

ENGL 228.04: Greece and Rome
Fall 2014, MWF 9:05am-10:10am, Camino 108
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office hours: MW 1:30-3:30pm, F 1:30-2:30pm, and by appointment

paper 2: 6 pages, due F 11/21/2014
Pindar; Marcus Aurelius

Pindar. *The Odes*, tr. C.M. Bowra (New York: Penguin, 1982)
Marcus Aurelius. *Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν / Ad seipsum libri [Meditationes]. The Emperor's Handbook: A New Translation of the Meditations*, tr. David Hicks & C. Scot Hicks (New York: Scribner, 2002)

Pindar (ca. 522-518 BC - ca. 438 BC)

Coming from the territory of Thebes, which lay a little apart from the full current of Greek life and thought, he [Pindar] seems to belong to an age earlier than the busy, revolutionary, thought-searching fifth century. He is more, not less, intense. But his intensity is emotional and aesthetic; in his poems we see few of the struggles and triumphs of the intellect. His spiritual energy, however, is compellingly strong, his power to see visions and to make them intensely and permanently alive in a few speedy words is unsurpassed in any poetry.... They [Pindar's *Odes*] pay little or no attention to the actual contests, and not much more to the personality of the winner, unless he is a great ruler; but they glorify his family – both for its past achievements (in which the victory is the unit) and for the grand legends with which it is linked. Above all they exalt *nobility* of every kind, social, physical, aesthetic, spiritual....

The unity of each poem was created by the single, unique moment of the festival for which it was written. The nation-wide contest, the long training and aspiration, the myth of city or family that inspired the victory, the glories of the earlier winners in the same city or family, the crises of contemporary Greek history, the shrine itself and its god – all these excitements fused into one burning white-hot glow which darted out a shower of brilliant images, leapt in a white-hot spark across gaps unbridgeable by thought, passed through a commonplace leaving it luminous and transparent, melted a group of heterogeneous ideas into a shortlived unity, and, as suddenly as a flame, died.... In reading Pindar's triumphal odes it is almost impossible to understand them unless, simultaneously, we revive in our own minds the high and unifying excitement created by the poetry and the music and the dancing and the rejoicing city and the glorious victor and the proud family and the ennobling legend.... The thoughts and images of Pindar's poems do not always succeed each other in logical sequence. They are chosen for their beauty and their intensity and their boldness. They are often grouped by a process like free association, and linked simply by contrast, by the poet's wish *not* to be logical, but to be nobly inconsequent, divinely astonishing, as unique as the triumphal moment" [Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949/rpt. 1976, 1985), pp. 221, 224-225]

Highet on Pindar and Horace:

Pindar represents the ideals of aristocracy, careless courage and the generous heart. Horace is a *bourgeois*, prizing thrift, care, caution, the virtue of self-control.... Pindar, the bold victor who sang with the same conquering energy that possessed his own heroes, who made his own medium, who

dominated the past and future by the comet-like intensity of his moment.... Horace, the man who ran away in the civil war, the ex-slave's son who worked his way up to become the friend of an emperor, the poet who built his monument syllable by syllable as carefully as bees build their honeycomb, the apostle of thought, care, self-control (*The Classical Tradition*, 227).

—the particular type of odes Pindar wrote for victors at the four major pan-Hellenic games are called *epinician*, from the Greek ἐπινικεῖος, and adjective meaning 'of victory,' the noun form being νίκη [whence Nike, goddess of victory]— in terms of theme and subject, 'victory' is the primary subject— what it consists of, from whom and what it derives, how it should be celebrated, its social meaning, possible or future political meaning, the honor attached to it. And, for Pindar in particular, its metaphysical or spiritual sense — in terms of the human spirit, and the gods. Our editor and translator of the *Odes*, C.M. Bowra (of Oxford University), has written of Pindar and victory that: "For him victory in the Games raised questions of mystical and metaphysical importance. It illustrated the fact of glory as something which came from the Gods and the reality of success which is won by a proper use of natural gifts and laborious effort" (p. xii). Pindar's *Odes* vary in their allusive approach to celebration of victory at the Games — he includes a many mythological allusions, stories and digressions, especially if they connect to the victor's home; family lineage is often of importance, if Pindar knows of it— if not, he may celebrate the city-state or town and region from which the victor hails. At the heart of the poem, if not the subject of most of its lines, is the victor. From ode to ode we can see a different approach Pindar takes in getting to the athlete whose victory is the poem's subject— but he does get there.

—Pindar's poetry was thought to be difficult even by other ancient poets; as Bowra notes, "No formula solves the difficulty of reading Pindar, but it becomes less formidable when we remember that in each poem he is writing for a single occasion and that the main elements in this complex whole must somehow have a place in his poem. As he moves from theme to them, from particular to general, from meditative wisdom to exciting narrative, he adds something new to his whole effect which is never fully visible until the whole pattern has been displayed"

- do Pindar's *Odes* serve a pan-Hellenic function? How?
- what, in Pindar's estimation, is the nature and significance of victory?
- what is the significance of the *agones*, the athletic contests themselves?
- what is the proper role of pride? Of what can one be proud?
- what is the role of memory in these commemorations?

Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*

—Marcus Aurelius's family derived through his grandfather Marcus Annius Verus from the Roman town Ucubi in Baetica, Spain (in the province of Hispania Baetica, formerly part of Hispania Ulterior ['Further Spain']); Marcus's father, also named Marcus Annius Verus, died when the future emperor was only 3 years old. His mother Domitia Lucilla did not remarry, and his grandfather moved into their home on the Caelian Hill, near the Lateran Palace, and was a great influence on the youth; might there be any effect of being raised more by one's grandfather detectable in Marcus Aurelius's work?

—the Greek original title of Marcus's philosophical and spiritual autobiography was simply 'To myself'; probably never meant for publication, it was compiled approximately AD 170-180, during

much of which he was at the German frontier— he would die 17 March 180 in Vindobona (modern Vienna, Austria), having not finished pacifying Rome's eastern borders (which extended through southern Germany and were poised to take in what are now the Czech Republic and Slovakia); two broad elements of his life and career are evident – as emperor, and one preoccupied with much of his reign with military matters, he was an active person; as someone interested in philosophy since boyhood and a patron and defender of philosophy and the arts, he was also a contemplative person;

—Marcus Aurelius's philosophy is of the Stoic school, founded in Athens in the late 4th century BC by Zeno of Citium, among whose teachings are that virtue is the sufficient cause of happiness (in a loose sense the proverb "virtue is its own reward" is Stoic), reason our highest faculty, the universe is materialistic, deterministic (guided by fate), but human beings have also free will and moral responsibility for their actions (despite the paradoxical view that everything happens in accord with divine providence); to what extent are the *Meditations* an elaboration of a Stoic philosophy? To what extent are they a personal guide to one's own mind's operations, its apprehension of the world and dealing with it? To what extent is the work spiritual autobiography?

— Οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ συμβαίνει, ὃ οὐχὶ πέφυκε φέρειν: "Nothing happens to anybody which he is not fitted by nature to bear" (*Meditations* 5.18)

"There is a river of things passing into being, and Time is a violent torrent; no sooner is a thing brought to sight than it is swept by and another takes its place, and this too will be swept away" (4.43)

"Every instant of time is a pinprick of eternity. All things are petty, easily changed, vanishing away" (6.36)

"To change your mind and to follow him who sets you right is to be nonetheless the free agent that you were before" (8.16)

"Mankind have been created for the sake of one another. Either instruct them, or endure them" (8.59)

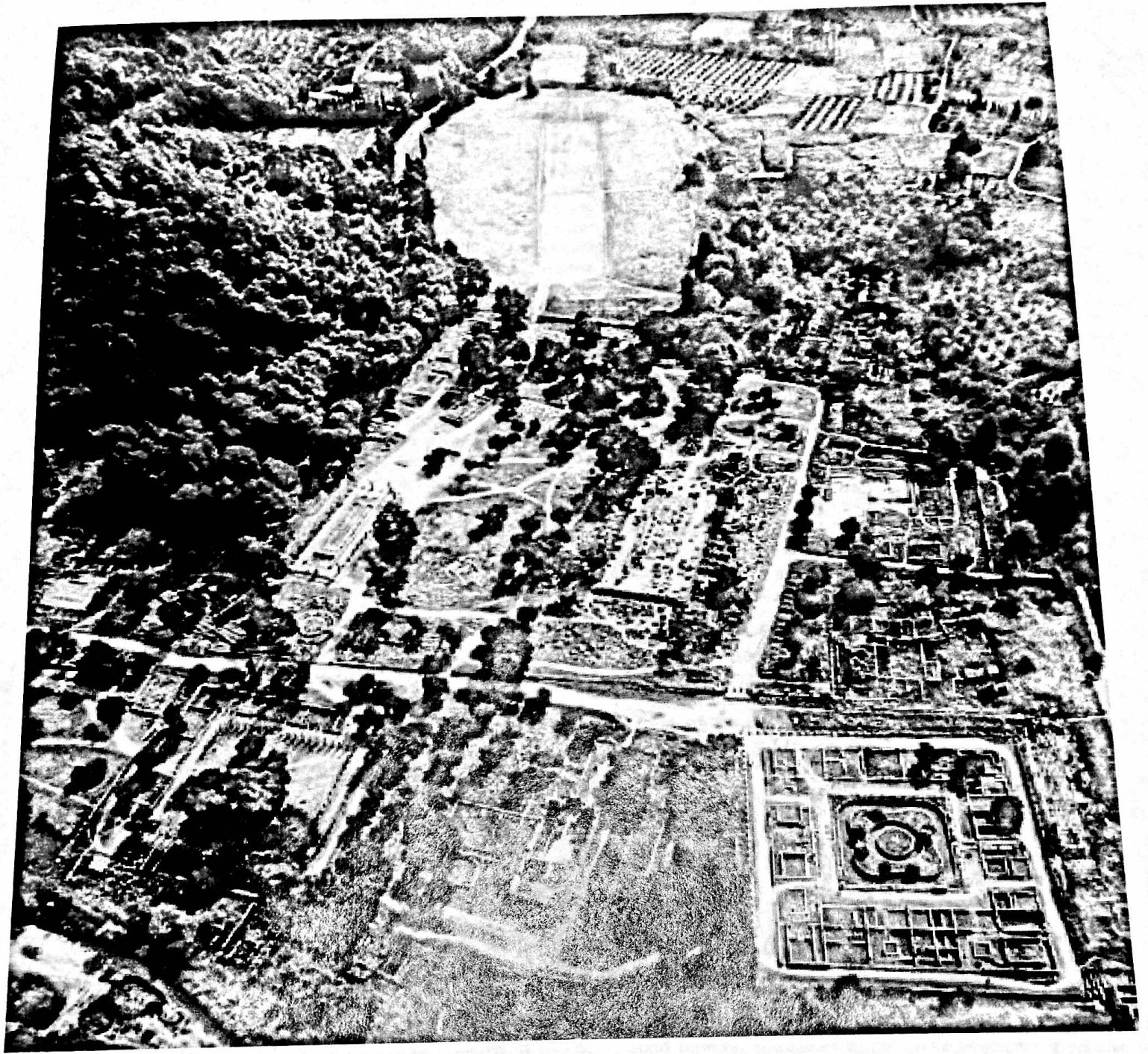
"Whatever befalls you was prepared for you beforehand from eternity, and the thread of causes was spinning from everlasting both your existence and this which befalls you" (10.5)

"Mortal, you have been a citizen in this world city, what does it matter whether for five years or fifty?" (12.36)

—Marcus Aurelius and his wife Faustina the Younger had 13 children over the course of a 30-year marriage; most died while still children: only five outlived him.



A copy of an Olympic victor list for the years 480-468 BC and 456-448 BC from Papyrus Oxyrhynchus II 222 (Oxyrhynchus is a town in Egypt about 100 miles southwest along the Nile from Cairo; beginning in 1896 and for the next few decades Oxford Egyptologist Bernard Grenfell and papyrologist Arthur Hunt conducted annual excavations in the ancient garbage dumps outside this town that yielded thousands of papyrus fragments, some of Greek texts thought to have been lost.



Part of the complex at Olympia.

augurio'). On 16 January 27 bc *Octavian received the title from the senate, and he intended *Tiberius also to take it. Tiberius did not formally accept, but it was used in official documents and taken by all later emperors (*Vitellius delayed). Denied to other male members of the dynasty, it became the imperial title *par excellence*, and so was transmitted to military units and cities (some, e.g. Augst, Sivas, still bear it). The title 'Augusta' was conferred on the emperor's wife (*Livia Drusilla, in Augustus' will, the first), exceptionally on other relatives (*Antonia (3)).

J. P. B.; B. M. L.

Aulis, small Greek city near *Tanagra, on a rocky peninsula between two bays. Its most famous monument is the temple of Artemis and its neighbouring buildings. The best harbour in northern *Boeotia, Aulis is most famous as the point of assembly for the Achaean expedition against Troy. Here *Iphigenia was sent to be sacrificed for a safe voyage of the fleet, a theme developed by *Euripides. *Hesiod (*Op.* 651 ff.) sailed thence to *Euboea. Strabo (9. 2. 3) states that an Aeolian fleet sailed from it to Asia. *Agesilaus attempted to sacrifice there in 396 bc, before his expedition to Asia (*Xen. Hell.* 3. 4. 4), but the Boeotians interrupted the ceremony. It was the principal base for *Epinondas' unsuccessful naval ambitions in 364 bc. In 312 bc *Antigonos (1)'s admiral Ptolemaeus docked 150 ships there in the conflict with *Cassander (*Diod. Sic.* 19. 77. 4). L. *Aemilius Paullus (2) visited Aulis in 167 bc to view the anchorage of the Achaean fleet.

J. Buckler, in US Naval Academy (ed.), *New Aspects of Naval History* (1985). J. Bu.

Aurelia (RE 'Aurelius' 248), of the family of the Cottae, was the mother of C. *Iulius Caesar (1). She watched over the conduct of his wife *Pompeia and detected P. *Clodius Pulcher at the Bona Dea ceremony. She died in 54 bc. E. B.

Aurelian (Lucius Domitius (RE 36) Aurelianus) (c. AD 215–75), a man of humble origin from the Danubian region, achieved high military rank under *Gallienus, but helped organize the plot that destroyed him. Appointed by *Claudius II to the chief command of the cavalry, he served with distinction against the *Goths. Though Aurelian was the obvious successor to Claudius, he did not immediately declare himself on the latter's death, allowing the throne to pass to Quintillus. However, it was not long before he was hailed as emperor by his troops and disposed of his rival (c. September 270).

Barbarian invasions first claimed his attention. He defeated the *Vandals in Pannonia and then repulsed a dangerous incursion into Italy by the *Alamanni and Iuthungi, pursuing the latter over the Danube. On his return to Rome, he surrounded the city with walls to protect it against further barbarian attacks (*wall of Aurelian). With characteristic ruthlessness, he also disposed of early political opponents to his rule.

He next dealt with Palmyra. *Zenobia, ruling for her young son, *Septimius Vaballathus, had recently exploited Roman civil war to occupy Egypt and Asia Minor up to Bithynia (autumn 270). Coins and papyri show that she was now calling Vaballathus Imperator, but not Augustus, and was projecting him as the—albeit junior—colleague of Aurelian. Aurelian tolerated the compromise for only as long as he had to; early in 272 he marched east. Following defeat at *Antioch (1) on the Orontes, Zenobia withdrew south, and proclaimed Vaballathus Augustus (spring 272). Aurelian pursued the rebels to Emesa, broke their main strength, and forced them to take refuge in Palmyra, which he

then besieged. In summer 272, Zenobia was captured on her way to seek aid from Persia, and Palmyra surrendered.

Marching back westward, Aurelian defeated the Carpi on the Danube, but was recalled by a further revolt in *Palmyra (spring 273). He quickly crushed the uprising, and then proceeded to Egypt to suppress violent disturbances possibly associated with the rebellion in Palmyra.

Aurelian now turned west and ended the Gallic empire at Châlons, defeating *Tetricus (early 274). Tetricus and Zenobia headed the captives from all Aurelian's victories in a magnificent triumph.

Early in 275 Aurelian set out against Persia, but was murdered at Caenophrurium, near *Byzantium, in a household plot. Some time passed before *Tacitus (2) was appointed to succeed him—the army offering the choice to the senate, the senate shirking the dangerous responsibility.

Aurelian's energy and military talents restored the unity of the empire after a decade of division; and he was more than just a successful general. Towards the end of his reign (274) he had the courage to abandon the old province of *Dacia—by now reduced to the Transylvanian highlands—and relocate its garrison, civilian administrators, and those of the rest of the population able and willing to join the evacuation, south of the Danube. He sought to reform the silver coinage, much damaged by 40 years of continual debasement. And, with the help of the booty won from Palmyra, he attempted to establish the worship of Sol Invictus—with himself as this deity's chosen vicegerent—at the centre of Roman state religion (see ELAGABALUS, DEUS SOL INVICTUS). Thus in many ways he pioneered the work of Diocletian and Constantine I; yet he lacked the originality to bring the period of 'crisis' to its conclusion. His murder was followed by a further ten years of uncertainty.

PLRE 1. 129 f.; L. Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Aurélien* (1904); R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (1971); A. Bodor and others, *Dacorumania. Jahrbuch für östliche Latinität* 1973; G. Sotgiu, ANRW 2. 2 (1975), 1039 ff.; G. H. Halsberghe, ANRW 2. 17. 4 (1984), 2181 ff.; E. Kettenhofen, *Tyche* (1986), 138 ff.; M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature* (1990). J. F. Dr.

Aurelius, Marcus, emperor AD 161–80, was born in 121 and named M. Annus (RE 94) Verus. His homonymous grandfather, M. *Annus Verus, from Ucubi (Espejo) in Baetica, consul for the third time (as *ordinarius*) in 126 and city prefect, a relative of *Hadrian and an influential figure, brought him up after his father's early death. His mother Domitia Lucilla inherited the fortune created by Cn. *Domitius Afer. From early childhood Marcus was a favourite of Hadrian, who nicknamed him *Verissimus*. At the age of 15 he was betrothed at Hadrian's wish to Ceionia Fabia, daughter of the man Hadrian adopted as L. *Aelius Caesar. In 138 Hadrian ordered his second heir *Antoninus Pius, whose wife was Marcus' aunt Annia Galeria Faustina (1), to adopt Marcus along with Aelius' son Lucius: he now became M. (Aelius) Aurelius Verus Caesar. When Hadrian died, Marcus was betrothed to Antoninus' daughter, his own cousin *Annia Galeria Faustina (2), instead of Ceionia. Quaestor in 139, first elected consul in 140 and again in 145, he married in the latter year; his first child was born on 30 November 147; the next day he received *tribunicia potestas* (see TRIBUNI PLEBIS) and *imperium and Faustina became Augusta (*fasti Ostienses*). Marcus was educated by a host of famous teachers, one being the orator *Fronto; many of their letters survive. His leaning to philosophy, already manifest when he was 12, became the central feature of his life. He was much influenced by Q. *Iunius Rusticus (elected to a second consulship

in 162), son or grandson of the Stoic 'martyr' (see STOICISM) of AD 93, and by the teaching of *Epictetus. Although Marcus is called a Stoic, his *Meditations* (see below) are eclectic, with elements of Platonism and Epicureanism as well. Further, he was much indebted to Antoninus, who receives a lengthier tribute than anyone else in the *Meditations* (1. 16; another version, 6. 30). His tranquil family life is vividly portrayed in his correspondence and recalled with affection in the *Meditations*. Faustina bore him further children; several died in infancy, but the couple had four daughters when Marcus succeeded Antoninus on 7 March 161; and Faustina was again pregnant.

Marcus at once requested the senate to confer the rank of co-emperor on his adoptive brother Lucius, as Hadrian had intended. Lucius took Marcus' name *Verus, while Marcus assumed that of Antoninus. There were thus two Augusti for the first time, equal rulers, except that only Marcus was Pontifex Maximus and he had greater *auctoritas*. The coinage proclaimed the *concordia Augustorum*. L. Verus was betrothed to Marcus' eldest daughter *Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucilla, and the *felicitas temporum* was further enhanced when Faustina gave birth to twin sons on 31 August, their names honouring Antoninus (T. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus) and Lucius (L. Aurelius Commodus). But Antoninus' death had unleashed trouble on the frontiers: in Britain, dealt with by Sex. *Calpurnius Agricola; Upper Germany, to which Marcus' close friend *Aufidius Victorinus, Fronto's son-in-law, was sent; along the Danube; and, most seriously, in the east. The Parthians seized Armenia and defeated the governor of Cappadocia, who took his own life, and invaded Syria. It was decided that an expeditionary force was needed, to be led by L. Verus, with an experienced staff. Verus left Italy in 162 and was based at Antioch (1) until 166 (with a visit to Ephesus in 164 to marry Lucilla), but was merely a figurehead. After the expulsion of the Parthians from Armenia by Statius Priscus (163), he took the title Armeniacus (accepted by Marcus in 164), crowning a new king, Sohaemus. Other generals, notably *Avidius Cassius, defeated the Parthians in Mesopotamia: Ctesiphon was captured and Seleucia (1) on the Tigris sacked at the end of 165. Verus became Parthicus Maximus, Marcus following suit after a short delay. In 166 further success led to the title Medicus. But plague had broken out in the eastern army; the threat in the north was becoming acute—the despatch of three legions to the east had weakened the Rhine–Danube *limes. Verus was obliged to make peace, celebrating a joint triumph with Marcus (12 October 166). Each became *Pater Patriae and Marcus' surviving sons, *Commodus (whose twin had died) and Annius Verus (b. 162), became Caesar.

Marcus planned a new campaign to relieve the Danube frontier. New legions, II and III Italicae, were raised in 165; V Macedonica, formerly in Lower Moesia, was moved to Dacia on its return from the east. But the *plague, reaching Rome in 166, delayed the expedition until spring 168; meanwhile Pannonia and Dacia were both invaded. The emperors went to the Danube in 168 and reinforced the frontier, stationing the new legions in western Pannonia under Q. *Antistius Adventus (ILS 8977). They wintered at Aquileia, where the plague broke out; the praetorian prefect *Furius Victorinus was a victim and *Galen, the imperial physician, refused to stay. At Verus' insistence, he and Marcus also left in January 169, but Verus had a stroke on the journey and died a few days later. Marcus deified him and obliged the widowed Lucilla to marry the Syrian *novus homo* Ti. *Claudius Pompeianus, who had distinguished himself in Pannonia. In spite of further bereavement—his younger son Verus died—he pressed

on with preparations, auctioning imperial treasures to raise funds, and returned north, to Sirmium, in autumn 169.

Apparently planning to annex territory beyond the Danube, he launched an offensive in spring 170, but incurred a severe defeat. The *Marcomanni and *Quadi of Bohemia and Slovakia invaded, outflanked Marcus and swept over the Julian Alps, sacking Opitergium (Oderzo) and besieging Aquileia. It was the worst such crisis since the German invasions at the end of the 2nd cent. bc. Desperate measures, led by Pompeianus and P. *Helvius Pertinax, cleared Italy, Noricum, and Pannonia. The Marcomanni were defeated as they tried to recross the Danube with their booty. But the Balkans and Greece were invaded by the Costoboci, requiring further emergency measures, and Spain was ravaged by the Moors, dealt with by Marcus' friend Victorinus. Marcus, based at Carnuntum, first used diplomacy to detach some tribes from the 'barbarian conspiracy'; some peoples were settled within the empire. The offensive, resumed in 172, is depicted at the start of the Aurelian column in Rome. In spite of the death of the praetorian prefect Vindex, the Marcomanni were defeated: victory was claimed, with the title Germanicus. In a battle against the Quadi Roman troops were saved by a 'rain miracle', shown on the column, later claimed to have been achieved by the prayers of Christian legionaries; Marcus gave the credit to the Egyptian Hermes 'Aerius'. In 173 he pacified the Quadi, moving to Sirmium in 174 to take on the Sarmatian Jazyges of the Hungarian plain. After some successes, he was obliged to make an armistice when Avidius Cassius, who had had special powers in the east, was proclaimed emperor. The revolt collapsed after three months, but Marcus, now Sarmaticus, toured the east, taking Faustina, who died in late 175 and was deified, and Commodus. He went through Asia and Syria to Egypt, returning via Athens to Rome. Here he held a triumph (23 December 176) and raised Commodus to Augustus. In summer 178, renewed warfare in the north took him northwards again. He remained, evidently planning to annex Marcomannia and Sarmatia, until his death (17 March 180).

Marcus has been universally admired, as a philosopher-ruler, to the present day, criticized only for leaving his unworthy son as successor. This no doubt seemed the best way to ensure stability, and he left Commodus experienced advisers, including his numerous sons-in-law. Despite Marcus' lack of military experience he took personal command against the first wave of the great *Volkerwanderung* that ultimately destroyed the empire, setting an example that inspired his contemporaries in the view of *Ammianus (31. 5. 14).

A. R. Bi.

Meditations Marcus is most famous for a work his subjects never saw, the intimate notebook in which he recorded (in Greek) his own reflections on human life and the ways of the gods, perhaps before retiring at night. The title *Meditations* is purely modern: τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ('to himself'), found in our MSS, may not go back to the author, but is surely accurate. Internal evidence suggests that he was past his prime when he wrote (2. 2, and other references to his age or imminent death), and that at least parts were composed during his lengthy campaigns against the German tribes. It seems to have survived almost by accident; it was unknown to the writers of his time and for long afterwards, but seems to have surfaced in the 4th cent. (Them. Or. 6. 81c, not a certain allusion). In general the closest analogies for the thought are with *Epictetus, but Marcus is interested less in sustained position. The style, often eloquent and poetic, can also be compressed, obscure, and grammatically awkward. All of this is

Aurelius Antoninus, Marcus, Elagabalus

(1987); J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy* (1970); E. Champlin, see above. R. B. R.

understandable if he was writing memoranda for his eyes alone. Although divided by moderns into twelve 'books', the work seems not to have a clear structure. Brief epigrams are juxtaposed with quotations (usually of moral tags, occasionally of longer passages: esp. 7. 38–42, 11. 30–9) and with more developed arguments on divine providence, the brevity of human life, the necessity for moral effort, and tolerance of his fellow human beings. Frustratingly, these *pensées* are almost invariably generalized: we do not learn Marcus' secret thoughts about his family, members of the court, or military policy. We do, however, get some idea of his personality and preoccupations.

The first book of the *Meditations* is a different matter, being more coherent than the others; it may have been composed independently. Here Marcus goes through a list of his closer relatives and several teachers, recording what he owes to each—in some cases a specific lesson, but more often a general moral example. This list culminates in two long passages on what he owes to his predecessor *Antoninus Pius, and to the gods (1. 16 and 17). Though often allusive and obscure, these give us unique access to the mind of an ancient ruler, and the whole book is a precious personal document.

In the rest of the work, though technical discussion of Stoic doctrine is avoided, certain recurrent themes stand out: the need to avoid distractions and concentrate on making the correct moral choice; the obligation of individuals to work for the common good (e.g. 6. 54: 'What does not benefit the hive does not benefit the bee'); the unity of mankind in a world-city (4. 4; cf. G. R. Stanton, *Phronesis* 1968, 183 ff.); insistence on the providence of the gods, often combined with rejection of the Epicurean alternative that all is random movement of atoms (e.g. 6. 17, 8. 39). Duty and social responsibility are strongly emphasized; Marcus was keenly aware of the temptations of power (e.g. 5. 16, 6. 30 'do not be Caesarified'). Thoughts of providence lead him to contemplate the vastness of time and space, and the guiding pattern that according to the Stoics gives order to the universe (e.g. 10. 5). There is also a more melancholy note, of resignation and pessimism. Though determined to persevere in his moral efforts, the author is often resigned to their futility (8. 4; 9. 29 'who will change men's convictions?'). Hymns to the grandeur and order of the universe (4. 23, 5. 4) can give way to revulsion and disgust (8. 24). Above all, Marcus is fascinated by life's transience and the way in which all great men, even philosophers and emperors, pass on and are forgotten (4. 32, 33, 48, 50, etc.). His most lasting achievement is a work which has inspired readers as different as Sir Thomas Browne, Matthew Arnold, and Cecil Rhodes.

WRITINGS Correspondence in *Fronto: Letters*, ed. M. P. J. van den Hout (1988); Eng. trans. by C. R. Haines, 1919–20; see also bibliog. to CORNELIUS FRONTO, M.

Meditations, ed. J. Dalfen (Teubner, 1979, 1987²); commentaries: A. S. L. Farquharson, with trans. (1944), rev. trans. published separately; W. Theiler (1951). Studies: P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 1974, 1–20; E. Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome* (1980); R. B. Rutherford, *The Meditations of M. Aurelius: A Study* (1989), with Brunt, *JRS* 1990, 218–19; E. Asmis, *ANRW* 2. 32. 3 (1989), 2228–52. On Marcus and Christianity see Brunt, in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 1 (1979), 483–520.

ANCIENT SOURCES Literary: Cass. Dio 71–3; SHA *Hadr., Ant. Pius, M. Ant., Verus, Comm.*; Philostr. *VS; Corpus Iuris*, cf. W. Williams, *JRS* 1976. Coins: *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 4. Column: W. Zwickler, *Studien zur Markussäule* 1 (1941); C. Caprino, *La colonna di M. Aurelio* (1955).

MODERN LITERATURE G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977); A. R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, 2nd. edn.

Aurelius Achilleus, according to the literary sources usurper in Egypt, AD 296–7, although papyri style him as *corrector under another usurper, L. Domitius Domitianus, conquered by *Diocletian in person early in 297. He may have assumed leadership of the revolt after the (hypothetical) death of Domitianus.

PLRE 1, 'Achilleus' 1. T. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982), 12. H. M.; A. J. S. S.

Aurelius (RE 46) Antoninus (1), Marcus (AD 188–217), nicknamed **Caracalla**, emperor AD 198–217. Elder son of L. *Septimius Severus, originally called Septimius Bassianus; renamed after M. Aurelius and made Caesar in 195. Augustus in 198, he was consul for the first time with his father in 202 and for the second time with his brother P. *Septimius Geta (2) in 205, when he had his hated father-in-law C. *Fulvius Plautianus killed. Consul for the third time in 208, again with Geta, whom he also hated, he accompanied his father to *Britain, sharing command against the Caledonians. When Severus died, he and Geta abandoned Scotland, making the *wall of Hadrian the frontier again, and returned to Rome. After having Geta killed (26 December 211), a drastic purge followed. To conciliate the soldiers, he raised their pay, creating financial problems. One solution was the 'Antonine *constitution'; he simultaneously doubled the inheritance tax paid only by citizens, which funded the **aerarium militare*. In 215 a new coin was struck, the so-called *antoninianus*, evidently tarified at two denarii, but weighing only 1.5: this was to lead to inflation.

In 213 he fought the *Alamanni (the first time they are mentioned), evidently gave the Raetian **limes* a stone wall, and became Germanicus Maximus. In 214 he attacked the Danubian Carpi and reorganized Pannonia, each province now having two legions (Britain was split into two provinces at this time; Hither Spain was also subdivided). Obsessed by *Alexander (3) the Great, he raised a Macedonian phalanx and went east in his footsteps, through Asia and Syria to *Alexandria (1), where large numbers who had mocked him were killed. When his offer to marry a Parthian princess was rejected, he attacked Media. While preparing a further campaign he was murdered near Carrhae (8 April 217). *Macrinus deified him as Divus Antoninus Magnus.

Cass. Dio 77–8; Hdn. 4; SHA *M. Ant.*; *RIC* 4. 1; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* 2nd. edn. (1973); A. Mastino, *Le titulature di Caracalla e Geta* (1981). A. R. Bi.

Aurelius Antoninus (2), Marcus, the emperor (AD 218–22) **Elagabalus** (RE 'Varius (10) Avitus'), was the son of Sex. *Varius Marcellus and *Iulia Soaemias Bassiana, niece of *Iulia Domna. Born probably in 203, as Varius Avitus Bassianus, he was holding the priesthood, hereditary in his mother's family, of the presiding deity of Emesa in Syria, in 218, when his mother and grandmother *Iulia Maesa used him as figurehead of a rebellion against *Macrinus. He was proclaimed to be son of his mother's cousin M. *Aurelius Antoninus (1) (Caracalla) and renamed after him. After the victory, he took the cult of the god by whose name he is known to Rome, which he reached in July 219. In late 220 his intention to make *Elagabalus ('deus Sol invictus') supreme god of the empire aroused open hostility at Rome when he divorced his first wife Julia Paula and married the Vestal virgin Aquilia Severa, a 'sacred marriage' to match the union of the god with Juno *Caelestis. He was forced to adopt his cousin Alexianus, renamed Alexander (26 June 221), and to divorce Aquilia in favour

piety See INTOLERANCE, INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS (for action against impiety); PIETAS; PRAYER; RELIGION (various entries); RITUAL; SACRIFICE.

Pigres, Carian poet; brother of *Artemisia (1); said to have interpolated pentameters into *Homer's *Iliad*, and to have written the *Margites*.

EGF 65.

S. H.

pilgrimage (Christian) Despite the New Testament's disavowal of the localized cults of Judaism and the surrounding pagan world—the need was for holy lives rather than holy places—early Christians still clung to their sacred sites. Jesus' followers preserved some memory of the location of his tomb in *Jerusalem and (at least by the mid-2nd cent.) of his birthplace in Bethlehem; while further afield the burial places of martyrs on the outskirts of their cities attracted local gatherings. In maintaining these recollections of their sacred past, the first Christian pilgrims tried to assert some communal identity in a world indifferent or hostile to their faith.

As the first emperor to favour Christianity, *Constantine I actively promoted holy places through imperial church-building in the Holy Land, as well as at the shrines of Peter and *Paul and other Roman martyrs; and his mother Helena Augusta personified the official interest in sacred sites by visiting Palestine as part of a tour of the eastern provinces (c. AD 327). Pilgrimages to the Holy Land were no longer just a local preserve, but might bring travellers from the opposite end of the empire. The earliest such journey on record is that of an unknown pilgrim from Bordeaux, who reached Jerusalem in 333: the surviving document is both a 'secular' itinerary of the route and the account of a pilgrimage round the biblical sites of the Holy Land. The religious significance attached not to the journey itself, but to its objective of locating and—with the aid of the 'eyes of faith' and a very literal reading of the text—entering into the scriptural past of both Old and New Testaments.

In 381–4 the western pilgrim Egeria journeyed round the Holy Land and Egypt (see ITINERARIUM EGERIAE). Besides visiting martyr-shrines *en route*, she endeavoured to search out 'on the ground' the places of the Bible, attempting e.g. to retrace the movements of the children of Israel out of Egypt. Holy men were as much an object of pilgrimage for her as holy places: the monks who now populated the region formed part of Egeria's scriptural landscape, perceived as successors of the Holy Land's biblical occupants. These 4th-cent. Christian travellers engaged in a species of devotional *tourism which had eyes only for the biblical past re-created in the contemporary Holy Land. The many other associations of pilgrimage—ascetic (see ASCETICISM), therapeutic, penitential—would emerge only later.

J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (rev. edn. 1981); E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (1982); P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (1985); R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (1990).

E. D. H.

Pindar, lyric poet, native of *Cynoscephalae in *Boeotia. He was born probably in 518 BC (*Suda*, fr. 193, if the latter refers to Pindar). The tradition (one of several competing accounts) that he lived to the age of eighty is at least roughly correct, since his last datable composition (*Pyth.* 8) belongs in or shortly after 446. On the basis of *Pyth.* 5. 72 it is widely believed that he belonged to the aristocratic family of the Aegeidae. He achieved panhellenic recognition early; at the age of 20 he was commissioned by the ruling family of *Thessaly to celebrate the athletic victory of a favourite youth, Hippocleas (*Pyth.* 10). His commissions covered

most of the Greek world, from *Macedonia and *Abdera in Thrace in the north (fr. 120–1, *Pae.* 2) to *Cyrene in Africa in the south (*Pyth.* 4, 5, 9), from *Italy and *Sicily in the west (*Ol.* 1–5, 10, 11, *Pyth.* 1, 2, 3, 6, *Nem.* 9, *Isthm.* 2) to the seaboard of *Asia Minor in the east (*Ol.* 7, *Nem.* 11, fr. 123). He probably travelled a great deal, but we have little information on his movements. He is already a classic for *Herodotus (1) (3. 38), and was regarded by many in antiquity as the greatest of the nine poets of the lyric canon (Quint. 10. 1. 61, Dion. Hal. *On imitation* 2).

The *Alexandrian editors divided Pindar's works into 17 books: *hymns, *paean, *dithyrambs (2 books), *prosodia* (processional songs, 2 books), *partheneia* (maiden-songs, 3 books), *hyporchemata* (dance songs, 2 books), *encomia*, *threnoi* (dirges) and *epinicia* (victory songs, 4 books). Of these, the only books to survive intact are the choral victory songs composed for the formal celebration of victories in the four panhellenic athletic festivals (see AGONES). His patrons were the great aristocratic houses of the day, and the ruling families of Cyrene, *Syracuse and *Acragas. The scale of this section of the corpus indicates the value which Pindar, in common with other Greeks, placed on *athletics as a testing ground for the highest human qualities. The victory ode was normally performed either at the athletic festival shortly after the victory or after the victor's return to his native city. Since time for composition and choir training was limited, the former type tends to be brief. Odes composed for performance after the victor's return are usually, though not invariably, lengthier and more elaborate. The longer odes usually have three sections, with the opening and closing sections devoted to the victor and his success and the central section usually containing a mythic narrative. The opening is always striking, often elaborate, consisting either of an abrupt announcement of victory or a focusing process which sets the victory against a general background, usually through a hymnal invocation or a preparatory list of objects, experiences, or achievements (**pramel*). In the sections devoted to the victor conventional elements recur. The god of the games is honoured. Place of victory and event are announced, with details frequently surrendered slowly in order to maintain a forward tension (description of victory is rare, however). Earlier victories by the patron or other members of his family are listed; such lists are carefully crafted to avoid monotony. The city is praised, and in the case of boy victors the father and usually the trainer. Self-praise by the poet is also common. More sombre notes, surprising to the modern reader, are struck. The poet often reminds the victor of his mortality or offers prayers to avert misfortune; these elements reflect the archaic fear of divine envy and awareness of the psychological dangers of success; they function both to warn and to emphasize the extent of the achievement. *Gnomai* (succinct generalizations, see GNÔME) are frequent. Recurrent themes are the impossibility of achievement without toil, the need for divine aid for success, the duty to praise victory, the vulnerability of achievement without praise in song, the importance of inborn excellence and the inadequacy of mere learning. The effect of this moralizing is to give the ode a pronounced didactic as well as celebratory quality.

Pindar usually chooses myths dealing with the heroes of the victor's city. As with most Greek *lyric, the myth is not narrated in full. Usually a single incident is selected for narration, with other details dealt with briskly. Even the lengthy quasi-epic myth of *Pyth.* 4 proceeds by a series of scenes, not an even narrative. Audience familiarity with the myth is assumed. Unlike his contemporary *Bacchylides, Pindar regularly adopts an explicit

moral stance with reference to the events narrated. The role of myth in the odes varies. Sometimes the myth has only a broad relevance to the victor, in that the deeds of the city's heroes highlight the tradition which has produced the victor's qualities. On occasion myth presents a negative contrast to the victor (such as the *Tantalus myth in Ol. 1, the *Orestes myth of Pyth. 11). Often it appears to reflect an aspect of the victory or the victor's situation as developed in the direct praise.

The fragmentary nature of the rest of the corpus makes it difficult to generalize about other genres. The same moralizing quality is present. The structure where ascertainable corresponds to the tripartite structure of the victory odes. The myth is in most cases uncontroversial, since it arises from the location and occasion of the performance.

His poems are written in regular stanzas, either strophic or triadic. With the exception of *Isthm.* 3 and 4, no two poems are identical metrically. Most are composed in the dactylo-epitrite or aeolic metres. His manner of writing is both dense and elaborate. Words are used sparingly. Compound adjectives abound. The style is rich in *metaphor, and rapid shifts of metaphor are common. Transition between themes is rapid, and is often effected by formalized claims to be constrained by time or rules of composition or to have lost the way. As his earliest and last datable compositions (*Pyth.* 10 and 8) show, he adhered throughout his life to a conservative set of standards. His thought impresses not for its originality but the consistency and conviction with which he presents the world view of the aristocrat of the late Archaic period. His religion is the traditional Olympian religion (see RELIGION, GREEK), combined in Ol. 2 and the dirges with elements of mystery cult and Orphico-Pythagorean belief (see ORPHISM; PYTHAGORAS (1), PYTHAGOREANISM).

TEXT H. Maehler, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis* (1987, 1989).

TRANSLATION F. Nisetich, *Pindar's Victory Odes* (1980).

COMMENTARIES AND CRITICISM G. Bona, *I Peani* (1988); E. L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* (1962); R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (1962); J. B. Bury, *Nemean Odes* (1890), and *Isthmian Odes* (1892); M. Cannatà Fera, *Threnorum Fragmenta* (1990); F. Dornseiff, *Pindarus Stil* (1921); C. Carey, *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar* (1981); L. R. Farnell (1932); B. L. Gildersleeve, *Olympian and Pythian Odes*² (1899); E. Krummen, *Pyrros Hymnon* (1990); L. Lehnus, *Olimpiche*² (1989); C. A. Privitera, *Le Istmiche* (1982); E. Thummer, *Die isthmischen Gedichte* (1968–9); W. H. Race, *Pindar* (1986); M. J. H. van der Weiden, *The Dithyrambs* (1991); D. C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (1968); RE 20. 1606 ff.; L. Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise* (1991).

C. C.

Pindarus, named in some manuscripts as the author of the **Ilias Latina*, perhaps arising from confusion in transmission with *Dares of Phrygia.

M. Scaffai, *Latomus*, 1979, 932–9.

S. J. Ha.

piracy can be defined as armed robbery involving the use of ships. The greater mobility which the sea provides is a major factor in differentiating between piracy and *brigandage, although the Greek and Latin vocabulary for the two was largely the same. It is often very difficult to distinguish piracy from warfare in the ancient sources, especially when the labelling of certain activities as piracy seems to be a way of illegitimizing the perpetrators, similar in some ways to the modern practice of describing political violence as terrorism.

The earliest references to pirates are in the Homeric poems (see HOMER), particularly the *Odyssey*, where piracy is an activity which brings no shame upon its practitioners, although it may be disapproved of for the misery it brings to the victims (e.g. Hom. Od. 3. 71–4; 14. 222–34). None of the Homeric heroes is

ever called a pirate, but they carry out seaborne raids which are very similar to the actions of those referred to as pirates (e.g. Od. 9. 39–52).

Piracy begins to be differentiated from war in the Classical period of Greek history, when the political aims of the Greek city-states began to take precedence over the economic goals of raiding and plundering. Nevertheless, pirates are mentioned frequently by *Thucydides (2) and *Xenophon (1) in their accounts of the wars of the 5th and 4th cents. BC, and the works of the Attic orators show that accusations of piracy were made by both sides in the rivalries between Athens and *Macedonia in the second half of the 4th cent. BC.

In the Hellenistic period the main difference between piracy and warfare was the scale of activity. Many pirates operated on the fringes of wars in this period, taking advantage of the political confusion, but they do not seem to have played a major part in the conflicts of the Hellenistic monarchs. Although attacks on ships at sea are mentioned occasionally in the ancient sources, the main threat from piracy seems to have been to coastal settlements. Numerous inscriptions from this period record sudden attacks by unidentified pirates on the islands and coastal cities of the Aegean, in search of both plunder and prisoners to be ransomed or sold. The abduction of a well-born young man or woman by pirates who sell their captive as a slave (see SLAVERY) became a common theme in Greek and Latin literature.

The custom of plundering enemies, or even third parties, in reprisal for injuries or insults suffered could be used by some groups to justify acts which others might have called piracy. A great deal of the piracy found in sources from the 5th to the 2nd cents. BC involves reprisals (see SYLE). The rules governing reprisals were rather vague, allowing considerable latitude for interpretation. *Polybius (1) criticized the *Aetolians in particular for their abuse of this custom (Polyb. 4. 3–6; see AETOLIA). Cities and communities attempted to deter attacks by concluding treaties which guaranteed them immunity from reprisals, but it is unclear how effective this system was in practice. See ASYLIA.

Thucydides credited *Minos with clearing the seas of pirates (Thuc. 1. 4), but, until the 1st cent. BC, no ancient state possessed the resources to suppress piracy on anything more than a local scale, although even small successes might win fulsome praise and help to legitimize political power. A significant problem was the fact that successful suppression of piracy meant depriving pirates of bases on land, which entailed the conquest and control of territory. Without co-operation between states, or the imposition of a policy by a single imperial power, piracy could easily flourish in many parts of the Mediterranean. The Athenians took some action to limit piracy in their own interests in the 5th and 4th cents. BC, as did the Rhodians (see RHODES) in the Hellenistic period. Both were strongly applauded by later writers. The rise of Roman power in the Mediterranean was accompanied by a gradual realization that the Romans should take a stand against those perceived as pirates, but little action had been taken by the 2nd cent. BC, when pirates based in *Cilicia began to cause serious problems in the E. Mediterranean.

The attitude of the Romans towards piracy in the Mediterranean seems to have changed towards the end of the 2nd cent. BC. The campaign of Marcus *Antonius (1) in Cilicia in 102 was specifically directed against pirates, and a law of 100 BC concerning praetorian provinces enjoins all Rome's allies and friends to assist in the suppression of piracy. See LEX (2), Lex de provinciis praetoriis. Further campaigns by Roman magistrates in the 70s and 60s BC, most famously that of *Pompey in 67, reduced the