

CHARISTION C P T NAUDÉ

Edited by Ursula Vogel-Weidemann
& Jan Scholtemeijer

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C. P. Z. Nandé

CHARISTION CPT NAUDÉ

Edited by Ursula Vogel-Weidemann

in collaboration with

Jan Scholtemeijer

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VIRO DOCTISSIMO C.P.T. NAUDÉ
OB DIEM NATALEM OCTOGESIMUM
COLLEGAE ET AMICI HOC LIBELLUM LIBENTES
DANT ET DEDICANT

Charl Pierre Theron Naudé, member of the S.A. Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns and Correspondent der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, was born on 17 August 1912 at Aliwal North as the second son of the late Rev. W.J. Naudé. After matriculating at age sixteen he worked in Johannesburg in the civil service while studying part-time at the University of the Witwatersrand where T.J. Haarhoff was his principal mentor. In 1936 he obtained the BA degree with Greek and Latin as his majors, and in the following year the BA Hons degree in Greek and Latin literature. The Transvaal Education Diploma followed in 1939. In 1940 he was awarded a university post-graduate scholarship with a view to furthering his studies overseas, but the war prevented him from availing himself of this grant at the time. While employed as lecturer in the Department of Classics of the University of the Witwatersrand he obtained the MA degree *cum laude* in 1943, with a dissertation entitled 'The Problem of the *Ciris*'. In 1946 he could eventually continue his studies at St. John's College of the University of Oxford where the BA Hons degree in Literae Humaniores, with Ancient History and Philosophy as majors, was awarded him in 1948. After returning to South Africa he resumed his connection with the Department of Classics of his previous Alma Mater, first as lecturer, from 1949 till 1952, and then as senior lecturer, from 1953 till 1956. In the meantime he continued his academic studies, completing his doctoral examination (doktoraal) at the University of Leiden in 1955 in the subjects Ancient History, Greek and Archaeology. In the following year the degree DLitt et Phil (Leiden) was conferred on him for a thesis entitled 'Ammianus Marcellinus in die lig van die Antieke Geskiedskrywing', with Professor W. den Boer as promoter. His career as academic teacher in Ancient History and Historiography, however, only commenced in 1959, when he accepted an appointment as senior lecturer in the Department of Classics at the University of South Africa. In acknowledgement of his singular

academic merits he was promoted to a professorship in Ancient History and Historiography in 1963, to the first chair 'historiarum rerum Graecarum et Romanarum' in this country. He held this position until his retirement as professor honorarius at the end of 1977. However, the Department of Classics continued to make use of his wide experience and ready advice in both teaching and research, and even now, in 1992, he is associated with it in various functions.

In spite of pioneering countless study guides on the history of the ancient Near East, Greece and Rome as well as ancient historiography, and in spite of the at times overwhelming administrative burden which he had to take upon himself as Head of the Department of Classics and as one of the founders of *Acta Classica*, the Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa*, he still *made* time for the publications and reviews listed below. All of these, as also the post-graduate research projects which he initiated, testify to his intense and at the same time differentiated interest in the whole field of classical studies. Apart from this, the many students at all levels whom this doyen of ancient history and historiography taught and inspired found him to be somebody who was at no time chary of giving assistance and encouragement. Above all, his colleagues and students past and present will always remember the *humanitas* and genuine concern which characterized his relations with them.

And though so much distinguished, he was wise
 And in his bearing modest as a maid.
 He never yet a boorish thing had said
 In all his life to any, come what might;
 He was a true, a perfect gentle knight.

These words from the general prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* might have been written with C.P.T. Naudé in mind — to whom we extend our warmest and sincerest wishes *ad multos annos*.

17 August 1992

U.V.

* For a more extensive review of his activities in this regard cf. H.L.G(onin), 'Caroli P.T. Naudé in honorem', *Acta Classica* 20 (1977) vii.

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- (a) 'Navolging of *Imitatio* as 'n verskynsel in die Latynse Letterkunde', *Helikon* 1 (1951, 1 en 2).
- (b) 'Professor T.J. Haarhoff sestig jaar', *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 2 (1952, 1).
- (c) '*Ammianus Marcellinus in die lig van die Antieke Geskiedskrywing*', Doctoral thesis, Leiden 1956.

- (d) 'Battles and Sieges in Ammianus Marcellinus', *Acta Classica* 1 (1958).
- (e) 'The Glaze Technique of the Attic Vase', *Acta Classica* 2 (1959).
- (f) 'Die Romanisering van minderontwikkelde volkere in die Romeinse Ryk', Mededelings van die Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, B.22 (1960).
- (g) 'Die Ontstaan van die Romeinse geskiedskrywing', Mededelings van die Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, C.28 (1961).
- (h) 'An Aspect of Early Roman Historiography', *Acta Classica* 4 (1961).
- (i) 'Mythus en pseudo-Mythus in die Grieks-Romeinse geskiedskrywing', Mededelings van die Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, A.30 (1963).
- (j) 'Fortuna in Ammianus Marcellinus', *Acta Classica* 7 (1964).
- (k) 'Die Romeinse geskiedskrywing — besinning en perspektief', *Acta Classica* 9 (1966).
- (l) 'The Alleged Embassy of C. Terentius Varro, C. Manilius and M. Aurelius Cotta to Greece in 203 B.C.', *Pro munere grates, studies opgedra aan H.L. Gonin*, Pretoria 1971.
- (m) 'The Date of the Later Books of Ammianus Marcellinus', *American Journal of Ancient History* 9.1 (1984).
- (n) 'Flavius Merobaudes and the Death of the Elder Theodosius', *Varia Studia in honorem W.J. Richards*, Die Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat, Bloemfontein 1987.
- (o) 'Imitatio in die Latynse letterkunde', *Theros, studies opgedra aan professor E.L. de Kock*, Johannesburg 1989.

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- (a) G. Avenarius, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung*, Meisenheim 1956 — *Mnemosyne* (Nederland) 9 (1958).
- (b) W. den Boer, *Tussen Kade en Schip*, Den Haag 1957 — *Historia* (S.A.) 4 (1959).
- (c) V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*, Oxford 1960, *PACA* 3 (1960).
- (d) F.J. Stein, *Dexippus et Herodianus rerum scriptores quatenus Thucydidem secuti sint*, Bonn 1957 — *Mnemosyne* 14 (1961).
- (e) J.R. Hawthorn & C. MacDonald, *Roman Politics 80–44 B.C.*, Macmillan 1960 — *PACA* 4 (1961).
- (f) D.W.L. van Son, *Livius' behandeling van de Bacchanalia*, Amsterdam 1960 — *Mnemosyne* 15 (1962).
- (g) W. den Boer, F.W.N. Hugenholz, Th. J.G. Locher, *Gestalten der geschiedenis in de Oudheid, de Middeleeuwen en die Nieuwe Tijd*, Den Haag 1960 — *Historia* (S.A.) 7 (1962).
- (h) A.B. Breebaart, *Enige historiografische aspecten van Arrianus' Anabasis Alexandri*, Leiden 1960 — *Mnemosyne* 16 (1963).
- (i) L. Ferrero, *Rerum Scriptor. Saggi sulla storiografia romana* (Trieste, Univ. degli Studi, Ist. di Filol. Class., 9), Trieste 1962 — *Mnemosyne* 18 (1965).
- (j) G. Rohde, *Studien und Interpretationen zur antiken Literatur, Religion und Geschichte*, Berlin 1963 — *Historia* (S.A.) 10 (1965).

- (k) G. Gottlieb, Das Verhältnis der ausserherodoteischen Überlieferung zu Herodot. Untersucht an historischen Stoffen aus der griechischen Geschichte, Bonn 1963 — *Mnemosyne* 19 (1966).
- (l) H.H. Schmitt, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit, *Historia Einzelschriften* 6, Wiesbaden 1964 — *Mnemosyne* 20 (1967).
- (m) A. Demandt, Zeitkritik und Geschichtsbild im Werk Ammianus, Bonn 1965 — *Gnomon* 41 (1969).
- (n) R. Häussler, Tacitus und das historische Bewusstsein, Heidelberg 1965 — *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969).
- (o) G.A. Lehmann, Untersuchungen zur historischen Glaubwürdigkeit des Polybios, Münster 1967 — *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970).
- (p) Sir Ronald Syme, Ammianus and the *Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1968 — *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Ned. Inst. v.d. Nabye Oosten) 27 (1970).
- (q) Stephen Usher, The Historians of Greece and Rome, London 1969 — *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 28 (1971).
- (r) Jürgen Deininger, Der politische Widerstand gegen Rom in Griechenland 217–86 v.Chr., Berlin, New York, 1971 — *Historia* (S.A.) 12 (1972).
- (s) W.R. Connor, The New Politicians of Fifth-century Athens, Princeton 1971 — *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 30 (1973).

3. LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS AND MASTERS THESES COMPLETED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF C.P.T. NAUDÉ

(a) *Doctoral dissertations*

B.X. de Wet The role of Kleon in the history of Thucydides, 1967.

K. Rosen King and people in Macedonia. A study of their relations under Philip and Alexander, 1970.

G. Cipolla Popular tradition and literary convention in ancient bucolics. A study of the influence of folklore and folk-songs, particularly Sicilian, on the Bucolics of Theocritus and especially Vergil, 1971.

G. Chapman Themes in Aristophanes, 1976.

Jan Scholtemeijer 'n Literêre Analise van die 'Nomen Antoninorum'-Tema in die *Historia Augusta*, 1980.

(b) *Masters theses*

A. Tronson Callisthenes and the divinity of Alexander: a study in typology, 1972.

J. Scholtemeijer *Virtus-fortuna-libertas* as tema in die *Epitomae de Tito Livio* van Lucius Annaeus Florus, 1973.

P. Hasse Die *Bellum Antiochinum* by T. Livius, 1975.

L.A. Botha The *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* and the Asiatic campaign of Agesilaus, 1980.

H. van Oosten Prolegomena tot Eutropius se *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, 1980.

M.A. Forbes Plutarch's *De Herodoti malignitate*. A study of his critical methods and attitudes, 1983.

TROUBLED SPIRITS IN PERSEPOLIS

by John Atkinson
(University of Cape Town)

On taking Persepolis Alexander conducted a massacre of the population, and four months later, in the May of 330 B.C., he ordered the destruction by fire of the buildings on the royal terrace. The atrocity and the devastation form a chapter in the history of war crimes, and not surprisingly have been an embarrassment to Alexander's admirers. Arrian passed over the massacre, and dealt with the destruction of the city as briefly as he decently could; earlier writers may have shifted the blame onto Thais. But it has not been only apologists who have looked for mitigating factors. Thus, for example, Heckel writes: 'Even if Alexander did destroy the palace as an act of policy, he may nevertheless have regretted the action later.'¹ This suggests that Alexander did not intend to destroy the 'palace' but acted on an impulse, which he later regretted, and implies that an impulsive act would have been less reprehensible than an act of deliberate policy.

A.T. Olmstead, whose history approaches the subject from the Persian point of view, throws the emphasis on the massacre of the Persepolitan men, and continues: 'The barbarities at Persepolis were followed by an act of sheer vandalism — the burning of the marvelous palaces on the platform.'² Olmstead means that the destruction was deliberate but pointless, for: 'the burning of Persepolis was a symbol to the world that the great crusade had reached its destined end. Unfortunately, both symbol and crusade were equally out of date.'³ Olmstead uses the term vandalism, which has the connotation of mindless destruction, but it does not quite fit in with Olmstead's subsequent description of the sack of Persepolis as a 'symbol to the world', and Olmstead veers from outright condemnation of Alexander to criticism of him for an error of judgement.

There can be no doubt that the fires were started deliberately. The buildings on the terrace were well enough spaced that the fires in the Apadana, the Hall of One Hundred Columns and the Treasury must have started separately. The fires off the terrace must also have been started separately. There was water on the terrace. The construction of the Treasury, with its

massive walls, probable mud-sealing over the roof, and absence of windows, should have made it non-inflammable: it would have taken some effort to destroy the Treasury by fire.⁴

The fire was deliberate, but that does not tell us whether it was premeditated or simply organised on the spur of the moment. Premeditation is indicated by Arrian's account, according to which Alexander decided on the destruction of the royal city, and referred the matter to a meeting of his officers. Parmenion argued the case for sparing the royal buildings, but was overruled.⁵ In the Cleitarchean tradition the burning of the royal buildings happened because an Athenian courtesan, Thais, egged Alexander on to arson. Troops took up the call, torches were collected, pipers summoned, and Alexander headed the Dionysian procession, with Thais as his guide. Alexander hurled the first torch into a royal building, and Thais followed suit.⁶ One cannot automatically assume that Arrian's version is closer to the truth. Arrian depended on Aristobulus and Ptolemy as his main sources, of whom Aristobulus was prone to presenting Alexander in a favourable light, even at the expense of the facts, while Ptolemy had an immediate reason for suppressing the rôle of Thais, since she was, or became at a later stage, his mistress and then wife.⁷ Furthermore, the tale of the clash between Alexander and Parmenion belongs to a series of tales of such confrontations, which may have been elaborated after Parmenion fell victim to Alexander in late 330, whether to show that Parmenion had a history of obstructionism or to enhance his record as a sane adviser.⁸

Arrian's version, therefore, may not be wholly correct, but that does not make the Cleitarchean account historical. It would be out of character if Alexander acted only on impulse in such a matter, and yielded the initiative to Thais.⁹ We should therefore work on the assumption that the burning of Persepolis was premeditated, not least because the Corinthian League revived the programme of the Greek alliance which confronted Xerxes and vowed to maintain an undying memory of Xerxes' sacrilege in destroying temples. There was unfinished business when Alexander took Persepolis, and to avenge the burning of Greek temples was a divine imperative. The issue was non-negotiable, if Alexander chose to take it up. The sources agree that Alexander claimed that the arson was retribution for Persian crimes.¹⁰

The issue of the burning of temples had a history that went back before Xerxes' invasion of Greece. In the context of the Ionian revolt the allied forces took Sardis and destroyed the city by fire. As the blaze spread, the temple of Cybele caught light, and, though Herodotus does not say it was deliberately burnt, the Persians later treated it as arson, and claimed it as justification for their burning of Greek temples.¹¹ Xerxes is made to complain that Aristagoras' men went to Sardis and destroyed 'temples and sacred groves'.¹²

Persian retaliation started with the burning of the temple at Didyma.¹³ Then Datis and Artaphernes torched the temples on Naxos, but spared Delos.¹⁴ Pausanias says that the Persians were responsible for destroying by fire the temple of Hera on Samos and that of Hera in Phocaea.¹⁵

When Xerxes invaded Greece the first phase of the destruction was directed at the Phocians, with the systematic destruction of all settlements and their temples, including the oracular centre at Abae.¹⁶ Once in Athens, it took the Persians some while to gain control of the Acropolis, and as they broke into the sacred enclosure they set fire to every structure.¹⁷ According to Herodotus, Xerxes tried to make amends next day for the burning of the Parthenon, and later sent instructions to Mardonius to offer the Athenians the rebuilding of the temples which he had burnt. The offer was rejected.¹⁸ What Xerxes had missed Mardonius torched and destroyed before he pulled out of Attica.¹⁹ There is no suggestion in Herodotus that the burning of temples by Xerxes' troops was anything more than an act of war, motivated by anger, frustration and a desire for revenge.

The standard line in the fourth century was likewise that the Persians' sacrilegious firing of Greek temples was a war crime.²⁰ Thus the emphasis in the earliest accounts of the destruction of Persepolis was naturally on retribution exacted for the devastation wrought by Xerxes, particularly with regard to Greek temples.

Temples were not a feature of Persian religion, according to Herodotus.²¹ The tower structures known as the Ka'ba of Zoroaster at Naqsh-e Rostam and Solomon's Prison at Pasargadae have been identified by some as fire temples, like the fire temple discovered at Susa,²² but a counter-view is that the two tower buildings were depositories.²³

The attitude of the Persian kings to temples as a feature of alien religions was ambivalent, if judged in religious terms, but in political terms it appears that there was a pragmatic policy of supporting the temples of peoples who accepted the king's sway, and of destroying temples of the recalcitrant. Thus Cyrus commissioned the building of a new chief synagogue in Jerusalem, and Darius recorded that he had restored the temples (ayadana) which Gaumata the Magus had destroyed.²⁴ By contrast Xerxes was pleased to record that in dealing with troublesome areas of his empire he had destroyed the temple (*daivadana*|*m* [singular]) where *daivas* were worshipped.²⁵ The text is problematic as the connotations of *daiva* and *daivadana* are uncertain (Kent translates *daivas* as 'false gods'), and the point of reference is disputed: it might refer to the temple of Marduk in Babylon, but R.N. Frye rejects that idea and considers that the *daivas* must be either Indo-Iranian deities, or Elamite gods.²⁶ It has even been suggested that the temple might have been the Athenian Parthenon.²⁷ M. Schwartz argues that Xerxes was not out to destroy 'false religions', since on the day after he destroyed the Parthenon he urged the priests to offer

sacrifices as usual.²⁸ But in the Persepolis text Xerxes does say that he decreed the banning of the worship of the *daivas* and that he worshipped Ahuramazda in the place where the *daivas* had been worshipped. This was at least *Religionspolitik*.

There are two strange passages in Cicero, where it is said that Xerxes ordered the destruction by fire of the Athenian, or Greek, temples because he believed that the gods could not be contained within walls.²⁹ But elsewhere he attributes to Cotta the use of Xerxes as a standard example of one who overthrew temples and altars by brute force, and not by rational argument.³⁰ The source for this cannot be determined: perhaps Posidonius, as he is mentioned elsewhere in *De Natura Deorum* at 1.6 and 122, but then one must identify another source for Cicero's references to Xerxes' iconoclastic justification for the demolition of temples. The general tenor of Posidonius' comments on 'orientals' suggests that, if it was he who wrote that Xerxes torched temples to free the gods from artificial constraints, his purpose was to demonstrate another facet of Persian megalomania. But Cicero's formulation of Xerxes' purpose appears to stem from a sympathetic, rather than a hostile, tradition. The general point about the Persian attitude to temples may have been inspired by Herodotus 1.131, but the elaboration of Xerxes' reason for burning temples is post-Herodotean. There is no evidence that Alexander knew of any Persian iconoclastic argument.

It is difficult to determine what Alexander's purpose was in destroying Persepolis, beyond what was claimed in his openly stated reason. He was signalling the end of the Achaemenid dynasty by destroying the royal buildings at Persepolis. The message may have been directed more at the Greeks than the Persians and their subjects, but the purpose in that event is still unclear, especially as the context is uncertain: Alexander apparently did not know whether Agis' revolt had been squashed when he was in Susa,³¹ and may only have learnt of Agis' death in the summer of 330, after the death of Darius.³² But as news spreads at the speed of the fastest mode of transport,³³ and the battle of Megalopolis could have happened early in 330, even on the 'late' dating, it is quite possible that Alexander already knew of Agis' death when he organised the destruction of Persepolis. Thus the sequence of these events is uncertain, which makes it the more difficult to determine whether, and how, concern about the Greek states played a part in Alexander's decision.

We need to consider the episode from another angle, and that relates to Alexander's problems with his own troops. To get a sense of the state of mind of Alexander's troops before the final destruction of Persepolis we need to trace the main events in their war, at least from the time of the battle of Gaugamela. That had been a spectacular victory, despite the menace of the firepower of the Persian archers, the weight of their elephants, the impact of their cataphract cavalry and the fiendish appearance of scythe

chariots. The Persian losses were heavy, and those on Alexander's side relatively light, but Darius lived to fight another day.

The battle was fought on about 28 September 331 B.C.³⁴ The initial chase after Darius was futile, and Alexander decided to head south rather than east. The march of c. 460 km between Arbela and Babylon would have taken the army till at least 21 October, and there they rested for some 34 days.³⁵ The next phase took the troops to Susa, a distance of c. 370 km, and they arrived in the latter half of December. So far so good, and little resistance. But the going got tougher after they crossed the Pasitigris (Karun), and headed into the Zagros mountains. From Susa to Persepolis was some 620 km, but the journey was lengthened by the need to confront the Uxii who contested their passage of the Persian Gates. They probably reached Persepolis before the end of January 330, or possibly early in February.

The 'vulgate' sources record that, as Alexander approached Persepolis, he was confronted by a column of Greeks who had been employed as slave labour by the Persian king, and had been maimed by the amputation of limbs considered redundant for the tasks they were put to.³⁶ The story has often been branded fictitious, but the details of the grants supposedly made to them³⁷ suggest that the story had some factual base. If true, the encounter with the mutilated Greeks would help to explain the savagery of the onslaught on Persepolis, for Alexander himself is reputed to have written in a letter that he gave orders for a massacre of the Persepolitans.³⁸ The letter may have been elaborated to denigrate Alexander, but that does not mean that the massacre was a fiction. The massacre and the tale of the column of mutilated Greeks clearly belong together, thus, if someone invented the tale of the massacre to discredit Alexander, then one should posit that the tale of the mutilated Greeks was invented subsequently by some apologist who wished to provide a justification for the massacre. These two stages in the development of the myth should have been passed before the production of the account on which Curtius and Diodorus depended — presumably Cleitarchus. This is possible, but there is no good evidence to justify rejection of the massacre story, and Arrian's haste to pass over the details of the occupation and destruction of Persepolis suggests that there was indeed an atrocity. Arrian does introduce a personal criticism of Alexander at this point in his narrative.

This was a predatory army, as one can see not least from the mundane issue of food supplies. On Engels' calculations Alexander's troops and his cavalry horses would have needed c. 174 tons of grain per day,³⁹ and the army was obliged to remain in the area of Persepolis for four months before it could head for Ecbatana.⁴⁰ Not surprisingly the long stay was interrupted by a thirty day campaign into the hinterland.⁴¹

The sack and arson of the buildings on the royal terrace came at the

very end of the army's stay in Persepolis. Ahead lay the long march north towards Ecbatana and the next encounter with Darius. The troops were not to know that Darius would make a tactical withdrawal, and then turn to flight, nor that he would be betrayed and killed by his own officers.

At the end of their long stay in Persepolis there were many factors that might help to explain the final destruction of the buildings on the royal terrace: boredom and frustration, the large numbers of men, the derelict or empty buildings. For some, vandalism was an expression of thwarted creativity.

Then there was the rôle of Alexander in this drama. By actively participating in the fire-raising he was no doubt consciously identifying himself with his troops. But at the same time, in organising first the massacre and then the destruction of the city he was binding the men closer to him by shared participation in gratuitous acts of violence and destruction.

The massacre involved a paradox: on the one hand Alexander was, consciously or unconsciously, using the principle that shared guilt enforces loyalty. On the other hand, the destruction served to condition the men who participated to act upon orders without the inhibition of conscience. The paradox is explained, if not resolved, by the consideration that conscience is a mix of memory of past instruction, ideals, and fear of detection or punishment. The ethic of discipline and collective honour was nurtured by fear, and would prevail over inhibitions inspired by any higher ideals.⁴²

When it came to the final destruction of Persepolis by fire the troops who participated would have been anxious about what lay ahead, and that emotion must have added its burden to the baggage of psychological trouble they were already carrying.

The question then arises whether the details of the destruction offer any clue to the motivations of the perpetrators. It is conventional to attribute acts of vandalism to psychological disorder or anti-social behaviour, and not to consider any further the particulars of the damage wrought. Where an avowed reason is offered for the vandalism, that may well be accepted as an adequate explanation. But some art historians have taken such acts of 'vandalism' more seriously, and would apply the term iconoclasm to many manifestations of wilful damage to works of art.⁴³ We could label as iconoclastic the attack on imperial images in the riots in Antioch in 387, or the destruction during the Nika Riots of 532 of the museum collection held in the Baths of Severus in Constantinople.⁴⁴ Whatever the label, the focussing of destruction on one element of a work of art or one structure rather than another calls for some investigation.

Alexander's pyrotechnic extravaganza razed not only the royal buildings on the terrace at Persepolis, but also what were apparently the residences of the nobles to the south of the terrace. Thus the target was not simply the images of Persian royalty, but also of the apparatus that supported

the monarchy. There is a theory that the structures on the terrace were aligned to serve as a guide to astronomical observations that related to the functioning of the site as a religious centre.⁴⁵ The destruction of buildings off the terrace, however, suggests that Alexander was not targeting the royal buildings for any religious significance they may have held. As for the damage done to reliefs, it does not appear that there was any coordinated attempt to deface representations of the winged ring with human bust, which used to be regarded as symbolising either the Fravahr/Fravashi (the king's *daemon*) or Ahuramazda,⁴⁶ but is now regarded by some as the symbol of Khvarenah, the Glory or Fortune of the Persian king or nation.⁴⁷ The degree to which Zoroastrianism had shed its aniconic principles during the Achaemenid era is a matter of debate, and insofar as Zoroastrianism was supposed to be aniconic, Persepolis ought not to be a promising hunting ground for religious iconoclasm. But Alexander may have chosen to destroy Persepolis by fire because he was aware that fire was central to the cult of Ahuramazda. His awareness of the significance of fire for the Persians was assumed at least later in Zoroastrian tradition, as he was accused of extinguishing sacred fires (*Greater Bundahishn* xxxiii, 14).⁴⁸ Debris from the Treasury included evidence that Alexander's troops smashed a great number of mortars that were used for *haoma* in sacred rites.⁴⁹

The wreckers of the Treasury went to some trouble to smash items of stone tableware: some 600 items are listed.⁵⁰ It is possible that the plates were broken as men tried to prize off precious metal coverings or decorations, but there is no solid evidence that the plates were so adorned.⁵¹ As the stoneware was found covered by the debris of the original destruction of the building, it is reasonable to attribute the breaking of these objects to Alexander's troops. The presence of Xerxes' name on some 53 items is not enough to explain the systematic breakage. The destruction may however be seen as an attack on symbols of luxury, and a manifestation of anger at luxury objects that appeared to have no value as booty. The same motive may explain the destruction of the mortars.

Curtius 5.6.5 refers to the tearing up of robes, the smashing of vases and the dismemberment of statues, albeit in the initial assault upon the city, when the troops were allowed to pillage at will. The dismemberment of statues is illustrated in the Treasury wreckage by the female statuette, perhaps from Phocaea, which had its head knocked off.⁵² The demolition squad was thus not deferential towards Greek works of art. Again it was a case of an attack on a luxury object that had no value to soldiers on the move.

While there is little to justify the label of religious iconoclasm, there is a pattern in the damage done to the reliefs that calls for something more than the tag of simple vandalism. The doorway of the Tachara (Palace) of Darius was decorated with reliefs showing Darius walking, followed by

two attendants, one holding a parasol: in each case the face has been damaged, with the eyes as the first target of the attack.⁵³ The west gate of the Hall of One Hundred Columns bears a relief showing the king in combat with a rampant bull, and the king's face appears to have been deliberately damaged.⁵⁴ The north doorway of the same structure has a relief showing the king on his throne supported by five decks with rows of his subjects. The faces have been systematically damaged.⁵⁵ The southern portico of the same hall has a relief showing the monarch on his throne with a single attendant, and his throne is supported on a stool borne by three superimposed lines of subjects. The faces of the king and his subjects have been damaged, with the eyes as the centre of the patch of damage. There also appears to be damage to the feet of the attendants.⁵⁶ The same pattern recurs on the relief carved on the southern column of the eastern gateway of the Tripylon, which again shows the king on his throne attended by one man, with the supporting stool borne by three lines of subjects.⁵⁷ The winged ring with bust over the head of the king is relatively unscathed, but that could be because it was high enough up to be out of harm's way. And so on.

One cannot exclude the possibility that all these deliberate defacements were the work of later generations — possibly Muslims demonstrating iconoclastic zeal.⁵⁸ But one may look to the Treasury to provide some evidence of the damage done by Alexander's men, since the debris of the original destruction seems to have remained essentially undisturbed until the excavation of the site this century. The Treasury yielded two bas-reliefs showing the king on his throne, holding audience. The better preserved of the two was not much defaced, except for the area around the eye of the king.⁵⁹

The pattern of damage of the reliefs at Persepolis does not support the notion that it was only a consequence of clumsy attempts to remove precious metal adornments attached to the reliefs. Furthermore, while a number of reliefs were damaged in the same way, there are rows of figures on the Apadana reliefs that were left alone. This suggests that there was no general order to deface reliefs in a particular way. One is left with the conclusion that the attacks on individual reliefs were driven by the urges of the men who did the damage.

Why then the repeated attacks on the faces on the reliefs, and in particular on the eyes? This is not so surprising in that the eyes are a common target of iconoclastic 'vandalism'. Those who attack works of art tend to mutilate rather than destroy, and to blot or hack out what makes the subject effective.

If there was a religious element in the defacement of these reliefs, then it might reflect the idea that blindness was the divine punishment for transgressions of divine law, normally where the crime was witnessing a god or the god's domain against the god's wish. Thus in Greek mythology Teire-

sias was blinded for seeing Artemis or Athene bathing, and Phineus was likewise punished for seeing the gods' intentions.⁶⁰ A quasi-historical myth told of how Alexander's troops burst into the temple of Demeter at Miletus to plunder it and were immediately blinded so that they should not see the women's secrets.⁶¹ It is therefore possible that those who 'blinded' the king or his attendants on the reliefs at Persepolis saw this as a way of exacting vengeance for Xerxes' sacrileges.

It may be that Persians were notoriously fearful of being blinded,⁶² or were particularly vulnerable to a facial wound when in full armour,⁶³ but the explanation lies more likely in the psychological state of the troops. Though victorious, they were still in hostile territory: their casualties had been heavy, and they had recently met a column of Greek suppliants who had been mutilated by the Persians. In hacking out the eyes of the sculptured figures they were removing the element which gave them the semblance of reality; they were blinding imagined Persians (imagined as witnesses, informers, or simply as the enemy).

This paper has been directed at two interrelated questions: what can be learnt about the ways in which Alexander's troops went about the destruction of the monuments at Persepolis, and what does this tell us about the psychology of those troops as a factor in the final destruction of the royal city? The action needs to be seen in its immediate context, and not just as a message to the Greeks or the Persians. Alexander was not the only one who had difficulty in coping with stress as the campaigns dragged on. Whatever the troops got out of the orgy of destruction, Alexander was to say that the burning of Persepolis had been a mistake, and as for Thais — well at least Ptolemy found her company therapeutic.

NOTES

1. In *Quintus Curtius Rufus: the History of Alexander*, translated by J. Yardley, Harmondsworth 1984, 281.
2. *History of the Persian Empire*, Chicago 1948, 521.
3. *Op. cit.*, 522.
4. On the Treasury E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, Chicago 1953, esp. 158 and 161. Dr. Shapur Shahbazi explained to me the case for assuming that the fire was not accidental.
5. Arrian 3.18.11–12.
6. Cleitarchus' name is linked with this version in Athenaeus 13.576e. The story is told by Diodorus Siculus 17.72.2–6 and Curtius Rufus 5.7.1–12.
7. Plutarch *Alexander* 38.2; Athenaeus 13.576e.
8. Callisthenes may well have initiated a hostile tradition on Parmenion: cf. Plut. *Alex.* 33.10.
9. I have discussed the issues more fully in my commentary on Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni* Bks. 5–7.2 to be published soon by A.M. Hakkert. Hakkert is also

about to release a book on the burning of Persepolis by G. Wirth, but this paper is written in ignorance of Professor Wirth's arguments.

10. Arrian 3.18.12; Plutarch *Alex.* 38.4; Diod. Sic. 17.72.3; Strabo 15.3.6 p. 730; cf. Curtius Rufus 5.7.4.
11. Herodotus 5.102; Diod. Sic. 10.25.1.
12. Hdt. 7.8/33.
13. Hdt. 6.19.3.
14. Hdt. 6.96 and 97.
15. Pausanias 7.5.4.
16. Hdt. 8.33; Pausanias 10.35.2.
17. Hdt. 8.53.
18. Hdt. 8.54; 140 and 143.
19. Hdt. 9.13.
20. e.g. Isocrates *Paneg.* 155–6 (for an oath taken by Ionians); Lycurgus c. *Leocratem* 81; Diod. Sic. 11.29, presumably following Ephorus. The myth of Xerxes the 'destroyer of sanctuaries' grew in the telling, and caution is needed: A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, 'Xerxes' destruction of Babylonian temples', in *Achaemenid History II: the Greek Sources*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, Leiden 1987, 69–78.
21. Hdt. 1.131.
22. References in M.A. Dandamaev and V.G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*; English edition by P.L. Kohl, Cambridge 1989, esp. 343–5.
23. D. Stronach, in the *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 2, edited by I. Gershevitch, Cambridge 1985, esp. 848–52.
24. *Ezra* 1.1–4; Behistun inscription 1.63–4 (text in R.G. Kent, *Old Persian*, 2nd ed., New Haven 1953, 118); Dandamaev, *op. cit.* (n. 22 supra), 298.
25. Xerxes' Persepolis text 4.35–41, in Kent (n. 24 supra), 151.
26. *The History of Ancient Iran*, Munich 1983, 123–4.
27. Noted by M. Schwartz, *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 2, 690.
28. *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 2, 690–1, citing Hdt. 8.54.
29. *De Republica* 3.14; *De Legibus* 2.26.
30. *De Natura Deorum* 1.115.
31. Arrian 3.16.9–10.
32. Justin 12.1.4 with Aeschines 3.133, which is the crucial reference in Cawkwell's case for a late date for the battle of Megalopolis: *CQ* 19 (1969) 163–180.
33. In peacetime conditions the distance between Sardis and Susa might have been covered by Persian messengers in a week: J.M. Cook, *The Persian Empire*, London 1983, 108.
34. *Pace* Plutarch *Cam.* 19 and *Alex.* 31.8; the case is argued in my *Commentary on Curtius Rufus' Historiae Alexandri Magni, Books 3 and 4*, Amsterdam 1980, Appendix H.
35. Curtius Rufus 5.1.39.
36. Curtius 5.5.5–24; Diod. Sic. 17.69.2–9; Justin 11.14.11–2.
37. Curtius 5.5.24; Diod. Sic. 17.69.8.
38. Plutarch *Alex.* 37.3.
39. D.W. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, Berkeley 1978, 73, and n. 12.
40. Plut. *Alex.* 37.6.
41. Curtius 5.6.12 and 19.
42. See for general background N.F. Dixon, *The Psychology of Military Incompetence*, reprinted London 1988.

43. Much good work has been done on this subject by D. Freedberg: for example, 'The structure of Byzantine and European Iconoclasm', in *Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1975: Iconoclasm*, edited by A. Bryer and J. Herrin, Birmingham 1977, 165-77.
44. Cedrenus in the *CSHB* text vol. 1, 648, with my comment in *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 1 (1990) 126.
45. J. George, *Achaemenid Orientations*, Berlin 1979, 196-206; cf. F. Krefter, 'Persepolis', *AMI* 6 (1973) 153-161.
46. The issues are reviewed by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, in *Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte*, ed. G. Walser, Wiesbaden 1972, esp. 76-8.
47. A.S. Shahbazi, 'An Achaemenid symbol', *AMI* 7 (1974) 135-44.
48. A reference I owe to M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, London 1979, 78.
49. Cf. N. Cahill, 'The Treasury at Persepolis', *AJA* 89 (1985), esp. 383; E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 2, 53-6.
50. E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 2, 81-93; N. Cahill (n. 49 supra), 382-3.
51. N. Cahill, *art. cit.*, 383.
52. E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, Vol. 2, 66.
53. Plates in Schmidt's *Persepolis* illustrate these and other reliefs referred to below. I give additional photographic references. In the immediate case see the dust jacket of J.M. Cook's *The Persian Empire* (n. 33 supra); R. Lane Fox, *The Search for Alexander*, London 1980, 262.
54. L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Leiden 1966, Plate 42a.
55. L. Vanden Berghe (n. 54 supra), Plate 42b; P. Green, *Alexander the Great*, London 1970, 172.
56. G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, Berlin 1966, Plate 6.
57. G. Walser (n. 56 supra), Plate 7.
58. Cf. E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, Vol. 1, 82 on sculpture of the northern stairway, 'vandalised over the centuries'.
59. J.M. Cook (n. 33 supra), Plate 9; cf. the relief showing Darius on the northern staircase of the Apadana: L. Trümpelmann, *Ein Weltwunder der Antike: Persepolis*, Mainz 1988, Plate 14.
60. References in R.G.A. Buxton, *JHS* 100 (1980), esp. 30; *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Band 2, Stuttgart 1954, cols 436-9.
61. Valerius Maximus 1.1. ext. 5.
62. Arrian 1.16.1; 3.14.3; Curtius 3.11.5 and 4.15.31.
63. Hdt. 9.22.

ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR HERKUNFT DES AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

von Pedro Barceló
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Für C.P.T. Naudé zum 80. Geburtstag:
'ad multos annos'

Wie viele antike Autoren erweist sich Ammianus Marcellinus als äußerst zurückhaltend, wenn es darum geht, seine Leser über die eigene Person zu unterrichten. Aus einer Reihe von Anspielungen, die sich in seinem gesamten Werk verstreut finden, kann man auf seinen griechischen Hintergrund zurückschließen.¹ In der griechischen Sprache und Zivilisation war er aufgewachsen, die hellenische Kulturwelt bildete seine geistige Heimat. Dies alles wüßten wir, selbst dann, wenn Ammian am Ende seines Werkes nicht jenen berühmten Satz geschrieben hätte, mit dem er sich als Grieche zu erkennen gibt: 'miles quondam et Graecus'.² Freilich war Ammian ein Hellene ganz besonderer Art. Als nicht gerade alltäglich muß sein grandioser Versuch gelten, Reichsgeschichte in der Form römischer 'res gestae' zu verfassen. Indem er sich dazu der lateinischen Sprache bediente, bekundete er seine Verbundenheit mit der westlichen Tradition. Wie kaum ein anderer Zeitgenosse empfand er die Notwendigkeit einer Synthese griechischer und lateinischer Lebensformen als tragendes Element des Imperium Romanum.³

I

Mit dem allgemein gehaltenen Bekenntnis zum Hellenentum ist aber seine Herkunft nicht hinreichend bestimmt, und da Ammian keine expliziten Auskünfte über seine Heimatstadt gibt, wird diese Frage mit Hilfe indirekter Zeugnisse beantwortet. Es sind im wesentlichen zwei Gründe, die dazu geführt haben, Antiochia als die Geburtsstadt Ammians anzusehen. Zum einen die engagierte und ausgiebige Aufmerksamkeit, die Ammian den antiochenischen Angelegenheiten widmet, die erkennbar ist an einer Serie von Andeutungen, die sowohl seine persönliche Betroffenheit als auch seinen

lokalpatriotischen Stolz zu bestätigen scheinen (Amm. 14. 1; 8).⁴ Ferner besitzen wir im Corpus der Korrespondenz des antiochenischen Rhetors Libanios einen an Marcellinus gerichteten Brief (1063 F), der mit dem Historiker Ammian in Verbindung gebracht wird. Aus dem Schreiben geht hervor, daß die Zeilen des Libanios an einen gelehrten Landsmann adressiert waren, der sich damals in Rom aufhielt.⁵

Neuerdings wird diese von der Forschung allgemein akzeptierte antiochenische Zugehörigkeit Ammians von J. Matthews⁶ und G.W. Bowersock⁷ angezweifelt. Eine Umdeutung der Hintergründe des Schreibens des Libanios bildet den Ausgangspunkt für diese Ansicht. Es wird verneint, daß Ammianus Marcellinus der Empfänger des oben genannten Briefes gewesen sei. Nach landläufiger Meinung war der in Rom weilende Historiker Ammian Adressat der Zeilen des Libanios, die von SeecK auf das Jahr 392 datiert wurden.⁸ Diese Annahme bildete einen der stärksten Hinweise für die antiochenische Provenienz Ammians. Genau dies wird nun in Frage gestellt. Ich möchte mich im folgenden der Einfachheit halber der Gedankenführung von Bowersock zuwenden, der alle einschlägigen Aspekte in Kurzform aufgelistet hat, um diese umstrittene Interpretation einer kritischen Würdigung zu unterziehen. Die wichtigsten Punkte seiner Beweiskette lauten wie folgt:

(1) Es wird davon ausgegangen, daß der im Libaniosbrief vorkommende Terminus *συγγραφή* sich nicht ausschließlich zur Kennzeichnung historischer Schriften eignete. Vielmehr konnten mit dem Begriff auch anders geartete Prosatexte wie etwa pseudo-wissenschaftliche Traktate bezeichnet werden. Damit möchte man die Anspielung des Libanios, der Adressat des Briefes habe Teile seines Werkes in Rom öffentlich vorgelesen, dahingehend deuten, daß es sich dabei keineswegs um die abgeschlossenen Kapitel der ammianischen 'res gestae', sondern um andere rhetorische Arbeiten gehandelt haben kann.

(2) Eine wichtige Belegfunktion wird einigen aus einem medizinisch-magischen Traktat stammenden Versen, die im Corpus Hermeticum zusammengefaßt sind, zugewiesen.⁹ Es wird vermutet, daß der erste Band dieses Compendiums aus den Schriften eines gewissen Harpokration aus Alexandria exzerpiert worden sei, was sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. ereignet haben soll. In diesem akrostischen Gedicht tauchen zwei Namen auf: Magnus und Marcellinus. Nach der Meinung von M. West¹⁰ könnte Magnus von Nisibis, der sich mit einer ähnlichen Thematik beschäftigte, wie sie von Harpokration behandelt wird, dafür in Frage kommen. Da ein Magnus von Nisibis als Adressat eines Briefes des Libanios bekannt ist (*Ep.* 843), wird gefolgert, daß der in den akrostischen Versen vorkommende Marcellinus ebenfalls der Briefpartner des Libanios gewesen sei. Daraus leitet Bowersock die antiochenische Herkunft des in Rom weilenden Marcellinus ab, der als Verfasser rhetorischer Traktate das Wohlwollen der Römer erlangt

hatte und dem überdies eine öffentliche Anerkennung zuteil wurde. In den bitteren Worten gegen die vornehme römische Welt, die der Historiker Ammian findet (Amm. 14. 6), sieht er eine Inkompatibilität zu der aus dem Libaniosbrief ersichtlichen freundlichen Aufnahme des Marcellinus durch das römische Publikum.

(3) Ist aufgrund dieser Faktorenkombination der Historiker Ammianus Marcellinus als Empfänger des Libaniosbriefes in Frage gestellt, so folgert Bowersock, dann ist die antiochenische Filiation des Historikers unhaltbar geworden. Als weiteren Beleg wird das Alexandria-Kapitel aus den ammiianischen 'res gestae' herangezogen (Amm. 22. 16). Hier sei in extenso und mit Bewunderung über die Stadt Alexandria geschrieben worden, woraus geschlossen wird, daß der Verfasser dieser Passagen nur ein Alexandriner gewesen sein kann.

Faßt man die einzelnen Aspekte dieser Beweisführung zusammen, so lautet die Kernaussage: Der Adressat des Libaniosbriefes war nicht mit dem Historiker Ammianus Marcellinus identisch. Werkimmanente Kriterien, nämlich die Analyse der alexandrinischen Kapitel, legen nahe, Ammian als Kind dieser Stadt anzusehen.

II

Um es gleich vorweg zu sagen, in keinem der angeführten Punkte vermag die von Bowersock vorgetragene gelehrte Argumentation zu überzeugen. Die dabei vorkommenden Unklarheiten regen zu Reflexionen bzw. Präzisierungen an. Gehen wir diese Punkte einzeln durch.

Zu (1). Seit Thukydides' Zeiten verstand man *συγγραφή* als einen mit der Geschichtsschreibung zusammenhängenden Begriff. Im 4. Jh. n. Chr. hatte sich daran nichts geändert, wiewohl nicht abgestritten werden soll, daß die vorgeschlagene Deutung von *συγγραφή* im Sinne rhetorisch-wissenschaftlicher Traktatliteratur denkbar ist. Doch eine solche Lesart stellt die *lectio difficilior* dar.¹¹ In dem Libaniosschreiben kommt *συγγραφή* dreimal vor und zwar in der Bedeutung eines abgeschlossenen Prosatextes, etwa in der Form eines Geschichtswerks. Wir hören auch in dem Brief, daß Marcellinus ursprünglich nach Rom gereist war, um die Vorträge der Lehrer der Redekunst zu hören. Rom war damals eine berühmte Bildungsstätte. Der aus Antiochia gekommene Marcellinus wollte hier seine sprachlichen und literarischen Kenntnisse erweitern. Dies gibt gerade für den Historiker Ammian einen Sinn, da dieser das große Ziel hatte, sein Geschichtswerk auf Latein abzufassen. Schon bald brachte er es zu einer solchen Meisterschaft, daß er in öffentlichen literarischen Wettbewerben, bei denen er Teile seines im Entstehen begriffenen Geschichtswerkes las, Erfolge erreichte.¹² Öffentliche historische Vorlesungen waren keine Seltenheit¹³, und so ist es denkbar, daß Ammian diese Gelegenheit ergriff, sich einen Namen zu

machen. Die Resonanz, die aus Antiochia kam, ist durch den Libaniosbrief belegt.

Zu (2). Die Infragestellung der Identität des Historikers Ammian mit dem Adressaten des Libaniosbriefes beruht auf einer Reihe von Kombinationen, die ziemlich spekulativ bleiben. Aus vereinzelt Mutmaßungen wird nach ihrer vermeintlichen Klärung ein Bedeutungszusammenhang konstruiert und dieser dann als Argument verwendet. Die dabei vollzogenen Zirkelschlüsse werfen mehr Probleme auf als sie lösen können: Ist es so sicher, daß der erste Band der Kyraniden ein Exzerpt aus Harpokration darstellt? Ist die vorgeschlagene Chronologie so felsenfest, wie behauptet wird? Warum muß der Magnus der akrostischen Verse mit Magnus von Nisibis identisch sein? Ist der Zusammenhang zwingend, daß der Marcellinus der akrostischen Verse der Briefpartner des Libanios gewesen sein muß? Warum muß der im Libaniosbrief benutzte Ausdruck συγγραφή hier ein rhetorisch-medizinisches Traktat bezeichnen?

Nicht nur, daß zur Beantwortung dieser Fragen Hypothesen dargeboten werden; selbst, wenn dies alles so stimmig wäre, wie behauptet wird, was läßt sich substantiell für die Frage der Herkunft Ammians gewinnen? Denn angenommen, der Beweis wäre erbracht, daß der Empfänger des Libaniosbriefes nicht der Historiker Ammian sei, so schließt dies seine mögliche antiochenische Herkunft noch nicht aus. Daher wird als entscheidendes Argument eine weitere Hypothese bemüht, die aus der Deutung des ammianischen Werkes gewonnen wurde: Das lokalpatriotische Motiv, das bei der Behandlung der alexandrinischen Angelegenheiten angeblich durchschimmern soll, womit der Verfasser als Alexandriner erkennbar wäre. Wie steht es wirklich damit?

Zu (3). Die im 16. Kapitel des 22. Buches dargebotene Beschreibung Alexandrias bildet für Bowersock den Schlüssel zur Lösung der Frage nach der Herkunft Ammians: 'The extensive and admiring treatment the historian accords to Egyptian Alexandria may not have been the work of an impressed tourist, but of a native of the city'.¹⁴ Diese apodiktisch geäußerte Vermutung beruht auf nicht näher erläuterten Eindrücken. Fest steht, daß Ammian Alexandria nach dem üblichen Schema seiner Stadtbeschreibungen schildert. Zunächst erzählt er ihre Gründung mit der Anekdote des Mauerbaus (7), dann beschreibt er die Lage der Stadt (8, 9, 10), die Bedeutung des Leuchtturms von Pharos (11), des Serapeums (12) und der Bibliothek (13) wird anschließend unterstrichen. Nach einem Exkurs über Kanopos (14) handelt Ammian die jüngere Geschichte Alexandrias mit einem einzigen Satz ab! (15). Danach ergeht er sich in der Darbietung eines Katalogs der Zelebritäten der Stadt (16, 17, 18), und zum Schluß kommen die seit Herodots Historien verbreiteten Weisheiten über die ägyptische Religion zu Wort (19, 20, 21, 22). Es ist mir unverständlich, wie man aus dieser knappen, gelehrten, distanzierten und dazu noch mit gängigen Topoi

durchsetzten Stadtbeschreibung Kriterien gewinnen kann, die eine alexandrinische Herkunft ihres Verfassers nahelegen sollen. Wie anders schreibt Ammian über Rom und Antiochia, zwei Städte, die einen wichtigen Stellenwert in seinem Leben einnehmen.

III

Mit außergewöhnlicher Sachkenntnis setzt sich Ammian mit der stadtrömischen Topographie auseinander. Die Erörterung der zentralen Bauwerke und Plätze der Stadt Rom entlocken dem Historiker Töne aufrichtiger Bewunderung. Dies gilt vor allem, als er anlässlich des Rombesuchs des Kaisers Constantius II. die Sehenswürdigkeiten der Stadt begeistert aufzählt (Amm. 16. 10).

Das Rombild Ammians vereinigt eine Summe von Eindrücken, individuelle Erfahrungen, historische Reminiszenzen und Reflexionen, die sich wie Bausteine zu einem farbenprächtigen Mosaik zusammenfügen. Zwar schimmert Ammians persönliche Stimmungslage bei der Darstellung des römischen Alltags immer wieder durch, aber sie vermag keineswegs seinen Blick für die sehr komplexe Realität der Stadt zu trüben.¹⁵ Getrieben von einem ungebrochenen Bemühen um Objektivität gelingt es Ammian bei seiner Auseinandersetzung mit den stadtrömischen Verhältnissen, dem banalen Alltagstreiben der Stadt eine Menge historisch übergreifender Aspekte abzugewinnen. Als einprägsame Aperçus eingekleidet oder als markante Sentenzen formuliert, führt Ammian dem Leser die meisten seiner Werturteile vor. Die Ehrfurcht vor der historischen Bedeutung Roms spielt eine durchaus ambivalente Rolle. Einerseits läßt sie die Disproportion zwischen der glanzvollen Vergangenheit und der kümmerlichen Gegenwart besonders kraß zu Tage treten, andererseits vermag gerade diese übermächtige Erinnerung die Erbärmlichkeit der eigenen Epoche etwas abzumildern. Ammians außergewöhnlich engagierte Stellungnahme zu dieser Stadt läßt erkennen, daß er sie aus eigener Anschauung bestens kannte, und obwohl sein dortiger Aufenthalt Höhen und Tiefen erlebt hatte, hielten letztere ihn nicht davon ab, eine ungetrübte Anhänglichkeit jener Stadt zu bewahren, die das bedrohte römische Reich symbolisierte. Gewiß war Ammian kein Römer, obwohl ihm die 'urbs aeterna' sehr am Herzen lag und er sich über das römische Alltagsleben mächtig erregen konnte. Seine detaillierte Kenntnis dieser Stadt und ihrer Menschen schlugen sich in der literarischen Verarbeitung seiner Erlebnisse nieder, die auf Schritt und Tritt Beteiligung und Betroffenheit verraten.¹⁶

Ähnlich ist die ammianische Stimmungslage, wenn er sich zu Themen, die Antiochia betreffen, äußert. Gleich zu Beginn der erhaltenen Kapitel des 14. Buches werden wir mit der Regierung des Caesar Gallus konfrontiert, der in Antiochia residierte (Amm. 14. 1). Hier tauchen die ersten Bemerkungen auf über die städtischen Verhältnisse der syrischen Metropole.

Wir erfahren von der aufgeladenen politischen Atmosphäre, die durch die Frontstellung zwischen dem Caesar und der munizipalen Aristokratie gekennzeichnet war (Amm. 14. 7). Ammians Schilderung dieser Konfliktlage ist keineswegs objektiv. Eindeutig liegt seine Sympathie bei der von Gallus in die Enge getriebenen städtischen Oberschicht, wohl deswegen, weil er aus ihr hervorgegangen war. Antiochia und seine Umgebung¹⁸ erfahren an verschiedenen Stellen des ammianischen Werkes eine liebevolle Würdigung. Antiochia ist für Ammian jene 'weltberühmte Stadt, mit der sich keine andere vergleichen kann, was den Überfluß an eingeführten und einheimischen Waren anbetrifft' (Amm. 14. 8. 8). Er zeichnet die weltoffene Metropole als die modernste Stadt des römischen Reiches. Ihre Paläste, ihre öffentlichen Anlagen und Bauten, ihre Tempel und Kirchen gehörten zu den prachtvollsten der damaligen Zeit.¹⁹ Prunkstück war die öffentliche Straßenbeleuchtung, über die Ammian in Anspielung auf die Torheit des Gallus sagt: 'Und das tat er, der Caesar Gallus, in einer Stadt, wo die Helligkeit der nächtlichen Beleuchtung mit der strahlenden Helle des Tages zu wetteifern pflegte' (Amm. 14. 1. 9). Aufschlußreich ist der Bericht über den Konflikt zwischen den Antiochenern und Kaiser Julian. Hier zeigt Ammian, der ansonsten ein Anhänger des Julian ist, großes Verständnis für die Anliegen der antiochenischen Kurialen. In einigen Passagen kann er kaum den Tadel für das Verhalten Julians unterdrücken (Amm. 22. 14. 2 ff.). Die Anteilnahme, die Ammian für die Nöte der Antiochener empfindet, die detaillierte Kenntnis der antiochenischen Ereignisse, nicht nur derjenigen, welche die hohe Politik betrafen,²⁰ sowie die stolze Betonung der Vorzüge der Stadt nähren die Vermutung, daß er sich ihr deswegen so eng verbunden fühlte, weil sie seine Heimat war.

IV

Berücksichtigt man alle bisher vorgetragenen Aspekte, so läßt sich folgendes sagen: Die in Zweifel gezogene Identität des Historikers Ammian als Briefpartner des Libanios wird nicht zwingend bewiesen und so bleibt sie bloße Vermutung. Noch viel weniger überzeugt der Versuch, unter Umgehung der viel aussagekräftigeren antiochenischen Kapitel des ammianischen Werkes, aus der in den 'res gestae' vorkommenden Beschreibung Alexandrias auf die alexandrinische Herkunft des Verfassers schließen zu wollen. Freilich ist zuzugeben, daß die traditionelle Meinung hinsichtlich der antiochenischen Provenienz Ammians alles andere als lückenlos begründet ist. Doch der neuerdings mit soviel gelehrtem Scharfsinn unternommene Versuch, diese zu erschüttern, vermag keine wesentlich stichhaltigeren Argumente beizubringen, die ein solches Revirement plausibel machen würden. So stehen sich zwei Versionen betreffs der ammianischen Herkunft gegenüber: Antiochia und Alexandria.

Möge der verehrte Jubilar, dem diese Überlegungen gewidmet sind, entscheiden, welche der hier zur Debatte stehenden Optionen die größere historische Glaubwürdigkeit für sich beanspruchen kann. Kaum ein anderer Gelehrter scheint dazu prädestinierter zu sein als er, dem Ammianus Marcellinus ein Leben lang Freund und Gefährte war.

ANMERKUNGEN

1. Amm. 18. 6. 22; 22. 8. 33; 23. 6. 20; 25. 2. 5; 26. 1. 1.
2. Amm. 31. 16. 9. Dazu ausführlich mit der wichtigsten Literatur zum Thema K. Rosen, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (EdF 183), Darmstadt 1982, 41–47.
3. W. Enßlin, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung und Weltanschauung des Ammianus Marcellinus*, Klio-Beiheft 16, Leipzig 1923, 3 ff.
4. W. Seyfarth, *Ammianus Marcellinus. Römische Geschichte, Teil 1*, Darmstadt 1975, 10–15.
5. Die betreffende Passage lautet wie folgt: 'Ich erfahre auch, daß Rom selbst mit dem Siegeskranz deine Bemühungen belohnt hat und daß ein amtliches Urteil vorliegt, wonach du einige deiner Rivalen besiegt hast und den anderen nicht unterlegen bist. Das macht nicht nur dem Autor Ehre, sondern auch uns, aus deren Mitte der Autor kommt. Also laß nicht nach, solche Werke zu schreiben und sie von deinem Studierzimmer in die Auditorien zu bringen, und werde der Bewunderer nicht überdrüssig, sondern werde selbst immer berühmter und laß uns daran teilhaben. Solcher Art ist ein Mitbürger, der in hohem Ansehen steht: Mit seinen Werken schmückt er die Heimat.' (*Ep.* 1063 F).
6. *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, London 1989, 478 ff.
7. Rezension von J. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, *JRS* 80 (1990) 247 f.
8. *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*, Leipzig 1906, 463.
9. Vgl. M. West, 'Magnus and Marcellinus: Unnoticed Acrostics in the *Cyrannudes*', *CQ*, N.S. 58 (1982) 480 f.
10. Wie Anmerkung 9.
11. Die überwiegende Anzahl der Textbelege aus dem Gesamtwerk des Libanios, in denen συγγραφή vorkommt, weisen einen eindeutigen Bezug zur Geschichtsschreibung auf. Vgl. *Lib. Or.* 1. 148; 11. 42; 11. 107; 13. 25; 18. 53; *Ep.* 35. 6; 406. 1.
12. Vgl. Anmerkung 4.
13. Eunap *Fg.* 73; *FHG* 4, p. 46. Vortragsreihen mit literarischen Themen waren ebenfalls sehr beliebt, wie wir aus Macrobius (6.6.1) erfahren.
14. Wie Anmerkung 6, 248.
15. Amm. 14. 6; 15. 7; 19. 10; 26. 3; 27. 3; 28. 1.
16. Zum Romaufenthalt des Ammian vgl. K. Rosen (wie Anmerkung 2) 22–31.
17. E.A. Thompson, 'Ammianus' Account of Gallus Caesar', *AJPh* 64 (1943) 302–315.
18. Vgl. etwa das Kapitel über Daphne, die Vorstadt Antiochias, Amm. 22. 13. 2.
19. Strabo 16. 2. 5; *Lib. Or.* 11. 206; Dion Chrys. 47. 17. G. Downey, *Ancient Antioch*, Princeton 1963, siehe Anhang.
20. Vgl. etwa seinen Bericht über die näheren Umstände des persischen Einfalls des Jahres 256, Amm. 23. 5. 3.
21. Zum Thema Ammian und Antiochia vgl. K. Rosen (wie Anmerkung 2) 15–22.

THE HOMERIC PANDAREOS — A HISTORICAL PERSONAGE?

by G. Cipolla
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At the end of 1963 I took a year's study leave from what was then the University College for Indians, and spent several months in my home town of Toarmina in Sicily, the ancient Greek Ταυρομένιον.

There were then several antiquarian shops to be found in the town, which were dealing in and selling, under the counter, genuine archaeological objects both Greek and Roman, as well as copies and imitations. It was the heyday of the tomb robbers who systematically and, of course, illegally pilaged archaeological sites, some of which were as yet undiscovered by the legitimate authorities.

I was well acquainted with some of the owners of such shops and knew that tomb robbers from all over the island brought archaeological objects to them, which in turn were sold to foreign and Italian amateur collectors.¹

One of these antiquarians was Francesco Raja, whose wife was the adopted daughter of a by then deceased German gentleman who had originally owned the shop in Corso Umberto, the main street, not far from the Cathedral. Now Ciccio (that is, Francesco) was in full charge of the shop and he possessed a sizeable numismatic and archaeological collection which, on occasion, he would bring out for me to see and to discuss with him some of the more interesting items.

On one occasion he showed me a very ancient bronze ring which, within a recess of what would have been its bezel, displayed four mysterious signs arranged in a crosswise pattern. He asked me if I could give him any information about the ring and the meaning of the signs. I answered that I would have to study the artefact more carefully before venturing an opinion.

Perceiving my interest in the ring, he at once became reluctant to let me take it away for study. Nor would he discuss selling the ring. But he agreed that he would make a plaster cast of the section with the script. This was ready a few days later (Plate 1) and I took it home. The actual size of the seal was 13 mm × 10 mm.



Plate 1

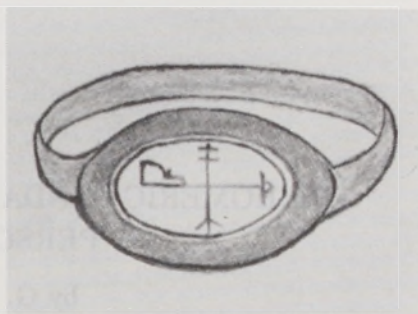


Plate 2

It was not long before I realized that I had before me four clear Linear B signs arranged in a cross-like pattern. I became intrigued. Now the problem was how to decipher the four symbols. The task was made possible with the help of John Chadwick's *The Decipherment of Linear B*, Pelican 1961.

Believing that the symbol D , as in the plaster cast, was a nominative case and thus the last part of the word, I read the four signs as PIA-ZA-PE-O , that is PIANΔAPEOS , the order of the Linear B symbols being $\neq \uparrow \Psi \text{D}$.²

Subsequently I made a pencil drawing of the ring, with its symbols as they would have been in the original, and noticed that D was reversed, thus d . It became clear that the ring was meant to be used as a seal on clay or even wax.³

Now who was this Pandareos?

At once I thought of the Homeric character whose name appears twice in the *Odyssey* (19.518 and 22.66) and who, according to ancient commentators,⁴ stole the golden dog from the temple of Zeus in Crete and gave it to his friend Tantalus. When his theft was discovered, Pandareos fled to Sicily where he died. Was this Pandareos the owner of the ring? Or was he, as seems likely, some other Bronze Age individual bearing the same name? Who could tell?

I did not think that the ring was a fake. To me it appeared to be undoubtedly genuine. Several Mycenaean gold and bronze rings had been dug up in Sicily.⁵ Furthermore, the cross-like arrangement of the Linear B signs was consistent with a common Bronze Age practice adopted in Sicily.⁶ So I believed the ring was important. It had to be rescued for scholarship and authentication by experts.

The next time I visited my friend Ciccio I said that I could give no explanation for the symbols on the ring without further close study and once again offered to purchase the ring from him. His refusal was very firm.

Perhaps he thought he had a treasure of great intrinsic rather than scholarly value. I bought several other items from his collection but the object of my desire remained unobtainable. On subsequent visits to Taormina over the years I endeavoured to persuade him to part with it but he remained obdurate.

The last time I returned to Taormina in 1984, Ciccio Raja's shop had disappeared. I learned from another old acquaintance of mine, Giovanni Canedoro (Golden Dog!), who also owned an antiquarian shop in the main street, that Ciccio had died and his widow had 'got rid of all the ancient objects' and had returned to Catania where she was born.

Where is the ring now? I should dearly like to know, for its existence raises a number of intriguing questions, not least of its authenticity. Is the Pandareos of the *Odyssey* a historical personage or a mythical character in a poem sometimes described as a fairytale? Then there is the question of the authorship of the *Odyssey* as opposed to that of the *Iliad*.⁷

The mystery of the ring remains unsolved. Who was Pandareos, its owner?

NOTES

1. G. Cipolla, 'Meeting the Past in Southern Europe', *Lantern*, Pretoria 14, 4 (1965) 4-15.
2. More specifically ΠA(N)-ZA-PE-O(Σ). According to Chadwick the consonants are omitted from the spelling when they are final or precede another consonant. As for the Z, the exact phonetic value in Linear B was still uncertain (Chadwick, *op. cit.* 75). However, we do know that the Greek Z, being a double consonant, was pronounced as zd or dz.
3. See my illustration of the complete ring as I remember it to have been (Plate 2).
4. Homer, *The Odyssey. Text and Commentary* by W.W. Merry, Oxford (1902) 1926. Homer, *The Odyssey*, (ed.) W.B. Stanford, MacMillan, London 1964. (Vide ad locc.) See also R. Graves, *The Greek Myths*, vol. 2, Pelican 1960, 25-31.
5. L. Bernabò Brea, *Sicily Before the Greeks*, Thames & Hudson, London 1957, Plates 56, 57, 58, 72.
6. L. Bernabò Brea, *op. cit.* 127-128.
7. Samuel Butler, *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, London 1897. Butler maintained that a Sicilian noblewoman was the author of the *Odyssey*. Similar views are advanced by Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, vol. 1, Pelican 1960, 31-33.

THE SOURCES OF APPIAN'S *BELLA CIVILIA* FOR THE 80'S BC*

by Richard J. Evans
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The exposure of myth or distortion in literary sources is not a task undertaken lightly by the ancient historian, hampered, as he unquestionably is, in his pursuit of formulating a clear and accurate picture of the period which he studies, by a paucity of extant source material. Specific examples of corrupt transmission, especially those which have infiltrated their way into the orthodox modern accounts, cry out, nonetheless, for full identification and, if possible, an emendation in the reading of a text, or a recognition that a particular passage is no longer to be judged reliable. Numerous instances may, of course, be cited,¹ but one such knotty puzzle, not examined in depth before, is to be found in the first book of Appian's *Bella Civilia*.

There the writer states, quite categorically, that Sulla first proscribed about forty senators and sixteen hundred *equites* (BC. 1.95), and that more senators were soon added to the list, and that, ultimately, he was responsible for the death of ninety senators, including fifteen *consulares* and two thousand six hundred *equites* (BC. 1.103). There is, however, a considerable problem with regard to verification of this claim. Indeed, even the exhaustive study of the Sullan proscriptions by François Hinard has produced, in some cases with the greatest of ingenuity, only about fifty names which might qualify in the very widest sense as 'senatorial'.² On closer examination it becomes evident that, of this total number, just sixteen of the names in Hinard's register of the proscribed in 82 were actually political figures of any consequence. Only four of these were consuls or *consulares*, eight were praetors or *praetorii*, two were tribunes or *tribunicii* and two were legates of uncertain senatorial rank. Thus:

1. L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes (cos.83)
2. C. Norbanus (cos.83)
3. Cn. Papirius Carbo (cos.85-4, 82)

4. C. Marius C.f (cos.82)
5. M. Iunius Brutus (pr.88)
6. M. Marius Gratidianus (pr.85/4)
7. Q. Sertorius (pr.83)
8. Q. Antonius Balbus (pr.83?)
9. ? Burrienus (pr.83)
10. L. Iunius Brutus Damasippus (pr.82)
11. C. Carrinas (pr.82)
12. M. Perperna Vento (pr.82?)
13. M. Iunius Brutus (trib.83)
14. Q. Valerius Soranus (trib.82?)
15. C. Marcus Censorinus (leg.82)
16. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (leg.82)

It is obviously quite impossible to reach Appian's eventual aggregate of fifteen *consulares* since the whereabouts of the consular politicians at the end of the 80's is remarkably well attested.³ In fact, few senior members of the *ordo senatorius* are unaccounted for by the beginning of Sulla's dictatorship in November 82. Besides Sulla himself, just four *consulares*, L. Valerius Flaccus (cos.100), C. Valerius Flaccus (cos.93), M. Perperna (cos.92) and L. Marcus Philippus (cos.91), are attested as certainly alive in 81. The presence in the senate of a further nine *consulares* remains doubtful, but none appear to have been active in the late 80's and most, if not all, were probably already dead.⁴ It is, therefore, abundantly clear that Sulla had not the death of fifteen consulars on his conscience, but the exile and death of only four (Oros. 5.21.3): Cn. Carbo who was executed in Sicily, C. Marius C.f. who committed suicide during the siege of Praeneste, C. Norbanus who killed himself at Rhodes and Scipio Asiagenes who retired into exile at Massilia. Of the rest named above, Antonius Balbus was killed in Sardinia, Valerius Soranus in Sicily, the *praetorius* M. Brutus committed suicide, Carrinas, Damasippus and Censorinus were executed after the battle at the Colline Gate, Ahenobarbus was executed in Africa, Burrienus died during the proscriptions, while Sertorius, Perperna and the ex-tribune Brutus went into exile. Just one Roman politician of consular standing, viz Carbo, was, therefore, actually condemned to death, after capture, at the end of the civil war.

In arriving at this rather sensational number of proscribed *consulares*, it seems more than likely that Appian was hoodwinked into perpetuating anti-Sullan propaganda from a source which was sympathetic to the followers of Carbo and the younger Marius. At the very least, this writer appears to be guilty of gross negligence in his use of source material. Such a hypothesis becomes much more plausible when Appian's description of the proscriptions (BC. 1.93-96, 101-103) is compared with his account of the

murders carried out on the orders of L. Cornelius Cinna and the elder Marius in 87 (*BC.* 1.71–74). Whereas the later Sullan atrocities are commented upon at length, the coverage of the slaughter of the opponents of Marius, in particular, is deemed worthy of only relative brevity and mild censure. Nevertheless, the ancient sources, including Appian, clearly indicate that nearly as many senior politicians died in 87 as in 82. In fact, the combined *auctoritas* of those killed in 87 far exceeds that of those proscribed by Sulla. Thus:

1. C. Atilius Sorranus (cos.106)⁵
2. Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos.102)
3. M. Antonius (cos.99)
4. P. Licinius Crassus (cos.97)
5. L. Iulius Caesar (cos.90)
6. Cn. Octavius (cos.87)
7. L. Cornelius Merula (cos. suff. 87)
8. Q. Ancharius (pr.88?)
9. C. Iulius Caesar Strabo (aed.90)
10. M. Baebius (trib.103?)⁶
11. Sex. Lucilius (trib.87)⁷
12. P. Cornelius Lentulus (leg.90?)⁸
13. C. Numitorius (sen.)⁹

In 87 seven consuls or *consulares*, one praetor, one *aedilicius*, two tribunes or *tribunicii*, one legate of uncertain senatorial rank and one senator were either killed or committed suicide in the aftermath of the seizure of Rome by Cinna and Marius. The consul Cn. Octavius, L. and C. Iulius Caesar, Atilius Sorranus, P. Crassus, M. Antonius, Q. Ancharius, P. Lentulus, M. Baebius, Sex. Lucilius and C. Numitorius were murdered; Q. Catulus and L. Merula anticipated execution by committing suicide. Moreover, Appian (*BC.* 1.73) also notes that 'all Sulla's friends were killed, his house was destroyed, his property was confiscated, and he was outlawed' (αὐτοῦ τε Σύλλα φίλοι πάντες ἀνηροῦντο, καὶ ἡ οἰκία κατεσκάπτετο, καὶ ἡ περιουσία δεδήμευτο, καὶ πολέμιος ἐψηφίζετο). This statement surely implies that other politicians also met their end in grim circumstances,¹⁰ but the long-term impact of these events is glossed over in silence.

Appian's discussion of the turbulent 80's occupies rather less than half of his first book on the civil wars of the republican period (*BC.* 1.55–105), and, therefore, cannot be regarded as a completely superficial account. In comparison with an annalistic account the *Bella Civilia* might be regarded as an epitome, but it is far more substantial than other such *periochae*. Thus the history may be condensed, but it is of much greater depth than, for instance, the epitomes of Livy. The conflicting details concerning 87 and 82 which arise in the narrative suggest that he worked from at least

two sources: the first, a composition which is conjecturally pro-Marian, or to some extent impartial, the second, a work which was clearly anti-Sullan.¹¹ For, although there is the even-handed comment (*BC.* 1.58) that ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς κακοῦ τὰ τῶν στάσεων ἀμεληθέντα προέκοψε, and that the supporters of Marius fought with little enthusiasm against the army of Sulla and were routed in the city, the sympathy of the audience is aroused by the expulsion of the *Mariani* after they had been declared *hostes* (*BC.* 1.60). Furthermore, if Marius was exiled for stirring up civil strife, for openly attacking the consuls, and inciting slaves to rebel, it was the unprecedented assault on Rome by Sulla's army that opened the way for future internecine conflict on a much wider and more disastrous scale.

The adventures of Marius after he fled from Rome and Italy (*BC.* 1.61–62, 64–67) are retold at greater length by Plutarch (*Mar.* 35.5–40), and it is possible that Appian had access to this biography.¹² The phrase 'still squalid and longhaired', which is used to describe Marius' appearance on his return after an absence of over six months, bears more than just a similarity to the description provided by Plutarch (*Mar.* 41.4: 'hair uncut from the day of his exile'). The frustration of Marius and the vengeance he planned on his enemies (*BC.* 1.70), alluded to when Cinna was approached by senatorial envoys just prior to their reception into Rome late in 87, also compares well with the episode as related by Plutarch (*Mar.* 43.1). The subsequent murder of Marius' political opponents is more problematic (*BC.* 1.72), however, and indicates quite diverse sources. Thus following the violent death of the consul Octavius either on the Janiculum hill (*BC.* 1.71) or in the forum (*Plut. Mar.* 42.5), the former consul of 97, P. Crassus, who had organized the city's defences, was murdered. Here, Appian's account can be seen to be at variance with the information given by other writers. He was evidently under the impression that Crassus killed his son before falling to his pursuers, but Cicero (*de Orat.* 3.10), who ought to have known the real facts, says that this ex-consul committed suicide.¹³ The death of Antonius took place in the country where he was betrayed by a slave of his host (*App. BC.* 1.72; *Sen. Ep.* 47.10; *Plut. Mar.* 44.1–4), but Cicero was aware that C. Caesar Strabo suffered an almost identical fate: *hospitis Etrusci scelere proditum* (*de Orat.* 3.10). According to Appian, Ancharius was cut down on the Capitoline hill when he tried to approach Marius in the hope of a reconciliation, but Plutarch's account of this particular murder is much more vague (*Mar.* 43.3). L. Merula and Q. Lutatius Catulus were to be tried in the law courts, but both took their own lives, the former by opening his veins, the latter by suffocation (*BC.* 1.74).¹⁴ On the whole, it is surely evident that some confusion has crept into the tradition regarding the deaths of, at least, Crassus, Antonius and Caesar Strabo, which again points to the existence of two, or more, earlier accounts which were available to, and employed by, not only Appian, but probably also Plutarch.

While obvious inconsistencies exist for the political events in 87, some of which may be attributed to careless research, the ancient accounts of the Sullan proscriptions are, by and large, muddled to an even greater degree. This becomes readily apparent when the major literary sources are compared. Appian's fantastic figure for the proscribed is not matched by Plutarch (*Sull.* 31.3), who furnishes few names, and a total, including senators and *equites*, of not much in excess of five hundred:

ὁ δ' οὖν Σύλλας εὐθὺς ὀγδοήκοντα προέγραψεν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει κοινωσάμενος. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ πάντων, μίαν ἡμέραν διαλιπὼν ἄλλους προέγραψεν εἴκοσι καὶ διακοσίους, εἶτα τρίτῃ πάλιν οὐκ ἐλάττους.

Sulla immediately proscribed eighty men without consulting the magistrates. Despite general displeasure, after a day's interval he proscribed two hundred and twenty others, then again on the third day not less than this number.

Only the *eques Romanus* Q. Aurelius (*Sull.* 31.3) and the ex-praetor M. Marius Gratidianus (*Sull.* 32.2) are named in the general purge of political opponents at the end of 82; the younger Marius (*Sull.* 32.1), Scipio Asiagenes (*Sull.* 28.7) and Carbo (*Sull.* 28.8) are, however, treated elsewhere in the text. Although Appian discusses the deaths of Marius (*BC.* 1.94) and Carbo (*BC.* 1.96) in some depth, and mentions the executions of Marcius Censorinus and C. Carrinas immediately after the battle at the Colline Gate (*BC.* 1.93), he relates only in very general terms the supposedly widespread havoc which took place when Sulla was elected dictator (*BC.* 1.95-96). The epitomes of Livy Books 88 and 89 suggest that the original work covered the end of the civil war and the beginning of Sulla's dictatorship extensively, but no overall total of the proscribed is forthcoming. This is perhaps a rather significant fact because notorious events and startling figures would definitely have been of interest to the general readership of the *periochae*. The absence of any total for those proscribed by Sulla may simply mean that Livy did not provide this material. Still, the epitomes refer to the deaths of Marius Gratidianus and the consul Marius (*Per.* 88), and the execution of Carbo (*Per.* 89), and note that (Sulla) 'tabulam proscriptionis posuit, urbem ac totam Italiam caedibus replevit' (*Per.* 88).

Thus it becomes evident that Appian is the sole source for the huge numbers of senators and *equites* proscribed between 82 and 81. It should also be remembered that he was, chronologically, the latest of the major writers to deal with this period, and whose compositions are still, to a greater or lesser extent, intact. His sources should be identifiable. Appian almost certainly had access to Plutarch's biographies of Marius and Sulla, but there are sufficient discrepancies between the texts of the two writers,

noted above, to show that the former did not employ these *Lives* as a mainstay for his narrative of the 80's. Livy's history should have been an obvious choice for a historian interested in the republican period, and should have been readily accessible. Most authorities agree, however, that for the two decades after 60 Appian, like Plutarch, preferred to follow the account of C. Asinius Pollio, and presumably relegated Livy, perhaps due to his limited political insight, to a secondary role, if indeed he was consulted at all.¹⁵ Since the consensus of opinion regards Pollio as the more influential source for Appian's account of the last decades of the Roman republic, it seems hardly credible that he would have turned to Livy for the period immediately preceding the establishment of the First Triumvirate. Besides, Livy probably also had recourse to Pollio's history when composing the *ab urbe condita*, and so it is possible to argue that Livy, Appian and Plutarch all made use of another writer, or writers, for the period between 100 and 60.

The historians of the first half of the first century BC are known only from meagre fragments, and even the periods about which they wrote are not known for certain. L. Cornelius Sisenna, for example, wrote a history of Rome from the Social War which probably concluded with the dictatorship of Sulla, to whom he was sympathetic: 'L. Sisenna, optume et diligentissime omnium qui eas res dixere persecutus' (Sall. *Iug.* 95.2). Considering Appian's final assessment of Sulla, Sisenna cannot be the author of damning evidence against the dictator, though it is just possible that the negative remarks about Marius and Cinna emanate from this quarter.¹⁶ Sallust's comment (*Iug.* 95.2) indicates that there were several other works which contained detailed treatments of the 80's,¹⁷ and of the possible writers of this period, five, in particular, deserve some attention since any of these might have been the source for Appian's less hostile treatment of Marius in 87, and his more forthright condemnation of Sulla.

L. Cornelius Sulla himself composed memoirs which were published in twenty-two books, and which greatly influenced later historians' opinions of the time.¹⁸ But he is an impossible choice as Appian's source either for the murders in 87 or for the proscriptions. Moreover, the autobiography of P. Rutilius Rufus, though certainly a source for hostile remarks about Marius, is not likely to have contained spurious material about Sulla.¹⁹ Sempronius Asellio wrote a history which began with the destruction of Carthage in 146, included the death of M. Livius Drusus in 91,²⁰ and may have continued into the 80's. His attitude towards Marius and Sulla is, of course, unknown, but a son or close relative, A. Sempronius Asellio, praetor in 89, was murdered by creditors at the end of the Social War (*Liv. Per.* 74; *Val. Max.* 9.7.4; *App. BC.* 1.54).²¹ Asellio may have had an axe to grind, though conjecture here can lead only to a *cul de sac*. Fenestella, on the other hand, is a more likely candidate as a source for

the 80's since he wrote a history of Rome, perhaps from the foundation, down to the middle of the first century.²² His political inclinations are not attested, and, given his antiquarian interests, he might easily have been detached from the intrigues of the day.²³ Fenestella's account may have provided Appian with a more neutral view of these years. Finally, there is L. Lucceius, friend and political ally of both Pompey and Caesar, who was praetor in 67, and who aspired to the consulship of 59 (Cic. *ad Att.* 1.17.11).²⁴ His history of Rome dealt specifically with the decade 90 to 81, and must have been sufficiently impressive, since Cicero urged him to also write an account of the events of 63: 'Ardeo cupiditate incredibili neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur et celebretur tuis' (*ad fam.* 5.12).²⁵ His work was evidently almost complete by about 55, just before the conference at Luca, where the Triumvirate was renewed. As a loyal supporter of the triumvirs, writing about the civil wars of the 80's, he may be assumed to have followed the antipathy of his *amici* towards Sulla. He may well have also indulged in excessive adulation of Marius. Caesar, of course, went to great lengths to publicize his family connections with Marius in the mid-60's and, as a result, successfully made political capital.²⁶ Lucceius may, therefore, have dwelt on the less positive aspects of Sulla's deeds to enhance the stature of both Marius and his self-proclaimed heir Caesar. The 80's were not an obvious choice as a subject for a historian at this time, but focussing on this decade made sound sense if the writer intended publicizing Caesar's link with Marius, and perhaps also emphasizing the break from Sulla by Pompey and Crassus. Lucceius was plainly recognized as a subtle propagandist by Cicero who clearly hoped that his own role in the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy could be glorified for posterity. Thus, although Appian is generally regarded as a historian of some accomplishment and ingenuity,²⁷ his account of the horror of the proscriptions may actually owe more to the biased pen of Lucceius than to his own creative genius.²⁸

μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ βουλευτὰς ἄλλους αὐτοῖς προσετίθει. καὶ τῶνδε οἱ μὲν ἄδοκῆτως καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο, ἔνθα συνελαμβάνοντο, ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ στενωποῖς ἢ ἱεροῖς, οἱ δὲ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν φερόμενοι τε καὶ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ῥιπτούμενοι; οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσύροντο καὶ κατεπατοῦντο, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι τῶν θεωμένων οὐδενὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε κακοῖς ἔχοντος ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως (*BC.* 1.95).

Afterwards Sulla added other senators to the proscribed. Some of these were seized unexpectedly and killed where they were arrested, in their homes or in the streets and temples, others were raised aloft and killed before being thrown at Sulla's feet. Still others were dragged and trampled under foot, and yet none of those present made a sound against such outrages on account of fear.

In conclusion, it is worth referring to the late Roman writer Orosius who states (5.21.3) that Sulla was responsible for the death of four consular politicians ('prima proscriptio octoginta hominum fuit, in quibus quattuor consulares erant Carbo Marius Norbanus at Scipio'). This conflicts with Appian's figure, and is interesting because it illustrates once again the existence of two or more traditions concerning the Sullan proscriptions. Orosius may well have used Livy's history which, I suggest, contained less fanciful material about Sulla, and Livy possibly followed a more sober writer such as Sulla, Rutilius Rufus, Fenestella or Sisenna. Appian's extant account of the 80's clearly stands out on a limb from the rest of the ancient writers, with figures for the proscribed much more exaggerated than others who discussed this period.²⁹ The idea that Appian used, perhaps inadvertently, perhaps intentionally — he may have enjoyed such embellishments — a writer who covered the 80's in such a way as to win political prestige for his political allies, may be advanced with some confidence. The source of Appian's condemnatory remarks about Sulla in the *Bella Civilia*, Book 1, was surely L. Lucceius, the beneficiary of this anti-Sullan propaganda none other than Gaius Iulius Caesar.

NOTES

- * My thanks to Ursula Vogel for her kind and helpful remarks on an earlier draft of this paper. Any inaccuracies which remain are, of course, mine alone.
1. See, for instance, R.J. Evans, 'Quis erat Nunnius?', *AHB* 2 (1988) 42–48; 'Was M. Caecilius Metellus a renegade? A Note on Livy, 22.53.5', *Acta Classica* 32 (1989) 117–121.
 2. F. Hinard, *Les proscriptions de la Rome républicaine*, Rome 1985, 329–411, lists fifty-one individuals for whom he claims senatorial status, and a further twenty-four whom he considers to have been *equites*. Some of the names listed here are indeed remarkable, including the sons of Cinna, M. Aemilius Lepidus (*cos.*78) and Norbanus who cannot have been senators by 82. C. Norbanus *C.f.* was *monetalis* in 83, but this junior office was never a qualification for senatorial status; the sons of Cinna and Lepidus are not attested as having held senatorial office at this stage. Hinard's list also contains several officers of Sertorius' *consilium* who may never have been senators, and still others whose identification as senatorial he himself is forced to question.
 3. R.J. Evans, 'The *Consulares* and *Praetorii* in the Roman Senate at the Beginning of Sulla's Dictatorship', *Athenaeum* NS 61 (1983) 521–528.
 4. Evans (above note 3) 523–524.
 5. Although Sorranus' *praenomen* is not given by Appian (*BC.* 1.72), his presence alongside other senior politicians allows him to be identified with the consul of 106, who is not otherwise attested after 100, *Cic. pro Rab. perd.* 7.21.
 6. Another possibility here is C. Baebius (*pr.*90), T.R.S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, New York 1951–52 (Vols. 1–2), 1986 (Vol. 3), hereafter *MRR.*, 2.28.
 7. *Liv. Per.* 80; *Vell.* 2.24.2: 'Eodem anno P. Laenas tribunus plebis Sex. Lucilium, qui priore anno tribunus plebis fuerat, Saxo Tarpeio deiecit'.

8. *MRR*. 2.28. Lentulus served under L. Iulius Caesar (cos.90), which may be significant since his former commander was also murdered. Marius served as a legate in the *consilium* of P. Rutilius Lupus (cos.91), *App. BC*. 1.40.
9. Perhaps a son of the *monetalis*, dated to 133 by M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, no. 246. The moneyer was also probably the senator 'C. Numitorius C.f. Lem.', who is placed twenty-ninth on the *consilium* of the *S.C. de agro Pergameno*, dated to 129, *MRR*. 3.150; R.K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, Baltimore 1969, 70. Cf. H.B. Mattingly, 'The Date of the *Senatus Consultum de agro Pergameno*', *AJP* 93 (1972) 412-423, who suggests redating the *S.C. de agro Pergameno* to 101, and notes, 420 and n.34, that Numitorius was a son of the moneyer, and was the politician killed in 87. Note the variant spelling 'Nemotorius' in Appian's account.
10. A fourteenth politician, M. Caecilius Cornutus (pr.90), was also a wanted man in 87, but managed to escape, *App. BC*. 1.73; *Plut. Mar.* 43.6. See also *App. BC*. 1.71 for the murder of *equites*, who had supported Sulla, a fact often missed by scholars who have tended to postulate only senatorial support for Sulla, and, by and large, just equestrian support for Marius. Thus P.A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, Oxford 1988, 156.
11. Cf. P.A. Brunt, 'On Historical Fragments and Epitomes', *CQ* 30 (1980) 492: '... there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that in the first book on his *Civil Wars* Appian followed throughout an excellent historian whose qualities can be perceived in what may be a relatively full extract recounting the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus; elsewhere Appian has summarized ruthlessly and probably inaccurately ...'.
12. J. Moles, 'Fate, Apollo, and M. Junius Brutus', *AJP* 104 (1983) 251-2, who also points out the greater influence on both Appian and Plutarch of the history of C. Asinius Pollio for the period after 60 BC down to the battle of Philippi in 42; A.H. McD(onald), *OCD*² 852-3.
13. Livy, *Per.* 80, follows Cicero, but Plutarch's notice of the death of P. Crassus and his son, *Crass.* 4.1, lacks even the few details given in Appian's account.
14. Plutarch's account of Catulus' death is very much shorter, *Mar.* 44.5, and the suicide of Merula goes unrecorded. Livy, *Per.* 80, mentions only the murders of Octavius, Ancharius, L. and C. Caesar, and P. Crassus, but also adds the name Sex. Licinius (Lucilius); cf. *Vell.* 2.24.2.
15. Moles (above note 12) 251: 'Appian's use of Plutarch is debatable'; 252: '... Asinius Pollio, Appian's basic narrative source in this part of his History'.
16. E. Badian, 'The Early Historians', in *Latin Historians*, ed. T.A. Dorey, London 1966, 25.
17. Tanusius Geminus also wrote a history of the late Republic, Münzer, *RE Tanusius* no. 2; C.J. F(ordyce), *OCD*² 1037, and was consulted by both Plutarch, *Caes.* 22.3 (for the 50's) and Suetonius, *Iul.* 9.2 (for the 60's). He may not, however, have covered the 80's, and also seems to have been regarded as a rather dull writer, *Sen. Ep.* 93.11: 'annales Tanusii scis quam ponderosi sint et quid vovecentur'. R. Syme, *Sallust*, Berkeley 1964, 96: 'he (Tanusius) was hostile to Caesar'.
18. For Sulla's memoirs see Badian (above note 16) 23-25; Syme (above note 17) 155.
19. Thus *Plut. Mar.* 28.5; R.J. Evans, 'Metellus Numidicus and the Elections for 100 B.C.', *Acta Classica* 30 (1987) 65-68; Syme (above note 17) 155.
20. Münzer, *RE Sempronius* no. 16; A.H. McD(onald), *OCD*² 130.
21. Münzer, *RE Sempronius* no. 17: 'Sohn des Historikers'; *MRR*. 2.33.
22. The history of Fenestella certainly included the year 57, Wissowa, *RE Fenestella*; A.H. McD(onald), *OCD*² 434.

23. Fenestella apparently possessed a sound reputation among later writers, thus Lactantius, *Inst.* 1.6.14: 'diligentissimus scriptor'.
24. *MRR.* 3.127-8; E.B(adian), *OCD*² 621; R.J. Evans, 'Candidates and Competition in Consular Elections at Rome between 218 and 49 BC', *Acta Classica* 34 (1991) 111-136.
25. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares*, Cambridge, 1977, 1. 318, suggests that Luceius's work may not have been published, at least not in the 50's. Luceius followed Pompey in the civil war, but was later pardoned by Caesar whom he survived.
26. Suet. *Iul.* 11.2; Plut. *Caes.* 5.1
27. Moles (above note 12) 252; Brunt (above note 11) 492-3.
28. Luceius is said to have written in Greek, Shackleton Bailey (above note 24) 1. 318, and thus may have possessed an additional appeal to another Greek writer, such as Appian, in preference to other historians who wrote in Latin.
29. Thus Brunt (above note 10) 461: 'most of his (Sulla's) victims are for us anonymous, and therefore were probably not men of birth and rank'.

DIE BEGIN VAN DIE ROMEINSE WÊRELDHEERSKAPPY BY POLYBIUS EN LIVIUS

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Polybius stel homself in sy *Universele Geskiedenis* van die jare 264–145 v.C. uitdruklik die taak om vir sy Griekssprekende lesers te toon en te probeer verklaar 'hoe, wanneer en waarom al die bekende streke van die *oikouménê* onder die Romeine se mag beland het'.¹ Hy sien die totstandkoming van die Romeinse wêreldryk, wat hy grotendeels as tydgenoot en deels selfs as ooggetuie beleef het, as die resultaat van 'n bewuste en doelgerigte imperialisme.² Daarbenewens is dit sy oorwoë mening dat die begin, die tydsduur en die eindpunt van hierdie unieke historiese ontwikkeling presies afgebaken kan word: die proses begin, sê hy, met die Tweede Puniese Oorlog, strek oor 'n tydperk van net minder as 53 jaar, en eindig met die val van die Macedoniese monargie;³ met ander woorde: Rome se wêreldheerskappy begin na sy mening effektief met die oorwinning oor koning Perseus van Macedonië by Pydna in 168 v.C.

Livius skryf as tydgenoot van keiser Augustus sy *Ab urbe condita libri* ongeveer 150 jaar ná Polybius, en omdat hy hierdie Griekse skrywer as besonder betroubaar beskou — hy noem hom 'non incertum auctorem cum omnium Romanarum rerum tum praecipue in Graecia gestarum'⁴ — gebruik hy hom vir daardie deel van sy reusewerk wat die geskiedenis van Rome se magsuitbreiding na die Ooste beskryf, naamlik boeke 30–45, byna uitsluitlik as sy bron.⁵ Die vraag kan dus gestel word of Polybius se bogenoemde opvatting oor die ontstaan en presiese aanvangsdatum van die Romeinse wêreldheerskappy ook in Livius se verwerking teruggevind kan word.

Anders as Polybius, wat graag direk met sy leser kommunikeer, gereeld persoonlike kommentaar oor gebeure lewer, uitwei en bespiegel, verkies Livius dit om as persoon soveel as moontlik op die agtergrond te bly: afgesien van sy 'praefatio' tot die hele werk en kort inleidings tot onderdele daarvan,⁶ is persoonlike kommentaar en ontboesemings in sy boeke betreklik seldsaam. Daarenteen klee of 'versteek' hy klaarblyklik baie van sy

gedagtes en gevoelens, ook van sy ideologiese en morele beskouings, in die woorde en gedagtes van die 'dramatis personae' van sy vertelling. Dit is dus nie alte verbasend dat Livius hom nêrens in die 35 behoue boeke van sy werk⁷ persoonlik oor die opvallende verskynsel van Rome se gedurige magsuitbreiding uitlaat nie, of oor *hoe* en *wanneer* die oomblik van Rome se daadwerklike wêreldheerskappy nou eintlik aanbreek nie. Maar die leser kom tog wél herhaaldelik in die werk — en inderdaad byna uitsluitlik in redevoerings — verwysings na Rome se heerskappy oor die 'orbis terrarum' teë. Om 'n antwoord op ons vraag te probeer vind, mag dit dus help om *al* die relevante *loci* oor hierdie onderwerp by Livius eens in hulle chronologiese volgorde te versamel⁸ en te kyk of daar 'n duidelike geheelbeeld te voorskyn kom wat dan met Polybius se konsepie vergelyk kan word.

- (1) *Praef.* 7: Die outeur verwys terloops (maar blykbaar nie sonder 'n mate van trots nie) daarna dat die '*gentes humanae*' tans '*aequo mente . . . imperium patiuntur*'.
- (2) 1.4.1: Livius skryf na aanleiding van die verhaal van Rea Silvia se swangerskap en die geboorte van Romulus en Remus die oorsprong van die stad Rome en die begin van die '*maximi secundum deorum opes imperii*' aan die beskikking van die '*fata*' toe.
- (3) 1.16.7: Romulus verskyn kort ná sy dood aan ene Julius Proculus en beveel hom om aan die Romeine die profetiese boodskap te bring dat '*caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit*'.
- (4) 1.55.6: Gedurende die uitgrawings vir die fondasie van die Juppiter-tempel word 'n menslike kop gevind: plaaslike en Etruskiese priesters vertolk dit as 'n voorspelling dat die Kapitoel '*arcem imperii caputque rerum*'⁹ sal wees.
- (5) 5.54.7: Toe sekere leiers ná die verwoesting van Rome deur die Galliërs 'n volksverhuising na die stad Veiï voorstaan, herinner Camillus die volk aan bogenoemde ou voorspelling: die Kapitoel is die plek waar die '*caput rerum summaque imperii*' gesetel sal wees!

Passasies (2) tot (5) is profeties van inhoud: hulle laat die leser van die begin af verstaan, en herinner hom af en toe weer daaraan, dat dit die noodlot of die gode se wil was dat Rome uiteindelik die hele wêreld oorheers.

- (6) 21.30.3 en 10: Voor die tog oor die Alpe spoor Hannibal sy troepe aan: hy herinner hulle daaraan dat hulle die Ebrorivier oorgesteek het '*ad delendum nomen Romanum*' en — sê hy by wyse van 'n anachronistiese oordrywing — '*liberandumque orbem terrarum*'; in par. 10 bestempel Hannibal, nog in dieselfde trant, Rome selfs as die '*caput orbis terrarum*'!

- (7) 30.32.2: Na vrugtelose vredesonderhandelings op die dag voor die slag by Zama keer Scipio en Hannibal na hulle onderskeie laers terug; albei wys hulle troepe daarop dat dié veldslag sal beslis of 'Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret'; want — voeg hy profeties-oordrywend by — nie Africa of Italië nie, maar '*orbem terrarum victoriae praemium fore*'.
- (8) 30.33.11: Hannibal herhaal gedeeltelik die pasgenoemde sentiment wanneer hy die volgende môre sy troepe tot die grootste dapperheid aanspoor: die uitslag van die geveg sal vir Carthago of die ondergang en slawerny of die '*imperium orbis terrarum*' beteken.

Passasies (6) tot (8), wat die tweede dekade, dit wil sê, die verhaal van die Tweede Puniese Oorlog, as 't ware omraam, is al drie retoriese oordrywings: nr. (6), uit die mond van Hannibal, is stellig die gevolg van sy woede oor Rome se baasspelerige houding jeens sy optrede in Spanje;¹⁰ nrs. (7) en (8), uit die monde van Hannibal en Scipio, is wesenlik slegs geldig in sover dit die westelike helfte van die '*orbis terrarum*' betref.¹¹ Nogtans kan 'n mens seker sê dat hier 'n mate van ooreenstemming bestaan met Polybius se idee dat die proses wat tot wêreldheerskappy lei, by die Tweede Puniese Oorlog begin het.

- (9) 31.30.10: Op die Pan-Etoliese kongres in die jaar 200 por 'n Atheense spreker die Etooliërs aan tot oorlog teen die Macedoniërs, en wel '*ducibus diis immortalibus, deinde Romanis, qui secundum deos plurimum possent*'.

Hierdie passasie is die enigste waar gedurende die Tweede Macedoniese Oorlog enigszins na Rome se besondere magposisie in die wêreld verwys word: en soos in passasie (2) staan die Romeine hier slegs een trap benede die gode!

- (10) 36.17.14–15: Op die vooraand van die slag by Thermopylae in 191 spoor 'n begeesterde consul Acilius sy troepe aan met die opwindende vooruitsig dat hulle deur 'n oorwinning oor koning Antiochus die Grote van Sirië '*Asiam deinde Syriamque et omnia usque ad ortum solis ditissima regna Romano imperio aperturos. Quid deinde aberit*', vra hy, '*quin ab Gadibus usque ad mare rubrum*¹² *Oceano fines terminemus, qui orbem terrarum amplexa finit, et omne humanum genus secundum deos nomen Romanum veneretur?*'¹³
- (11) 36.41.5: Later dieselfde jaar, ná die slag by Thermopylae, waarsku Hannibal koning Antiochus dat hy binnekort in 'Asia' met die Romeine, '*orbem terrarum adfectantibus*', te doen sal kry.
- (12) 37.25.5: In die jaar daarna probeer 'n bekommerde koning Antiochus die steun van koning Prusias van Bithynië teen die oprukkende

Romeine wen: hy waarsku hom dat hulle kom 'ad omnia regna tollenda, ut *nullum usquam orbis terrarum nisi Romanum imperium esset*'.

- (13) 37.45.8–9: Ná die Romeinse oorwinning oor koning Antiochus in die slag by Magnesia in 190 praat die koninklike vredesonderhandelaar nederig en vleiend van die Romeinse wêreldheerskappy as 'n voldonge feit: hy vra om genade vir die verloorders 'in hac victoria quae vos *dominos orbis terrarum fecit*', en gaan voort met: 'positis iam adversus omnes mortales certaminibus *haud secus quam deos* consulere et parcere vos *generi humano* oportet.'¹⁴
- (14) 37.54.15–16: Vroeg die volgende jaar bevestig 'n Rhodiese afgesant in 'n toespraak voor die senaat dat '*orbis terrarum in ditione vestra*' is; maar hy is oortuig daarvan dat die Romeine nie territoriale wins begeer nie, maar dat hulle geveg het 'pro dignitate et gloria apud *omne humanum genus*, quod vestrum nomen imperiumque *iuxta ac deos immortales* iam pridem intuetur'.

Passasies (10) tot (14) het al vyf met die oorlog teen Antiochus van Sirië te doen: dis relatief baie verwysings vir die geskiedenis van een oorlog, en daarby is hulle kragtig bewoord: vóór Thermopylae die entoesiastiese toekomsbeeld deur die consul, ná die slag Hannibal se dringende waarskuwings dat die Romeine ook na Asië sal oorsteek, vóór Magnesia Antiochus se kommer oor die Romeinse imperialisme, ná die slag die Siriese erkenning dat Rome die wêreld se heerser is, en laastens 'n bekragtiging van dié feit deur Rome se belangrikste bondgenoot, Rhodos.

Van passasies (13) en (14) is toevallig die Polybiaanse brontekste behoue.¹⁵ in albei passasies sê die sprekers ook by Polybius dat die Romeine nou die heerskappy oor die *oikouménê* verkry het¹⁶ — wat natuurlik nie beteken dat Polybius nou skielik van sy teorie afgewyk het en sy begin-datum van die Romeinse wêreldheerskappy na 190 vervroeg het nie: sulke vleiende, oordrywende woorde word maar net dikwels ná groot oorwinnings gebruik,¹⁷ moontlik nog makliker uit die mond van 'n Oosterling.¹⁸

Wat by Livius opval as 'n mens sy weergawe met dié van Polybius vergeelyk, is dat hy in sy verwerking, in beide passasies (13) en (14), direk ná die vermelding van die verkreeë wêreldheerskappy 'op eie rekening' enigszins hoogdrawende en plegtige sinne bygevoeg het (naamlik die tweede helftes van passasies [13] en [14]) waarin die Romeine feitlik op *dieselfde* vlak as die gode geplaas word ('*haud secus quam deos* ... ; *iuxta ac deos immortales*') — nie meer een trap laer, soos in passasies (2), (9) en (10) nie — en waar hulle nou versoek word om voortaan na die mensdom ('genus humanum') om te sien.¹⁹ Dit is baie duidelik dat Livius die besondere betekenis van die oorwinning by Magnesia hierdeur wou onderstreep.

- (15) 38.51.4: In hulle klag teen Scipio Africanus in 187 beweer twee volks-tribune verwykend dat 'unum hominem caput columenque imperii Romani²⁰ esse, sub umbra Scipionis civitatem dominam orbis terrarum latere'.
- (16) 42.50.9: In 171 word koning Perseus van Macedonië deur sy raadgewers aangespoor 'ut liberet orbem terrarum ab imperio Romano'.
- (17) 44.1.12: Twee jaar later praat consul Marcius Philippus van die Romeinse volk as 'iam terrarum orbem complectentis'.
- Hierdie drie passasies kom uit die geskiedenis van die jare 187-169, d.w.s. tussen die oorloë teen Antiochus en teen Perseus. Die Romeinse wêreldheerskappy word telkens as 'n feit gekonstateer.
- (18) 45.13.2: In 168 rapporteer Siriese gesante aan die senaat dat koning Antiochus IV die Romeinse gesant Popilius se bevel om uit Egipte terug te trek 'haud secus quam deorum imperio' gehoorsaam het.
- (19) 45.13.5: Direk daarna verklaar die gesante van Ptolemaios en Kleopatra dat hulle die Romeinse senaat en volk 'plus quam diis immortalibus debere'!

Nadat Livius in sy verhaal van die oorlog teen Perseus van Macedonië geen enkele keer na die Romeinse wêreldheerskappy verwys het nie, en nie eens die betekenis van die slag by Pydna as belangrik uitgelig het nie, kom hierdie twee passasies eenvoudig as bevestiging van die lank reeds bestaande *status quo*: die Romeine is steeds die godgelyke heersers van die wêreld. Om die waarheid te sê: in passasie (19) word die Romeine amper nog op 'n hoër vlak ('*plus quam*') as die gode geplaas.

- (20) 45.26.9: Laastens: Toe in 167 'n Romeinse leër 'n stadje in Epirus bedreig, maak 'n jong adellike inwoner die verstandige voorstel: 'quin aperimus portas et imperium accipimus, quod orbis terrarum accipit?'

Dit is dus duidelik dat Livius reeds Rome se oorwinning oor koning Antiochus van Sirië as die daadwerklike begin van Rome se wêreldheerskappy beskou,²¹ en dat hy in hierdie opsig klaarblyklik van sy bron Polybius verskil, wat in die behoue dele van sy werk herhaaldelik beweer dat dié stadium syns insiens eers met die einde van die Derde Macedoniese Oorlog bereik word en wat dit stellig ook in die verlore dele só sal voorgestel het. Livius het as Romein en 'n mens uit 'n latere era 'n ander perspektief op die geskiedenis van daardie jare as wat Polybius as tydgenoot daarvan kon hê. Waarskynlik was vir Livius en die lesers van sy tyd die oorwinning oor die groot Oosterse monarg Antiochus op die bodem van die derde vasteland,

Asië, 'n baie natuurliker en betekenisvoller historiese baken as 'n tweede oorwinning oor Macedonië.²²

AANTEKENINGE

1. Pol.3.1.4; cf. 1.1.5; 3.3.9; 6.2.3; 8.2.3; 39.8.7; cf. ook F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. I, Oxford 1957, ad 1.1.5-6.
2. 1.3.6; 1.63.9; 3.2.6.
3. 1.1.5; 3.1.9; 3.4.2-3.
4. 33.10.10; cf. 30.45.5.
5. Cf. P.G. Walsh, *Livy. GBR New survey in the Classics no. 8*, Oxford 1974, 15; H. Tränkle, *Livius und Polybius*, Basel 1977, 14, 27-32; T.J. Luce, *Livy*, Princeton 1977, cap.5 *passim*. Ongelukkig is egter juis van daardie boeke van Polybius wat hierdie besondere tydperk, nl. ca. 200-168, behandel, slegs versamelings van uittreksels en aanhalings deur later skrywers behoue; cf. *Der Kleine Pauly. Lezikon der Antike*, München 1979, 4.990.54 sqq.
6. Aan die begin van boeke 2, 6, 21 en 31.
7. Daar is aansienlike lakunes in die laaste pentade, en van boek 41 is moontlik 'n 'prooemium', soortgelyk aan dié in boeke 21 en 31, verlore; cf. P.A. Stadter, 'The structure of Livy's History', *Historia* 21 (1972) 291.
8. Vir die opsporing is veral gesteun op D.W. Packard, *A Concordance to Livy*, Harvard U.P. 1968, s.vv. *dominus, gens, humanus, imperium, orbis, terra* en enkele ander.
9. W. Weissenborn-J.J. Müller, *Titi Livi Ab urbe condita libri*, Berlin 1962, ad loc.: 'Sitz ... der Weltherrschaft'.
10. Cf. Weissenborn-Müller (n.9 hierbo) ad 21.30.4.
11. Cf. Weissenborn-Müller (n.9 hierbo) ad 30.32.2.
12. Livius bedoel vermoedelik wat vandag as die 'Indiese Oseaan' bekend staan; cf. Weissenborn-Müller (n.9 hierbo) en J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy Books 34-37*, Oxford 1981, ad loc.; ook *Der Kleine Pauly* (n.5 hierbo) 2.366-7.
13. Briscoe (n.12 hierbo) ad loc., noem hierdie sentimente tereg 'very much the language of Livy's own time' en vergelyk *RG* 26.6; *Hor. Carm.* 1.12.55; *Tac. Ann.* 1.9.5.
14. Vir die Augusteïese sentiment, cf. *Virg. Aen.* 6.853: 'parcere subiectis'.
15. Pol. 21.16-17; 21.22.5-23.13.
16. Pol. 21.16.8; 21.23.4.
17. Cf. Briscoe (n.12 hierbo) ad 37.45.8.
18. Walbank (n.1 hierbo) ad 1.2.7-8 meen dit kan wel wees dat die Griekse wêreld Rome ná die slag van Magnesia as heerser oor die *oikouméné* erken het.
19. Briscoe (n.12 hierbo) ad 37.45.9 praat weer van 'really extraordinary language, recalling some of the religious language of L.'s own time'.
20. Dis sover ek kan sien die eerste maal dat Livius 'imperium Romanum' in ons sin, d.w.s. as 'Romeinse Ryk', gebruik.
21. Cf. hiervoor ook K.E. Petzold, 'Die Entstehung der römischen Weltherrschaft im Spiegel der Historiographie. Bemerkungen zum *bellum iustum* bei Livius', in *Livius. Werk und Rezeption. Festschrift für E. Burck*, red. E. Lefèvre en E. Olshausen, München 1983, 256.
22. Vell.Pat. 1.6.6 is, sover ek kan sien, die enigste ander geskiedskrywer wat die begin van Rome se wêreldheerskappy uitdruklik vermeld. Hy haal uit Aemilius Sura se werk 'de annis populi Romani' aan: '... regibus Philippo et Antiocho ... devictis summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit'.