus, pretorian prefect in the Orient in 354-355, previously named Strategius, xv. 13, 1, 2; xvi. 9, 2; 10, 21; xvii. 5, 15.
- Nabataei, a people of Arabia Petraea, xiv. 8, 13.
- Narbona (Narbo Martius), a city of Gallia Narbonensis on the river Atax, twelve miles from the sea. It became a Roman colony and an important port in 118 B.C., xv. 11, 14.
- Narbonensis, a province of south-eastern Gaul, later divided into First and Second, xv. 11, 6, 14; Narbonensis rector, xviii. 1, 4.
- Narsaeus, an envoy of the Persians, sent to Constantius in 357-8, xvii. 5, 2.
- Neapolis, an important city of Palestine, north of Jerusalem, modern Sicheim or Schechem, xiv. 8, 11.
- Nebrius, Count of the Orient in 354, xiv. 2, 20.
- Nemesis, a Greek goddess of reverence for law and order (cf. Astraea), and hence of retribution and vengeance, xiv. 11, 25.
- Nemetae, a city of First Germany, modern Speyer or Spiers. Originally, Nemetae (Nemetes) was the name of a German tribe; their capital, Noviomagus, was later called Nemetae, xv. 11, 8.
- Neptunus, the Italic god identified with the Greek Poseidon; some of the epithets of Poseidon were transferred to Neptune, xvii. 7, 12.
- Neronianum saeculum, the time of Nero, emperor of Rome from A.D. 54 to 68; xv. 2, 5.
- Nevitta, a barbarian by birth, commander of a squadron of cavalry in 357, consul in 362; xvii. 6, 3.
- Nicaea, a city of south-eastern Gaul, a colony of Massilia; modern Nice, xv. 11, 15. In the time of Ammianus it was in the province of *Alpes Maritimae*.
- Nicomedia, the chief city of Bithynia, founded by Nicomedes I. in 264 B.C., who transferred to it the inhabitants of Asticum. It was severely damaged by an earthquake in 358 (xvii. 7, 1 ff.). It was in the diocese named Pietas by Constantius in honour of his wife Eusebia, xvii. 7, 6.
- Nilus, the Nile: Nili cataractae, xiv. 4, 3; xv. 4, 2; supercilia, xiv. 8, 5; alveus, xvii. 4, 13-14.
- Nineve (Nineveh), a city of Adiabene, a part of Assyria, on the river Tigris; it was also called Ninus, and later Hierapolis, xviii. 7, 1; cf. xiv. 8, 7.
- Nisibeni, the people of Nisibis, xviii. 10, 1, 3.
- Nisibis, the chief city of Mygdonia, at the north-eastern end of Mesopotamia; modern Nisibin. It suffered many sieges, xiv. 9, 1; xviii. 6, 8, note; xix. 9, 4, 9.
- Nohodares, a Persian grandee and general, xiv. 3, 1, 2; xviii. 6, 16; 8, 3.
- Noricum, a Roman province west of Pannonia and south of the Danube. It was originally the land of the Norici, a Celtic race, anciently called the Taurisci. It was made a Roman province in 13 B.C., and later divided into Noricum Ripense (on the Danube) and Noricum Mediterraneum (the southern part); each was governed by a *praeses* and both formed part of the diocese of Illyricum; to-day the Tyrol and Bavaria, xv. 1, 2.
- Novembris mensis, xv. 8, 17.



## INDEX OF NAMES

- Novem populi, a division of Gaul, xv. 11, 14, note. In the fourth century it formed the province called Novempopulana.
- Novesium, a city or fortress of Germany, on the Rhine; modern Nuys, xviii. 2, 4.
- (Numantia), a city of Hispania Tarraconensis, besieged in 133 B.C. and destroyed in the following year by Scipio Africanus the younger, xvii. 11, 3.
- Numantini, the people of Numantia, xiv. 11, 32.
- Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, xvi. 7, 4.
- Numerius, xviii. 1, 4.
- Nymphæus, a river near Amida (*q.v.*), a tributary of the Tigris, xviii. 9, 2.
- Oericulum, a town of Umbria on the via Flaminia, near the left bank of the Tiber; modern Oricoli, xvi. 10, 4.
- Octavianus, Augustus, the first emperor of Rome, xiv. 8, 11; xv. 10, 2; xvii. 4, 5, 12. His mausoleum is mentioned in xvii. 4, 16.
- Octobres idus, xiv. 5, 1.
- Odeum, xvi. 10, 14, note 3.
- Odryse, a people of Thrace, dwelling on both sides of the river Artiseus, a tributary of the Hebrus, xviii. 6, 5.
- (Olympias), daughter of Neoptolemus I, king of Epirus, and mother of Alexander the Great, xiv. 11, 22.
- Ophiusa, an earlier name of Rhodes, of which no less than eleven are recorded, xvii. 7, 13.
- Orfitus (Memmius Vitrasius Honorius), prefect of the city of Rome in 353-355 (xiv. 6, 1), and for a second time in 357-359 (xvi. 10, 4).
- Oriens, the Orient, the Roman Prefecture of the East extending from the Euphrates to the Nile. It was divided into the dioceses of Egypt, the East, Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, xiv. 8.
- Orientalis provinciae, see Oriens, xiv. 7, 21.
- Ornizda, an exiled son of the king of Persia, xvi. 10, 16.
- Orontes, a large river of Syria, rising in Coelesyria near Baalbek. It flows in a northerly direction to the neighbourhood of Antioch, where it turns west and empties into the Mediterranean, xiv. 8, 10.
- Osdroene, a province in the northern part of Mesopotamia, xiv. 3, 2; 8, 7.
- Ostia, the port of Rome at the mouth of the Tiber. A temple of Castor and Pollux is mentioned in xix. 10, 4.
- Ostiensis porta, the gate of Rome opening on the via Ostiensis, the modern Porta S. Paolo, xvii. 4, 14.
- Pacis forum, xvi. 10, 4, note.
- Palaeae, a fortress of Isauria (*q.v.*), xiv. 2, 13.
- Palaestina, a district in the southern part of Syria, xiv. 8, 11; xix. 12, 8.
- Pamphylia, a country in the southern part of Asia Minor, bounded by Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, and the Mediterranean; it was made a Roman province in the time of Augustus with Lycia, from which it was separated between 313 and 325; xiv. 2, 8; xvii. 11, 3.
- Pannonia, a district lying between the Danube on the north and east, Noricum on the west, and Illyricum and Moesia on the south. It was made a province in A.D. 10, and later divided into Superior and Inferior, still later called Prima and Secunda, xv. 3, 7; xvi. 10, 20. Pannoniae, the two provinces, xvii. 12, 1, note.
- Pantheonum, the famous temple at Rome, built by Agrippa in 27 B.C., rebuilt by Hadrian in A.D. 122, and restored by Septimius Severus in 202, xvi. 10, 14.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Paphus, the name of two towns, Old and New Paphus, commonly referred to by the one name Paphus, at the south-western extremity of Cyprus. Both towns were famous for the worship of Venus; modern Baffa, xiv. 8, 14.
- Parisii, the name of a Gallic tribe, applied also to their fortress in Gaul on the Seine; modern Paris; see also Lutetia, xviii. 6, 16.
- Parnasius, mentioned in 358-359 as a former prefect of Egypt, xix. 12, 10.
- Parthenium Mare (also called Issiacum), the eastern part of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Cyprus, xiv. 8, 10, note, where Ammianus seems to refer to the part of the sea adjacent to the Gulf of Issos in eastern Cilicia.
- Parthi (the Parthians), also called Persians, a people of Asia living south of the Caspian Sea, after A.D. 226 under the dominion of the Persians. In the course of the third century they increased greatly in power, and finally ruled the greater part of western Asia, xiv. 8, 13; xv. 1, 2.
- Parthicus, -a, -uum, adj. to Parthi: *gentes*, xiv. 11, 4; *fello*, xiv. 7, 21; *legio*, the Fifth Legion, xviii. 9, 3.
- Parthiscus, a river of Sarmatia, xvii. 13, 4, note.
- Patrae, a city of Achaia near the opening of the Corinthian Gulf, modern Patras, xix. 12, 10.
- (Patroclus), the friend and kinsman of Achilles, slain by Hector, xix. 1, 9.
- Patruinus, xv. 7, 5.
- (Paulina), xiv. 1, 8, note: cf. *C.I.L.* x. 5054, Dessau, 492.
- Paulus, a secretary surnamed Catena (*q.v.*), a pernicious informer, xiv. 5, 6, 8; xv. 3, 4; called tartareus in xv. 6, 1. He was born in Dacia.
- Pelagia, another name for Rhodes, xvii. 7, 13; cf. Ophiusa.
- Peloponnesiacum bellum, the war between Athens and Sparta, and their respective allies, 431 to 404 B.C., xix. 4, 4.
- Pentadius, xiv. 11, 21, 23.
- Persae, the Persians, also called Parthi, *passim*.
- Persus, son of Jupiter and Danae, said to have founded Tarsus, the chief city of Cilicia, xiv. 8, 3.
- Perseus, eldest son of Philip V and the last king of Macedon. He reigned from 178 to 168, when he was defeated by L. Aemilius Paulus at Pydna, xiv. 11, 31.
- Petrus, surnamed Valuomeres, xv. 7, 4.
- Phaeaces, the Phaeacians of Homer, a people devoted to feasting, music, and dancing. They lived on an island called Phaeacia, and also Scheria, lying in the extreme western part of the world, and identified by the ancients with Corcyra, the modern Corfu, xviii. 5, 7, note.
- Philadelphia, a city of Arabia Petraea, modern Amman, xiv. 8, 13.
- Philippus (Flavius), consul in 348 and a praetorian prefect, xix. 12, 9.
- Philoromus, a charioteer at Rome in 355, xv. 7, 2.
- Philoxenus, a Greek dithyrambic poet, born in Cythera, the island south of Laconia, in 435 B.C. He spent some time at the court of Dionysius I, the tyrant of Syracuse, but offended him and was put in prison. He was later released and went to Ephesus, where he died in 380 B.C., xv. 5, 37, note.
- Phocaea, the most northern of the Ionian cities on the western coast of Asia Minor. After the Persian conquest of Ionia the Phocaeans left their homes and withdrew to their colony Aleria in Corsica. They are said to have founded Massilia (Marseilles), and Velia in Lucania, xv. 9, 7.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Phoenice, Phoenicia, a narrow and mountainous country along the coast of Syria, between Mount Libanus (Lebanon) and the Mediterranean. It is described in xiv. 8, 9. It was included in the Roman province of Syria about the middle of the first century B.C., and later became a separate province, xiv. 7, 7. The province of Ammianus' day did not include the whole of Phoenicia, but Phoenicia Libani extended eastward beyond Palmyra.
- Picenses, a Sarmatian people, neighbours of the Amicenses, xvii. 13, 19, note.
- Picenum, a district of Italy, lying between the Adriatic on the east and the Umbrians and Sabines on the west; it submitted to Rome in 268 B.C., xv. 7, 5.
- Pictavi, later called Pictones, a people bordering on the Atlantic south of the Liger (Loire), in the province of Aquitania in its widest sense. The name was also applied to their chief town, modern Poitiers, xv. 11, 13.
- Pietas, a diocese about Nicomedia in Bithynia, so named by Constantius II. in honour of his wife Eusebia, xvii. 7, 6.
- Piscina publica, a region of Rome; see xvii. 4, 14, note.
- Pisidia, a region of Asia Minor, north of Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia, and south of Phrygia and Lycaonia, xiv. 2, 1.
- Pitticas, a surname of Eusebius (1).
- Plato, the celebrated Athenian philosopher (429 or 427-347 B.C.), xvi. 5, 10.
- (Plautus), the Roman comic poet (circa 254-184), xv. 13, 3, note.
- Poemenius, xv. 6, 4.
- Poeni, the Carthaginians; properly Phoenicians, from whom the Carthaginians were descended, xvii. 4, 3.
- Poeninae Alpes, the part of the Alps between the Great St. Bernard and the Simplon, xv. 10, 9; for a reason for the name, see xv. 10, 10.
- Pola, a town of Istria at the head of the Adriatic, later a Roman colony named Pietas, xiv. 11, 20; see also Crispus.
- Pomerium*, xiv. 6, 22. In the time of Ammianus the word commonly designates the wall of Aurelian, begun in 271.
- Pompei theatrum, Pompey's theatre at Rome, completed in 55 B.C. The first permanent theatre in that city, xvi. 10, 14.
- Pompeius, Cn., surnamed Magnus, 106-48 B.C. He subdued the Syrian provinces, xiv. 8, 10; conquered Mithradates, xvi. 7, 10; was murdered in Egypt, xiv. 11, 32. He was ridiculed for frivolous reasons, xvii. 11, 4, note.
- Pompiianum tempus, xiv. 6, 6.
- Pompilius, see Numa Pompilius.
- Ponticus, see Hermogenes.
- Pontus, a region in the north-eastern Asia Minor, along the coast of the Euxine (Black) Sea. It was important in the history of Asia Minor from the fourth century to 66 B.C., when its king Mithradates VI was vanquished by Pompey. It was made a part of the Roman province of Cappadocia in A.D. 17, and was later a separate province, xvii. 7, 1.
- Portus Augusti, the harbour at Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, constructed by the emperor Claudius and enlarged by Trajan, xix. 10, 1.
- Praxiteles, one of the greatest Greek sculptors of the fourth century (born circa 390 B.C.), especially famous for his Cnidian Venus and his Eros, and in modern times for his Hermes, xvi. 10, 8.
- Procopius, a native of Cilicia, when state secretary (*notarius*) sent as an envoy to King Sapor. Later he attempted to make himself emperor, but failed, xvii. 14, 3; xviii. 6, 17.
- Proculus, an adjutant of Silvanus, xv. 6, 1.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Prosper, a count; vicarius of Ursinus in 354; xiv. 11, 5; xv. 13, 3; xvii. 5, 15; 14, 1. Pseudophilippus, see Andriacus.
- Ptolemaeus, referring to Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt and Cyprus, driven from Cyprus by Cato Uticensis in 58 B.C., xiv. 8, 15, note.
- Punicus, -a, -um, adj. to Poeni: *bella*, xvii. 1, 14, 22; 9, 5; *caespes*, xiv. 8, 3.
- Pyrenaeus, -a, -um, from Pyrene, a daughter of Bebryx, beloved by Hercules: *altitudo*, xv. 10, 2; *collibus*, xv. 11, 2; *montes*, xv. 11, 13, the Pyrenees.
- Pyrrus (Pyrrhus), king of Epirus, born 318 B.C. At the age of seventeen he was expelled from Epirus at the instigation of Cassander, but recovered it in 295. He waged war unsuccessfully with the Romans from 280 to 276, although he won two great battles. He was killed at Argos in 272 by a tile thrown from a roof by a woman, xvi. 10, 5.
- Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher of about 530 B.C. He was a native of Samos, but settled in Croton in southern Italy, from which he was finally expelled by the hostility of the natives, along with his brotherhood, or society, of three hundred men. In xv. 9, 8 he is said to have inspired the Druids to form brotherhoods.
- Quadri, a German nation, neighbours of the Sarmatians, and resembling them in their character and their arms (xvii. 12, 1). They invaded Valeria, Moesia, and Pannonia in 358, but were decisively defeated by Julian, xvi. 10, 20; xvii. 12, 1, 4. Their habits and armour, xvii. 12, 2 (note), 3.
- Quadruburgium, a city of Germany, xviii. 2, 4, note.
- Quies, Peace or Quiet, personified as a goddess, xix. 11, 6.
- Raetia, a Celtic people lying south of the Danube river, bounded on the north by the Vindelici, on the east by Noricum, on the west by the Helvetii, and on the south by Cisalpine Gaul. Raetia was conquered by Tiberius in 15 B.C. and made a province, to which about A.D. 100 Vindelicia was added. Later this combined province was divided into Prima and Secunda Raetia (of which the original province of Raetia was Prima), and Valeria, xv. 4, 1, note, xvi. 10, 20, etc.
- Raetus accola, used collectively, xv. 4, 3.
- Rauracum, or Rauraci, a city of Gaul near Basle; modern Augst. Originally the Rauraci were a people of eastern Gaul. Their capital, Augusta Rauracorum, was also called Rauracum, xiv. 10, 6, note, etc.
- Regulus, M. Atilius, consul in 267 B.C. In the first Punic war he was defeated by the Carthaginians under the lead of the Spartan general Xanthippus, and sent to Rome to propose terms of peace. He dissuaded the senate from accepting the conditions, and according to his promise returned to Carthage, where he is said to have been tortured to death; cf. Hor., *Odes*, iii. 5, 50; Florus, i. 18, 25; xiv. 6, 11, note; 11, 32.
- Reman, a Roman fortress in Mesopotamia, xviii. 10, 1.
- Remi, a people of Belgica, dwelling along the Sequana river; the name was also applied to their principal town, originally Durocortorum; modern Rheims, xv. 11, 10; xvi. 2, 8, etc.
- Remigius, xv. 5, 36.
- Ραμεσσης, a king of Egypt, also called Ramses or Rameses; the reference is to Ramses II, apparently the same as Sesostris (Herodotus, ii. 102; Tac., *Ann.* ii. 60), the third king of the nineteenth dynasty (1300-1233 B.C.), xvii. 4, 18 ff.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Rhenus, the Rhine, xiv. **10**, 6; xv. **4**, 2, etc.
- Rhesus, a king of Thrace who came to the aid of the Trojans against the Greeks; he was slain by Diomedes and Odysseus, who carried off his beautiful horses (see Virg., *Aen.* i. 470 ff.), xix. **6**, 11
- Rhodanus, the Rhone, flowing southward through Gaul into the Mediterranean, xv. **10**, 10; **11**, 16-18.
- Rhodus, Rhodes, an island south of Caria in the south-western part of Asia Minor. It was also called Ophiusa (*q.v.*) and Pelagia, and is said in xvii. **7**, 13 to have owed its origin to an earthquake.
- Rhyndacus, xviii. **6**, 18, note.
- Rigomagum, a city of Germany, on the Rhine between Bonn and Andernach; modern Remagen, xvi. **3**, 1, note.
- Roma, *passim*, Rome, called "the Eternal City," in xiv. **6**, 1, etc. The stages of its development are given in xiv. **6**; its memorable buildings in xvi. **10**, 13-18.
- Romani, the Romans, *passim*.
- Rostra, the speakers' platform in the Roman Forum, xvi. **10**, 13.
- Rotomagi, a city of Gaul in the province of Lugdunensis Secunda; modern Rouen, xv. **11**, 12.
- Rufinus, xv. **3**, 8; his death, xvi. **8**, 3-6.
- Rufinus (Vulcatius), praetorian prefect of Gaul, in 354, and maternal uncle of Gallus Caesar, xiv. **10**, 4-5, notes 3 and 5; **11**, 27; xvi. **8**, 13.
- Rumo, a chieftain of the Sarmatians, xvii. **12**, 11.
- Saansaan, a Persian word meaning "king of kings," xix. **2**, 11.
- Sabinianus, an old and inefficient man sent as commander of the cavalry to the Orient as successor to Ursicius in 359, xviii. **5**, 5; cf. xviii. **7**, 7; xix. **3**, 1, 2.
- Saccunum, a town of Italy, xvii. **7**, 13, note.
- Saguntini, the people of Saguntum, a town of Hispania Tarraconensis, about three miles from the coast, besieged by Hannibal and captured after eight months in 219 B.C., xv. **10**, 10.
- Salamis, a city of Cyprus in the middle of the east coast near modern Pharmagusta, with a temple of Jupiter, xiv. **8**, 14.
- Salii, the Salic Franks, reduced to order by Julian, xvii. **8**, 3, note.
- Saliso (Salisso), a city of Germany, modern Selz, xvi. **2**, 12.
- Sallustius (Crispus, C.), the Roman historian (86-35 B.C.); quoted, xv. **12**, 6, note; his gardens, xvii. **4**, 16, note.
- Saluvii, a people and city of Gaul; modern Aix-en-Provence, xv. **11**, 15.
- Samiramis (Semiramis), the wife of Ninus, and with him the mythical founder of the Assyrian empire, xiv. **6**, 17, cf. Claudian, *In Eutrop.* i. 339 ff. That she was the originator of castration is not found elsewhere.
- Sannites, the people of Samnium, a mountainous region of central Italy, with whom the Romans waged war for more than fifty years, xiv. **11**, 32. They submitted in 291 B.C., but joined Marius in 82 B.C. and were finally defeated by Sulla. See Veturius.
- Samosata, the principal city of Commagene, in the eastern part of that district, on the Euphrates, xiv. **8**, 7; xviii. **4**, 7, etc.
- Sandan, an Ethiopian said to have founded Tarsus in Cilicia, xiv. **8**, 3.
- Sannio, xiv. **6**, 14, a slave in Terence, *Eun.* 780, a procurer in *Adelph.* 210, etc.; used as a common noun in the sense of "buffoon" by Cic., *Ad Fam.* ix. 16, 10; *De Orat.*, ii. 61, 251.
- Santonnes, a people of south-western Gaul; in xv. **11**, 13; a city of Aquitania Secunda, modern Saintonge.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Sapaudia, a district of Gaul, a part of modern Savoy, xv. **11**, 17.
- Sapor, Sapor II, king of the Persians from 310 to 379; he is variously called *rex Persarum*, *rex Persidis*, and *Parthus rex* (xxix. 1, 4); xvi. **9**, 3, etc.
- Saraceni, the Saracens, a people of Arabia Petraea, identified in xxii. **15**, 2 with the *Scenitae Arabes*; their manners and customs are described in xiv. **4**, 1 ff.
- Sarmatae, the inhabitants of Sarmatia, xvi. **10**, 20; xvii. **12**, 1, 7; **13**, 19, etc. Their armour and their habits, xvii. **12**, 2, note.
- Sarmatia, an extensive country of Europe and Asia, between the Vistula and Volga rivers. It extended on the north to the Baltic, and on the south to the Danube, the Dneister and the Euxine. The river Don (Tanais) divided the European from the Asiatic Sarmatians. It corresponds to Homer's Scythia, and to the southern half of modern Russia, xvii. **12**, 6.
- Sauconna, the Gallic name of the Arar, which flows into the Rhone at Lugdunum (Lyons), the modern Saône, xv. **11**, 17.
- Scipio (P. Cornelius Africanus), the conqueror of Hannibal, xv. **10**, 10.
- Scipio (Cn. Cornelius Calvus), consul in 222 B.C., slain in Spain with his brother Publius, xiv. **6**, 11, note.
- Scipio, P. Cornelius, consul in 218, brother of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus and father of Scipio Africanus the elder, xv. **10**, 10.
- Scipio Aemilianus (P. Cornelius Africanus), younger son of L. Aemilius Paulus, adopted by the son of the elder Africanus; he destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C., xvii. **11**, 3.
- Sciron, xiv. **2**, 3, note.
- Sendilo, xiv. **10**, 8; **11**, 11, 24, note.
- Scythopolis, a city of Palestine, located by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, iii. 3, 1) at the southern end of Galilee, near Tiberias. The origin of the name is uncertain, xix. **12**, 8.
- Sedelaucum, a city of Gaul, modern Saulieu, xvi. **2**, 3, note.
- Segestani, a warlike Oriental nation, xix. **2**, 3.
- Segusio, a city of Transpadine Gaul at the foot of the Cottian Alps, the capital of King Cottius (*q.v.*), modern Susa, xv. **10**, 3, 7.
- Seleucia, a city of Cilicia on the Calycadnus river, founded by Seleucus Nicator (312-281 B.C.); modern Selekieh, xiv. **2**, 14; **8**, 2; xix. **13**, 1. It was in the province of Isauria in the time of Ammianus.
- Seleucia, a city of Syria near Antioch and the mouth of the Orontes, xiv. **8**, 8.
- Seleucus Nicator, founder of the Seleucid, or Syrian, kingdom; he was the son of Antiochus, one of Alexander's generals, and reigned from 312-280 B.C., xiv. **8**, 2, 5.
- Seniachus, xv. **4**, 10.
- Senones, a Celtic people dwelling north-west of the Aedui and bordering on Belgica. The name was later applied to a city of Lugdunensis Prima, modern Sens, xvi. **3**, 3; **7**, 1; **11**, 1.
- September mensis, xiv. **3**, 3.
- Septemzodium, xv. **7**, 3, note.
- Sequana, a large river of Gaul, modern Seine, xv. **11**, 3.
- Sequani, a Celtic people in the upper valley of the Arar, taking their name from the Sequana river, xv. **11**, 3, 11, 17.
- Serapion, a king of the Alamanni, nephew of Chonodomarius; his native name was Agenarichus, xvi. **12**, 1, 25, note.
- Serdica, a town of Upper Moesia, from the time of Aurelian called Serdica Ulpia. Later it was in the diocese of Dacia and was the capital of Dacia Mediterranea, xvi. **8**, 1, note.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Serenianus, a native of Pannonia, formerly a general in Phoenicia, xiv. 7, 7, 8.
- Seres, a people of eastern Asia, probably dwelling in the north-western part of China. They were famous for the production of silk, xiv. 3, 3.
- Servilius (Vatia Isauricus, P.), consul in 79 B.C. He reduced Cilicia and Isauria to the form of a province after warring with the pirates in 78 B.C., xiv. 8, 4, note.
- Severus, commander of the cavalry in Gaul. He commanded the left wing at the battle of Argentoratus, and rendered further service to Julian, but became timid and inefficient later (xvii. 10, 1); xvi. 10, 21, etc.
- Sextius (Calvinus, C.), consul in 124 B.C. He waged war against the Saluvii and founded Aquae Sextiae, xv. 12, 5, note.
- Sicilia, Sicily, xiv. 11, 33; xvi. 8, 10.
- Side, a city of Pamphylia, a colony of Cumae (Strabo, xiv. 4), later the metropolis of the province of Pamphylia Prima; modern Eski Adalia, xiv. 2, 10.
- Sidon, the famous city on the coast of Phoenicia, xiv. 8, 9.
- Silvanus, son of Bonitus, a Frank. He was tribune of the heavy-armed guard under Magnentius, but went over to Constantius just before the battle of Mursa, and was made commander of the infantry. He was driven by court intrigues to assume the rank of Augustus, but was put to death, xv. 5; xvi. 2, 4; 11, 2; xviii. 3, 2; 4, 2.
- Simonides, the famous Greek lyric poet of Cos (556-467 B.C.); he is quoted xiv. 6, 7, note; his remarkable memory is mentioned in xvi. 5, 8.
- Simplicius, accused in 358-359 of aspiring to imperial rank, xix. 12, 9.
- Singara, a city at the northern extremity of Mesopotamia, the scene of a battle by night in 348 between Constantius and Sapor in which both sides claimed the victory (xviii. 5, 7), xviii. 9, 3; xix. 2, 8; 9, 9.
- Sinhorium (Sinoria), a fortress of Armenia Minor built by Mithradates the Great on the frontier of Armenia Major. Its exact location is uncertain, xvi. 7, 10.
- Sirmium, an important city in the south-eastern part of Lower Pannonia, the capital of the prefecture of Illyricum, xv. 3, 7, note, etc.
- Sisara, a fortress of Mesopotamia, xviii. 6, 9.
- Socrates, the great Athenian philosopher (469-399), xvi. 7, 4.
- Sol (also Ἡλιος), the Sun, worshipped as a god by the Egyptians, xvii. 4, 12; cf. 18 ff.
- Solon, the celebrated Athenian legislator (*circa* 640-559), xv. 5, 37.
- Spartacus, a Thracian who was taken prisoner and became a gladiator at Capua. He made his escape with about seventy of his fellows and gathered together an army of slaves, with which he carried on war successfully with the Romans from 73 to 71 B.C., when he was defeated and slain by Licinius Crassus, the future triumvir, who was then praetor, xiv. 11, 33, note.
- σπαρταί, xix. 8, 11.
- Spectatus, xvii. 5, 15; 14, 1.
- Spoletium, a town of southern Umbria, about nine miles south of the source of the Clitumnus. A Roman colony was founded there in 240 B.C.; xiv. 6, 24.
- Stadium, xvi. 10, 14, note.
- Stochades insulae, a group of five small islands off the coast of Gallia Narbonensis, modern Isles d'Hyères, xv. 11, 15.
- Strategius, see Musonianus.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Strymon, a large river of Macedonia, flowing south-east into the Strymonic Gulf of the Aegæan Sea. Until the time of Philip V. it formed the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace, xvii. 5, 5.
- Suebi (Suevi), a large and powerful people of Germany, who invaded Raetia in 357, xvi. 10, 20.
- Sullia (L. Cornelius, Felix), the celebrated Roman general (138-78), dictator from 83 to 79, xvi. 5, 1, note; 12, 41.
- Suomarius, a king of the Alamanni, xvi. 12, 1; xvii. 10, 3, 9; xviii. 2, 8.
- Syria, a country of western Asia, lying along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. It became a part of the Seleucid kingdom in 301 B.C., and in 64 B.C. a Roman province. In A.D. 198 it was divided from Phœnicia, which was made a separate province. For a description, see xiv. 8, 8 ff.
- Tages, an Etruscan seer, xxi. 1, 10; *Tagetici libri*, xvii. 10, 2, note.
- Tagetici libri*, see Tages.
- Taifali, a Gothic people, living near the river Danube, xvii. 13, 19, note.
- Tamsapor, a Persian noble and general, xvi. 9, 3; xvii. 5, 1; xviii. 5, 3, etc.
- Tarpeius, an epithet of Jupiter, xvi. 10, 14.
- Tarsus, the principal city of Cilicia, said to have been founded by Perseus or Sandan (xiv. 8, 3). It was a place of importance to the Romans in their campaigns against the Persians.
- Taurini, a Ligurian people, bordering on the upper course of the Po. A Roman colony was founded in their country about 8 B.C. under the name of Augusta Taurinorum, often called Taurini, modern Torino (Turin), xv. 8, 18; 10, 11.
- Tauriscus, a tyrant who infested Gaul, slain by Hercules, xv. 9, 6; 10, 9.
- Taurus, quaestor in 354, later pretorian prefect, consul in 361, xiv. 11, 14.
- Taurus mons, a mountain range in southern Asia Minor, separating Cilicia from Lycaonia and Cappadocia, xiv. 8, 1; xviii. 3, 9, etc.
- (Terentius), the Roman comic poet (185-159 B.C.), the *comicus* of xiv. 6, 16, note.
- Tertullus, prefect of the city of Rome in 359, xix. 10, 1.
- Teutomeres, a Frank, xv. 3, 10.
- Teutonica bella, the wars with the Cimbri and Teutones, 102-101 B.C., xvii. 1, 14.
- Thalassius, xiv. 1, 10, note; 7, 9.
- Thebais, see Thebes.
- Thebes, the capital of Thebais, or Upper Egypt, called Hecatonpyli, xvii. 4, 2.
- Theophilus, xiv. 7, 5, 8; xv. 13, 2.
- Thessalus dux, Achilles, xix. 1, 9.
- Thorax, a charioteer at Constantinople, crowned by Gallus in 354, which, as a Caesar, he had no right to do, xiv. 11, 12.
- Thracæ, the people of Thrace, a country north of Greece of vaguely defined limits. It was subdued by Philip II. of Macedon, and became a Roman province A.D. 46, xix. 6, 11.
- Thucydides, the famous Greek historian of the fifth century B.C.; quoted in xix. 4, 4.
- Thule, xviii. 6, 1, note.
- Tiberis, the Tiber, xvii. 4, 14.
- Tiburtinus lapis, a fine limestone found in the Sabine hills, especially along the Anio, near Tibur (Tivoli), from which it derives its name; modern travertine, xvi. 10, 14.
- Ticinum, a city of Transpadane Gaul, on the river Ticinus, about five miles from its junction with the Padus; modern Pavia, xv. 8, 18.



## INDEX OF NAMES

- Tigranes, king of Armenia (96-55 B.C.), conquered by Pompey, xiv. 8, 10, note.
- Tigris, the great river forming the north-eastern boundary of Mesopotamia, xviii. 5, 3, etc.
- Timagenes, xv. 9, 2, note.
- Titus, emperor of Rome from 79-81, xiv. 11, 28; xvi. 1, 4 (xviii. 4, 5).
- Tolosa, a city of the Roman Province and of Gallia Narbonensis; modern Toulouse, xv. 11, 14.
- Toxiandria, a city of Belgica on the Scheldt; modern Tessender-Lo, north of Brabant, xvii. 8, 3, note.
- Traianus, Trajan, emperor of Rome from 98 to 117; he reduced Arabia to the form of a province, xiv. 8, 13; xvi. 1, 4; xvii. 1, 11; Traiani forum, xvi. 10, 15.
- Transiugitani, a German tribe, xvii. 12, 12.
- Transtigritani, the peoples on the farther side of the Tigris, xix. 9, 2; *Transtigritanae gentes*, xviii. 9, 2.
- Tres Tabernae, a town of Germany between Strasburg and Metz, xvi. 11, 11, note; xvii. 1, 1.
- Treviri (Treveri), a people of northern Gaul, separated from the Germans by the Rhine; the name is applied by Ammianus to their principal town, Augusta Trevirorum, modern Treves, xv. 11, 9, note, etc.
- Tribuncl, a Roman fortress in Germany, xvi. 12, 58, note.
- Tricasae, a city of the Tricasini in Lugdunensis Secunda; modern Troyes, xvi. 2, 7, also called Tricasini, xv. 11, 12; xvi. 2, 5.
- Tricasini, see Tricasae.
- Tricastini, a Gallie people between the Rhone and the Alps (Livy, xxi. 31, 9), called Tricasini in xv. 10, 11.
- Triensima, a city of Germany between Castra Hereulis and Novesium, modern Kellen, xviii. 2, 4, note.
- Tricorii saltus, passes in the country of the Tricorii, a Gallie people between the Rhone and the Alps, xv. 10, 11.
- Tridentum, the capital of the Tridentini, north of Verona on the frontier of Venetia and Raetia, modern Trent; in Ammianus' time it was in the province of Raetia Prima, xvi. 10, 20.
- Tripolitana legatio, an embassy from Tripolis in northern Africa in the time of Valentinian, xv. 5, 36. Tripolis was in the district between the Greater and the Lesser Syrtes, modern Tripoli.
- Troia, Troy, in north-western Asia Minor, xv. 9, 5; xix. 1, 9.
- Troiani, xv. 9, 5.
- Troianum bellum, xix. 4, 3.
- Tungri, a people of Germany who settled in north-eastern Gaul, the name is also applied to a city of Germania Secunda, modern Tongres, xv. 11, 7, note; xvii. 8, 3.
- Turini, a city of Lugdunensis Secunda; modern Tours, xv. 11, 12.
- Tusci, the people of Tuscia, or Etruria, xiv. 11, 27; *Tuscorum corrector*, xv. 5, 14, note.
- Tusculanus Cato, M. Porcius Cato Censorius, born at Tusculum, a town about ten miles south-east of Rome, near modern Frascati, xvi. 5, 2.
- Tuscus, see Albinus. The word is regarded by some as meaning a Tuscan, an inhabitant of Tuscia (Etruria).
- Tyrium tetrinum, xiv. 9, 7.
- Tyrrheni, the early inhabitants of Etruria, xvii. 7, 13.
- Tyrrhenum mare, the Tuscan sea on the western coast of Italy, also called Mare Superum, xv. 10, 2.
- Tyros (Tyros), Tyre, the famous Phoenician city, xiv. 7, 20; 8, 9.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Umbri, the people of Umbria in north-eastern Italy, xv. 5, 14.
- Urbs templum, xvi. 10, 14; see note.
- Urius, a king of the Alamanni, xvi. 12, 1.
- Ursicinus, see *Introd.*, pp. x. ff.
- Ursicinus, a king of the Alamanni, xvi. 12, 1.
- Ursulus, xvi. 8, 5, 7.
- Usafer, xvii. 12, 12, 14.
- Uscadama, see Hadrianopolis.
- Vadomarius, a king of the Alamanni, xviii. 2, 16 ff.
- Valentia, a city of Gallia Vienensis, modern Valence, xiv. 10, 1; xv. 11, 14.
- Valentinianus, a Pannonian general, afterwards emperor, xv. 5, 36; xvi. 11, 6.
- Valentinus, a tribune of the *protectores*, later general (*dux*) in Illyrium, xviii. 3, 5.
- Valeria, daughter of the emperor Diocletian, xix. 11, 4.
- Valeria, xvi. 10, 20, note; xix. 11, 4.
- Valerius Publicola (P.), consul with Brutus in 509 B.C., xiv. 6, 11, see note 2.
- Valuomeres, see Petrus.
- Vangiones, a people of Germany, the name is also applied to their chief town, Borbetomagus, a city of Germania Prima: modern Worms, xv. 11, 8; xvi. 2, 12.
- Vasatae, a people and city of Gaul, modern Bazas, xv. 11, 14.
- Vaticanus, the Vatican hill at Rome, xvii. 4, 16.
- Vegoici libri, xvii. 10, 2, note.
- Velia, a city of Lucania in south-western Italy, founded by the Phocaeans, xv. 9, 7, see note 3.
- Venus, the goddess, xiv. 8, 14; xix. 1, 11.
- Vergilius, the eminent Latin poet (70-19 B.C.), xvii. 4, 5, quoted xv. 9, 1; xix. 9, 7.
- Verulianus (Verennianus), xv. 5, 22; xviii. 8, 11.
- Verissimus, xvi. 6, 1.
- Verres, C., the notorious praetor of Sicily from 73 to 71 B.C., impeached by Cicero, xv. 3, 3.
- Vespasianus, emperor of Rome from 69 to 79 B.C., xiv. 11, 28; xvi. 1, 4; (xviii. 4, 5).
- Vestralpus, king of the Alamanni; xvi. 12, 1; xviii. 2, 18.
- Veteranio, a usurper, who joined in the attempt of Magnentius (*q.v.*). He surrendered to Constantius without resistance, xv. 1, 2, note.
- Veternensis, adjective, of Veternum, a town of Etruria; see Massa.
- Veturius, L., surrendered to the Samnites because of his defeat at the Caudine Forks in 321 B.C., xiv. 11, 32; cf. Cic., *De Off.*, iii. 30, 109; Livy, ix. 10, 10.
- Victohali, xvii. 12, 19, note.
- Victorinus, a name applied in derision to Julian by the courtiers of Constantius, xvi. 12, 67. Perhaps with reference to the Victorinus who ruled Gaul in 267-268 under Gallienus and won many victories.
- Vicus Alexandri, see Alexandri vicus.
- Viduarius, a king of the Quadri, xvii. 12, 21.
- Vienna, a city of the Allobroges in Gallia Narbonensis, modern Vienne, xv. 11, 14, etc.
- Viennensis, a province of Gaul, named from the city of Vienne, xv. 11, 6, etc.
- Vingo, a city of the Vangiones in Upper Germany on the Rhine, xviii. 2, 4, note.
- Viriathus, a king or chieftain of the Lusitanians, who waged war successfully against the Romans from 150 to 140 B.C., when Servilius Caepio bribed Viriathus' soldiers to assassinate their leader, xiv. 11, 33, note.
- Virtus, Virtue, personified as a goddess, xiv. 6, 3.
- Vitrodorus, a king of the Quadri, xvii. 12, 21.

## INDEX OF NAMES

- Vocontii, a people of Gallia Narbonensis, between the Rhone and the Alps, xv. 10, 11.
- Vulcanus, an island of the Tyrrheni, also called Vulcana and Vulcania, xvii. 7, 13.
- Vulcatius, see Rufinus.
- Zeno, a Greek philosopher (*circa* 335-264 B.C.), founder of the Stoic school, xiv. 9, 6.
- Zephyrus, the west wind, xviii 9, 2.
- Ziata, a fortress of Mesopotamia, xix. 6, 1.
- Zinifer, a prince of the Sarmatians, xvii. 12, 11.
- Zizais, a prince of the Sarmatians, xvii. 12, 9; made king, xvii. 12, 20; 13, 30.
- Zopyrus, the betrayer of Babylon to Cyrus; xviii. 5, 3, note.
- Zougma, a city of Cyrrhestica in Syria, xviii. 8, 1.

## II.—INDEX OF OFFICIALS <sup>1</sup>

- actuarii*, originally scribes or secretaries; cf. Suet., *Jul.* 55, 3 (of short-hand writers). They were assigned to various posts which required the keeping of accounts, the issuing of warrants, and the like, xv. 5, 3, note; xx. 5, 9; xxv. 10, 7 (an auditor).
- admissionum magister*, chief master of ceremonies under the *magister officiorum*, xv. 5, 18, note. *Admissionum proximus*, one of the assistants of the magister, of whom there were four, each in charge of a decury of *admissionales*, xxii. 7, 2.
- aedilis*, an aedile, one of the *decuriones* (or *curiales, q.v.*) of a municipal town, xxviii. 6, 10.
- agens palatii curam* = *curator palatii*, a marshal of the court, xiv. 7, 19.
- agens pro praefectis* = *vicarius*, xiv. 5, 7.
- agens scholam scutariorum secundam* = *tribunus* (cf. xxvi. 1, 4); xxvi. 1, 5.
- agentes in rebus*, xiv. 11, 19, note, xvi. 8, 3; 5, 11 (from which it is inferred that they formed a *schola palatina*; see *schola*). They were organized and dressed as soldiers and divided into five grades, with regular promotion from the lowest to the highest; and they sometimes rose to still higher positions. They were at first under the praetorian prefect; after Constantine, under the master of the offices.
- agrimensor*, a land-surveyor, xix. 11, 8.
- Alamanni*, a part of the Roman auxiliaries in Britain, xxix. 4, 7.
- antepilani*, xvi. 12, 20, note. Used metaphorically in xxviii. 1, 46.
- apparitores*, a general term for the attendants on a higher official, xv. 3, 8; 5, 36; 7, 3; etc., *nec praefectianus nec praesidialis apparitor*, xvii. 3, 6; *cellae castrensis apparitor*, xxvi. 8, 5. See also *domesticus*.
- armaturae*, two scholae of heavy-armed troops, equipped with large shields and long spears. They were commanded by a tribune (xiv. 11, 21; xv. 5, 6), called *rector* in xv. 4, 10.
- Armeniaca secunda*, the name of a legion, xx. 7, 1.
- Ascurii*, a corps of the *auxilia palatina*, xxvii. 2, 9.
- ballistarii*, xvi. 2, 5, note.
- Bracchiati*, a body of Roman soldiers divided into *seniores* and *iuniores*, named in connection with the *Cornuti*. According to

<sup>1</sup> Not confined to Vol. I. and including bodies of troops and other military terms.

# INDEX OF OFFICIALS

## Bracchiati—continued.

*Lydus, De Mag.* i. 46, βραχιᾶτοι ἦτοι ἀρμιλλίγχοι, ψ. λισθοφοί, "wearers of bracelets," xv. 5, 30; xvi. 12, 43.

*Caesares*, see note 3, p. 3, and *Introd.*, p. xxiv. The following references throw light on the subordination of the *Caesares* to the Augustus, xiv. 11, 10; xvii. 9, 6; xx. 8, 6.

*campidoctores*, xv. 3, 10; see note. They trained the soldiers also in military exercises, martial dancing, and rhythmical marching (see *pyrrichat*).

*campiductores*, subordinate military officers, xix. 6, 12; regarded by some as equivalent to *campigeni* (= *antesignani*) in *Vegetius*, ii. 7.

*candidati militares*, two bodies of the court troops, divided into *seniores* and *iuiores*. They were selected because of their height and handsome appearance, had the rank of subaltern officers, and were in line for appointment as tribunes; they sometimes formed an imperial bodyguard, xv. 5, 16; xxv. 3, 6; xxxi. 13, 14.

*Capita scholarum*, the *capita contuberniorum* of *Vegetius*, ii. 8 and 13. They had charge of the troops occupying the same quarters or tents, xxv. 10, 8.

*castra praetoria*, the praetorian camp, used by *Ammianus* (xvi. 12, 49) for the centre of the battle-line, "forte quia imperator, quoties in exercitu est, eo in loco tutiore consistere solet . . . praetorium erat in medio castrorum" (*Valesius*).

*castrensis sacri palatii (comes)*, marshal of the court, in charge of pages, chamberlains, cooks, etc., *Introd.* p. xxxvi; cf. *ex cura palatii*, xxii. 3, 7.

*cataphractarii*, xvi. 2, 5; see note. They are also called *elibanarii* in xvi. 10, 8. see note. See also *Claudian, In Ruf.* ii. 357 ff. and *De VI Cons. Honor.* 569 ff.

*Celtae et Petulantes*, bodies of Roman auxiliary troops (see *Petulantes*), xx. 4, 2, 20; xxi. 3, 2; xxii. 12, 6; xxxi. 10, 4.

*centurio rerum nitentium*, xvi. 6, 2, note; later we find a *tribunus (Not. Imp. Occid.*, p. 1818), and still later a *comes rerum nitentium* (*Cassiod.*, *Varia*, vii., *Epist.* xiii.). The *centurio* was perhaps a subordinate of the *curator studiarum*.

*clarissimi*, see *Introd.*, p. xxviii., xxvi. 6, 18; xxviii. 1, 27.

*elibanarii*, see *cataphractarii*.

*comes*, see *Introd.*, pp. xxviii. f. We also find *comites* in charge of provinces: *Aegypti*, xxiii. 3, 5; *Africae*, xxi. 7, 4; see also *comes Orientis*, xiv. 1, 3.

*comes domesticorum*, see *Introd.*, p. xlii.; xiv. 10, 8, note: 11, 14, 19.

*comes rei castrensis*, vicarius of the *magister militum*, xiv. 11, 5; xxx. 7, 3.

*comes rerum privatarum*, see *Introd.*, pp. xli. f.; cf. *comes rei privatae*, xv. 5, 4; 3, 7.

*comes sacrarum largitionum* see *Introd.*, pp. xl. f.; xiv. 7, 9; xvi. 8, 5; xviii. 5, 2. Cf. *qui largitiones curat*, xxi. 8, 1; *qui aerarium tuebatur*, xx. 11, 5.

*comitatenses milites*, household troops which were taken on campaigns; distinguished from *palatini* and from *limitanei* and *ripenses*, xxix. 5, 4.

*comitatensis fabrica*, see *fabrica*.

*comites thesaurorum*, who collected the revenues in the provinces and rendered an account to the *comes largitionum*: *per Thracias*, xxix. 1, 26; *qui Gallicanos tuebatur thesauros*, xxii. 3, 7; cf. xv. 5, 36.

*comites sagittarii*, mounted archers who accompanied the emperor on a campaign, xviii. 9, 4, a division of the *comitum turmae equestres*.

*comitum turma equestris*, a troop of select barbarian horsemen, xv. 4, 10, note; xviii. 9, 4.

## INDEX OF OFFICIALS

- compulsares*, collectors of money due to the *fiscus*, xxii. 6, 1.
- consiliarius*, a general term for members of the *consistorium*, xxv. 3, 14; xxviii. 1, 2; 6, 12.
- consistoriani*, members of the *consistorium*, xxxi. 12, 10. As distinguished from *militares* it designated the civil members, xv. 5, 12; 6, 1.
- consistorium*, see *Introd.*, pp. xxix. f.; xiv. 7, 11 note; xv. 5, 18; xxv. 10, 10.
- consulares*, see xv. 5, 14, note; *consularis Piceni*, xv. 7, 5; *Syriac*, xiv. 7, 5.
- consules*, see *Introd.*, pp. xxx. ff.; *amplissimus magistratus*, xxvi. 9, 1.
- Cornuti*, a body of Roman soldiers, divided into *seniores* and *ianiores*; cf. *Bracchiati*, with whom they are associated in xv. 5, 30; xvi. 11, 9; 12, 43. According to the *Notit. Dig. Orient.* 6, 48 there was also a mounted troop. They perhaps derived their name from *Cornutum* in Illyricum.
- correctores*, xv. 5, 14, note.
- cubicularii*, chamberlains, xx. 8, 4.
- cubuli praepositus*, see xiv. 10, 5, note; xv. 3, 2; xvi. 7, 2.
- curans summam necessitatum rustrensiu*, chief commissary officer, xxvi. 1, 4.
- curator*, a marshal of the court, xiv. 7, 19, *agens palatii Caesaris curam*; *curator urbis*, usually a Roman senator sent to the provinces as a city official; he ranked above the local *decuriones*, but below the *duumviri*, xiv. 7, 17.
- curiales*, used by Ammianus in the sense of courtiers in xxi. 12, 20; in that of *decuriones* in xxii. 9, 12; xxvii. 7, 7.
- (*cursus publicus*), the state courier-service, consisting of relays of horses and vehicles at stations along the highways, for the use of those who were sent to the provinces on official business, or (*cursus publicus*)—continued.
- summoned to the court; see *vehiculis publicis*, xxi. 13, 7; the *clavularis cursus* (xx. 4, 11, note) apparently refers to the use of *clavulae*, vehicles of some special sort, but the derivation and meaning of *clavularis* are uncertain; see, however, xx. 4, 11, note.
- Decimani*, the soldiers of the Tenth legion; see *Fortenses*.
- decuriones*, senators in municipal towns and colonies, xxviii. 6, 10.
- decurio palatii*, one of the three officers in charge of the thirty *silentarii*, whose duty it was to preserve the necessary quiet in the presence of the emperor, xx. 4, 20, note.
- diognitae*, light-armed soldiers, used especially in the pursuit of the enemy, xxvii. 9, 6.
- Divitenses et Tungricani*, xxvi. 6, 12; 7, 14; xxvii. 1, 2. Auxiliary troops at the disposition of the commander of the infantry, *Not. Imperii*, p. 1483.
- domestici*, household troops, commanded by a *comes domesticorum* (xxvi. 5, 3); see *scholae domesticae*, apparently *apparitor*; see *apparitores*, xv. 6, 1.
- draconarius*, a standard bearer, xvi. 10, 7, where the *dracones* are described, cf. Claudian, *In Ruf.*, ii. 177; xvi. 12, 39; xx. 4, 18.
- dracones*, standards of the cohorts in the form of dragons, adopted during the reign of Trajan, xiv. 5, 16; see *draconarius*.
- duces*, used generally of leaders of armies (xv. 5, 25); in a narrower sense, generals or governors of varying rank and importance, distinguished as *militares* and *provinciarum*. They ranked below the *comites* (xxiii. 3, 5); in the west there were two *comites* and thirteen *duces*; in the east six *comites* and twelve *duces*; used of a Persian, xviii. 5, 3. *Dux Aegypti*, xxiii. 3, 5; xxiv. 1, 9.

## INDEX OF OFFICIALS

- abricae*, manufactories of arms: at Antioch, xiv. 7, 18, note; Cremona, xv. 5, 9; Treves, xxix. 3, 4; *fabricae tribunus*, xiv. 7, 18; 9, 4; xv. 5, 9; *prae-positus*, xxix. 3, 4; *comitatensis fabrica*, used metaphorically, xviii. 4, 2.
- fabricenses*, workmen employed in the *fabricae*, xxxi. 6, 2.
- Flavia prima*, the name of a legion, xx. 6, 8; *secunda*, xx. 7, 1.
- Fortenses*, a name applied to the soldiers of the Tenth legion, xviii. 9, 3, see note, and cf. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat.*, Index, p. 55.
- gentiles*, xiv. 7, 9, see note; *gentiles scularii*, xx. 2, 5; *rector gentilium*, xv. 5, 6.
- hastati*, standard bearers, xvi. 12, 20, note.
- Herculiani et Ioviani*, legions so named by Diocletian and Maximian; Diocletian was called Iovius, and his son Hercules, xxii. 3, 2; xxv. 6, 2.
- honorati*, xiv. 5, 3, see note; xxii. 7, 1; 9, 16; xxix. 1, 34. The word is used in its ordinary (non-technical) sense in xiv. 1, 6.
- indices*, the word is used of Ursicinus, xviii. 6, 12. For *ordinarii indices* see *ordinarii dignitates* *Introd.*, p. xxvi., note 2.
- lanccarii (lanciarri) et mattarii*, troops so called from their arms, xxi. 13, 16; xxxi. 13, 8; the meaning of *mattium* is uncertain.
- largitionum comes*, see *comes sacrarum largitionum*.
- leges Corneliae*, xix. 12, 17, note; *sumptuariae Romanarum*, xvi. 5, 1, note.
- libellis respondens*, another term for the *magister libellorum*, in charge of petitions, xx. 9, 8.
- Insoricae mures*, xvii. 2, 3, note; xviii. 2, 12.
- magister*, a civil and military title, see Boak, Bibliographical Note. It included the *m. admissionum*, xv. 5, 18, note; the *magistri pedum, equitum, and militum*, see *Introd.*, p. xxxiv.; the *m. libellorum, seelibellis respondens*; the *m. officiorum*, xv. 5, 12, note; and the *m. memoriae*, xv. 5, 4, note.
- Martenses milites*, a troop of soldiers perhaps named from the Marteni, a people of Babylonia, xxvi. 6, 7.
- militares*, military officials, contrasted with *consistoriani*, xv. 5, 12; 6, 1; with *honorati*, xiv. 5, 3, note.
- minister triclinii*, a steward, xv. 3, 4.
- ministri fucundae purpurae*, xiv. 9, 7.
- ministri tori et mensae*, chamberlains and stewards, xiv. 11, 16.
- monetae praepositus*, director of the mint, xxii. 11, 9; *m. procurator*, xxviii. 1, 29.
- navicularii*, a guild of merchants, who brought grain from the provinces to Rome and Constantinople, xxvii. 3, 2.
- notarii*, secretaries and stenographers, xiv. 5, 6; 9, 3; xv. 3, 4; the highest in rank was the *primicerius (primus omnium notariorum)*, xxvi. 6, 3, next the *secundicerius (secundum inter notarios adeptus gradum)*, xxix. 1, 8. These two are combined in *summitates notariorum*, xxvi. 6, 1. There were three classes of *notarii*, two of *tribuni et notarii*, with the rank of *clarissimi*, xvii. 5, 15 (see note) in the service respectively of the emperor (xxix. 2, 5; xxx. 2, 11) and of the praetorian prefects, and a third of *domestici et notarii*, who were attached to military commanders. *Tribunus & militare*,

## INDEX OF OFFICIALS

*notarii*—continued

as used of *notarii*, do not imply military service; the former is merely a designation of rank, and *militare* and *militia* are used also of court duties.

*numerarius*, an accountant, or cashier in the service of the commander of the cavalry, xiv. 9, 2; the same as *rationarius*, xv. 3, 36; xviii. 5, 1.

*numeri*, a general term applied to bodies of troops of varying sizes, xiv. 7, 19; xxix. 3, 7.

*officiales*, subordinate officers of the magistrates, xxvii. 7, 5.

*officiorum magister*, see *magister* and *Introd.*, pp. xxxvii f.; xv. 5, 12, note; xx. 2, 2; 8, 19; 9, 5, 8; xxvi. 4, 4; 5, 7.

*ordinariae dignitates*, civil officials, as opposed to the military, xiv. 10, 4 (of the pretorian prefect); cf. *ordinarios iudices*, xvi. 8, 13.

*ordines municipales*, the local senate, xxi. 12, 23; *o. oppidorum*, xxvii. 7, 6.

*ordinum primi*, xvi. 12, 20, see note.

*paedagogiani pueri*, pages, xxvi. 6, 15; xxix. 3, 3.

*palatina cohors*, used ironically; see *palatini*.

*palatini*, used (1) of court attendants in general (xxii. 4, 1; cf. *palatina cohors*, xviii. 5, 4); (2) of subordinates of the *comites largitionum* and *rei privatae*, who collected the taxes (xxvi. 6, 5); (3) of the soldiers on duty at the court, as opposed to those on the frontiers, xiv. 7, 9, note; xiv. 7, 12.

*Pannonica et Moesiaca*, names of legions, xxix. 6, 13.

*parens publicus* = *pater patriae*, xxix. 2, 7.

*Parthica prima*, xx. 6, 8; *secunda*, xx. 7, 1; *quinta*, xviii. 9, 3; names of legions.

*patriciatus columna prima*, the noblest of the patricians, xxix. 2, 8.

*patricius*, xxvi. 6, 7, see *Introd.*, p. xxviii.

*perfectissimi*, a designation of rank, see *Introd.*, p. xxviii; xxi. 16, 12.

*Petalantes*, a name applied to a legion or a troop of auxiliaries, probably because of their disposition, xxii. 12, 6; usually joined with the *Celtae*, xx. 4, 20, etc.

*phylarchus*, a Greek military title, used of the Saracens, xxiv. 2, 4.

*praefecti Britanniae*, xiv. 5, 7; xxiii. 1, 2; xxvii. 8, 10.

*praefectus Aegypti*, xxi. 16, 6. The proper title, cf. *procurator Aegypti*. See also *dux*.

*praefectus annonae*, the official who had charge of the grain supply of Rome, subordinate to the *praefectus urbi* and the *vicarius Romae*, xxviii. 1, 31.

*praefectus Asiae*, who ruled Asia as deputy of the prefects, xxix. 1, 9.

*praefectus praetorio*, see *Introd.*, pp. xxxi ff.; also xv. 5, 5; xvii. 3, 4; xxi. 16, 2; xxii. 3, 1, in which some of the powers of the prefects are mentioned; *praefectus praetorio praesens*, xiv. 1, 10, see note; xxiii. 5, 6; cf. xx. 4, 8.

*praepositus cubiculi*, see *cubiculi praepositus*.

*praepositus fabricae*, see *fabricae*.

*praepositus Martensium*, a military officer apparently ranking below the tribunes (Vegetius, ii. 12); xxvi. 6, 7.

*praepositus Tyrii tetrini*, xiv. 9, 7.

*praeses*, see note on xv. 5, 14;

*praeses Africae*, xxvii. 9, 3; xxviii. 6, 22.

*praesidialis*, one who had held the office of *praeses*, xxii. 14, 4; xxix. 1, 6; *praesidialis apparitor*, xvii. 3, 6; *praesidiale officium*, xxviii. 1, 5.

*praeventores et superventores*, xviii. 9, 3, note.



## INDEX OF OFFICIALS.

- primanorum legio*, a legion of palace troops, under the *magister militum praesens*; that they also took part in campaigns is shown by their presence at the battle of Argentoratum, xvi. 12, 49.
- primates*, chief officials: members of the *consistorium*, xv. 5, 18; military leaders, xxiv. 7, 1; the leading men of cities, xiv. 7, 1; of a local senate (*ordinis*), xxviii. 6, 4; cf. *ordinis vertices*, xiv. 7, 2.
- primicerius protectorum*, an officer of the guard, ranking next below the *comes* and the *tribunus*; below him were a *secundicerius* and the *decem primi*, xviii. 3, 5. (Cf. *notarii*.)
- primus ordinis domesticorum*, the same as the *primicerius (q.v.)*, xxv. 5, 4.
- princeps apparitionis praefecturae praetoriae*, xv. 3, 8; xvi. 8, 3. He belonged to the *schola* of *agentes in rebus*, and commonly retired after two years; *Rufinus* (xvi. 8, 3) is mentioned as an exception to this rule.
- principia*, the higher in rank among the soldiers; the *principiorum vertices* (xv. 5, 16) were the tribunes, centurions, and *draconarii*; cf. *principes et tribuni*, xxii. 3, 2, 9, where it seems to be used in the sense of high officers.
- proconsularis*, one who had been proconsul, xxviii. 4, 21; sometimes the title was held by those who had not been proconsul (cf. *consularis*).
- proculatores*, the same as *speculatores*, or scouts, xxvii. 10, 10, also called *exculcatores* by Vegetius.
- procurator Aegypti*, xvii. 4, 5, note.
- procurator monetae*, see *monetae*.
- promoti*, xv. 4, 10, see note; *promotorum tribunus*, xxxi. 13, 18. The meaning of *promoti* is not certain, except that they were a select body of troops.
- promoti*—continued.  
It is not certain that the passage from Vegetius in the note refers to them.
- protectores*, the emperor's body-guard, see note 3, p. 56 and *Introd.*, p. x. and xliii.
- proximus*, next in rank after the *magister*; *proximus admissionum*, xxii. 7, 2; *proximus libellorum*, xxii. 9, 16.
- pyrrichus*, the military dance of the Spartans and Cretans, consisting of rhythmical motions in imitation of martial attitudes and motions, used in xvi. 5, 10 of rhythmic marching to the music of pipes. It was used also of various forms of entertainment; cf. *Suet.*, *Jul.* xxxix. 1; *Nero*, xii. 1, note.
- quaestor (quaesitor)*, includes the *quaestor sacri palatii*, xiv. 7, 12, see note; xx. 9, 4; xxviii. 1, 25, etc., and a military officer who distributed supplies to the soldiers, xiv. 11, 14.
- rationalis*, a treasurer or fiscal agent, xv. 5, 8, see note; xxii. 4, 9; for their conduct, xxviii. 2, 13. Alexander Severus (*Lampr.* 46) *malum necessarium eos appellare solebat*.
- rationalarius*, the same as *numerationarius (q.v.)*, xviii. 5, 1; xxvi. 1, 6.
- rector*, a word used by Ammianus for various commanders and governors; *rector Aegypti*, xxii. 14, 6 (for *praefectus*); *secundae Pannoniae*, xv. 3, 7 (for *consularis*, cf. xvi. 8, 3); *pedestris militiae*, xv. 5, 2; xviii. 3, 1 (for *magister peditum*); *armaturarum*, xv. 4, 10; *gentilium*, xv. 5, 6; *sculariorum*, xiv. 10, 8 (for *tribunus*).
- referendarius*, an official who, on behalf of the Court, drew up a statement of the conflict of claims of the litigants, *Exc.* 85.
- Reges*, xvi. 12, 45, see note.

## INDEX OF OFFICIALS

- regina*, the wife of Constantius, xv. 2, 8; of Gallus Caesar, xiv. 9, 3.
- rex*, a foreign title, bestowed also on Hannibalianus (*q.v.*): *rex Persarum*, xiv. 3, 1; *rex Francorum*, xvi. 3, 2; etc.
- sacerdotes*, former priests in the municipal towns, ranking as decurions, xxviii. 6, 10, cf. *aedilis*. It is formed like *consularis* and similar words.
- scholae*, a name applied to the cohorts of soldiers on guard before the palace, because they occupied *scholae*, or barracks, near the palace, xiv. 7, 9 (note 3), 12; *domesticorum*, xxvi. 5, 3; *scutariorum prima et secunda*, xxii. 11, 2; *scholarum capita*, xxv. 10, 8; *agens scholam scutariorum secundam*, xxvi. 1, 5.
- scutarii*, xiv. 7, 9, note 4; *scutariorum rector*, xiv. 10, 8; *s. tribunus*, xiv. 11, 11; xvi. 11, 6; xix. 11, 16.
- senatus*, *Introd.*, p. xxix; *coetus amplissimus*, xxxviii. 1, 48; *senati caput*, a consul, *Exc.* 53.
- stabuli tribunus* or *comes*, xiv. 10, 8; xx. 4, 4; xxviii. 2, 10; xxx. 5, 19; *qui stabulum curabat*, xxxi. 13, 18.
- stratores*, men who were sent to the provinces to procure horses for the imperial stables, xxix. 3, 5; also *strator miles*, one who took care of the emperor's horse and helped him mount it, xxx. 5, 19.
- superintendentes*, see *praeventores*.
- suscipientes*, officials who exacted grain for the soldiers from the provincials and stored it in granaries; they gave it out in exchange for receipts specifying the time and the amount, xvii. 10, 3, note; they are called *suscipientes* in xix. 11, 3.
- tabularius praesidialis officii*, a cashier in the service of the *tabularius praesidialis officii*—cont. governor of a province, of lower rank than the *numerarius*, xxviii. 1, 5.
- thalamus*, used for *cubiculum*, xv. 2, 10; xxii. 3, 12.
- Thebaeae legiones*, xiv. 11, 15. In the *Notit. Imperii* included under the forces of the *magister militum* in Thrace. The reason for the name is uncertain.
- thesaurus*, a treasury, v. 5, 36; see *comes thesaurorum*.
- tribunus*, see *Introd.* pp. xliii ff. Add *rexillationum*, xxv. 1, 9.
- (*atriularii*), xxiv. 3, 11. They are not mentioned by this name, and are called *architecti* in xxv. 6, 15.
- vicans tribunus* see *Introd.*, p. xlv.; xv. 3, 10; xvi. 17, 62; xviii. 2, 2; xxxi. 13, 18. The term sometimes refers to one who has completed his period of service.
- vezillatio*, originally a select body of troops made up of, or from, various legions; in Ammianus a cavalry force, contrasted with *legiones* and *numeri* (*Cod. Theod.* ii. p. 314); xxv. 1, 9.
- vezilli*, banners, especially the standards of the maniples, xv. 5, 16.
- vicarii*, second in command to the *praefectus praetorio*; they governed dioceses or provinces; *Asia*, xxvii. 9, 6; *Africa*, xxviii. 6, 8; *Spain*, xliii. 1, 4; *Italy*, xxvii. 7, 5. *Vicarius urbis Romae*, xxviii. 5, 1, 6; the latter reference shows that he outranked the *praefectus annonae*. Ammianus uses various paraphrases, such as *agens pro praefectis*, xiv. 5, 7; *curans Romani<sup>1</sup> vicem*, xxix. 5, 6; *curans vicarium praefecturam*, xvii. 11, 5; *potestatis vicariae per Italiam*, xxvii. 7, 5; *regens vicarium praefecturam*, xxviii. 1, 5.

<sup>1</sup> The name of a praetorian prefect.

## INDEX OF OFFICIALS

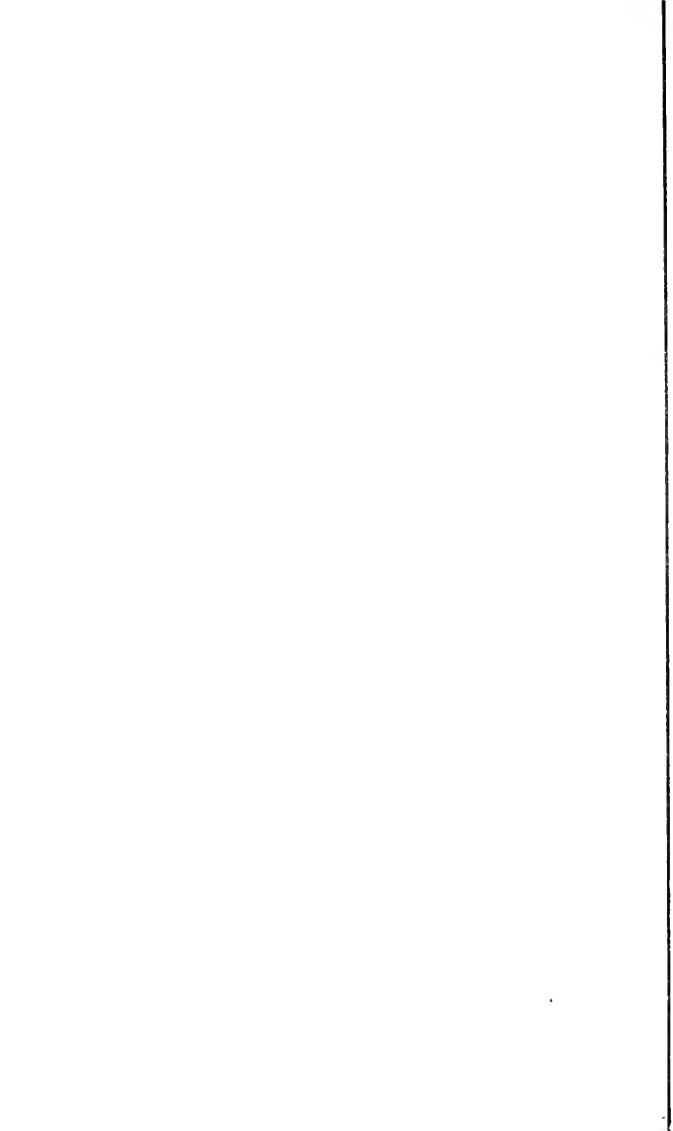
*Victores*, the name of a legion, xxiv. 4, 23; xxix. 3, 7; associated with the *Jovii*, xxv. 6, 3; xxvi. 7, 13; xxvii. 8, 7.

*xystarcha*, the head of a wrestling school, xxi. 1, 4.

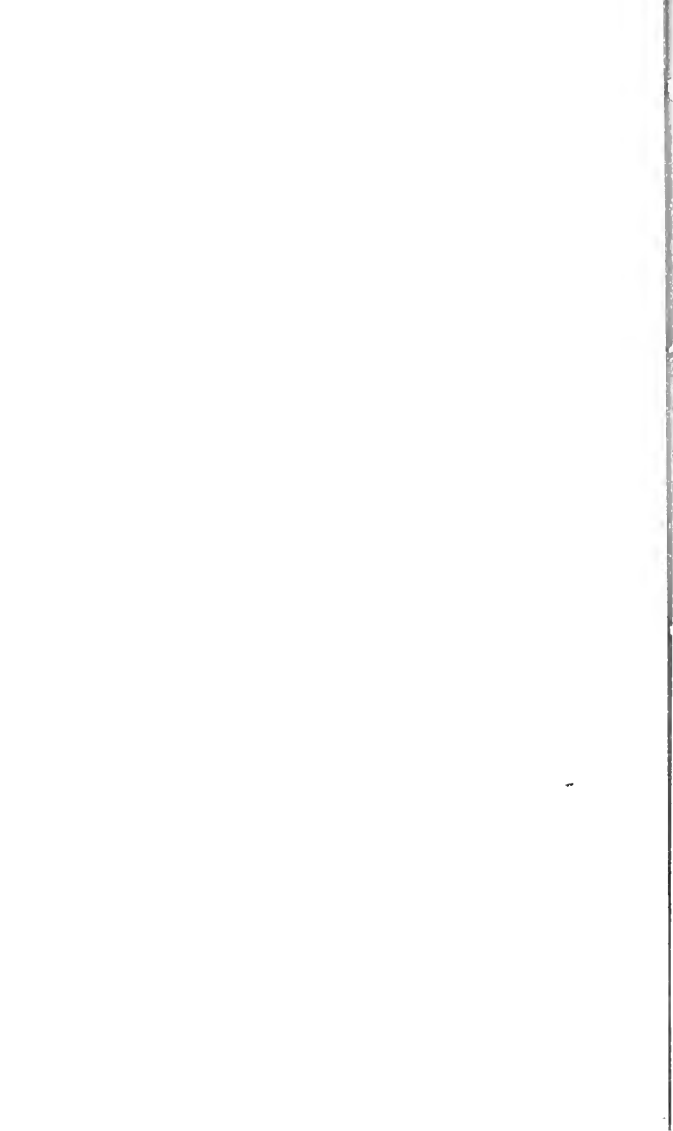
*Zabdiceni sagittarii*, xx. 7, 1, in the *Not. Imperii* included under the command of the *dux* of Mesopotamia, of which country the *Zabdiceni* were natives.

*Zinnanorum legio*, xxv. 1, 19. In the *Not. Imp. Orientalis*, Tzanni are mentioned among the troops of the *magister militum per Thracias*; the Tzanni, called *Sani* in early times, were neighbours of the Armenians and the Lazi, dwelling on the river Phasis in Colchis (Procopius, ii. 29, 14; i., p. 136 ff. *L.C.L.*).

*Note.*—The latest complete Index of Names is that of Gardthausen, 1875; of Officials that of Wagner-Erfurdt, 1808. The Index to Clark's edition is not yet available. The *Thes. Ling. Lat.* is helpful so far as it has been published, as well as works mentioned in the Bibliographical Note (p. xlix), but not a few uncertainties remain.









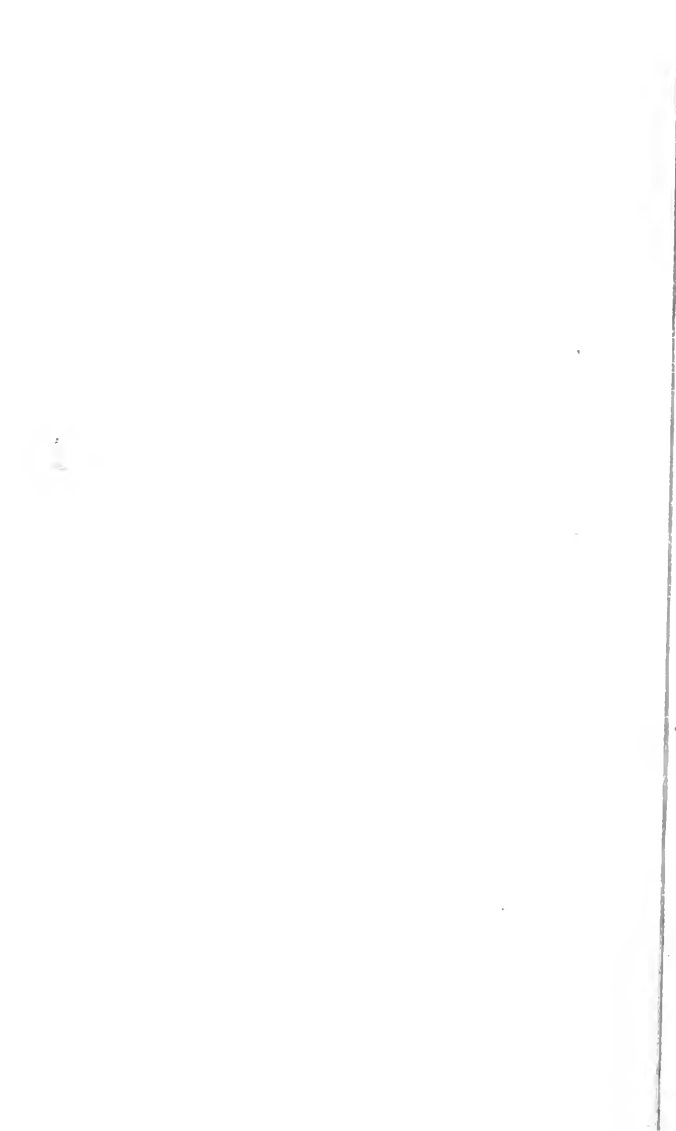
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