

unwilling participant in the city's revolt.³ Gylippus, like Cleon, carries the day with demands for exemplary severity and a denial of the appeal to pity. In Gylippus' view, the Athenian people are responsible for the war, not merely Alcibiades, the proposer of the expedition, just as Cleon had insisted that all the Mytileneans were guilty, not only the Few.⁴ Diodorus' pair of speeches has as its premise a deliberate contradiction of Thucydides' statement that Gylippus opposed the execution of Nicias and Demosthenes, thinking that it would be a splendid prize to take the enemy generals with him to Sparta (7. 86. 2): such originality must come from Ephorus rather than Diodorus.⁵ Indeed, the very rarity of speeches in Diodorus may be taken as a sign that he is reproducing rather than composing his speeches.⁶ The speech of Endius, therefore, as well as those of Nicolaus and Gylippus, may be seen as testimony to Ephorus' regard for Thucydides' rhetorical craftsmanship.⁷

GEORGE E. PESELY
*State University of New York
 at Buffalo*

3. Diod. Sic. 13. 27. 3–4; cf. Thuc. 3. 47. 3. An echo of Pericles' Funeral Oration may be detected in Nicolaus' characterization of Athens as "the common school of all mankind" (13. 27. 1; cf. Thuc. 2. 41. 1), and an aphorism about hatred being short-lived recalls Pericles' last oration (13. 27. 2; cf. Thuc. 2. 64. 5). Nicolaus mentions the Athenian blockade of Sphacteria in 425 (13. 24. 2); his appeal to the Syracusans to take the initiative in ending the quarrel with Athens seems to owe something to the speech of the Spartan envoys at the time of the blockade of Sphacteria (13. 23. 1–3; cf. Thuc. 4. 17–20).

4. Gylippus' speech mentions the Athenian decision to execute the inhabitants of Mytilene (13. 30. 4, falsely implying that the decree had been carried out). For the guilt of all the Athenians, not just Alcibiades, see 13. 31. 2 (cf. Thuc. 3. 39. 6). Among imitations of Thucydides may be noted Gylippus' description of the Athenians as aggressors (13. 29. 4–5, 30. 2; cf. Thuc. 3. 39. 3, 40. 5); allusions to the prosperity of Athens (13. 30. 1; cf. Thuc. 3. 39. 2–3) and to the Athenians' likely treatment of the Syracusans if they had been victorious (13. 29. 5, 30. 3, 7; cf. Thuc. 3. 40. 5); and the claim that the Athenians would remain enemies even if treated mercifully on this occasion (13. 32. 5; cf. Thuc. 3. 40. 3). Like Cleon, Gylippus denies compassion to deliberate offenders (13. 29. 3, 6; cf. Thuc. 3. 40. 1).

5. The malicious misrepresentation of Gylippus' position is in keeping with Ephorus' anti-Spartan bias, for which see G. L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 88–90, 96–105. Diodorus' version of the decision at Syracuse diverges from those of Philistus (*FGrH* 556 F 55) and Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 FF 100b–101), as reported by Plutarch (*Nicias* 28). The allusion to the Peace of Callias at 13. 25. 2 rules out Theopompus as a possible source (cf. *FGrH* 115 FF 153–54).

6. At 20. 1. 1–2. 2 Diodorus expresses his aversion to frequent speeches in historical narratives. There is only one other set speech in the second decade of Diodorus, Theodorus' speech in 396/95 calling for the overthrow of Dionysius' tyranny (14. 65–69). Theodorus' speech, like Nicolaus', alludes to Gelon (14. 66. 1–3, 67. 1; cf. 13. 22. 4), and Theodorus' good advice, like Nicolaus', is thwarted by a Spartan (14. 70. 1–2; cf. 13. 33. 1). The Spartan Pharacidas who prevents the establishment of Syracusan freedom in 396/95 plays a role similar to Cleophon's in 410, who prevents the acceptance of Endius' peace proposal (13. 53. 2). All four speeches would appear to be of common origin.

7. I thank R. Sealey and E. S. Gruen for helpful comments.

VALERIUS VALERIANUS IN CHARGE OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS' MESOPOTAMIAN CAMPAIGN

Valerianus' finest hour came early in A.D. 194 when the armies of Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger clashed on Mt. Amanus in Syria. Severus' troops were forcing the Cilician Gates against Niger's last-ditch stand. Niger's men, it is said, fought resolutely and were on the verge of victory, when a miraculous

thunderstorm sprang up, blew into their faces, sapped their morale, and caused them to retreat. What really decided the battle, however, was the success of the Severan cavalry under Valerianus: it got around the enemy and took them in the rear.¹ Valerianus thereby delivered Niger and Syria into Severus' hands. As a reward, he later became procurator of Syria Palaestina and even prefect of Mesopotamia, thus rising to one of the pinnacles of the equestrian career.²

Fate has not been kind, though, to the memory of Valerianus. An inscription setting forth his career was carved in his honor on a column at Caesarea Maritima, but it lost one-third of its text when a later inscription was engraved on the same column.³ Found in 1961, Valerianus' inscription was at first thought to be nearly complete. This led to a number of mistaken restorations until J. Fitz realized that at the end of each line about ten letters were lacking.⁴ Many of the new readings that followed from this were sound. However, a closer inspection of the stone uncovered some further letters, which reveal a previously overlooked command in a Mesopotamian expedition. Valerianus' career thus takes on a new look and sheds new light on the history of Mesopotamia.

The text can be read and expanded as follows:⁵

	L · VALERIO · VALERIANO · P
	SYR · PALAEST · PROVIN
	PRAEPOSITO · SVMME
	MESOPOTAMENAE · ADV
5	PRAEPOS · VEXIL · FELICISS
	VRBIC · ITEMQ · ASIANAE
	HOSTES · PVBLICOS · PR
	PEREGRINARUM · ADVER
	PROC · CYPRI · PRAEF · A
10	CAMPAGONUM · IN · DAC
	MILIARIAE · HEMESE

1. Dio 74. 7. 1–8. See A. Birley, *Septimius Severus* (London, 1971), p. 178. I owe valuable comments on my manuscript to E. Birley (Hexham), G. Alföldy (Heidelberg), and A. Magioncalda (Genoa).

2. R. Duncan-Jones, "*Praefectus Mesopotamiae et Osrhoenae*," *CP* 64 (1969): 229–33, and 65 (1970): 107–9 (= *AE* 1969/70, 109). For an extensive discussion of Valerianus' career and the literature, see A. Magioncalda, "Testimonianze sui prefetti di Mesopotamia," *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 48 (1982): 167–238. For the Severan battle cavalry acting as an independent strike force, see E. Birley, "Septimius Severus and the Roman Army," *Epigraphische Studien* 8 (1969): 63–82.

3. For the Diocletianic inscription, see M. Speidel, "The Last of the Procurators," *ZPE* 43 (1981): 363–64 (see *AE* 1966, 433 for an even later provincial procurator). For comparable columns at Caesarea, see C. M. Lehmann, "*Epigraphica Caesariensis*," *CP* 79 (1984): 45–52, and id., "Another Inscribed Column from Caesarea Maritima," *ZPE* 51 (1983): 191–95.

4. First edition: M. Avi-Yonah, "Lucius Valerius Valerianus, Governor of Syria-Palaestina," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 135–41 (= *AE* 1966, 495); J. Fitz, "La carrière de L. Valerius Valerianus," *Latomus* 18 (1969): 126–40 (=, with improvements by H.-G. Pflaum, *AE* 1971, 476); id., *Les Syriens à Intercisa*, Collection Latomus 122 (Brussels, 1972), pp. 204–18; H. Devijver, *Prosopographia Militarium Equestrum* 2 (Leuven, 1977), no. V, 43; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes: Supplément* (Paris, 1982), no. 297A.

5. Good photographs of the stone are published by B. Lifshitz, "Légions romaines en Palestine," in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, Collection Latomus 102 (Brussels, 1969), pp. 458–69. The text given here differs from *AE* 1971, 476 in adding one more letter each to lines 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 16 (two letters to line 8), and by taking the last four lines as complete on the left. The word *Pannonia* in line 12 seems to show a ligature for a double *N*. The word *felicissima* precedes its reference, *expeditio*, apparently for emphasis (see, e.g., *ILS* 1143 *amplissimo senatu*; 1146 *rarissima femina*; 1147 *devotissimus praetor*). I studied the inscription in 1981 in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

PANNONIA · PRAEF · CHO
 PANNONIA
 MEVIUS · ROMANUS · 7
 15 F · C · ANTONINIANAE
 EIVS · VIRO · I
 BILI

L(ucio) Valerio Valeriano, p[roc(uratori) provin(ciae)] / Syr(iae) Palaest(inae), provin(ciae) [----], / praeposito summ(a)e [feliciss(imae) exped(itionis)] / Mesopotamenae adv[ersus Arabes], / praepos(ito) vexil(lationis) feliciss(imae) [expedit(ionis)] / urbic(ae) itemq(ue) Asianae [adversus] / hostes publicos, pr[ae]p(osito) eq(uitum) gentium] / peregrinarum adver[sus---], / proc(uratori) Cypri, praef(ecto) a[lae I Hispan(orum)] / Campagonum in Dac[ia, trib(un) chort(is) I] / miliariae Hemesse[norum c(ivium) R(omanorum) in] / Pannonia, praef(ecto) cho[r]tis ---- in] / Pannonia. / Mevius Romanus, 7 (centurio) [leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae)] / F(idelis) C(onstantis) Antoniniana, [strator] / eius, viro i[n]compara] / bili.

Of historical significance is the additional letter *V* at the end of line 4, since the word in question then must read *adv[ersus]*, and, like the other two instances of this word in our text, refer to a military campaign. It excludes, therefore, the current interpretation of lines 3 and 4 as *praeposito summ(a)e [rationis] Mesopotamenae ad [centena]* ("in charge of the Mesopotamian imperial fisc, with a salary of 100,000 sesterces a year"), a function not otherwise known.⁶ Instead, one may read *praeposito summ(a)e [feliciss(imae) exped(itionis)] Mesopotamenae adv[ersus Arabes]* ("in charge of the completion of the most victorious Mesopotamian campaign against the Arabs"). To be sure, a *praepositus summae expeditionis* is also new to our knowledge, but Tacitus, in a closely comparable phrase, says of Otho's Narbonensian campaign *summa expeditionis Antonio Novello . . . permissa*, in other words, that Novellus had the overall command of the campaign.⁷

In the case of Valerianus, *summa* may mean "completion" rather than "overall command," for the emperor himself commanded the early phases of the expedition during A.D. 195.⁸ When Severus and his armies left Mesopotamia in order to fight Clodius Albinus in Gaul, Valerianus seems to have been entrusted with finishing off the Mesopotamian war. He is thus likely to be the man of whom Dio (75. 3. 2) reports that Severus, "bestowing some dignity upon Nisibis, entrusted the city to a knight." If so, Valerianus held the strategic pivot of the territory of Mesopotamia until early in A.D. 197, when a full-scale Parthian attack necessitated the return of Severus' most able general, Laetus, together with the van of the reinforcements that became available after the victory at Lyons.⁹

6. Lifshitz, "Légions romaines," p. 464, also reads ADV in line 4, stating: "J'ai vérifié cette lecture sur la pierre: il n'y a aucun doute, la lettre V à la fin de la ligne est très claire et il ne s'agit nullement d'un signe d'abréviation." His restoration *adv[ocato]* makes no sense. For somewhat tortuous justifications of a *praepositus summae rationis Mesopotamenae*, see Fitz, "La carrière," p. 133, and H.-G. Pflaum, *AE* 1966, 495, and 1971, 476.

7. *Hist.* 1. 87. The comparison has also been made by Fitz, "La carrière," p. 133, with the restoration *ad [Euphratem?]*.

8. For the meaning of *summa*, see *OLD*, s.v. For Severus' command in Mesopotamia, see Dio 75. 1. 2-3; A. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, pp. 181-89.

9. For Laetus, see A. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, pp. 198, 201-2, 345-46.

The reading *felicissima expeditio Mesopotamena* recommends itself further by the parallelism of the expression *felicissima expeditio urbica itemque Asiana*. All three campaigns are thus defined by adjectives, while *summa ratio*, according to the available parallels, should be defined by the name of the province in the genitive case, that is, *summa ratio Mesopotamiae*, rather than *Mesopotamena*.¹⁰

The name *expeditio felicissima Mesopotamena* for Septimius Severus' first Parthian war is known already from an African inscription.¹¹ The first war was directed against the Arabs and Adiabeniens, Parthian vassals rather than the Parthians themselves. What is more, when the senate in A.D. 195 bestowed on Severus the titles *Parthicus Arabicus* and *Parthicus Adiabenicus*, he rejected the title *Parthicus*, accepting only *Arabicus* and *Adiabenicus*.¹² While still threatened by Clodius Albinus in the West, Severus did not want to offend the Parthians needlessly.¹³ *Expeditio Mesopotamena* thus in all likelihood was the politic, official name of the campaign in A.D. 195.¹⁴

With the Parthian counterattack in A.D. 196 and the ensuing second war, any regard for Parthian sensibilities was, of course, abandoned: not only did Severus in A.D. 198 take the title *Parthicus Maximus*, but some now saw even the first campaign, in retrospect, as a Parthian war.¹⁵ But if Valerianus' inscription retained the language current at the time of the events, it will have read *adversus Arabes*, avoiding the name of the Parthians.¹⁶ It would thus describe with great precision the scope of the war in Mesopotamia, for the Arabs were about to be incorporated into the new province of Mesopotamia,¹⁷ while the Adiabeni beyond the Tigris were not annexed afterward and may have sustained no more than a punitive expedition during the stay of the emperor at Nisibis.¹⁸ The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that Valerianus' inscription had the later wording, in which case it will have read *adversus Parthos*.¹⁹

The term *expeditio Mesopotamena* was hardly used for Severus' second Parthian war, even though, strictly speaking, it, too, took place in Mesopotamia. *Expeditio Parthica* sounded more grandiose and is therefore likely to have been preferred over *expeditio Mesopotamena* when possible.²⁰ This should be true not

10. See the examples given by Fitz, "La carrière," p. 134.

11. *ILS* 9098, discussed below, p. 325; cf. *ILS* 1144.

12. P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* (Göttingen, 1969), pp. 126 ff.

13. *Hist. Aug. Sev.* 9. 11 "excusavit et Parthicum nomen ne Parthos lacesseret," shown to be correct by Kneissl.

14. The *expedit(io) Suriat(ica)* of *CIL* 3. 3512 probably intervened between the *expeditio Asiana* and *expeditio Mesopotamena*. A soldier on the way back to the West died at Ankara on 5 September A.D. 195, *redi(ens) a Parthia* (*AE* 1941, 166). Although this is contemporary with the events, it is not proof that the war then was officially called *expeditio Parthica*; contra, A. Betz, "Zur Geschichte der Legio X Gemina," in *Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda Dedicata*, ed. R. M. Swoboda-Milenović (Graz, 1966), pp. 39–42.

15. *CIL* 2. 4114 = *ILS* 1140 = *RTarraco* 130 (with literature). See also *ILS* 1144: *helo Parth(ico) Mesopot(ameno)*; *AE* 1957, 123, etc.

16. A suggestion I owe to G. Alföldy. The πόλεμος Ἀραβικός of A.D. 163–66 (*Dio* 76. 25. 2) also refers to Mesopotamia; see E. Ritterling, s.v. "Legio," *RE* 12 (1924): 1211–1829, esp. col. 1512.

17. The province is often described in the literary sources as an Arabian province; see G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 80, 115.

18. *Dio* 75. 1. 3. 1; *Festus Breviarium* 21: "Severus, natione Afer, acerrimus imperator, Parthos strenue vicit, Aziabenos delevit, Arabas interiores obtinuit et in Arabia provinciam fecit."

19. Similar to the inscriptions cited above, n. 15.

20. Even for the first war: see above, nn. 12, 14, and 15.

only for Valerianus' career, but also for an inscription at Lambaesis where soldiers who had returned from the war dedicated a club-room thus:²¹

[Victoriae Au]ggg. Arab. Adi[ab. pro salute et
inc]olunitate domu[s divinae scholam cum im]aginib.
sacris fece[r. milites cons]ecuti dupli stipend[i
beneficium regressi] de exp. fel. Mesopo[tamena ad
castra l]eg. III Aug. p. v. quoru[m nomina s]ubiecta
sunt [-^{sc}].

If our conclusion is correct, then in A.D. 193 Septimius Severus ordered part of the African legion to join his campaign against Niger,²² a move that would have ensured the loyalty of Africa to his cause, especially since in exchange he sent some of his loyal Danubian troops to Africa.²³

Other difficulties of Valerianus' inscription also vanish with our new reading. Above all, the events appear now to be recorded in the correct chronological order. Since Valerianus' function in the Mesopotamian campaign is already described, he would have been *praepositus equitum gentium peregrinarum* in another war, perhaps not too long before A.D. 193.²⁴ If so, Valerianus, after his procuratorship of Cyprus, held an important military command on the Danube, which makes one better understand why Severus later gave him the command of a Danubian detachment that was to march on Rome.²⁵ Finally, from the fact that no letters are missing at the beginning of the last four lines, it follows that while the praenomen of the person honored is given, that of the dedicant is not, which is often the case. The centurion who sponsored the inscription is likely to have been Valerianus' *centurio strator*, for the space available is the right size, and another inscription from Caesarea was likewise set up by a *centurio strator* for his procurator.²⁶

21. *ILS* 9098; cf. H. Dessau, "Afrikanische Munizipal- und afrikanische Militärschrift," *Klio* 8 (1908): 457–63. I have supplied *salute* instead of Dessau's *Parth(ica) max(ima)*, and *Mesopotamena* instead of *Mesopotamica*. The term *Auggg.* occurs in inscriptions from Lambaesis as early as A.D. 198: cf. *ILAlg.* 2. 29.

22. Contra, E. Ritterling, "Legio," *RE* 12 (1924): 1211–1829, esp. cols. 1500–1501.

23. *Hist. Aug. Sev.* 8. 7 "ad Africam tamen legiones misit, ne per Libyam atque Aegyptum Niger Africam occuparet." Such an exchange is assumed, but for the time of the second campaign, by P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa* (Rome, 1959), p. 404; A. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, p. 217. It may be significant that this is the only extant dedication to Victoria Arabica Adiabonica, a deity of the first rather than the second campaign.

24. *Gentium*, not *cohortium peregrinarum*, pace Fitz, "Les Syriens," pp. 208–9, for no *cohortes peregrinae* are known. Recently a *numerus salaratorum peregrinorum* has become known (*POxy.* 2951. 27). For a *praepositus equitibus gentium Marcomannorum, Naristarum, Quadorum*, see *AE* 1956. 124. For a comparable *praepositus gentis Onsorum donis militaribus donatus ob expeditionem felicissimam Quadorum et Marcomannorum*, see *ILAfr.* 455; cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes* (Paris, 1960), pp. 593–94. For other foreign troops at the time, see M. P. Speidel, "The Roman Army in Arabia," *ANRW* 2. 8 (1977), pp. 687–730, esp. p. 715 (= *Roman Army Studies*, vol. 1 [Amsterdam, 1984], p. 257). Fitz, "Les Syriens," pp. 215–18, suggests as Valerianus' first post the command of *cohors V Callaecorum*, but without compelling reasons.

25. The *expeditio urbana*, of course, preceded the *Asiana*, but these two campaigns are here bracketed under a single heading, exactly as are the campaigns in the otherwise descending *cursus honorum* of Ti. Cl. Candidus, *CIL* 2. 4114 = *ILS* 1140 = *RTarraco* 130: *expeditione Asiana item Parthica item Gallica*.

26. *C. Furio Timesitheo, proc. Aug. Aur. Iustinus, 7 strator eius*, also without the praenomen of the dedicant (unpublished inscription).

Valerianus' inscription may also bear on the question whether Mesopotamia was made a province in A.D. 195 after Severus' first Parthian war, or in A.D. 198 after his second Parthian war. The first prefect of the province is known to have been Subatianus Aquila. Had Aquila been in office in A.D. 195, one would expect him, rather than Valerianus, to have commanded the army in his province. Mesopotamia thus seems to have become a province only after the second Parthian war.²⁷ As for Valerianus himself, he may have become procurator of Syria Palaestina and prefect of Mesopotamia at any time thereafter, for the title *Antoniniana*, given to *legio VI Ferrata* on our inscription, can date to the reign of Septimius Severus as well as to that of Caracalla.²⁸

His command over the last phase of the Mesopotamian campaign proves that Valerianus was one of Septimius Severus' most trusted field commanders in A.D. 195. There should surely be no doubt that the Valerianus of our inscription, and the Valerianus who according to Cassius Dio (74. 7. 1–8) decided the battle of the Cilician Gates in A.D. 194, are one and the same man.²⁹

M. P. SPEIDEL

University of Hawaii

27. See D. L. Kennedy, "Ti. Claudius Subatianus Aquila, 'First Prefect of Mesopotamia'," *ZPE* 36 (1979): 255–62; see also Magioncalda, "Testimonianze."

28. B. Lörincz, "Zur Datierung des Beinamens Antoniniana bei Truppenkörpern," *ZPE* 48 (1982): 142–48. Contra, J. Fitz, *Honoric Titles of Roman Military Units* (Budapest, 1983), p. 34.

29. For the identity: E. Birley, "Septimius Severus and the Roman Army," esp. p. 66, n. 24; A. Birley, *Septimius Severus*, p. 178. Contra, Fitz, "La carrière," and Pflaum, *Supplément*, p. 77, n. 1. If Valerianus was indeed *praepositus equitum gentium peregrinarum* (line 7, on the analogy of *AE* 1956, 124), he must have proved himself as a fine cavalry commander at the time he was *praefectus alae Campagonum*. A. J. Graham, "Septimius Severus and His Generals," in *War and Society*, ed. M. R. D. Foor (London, 1973), pp. 255–75 and 336–45, shows how Septimius Severus, for political reasons, constantly switched his commanders. This explains very well why Valerianus is not mentioned during the main phase of the first Parthian war.

THE THIRD REGNAL YEAR OF EPARCHIUS AVITUS

In the year A.D. 455, after the murder of Petronius Maximus and the Vandal sack of Rome, the Gallic senator Eparchius Avitus, with Visigothic support, was able to be recognized as emperor in the west.¹ But Avitus soon met opposition from the master of soldiers Ricimer and the count of domestics Majorian and in 456 had to flee back to Gaul.² Later in the same year he returned to Italy; but deprived of the aid of the Visigoths, who were otherwise occupied in Spain, he was defeated in mid-October at Placentia.³ This much of the story, at least, is certain, but a good deal of mystery surrounds Avitus' fate after his defeat. Some

1. Acclamation: Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 7. 572–95; Hyd. *Chron.* 163; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 31; Fredegar. 2. 54; *MGH:AA*, 9:304, 490–92, 663, 11:157, 186, 232; Theoph. *Chron.* 5948 (de Boor 1.109); and R. Mathisen, "Avitus, Italy and the East in A.D. 455–456," *Byzantion* 51 (1981): 232–47. Gothic support: Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 7. 519–21; Hyd. *Chron.* 183; Joh. Ant. frag. 202 (*FHG* 4:616).

2. Opposition: Joh. Ant. frag. 202 (*FHG* 4:616). Return to Gaul: Hyd. *Chron.* 177, and see also H. Rutherford, *Sidonius Apollinaris: L'homme politique, l'écrivain, l'évêque* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1938), p. 11; O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 402; and C. E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age* (Oxford, 1933), p. 38.

3. Visigoths: Hyd. *Chron.* 170–83. Avitus' defeat: nn. 4, 6, 7 below.