Reconfiguring the Imperial Past

Historiography of Rome and Its Empire

Series Editors

Carsten Hjort Lange, *Aalborg*, *Denmark* Jesper Majbom Madsen, *SDU*, *Denmark*

Editorial Board

Rhiannon Ash, Oxford, UK Christopher Baron, Notre Dame, USA Henning Börm, Rostock, Germany Jessica H. Clark, Florida State University, USA Cynthia Damon, University of Pennsylvania, USA Alain Gowing, University of Washington, USA Lisa Irene Hau, Glasgow, UK Adam Kemezis, Alberta, Canada Christina S. Kraus, Yale, USA I.E. Lendon, University of Virginia, USA David Levene, New York University, USA Christopher Mallan, The University of Western Australia Steve Mason, Groningen, Netherlands Josiah Osgood, Georgetown, USA John Rich, Nottingham, UK Cristina Rosillo-López, Sevilla, Spain Federico Santangelo, Newcastle, UK Andrew G. Scott, Villanova University, USA Christopher Smith, St Andrews, UK Catherine Steel, *Glasgow*, *UK* Frederik J. Vervaet, Melbourne, Australia David Wardle, Cape Town, South Africa Kathryn Welch, Sydney, Australia Johannes Wienand, Braunschweig, Germany

VOLUME 15

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/hre

Reconfiguring the Imperial Past

Narrative Patterns and Historical Interpretation in Herodian's History of the Empire

Ву

Chrysanthos S. Chrysanthou



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Edwin H. Blashfield, Commodus Leaving the Colosseum, 1878. Collection of The Hermitage Museum & Gardens, Norfolk, Virginia. With kind permission. The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022012192 Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface. ISSN 2468-2314 ISBN 978-90-04-51689-2 (hardback) ISBN 978-90-04-51692-2 (e-book) Copyright 2022 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

To my wife, Emmanouela

••

Contents

 $\mathbf{2}$

Historiography of Rome and Its Empire Series XI Carsten H. Lange and Jesper M. Madsen Acknowledgements XII Texts, Translations, and Abbreviations XIII		
Intro	duction 1	
0.1	Herodian's Historiographical Method 3	
0.2	Herodian and Ancient Historiography 9	
0.3	Studies on Herodian's <i>History</i> 15	
0.4	Methodology and Structure of the Book 21	
Character Introductions 29		
1.1	Commodus 30	
1.2	Pertinax 33	
1.3	Didius Julianus 37	
1.4	Pescennius Niger 38	
1.5	Septimius Severus 40	
1.6	Clodius Albinus 42	
1.7	Geta and Caracalla 43	
1.8	Opellius Macrinus 47	
1.9	Elagabalus and Severus Alexander 48	
1.10	Maximinus Thrax and His Rivals 51	
1.11	Conclusion 59	
Accession Stories 64		
2.1	"On That Day I Was Both Man and Emperor" (1.5.5) 65	
2.2	"We Have Come Here to Offer You the Empire" (2.1.9) 73	
2.3	"They Announced That the Imperial Throne Was up for Sale"	
	(2.6.4) 80	
2.4	Parallel Accessions: Niger and Septimius Severus 84	
	2.4.1 "It Is the Romans Who Are Summoning Me" (2.8.2) 84	
	2.4.2 "Let Us Be the First to Take Rome" (2.10.9) 88	
2.5	"His Sons Succeeded Him to the Rule" (3.15.8) 97	
2.6	"What Is the Good of Noble Birth?" (5.1.5) 101	
2.7	Continuity and Variation 105	
	2.7.1 Elagabalus and Severus Alexander 105	
	2.7.2 Maximinus 112	

VIII CONTENTS

		2.7.3 Gordian I 115
		2.7.4 The Last Accessions 122
	2.8	Conclusion 125
3	War	fare and Battle Narratives 130
•	3.1	Establishing Paradigms 132
		3.1.1 Marcus' Military Ideal 132
		3.1.2 Commodus 133
		3.1.3 Pertinax's Counterexample 136
	3.2	"But This One Man Destroyed Three Reigning Emperors" (3.7.8) 137
		3.2.1 Severus against Julianus 137
		3.2.2 Severus against Niger 142
		3.2.3 Severus against Albinus 149
	3.3	Severus' Eastern Campaign (AD 198) 157
	3.4	Severus' British Expedition 161
	3.5	Caracalla's Portrait Refined? 164
	3.6	Macrinus' 'Fighting' 167
	3.7	Severus Alexander 172
		3.7.1 The Persian War 172
		3.7.2 The German Crisis 178
	3.8	Maximinus' Military Exploits 180
		3.8.1 The German Expedition 180
		3.8.2 Maximinus vs. Gordian I 183
		3.8.3 The Siege of Aquileia 185
	3.9	Conclusion 190
4	Tran	ns-Regnal Themes 197
	4.1	The Emperor's Surroundings: Parents, Advisers, and Retinue 197
	4.2	The <i>Topos</i> of Goodwill (εὔνοια) 216
	4.3	Appearance, Staging, and Performance 222
5	The	Emperor's Finale 249
	5.1	Marcus' Exemplary Death 251
	5.2	Commodus: The Murder of a Tyrant 256
	5.3	Virtue and Military Anarchy: Pertinax's Death 261
	5.4	The Downfall of Cowardly and Negligent Emperors: Julianus, Niger,
		and Albinus 268
	5.5	The End of Severus and His Sons 274
		5.5.1 Septimius Severus 274
		5.5.2 Geta and Caracalla 278

CONTENTS

5.6 A Pattern Verified and Enlarged: Macrinus' Idleness and Luxury 284

- 5.7 Elagabalus' Fatal Excessiveness 289
- 5.8 The Fall of Severus Alexander: Character and Surrounding 291
- 5.9 The End of Maximinus Thrax and Gordian I 294
- 5.10 Military Disorder and Mutual Rivalry: The Deaths of Maximus and Balbinus 299
- 5.11 Conclusion 303

Conclusion 311

Bibliography 323 Index Locorum 353 Index Nominum et Rerum 381

Historiography of Rome and Its Empire Series

Carsten H. Lange and Jesper M. Madsen

The *Historiography of Rome and Its Empire* series aims to gather innovative and outstanding contributions that identify debates and trends, and in order to help provide a better understanding of ancient historiography, as well as how to approach Roman history and historiography. The series welcomes proposals that look at both Roman and Greek writers as well as manuscripts which focus on individual writers, or individuals in the same tradition. It is timely and valuable to bring these trends and historical sources together in the series, focusing mainly on the Republican period and the Principate, as well as the Later Roman Empire.

Historical writing about Rome in both Latin and Greek forms an integrated topic. There are two strands in ancient writing about the Romans and their empire: (a) the Romans' own tradition of histories of the deeds of the Roman people at home and at war, and (b) Greek historical responses, some developing their own models (Polybius, Josephus) and the others building on what both the Roman historians and earlier Greeks had written (Dionysius, Appian, Cassius Dio). Whereas older scholarship tended to privilege a small group of 'great historians' (the likes of Sallust, Livy, Tacitus), recent work has rightly brought out the diversity of the traditions and recognized that even 'minor' writers are worth exploring not just as sources, but for their own concerns and reinterpretation of their material, as well as their place within the tradition. The study of these historiographical traditions is essential as a counterbalance to the outmoded traditional use of ancient authors as a handy resource, with scholars looking at isolated sections of their structure. This fragmentary use of the ancient evidence makes us forget to reflect on their work in its textual and contextual entirety.

Acknowledgements

It is a great pleasure to thank all those people who have helped me write this book over the last few years. Firstly, I want to record my sincere gratitude to Jonas Grethlein for always being a most generous, inspiring, and supportive mentor. For the generosity and usefulness of their advice, comments, and criticism on different versions of this manuscript, I am extremely grateful to Chris Pelling, Luke Pitcher, Christopher Mallan, and Mingbo LU. My warmest thanks are also due to the anonymous readers of Brill, who have provided very useful suggestions and improvements to the manuscript. I am, needless to say, solely responsible for the shortcomings that remain in the book.

Besides, I owe special debts to my colleagues in Heidelberg for always being friendly and cooperative, and the academic staff of the Department of Classics and Philosophy at the University of Cyprus for being extremely hospitable and supportive during my visiting lectureship in 2020–2021. I owe special thanks to Georgios Xenis for inviting me to Cyprus and discussing my work so insightfully. Moreover, I reserve special gratitude to Carsten Hjort Lange and Jesper Majbom Madsen, who, as chief editors of Brill's *Historiography of Rome and Its Empire*, included my book in their series.

The cover of the book shows "The Emperor Commodus Leaving the Arena at the Head of the Gladiators", a painting by Edwin H. Blashfield which belongs to the Collection of the Hermitage Museum & Gardens, Norfolk, Virginia. I am very grateful to the museum's Curator of Collections, Lindsay Neal, for kindly accepting my request for permission to reproduce the image of this work. My research has been supported by generous funding from the German Research Foundation (DFG), and I wish to express my deep gratitude to this institution.

Last but by no means least, my enormous thanks go to my parents for their everlasting caring and support. Unfortunately, while I was writing this book, my beloved grandmother, Erato, passed away. I cannot thank her enough for being my grandmother. What I owe to her, I can never repay. A final heartfelt thank you to my wife, Emmanouela, to whom I dedicate this book, for her admirable patience, understanding, encouragement, love, advice, and support.

Chrysanthos S. Chrysanthou Heidelberg, December 2021

Texts, Translations, and Abbreviations

For the text of Herodian's *History* I have consulted the Teubner edition by Lucarini (2005). References to Cassius Dio are from the edition of Boissevain (1895–1931), with the 'reformed' numeration of Boissevain, which Cary (1914–1927) also used, followed by the 'traditional' numeration in brackets. For the translation of Dio's text I use that of Cary's Loeb edition. In chapter four, for the text of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* I use the edition of Förster (1893), as it is slightly emended and printed in Swain (2007c). For the text of Polemo's *de Physiognomonia*, I use the edition of Hoyland (2007), while for the texts of the anonymous Latin handbook *de Physiognomonia* and Adamantius' *Physiognomonica* I use the editions of Repath (2007a) and Repath (2007b), which are light adaptations of Förster (1893). For the Greek and Latin texts of other authors I use the standard editions. Translations of ancient texts are based on or adopted from those of the Loeb Classical Library editions. For Herodian's *History*, in particular, I use that of Whittaker's edition (1969/7o), adapted at some points, together with that of Echols (1961).

For abbreviations of names of ancient authors and titles of works, I adopt those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (third edition), in some cases supplemented by those in LSJ. Abbreviations of titles of journals follow those of *L'Année Philologique*. LSJ refers to H.G. Liddell & R. Scott (1940). *A Greek-English Lexicon*⁹, rev. by H. Stuart Jones. Oxford.