

than the Numidians.⁴¹ Then there was the shame of Adherbal's atrocious end. The honor of the Roman People, a nation "born to empire" (*in imperio nati*, 31.11) as Memmius puts it in the sample Sallust later supplies of his oratory, in whose power the Italians had so naively trusted, was directly insulted;⁴² worst of all, Memmius charged, "intriguers" (*factiosi*) in the Senate had connived at this betrayal of "your *imperium*."⁴³ The Senate's "fear" of an aroused populace is readily paralleled;⁴⁴ in this case, senators had been put in a position of having to prove that they were not merely agents of the Numidian king (as indeed Sallust, and surely Memmius, claimed they were: *ministri regis*, 27.1), and clear themselves of guilt (*delicti conscientia*, 27.3), by acquiescing in the popular zeal for war. But formal justification of the war did not have to rest on the legally ambiguous killing of the Italians in Cirta, whose actions will have given some grounds for grievance to Jugurtha himself; thus, as the minor sources indicate, the formal declaration of war, which followed probably at the beginning of 111, cited instead the murder of Adherbal.⁴⁵ The true reasons for the Roman decision, however, must be inferred from Sallust's subtle, complex, and essentially credible account.

R. MORSTEIN-MARX
University of California,
Santa Barbara

41. Rightly stressed by Saumagne, *Numidie et Rom*, 169.

42. Well expressed by de Sanctis, *Problemi*, 205: "Un popolo uso a veder sempre piegar tutto davanti a sè non guarda tanto pel sottile quando gli pare in giuoco il suo onore." That the crowds of the Forum too were susceptible to appeals to the honor and glory of "their" empire is evident from texts such as Cic. *Leg. Man.* 6–16 (with which see C. J. Classen, *Recht Rhetorik Politik* [Darmstadt, 1985], 278–79), as well as *Jug.* 31.25 (quoted in n. 43 below; see Paul's note, *Commentary*, 103).

43. 27.2 *populum Romanum edocuisset id agi ut per paucos factiosos Jugurthae scelus condonaretur*. I have again mined Sallust's sample of Memmius' oratory for the quoted commonplace (*proditum imperium vostrum est*, 31.25).

44. For the impact of "fear" of popular anger on senatorial deliberations or on senators' interventions in public debate, see, e.g., Dio Cass. 36.24.2–4, 38.4.2; Plut. *Pomp.* 30.4; Diod. Sic. 34–35.33.7; Cic. *Dom.* 10, *Q Fr.* 2.1.3.

45. Above, n. 25. The timing: Rich, *Declaring War*, 50.

THE EMPEROR AND THE GIANT

A passage of the periegete Pausanias mentions an "emperor (βασιλεύς) of the Romans" who discovered, or caused to be discovered, the bones of a giant in the bed of the river Orontes. Though the identification of the emperor has been discussed inconclusively for well over a century, it involves the history and topography of Antioch, one of the great cities of antiquity, and is therefore more than a mere puzzle. The present study argues that a passage of Philostratus' *Heroicus*, noticed in this connection but not read with sufficient care, may help to solve the problem.¹

Pausanias' testimony can be translated as follows (8.29.3–4):

The Syrian river Orontes does not flow to the sea over a level course throughout, but is borne towards a precipitous cliff and downwards from it. The emperor of the Romans wanted ships to sail up [the river] from the sea to the city of Antioch. So he had a canal suitable for navigation up-stream dug with labor and expense of money, and diverted the river into it. But when the previous bed had dried up, there was found in it an earthen-

1. All references to Philostratus are to C. L. Kayser's 1870–71 *editio maior* (the *Heroicus* is in 2:128–219) and to L. de Lannoy's 1977 edition of the *Heroicus*.

ware coffin of more than eleven cubits length, and the body [in it] was of a size commensurate with the coffin and human throughout its body. When the Syrians came to the oracle of the god at Claros, he declared that the body was [that of] Orontes, and that he was of the race of the Indians.

The passage raises some immediate problems. The expression “the emperor of the Romans” is used by Pausanias elsewhere in reference to Augustus and Hadrian, and the one meant here cannot be later than the latest emperor whom he mentions by name, “the second Antoninus” or Marcus Aurelius.² The word translated “canal,” ἔλυτρον, is rare, and seems to be part of his consciously Herodotean vocabulary. Though Liddell and Scott translate it as “reservoir,” in this passage it must mean “channel” or “canal,” and perhaps in its other occurrences in this author.³ A more concrete problem is that the geography of the Orontes between Antioch and the sea does not seem to allow for the diversion of the river into a new bed, even allowing for the changes in the terrain caused by seismic activity, and it may be that Pausanias has misunderstood the operation.⁴

Several emperors have been suggested for the one in this passage, and they may be taken in chronological order. A tradition found in Malalas and later writers reports that the Orontes had been called the “Drakon” until its name was changed in the reign of Tiberius. Accordingly, an old view favored Tiberius, or possibly his nephew Germanicus, as the ruler meant here. Though this view still finds adherents, it has little to recommend it, since the name “Orontes” occurs long before, and Malalas’ work is a notorious farrago of true and false information.⁵

By contrast with Tiberius, accumulating evidence attests to the activity of Vespasian both in Syria generally and in connection with the Orontes in the region of Antioch and its port, Seleuceia Pieria, and he is the emperor now usually identified with the one in Pausanias.⁶ A milestone found eleven kilometers upstream from Antioch shows that his legate M. Ulpius Traianus, father of the emperor, built or repaired a waterway three miles long; the purpose was probably to channel the Orontes where it meets a tributary coming from the lake of Antioch. Two stelai in Greek, also dating from the tenure of Traianus, record a canal that was dug with local labor between the river and the foothills of Mount Amanus, though its precise location is unknown. Downstream from the city, the late Denis van Berchem found evidence that blocks of stone had been placed into the riverbed at a point where it passes through a narrow defile, and he was inclined on the basis of Pausanias to think Vespasian responsible. At the same time, he noted that the river must have required constant maintenance, and he cited a constitution of Valentinian and Valens that showed troops from the *classis Seleucena* being employed *ad auxilium purgandi Orontis*. At Seleuceia itself, Vespasian began, and perhaps completed, a tunnel designed to divert runoff from the

2. Unnamed emperors: Augustus, 5.23.3, 10.38.4; Hadrian, 8.16.5; “The second Antoninus”: 8.43.6. Cf. Habicht 1985, 9–10, suggesting a completion date between 175 and 180 for the whole work.

3. LSJ⁹, s.v. ἔλυτρον 5; cf. Paus. 2.27.7, 7.27.4 (in both cases with κρήνης), 8.14.3 (with Hitzig’s transposition).

4. On the Orontes between Antioch and the sea, van Berchem 1985, 68: “Le relief accusé de la vallée exclut le creusement d’un canal qui eût permis au fleuve de s’écouler par un autre chemin.”

5. For this view see Frazer 1898, 4:316 (tentative); Blümner and Hitzig 1896–1910, 3.1:216 (“der Kaiser wird wohl Tiberius sein”); Arafat 1996, 82 (“very uncertain”); Casevitz 1998, 228 (expressing no doubt).

6. For a general treatment of Syria under Vespasian, Bowersock 1973 (= Bowersock 1994b, 85–92). In favor of this identification, van Berchem 1985, 68; Bowersock 1994a, 426–27.

mountain overlooking the harbor; here too, however, it is certain that further work was necessary in the next century.⁷

A suggestion by an excellent scholar, Walther Ruge, has not drawn much attention. Arguing that Pausanias' words, "wanting ships to sail up [the river] from the sea to the city of Antioch," imply the emperor's presence in person, Ruge held that he was in Antioch on his way to an eastern campaign ("ein Kaiser, der persönlich von Antiocheia aus ins Feld zog"). Ruge therefore proposed Trajan, who is known to have visited the city on the way both to and from his Parthian campaign.⁸ There seems no other evidence, however, for engineering works conducted under his auspices.

A hint in Pausanias might orient towards a later emperor: the mention of Claros. This oracle, dependent on the city of Colophon, had existed from archaic times, and early in the imperial period received a visit from Germanicus, memorably described by Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.54). Nevertheless, the oracle reached the summit of its fame only in the second century, after the completion of the god's temple by Hadrian. It was presumably for this reason that R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, assembling the known oracles of Claros, suggested Lucius Verus as the emperor in Pausanias, apparently in all innocence of the debate whose course has been described here.⁹

Lucius made Antioch his base almost continuously from his arrival at the war front in 162 or 163 until his departure in 165 or 166. Modern accounts of his conduct of the war are influenced by the *Historia Augusta*, which in its characteristic way focuses on his easy living and on his love of entertainments, banquets, and women. Yet Fronto's *Principia Historiae*, though certainly biased in the other direction, and Lucian's similar treatise on the writing of history give the impression of an active and effective general, though Fronto is careful to insert a defense of Lucius' liking for stage players. (Malalas, who might have been useful on this point, confuses Lucius with Commodus, and so provides almost nothing.)¹⁰ Within the last hundred years or so, however, archaeological and other discoveries have tipped the balance in Lucius' favor. A Fayum papyrus first published in 1895 contains a contract dated to 166 and drawn up in Seleuceia Pieria. The parties are an *optio* in the trireme *Tigris* of the Misene fleet and a soldier of the same ship selling him a slave of Mesopotamian origin, clearly booty from the recent campaign.¹¹ Henri Seyrig in 1939 studied two military cemeteries of Seleuceia, and observing that all the tombstones could be dated between 129 and 212 pointed to Lucius' Parthian War as the chief explanation: "Le mouvement de troupes qu'entraînèrent ces événements, le plus

7. Latin inscription: van Berchem 1983 (*AnnEpigr* 1983, 927); revised readings and interpretation, van Berchem 1985, 85–87. See also Feissel 1985, 85–86; Bowersock 1994b, 425–27. Greek inscriptions: Feissel 1985, 77–84 (*SEG* 35.1483; *AnnEpigr* 1986, 694). Work downstream: van Berchem 1985, 68, citing *Cod. Theod.* 10.23.1 = *Cod. Iust.* 11.13.1. Van Berchem however takes Pausanias to say that the river passed through a "gorge escarpée," when in fact he talks of it being carried over a precipitous cliff (ἐπὶ κρημνὸν ἀπορρῶγα . . . φερόμενοι). Tunnel: van Berchem 1985, 53–59.

8. Ruge 1931, 1191.

9. Apogee of Claros: Robert 1954, 20 (= Robert 1969–90, 6:540): "Le II^e siècle de notre ère est la grande époque de Claros"; J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1976, 539 no. 610: "C'est aussi sous le règne de Trajan que Claros prend un nouveau départ, mais un peu plus tard, et c'est Hadrien qui montrera sa faveur à Claros en faisant achever le temple et le dédiant." Merkelbach and Stauber 1996, 40 no. 23: "wohl unter Kaiser Verus."

10. In general, Stein 1899, 1842: "Mit der Ankunft des Verus, wenn auch nicht durch sein Verdienst, begann der Feldzug mit grösserer Energie und besserem Erfolg geführt zu werden." Fronto: van den Hout 1954, 191–200. Lucian: MacLeod, 1972–87, 3:287–319.

11. Cavenaile, 1958, p. 232, no. 120.

grand qu'ait vu l'Orient au 2^e siècle, expliquerait mieux que tout autre la présence d'une base navale importante à Seleucie."¹²

It is here that the passage of Philostratus referred to at the beginning of this paper may be of help. It occurs in his *Heroicus*, a dialogue between a rustic vine-dresser and a Phoenician merchant (for the present purpose, it does not greatly matter whether the author is the well-known Philostratus or his contemporary, Philostratus of Lemnos). The dramatic date must be approximately in the author's own time, as emerges above all from a discussion of the Phoenician athlete Aurelius Helix, who had his greatest successes in the reign of Elagabalus (147.15–28 K., 16.26–17.5 L.).¹³ Near the beginning of the conversation, the rustic tries to break down the merchant's skepticism by mentioning a number of instances of men of superhuman size, whether heroes or giants. He begins with an account of the bones of Salaminian Ajax, revealed by the action of waves on the shore of Troy and reburied with proper care by the emperor Hadrian; the reburial took place in the lifetime of the rustic's grandfather, and it so happens that, in one of several coincidences between the two authors, Pausanias appears to mention the same event as narrated to him by an informant from Mysia (Philostr. *Her.* 137.15–23 K., 8.16–21 L.; Paus. 1.35.4–5). When the merchant proves incredulous, the rustic promises to bypass events from myth, and instead to give instances "in our time" (ἐφ' ἡμῶν, 138.6 K., 9.4 L.). The first of these is said to have occurred "not long ago" (οὐ πάλαι, 138.8 K., 9.6 L.), a phrase that by contrast with the mythological era need only mean "in no very distant past."¹⁴ The second occurred "not yet fifty years ago" (138.10 K., 9.7 L.), the next four years ago (139.2 K., 9.25 L.), the next "the other day" (πέρυσιν, 139.14 K., 10.5 L.), and the last is still true at the time of the dialogue (139.28 K., 10.16 L.).

The first incident, therefore, should have occurred in the lifetime of the speakers, and if it too belongs in order it should have fallen some fifty or sixty years before: assuming a dramatic date about 220–25, this would produce a range roughly from 160 to 175. Philostratus' words are: "Aryades, who some said was Ethiopian, others said Indian, thirty cubits long, lying in the land of the Assyrians, was revealed not long ago when the bank of the river Orontes was cut" (ἡ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ὄχθη σχισθεῖσα, 138.6–9 K., 9.5–7 L.). As several commentators have noticed, this appears to represent another version of the story told by Pausanias, though with some differences. Pausanias does not give the name "Aryades" or mention an Ethiopian origin, and he reports the giant's height as eleven cubits, not thirty. But both authors talk of excavation in the Orontes, of a gigantic body that was found in the riverbed, and of this body as belonging to an Indian eponym of the river.

If Philostratus does indeed refer to the same incident as Pausanias, then his text implies that it occurred not earlier than the mid-second century. It cannot be much later, since in this same book (8.43.6), Pausanias mentions Marcus' victory over the Germans in the mid-170s, the last dated event in his work. In sum, the identification of Lucius Verus as Pausanias' "emperor of the Romans" would satisfy Ruge's

12. Seyrig 1939, 1:458–59 (= Seyrig 1985, 1:365–66); Roxan 1978, nos. 44, 74; van Berchem 1985, 62.3.

13. *PIR*² A 1520; Cass. Dio, 80.10.2–3 (9:458–61 Cary); Jones 1998, 295.

14. Thus, correctly, Chuvin 1991, 173, "voici peu (ce qui s'entend par rapport à des temps beaucoup plus anciens) . . ." Cf. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 42.10 K., Hadrian counted among οἱ πάλαι βασιλεῖς as distinct from subsequent ones.

supposition that the emperor was present in person, and involved in an eastern campaign; it would suit the mention of Claros; and it would also fit the chronology both of Pausanias and of Philostratus. Why Pausanias does not name an emperor who had died only a few years before seems impossible to tell. In a somewhat similar way, he talks of Antoninus (that is, Pius) "leaving a son of the same name" as his successor, and of Marcus' defense of the empire, without any mention of Lucius (*ibid.*).

Another author, about two centuries later than Philostratus, appears to give a version of the same story. The seventeenth book of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* includes the *aristeia* of Orontes, a giant allied to the Indian king Deriades, who is also his father-in-law.¹⁵ Humiliated by Dionysus in battle, Orontes commits suicide, and falls into the river that thereafter is to bear his name. His body is carried downstream "until the river-banks vomited the lifeless corpse" (ἄπνουν ἡρεύγοντο νέκυν ποταμίδες ὄχθαι, 17.309). The Nymphs bury it "beside the trunk of a golden laurel" (χρυσέης παρὰ πυθμένα δάφνης, 311) and write an epitaph over it: "Here lies Indian Orontes, leader of the army, who insulted Bacchus, slain with self-destroying hand" (Βάκχον ἀτιμήσας στρατίης πρόμος ἐνθάδε κεῖται / αὐτοφόνῳ παλάμῃ δεδαιγμένος Ἴνδός Ὀρόντης, 313–14). The reference to a "golden laurel" points to the famous sanctuary of Daphne above Antioch, though that was not near the Orontes, and the whole story seems to be a variation on some local legend of the city. It seems impossible to determine whether the legend started from the discovery of the giant's body and the oracle of Claros, or whether the oracle made use of an already existing tradition about the origin of the name "Orontes." It may be relevant, however, that a historian of Lucius' Parthian War alleged that Roman forces had crossed the River Indus.¹⁶ That is, the priesthood of Claros might have turned the discovery of the supposed giant's bones into a portent of imperial victory.¹⁷

CHRISTOPHER JONES
Harvard University

15. See in particular Chuvin 1991, 170–73. A reader for *CP* suggests that *Deriades* and *Aryades* are the same name, the initial D being the Aramaic prepositional particle meaning "of."

16. Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 31.

17. I am grateful to the readers for *CP* for their comments.

LITERATURE CITED

- Arafat, K. W. 1996. *Pausanias' Greece: Ancient Artists and Roman Rulers*. Cambridge.
- Berchem, D. van. 1983. Une inscription flavienne du Musée d'Antioche. *MH* 40:185–96.
- . 1985. Le Port de Séleucie de Piérie et l'infrastructure logistique des guerres parthiques. *Bonner Jahrbücher* 185:47–87.
- Blümner, H., and H. Hitzig. 1896–1910. *Pausaniae "Graeciae Descriptio."* 3 vols. in 6. Berlin.
- Bowersock, G. W. 1973. Syria under Vespasian. *JRS* 63:133–40.
- . 1994a. The Search for Antioch: Karl Otfried Müller's *Antiquitates Antiochenae*. In Bowersock 1994b:411–27.
- . 1994b. *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire*. Goldbach.
- Casevitz, M., ed. 1998. *Pausanias, "Description de la Grèce," Livre VIII*. Paris.
- Cavenaile, R. 1958. *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*. Wiesbaden.

- Chuvin, P. 1991. *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques: Recherches sur l'oeuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis*. Clermont-Ferrand.
- Dussaud, R. 1939. *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Feissel, D. 1985. Deux Listes de quartiers d'Antioche. *Syria* 62:77–103.
- Frazer, J. G. 1898. *Pausanias's "Description of Greece."* 6 vols. London.
- Habicht, C. 1985. *Pausanias' "Guide to Ancient Greece."* Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Hout, M. P. J. van den, ed. 1954. *M. Cornelii Frontonis Epistulae*. Leiden.
- Jones, C. P. 1998. The Pancratiasts Helix and Alexander on an Ostian Mosaic. *JRA* 11:293–98.
- Kayser, C. L., ed. 1870–71. *Flavii Philostrati Opera*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
- Lannoy, L. de, ed. 1977. *Flavius Philostratus, "Heroicus."* Leipzig.
- MacLeod, M. D., ed. 1972–87. *Luciani Opera*. 4 vols. Oxford.
- Merkelbach, R., and J. Stauber. 1996. Die Orakel des Apollon von Klaros. *EA* 27:1–53.
- Robert, L. 1954. *Les Fouilles de Claros*. Limoges.
- . 1969–90. *Opera Minora Selecta*. 7 vols. Amsterdam.
- Roxan, M. M. 1978. *Roman Military Diplomas 1954–1977*. London.
- Ruge, W. 1931. Seleukeia (Pieria). *RE* 2B.1:1184–1200.
- Seyrig, H. 1939. Le Cimetière des marins de Séleucie de Piérie. In Dussaud 1939, 1:451–59.
- . 1985. *Scripta Varia: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Stein, A. 1899. L. Ceionius Commodus. *RE* 3.2:1832–57.