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Victoria Redux and the first year of the reign of Philip the Arab.

aus / from

Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts., 19 (1989) 221-233

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/hgb3-icba>

Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

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DENNIS E. TROUT

Victoria Redux and the First Year of the Reign of Philip the Arab*

Historians have long accepted that Philip the Arab hastened to Rome from the Euphrates frontier soon after his elevation to the imperial throne in the late winter of A. D. 244. The recent publication of a dedicatory inscription from the reign of Gordian III, however, makes it necessary to reconsider this view of the opening events of Philip's principate. This newly discovered dedication, sponsored by veterans of the Legio II Parthica, alters our understanding of another similar dedication, ILS 505, the primary text believed to document Philip's movements in the first months of his reign.

Early in 244, sometime between 13 January and 14 March, M. Iulius Philippus became emperor of the Roman world.¹ His accession occurred in extremely unfavorable circumstances – in Persian territory upon the violent death, by treachery or on the battlefield, of his predecessor in the purple, the young Gordian III.² Prominent among the new emperor's first acts, it has often been said, were the conclusion of a hasty peace settlement with the Persian king, Sapor I, and a rapid march to Rome. The latter was necessary in order for Philip to secure a better claim to rule than mere acclamation by the army assembled for the Persian cam-

* I would like to thank Professor KENT J. RIGSBY for valuable comments on earlier drafts of this article.

¹ The latest evidence for legislative activity in the name of Gordian III is Cod. Iust. 6.10.1 of 13 January 244, while Philip's legislation begins with Cod. Iust. 3.42.6 of 14 March. See X. LORIOU, *Chronologie du règne de Philippe l'Arabe (244–249 après J. C.)*, ANRW II, 2 (Berlin 1975), 789.

² The events surrounding the death of Gordian's praetorian prefect, Timesitheus, the demise of Gordian himself, and the nature of Philip's involvement in these affairs, have been sources of speculation since late antiquity. Among modern discussions, including evaluations of the ancient sources, see, e. g.: W. ENSSLIN, *CAH* 12 (Cambridge 1939), 87; A. CALDERINI, *I Severi: la crisi dell'impero nel III secolo* (Bologna 1949), 145–46. S. I. OOST, *The Death of the Emperor Gordian III*, *CP* 53 (1958), 106–07; X. LORIOU, *Les premières années de la grande crise du IIIe siècle: De l'avènement de Maximin le Thrace (235) à la mort de Gordian III (244)*, ANRW II, 2 (Berlin 1975), 770–74; L. DE BLOIS, *The Reign of the Emperor Philip the Arabian*, *Talanta* 10/11 (1978–79), 12–13; D. MACDONALD, *The Death of Gordian III, Another Tradition*, *Historia* 30 (1980), 502–08. On the early career of Philip see the discussion by LORIOU, *Les premières années*, 740 n. 629 ff. LORIOU's two articles provide extensive bibliography.

paign.³ And, indeed, the fate of the emperor Maximinus just a few years earlier in 238 had illustrated the critical importance of a loyal Rome and a supportive Senate to an emperor elevated by an army in the field.

But ILS 505 is the only evidence regularly cited to support the contention that Philip hastened to Rome from the eastern frontier, arriving at the capital no later than the date of that inscription, 23 July 244.⁴ This text records a dedication to the Victoria Redux of the emperor Philip and his wife Otacilia Severa made by veterans of the Legio II Parthica, the legion stationed in the Alban hills outside Rome since the reign of Septimius Severus. A certain Pomponius Iulianus acted as *curator* of the dedication.⁵

Victoriae reducis dd. nn.
 [imp. Caes. M. Iulii Philippi]
 Pii Felicis Aug. et [Otaci]-
 liae Se[verae] Aug. [con]iugi(s) d.n., milites leg(ionis) II
 5 Parth(icae) [Philippianae] P(iae) F(elicis) F(idelis)
 Aet(ernae), q(ui) m(ilitare) c(oeperunt) Oclatin[i]o Ad-
 vento cos., quorum nomi-
 na cum trib(ub)us et patri-

³ With variations in detail, but with a common stress upon the urgent nature of Philip's departure from the East, see, e.g.: ENSSLIN, CAH 12, 88; M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2d ed. (Oxford 1957), 442; M. BESNIER, *L'empire romain de l'avènement des Sévères au Concile de Nicée* (Paris 1937), 153; CALDERINI, I Severi, 150; and DE BLOIS, *Talanta* 10/11 (1978-79), 14, 17-18.

⁴ In his recent study, DE BLOIS does not specify the evidence for Philip's alleged hasty march to Rome in the spring of 244: «Peace was then rapidly concluded with the Persians so that Philip could return to Rome as quickly as possible and consolidate his position» (14). But see: E. STEIN, *Iulius* 386, RE 10, 1 (1918), 760: «Spätestens am 23. Juli (das darf man aus CIL VI 793 [= ILS 505] schließen) traf der Kaiser in Rom ein.» RITTERLING, *Legio*, RE 12, 2 (1925), 1477. ENSSLIN, CAH 12, 88, citing ILS 505: «On 23 July 244, at the latest, Philip entered Rome.» CALDERINI, I Severi, 151, citing ILS 505: «certamente prima del 23 luglio 244 entrò in Roma.» More recently, J. FITZ, *Honorific Titles of Roman Military Units in the 3rd Century* (Budapest 1983), 178. STEIN and CALDERINI also found support for their judgements in the legends of Philip's coins, but see the discussion below on this evidence. One voice of dissent was raised, but without elaboration, by H. MATTINGLY, et al., *RIC* 4.3 (London 1949), 55, n.*: «C. I. L. VI. 793 has a dedication «Victoriae Reduci» of Philip by soldiers of the legion II Parthica: it is dated July 23rd, A. D. 244. This does not prove that Philip was actually in Rome by that date.»

⁵ CIL VI 793 (XIV 2258; ILS 505). The stone was once at Rome in the *horti Barberini*, but was known to HENZEN, CIL VI 793 (1876), only through *codices*. DESSAU postulated that this stone and CIL XIV 2257, a dedication to Elagabalus by the Legio II Parthica, were both brought to Rome from the Alban camp of the legion. But as XIV 2257 and the new inscription, AE (1981) 134, were both found in the vicinity of the catacombs of S. Callisto outside Rome, A. FERRUA, who published the latter, *Cimitero di S. Callisto*, RAC 57 (1981), 20, may be correct in suggesting that the legion had an urban *praetorium* in this area, and that the dedications were originally made there.

- is inserta sunt, devo-*
 10 *ti numini maiestati-*
que eorum, d(edicaverunt) X k(al.) Aug. Pere-
grino et Aemiliano, in his
 ☉ *(centuriones) et evok(ati) Augg. nn., cura(m) age-*
 [n]te Pompon(io) Iuliano R. leg. eius.

Translation

To the Victoria Redux of our lords Emperor Caesar M. Iulius Philippus Pius Felix Augustus and Otacilia Severa Augusta, wife of our lord, the soldiers of the Legio II Parthica Philippiana Pia Fidelis Felix Aeterna, who began to serve in the consulship of Oclatinus and Adventus (A. D. 218), whose names along with their tribes and their homelands have been registered, devoted to their divine will and majesty, have dedicated this ten days before the kalends of August in the consulship of Peregrinus and Aemilianus (23 July 244), among them the centurions and *evocati* of our Augusti, overseen by Pomponius Iulianus, R. leg. eius.

Despite several difficulties,⁶ one implication of the document had been thought certain. A dedication made at Rome to the Victoria Redux of an emperor, it was assumed, could not have preceded that emperor's arrival at the capital. Therefore, Philip must have been at Rome before 23 July 244. Hence, the standard interpretation of the opening events of Philip's reign: the new emperor had indeed acted hastily if he had concluded the Roman campaign against the Sassanid king, arranged a peace settlement, and appeared in Rome before late July.

But an inscription discovered in 1979 at the catacombs of S. Callisto on the Via Appia adds considerably to our understanding of ILS 505 and its context.⁷ This

⁶ Lines 2–5 were the victim of *damnatio memoriae*, presumably under Philip's successor, Decius. The genitive form *reducis* in line 1 has drawn no comment from editors of the inscription, but must be an error. The meaning of lines 7–9 is clarified by the parallel but fuller statement in the new inscription, AE (1981) 134, ll. 7–8: *quorum nomina cum trib(ub)us et patrias (sic) duobus tabulis aereis incisa continentur*. MOMMSEN, CIL XIV 2258, proposed reading *evok(atu)s* in line 13 on the basis of the appearance of the singular form in a *laterculum* from Lambaesis (Ephemeris Epigraphica 5 [1884], no. 1276, p. 552–53). In that case, however, we know that the group in question contained only one *evocatus*. As we do not know that in this instance, the plural, *evocati*, seems preferable. The problem of the title of Pomponius Iulianus is discussed below.

⁷ A. FERRUA, Cimitero di S. Callisto, RAC 57 (1981), 17–21. Note that both FERRUA's transcription of the text (p. 18) and the notice at AE (1981) 134 have omitted M. ANTONI from the name of Gordian on line three. See the photograph at FERRUA, RAC 57 (1981), 19. On the excavations which yielded the stone see U. M. FASOLA, Indagini nel sopraterra della Catacomba di S. Callisto, RAC 56 (1980), esp. 249–50. The inscription is now mounted outside on the eastern wall of the main entrance into the catacombs (vidi, July 1988). It is a large marble tablet, well preserved, measuring 111 cm. by 233 cm.

inscription, AE (1981) 134, registers a dedication to the *genius* of the Legio II Parthica and to Fortuna Redux, the *conservatores* of the imperial couple Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina.⁸ Like ILS 505, the dedication was made by recently mustered-out veterans of the legion, in this case by those who had enlisted in A.D. 216. Once again Pomponius Iulianus acted as *curator* of the dedication, but this time he shared the responsibility with the vice praetorian prefect, Valerius Valens. The dedication was made 24 July 242, almost exactly two years earlier than ILS 505:

*Genio leg(ionis) II Parth(icae) Gordianae et Fortunae Reduci
Paciferae, conservatoribus d. n.*

*Imp. Caes. M. Antoni Gordiani Pii Felicis Invicti Aug. et
Sabiniae Tranquillinae Aug. coniugi(s) Aug. n.,*

5 *milites leg(ionis) II Parth(icae) Gordianae P(iae) F(elicis) F(idelis) Aeternae
qui militare coeperunt Sabino II et Anullino cos.*

*quorum nomina cum trib(ub)us et patrias (sic) duobus tabulis aereis
incisa continentur, devoti numini maiestatique eorum*

sub cura Valeri Valentis v. p. vice praef(ecti) praet(orio) agentis

10 *et Pomponi Iuliani p(rimi) p(ili) praep(ositi) reliquationis*

dedic(averunt) VIII kal. Aug. Attico et Praetextato [v. cc. cos.]

Translation

To the *genius* of the Legio II Parthica Gordiana and to Fortuna Redux Pacifera, preservors of our lord Emperor Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Invictus Augustus and Sabinia Tranquilla Augusta, wife of our Augustus, the soldiers of the Legio II Parthica Gordiana Pia Felix Fidelis Aeterna who began to serve in the consulship of Sabinus, for the second time, and Anullinus (216), whose names are contained, with their tribes and homelands, cut on two bronze tablets, devoted to their divine will and majesty, under the care of Valerius Valens, *vir perfectissimus*, vice praetorian prefect, and Pomponius Iulianus, *primipilus*, commander of the reserves, have dedicated this nine days before the kalends of August in the consulship of Atticus and Praetextatus, *virii clarissimi* (24 July 242).

Several items indicate that Gordian III has already departed from Rome for his confrontation with Sapor I. The absence of Timesitheus, Gordian's influential praetorian prefect since 241, is revealed by the title of Valerius Valens.⁹ As

⁸ On the various *genii* associated with the Roman legion see the survey by M. P. SPEIDEL and A. DIMITROVA-MILČEVA, *The Cult of the Genii in the Roman Army and a New Military Deity*, ANRW II, 16.2 (Berlin 1978), 1542–55.

⁹ On the major questions about the early career of Timesitheus, see LORJOT, *Les premières années*, 735–38, with bibliography. On Valerius Valens see H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières pro-*

vice praefectus praetorio agens, he has assumed Timesitheus' duties in the city, and in this period such vice prefects were only appointed when the praetorian prefect left the capital.¹⁰ Furthermore, the title of Pomponius Iulianus, *praepositus reliquationis*, commander of the reserves of the Legio II Parthica, is evidence that the regular commander of the legion, an equestrian prefect, has already departed from the Alban camp with the bulk of the legion's manpower.¹¹

Neither the absence of Timesitheus nor the marching of the Legio II Parthica is incontrovertible proof that Gordian himself had already departed from Rome by 24 July 242, but such a conclusion is highly likely on several grounds. First, Gordian was quite young, only 17, and intimately tied to the prefect Timesitheus, whose daughter he had recently married.¹² It is generally agreed, in fact, that Timesitheus was responsible for many of the policies and decisions of the last years of Gordian's reign, and in particular that he managed the planning and conduct of the Persian campaign.¹³ Furthermore, as praetorian prefect, Timesitheus was the ultimate commander of the Legio II Parthica, and this legion had been closely attached to the fortunes of the imperial house since it had been stationed in Italy by Septimius Severus:¹⁴ Caracalla was compelled to placate its soldiers with a huge bribe in order to secure their loyalty after his murder of Geta

curatoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain II (Paris 1960), 830–31, no. 323. CIL XIV 4398 from Ostia records that Valens continued as *praefectus vigilum* at the same time that he was vice praetorian prefect. He had previously, but also under Gordian III, been *praefectus classis Misenenensis* (CIL X 3336). He may be identified with or related to a Valerius Valens who appears as prefect of a cohort in Cyrenaica in 209–211. See R. G. GOODCHILD and J. M. REYNOLDS, *Some Military Inscriptions from Cyrenaica*, PBSR 30 (1962), 37–46, esp. 37–39; and H. DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militarium Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* (Louvain 1977), 833.

¹⁰ A. PASSERINI, *Le coorti pretorie* (Roma 1939), 263.

¹¹ Until the discovery of AE (1981) 134, Iulianus was known only by ILS 505. See DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia*, 662. The Legio II Parthica was regularly commanded by an equestrian prefect. See RITTERLING, RE 12, 2 (1925), 1478. Such *praepositi reliquationum* are known for the fleets (e.g., ILS 9221, 2764), but Iulianus is the first known *praepositus reliquationis* of a legion. See also FERRUA, RAC 57 (1981), 20 n. 16.

¹² The marriage took place before 12 May 241. See LORIoT, *Les premières années*, 738.

¹³ E.g., ENSSLIN, CAH 12, 85–86; ROSTOVITZ, SEHRE, 442; BESNIER, *L'empire romain*, 150; CALDERINI, *I Severi*, 142 ff.; S. MAZZARINO, *Trattato di storia romana II*, 2d ed. (Rome 1962), 333–34; LORIoT, *Les premières années*, 738 ff.

¹⁴ On the authority of the praetorian prefect over the prefect of this legion see RITTERLING, RE 12, 2 (1925), 1478. The Legio II Parthica was raised by Septimius Severus for the Parthian war and afterwards stationed in Italy (Dio 55.24.4). On Severus' possible intention of using this legion to build a mobile reserve force see E. BIRLEY, *Septimius Severus and the Roman Army*, *Epigraphische Studien* 8 (1969), 66–78, and R. E. SMITH, *The Army Reforms of Septimius Severus*, *Historia* 21 (1972), 481–500, esp. 487–88. The legion was at least partially installed in the *Castra Albana* by the year 212. See E. TORTORICI, *Castra Albana; Forma Italiae, Regio I*, vol. 11 (Rome 1975), 20, with earlier bibliography.

(HA Carac. 2.7); and the legion accompanied him on his Parthian expedition, where the prefect of the legion, Triccianus, was deeply involved in the conspiracy that brought about the emperor's death (6.7). Similarly, Herodian (8.8), followed by the author of the *Historia Augusta* (Max. 23), singled out the crucial role of the men of the Legio II Parthica in the events at Aquileia that ended the life and reign of Maximinus in 238.¹⁵ If both the praetorian prefect Timesitheus and the Legio II Parthica and its prefect were already en route to Persia by 24 July 242, the young Gordian must have been in their company.

The chronology of Gordian's Persian campaign, to the extent that it can be reconstructed, is fully compatible with this interpretation. X. LORIOU's recent study has established the chronological framework of this campaign and illustrated the limitations of the sources. Hostilities between Rome and Persia commenced in 238; but reached a critical stage with Sapor I's invasion of Roman Mesopotamia and Syria in 241.¹⁶ The Roman counter-offensive officially began in the spring of 242 when Gordian presided over the opening of the doors of the temple of Janus and staged an Hellenic *agon Minervae*. The army may have been assembling at Sirmium or Viminacium in the meantime, perhaps under the personal direction of Timesitheus. The exact date of Gordian's departure from Rome to join the army, presumably accompanied by the Legio II Parthica, is not known; but, detained by engagements on the Danube, the army and the emperor arrived at Antioch only in the closing months of 242. Within the bounds of this chronology, there is no obstacle to accepting Gordian's absence from Rome by late July 242, a date relatively advanced in the campaigning season. AE (1981) 134, unknown to LORIOU, offers independent support for his chronology of this campaign.¹⁷

There are, then, cogent arguments that Gordian III was already on his way to the East when the veterans of the Legio II Parthica set up their dedication to the *genius* of the legion and to Fortuna Redux. Yet, more crucial to the present argument is the certainty that this *redux* dedication was not made *after* an emperor's return to Rome, perhaps in fulfillment of vows previously offered to secure his victory and safety. Gordian's death in Persian territory absolutely excludes that

¹⁵ On the Legio II Parthica and the imperial house see also the summary by TORTORICI, *Castra Albana*, 20–21, and SMITH, *Historia* 21 (1972), 488 n. 41. TORTORICI notes that Caracalla used the legion on his Parthian campaign «come guardia del corpo.» G. MANCINI, *Notizie degli scavi* (1913), 53, remarked that the various names assumed by the legion – Antoniniana, Philippiana, and (we can add) Gordiana – signal the special position of this unit. See the evidence collected by FRITZ, *Honorific Titles*, 317, but add Gordiana.

¹⁶ LORIOU, *Les premières années*, 763–67.

¹⁷ An alternative possibility is that the dedication was part of a ceremony celebrating the departure of Gordian and the Legio II Parthica for the East. This is more difficult to accept for it would require the compression of the march to the Danube, engagements there, and the journey to Antioch into a much briefer time-span.

eventuality.¹⁸ Clearly, in the mid-third century the soldiers of the Legio II Parthica believed a dedication could be made to a *redux* deity before an emperor returned from campaign to the capital. Perhaps, as A. FERRUA has suggested, such a dedication should be understood «con il senso di augurio di una vittoriosa campagna e di un felice ritorno.»¹⁹ However it is to be understood, the value of AE (1981) 134 for the interpretation of ILS 505 in this regard is obvious. The latter can no longer stand as proof that Philip was in Rome by 23 July 244 simply because it honored the Victoria Redux of the emperor.

Moreover, FERRUA realized that in light of AE (1981) 134, where Iulianus is *praepositus reliquationis*, some form of that title, such as (*praeposito*) *r*(*reliquationis*) or *r*(*reliquatore*) of the legion, should be understood in the previously enigmatic *R. LEG. EIUS* of ILS 505.²⁰ FERRUA's identification of Iulianus' title in ILS 505 has important implications which were outside the scope of his study: if Pomponius Iulianus was still *praepositus reliquationis* in late July 244, then the Legio II Parthica had not yet returned to its Alban camp, for the legion's regular officer, the prefect, had not yet resumed his command. This is persuasive evidence that Philip had not yet arrived at Rome by 23 July 244, for it is unlikely that the newly elevated emperor would have come to Italy without the support of this legion whose lot was so closely bound to the emperor's and to events in the capital.

Finally, on this question of Philip's movements in 244, we should consider two further parallels in the dedications. Both were made in late July, only one day apart, 24 July 242 and 23 July 244; and in each case the primary dedicators were the discharged veterans of that year, those who had enlisted in A. D. 216 and 218.²¹ The coincidence of date and actors suggests *prima facie* that the dedications were made within the context of an annual festival or ceremony observed

¹⁸ Conceivably the dedication fulfilled a vow connected with an earlier campaign of Gordian. But the only earlier journey of Gordian is a possible trip to Antioch in 239 and early 240. See LORIOT, *Les premières années*, 760. Too much time separates this journey and the dedication.

¹⁹ FERRUA, *RAC* 57 (1981), 20.

²⁰ FERRUA, 18 n. 14. About the first letter of the title, *R. LEG. EIUS*, DESSAU commented: «Nota obscura; vix fuit tr.» RITTERLING, *RE* 12, 2 (1925), 1482, identified Iulianus as *praefectus legionis*. See also the uncertainty of DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia*, 662 and FITZ, *Honorific Titles*, 169. The difference in form between the two texts may reflect only the higher frequency of abbreviations in ILS 505.

²¹ On twenty-five years as the standard length of service in the third century, see: A. VON DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, 2d ed., with introduction, corrections, and supplement by B. DOBSON (Köln 1967), 80; F. LAMMERT, *Missio*, *RE* 15, 2 (1932), 2053; and A. NEUMANN, *Veterani*, *RE Suppl.* 9 (1962), 1598–99. Attention might be directed to the evidence for the discharge of the *equites singulares Augusti* collected by M. SPEIDEL, *Die Equites Singulares Augusti* (Bonn 1965), 5–9, which reveals a pattern of formal discharge from this unit in the month of January in the second century. The evidence for recruitment and veteran settlement patterns of the Legio II Parthica is collected by J. C. MANN, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (London 1983), 48, 157–58.

by the legion or, at least, its newly created veterans. In fact, the editors of the *feriale Duranum* long ago noted that the ILS 505 dedication to the Victoria Redux of Philip fell upon the date of the Neptunalia, remarking that Neptune was often invoked as Neptunus Redux «for the safety of members of the imperial family on voyages.»²² Some connection between these two *reduces* inscriptions, the *honesta missio* of the legion's veterans, and the celebration of the Neptunalia is thus quite probable.²³ In this case, then, the annual calendar of the legion, not Philip's presence (or absence), would have determined the timing of the dedication to the Victoria Redux of Philip recorded by ILS 505.

In sum, ILS 505 is not evidence for Philip's arrival in the city of Rome before late July 244; rather, the presence of Pomponius Iulianus as *praepositus reliquationis* suggests the emperor's absence. It is therefore necessary to re-examine the picture of Philip's anxious and hasty march to Rome and the corollary events of his first year of rule.²⁴ Here I would merely draw attention to several aspects of the historiographical tradition preserved in the generally well-respected Epitome Historion of the twelfth-century monk Zonaras.²⁵

Zonaras, whose own source for these events appears to have been the Continuator of Dio Cassius, provides a comparatively full sketch of Philip which includes details omitted by the shorter Latin epitomes, by Aurelius Victor, or by Zosimus.²⁶ It is noteworthy that Zonaras' account indicates first that the peace

²² R. FINK, A. HOEY, and W. SNYDER, *The Feriale Duranum*, YCIS (1940), 148–49.

²³ Comparative material is provided by the series of more than twenty altars discovered at the Roman fort of Alauna, near Maryport. L. P. WENHAM, *Notes on the Garrisoning of Maryport, Cumberland and Westmoreland Transactions* 39 (1939), 19–30, held that they were dedicated as part of an annual ceremony observed by the unit stationed at Alauna, perhaps connected with the oath of 1 January or the anniversary of the emperor's accession. See also E. BIRLEY, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal 1961), 216–23.

²⁴ Despite appeals to the numismatic evidence by STEIN and CALDERINI, this evidence is controversial and not helpful in dating Philip's arrival at Rome. RIC 4.3, Philip 26, presents an undated issue of denarii and Antoniniani from the Roman mint bearing on the obverse, IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. and on the reverse, ADVENTVS AVGG. MATTINGLY, et al., considered it part of Philip's second issue, A. D. 245, relating it to Philip's arrival from the East. For them the plural AVGG signaled the imperial family, that is Otacilia as Augusta and Philip junior as Caesar. LORiot, *Chronologie*, 793, on the basis of a comparison with Alexandrian issues, redated this *adventus* series to late 247, connecting it with Philip's return to Rome from the campaign against the Carpi. STEIN, *RE* 10, 1 (1918), 760, also cited COHEN, p. 140, nos. 2–3, but this series dates to after August 247, the approximate date of the elevation of Philip junior from Caesar to Augustus. See LORiot, *Chronologie*, 792.

²⁵ On Zonaras see K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich 1897), 370–376; K. ZIEGLER, *Zonaras*, *RE* 10A (1972), 718–32. The evaluation of Zonaras by A. T. OLMSTEAD, *The Mid-Third Century of the Christian Era*, CP 37 (1942), 243 – «the fullest and apparently best narrative» of the period – is representative.

²⁶ For example, Zonaras' report (12.18) of two senatorial nominees to the imperial purple, a philosopher named Marcus and a certain Severus Hostilianus, chosen when the Senate received the news of Gordian's death, is not mentioned by the Epitome de Caesaribus 27–28,

settlement with Sapor was a more protracted affair than modern historians commonly admit; and, second, that Philip, en route to Rome from the East, stopped to conduct military operations in the Danubian provinces.

If we grant Philip more time in the East in the spring and summer of 244 than he has usually been allowed, then a presumed discrepancy between Zosimus' and Zonaras' accounts of the peace settlement with Persia can be readily resolved.²⁷ Zosimus (3.32), commenting on the effect of Julian's death upon the wellbeing of Roman imperial power, remarked that Philip, another commander who had waged an eastern war, had not abandoned any territory to the Persians in his treaty with Sapor.²⁸ Zonaras (12.19), however, recorded that Philip first ceded Armenia and Mesopotamia to Sapor, only to reclaim them shortly thereafter in the face of public indignation. These two accounts, however, need not be considered contradictory or problematic in themselves.²⁹ The withdrawal of the Roman army from Persian territory and the negotiation of terms with Sapor are affairs that may well have required a series of diplomatic and troop maneuvers; and, as A. T. OLMSTEAD recognized earlier,³⁰ it should be this fact that is reflected in some manner in the two-stage process described by Zonaras. How quickly such a settlement could have been accomplished is a difficult question, but, if Zonaras' account is admitted, Philip's actions were more complex and protracted, and probably more carefully calculated, than many historians have acknowledged.

Eutropius 9.2–3, Aurelius Victor 27–28, or Zosimus 1.18–22. On the other hand, Zonaras does not mention the millennial celebration at Rome, an event which is featured in most of the Latin sources. On Zonaras' use of the Continuator of Dio for the period from Alexander Severus to Constantine, see KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 372–373; followed by ZIEGLER, *RE* 10 A (1972), 729. This «Continuator,» or at least the intermediate source used by Zonaras, has been identified as the sixth-century writer Peter Patricius (KRUMBACHER, 238). A useful discussion of the literary sources for the reign of Philip, built around an attempt to distinguish the various strains of polemic and propaganda which color them, is provided by J. YORK, *The Image of Philip the Arab*, *Historia* 21 (1972), 320–32.

²⁷ Since the discovery of the *Res Gestae divi Saporis* in 1939 there has been much debate over the circumstances and character of the end of the Roman campaign and the terms of the peace settlement. This question can not be considered in any detail here. For a summary with full bibliography see LORIOT, *Les premières années*, 770–75, 786–87. Add now MACDONALD, *Historia* 30 (1980), 502–08, and G. POMA, *Nota su OGIS*, 519: Filippo l'Arabo e la pace coi Persiani, *Epigraphica* 43 (1981), 265–72.

²⁸ Cp. Zos. 1.19.

²⁹ E.g., LORIOT, *Les premières années*, 774 n. 858, accused Zonaras of an error «lorsqu'il prétend que Philippe abandonna aux Perses l'Arménie et la Mésopotamie (pour les reconquérir ensuite devant l'indignation de l'opinion publique). Zosime, III, 32, 4 atteste au contraire que l'Arabe n'a cédé aucun territoire au Grand Roi.»

³⁰ Not constrained by the need to rush Philip to Rome, OLMSTEAD, *CP* 37 (1942), 256–57, used the evidence of Zonaras and the late third-century *Oracula Sibyllina* to argue for a second campaign waged by Philip in 245 to recover Mesopotamia. Although this evidence does not yield absolute dates, I believe with OLMSTEAD that it does reveal the complicated course of the settlement achieved by Philip.

We have a further indication that Philip's management of affairs in the eastern frontier provinces, an area disturbed by the presence of a Roman army as well as an earlier Persian incursion, was executed with a degree of attention and care incompatible with a hasty departure. Aurelius Victor's succinct remark, *rebus ad Orientem compositis conditoque apud Arabiam Philippopoli oppido Romam venire* (28), may camouflage and telescope a significant task of administrative reorganization of which too little evidence remains today. Only a few tantalizing fragments are still visible. In the strategically critical province of Mesopotamia, Nisibis added the title Iulia to its name Septimia Colonia Nesibi Metropolis, and Singara may have received the same privilege. At Mesopotamian Edessa Philip closed the mint which since 242 had been issuing coins in the names of both Gordian III and Abgar X.³¹ The coins of Syrian Damascus and Palestinian Neapolis indicate that both cities were granted colonial rank by Philip.³² In northern Arabia, Bostra, headquarters of the Legio III Cyrenaica, was elevated to metropolitan status; while Shaba, Philip's birthplace, was transformed into the *colonia* of Philippopolis, a walled city with monumental gateways, a central tetrastyle, Roman-style baths, a theater, a hexastyle temple, a palace complex, and an aqueduct.³³ To be sure, Philippopolis required years to build, and changes in community status and rank can be effected without an emperor's personal presence. Nevertheless, this evidence of administrative reorganization lends further substance to the argument of a recent commentary on the often-discussed petition for relief made to Philip by the villagers of Aragua in Phrygia: at least in the beginning of his reign Philip was perceived in the East as an interested and just ad-

³¹ Nisibis: G. F. HILL, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia* (London 1922), cix, 122 ff. Singara: HILL, *Arabia*, cxii n. 3. Edessa: HILL, *Arabia*, cv, 113 ff. See also HILL, *The Roman Mints of Arabia and Mesopotamia*, JRS 6 (1916), 135–69. On the military and commercial importance of the area see E. FRÉZOUIS, *Les fonctions du Moyen-Euphrate à l'époque romaine*, in: *Le Moyen Euphrate: Zone de contacts et d'échanges*, ed. J. CL. MARGUERON, (Leiden 1980), 355–86, esp. 375–76.

³² Damascus: W. WROTH, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* (London 1899), lxxv, 286–87. See also K. W. HARL, *The Coinage of Neapolis in Samaria*, A. D. 244–53, ANSMusN 29 (1984), 62 n. 3, contra I. BENZINGER, RE 4, 2 (1901), 2046–47 crediting the foundation to Alexander Severus. Neapolis: HARL, *The Coinage of Neapolis*, 61–62, and M. ROSENBERGER, *City-Coins of Palestine* (Jerusalem 1977), 17–22, but note HARL's rejection (62 n. 2) of p. 16, no. 73.

³³ Bostra: HILL, *Arabia*, xxvi, 23. A. SPIJKERMAN, *The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia* (Jerusalem 1978), 82–83. A. KINDLER, *The Coinage of Bostra* (Warminster 1983), 9, 121–22. See also M. SARTRE, IGLSyrie 13, Bostra (Paris 1982) for the city's inscriptions, although none record the metropolitan rank; and SARTRE, Bostra: Des origines à l'Islam (Paris 1985), esp. 76–78. Philippopolis: H. C. BUTLER, *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900*, vol. 2 (New York 1903), 376–96. M. J. CHARBONNEAUX, *Aïon et Philippe l'Arabe* (1960), 253–72, on the large mosaic discovered in 1952. For inscriptions see IGRR 3, 1195–1202. For coins see HILL, *Arabia*, xli–ii, 42–43; SPIJKERMAN, *Coins of the Decapolis*, 260–61.

ministrator.³⁴ A slipshod peace settlement and hasty retreat westward are not likely to have promoted such an image.

Finally, a second detail in Zonaras suggests that Philip's arrival in Rome may also have been delayed by military operations in the Danubian provinces. After his account of Philip's eastern settlement Zonaras relates a version of an episode also told by Eusebius and several other writers – the story of Philip's act of penance before a Christian priest.³⁵ At the conclusion of this episode a single sentence then serves to transfer the narrative to an account of Philip's actions in the west:³⁶ Οὗτος δ' ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Φίλιππος πρὸς Σκύθας ἀράμενος πόλεμον εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανήλθεν. If this sentence provides a trustworthy transcription or summary of Zonaras' source,³⁷ then it establishes another impediment to the theory of Philip's hasty march to Rome. But of the four literary sources which mention Philip's campaigns in the Danubian provinces, Zonaras is the only one to mention military engagements en route to the capital.³⁸ The uniqueness of Zonaras' statement is not sufficient reason to condemn it, however, for these sources are abbreviated and notoriously confused.

³⁴ POMA, *Epigraphica* 43 (1981), 265–72, with earlier bibliography, would date the petition to soon after the accession of Philip, and see it as evidence of a new confidence in their emperor on the part of these petitioners (269): «L'eco favorevole alla politica di Filippo si può cogliere direttamente in questo documento di Aragua. ...» POMA is also sensitive to the demands of «un omaggio d'obbligo» (267), which somewhat weaken her thesis.

³⁵ Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.34. For recent discussions of this passage and other versions of the story of Philip's penance see: H. POHLSANDER, *Philip the Arab and Christianity*, *Historia* 29 (1980), 465–73; I. SHAHID, *Rome and the Arabs: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs* (Washington 1984), 65–93.

³⁶ Zon. 12.19. By his reference to the Scythians Zonaras presumably intended to indicate the Thracian region. At 12.23 he recounted that during the reign of Valerian the «Scythians» crossed the Ister (the lower Danube), devastated Thrace, and besieged Thessalonica.

³⁷ I see only one reason to doubt its accuracy. The very next sentence takes up the story of the usurpation of Marinus Pacatianus. Pacatianus' revolt did not occur until between 21 April 248 and 20 April 249 (LORIoT, *Chronologie*, 794), and directly set in motion the train of events that led to Philip's overthrow by Decius. That is to say, Zonaras is either uninformed about, or perhaps, uninterested in the event in the West which attracted Latin writers: the millennial celebration of 248 (*Aur. Vict.* 28; *Eutropius* 9.3; *Cassiod. Chron.* 249; *Oros.* 7.20; *Jordan. Get.* 89). Nor does he mention the campaign against the Carpi recorded only by Zosimus, 1.20. This single sentence links Zonaras' account of Philip in the East to his account of Philip's overthrow by Decius. What could have been a lengthier section in his source, then, would have been condensed by Zonaras in his account. On the other hand, Zonaras' source, if the Continuator of Dio, might be expected to be well informed about Philip's activities in Thrace. Beyond caution, however, I see no reason to discard Zonaras' statement.

³⁸ As noted above, Zosimus was aware of a campaign against the Carpi in which Philip was victorious (1.20); *Jordan. Get.* 89 records that Philip sent Decius against the Goths, and, in a confused and generally discredited account, John of Antioch, *FHG* 4, 597–98, reported that while Philip was campaigning against the Scythians, Decius revolted at Rome. The remainder of the literary sources are silent about Philip's Danubian wars.

Unfortunately, we have little other evidence on Philip's military activity in the Danube area. It is certain that the problems which had become critical on this frontier under Maximinus continued under Gordian and Philip. Open hostilities with the Quadi began at least by 245, and the confrontation with the Carpi and the Goths may have occurred even earlier.³⁹ While it is generally agreed that Philip campaigned in person in 246 and 247,⁴⁰ specific evidence for the chronology of his movements, beyond an *adventus Augustorum* issue from the mint of Rome dated by LORIOT to the late summer of 247, is limited to his assumption of the titles Germanicus Maximus and Carpicus Maximus in 248.⁴¹ Within this context, however, nothing precludes a campaign waged en route to Rome from the East if it is admitted that Philip need not be in the city before 23 July 244.

When did Philip arrive at Rome? A constitution preserved in the *Epitome Codicum Gregoriani et Hermogeniani Wisigothica*, and issued by Philip on 12 November 245 at Aquae, appears to demonstrate that Philip was at least in the West, and perhaps in the Danubian provinces, at that time.⁴² As this date is approximately a year and a half after his accession, it is likely on a priori grounds that he had already been to Rome by this date, but the previously mentioned *adventus* series of late summer 247 provides the earliest proof of his presence there. This is the extent of our evidence.

Eliminating ILS 505 as evidence of Philip's arrival at Rome before 23 July 244

³⁹ See the comments of L. BARKÓCZI, *History of Pannonia*, in: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, ed. A. LENGYEL and G. T. B. RADAN (Lexington 1980), 103–04. J. FITZ, *Les Syriens à Intercisa* (Brussels 1972), 116, has dated the beginning of the war against the Quadi to 245 on epigraphical grounds. Further evidence of Philip's interest in this area is indicated by the establishment of a mint at Viminacium during his reign (J. FITZ, *Economic Life*, in: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, 333). For a general survey see A. ALFÖLDI, *CAH* 12, 138–45.

⁴⁰ E.g., ENSSLIN, *CAH* 12, 90; CALDERINI, *I Severi*, 151–52; DE BLOIS, *Talanta* 10/11 (1978–79), 18.

⁴¹ LORIOT, *Chronologie*, 793. The *adventus* coins are dated on iconographical grounds by comparison with an Alexandrian issue of the year 246–247. A medaillon of Philip's third consulship (248) carries the triumphal titles. F. GNECCHI, *I medaglioni romani II* (Milan 1912), 97, no. 4. See also P. KNEISSL, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* (Göttingen 1969), 175–76.

⁴² FIRA 2, 657. The great majority of known Aquae are in the western provinces (RE 2, 1 [1895] 294). Citing D. TUDOR's argument, *Aquae in Dacie Inférieure*, *Latomus* 25 (1966), 847–54, that the modern Cioroiul Nou had the name Aquae in antiquity, LORIOT, *Chronologie*, 793, suggested that this Aquae was the provenance of the *constitutio*. But there are more than one hundred known Aquae (see RE 2, 1 [1895] 294–307; RE Sup. 1 [1903], 113; RE Sup. 7 [1940], 45); and while many of them are distinguished by a secondary name (e.g. Sextiae), the Antonine Itinerary, for example, lists at least seven (in Africa, Spain, Sicily, Italy, Moesia, and Pannonia) known only as Aquae or ad Aquas. See O. CUNTZ, *Itineraria Romana I* (Leipzig 1929), 109. Certainly the high concentration of Aquae in the Danubian provinces and the fact that Philip spent considerable time in that area makes an identification with one of the Danubian Aquae probable.

has implications for the continuing reappraisal of Philip's administration.⁴³ It was surely in the new emperor's interest to appear as soon as possible at the capital, for it had recently been demonstrated that emperors could be made at Rome. Nevertheless, it was also in Philip's interest to confront the problems on the eastern and Danubian frontiers which he had inherited from his predecessor. Indeed, we have seen reasons to think that Philip was attentive to these needs in the months after his elevation and, accordingly, we might justly exclude him from the ranks of those third-century emperors whom A. ALFÖLDI once charged with rashly valuing the approbation of the senate over the safety of the frontiers.⁴⁴

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⁴³ Note, for example, the emphasis on the «rehabilitation» of Philip in the remarks by YORK, *Historia* 21 (1972), 320, and DE BLOIS, *Talanta* 10/11 (1978–79), 42.

⁴⁴ A. ALFÖLDI, *La grande crise du monde romain au IIIe siècle*, AC 7 (1938), 9: «Les empereurs du milieu du IIIe siècle n'hésitèrent pas, dès qu'ils furent proclamés, à dégarnir les frontières pour aller recevoir à Rome l'approbation du sénat, exposant ainsi les provinces aux invasions des barbares.»