

Clytus, who invents eight or nine birthdays a year for the sake of the presents (8.64.1–4), receives a warning (15–18):

sit tandem pudor et modus rapinis.
quod si ludis adhuc semelque nasci
uno iam tibi non sat est in anno,
natum te, Clyte, nec semel putabo.

The entry on *pudor* in *TLL* rightly cites the first passage of Martial as one where ‘respicitur excessus vitandus’ (2494.13–17), but admittedly the pairing with *finis* or *modus*, which already occurs in Seneca, *Thyestes* 26–7 *nec sit irarum modus pudorve*, and Horace, *Odes* 1.24.1–2 *quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis?*, helps to narrow down the meaning. Without such reinforcement, *pudor* is apt to divide translators or commentators, for instance at *Ecl.* 7.44 *ite domum pasti, si quis pudor, ite iuveni*, where some modern commentators embellish or even abandon Servius’ explanation that the *iuveni* have had enough to eat (‘quia ad pascendum avidissimi sunt’). If Servius was right, *Ecl.* 7.44 comes nearer to meeting the definition ‘sense of restraint’ than any of the other passages that the *OLD* cites in its category 2a, ‘consciousness of what is seemly, sense of propriety or restraint, decency, scrupulousness, etc.’, except *Odes* 1.24.1, which it mysteriously labels as poetic, and perhaps Cicero, *De finibus* 2.113 *inest* (in the *animus*) *moderator cupiditatis pudor*; at Curtius 10.6.18 on the other hand, where Perdiccas, unsure about succeeding Alexander, *haerebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque*, ‘modesty’ seems intended, because *modestius* follows. By the time that the *OLD* reaches *Ecl.* 7.44, it has become more interested in labelling phrases like *si pudor est* as colloquial, and perhaps indeed Juvenal’s *habeat pudorem* had a colloquial flavour, even if a less marked one than *e caelo cecidit*. In any event, while Martial laughs at himself by taking a moral line on publishing more books, Laronia unleashes her wit by taking a moral line on an excess of moralists.

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THE HISTORIAN PHILOSTRATUS OF ATHENS

A historian called Philostratus the Athenian is known only from one or two citations. He is not in Müller’s collection of the fragmentary Greek historians, nor apparently in Pauly-Wissowa, though he earns a passing mention in Schmid-Stählin’s history of Greek literature (2⁶.1039). John Malalas in the sixth century cites him for his detailed account of Sapor I’s invasion of Syria and Asia Minor in 260:¹ *ὁ*

¹ Mal. 297.10 Bonn (*FGrH* 99 F 2), translated by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott (Melbourne, 1986), 163; I have made some modifications, in particular by taking *ἀπηνύτησεν* in a hostile sense (LSJ s.v. *ἀπαντᾶω* I 2). Cf. A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, 1931), 373–6.

δὲ σοφώτατος Φιλόστρατος ἄλλως συνεγράψατο τὰ περὶ Σάπωρος, βασιλέως Περσῶν, εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τὴν Συρίαν παρέλαβε καὶ ἔκαυσε σὺν τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις πολλὰς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν παρέλαβε, καύσας Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν μικρὰν καὶ Ῥωσσὸν καὶ Ἀνάζαρβον καὶ Αἰγὰς καὶ Νικόπολιν καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς πόλεις τῆς Κιλικίας, καὶ διὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας κατήλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Περσικὰ μέρη, καὶ ὅτι ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ Ἐναθος, βασιλεὺς Σαρακηνῶν, εἰς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῦ, φησὶν, ἐλθὼν, καὶ ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν ('The most learned Philostratus has written a different account [than Domininus, the sixth-century chronographer] of events concerning Sapor, emperor of the Persians, saying that he also captured the whole of Syria and burnt down many other cities as well as Antioch the Great, and that likewise he also took Cilicia and burnt Alexandria Minor [Alexandria ad Issum] and Rhossus and Anazarbus and Aegae and Nicopolis and many other cities in Cilicia, and that he passed through Cappadocia into Persian territory, and that Enathus [Odaenethus], emperor of the Saracens, met him (in battle) after entering into alliance with him, so he [Philostratus] says, and killed him'). This account agrees in part with the inscription of Sapor, the so-called *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, first published in full by André Maricq in 1958.²

The chronographer George Syncellus, who died sometime after 810, says of the emperor Aurelian (270–5), ἐφ' οὗ φασι Φιλόστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἱστοριογράφον καὶ Λογγίνον ἀκμάσαι ('it is said that during his reign Philostratus the Athenian historian and Longinus flourished').³ Felix Jacoby correctly inferred that Philostratus was a contemporary of the better-known Dexippus, and suggested that he might be one of the family of the Philostrati, and also (or alternatively) the Athenian archon L. Flavius Philostratus of the mid-third century, though he warned 'der name ist unendlich häufig. Das werk scheint eine zeitgeschichte gewesen zu sein'.⁴ The historian is missing from both editions of *PIR*, while the *PLRE* (1.698), mentioning only Malalas and not Syncellus, tentatively places him in the later third century.

There is, however, almost certainly another 'fragment' lurking in the late sixth-century ecclesiastical historian, Evagrius Scholasticus, and this is decisive for his date. Commenting on the so-called Justinianic plague that began in 542 and lasted for many decades, Evagrius observes (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.29 [179.9–12 Bidez-Parmentier]): ἐνεμήθη τοῖνυν ὥς μοι λέλεκται μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα χρόνους τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, ἅπαντα τὰ πρῶτα νικῆσαν· Φιλόστρατος γὰρ θαυμάζει ὅτι γε πεντεκαίδεκα ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκράτησε λοιμός ('This disease spread therefore, as I have said, for fifty-two years up to this time, and exceeded everything that went before: for Philostratus is surprised that the plague of his time lasted fifteen'). Since by Syncellus' account Philostratus the historian lived in the time of Aurelian (270–5), it is natural to infer that the plague 'of his time' is the one sometimes called 'Gallienic' or 'St. Cyprian's': the latter name comes from its prominence in the writings of St. Cyprian, but is misleading in that it suggests that North Africa was the area mainly affected. It so happens that Zonaras, commenting on this same

² A. Maricq, 'Res gestae divi Saporis', *Syria* 35 (1958), 295–360, revised version in Maricq, *Classica et Orientalia* (Paris, 1965), 37–101; see also E. Kettenhofen, *Die Römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1982), index s.v. Philostratos.

³ Georg. Sync. 721.4–6 Bonn = *FGrH* 99 T 1, translated by W. Adler and P. Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Syncellus* (Oxford, 2002), 551.

⁴ Jacoby, *FGrH* II 2 (1926), 303. The archon is known from *IG* II² 2245: standard reference works put the date variously in the 250s (S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle* [Paris, 1976], 243) and the 260s (*PIR*² P 384).

plague, says that it lasted for fifteen years (12.21 [3.137.14–18 D.]): ἀλλὰ καὶ λοιμὸς τηνικαῦτα ταῖς χώραις ἐνέσκηψεν, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἀρξάμενος καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐπινεμηθεὶς χώραν ἑώαν τε καὶ ἐσπέριον, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν πόλεων τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐκένωσεν, ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα διαρκέσας ἐνιαυτούς ('And a plague too ravaged the lands at that time, beginning from Ethiopia and ravaging practically every land east and west, and emptied many cities of their inhabitants, persisting for fifteen years'). Consequently this citation in Evagrius should be added as a second 'fragment' to the meagre remains of Philostratus.

The sources first mention the 'Gallienic' plague early in the reign of Trebonianus Gallus (251–3), and so before the reign of Gallienus (253–68), and it is last heard of in connection with the death of Claudius Gothicus in 269 or 270.⁵ The 'fifteen years' of Philostratus and Zonaras may therefore apply to the years of its maximum virulence, particularly in cities of the east. In any case, Philostratus must have written after its end, and so not earlier than about 265 and perhaps after 270. This corroborates Syncellus' placing of his *acme* in the reign of Aurelian, and also confirms Jacoby's inference that he was an approximate contemporary of Dexippus. It is tempting to wonder with Jacoby whether he is also the Athenian archon of the 250s or 260s, L. Flavius Philostratus. Since the biographer of the sophists had the same three names and was hoplite general in the 220s,⁶ some tie between the two seems likely, though it would be odd that the *Suda*, in its extensive discussion of the various Philostrati (Φ 421–3 [4.734 Adler]), makes no mention of the historian.

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⁵ A useful short account of this plague by A. Alföldi, *CAH* XII¹ (1939), 227–8, with list of sources in 228 n. 1.

⁶ Archon: J.S. Traill, *Hesperia* 40 (1971), 321–6, especially 324–5.

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