

# GREEK NARRATIVES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE SEVERANS

The political instability of the Severan Period (AD 193–235) destroyed the High Imperial consensus about the Roman past and caused both rulers and subjects constantly to re-imagine and re-narrate both recent events and the larger shape of Greco-Roman history and cultural identity. This book examines the narratives put out by the new dynasty, and how the literary elite responded with divergent visions of their own. It focuses on four long Greek narrative texts from the period (by Cassius Dio, Philostratus and Herodian), each of which constructs its own version of the empire, each defined by different Greek and Roman elements and each differently affected by dynastic change, especially that from Antonine to Severan. Innovative theories of narrative are used to produce new readings of these works that bring political, literary and cultural perspectives together in a unified presentation of the Severan era as a distinctive historical moment.

ADAM M. KEMEZIS is Associate Professor in the Department of History and Classics, University of Alberta.



### GREEK CULTURE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

#### **Editors**

SUSAN E. ALCOCK, Brown University JAŚ ELSNER, Corpus Christi College, Oxford SIMON GOLDHILL, University of Cambridge MICHAEL SQUIRE, King's College London

The Greek culture of the Roman Empire offers a rich field of study. Extraordinary insights can be gained into processes of multicultural contact and exchange, political and ideological conflict, and the creativity of a changing, polyglot empire. During this period, many fundamental elements of Western society were being set in place: from the rise of Christianity, to an influential system of education, to long-lived artistic canons. This series is the first to focus on the response of Greek culture to its Roman imperial setting as a significant phenomenon in its own right. To this end, it will publish original and innovative research in the art, archaeology, epigraphy, history, philosophy, religion and literature of the empire, with an emphasis on Greek material.

#### Recent titles in the series

The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium
Peter Thonemann

Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution A J. S. Spawforth

Rethinking the Gods: Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period Peter Van Nuffelen

Saints and Symposiasts: The Literature of Food and the Symposium in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Culture Jason König

The Social World of Intellectuals in the Roman Empire: Sophists, Philosophers, and Christians Kendra Eshleman

Religion and Identity in Porphyry of Tyre: The Limits of Hellenism in Late Antiquity
Aaron Johnson

Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World Nathaniel J. Andrade

The Sense of Sight in Rabbinic Culture: Jewish Ways of Seeing in Late Antiquity Rachel Neis

Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society
Peter Thonemann

Homer in Stone: The Tabulae Iliacae in their Roman Context David Petrain

Man and Animal in Severan Rome:The Literary Imagination of Claudius Aelianus Steven D. Smith

> Reading Fiction with Lucian: Fakes, Freaks and Hyperreality Karen ní Mheallaigh

Greek Narratives of the Roman Empire under the Severans: Cassius Dio, Philostratus and Herodian Adam M. Kemezis



# GREEK NARRATIVES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE SEVERANS

Cassius Dio, Philostratus and Herodian

ADAM M. KEMEZIS





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107062726

© Adam M. Kemezis 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data Kemezis, Adam M., 1977– author.

Greek narratives of the Roman Empire under the Severans : Cassius Dio, Philostratus and Herodian / Adam M. Kemezis.

pages cm. – (Greek culture in the Roman world) ISBN 978-1-107-06272-6 (hardback)

I. Greek prose literature. 2. Rome – History – Severans, 193–235.

3. Cassius Dio Cocceianus. 4. Herodian. 5. Philostratus, the Athenian,

active 2nd century – 3rd century. I. Title.

PA3256.K46 2014 937′.07–dc23 2014019436

ISBN 978-I-107-06272-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For my mother, Sarah





## Contents

Acknowledgements #		age viii	
Να	ote on texts and translations	X	
I.	Introduction	I	
2.	From Antonine to Severan	30	
3.	Cassius Dio: the last annalist	90	
4.	Philostratus' Apollonius: Hellenic perfection on an imperial stage	150	
5.	Philostratus' Sophists: Hellas' Antonine Golden Age	196	
6.	Herodian: a dysfunctional Rome	227	
7.	Conclusion: from "Severan" to "third-century"	273	
Αp	pendix		
I.	The date of composition of Dio's history	282	
2.	The dates and addressees of Philostratus' Apollonius and Sophists	294	
3.	The date, scope and author of Herodian's history	298	
	Bibliography		
In	Index		

vii



## Acknowledgements

This book began about ten years ago when David Potter suggested to me that Cassius Dio would be a good author to look at for a Ph.D. field exam. My largest debt remains to him, for the good counsel and instruction he offered throughout the subsequent dissertation process, for his continued support and friendship, and for the uncounted times in the revision process when some insight of his from years before has found its way back into my memory, with enlightening results. The generous and astute contributions that Sarah Ahbel-Rappe, Susan Alcock, Bruce Frier, Jim Porter and Ray van Dam made to that dissertation are still felt everywhere in this book. My thanks go out once again to my other professors, fellow-students and friends from that time, for their wisdom and companionship.

In the time that I have been revising the book and preparing it for publication, my debts of gratitude have increased much. The process has been eased immeasurably by the patience and cordial professionalism of Michael Sharp and his colleagues at Cambridge University Press. I am heavily indebted also to the series editors and the anonymous readers for their trenchant and salutary comments. Many friends and colleagues were generous with their time in reading or discussing various parts of the project at different times, or with bibliographical suggestions and answers to questions, especially Rob Chenault, Matthew Clark, Kendra Eshleman, Kris Fletcher, Alain Gowing, Dina Guth, Patrick Hogan, Julie Langford, Jared Secord, and the several members of the History & Classics Department writing group at the University of Alberta. Roshan Abraham, Christopher Jones, Susann Lusnia, Andrew Scott and Joel Ward were kind enough to share with me or permit me to use not-yet-published work. Michael May and the staff of the University of Alberta libraries have provided unfailing succor in my hour of bibliographical need. Needless to say, the errors, omissions and infelicities that may be found in what follows are entirely my own, and persist in spite of the best efforts of those just mentioned.

viii



### Acknowledgements

ix

Most of this book was written or revised in Edmonton, where the faculty and staff of the History and Classics Department of the University of Alberta proved to be the most welcoming set of people a new scholar could ask for. I can't imagine where I'd be without the fellowship of my colleagues, the inspiration of my students and the conviviality of the Thursday Underground Support Group. To all of my family for their love, understanding and spiritual support, to Sarah Miller, my mother, to whom this book is dedicated, for encouraging my intellectual activities by her words and example my whole life, and to Liz Czach for being all one could wish for in a wife, a friend and a sympathetic colleague, I will never cease to be grateful, and I can never be grateful enough.



### Note on texts and translations

The four texts that are the main subject of this book are each in its different way textually problematic, and a brief explanation is in order of the texts I have followed and the ways I have cited them. The most complex problem is presented by Cassius Dio, above all because the text of his latter books has mostly had to be reconstructed from quotations and epitomes. This is admirably done in the edition of U. P. Boissevain (1898), but that work's formidable scholarly authority comes at the expense of convenience: Dio is an exceedingly awkward author to cite. For all citations from the fragmentary books, I have included afterwards in parentheses the source of the fragments as follows: (Xiph.) - Xiphilinus; (EV) - Excerpta Valesiana; (Zon.) – Zonaras; (EM) – Excerpta Maiana; (EU) – Excerpta Ursiniana; (PP) - Peter the Patrician. In addition, it is usually necessary to cite two book numbers, because Boissevain (and following him Cary in the Loeb edition) used a different system of numbers and divisions from all previous editions, while preserving the old chapter and section numbers even where his re-ordering of passages or moving of book-divisions had disrupted the sequence of the chapters. This means that in many instances the Boissevain book number by itself does not uniquely identify a passage: his Book 62, for instance, contains two sections numbered "1," neither of which is at the beginning. Given this, and since many references in earlier scholarship still use the old numbering system, I have cited passages using first Boissevain's book number, then the traditional number in brackets, which can be found at the top of the right-hand page in Boissevain, or in the margin of Cary. Lastly, there are a few instances in which due to transpositions of fragments and typographical errors, a given passage is exceedingly difficult to locate in Cary's Loeb: for those I have given volume and page numbers as well. I apologize for the inelegance.

Neither of Philostratus' longer works has received a proper critical edition since Kayser's unsatisfactory 1870–1 Teubner, though in the case of the *Apollonius*, one is now in progress, edited by G. J. Boter. At present, for the



#### Note on texts and translations

хi

Apollonius, C. P. Jones' 2005 Loeb represents an important advance, and I have used it, with some exceptions that are noted. For the Sophists, I have used Kayser faute de mieux. Herodian, by contrast, has received a remarkable amount of editorial attention for such an otherwise neglected author, perhaps because he has many more manuscript cruxes than the other texts. I have used the most recent Teubner edition, Lucarini's of 2005, but with reference also to the editions of Mendelssohn (1883), Stavenhagen (1922) and Whittaker (1969). Details are noted where appropriate. For other authors I have generally used the most recently available Oxford or Teubner editions. However, since the physical format of several of these editions is quite different, I have preferred to use the "Loeb page" as a standard unit of textlength, regardless of what edition I have consulted when quoting or citing the author in question. Translations are my own except where otherwise noted, and in general I have emphasized clear and accurate expression over stylistic fidelity to the original.