

**The Portrayal and Role of Anger in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus  
Marcellinus**

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## ABSTRACT

The hypothesis for this research project is: Ammianus' treatment of the emotion of anger reveals as much, if not more, about his education, values, beliefs, personality, than it does about the people he writes about and that he sees in emotion a major causative factor. This research contained within aims to contribute to a greater depth of understanding of the role of the key emotion of anger within the individual and collective lives of the characters as portrayed by Ammianus Marcellinus and how he uses them to influence the reader and colour his narrative. Scholars now tend to examine Ammianus to discern or evaluate the historical reliability of his authorship. Thus there is scope for examining how Ammianus shapes his narrative and tries to influence the reader by his portraits of individuals and collective characters. Although this approach seems an obvious one, the particular value of this thesis and of its contribution to late Roman historiography is that no one has hitherto done this in an extended and thorough way. While we welcome the importance Ammianus gives to emotions as historical agents, his treatment and representations of them have idiosyncratic features that crucially affect any assessment of him as a subjective observer and reporter of Rome and its past. Making the study keyword based reduces the need to make (possibly erroneous) inferences about whether it is really anger or some related emotion that we are dealing with. This has then lead to the compilation of lists of relevant anger words in Latin that relate to the individuals and groups who are the basis for my study.<sup>1</sup> Following this analysis of the use of anger by Ammianus Marcellinus through a careful study of his *Res Gestae* and the characterisations he incorporated within it is hoped that we can better understand the discourse of Ammianus, by unearthing the bias, the propagandist elements and the general trends of his portrayals, through keywords that refer directly to anger. In this way it is anticipated that we can better understand the purpose behind many of these representations.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. emperors, magnates, soldiers, general populace, non-Romans.

## DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS/PREFACE

This thesis discusses and analyses the use of anger in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus. The time frame covered is from AD 354-378, and includes a diverse area covering most of the Roman Empire from Gaul to Germania, to Illyricum, Spain, Africa, Thrace, Syria and Italy. There are even major books that cover the wars in Persia that occupied so much of the Eastern emperors' reigns. The period is contained in the extant volumes of Ammianus' works, from Books 14-31, but my thesis encapsulates also the first century of the Empire, when Tacitus explored the intricacies of the Roman world from his own perspective, observations and indeed pure guesswork in regards to anger in Roman and barbarian societies.

Although one can hardly make the claim that Ammianus has been under-studied, there still is scope for bringing new light into the emotional framework that surprisingly builds up much of the narrative. Though detailed discussions of anger in antiquity are currently being produced, no one has as yet produced such a comprehensive guide to anger in both Ammianus and to a lesser extent, Tacitus. This is therefore an attempt to fill that void in our knowledge, and provides a comprehensive framework from which inferences can be accumulated and built upon. In fact this sets the groundwork for further studies that could deal with the emotions that I was forced through natural constraints to leave out, such as fear and grief. In regards to anger, this thesis is exhaustive, but hopefully not overly burdensome, and I have attempted to provide all the scholarship in English and other European languages that is relevant, although I am sure I have made unfortunate omissions. The result is an almost complete guide to the *Res Gestae*, its various subject matters and human beings through the way in which anger affected all these individuals and events.

The approach I have taken may resemble a sort of content analysis that one would find in areas outside of Classics. I have used this approach deliberately as it seemed the logical choice to provide a type of formulaic approach to the application of cohesion to such a large pool of data. With a concrete methodology I have tried not to remain static in my findings, but to provide some depth to my discussion to add a sense of what Ammianus himself must have thought and felt in this period, or at least what he wishes his readers to believe he felt.

'How did Ammianus perceive that anger affected this group, or individual, or event?' is the underlying question throughout this thesis, and to an extent it determines its shape. Such a question, which examines the very psyche of the author, is extremely complex and difficult to answer, even in our modern times when biographies and autobiographies of authors are common. For Ammianus Marcellinus this is almost impossible. However, unless a judgement is made in regards to the personality of the historian, it is difficult to write anything meaningful in regards to unearthing the complexities behind the writing of the *Res Gestae* and the approach to its processes. This is an attempt to provide an answer to the question of a late antique historian's understanding of emotional cause and effect and how this shaped and formed his narrative. Although, as only one aspect of his writing is being looked at (with others coming in only now and again), this cannot entirely provide a complete answer. Many topics, such as the influence of rhetoric, Greek and Roman literary predecessors, religion and politics, deserve far more attention that I could possibly have paid here. I have touched on all these issues, but briefly and am aware that more could be written and indeed has been by authors worthier than I. It is hoped that my arguments put forth in the thesis are not adversely affected by these oversights. I do not deal with the wide range of other emotions that Ammianus incorporates within his text to any significant extent, and am aware that this may provide some limitations, as there was of course more reason than simply anger that prompted an emperor into action. This was not a deliberate choice, but simply a much-needed measure to restrict myself to the



required word limit that is imposed on all theses of the current day. Though this limits my thesis to being very specific in its choice of subject matters, the inclusion of more emotions or subject matter would have resulted in too much diversification. This thesis was the result of developing an obsession with Late Antiquity whilst studying Early Byzantine history as an undergraduate student, with my lecturer and tutor being Dr Paul Tuffin. Whilst other aspects of Byzantine history attracted me, I always returned to that enigmatic historian of the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus and the marvellous way in which he portrayed himself within his own work as a sort of alternative hero. In the footnotes, references to historians, mostly Roman, reflect the ties Ammianus had to previous literary geniuses, and this is something I found fascinating in his work. Translation of the Latin is a complex matter, and I am indebted to Hamilton's work as I make reference to in Chapter 1, but where necessary the translations are my own, and I apologise for any mistakes therein.

Throughout the two years I have worked on this thesis, not including the extra year I had simply doing research, I have received enormous assistance from several people. First and foremost is my supervisor. Dr Ron Newbold guided my initial steps into research and helped to mould my writing style, although he is not responsible for my deficiencies. Ron has been a continual and permanent feature of my undergraduate and postgraduate years. He was my tutor in first year Classics. My teacher in Latin and Roman Imperial History. My lecturer for Classical Mythology and my supervisor for Honours, where I looked at the emperors Caligula, Nero and Commodus and how, by coming to power at a young age, they were variously corrupted. Now his breadth of toleration has been stretched as he guided me through the complex processes of writing a PhD thesis and I owe him a huge debt of gratitude for that. Next the support of my best and dearest friend, Dr Danijel Dzino, whose knowledge of all things ancient has proved invaluable to me. Also his guidance was exceptional, as I pushed boundaries and explored new angles of sociology and ethnography, previously unknown to me. Danijel deserves particular mention for his support, friendship and criticism. For chats, coffees and the odd glass of wine, I am very much grateful. Also I would like to thank the rest of the Classics staff at the University of Adelaide who are always willing to answer questions and provide feedback on aspects of my work. These include my secondary supervisor, Dr Margaret O'Hea, who has a vast knowledge of late antiquity.

B.S.

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## INTRODUCTION

*Who can sleep easy today? Avaricious daughters-in-law and brides are seduced for cash, schoolboys are adulterers. Though talent be wanting, yet indignation will drive me to verse such as I – or any scribbler – can manage. All human endeavours, men’s prayers, fears, angers, pleasures, joys and pursuits, make up the mixed mash of my book.*

(Juv. 1.77-80, tr. P. Green)

## THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis aims to explore the way in which anger colours and illuminates the extant history of Ammianus Marcellinus. Ammianus’ treatment and presentation of this emotion is part of the broader issue of how he manipulates or orders his material. Previous scholars have covered many aspects of Ammianus as a historian, but there has been no extended treatment of his handling of this key emotion. Although, so saying, Robin Seager in his *Seven Studies* does make a partial examination; however, this thesis expands upon his much briefer investigation. The goal of this thesis is to throw light on this important, highly idiosyncratic source for late antiquity, by illustrating his portrayal and judgement of anger. This study includes some statistics on other emotions to briefly gauge their relative salience, and compares Tacitus’ treatment of anger.

## Ammianus and his History

Ammianus was born c. 330, likely from a well-off family from Antioch. The date of Ammianus’ death is unknown.<sup>1</sup> Ammianus, as part of the cultured elite,<sup>2</sup> would have had a background in Greek rhetorical oratory, an essential for all highborn young men who wished to pursue a political or bureaucratic career path. Matthews supports the once widely held view that Ammianus was from Antioch through one contemporary source, Libanius, who wrote a letter to a ‘Marcellinus’. Matthews states that “the identity of Libanius’ correspondent as Ammianus is inescapable”, and that Libanius’ letter is “the one certain external reference to Ammianus”.<sup>3</sup> Ammianus’ Antiochian origins have been contested by Fornara.<sup>4</sup> That Ammianus was a close friend of Libanius is also cast into doubt by historians such as Cameron. He asks the question that why would Ammianus meet such a dour reception by the senatorial class at Rome, for surely the esteemed Libanius would have provided him with a letter of introduction to the only literary circle?<sup>5</sup> Also:

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<sup>1</sup> Thompson (1966) 144.

<sup>2</sup> Ammianus’ elite status is questioned by Cameron (1964) 16, for there was no inclusion of *v.c.* (*vir clarissimus*) after Ammianus’ name in the manuscripts of the *Res Gestae*. However it must be stressed that we do not have in our possession the complete M.S. of Ammianus, and thus this title may have been lost.

<sup>3</sup> Matthews (1989) 8, 454. Matthews (1994) 252 ff., still conforms to the theory that Ammianus was an Antiochean, as supported by the letter from Libanius (*Ep.* 1063 Foerster = 983 Wolf) ‘to Marcellinus’. This is presented in defence of his book *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (1989) for which see Bowersock (1990) 244-50; Fornara (1992) 328-44; and Barnes (1993) 55-70, who criticise the ‘accepted’ view that Matthews holds.

<sup>4</sup> Fornara (1992), 328–344, followed by Bowersock (1990) 277–284, and Barnes (1993) 55–70. Contra Matthews (1994) 252–269.

<sup>5</sup> Cameron (1964) 19.

First, the letter bears no indication of date: it might have been written before Ammianus arrived in Rome or after he left – or even died. Next, how likely is it that Ammianus, ‘miles quondam et Graecus’ (XXXI, 16, 9), became a member of the Roman Senate?<sup>6</sup>

What we do know is that Ammianus retired to Rome in 383/384<sup>7</sup> to write in Latin for a Latin speaking audience an epic history on the scale of Livy,<sup>8</sup> Sallust<sup>9</sup> and Tacitus.<sup>10</sup> It was in the Eternal City that he composed, delivered and published (at least in its final phase) his *Res Gestae*.<sup>11</sup> It was there that he could emphasise the Roman belief that “history, by linking the present with the past, should illuminate the contemporary state of society”.<sup>12</sup> Rome provided for Ammianus resources to research and document a complete history, it contained the archives of the Empire, such as the *Tabularium principis* and the *Tabularium Senatus*, amongst others.<sup>13</sup> In his own words, Ammianus describes Rome as “a city destined to endure as long as the human race survives” *victura dum erunt homines Roma* (14.6.3). It was a city fit for Julian to have been buried in (25.10.5). From his history it is clear that Ammianus had good patrons and connections. It has often been assumed that Ammianus’ writings were intent on defending the Roman aristocracy, and often the aristocratic circle of Symmachus is invoked. However, it is difficult to identify the aristocratic friends of Ammianus.<sup>14</sup> Ammianus was a minor aristocrat, but a ‘foreigner’ to Rome, and never fully accepted into the social circles of Roman upper society. Thus his words reflect the scorn he held towards the Roman aristocracy.<sup>15</sup> However, he was never close enough to the Roman senatorial class to adopt all their views as a whole. His experience of Rome came quite late, when well into his maturity. Therefore: “*Ammien s’est déjà fait, de l’empire et de son personnel, une opinion originale*”.<sup>16</sup> Ammianus was a moralist, thus, when the citizens of Rome behaved in a manner that was beneath them, then they “do not bear in mind where they were born and behave as if they were licensed to indulge in vice and debauchery” (14.6.7). Indeed, Ammianus was critical of the tastes of the Roman aristocrats of his day (14.6; 28.4), not least because of their preference for sensational biography.<sup>17</sup>

Ammianus uses an authoritative narrative consisting of a pictorial style and combined with learned digressions in the classical tradition. The structure of Ammianus’ *Res Gestae* is

<sup>6</sup> Cameron (1964) 15. The view of the letter of Libanius as being addressed to Ammianus Marcellinus was first presented by Seeck (1846), and supported by historians such as Thompson (1947) 18; Pighi (1948) xi; Naudé (1956) 35 f.; and now most recently by Matthews. Barnes points out that Matthews has refuted the evidence put forward by Fornara amongst others against such a hasty conclusion (1993) 57.

<sup>7</sup> Humphries (1999) 121. Thompson (1966) 144, states simply that Ammianus settled in Rome sometime after 378. Ammianus’ fascination with Rome may account for his never once mentioning the capital of the Empire, Constantinople, by name, Kelly (2003) 588.

<sup>8</sup> Although there are certain resemblances in moral attitudes, *exempla* and values, there is little to suggest that Ammianus borrowed any of Livy’s stylisations, Sabbah (2003) 59.

<sup>9</sup> Ammianus shares his pessimistic trait with both Sallust and Tacitus, Sabbah (2003) 59.

<sup>10</sup> Matthews (1994) 258. However, Thompson (1969) 121 states that Livy and Sallust cannot be fairly compared with him. Nevertheless, Drinkwater (1999) 131 agrees with Matthews (1989) 20f., that a significant reason for the move to Rome was for the eastern-based historian to research western history.

<sup>11</sup> This title is confirmed in the only complete manuscript for the 18 surviving books, the 9<sup>th</sup> century *Fuldensis*, Sabbah (2003) 46, 50.

<sup>12</sup> Mellor (1993) 55.

<sup>13</sup> Sabbah (2003) 53.

<sup>14</sup> See Syme (1968a) 216; Cameron (1964) 15-28.

<sup>15</sup> Hunt (1985) 194.

<sup>16</sup> Heyen (1968) 196, “Ammianus had already made, of the empire and its staff, an original opinion”.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Rohrbacher (2007) 468-473; Croke (2007) 569.

similar in construction to that of previous histories, for there are frequent elements found within his history that relate back to many of the great classical writers. Although, as Sabbah points out, the *Res Gestae* does not fit into the category of *Historiae*, as the missing books contained information that was not contemporary with Ammianus; nor can it be classed as *Annales* in its structure. The *Res Gestae* is more an account of things seen and heard, but regardless does not fit into the tradition of *commentarii*.<sup>18</sup> The ‘epic’ history was out of favour in the late fourth century, the fashion of the time was for biographies, summaries, panegyrics and epitomes. The histories of the Church had differences in style and emphasis, and the great works of the Church were written sixty years before and fifty years after the publication of the *Res Gestae*. The *Historia Augusta* was a contemporary work and competed for the same audience, although the *SHA* perhaps plagiarised the *Res Gestae*.<sup>19</sup> Ammianus wrote in a period in which autobiography was becoming more popular towards the end of the fourth century.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, Ammianus’ choice of historiographic form was unique for his era.

Of the original thirty-one books of Ammianus’ history, covering the 282 years from the accession of Nerva in 96 to the death of Valens in 378, the first thirteen are lost; therefore what remains is the account of the period of which Ammianus was a contemporary.<sup>21</sup> The remainder is still a significant body of work, and through Ammianus’ eyes we are given a secular narrative of events which revolve around the Late Roman emperors; this covers the second half of the reign of Constantius II (337-361), the relatively brief reign of Julian the Apostate (361-363), Jovian (363-364), Valentinian I (364-375), his brother Valens (364-378), Gratian’s reign (367-383) and Valentinian II (375-392). As well as describing the activity of emperors, Ammianus’ narrative embraces the Roman soldiery, the Persians and barbarians, various magnates and officials, as well as the *populus*. These descriptions provide a valuable perspective on contemporary society. His narrative ends with the enormous disaster at Adrianople in 378 and its immediate repercussions. As well as being a key moment in history, Sabbah describes the termination at this point as a “farewell to arms”.<sup>22</sup>

Probably the most exciting moments of Ammianus’ history come when he places himself in the narrative, and relates his own experiences as *protector domesticus*. It is through being a staff officer that books 14-19 of the *Res Gestae* become quasi-memoirs.<sup>23</sup> His account of the Persian war (books 23–25) is that of a direct participant and observer. And it is generally agreed that the episode about the trials at Antioch further on is based on the memories and the emotions of an eye-witness. Having the opportunity to observe at close quarters and beginning in 353 even to be personally involved in the retinue of great men meant that Ammianus could incorporate important first-hand reports into his History. These were men such men as Ursicinus, Master of the Cavalry, under whom Ammianus served as a *protector domesticus*, a regiment of high social standing, in the town of Nisibis in Mesopotamia and then to Gaul; and then under the emperor Julian. Ammianus took part in Julian’s first campaign on the German frontier in 356, and later was witness to his conduct in Antioch; finally he followed the emperor

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<sup>18</sup> Sabbah (2003) 46f.

<sup>19</sup> Sabbah (2003) 60ff. See also Kulikowski (2007) 244, “Most scholars now accept that the *Historia Augusta* belongs to the middle or later 390s and thus postdates the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus, which was probably complete by 391”.

<sup>20</sup> “Never before in antiquity had people written so much about themselves in the first person”, Sabbah (2003) 64.

<sup>21</sup> Leon (1949) 394; Thompson (1966) 145.

<sup>22</sup> Sabbah (2003) 51.

<sup>23</sup> Sabbah (2003) 50.

into the very heart of Persia.<sup>24</sup> Ammianus was certainly a member of the curial class in Antioch, and his curial background is strongly suggested by his negative attitude towards Julian's policy of withdrawing some of the *curiales'* privileges (12.9.12 and 14.4.21).<sup>25</sup> That Ammianus joined the staff of Ursicinus and was made a *protector domesticus* in his twenties, also suggests that he was of the elite, as he was unable to attain his rank through military achievement.<sup>26</sup>

Famously at the end of his *Res Gestae*, Ammianus, opinionated and moralistic, described himself: *ut miles quondam et graecus* (31.16.9).<sup>27</sup> Through *graecus*, the author consciously positioned himself in the tradition of Greek predecessors, such as Thucydides and Polybius, who made use of their own examinations and eyewitness accounts to give weight to their versions of contemporary history.<sup>28</sup> Ammianus made much use of his experiences travelling in the army and on his own to add authority to his narrative, and in fact as historians go, only Herodotus could equal Ammianus as a traveller.<sup>29</sup> Thus Ammianus was an eye-witness to many of the events which he recounts, and he states that he carefully questioned those who witnessed events where he himself was not present in person (15.1.1). Ammianus sometimes reveals the names of those who provided him with information.<sup>30</sup> Ammianus also made use of public records, especially while in Rome (16.12.70; 28.1.30). Therefore, to justify his own presentation of events, Ammianus wrote:

Using my best efforts to find out the truth, I have set out, in the order in which they occurred, events which I was able to observe myself or discover by thorough questioning of contemporaries who took part in them.

(15.1.1)<sup>31</sup>

To add to his historical precursors, Ammianus was well versed in the historical and non-historical literature of Greece and Rome and would be aware of earlier writings on anger. Part of Ammianus' effort to preserve and bring to life for posterity the temper of his times involved writing a history that is peppered with emotional terms. His language contains much colourful rhetoric. In his literary style, Ammianus seems perhaps to follow the advice of Plutarch who wrote that: "the best historian is the one who, by a vivid representation of emotions and characters, makes his narrative like a painting" (*Mor.* 346).<sup>32</sup>

We can learn more about Ammianus by focusing on his treatment of anger. Anger is not the most frequent emotion portrayed by Ammianus. The most recurrent emotion is fear.<sup>33</sup> Anger ranks second and has constructive and destructive aspects. Anger lay behind many of the decisions and actions of the individuals and groups Ammianus describes. Anger shaped lives and

<sup>24</sup> Thompson (1966) 144; Sabbah (2003) 52.

<sup>25</sup> Lenski (2002) 274f. For Ammianus' social status and class bias, see Thompson (1947) 2ff., 81, 128ff.; Pack (1953a) 80-85; Rosen (1982) 15-22; Matthews (1989), 78-80; Barnes (1990) 62; Fornara (1992), 339-344.

<sup>26</sup> See also *et incedendi nimietate iam superarer, ut insuetus ingenuus*, 19.8.6.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. for the controversy surrounding this description: Heyen (1968) 191-196; Stoian (1967) 73-81; Rowell (1964) 31.

<sup>28</sup> Schepens (2007) 39. Cf. for the epilogue of Ammianus, e.g. Kelly (2007) 474-480.

<sup>29</sup> Thompson (1966) 144.

<sup>30</sup> Thompson (1947) 20-21.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Barnes (1998) 66; Matthews (1989) 454-464.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Auerbach (1953) 55 on Ammianus, "Everywhere human emotion and rationality yield to the magically and sombrelly sensory, to the graphic and the gestural".

<sup>33</sup> See Chapter 1.

events in a way that no other emotion could, for often anger hides and reduces other emotions, especially that of fear. The power of anger comes not only from its control – i.e. the deliberate use of anger, either feigned or exaggerated, used to manipulate others – but often through lack of control, so that anger, unleashed, created demands or was focussed to attack enemies in an unexpectedly audacious way. Today there is an enormous quantity of books, articles and even journals dedicated to the subject of anger, from the psychological, to the sociological, the biological and the philosophical, to name some of the most important areas of research. The purpose of this thesis does not require a thorough analysis of this scholarship.<sup>34</sup> Individuals and groups affected by anger often act out of character. Examining the portrayal of anger in Ammianus is one path to better understanding his perspectives and values.<sup>35</sup>

### Anger Words used by Ammianus

Anger brings forth all sorts of responses from the angered and from those directly and indirectly affected by this often extremely powerful emotion.<sup>36</sup> To understand anger, its cause and effects, and how they manifest in Ammianus' narrative, it is necessary to first identify and discuss the anger words used by Ammianus. Ammianus incorporates a variety of terms that indicate anger, such as *ira*, *irascor*, *effero* and *indignatio*, to name but a few. *Indignatio* had, for rhetorical theorists, an emotional power in oratory, and rousing the *indignatio* of an audience was a powerful rhetorical device.<sup>37</sup> Carefully coloured and structured with just the right emphasis, meant that the purposeful vividness of historiographic accounts, such as Ammianus' *Res Gestae*, led the intended audience into having no recourse but to respond emotionally. We cannot know precisely what the author felt, but through his accounts we can respond vicariously to the emotions that he transmitted and appeared to personally feel.<sup>38</sup> Thus his words in the original Latin, such as the term *indignatio*, would have been chosen carefully to grab his audience's attention and make them feel the way that he wanted them to feel; emotions helped represent to them the rhetorical "truth" of the author's perceptions. Thus the awareness of the emotional impact of certain terms made Ammianus incorporate them into his *Res Gestae*, in order to give his work a wider emotional impact; thus some references to anger must be an inevitable part of the historical record.

Interestingly, and perhaps surprisingly when looking at individuals, is that it is the emperor Julian who exhibits anger the most in Ammianus' narrative. *Ira* is the term used most often to describe the anger of Julian. Julian's anger is at times justified, for example when besieged at Sens in 353 he grew furious because he did not have adequate troops to assail the enemy with, "*Clausa ergo urbe murorumque intuta parte firmata ipse cum armatis die noctuque inter propugnacula visebatur et pinnas, ira exundante substridens cum erumpere saepe conatus paucitate praesentis manus impediretur*" (16.4.2). However, in the majority of instances, Ammianus does not see Julian's exhibition of *ira* as justified anger, for example in 363 when Julian learned that the Persians had attacked three squadrons of the Roman cavalry and that the

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<sup>34</sup> Interesting works include, Kassinove & Tafrate (2002); Svitil (2005)

<sup>35</sup> Heyen (1968) 193.

<sup>36</sup> 'Bottling up' of emotions can lead to severe physiological and emotional consequences. Cf. Shay's study on the effects on the emotional lives of soldiers in the Vietnam War: "Long-term obstruction of grief and failure to communalize grief can imprison a person in endless swinging between rage and emotional deadness as a permanent way of being in the world"; Shay (1994) 40.

<sup>37</sup> Woodman (1983) 145f.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. MacMullen (2003) 6.

standards were not adequately protected and consequently Julian had the two surviving tribunes cashiered and ten soldiers put to death that had fled from the field, “*Statimque concitus ira inmani cum armigera manu festinatione ipsa tutissimus pervolavit et grassatoribus foeda consternatione depulsis residuos duos tribunos sacramento solvit ut desides et ignavos: decem vero milites ex his qui fugerant exactoratos capitali addixit supplicio secutus veteres leges*” (24.3.2).<sup>39</sup>

For the Roman military, *ira* was in essence a manly virtue,<sup>40</sup> which when exhibited at the right occasions, enhanced the prestige of the Roman forces through their valour and their support of their leaders, and by far *ira* is the most frequent term used by Ammianus to describe their anger. The righteous anger of the Roman military helped to unite the forces, forming them into a homogenous combat team. For example when the Isaurians were attempting to take Seleucia, three legions were deployed against them, who united in their anger against their ferocious combatants, “*Quibus occurrere bene pertinax miles explicatis ordinibus parans hastisque feriens scuta — qui habitus iram pugnantium concitat et dolorem, proximos iam gestu terrebat sed eum in certamen alacriter consurgentem revocavere ductores rati intempestivum anceps subire certamen cum haut longe muri distarent, quorum tutela securitas poterat in solido locari cunctorum*” (14.2.17).<sup>41</sup> The Alamanni also had the negative effect of rousing the *ira* of the Romans, which, though not limited to the Romans, was the dominant word used to describe their anger as a *virtus*. Indeed the Alamanni’s deviousness led to nothing more than inciting *ira militum* and the desire for the just dues that come from victory. This is apparent for example in 357, “*Verum per circuitus longos et flexuosos ventum est tandem ad loca; et ira quisque percitus armatorum urebat agros, pecora diripiebat et homines, resistentesque sine ulla parsimonia contruncabat*” (17.10.6). Twice Ammianus uses *ira* to describe the battle rage of barbarians (16.12.44; 16.12.49), however the most frequent word used to describe their rage is *furor*. For Ammianus *furor* is not simply blind rage, but rather controlled and justified, and used effectively to counteract very real threats. For example in 359 when the Romans threatened the Limigantes their response was a desperate suicidal resistance to the Romans, “*Urgebantur enim rebelles aliis trucidatis, aliis terrore disiectis, quorum pars spem vitae cassis precibus usurpando multiplicatis ictibus caedebantur, postque deletos omnes in receptum canentibus lituis nostri quoque licet rari videbantur exanimes, quos impetus conculcaverat vehemens aut furori resistentes hostili lateraque nudantes intecta ordo fatalis absumpsit*” (19.11.15).<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, *ira* is also the term most commonly associated with the anger of the Persian king Sapor. With the other Persian kings and Persian soldiers it only appears once. When Sapor exhibits his *ira*, it is because he is convinced that he is justified in his rage. This comes through, for example, in 359 when Sapor was furiously angry at the Romans who were steadfastly holding Amida, “*Verum nocte proelia dirimente, somno per breve otium capto, nitescente iam luce ad potiunda sperata ira et dolore exundans nec fas ullum prae oculis habiturus gentes in nos excitabat*” (19.8.1).<sup>43</sup>

Ammianus has occasion to associate anger with madness in his text. For example, of Gallus he writes, “*(Galli) turbidum saeviebat ingenium*” (14.7.21). And in 363 Julian raged when the senate pointed out that he could not lower the price of commodities at that time, “*Quocirca*

<sup>39</sup> Other instances of Julian’s unjust *ira* are apparent at 22.13.2; 22.14.2; 23.2.4; 24.5.7; 24.5.10.

<sup>40</sup> References to women are rare in Ammianus, and when women are mentioned, direct references to their anger are not.

<sup>41</sup> The use of *ira* to demonstrate the righteous anger of the Roman military is apparent at 16.12.52; 17.10.6; 17.13.9; 17.13.15; 19.5.8; 19.11.14; 21.13.16; 24.2.5; 24.4.20; 25.3.6; 25.3.10; 26.9.3.

<sup>42</sup> Ammianus uses *furor* to describe the rage of barbarians at 16.12.46; 17.13.7; 18.2.14; 31.13.10.

<sup>43</sup> For other examples of Sapor’s righteous *ira*, see 19.1.6; 20.7.3; 25.8.13.

*in eos deinceps saeviens ut obtrectatores et contumaces volumen composuit invectivum, quod Antiochense vel Misopogonem appellavit, probra civitatis infensa mente dinumerans addensque veritati conplura*" (22.14.2).<sup>44</sup> madness is also attributed with the gnashing of teeth, especially in regards to the barbarians, "*Propilabantur missilia et properantes cito quam considerato cursu Germani telaque dextris explicantes involavere nostrorum equitum turmas frendentes inmania eorumque ultra solitum saevientium comae fluentes horrebant et elucebat quidam ex oculis furor, quos contra pertinax miles scutorum obicibus vertices tegens eiectansque gladios vel tela concrispans mortem minitanti perterrebat*" (16.12.36). *Rabies* is a form of anger strongly associated with madness and frenzy. It is also an emotional state that Ammianus often attributes to barbarians. This is apparent with the Isaurians, "*Proinde concepta rabie saeviore, quam desperatio incendeat et fames, amplificatis viribus ardore incohibili in excidium urbium matris Seleuciaefferebantur, quam comes tuebatur Castricius tresque legiones bellicis sudoribus induratae*" (14.2.14). The Austoriani were also no strangers to *rabies* when they felt threatened, "*Huius necem ulcisci, ut propinqui damnatique iniuste causantes, ferarum similes rabie concitarum exsiluere sedibus suis...*" (28.6.4).<sup>45</sup>

From this very brief discussion of the anger words used by Ammianus we can determine to an extent the emphasis he placed on certain terms in relation to certain subjects. Ammianus was consciously determining the impact of emotion words and he does not apply them recklessly or without fore-thought. This is perhaps the most significant finding in this type of study.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS/HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis for this research project is:

Ammianus' treatment of the emotion of anger reveals as much about his education, values, beliefs and personality, as it does about the people he writes about. He sees in this emotion an important determinant of events.

From initial readings of Ammianus it is quite apparent that the author:

- a) could make reflective appraisals of anger, in particular, when witnessed at first hand
- b) could obtain reliable second-hand testimony on episodes involving anger
- c) could cognitively assess what was *probable* and its rhetorical value in narrating events

The research questions that are to be addressed include:

- Who are affected and or/motivated by the emotion of anger? What is their status and what are the causes of the emotion?
- What are their (physical, bodily) manifestations (if there are any) and what are the consequences for those affected and for others? (The venue might also be relevant.)
- In what ways is this emotion dealt with and was it successful in reaching a resolution for the individual or group that felt the emotion or not?
- How does Ammianus' understanding of the way in which the emotion of anger is manifested influence his portrayal of the characters that he wrote about?
- How does Ammianus use emotion to explain causation and motivation?

<sup>44</sup> The other imperial figure who exhibits *saevio* is Valens, 29.1.27, 31.14.5.

<sup>45</sup> Others who exhibit *rabies* are the emperor Valens, 29.1.27 and Gallus, 14.1.10.



- From all of this, what can I learn about the author?

From this questioning, patterns and profiles of anger expression in Ammianus' narrative should emerge. Drawing on these patterns and profiles, we can throw light on his values, beliefs and character.

### AIMS/OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS

This research aims to contribute to a greater depth of understanding of the role of the key emotion of anger within the individual and collective lives of the characters as portrayed by Ammianus, and how he uses it to influence the reader and colour his narrative. That the characters within the *Res Gestae* are constructs of Ammianus is true to a certain extent, in that he brings historical figures to life in a way that often resembles a novel. Their passions are brought to life through a combination of Ammianus' own internalisation – i.e. the long-term process of consolidating and embedding one's own beliefs, attitudes, and values, when it comes to moral behaviour<sup>46</sup> – and projection – i.e. a defence mechanism in which an individual projects his or her own unpleasant feelings onto someone else, and blames them for having thoughts that the individual really has.<sup>47</sup> Ammianus, like Tacitus, professes to be able to see into the very thoughts of individuals, some of whom he knew personally; individuals who both controlled or were at times controlled by anger.

### SIGNIFICANCE/CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCIPLINE

Current research on Ammianus is increasing in its variety and scope, especially in non-English speaking countries. The Late Roman Empire was a vast and extremely heterogeneous entity, containing people temperamentally diverse and culturally conditioned to evaluate and manifest emotions in very different ways. One cannot hope to regard Ammianus as the accurate reproducer of all this kaleidoscopic diversity. However, one *can* hope to conclude from his treatment of anger how it matched the thought of people like Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca, and how Ammianus wanted the individual and collective characters of his history to be perceived, thereby revealing much about his own beliefs and values. However, there are discrepancies within Ammianus' text, and Sabbah sums up the inconsistencies within the *Res Gestae*, in which:

...the paradoxes of a history that is at the same time very personal *and* very objective, very focused *and* very wide in scope, very classical in its approach *and* strongly rooted in late antiquity, very 'isolated' *as well* as connected by multiple links with reality and with contemporary intellectual and literary circles.<sup>48</sup>

Pauw is particularly alert to Ammianus' portrayals of actions and reactions, especially when it involves emotion:

Characteristics manifested by a person's reactions are especially irascibility, short-temperedness, impatience and the like. These qualities are revealed particularly in the case of Valentinian and Constantius by their outbursts of temper (e.g. *imperatoris perciti*

<sup>46</sup> For in depth analyses of this topic, see Meissner (1981); Schafer (1990).

<sup>47</sup> For this field of enquiry, see for example the collection in Sandler (ed.) (1987); Cramer (2006).

<sup>48</sup> Sabbah (2003) 46.

*vehementer*, 28.1.23; *ira vehementi percussus*, 30.6.3; *ita acriter inflammavit*, 15.3.9, etc.).<sup>49</sup>

Blockley adds concerning Ammianus' style:

Many of Ammianus' judgements are allusive, conveyed in his highly metaphorical language, and his interpretations are, therefore, usually part of the fabric of the narrative. His dramatic structure, emotionally-charged language, and almost monotonously-rhythmical prose style sweep the reader (or even more so, the listener) along, making it hard for him to disengage his judgement. The narrative is, as a result, impressionistic rather than precise and tends to dissolve into ambiguity under detailed analysis.<sup>50</sup>

Consequently, this makes the task a difficult, but in the end a more rewarding, one.

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS

This study deals with the emotion of anger and the implications it has for studying Ammianus. The first step was to collect instances of key words that denote anger from a lexicon and thereby create a sample. Making the study keyword based reduced the need to make (possibly erroneous) inferences about whether it is really anger or some related emotion that is present in Ammianus' narrative. The references to anger were grouped according to the specific groups or individuals who experienced the emotion.

The next step was to examine each group of references to ascertain what the cause and if present, manifestation was, what the consequences were for those involved, both directly and indirectly, and how in particular Ammianus chose to portray that particular event. The results of this content analysis were summarised in tables, when figures indicated relative salience or blank spaces could speak volumes.<sup>51</sup>

### CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis provides a means of assessing a particular emotion in Ammianus. It generates useful and reliable data that permit inferences and avoids the pitfalls of an impressionistic approach. Before we continue, a brief look into content analyses is required. The term 'content analysis' can be summarised as "a research tool in mass communication".<sup>52</sup> Or as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication".<sup>53</sup> This method is defined by Carney as follows:

It involves three stages: (1) questions; (2) pull-out of data; (3) inferences. (1) involves deciding on questions appropriate to data at hand; this involves clarification of definitions of key terms and working assumptions, as well as decisions on sampling (what parts of which documents to consider). (2) involves units of analysis (words, themes, characters,

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<sup>49</sup> Pauw (1977) 191.

<sup>50</sup> Blockley (1988) 249.

<sup>51</sup> Although the blank spaces exist and are important, they cannot be covered fully in this thesis. There is some discussion in appendix I.

<sup>52</sup> Butt & Thorp (1963) 1, as quoted in Bloch (1968) 136.

<sup>53</sup> Berelson (1952) 18.

inter-actions), contextual units (settings for the former), categories for registering these (pro/con; early/late, etc.)-quantification problems. (3) involves stepping from statistics compiled in (2) to conclusions.<sup>54</sup>

Content analyses can be applied to a vast range of source documents. Carney (1972) reported analyses of Roman coin themes and their constituent metals during the reign of certain emperors. These examinations are reaching further into the study of history,<sup>55</sup> and can be applied equally well to a study of anger in Ammianus.

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The chapters have been devoted separately to the examination of emperors, magnates and collective groups. These sections have made use of the information gathered in the analyses as discussed above. The emperors are of particular importance because of their power and influence. One word could mean disaster for an individual or perhaps even for a population. A good emperor would use moderation in ruling and warfare; a bad or inexperienced emperor could be governed by vehement emotions such as anger, rather than reason.<sup>56</sup> The groups that are discussed include everyone from the emperor's own family, his court, generals and officers, to the general population, both rural and urban. A number of these were particularly bound by the emperor's whims, his moods, and of course his emotions.

### A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN VIEWS ON ANGER

It is not easy to define in what manner and with what people and on what sort of grounds and how long one ought to be angry; and in fact we sometimes praise men who err on the side of defect in this matter and call them gentle, sometimes those who are quick to anger and style them manly. However, we do not blame one who diverges a little from the right course, whether on the side of the too much or of the too little, but one who diverges more widely, for his error is noticed. Yet to what degree and how seriously a man must err to be blamed is not easy to define on principle. For in fact no object of perception is easy to define; and such questions of degree depend on particular circumstances, and the decision lies with perception.

(Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1109b)

Modern historians tend to steer clear of the study of emotions when explaining events, for emotions can be both masked by the individual and unjustifiably imputed by observers. Emotions have been seen as purely irrational and non-cognitive, and therefore not fitting in with an analytical approach to historical events, even though they clearly motivate much human behaviour. Often only the person feeling the emotion knows it to exist, and so emotions are often beyond the reach of historical enquiry. An emotion such as anger can be "hard to describe and analyse".<sup>57</sup> There is still much controversy about emotions.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Carney (1968) 137.

<sup>55</sup> Gustafson (1998) 39-44.

<sup>56</sup> For this conception, see Fisher (2002).

<sup>57</sup> Harris (2001) 21.

<sup>58</sup> Anger affects human beings both physically and psychologically and is one of our most primal survival instincts. Anger involves first an assessment of a situation, and then after the initial appraisal comes the

Historians in antiquity were well aware of the effects emotion had on their subjects, and used reports of these sometimes imputed reactions to portray their characters in both positive and negative ways.<sup>59</sup> Anger was an important subject for debate in all the foremost philosophical schools.<sup>60</sup> There were lots of treatises on anger in ancient times; works known by title include those by Philip of Opus, Antipater, Posidonius, Plutarch, Sotion (the teacher of Seneca), Bion of Borysthenes and Melanthius of Rhodes. The surviving works are Philodemus, *On Anger*;<sup>61</sup> Seneca, *On Anger*; Plutarch, *On Freedom from Anger*; Libanius, *On the Control of Anger*; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Against Anger*; and Lactantius, *On the Anger of God*.<sup>62</sup> At some point in their works, all of these authors discuss anger control.<sup>63</sup> Anger elicits all sorts of responses from the angered and from those directly and indirectly affected by the expression of it.<sup>64</sup> Today the study of emotions is a vigorous field of research. In recent years, the passions in ancient sources were studied by classicists such as Martha Nussbaum, David Konstan, and Susanna Braund, who in 2003 called for examinations such as these:

It is our hope that our publication, taken together with that of Harris, will set a new agenda for the study of ancient anger and will provoke and inspire work by many other scholars both within and beyond the field of classics.<sup>65</sup>

This thesis owes a debt to these forerunners, including William Harris' *Restraining Rage: the Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (2002).

### ANGER IN ANTIQUITY

A key question in studying or portraying anger is whether it is appropriate or does it go too far? This moral dilemma appears early in European literature, in Homer's *Iliad*. The poem begins with this line, "Sing, O goddess, the anger of Achilles son of Peleus, that brought countless ills upon the Achaeans" (1.1). The major theme of the *Iliad* is Achilles' response to an eventual subsidence from the emotion of anger. For many characters in the poem, including Achilles, anger had disastrous consequences, but it also forced people's hands by creating a momentum, for good

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physiological responses to anger, which may include a rush of adrenalin, an increase in breathing rate, rapid heartbeat, a rise in blood pressure and an increase in testosterone levels in men. The increase in forehead temperature creates a reddening in the face, which has been noted since ancient times, Potegal (2005) 215. Cf. Lakoff (1987) 407. Lastly, our final response to emotion is the 'action readiness'; whether "to flee, strike, freeze, try harder, or do something new", Rosenwein (2002) 836.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Helmbold in Plutarch's *Moralia* (1939) 91.

<sup>60</sup> Galinsky (1988) 328.

<sup>61</sup> Philodemus' *On Frank Criticism* and *On Anger* are epitomes from the lectures of Zeno of Sidon (c.155–c.75 bc), who taught in Athens. The works are partially preserved as papyri found in Herculaneum, Knuuttila (2004) 84, n.202.

<sup>62</sup> Knuuttila (2004) 65, n.153.

<sup>63</sup> For a detailed discussion on anger control in antiquity, see Harris (2001).

<sup>64</sup> 'Bottling up' of emotions can lead to severe physiological and emotional consequences. Cf. Shay's (1994) 40 study on the effects on the emotional lives of soldiers in the Vietnam War, "Long-term obstruction of grief and failure to communalize grief can imprison a person in endless swinging between rage and emotional deadness as a permanent way of being in the world".

<sup>65</sup> Braund & Most (2003) 3. For further reading on the emotions in classics, see for example: Brunschwig & Nussbaum (1993); Nussbaum (1994); Id. (2001). Konstan (1994); Id. (1997); Id. (2001). Konstan & Rutter (2003a). Braund & Gill (1997); Braund (1988).

or for ill. At first, Achilles' anger could be termed righteous, but then his anger went to a terrible extreme, and led to him dragging Hector's body around the walls of Troy. It was only when he put his anger aside with Priam that he realised the equal humanity of his enemy.<sup>66</sup>

In this period of European culture, anger was acceptable and expected in response to situations that threatened the honour of the ruler or aristocratic hero, or their companions and relatives.<sup>67</sup> Pertinent to assessing Achilles' anger is the cognitive element in that emotion, in which the exercise of reasoned judgement weighs the response to a provocation.<sup>68</sup> To the ancient Greeks and Romans, the extreme anger shown by characters such as the vengeful Aeneas against Turnus was anything but out of place. For Galinsky, the final scene of the *Aeneid* where Aeneas exacts his angry revenge on Turnus "is rooted not in abstract ideology, but in real life, practice, and custom".<sup>69</sup> The Romans saw this action as Aeneas' right, a reasonable emotional response. Nevertheless, neither the *Iliad* nor the *Aeneid* are unqualified endorsements of anger. Achilles and Aeneas were suffering from arduous and trying circumstances and reacted accordingly, but their anger had disastrous results.<sup>70</sup>

Though there was some endorsement of justifiable anger, ancient authors tended to see anger as a very negative emotion, especially when it was exhibited by those in positions of power, or even in the portrayals of gods.<sup>71</sup> Because of its wild, aggressive aspect, Galen, the second century AD Greek physician, was particularly critical of anger:

When I was still a young man..., I watched a man eagerly trying to open a door. When things did not work out as he would have them, I saw him bite the key, kick the door, blaspheme, glare wildly like a madman, and all but foam at the mouth like a wild boar. When I saw this, I conceived such a hatred for anger that I was never thereafter seen behaving in an unseemly manner because of it.<sup>72</sup>

(Nat. Fac. 38)

Seneca agreed with Galen: "(Anger is) the most hideous and frenzied of all the emotions" (*De ira* 1.1.5). Further on, he describes anger as "an ugly and horrible picture of distorted and swollen frenzy – you cannot tell whether this vice is more execrable or more hideous". Seneca describes an attack of anger as follows:

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<sup>66</sup> Nussbaum (1994) 404.

<sup>67</sup> Koziak (1999) 1071; Harris (2001) 25. The extent to which the pagan gods interfere and direct the lives of mortals has been much discussed by modern scholars, see for example Adkins (1960). See also a study of Epicurean concepts on anger and gods in Nussbaum (1994) 251 ff.

<sup>68</sup> For anger and laughter as the "two most rational faculties of human intellect", see Milton (1641) preface. Anger is cognitive, as it is "a combination of external protest and warning that follows on an aroused state which began by informing us internally that damage or injury has just taken place, much as pain notifies us of an injury to the body", Fisher (2002) 195.

<sup>69</sup> Galinsky (1988) 327.

<sup>70</sup> In Aeneas' case, this was for Turnus. Aeneas had exacted his righteous revenge on Turnus and dealt him a terrible wound. Turnus was ready to relinquish all he had to Aeneas, but Aeneas deemed it not enough and with terrible fury executed the prince, Verg. *Aen.* 12.952.

<sup>71</sup> Indeed Virgil *Aen.* 1.11 attributes unworthy passions unto the gods: *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?*

<sup>72</sup> This passage has been proved a fiction, cf. Harris (2001) 12. Nevertheless it does not necessarily lose its importance, for it still reveals a commonly held view and "was a good way of suggesting the absurdity of the angry", Harris (2001) 12.

His eyes blaze and sparkle; his face is red all over as the blood surges up from the lowest depths of the heart; his lips tremble, his teeth are clenched, his hair bristles and stands on ends, his forced breath makes a creaking sound, his joints make a cracking sound from twisting; he moans and bellows, his speech bursts out in hardly comprehensible words; he keeps striking his hands together and stamps the ground with his feet.

(*De ira* 1.1.3–5, tr. Nussbaum (1994) 393)

However, the general Stoic rule was to judge anger as justified if it punished the aggressor (*SVF* 3.397).<sup>73</sup> We find this view in Ammianus when he narrates that the Roman army “annihilated” the Sarmatians in 358 through the aid of wrath and valour, *ira et virtus*, after their savage attack upon the Romans (17.13.15). As always, the task is to distinguish justified from unjustified anger. This is perhaps due to the understanding that anger is at its most dangerous and destructive when it distances an individual from another’s humanity, and, equally, diminishes the individual’s own humanity,<sup>74</sup> making it possible to inflict cruel punishments. This issue caused men such as Seneca much torment and concern.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics* it is quite clear that Aristotle does not always view anger in the distasteful way that Galen or Seneca viewed it. When he discusses restraint within emotions, Aristotle writes: “Let us now consider the point that unrestraint in anger is less disgraceful than unrestraint in the desires” (*Eth. Nic.* 1149a25-1149b27).<sup>75</sup> He also wrote that it needed to be directed towards a particular person and one who could be slighted in return, “For no one grows angry with a person on whom there is no prospect of taking vengeance, and we feel comparatively little anger, or none at all, with those who are much our superiors in power” (*Rh.* 1.11).<sup>76</sup> Thus for Aristotle, anger always had an individual as an object (e.g. *Rh.* 2.4.31), and the theory of anger as objective is also discussed further on by modern behaviourists. Aristotle also believed that those who do not retaliate against an aggressor through a display of righteous anger were foolish, and held a poor sense of their own worth (*Eth. Nic.* 1126a3-8).<sup>77</sup> Homer had spoken of Achilles’ pleasure at seeking revenge, for whom it was “sweeter far than trickling honey” (*Il.* 18.109). Seneca on the other hand, did not endorse revenge when it was associated with anger. For being ardent and frenzied, “(anger) blocks its own progress to the goal toward which it hastens” (*de Ira* 1.12.5). Aristotle also spoke of anger as being associated with pleasure – a concept that Seneca certainly did not share.<sup>78</sup> For when anger leads to revenge, says

<sup>73</sup> The desire of the angered individual to do damage to the aggressor was also part of Epicurean belief, Nussbaum (1994) 243. According to Sorabji (2000) the Stoic conceptions of fear and anger are said to involve some kind of contraction or expansion. This is seen in Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 4.15; Galen, *PHP* 3.1.25 (172.20–6), 3.5.43–4 (208.22–31); and Plutarch, *On Moral Virtue (Moralia, vol. vi)* 449a.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Nussbaum (1994) 403.

<sup>75</sup> He also believed that anger derived from “sickness or poverty or love or thirst or any other unsatisfied desires” (*Rh.* 2.2). However, this greatly limits its legitimacy.

<sup>76</sup> In a modern democracy widespread anger in the electorate can be shown towards the government by voting them out of office. The forms of slight that Aristotle lists are contempt, spite, and insult. “In Attic law *hybris* (insulting, degrading treatment) was a more serious offence than *aikia* (bodily ill-treatment). It was the subject of a State criminal prosecution...The penalty was assessed in court, and might even be death”, as quoted in Fisher (2002) 183. For a psychological analysis of Aristotle’s examples of anger in the *Rhetoric*, see Stocker and Hegeman (1996) Chapter 10 “The Complex Evaluative World of Aristotle’s Angry Man”.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Nussbaum (1994) 258. (This might be justified insofar as anger turned inwards causes depression. But it is far from Buddhist and Christian precepts.)

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Konstan (2003) 108-109.

Aristotle, there is pleasure in seeking and achieving that revenge (*Rh.* 1.11). Nevertheless, there is much more to anger than seeking revenge and perhaps Aristotle has not taken into account mild annoyances, and anger that is, or should be, quelled rapidly.

In antiquity, royal or tyrannical anger was notorious. Stemming from fifth-century Athens, there are writings and plays that depict this in depth.<sup>79</sup> Herodotus, writing in the mid fifth-century, condemned angry rulers, such as the Persian king Cambyses, who killed the son of his courtier Prexaspes (3.34-35). Certainly, royal anger was so disreputable, that it was seen as almost immoral for those in positions of power to show this emotion. And, it was in fact often dangerous for them to do so. Seneca related the disastrous effects leaders underwent as a result of their anger (*De ira* 1.2.2), and further on he wrote:

But though it is expedient for subjects to control their passions, especially this mad and unbridled one, it is even more expedient for kings. When his position permits a man to do all that anger prompts, general destruction is let loose, nor can any power long endure which is wielded for the injury of many; for it becomes imperilled when those who separately moan in anguish are united by a common fear.

(*De ira* 3.16.2)

When a leader died through the plots of conspirators or the hands of an assassin, often it was fear of their anger by others that brought about their demise, as Harris points out: “What had happened to them was often the consequence of their own anger or their otherwise tyrannical behaviour”.<sup>80</sup> Condemning tyrannical anger was “part of a struggle to create and foster polis government and the rule of law”.<sup>81</sup> The anger of rulers and even of warriors such as Achilles was very frightening, and no doubt this influenced the authors’ responses, for the need to curb their rulers’ anger was of utmost importance to personal safety.<sup>82</sup> However, reporting displays of anger, especially if they were clearly unreasonable, could also be a useful tool when employed to create a negative impression of a ruler. For example, Nero’s angered assault upon his wife Poppaea that resulted in her death (*Tac. Ann.* 16.6).

Resentment is closely linked with anger, although it is more delayed and suppressed and may be behind some of the angry outbursts that Ammianus records, such as at 28.6.19, when the *comes Africae* Romanus was filled with anger and resentment (*ira percitus et dolore*) when Palladius threatened to tell Valentinian of the ashes of the province of Tripolis, which he supposedly caused. Resentment is anger inflamed by a sense of real or imagined personal injury and often involves a prolonged nursing of a grievance. It is, in principle, the reaction of the mind that is felt instinctively when we believe ourselves to be wronged. Basically, resentment has the same causes as anger but a delayed expression, often deliberately choosing and planning the time and means of revenge. Being based upon an enduring, unforgiving awareness of an offence, this feeling is difficult to exorcise and leads to bitterness or implacability. Resentment affects people to differing degrees. What can cause for one person a passing feeling of annoyance, can in the case of others, result in a grudge that is nursed indefinitely.<sup>83</sup> Thus resentment can have a long incubation period between the cause and its vengeful, often

<sup>79</sup> E.g. *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Bacchae*. Cf. Harris (2001) 229 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Harris (2001) 251.

<sup>81</sup> Harris (2001) 27.

<sup>82</sup> Harris (2001) 28.

<sup>83</sup> Maranon (1956) 10, based on his opinion of the emperor Tiberius as a resentful man. Cf. Newbold (2001) for his assessment of Tiberius’ resentfulness and consequent vengefulness in Tacitus.

disproportionate, outlet. Resentful individuals are most often to be feared when they suddenly come into positions of power. All of a sudden their growing resentment is given liberty and invariably turns into revenge towards those who were once their superiors, but now through fate, vulnerable subordinates.<sup>84</sup>

The orator Lysias said that judges were entitled to use anger when meting out punishments to the accused (12.3).<sup>85</sup> Anger was part of sentencing, for it was a right of the judge to be angry at a person's crimes and punish them accordingly (Sen. *de Ira*: 1.16.6). But in contrast, Seneca warns against letting anger have control over a person's fate, "Tis ill trusting an angry man with a sword" (*De ira*: 1.19.8). However, it seems that Seneca's wise words were not always observed by both Greek and Roman orators who were very conscious of the value of anger in making trial judges and juries indignant, for as Cicero speaks, "Now the following emotions are the most important for us to arouse with our speech in the hearts of the jurors or of any other audience we address: affection, hate, anger, envy, pity, hope, joy, fear, and grief" (*De Or.* 2.206).<sup>86</sup> Raising an audience's anger was not only a part of oratory, but a part of historiography as well. Part of history's task is to pass judgement and to encourage the audience to follow that judgement.<sup>87</sup> It is apparent that there were times when anger was allowed to be expressed or incited in public, but clearly other times when it was deemed inappropriate to do so. As we shall see, Ammianus is very much part of this oratory tradition.

Christianity was influential in its teachings on anger, although much of pagan moral philosophy was the basis for Christian tradition. Nevertheless, there were ways in which the teachings were different.<sup>88</sup> According to Heggen, anger was supposedly one emotion that was particularly feared by Christians as it opposed love and kindness.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, Heggen clearly has not taken into account the ambiguities of early Christian teachings, for depending upon which teachings were followed, some moralists were of the belief that Christians ought not to completely eliminate anger but to leave it to God, who will take vengeance for him or her (*Romans* 12:19).<sup>90</sup> God's wrath with his chosen people was a recurrent theme throughout the Old Testament.<sup>91</sup> Jesus himself was not completely without anger.<sup>92</sup> Yet some moralists disdained anger absolutely, following Stoic teachings on the passions.<sup>93</sup> At least five Christian moralists wrote dissertations on anger between the 360s and the 430s.<sup>94</sup> These include Basil of Caesarea, whose treatise *Against the Angry*, was written in accordance with his ethical and

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<sup>84</sup> Many examples of this can be found throughout history. Those within Germany's Nazi party were particularly notorious. One of the most resentful figures in Ammianus is Romanus, 28.6.19.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Galinsky (1988) 326 f.

<sup>86</sup> For the orator, rhetorical teachings encouraged the orator to use anger in order to influence his audience and thus win his case. Cf. Marincola (2003) 301.

<sup>87</sup> Marincola (2003) 308.

<sup>88</sup> Harris (2001) 391.

<sup>89</sup> Heggen & Long (1991).

<sup>90</sup> Harris (2001) 394.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. *Exod.* 4.14; *Numb.* 11.1, 11.10, 12.9, 22.22, 25.3, 25.4, etc. Note also that Jahveh was a vengeful god, Elohim a conciliatory one.

<sup>92</sup> For example when Jesus expels the traders from the Temple, Matthew 21:12; Luke 19:45 John 2.13-16. Cf. Mark 3.1-6, etc.

<sup>93</sup> Harris (2001) 396. During the fourth and fifth centuries, it appears that anger control became of increased importance – perhaps due to an expansion in urbanisation. Cf. for the effects of Roman urbanisation into Western Europe, Jones (1987) 47-57. For the East, see Iverson (1984).

<sup>94</sup> Harris (2001) 125.



moralistic writings.<sup>95</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus wrote of the sins of anger, *Adversus iram*.<sup>96</sup> The controversial bishop John Chrysostom wrote *About Rage and Anger*.<sup>97</sup> The philosopher Nemesius and John Cassian both wrote shorter works on anger.<sup>98</sup> Christian morality was becoming more influential during this period of great change and unsettled times, and Christian intellectuals were becoming more numerous.<sup>99</sup> Though Christian teachings promoted the notion of ‘turning the other cheek’, within Ammianus there are notable examples of Christians acting angrily and aggressively and going against the moralist teachings (e.g. 27.3.13).

### ANGER IN PSYCHOLOGY TODAY

In the Western tradition emotion was not always perceived to be aroused through an intelligent processing of knowledge, although this view was defended by the Epicureans and the Stoics. For the Epicureans, anger was associated with feelings of heat, swelling and irritation (Phld. 8.20-27).<sup>100</sup> Ammianus also made references to heat when discussing great passions, e.g. the Persians were fired (*ardebant*) with a great desire to destroy Bezabde (20.7.11); and when Maximinus read a letter sent by Probus, the savage man fell into a blaze of anger (*exarsit*) (28.1.33). This ‘traditional’ view has been questioned and much research in recent years is driven by the theory that emotions are cognitive, that is, they “are part of a process of perception and appraisal, not forces striving for release”.<sup>101</sup> No longer do behaviourists (ethologists) only see emotions as irrational manifestations, but rather as the results of cognitive judgements, ‘appraisals’, by the individual, “about whether something is likely to be good or harmful, pleasurable or painful”.<sup>102</sup> Emotions trigger a response in cognition, which often persists beyond the initial stimulus.<sup>103</sup> On an interpersonal level, emotions allow individuals to interact with their social environment by “producing specific action tendencies”, which assist us through “forming attachments, resolving injustices, negotiating hierarchies, and adhering to social norms”.<sup>104</sup> On this level, emotions assist us by focusing our cognitive processes, memory and judgement upon a perceived threat, prospect or wound.<sup>105</sup> In this respect, emotions such as anger simplify cognitive processing, by reducing “the number of cues used in making judgements”.<sup>106</sup> Anger is directly related to an individual’s cognitive appraisal when one desires to attribute blame, as well as determining the response:

<sup>95</sup> In *Ascetical Works*, 455–6. Basil characterizes uncontrolled aggression as temporary madness (356B–357A) and distinguishes between wrath (*thumos*), a sudden passion, and anger (*orgē*), which nurses a grievance (369A), Knuuttila (2004) 128.

<sup>96</sup> Gregory’s *Against Anger* follows the same structure as Plutarch’s *On Freedom from Anger*. Like Plutarch, Gregory divides his work into a longer critical description of anger and a collection of further therapeutic advices, Knuuttila (2004) 129.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Kemp & Strongman (1995) 397-417.

<sup>98</sup> Harris (2001) 125 f.

<sup>99</sup> Harris (2001) 397. Libanius also wrote during the fourth century and wrote about the control of anger from a pagan rhetorical viewpoint, Harris (2001) 124. *Vituperatio irae* (8.315-324). Achilles: 8.282-290. *Orat.* 1.21. 8.235.

<sup>100</sup> Nussbaum (1994) 242. For the Epicurean psychology of anger, see Fowler (1997) 16–35.

<sup>101</sup> Rosenwein (2002) 836.

<sup>102</sup> Rosenwein (2002) 836.

<sup>103</sup> Lerner (2001) 146.

<sup>104</sup> Goldberg, *et al.* (1999) 782.

<sup>105</sup> Goldberg, *et al.* (1999) 782.

<sup>106</sup> Lerner (1998) 563.

(1) a desire to blame individuals,<sup>107</sup> (2) tendencies to overlook mitigating details before attributing blame, (3) tendencies to perceive ambiguous behaviour as hostile,<sup>108</sup> (4) tendencies to discount the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality and (5) punitiveness in response to witnessing mistakes made by others.<sup>109</sup>

Cognitive appraisals of injustice can lead to anger. If the issue is not resolved, the anger can spill over in an effort to resolve the emotion in an alternative form. If the anger is not felt to be fully resolved, it can be directed towards others in the future who may be perceived as able to initiate a similar angry response and escape from justice.<sup>110</sup> In this respect there is the concept that individuals often feel the need to re-establish a sense of justice. Individuals who are especially conscious of the need to establish social order often view future violations of the norm with fewer appraisals as to the cause and focus, and more on the need to actively punish. Their aim becomes one of halting “further erosion of the social order”.<sup>111</sup> As a result, “anger can activate blame cognition as much as blame cognitions can activate anger”.<sup>112</sup>

As suggested earlier, anger can be used very effectively to create fear in a deliberate and calculated manner to control peers and subordinates alike. Thus something seemingly irrational can have a purpose and control, which is masked by the angry outburst. A rowdy audience, etc. can be brought back in line through a show of anger. Anger can give one a sense of individual control. However, controlling displays of anger is the focus of much current research and discussion. The angry individual will, sometimes or often, express his frustrated aggression upon a subordinate, someone whom he does not feel threatened by.<sup>113</sup> However, he or she will rarely use anger to intimidate or injure an authority figure; rather he will conceal it from them.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, people in antiquity who were at the very top of society did not have to curb their anger to the same degree as those who were in more subordinate positions, for they had less need to fear reprisals. The Roman emperors and Greek tyrants for example were at the top where, in theory at least, no one, bar the gods, could punish them for a righteous or even an indecent outburst. This can be clearly demonstrated by Herodotus (7.35) of a frustrated King Xerxes beating the Hellespont.<sup>115</sup> Valentinian I is an excellent example of a deplorably irascible emperor. Numerous references to this particular emperor’s outbursts sully his reputation, and his excessive irascibility led to so severe an outburst that it actually cost him his life. It was said that at the beginning of his reign, Valentinian sought to keep his savage impulses under control, however, according to Ammianus, they were increasingly released as his reign progressed. For example the emperor was angry (*iracundus*) when he learnt that Hymetius was exiled when he wanted him put to death (28.1.23). The most feared leader was one who believed that others were constantly out to hurt his position, and exhibited anger freely to counteract his own

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<sup>107</sup> I.e. projection

<sup>108</sup> I.e. paranoia

<sup>109</sup> Goldberg, *et al.* (1999) 782.

<sup>110</sup> Goldberg, *et al.* (1999) 783.

<sup>111</sup> Goldberg, *et al.* (1999) 790.

<sup>112</sup> Lerner (1998) 563.

<sup>113</sup> “At least 2 million women are battered by spouses or intimate acquaintances each year in the United States, most frequently in anger”, Dalgleish (2004) 1078.

<sup>114</sup> For an empirical study on the nature of this, see Siegman, *et al.* (1987) 127-135. Nevertheless, there are occurrences when inferiors, individually or collectively, do take out their angry aggression upon their superiors for example at the ballot box, so this is not always a generalisation we can readily make. For a historic example, cf. Beik (1998) 689-691. For modern-day examples, see Alford (1988) 489-501.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Harris (2001) 11.

personal fears. Anger is often driven by the need to offset feelings of vulnerability and helplessness. But also to offset feelings of shame, humiliation, worthlessness, i.e. a denial of one's own shame as one counter-shames.

Not everyone expresses the same emotion to a given stimulus. The experience of emotion is individualistic and varies according to one's predisposition. As well, an emotion can be culturally, socially and gender defined and determined.<sup>116</sup> An individual from one social *habitus*<sup>117</sup> may feel, or be brought up to feel, emotion in a way that is thoroughly different from an individual from another ethnic group. Hence the social constructionist theory: "emotions and their display are constructed, that is, formed and shaped, by the society in which they operate".<sup>118</sup> Causation, manifestation and evaluation of emotions are to a considerable extent culturally determined (it depends to some extent on the particular emotion), but physiological concomitants like pallor, horripilation, elevated heart rate and blood pressure are universal.

Primary emotions<sup>119</sup> such as anger and fear are strongly rooted in our evolution and are genetically based, and thus, according to Hupka, cross-cultural agreement can be expected in some responses to anger.<sup>120</sup> For instance, one cultural difference that does not appear to have a parallel today is the use of the veil to signify that the wearer was feeling anger, which apparently was acceptable practice in ancient Greece (Ar. *Ran.* 911-913).<sup>121</sup> The veiling of oneself meant that the face was concealed. Therefore, the emotional reaction which was evident on the features of a person who has felt him or herself to be publicly humiliated is concealed (e.g. Hdt. 6.67 & Eur. *Med.* 1144-55). Thus by veiling and hiding themselves, it is evident that anger makes individuals feel vulnerable.<sup>122</sup> Withdrawal from public is akin to veiling, where one is concealing emotions and vulnerability from public view. As Cairns points out, this is evident in the *Iliad*, for example, when Achilles withdraws rather than killing Agamemnon on the spot in his anger (1.189-221).<sup>123</sup> By such an act of withdrawal to register one's anger, the individual displaced him or herself from the public in an effort to spare others the full force of the emotion.<sup>124</sup> Anger can be controlled.<sup>125</sup>

Anger as an aggressive emotional response to a stimulus can range from an explosive outburst to mild irritation, and the manner of its expression varies with the individual.<sup>126</sup> Anger has a variety of origins and can be over-determined, and so it is a frequent challenge to pinpoint

<sup>116</sup> For the controversial belief that men tend to experience anger more than women, see Lerner, *et al.* (2003) 144-150. For an opposite view, that women may experience all the range of emotions more than men, cf. Mirowsky & Ross (1995) 449-468.

<sup>117</sup> Bourdieu (1977) 72ff. Cf. id. (1990), for his updated definition of *habitus*.

<sup>118</sup> Rosenwein (2002) 837. Cf. Harré (1986).

<sup>119</sup> Anger is classified as a primary or 'basic' emotion. Secondary emotions that stem from anger are acquired through socializing agents that are defined and labelled while the individual is experiencing the autonomic reactions of the primary emotion, Kemper (1987) 263. For the controversies over primary or 'basic' emotions, cf. Parrott (2001); Ortony & Turner (1990) 315-331.

<sup>120</sup> Hupka, *et al.* (1997) 3. However for a study showing anger, and other primary emotions as culture specific, see Mandal, *et al.* (1996) 49-58.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Cairns (2001) 19.

<sup>122</sup> Nussbaum (1994) 92.

<sup>123</sup> Cairns (2001) 20, 25. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.306-7, 327-30, 348-50, 488-92; 9.356-63, 428-9, 650-5, 682-92; 16.61-3.

<sup>124</sup> Cairns (2001) 21. Other ways the ancient Greeks showed their anger was through silence and avoiding eye contact, 23.

<sup>125</sup> In modern society, anger can be controlled through anger management programmes, therapy, prescription medications, etc.

<sup>126</sup> Yarcheski, *et al.* (1999).

the initial factor or group of factors which led to the ultimate physical signs and expressions, visual or otherwise (e.g. sound, tone of voice, etc.), of anger. Nevertheless, anger can often be quelled by a simple apology, as the aim of anger is often a correction in the behaviour of others and the acknowledgement that the other has given offence. The determinants for anger include:

- 1 a response to an accumulation of stress
- 2 a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment<sup>127</sup>
- 3 a response to righteous indignation<sup>128</sup>
- 4 anxiety, where anger seeks to mask or displace feelings of shame or helplessness<sup>129</sup>
- 5 depression, which may itself be a sign of anger turned inwards
- 6 a learnt response to certain situations. In these circumstances, anger can be triggered on the subconscious level by “seemingly innocuous stimuli”.<sup>130</sup> In such a case, an individual may feel a surge of anger, but not be entirely sure as to the cause, for it may be buried deep in his or her subconscious – such as occurs with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.<sup>131</sup> There is, therefore, little chance that an observer of such anger will understand its real cause.<sup>132</sup>

Compared with antiquity, modern thinking on anger reveals both continuity and discontinuity. Ancient historians have, like orators, used emotions as rhetorical devices to add colour and vividness to their narratives, and used the rhetorical test of plausibility to justify their insertion. Unlike some modern historians, they were less diffident about explaining political and military events in terms of affect. They freely imagined emotional scenes complete with the physiological signs that accompany them. When we relate this to Ammianus we see that he too used a sophisticated approach to portray his characters imbued with emotions. The barbarians rage with grinding teeth, emperors fume, soldiers bellow their outrage. Not always is the emotion portrayed in a negative sense, but the historian is aware at all times of the possibility of negative outcomes for those who vent too fiercely. There was sometimes a fine line between the acceptability of showing anger or suppressing it, and the historian frequently made value judgements accordingly. That his predecessors influenced these portrayals can be determined to an extent, as many of these depictions are rhetorically enhanced generalisations and repeated throughout historical writings. Ammianus was aware of history and presenting himself as part of that tradition.

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<sup>127</sup> This disillusionment can often lead to the desire for revenge and retribution.

<sup>128</sup> 2 and 3 can be hard to separate.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Yarcheski, *et al.* (1999) 317, “Anger is an immediate, protective response to the helplessness associated with anxiety”.

<sup>130</sup> Mayne & Ambrose (1999) 355.

<sup>131</sup> A huge corpus exists on PTSD. See for example Dagleish (2004).

<sup>132</sup> A further theory is the link between personality and anger, where the more assertive the personality, the more intense the feelings that are expressed. Thus “individuals high in hostility will likely experience anger more frequently and intensively than persons low in hostility”, Yarcheski, *et al.* (1999). Cf. Gottschalk & Gleser (1969) 62 ff. Anger, therefore, can be caused through a wide range of circumstances, and its causes and expression varies from person to person. Something that can be irritating to one person can cause a full explosion from another. Thus “anger is a complex and varied phenomenon which is susceptible to differing assessments and interpretations”, Galinsky (1988) 321.

## Anger in Ammianus and Previous Scholarship

Valuable for this thesis is Robin Seager's *Ammianus Marcellinus: Seven Studies in his Language and Thought* (1986), because of the depth of understanding of Ammianus' character portrayals, as well as for the uses of anger he unearths. Seager cites some of the instances of anger in the *Res Gestae*, and this thesis will build upon these instances through providing further examples and discussion. As well as discussing the use of certain words by other fourth-century writers, Seager also makes a brief comparison between anger in Ammianus and Tacitus (42). Regarding the use of certain anger terms, it is possible to surmise whether or not the changes in the empire dictated this or whether this was simply a literary choice of the different authors. Seager's chapters are concerned with the use of language by Ammianus concerning the following themes: moderation and excess; moderate virtues and their contraries; lack of self-control, savagery and madness; caution, prudence, and sobriety; sedition and disturbance; adulation; and imperial power.

Seager's Chapter 2, "Some Kindred Virtues and Vices", which deals in part with anger, understands it to be a vice; a vice which leads to excess so that it is consequently condemned (33). When discussing the anger of the emperor Julian, Seager points out the critical attitude of Ammianus towards it (34). This is very much apparent when Julian storms out of the city of Antioch and disregarded the people's hopes that he would prove more agreeable upon his return (23.2.4). As Seager 35 states, "In the field anger may act as a valid inspiration to the troops, but it is sharply criticized in their commanders, Roman or foreign", especially if it threatens the discipline and cohesion of the troops (35).<sup>133</sup> It is hard to ignore the emotional element in the portrayal of events that Ammianus incorporates to enhance his historiography. The historian often felt compelled to exaggerate incidents, which was a technique used to incite his audience to a proper emotional response. As Seager explores this in Chapter 3, "The Rhetoric of Excess": "Ammianus is fascinated by extreme behaviour of every kind and by responses to situations which are in themselves extreme. Such behaviour is often described in language which...signals an absence or loss of self-control" (43).<sup>134</sup> Thus these portrayals become vivid scenes that dramatise events, taking the reader into a world full of colourful excess. Seager's work on anger is important, but brief and to the point and so is unable to explore the consequences, manifestations and extent that this thesis is able to undertake.

Another scholar whose work on Ammianus and emotions is significant to this thesis is the German scholar A. Brandt, who in 1999 published his work, *Moralische Werte in den Res Gestae des Ammianus Marcellinus*, which detailed Ammianus' own moral attitudes and beliefs.<sup>135</sup> Brandt focuses on the virtues and vices that are so apparent in the epitomes of the emperors. One facet of Brandt's work that is particularly significant is that he discusses the relationship between the histories of Tacitus and Ammianus and sees the similarities between the styles of each author which to him appear frequently. For example, the two authors share the deep held similarity in that they deplore on many occasions the *saevitia* of the protagonist (157). Furthermore, Brandt points out that Ammianus saw "a difference between the inclination

<sup>133</sup> For *ira militum* and the like, cf. 15.12.2, 16.12.52, 17.10.6, 13.9, 15, 19.5.8, 11.14, 20.4.16, 7.15, 21.13.16, 24.2.5, 4.1, 25, 25.3.6, 7.4, 26.9.3, 28.6.23.

<sup>134</sup> This chapter also deals with Ammianus' interest in loss of self-control and anger. Seager previously (33) states: "Both pride and anger often lead to excess and are consequently condemned."

<sup>135</sup> For Ammianus' values, see Camus (1967); Blockley (1975); Brandt (1999).

towards cruel behaviour (*saevire*) and the inclination towards outbreaks of anger (*irasci*).<sup>136</sup> Further emphasising Brandt's point, he demonstrates in regards to Valens that "*ita saeviret infeste, ut poenarum maiores aegre ferret finiri cum morte dolores* (29.2.17); and Gallus is criticized, because "*non celate ut antea turbidum saeviebat ingenium a veri consideratione detortum et nullo impositorum vel compositorum fidem sollemniter inquirente nec discernente a societate noxiorum insontes velut exturbatum e iudiciis fas omne discessit*" (14.7.21). Thus, states Brandt, "It can be noted...that the *cupiditas saeviendi*, the inclination towards cruel behaviour, at least in the legal context, is equivalent to the disposition for acting cruelly" (165). Furthermore, Brandt acknowledges that anger can be a positive force, for example in battle, "*ira* in battle is a very useful emotion, it...awakens the combat courage and stimulates the soldiers to *virtus* (167). And Brandt also recognises that, "It is noticeable that Ammianus, besides the choleric Valentinian, also portrays his favourite-hero Julian as especially explosive".<sup>137</sup> Although Brandt's discussion of anger in Ammianus is comprehensive, it remains still a short overview of the most obvious themes, and his conclusions, whilst relevant, do not go to the lengths of in-depth study that this thesis is able to accomplish.

T.E.J. Wiedemann, in his chapter, "Between men and beasts: barbarians in Ammianus Marcellinus" (1986), discusses the digressions of Ammianus in regards to barbarian behaviour and how this fits into previous historical models. Wiedemann picks out relevant descriptions of the barbarians in order to show how they fit into the stereotypical model; for example the Isaurians are brave because they are mad "*rabie saeviore amplificatis viribus*" (14.2.14). The Alamanni too are possessed by savagery, "*saevientes ultra solitum*" (16.11.3). At the Battle of Strasbourg Julian speaks of the Alamanni's "*rabies et immodicus furor*" (16.12.31). Ammianus describes them as "*barbara feritate*" (16.12.2), "*frendentes immania, ultra solitum saevientium comae fluentes horrebant, et elucebat quidam ex oculis furor*" (16.12.36); "*violentia iraque incompositi (...) in modum exarsere flammaram*" (16.12.44); and they attack "*velut quodam furoris afflatu*" (16.12.46). Wiedemann lists the barbarian groups that exhibit rage and points out that Ammianus considers them to be "*gentes saevissimae*" (26.4.5) and that through their savagery they endanger the empire. For Ammianus the enemies of Rome are "undomesticated ('ferae'), violent, insolent, or mad when, and in so far as, they attack the Roman empire" (195). Wiedemann also makes mention that the Persian king Sapor was individually enraged and that he shares this anger with some Roman emperors (17.5.15; 20.6.1; 27.12.11; 20.7.3-11). Most importantly for this thesis, is that Wiedemann shows that Ammianus does not apply anger terms to barbarians and others frequently, and that it is unsystematic. Thus, "*Furor* or *ira* are qualities of people Ammianus does not like, whether they are Romans or not: they are not national characteristics" (196). Further on Wiedemann shows that Roman soldiers do not hesitate to butcher the enemy under the influence of *ira*, and demonstrates that "Ammianus does not intend his readers to understand his ascription of savagery and duplicity to the enemies of Rome as in any sense ethnographic. He is well aware that Roman armies behave no differently" (196).

Another fascinating theme Wiedemann picks up is the wild beast metaphors in Ammianus. This is usually in relation to some form of ferocity that the historian wishes to point out. For example, in 359 at the siege of Amida, Ammianus points out that some of the Gallic soldiers threatened their tribunes for not allowing them to sally forth against the Persians: "*utque dentatae in caveis bestiae taetro paedore acerbis efferatae evadendi spe repagulis*

<sup>136</sup> All translations of Brandt are by B. Sidwell.

<sup>137</sup> Valentinian: 27.7.4; 27.7.7; 28.1.23; 28.2.9; 29.3.2; 30.5.10; 30.6.3; 30.8.12. Julian: 16.4.2; 16.12.3; 22.13.2; 22.14.2; 23.2.4; 24.3.2; 24.5.6; 24.5.7; 24.5.10.

*versabilibus inliduntur*" (19.6.4). Even an individual can be described as a wild beast in the amphitheatre; for example Maximinus, as prefect of Rome, "*effudit genuinam ferociam pectori crudo adfixam, ut saepe faciunt amphitheatrales ferae, diffractis tandem solutae posticis*" (28.1.10). Summing up, Wiedemann concludes that Ammianus was writing in a literary genre, and many of his digressions about marginal groups were expected by his audience as they were written in the classical tradition. Therefore Wiedemann's value is his unearthing of centuries-old stereotypes, but he does not go as far in examining the purpose behind the anger representations that this thesis covers.

### SOME MODERN APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF AMMIANUS<sup>138</sup>

This thesis uses the Teubner text of W. Seyfarth (1999<sup>2</sup>) and where necessary, the English translation<sup>139</sup> of W. Hamilton (1986). Seyfarth is the standard text quoted by scholars of Ammianus, such as Hamilton (1986) (though other texts were also incorporated) and Barnes (1998). The lexicon by M. Chiabo (1983) provides easy access to the key words designating anger. The specialised commentaries begun by De Jonge (1948-1982), and carried on by the Dutch scholars J. Den Boeft, *et al.* (1987-ongoing), contribute by providing many useful references to related works, as well as detailed explanations of many of Ammianus' phrases. In addition, within this thesis all translations are by Walter Hamilton (1986), unless stated otherwise. Even though the translation by Hamilton is "accurate but sometimes bloodless",<sup>140</sup> the translations by Rolfe contain a worrying amount of "false renderings",<sup>141</sup> and thus where Hamilton is unavailable the translations shall be my own.

Scholarship on Ammianus in English-speaking countries flourished after E.A. Thompson's groundbreaking publications in 1943 & 1947.<sup>142</sup> His *Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (1947) is still a major influence. Thompson undermined the verdict *er schreibt wie er kann, nicht wie er will*, by demonstrating the tendentious nature of Ammianus' narrative.<sup>143</sup> Thompson plots Ammianus' career and examines the problems of sources and approach. He rejects the view that Ammianus borrowed his material from earlier authors and says that those who believe this have "underrated the intelligence of one of the greatest historians of antiquity" (33). Thompson is overly critical of Ammianus on some points, for instance, when he states, "his native Greek shines through it on every page," and that "he often finds it necessary to fall back on the use of Greek words to make his meaning clear" (17).<sup>144</sup>

<sup>138</sup> For a more extensive survey of work on the *Res Gestae* from the seventeenth century commentators to Barnes in the twentieth century, see Blockley (1996) 455-468.

<sup>139</sup> Where Hamilton is not available, the translations will be my own. Translations for other sources are listed in the bibliography.

<sup>140</sup> Kelly (2008) 9.

<sup>141</sup> Fletcher (1939) 193-195.

<sup>142</sup> Barnes (1990) 60.

<sup>143</sup> On this theme see Barnes (1990) 60.

<sup>144</sup> However, this has been contested by Stoian (1967) 79, "It is what demonstrates, among others, especially the work of Julian the Apostate, at which the opposition to Hellene-Hellenism and Christian-Christianity, substitute, obviously, the opposition Hellene-barbarian, often meets with an eulogistic intention for Hellenism and pejorative for Christianity". And supported by Heyen (1968) 191, "It can be a question, according to J. Stoian, neither of a simple reference to an ethnic group, nor of an excuse advanced by the author for his more or less awkward use of the Latin language". For the Greek culture of Ammianus, see Camus (1967) 29ff. Szidat (1977) 27 states that Ammianus' use of Latin is by no means defective, and therefore he should not need to fall back on Greek, which he uses only to enhance his

Thompson's focus is not on the emotions. To him Ammianus is simply presenting a historical account of his age. Rather he provides an invaluable background and early insight into the mental framework of the historian. Thompson concludes of Ammianus that:

Despite his cumbrous and obscure style there is not a dull page in his book, and where he deals with his own adventures he is perhaps more exciting than any other writer of antiquity...largely due to his extraordinary ability to depict character.<sup>145</sup> No one of any importance appears in his pages without becoming a real and living person... As Gimazane says... '*Jamais impartialité d'historien n'a été plus universellement reconnue que celle d'Ammien Marcellin.*' We have, indeed, found reason to modify our opinion of his impartiality, but even if all our conclusions be admitted, there still remains a comfortable margin of superiority over Tacitus and all other historians of imperial times...It is certain that Ammianus' pictures of Constantius, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens will stand for ever substantially unchanged.

This final statement is, however, highly controversial, and despite Thompson's assertion that these views will remain consistent, many of the pictures *have* changed. For example, that of Julian.<sup>146</sup>

*Zeitkritik und Geschichtsbild in Werk Ammianus* (1968) by A. Demandt is divided into two parts, "Zeitkritik", Ammianus' views about state and society (13-98); and "Geschichtsbild", Ammianus' understanding of the forces which determine events.<sup>147</sup> The former deals with Ammianus' views on state and society, the latter on his concept of the pace of events within his lifetime. Demandt's work offers a methodical analysis of specific aspects of Ammianus' *Res Gestae*. After this analysis, Demandt provides an examination of two major questions: how far was Ammianus influenced by his education, social status and personal experiences? Second, how was he influenced by his own sense of veracity and the validity of his writings? One of its main contributions is in creating a focal point for all Ammianean studies post Demandt, particularly for scholars from non-English speaking backgrounds. Demandt's work does not delve into the emotional aspects of the *Res Gestae*, but it provides much useful background information that this study refers to.

Klaus Rosen's *Studien zur Darstellungskunst und Glaubwürdigkeit des Ammianus Marcellinus* (1970) was based on his Heidelberg dissertation, and his *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1982) has an extensive bibliography of almost 500 items, arranged by topic into ten main categories. A large contribution that Rosen has made is in his assessment of scholarly work on Ammianus up until 1979. Some of the major points that Rosen has made in his 1982 publication are not directly relevant to emotions, but are useful nevertheless. These include Ammianus' target audience. In order to construe emotional characterisations, the historian had to create some type of impact on his rhetoric-influenced elite listeners and readers whom he sought to educate about foreign lands and customs, and Rosen provides an understanding of Ammianus' ability to achieve this. He also teaches right behaviour through many *exempla*,<sup>148</sup> condemning

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writings. Thompson also fails to point out that Ammianus was presenting a viewpoint from a particular ethno-social group (i.e. as an upper class Greek). Ammianus' background is debateable; some scholars suggest that Ammianus had Semitic (Hellenised) origins. Cf. Heyen (1968) 193.

<sup>145</sup> One of the ways is via narration of affect.

<sup>146</sup> Kulikowski (2007). Cf. Boeft (2005).

<sup>147</sup> Syme (1979a) 724.

<sup>148</sup> For Ammianus' rhetorical use of *exempla*, see Blockley (1994) 53-64.



those who fall short. This thesis builds upon Rosen's examination of Ammianus' perspective and goals.

G. Sabbah's *Recherches sur la construction du discours historique dans les Res Gestae* (1978) at over 600 pages remains even today a landmark in studies on Ammianus. It deals with the evolution of the *Res Gestae* and the process of composition. Sabbah argues that Ammianus liberally incorporated reports, documents and oral accounts into his work. Ammianus construed and misconstrued accounts in order to portray their emotive elements and imposed his own interpretation.

Valuable for this thesis is Robin Seager's *Ammianus Marcellinus: Seven Studies in his Language and Thought* (1986), because of the depth of understanding of Ammianus' character portrayals, as well as for the uses of anger he unearths. Seager cites some of the instances of anger in the *Res Gestae*, and this thesis will build upon these instances through providing further examples and discussion. As well as discussing the use of certain words by other fourth-century writers, Seager also makes a brief comparison between anger in Ammianus and Tacitus (42). Regarding the use of certain anger terms, it is possible to surmise whether or not the changes in the empire dictated this or whether this was simply a literary choice of the different authors. Seager's chapters are concerned with the use of language by Ammianus concerning the following themes: moderation and excess; moderate virtues and their contraries; lack of self-control, savagery and madness; caution, prudence, and sobriety; sedition and disturbance; adulation; and imperial power. Seager's Chapter 2, which deals with anger, understands it to be a vice, and a vice which leads to excess so that it is frequently viewed as a negative quality.

John Matthews' *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (1989) recalls Syme's immense volumes on Tacitus.<sup>149</sup> His work is divided into two sections, "Res Gestae" and "Visa vel Lecta". The first section takes us through Ammianus' work, book by book, and everywhere Matthews makes original observations. The second part of the book analyses themes, such as the emperor, the government, religion and so forth. Matthews disagrees with the widely held viewpoint that Ammianus was writing a continuation of Tacitus,<sup>150</sup> stating that nowhere does Ammianus mention Tacitus in his extant text, whereas other antique writers such as Cicero<sup>151</sup> are very often referred to. This point is important as the entire last chapter of the present study is devoted to a comparative analysis between the great works of both historians. Tacitus works in the historiographic tradition with emotions to colour his narrative and to influence his audience on a scale that matches Ammianus. Matthews concludes that although the style of Ammianus is grandiloquent, it reflects the style of his age rather than a Tacitean influence. Matthews does not focus on the emotions in Ammianus, but addresses the debate over audience and meaning, and how the historian intended to present his information.

A significant international collaboration is *Cognitio Gestorum: the Historiographic Art of Ammianus Marcellinus* (1992). The views of the authors are wide ranging. Several seek to enhance Ammianus' reputation by presenting certain details within his work as historically accurate (Barnes and Drijvers). There are also papers that seek to demonstrate his unreliability

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<sup>149</sup> Syme's work, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (1968), was not intended to match his epic publication on Tacitus. However he does raise some interesting points in relation to Ammianus, though his primary emphasis is on the *Historia Augusta*. Syme maintains that the *Historia Augusta* was written shortly after Ammianus' *Res Gestae*. He points out nine verbal echoes of Ammianus (69), three of which cannot be doubted (70-71).

<sup>150</sup> E.g. Syme (1968b) 7, "The history which Ammianus wrote, continuing Tacitus and in emulation, *a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus*, as he states in conclusion (XXXI.16.9), comprised thirty one books".

<sup>151</sup> For Ammianus' Ciceronian references, see Camus (1967) 62ff; Lind (1979) 7-58.

(Teitler and Paschoud). J. Szidat argues that Ammianus is more interested in passing moral judgement than in historical accuracy.<sup>152</sup> Ammianus' literary heritage and style are also explored (Fontaine). F. Paschoud's paper is particularly useful for a study of emotions, for he deconstructs Ammianus' harsh portrayal of Valentinian, and reveals how Ammianus paints a portrait through his careful use of imagery and rhetorical devices that does not necessarily reflect the true personality of the emperor. H.C. Teitler's article is also important, for he also discusses the use of imagery in Ammianus' portrayal of the emperor, this time in regards to Constantius, and how it relates to reality – an important theme for the next book highlighted.

T. D. Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (1998), presents the view that the Roman Empire of Ammianus should be glimpsed not as historical reality, but rather as largely a product of his imagination.<sup>153</sup> Since Edward Gibbon called Ammianus a most "accurate and faithful guide, without the prejudices and passions which usually affect the mind of the contemporary",<sup>154</sup> a number of scholars have taken Ammianus at face value as a reliable and impartial recorder of events. T.R. Glover shares a similar view to Gibbon in his *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (1912), in which he places Ammianus in the front rank of historians because of his "severe truthfulness and his dispassionate impartiality", as well as his ability to organise his material "with the eye of a master".<sup>155</sup> However, as his title suggests, Barnes rejects this view.

Christianity inevitably had some effects on a non-Christian historian of the fourth century. However, Barnes (81) suggests that Ammianus consciously diminished Christianity by toning down the role that Christians and Christianity played in the political history of the fourth century. He then proceeds to argue (83) that Ammianus perhaps, just like Julian, was an apostate Christian. The theory that Ammianus was an apostate comes through his use of Christian language. However, there is perhaps the alternate argument that Christian language had become pervasive already in Roman culture by the 380s, and that the pagan Ammianus was unconscious of its incorporation.<sup>156</sup> As a *protector domesticus*, Ammianus was expected to embrace a successful military career. However, although some of his fellow *protectores* rose to high ranks, Ammianus did not appear to do so. It has been surmised that the cause of this was Ammianus' apostatising under Julian. However, it is counter argued that Ammianus' lack of employment after 363 cannot be proved to be linked to Ammianus' apostasy, and must remain simply an "interesting hypothesis".<sup>157</sup> Barnes' final two chapters look at Ammianus' view of Roman history, and compare his historiography to that of Tacitus. The inherent value of this book remains in that it emphasises the subjective elements in Ammianus. This may seem to undermine the inherent value of Ammianus as a historian, but the fact remains that even rhetoricians have to make choices and thereby recall prejudices.

The *Philological and Historical Commentaries* on Ammianus are essential to any study of the historian. J. Den Boeft *et al.* carry on the work inaugurated by the Dutch scholar, Pieter De Jonge, whose immense scholarship covering books 14-19 of the *Res Gestae* (1935-1939) far

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<sup>152</sup> Cf. Syme (1968a) 215, "Ammianus is not only didactic but bitter and censorious".

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Cameron (1999) 355, who writes that an examination of Ammianus makes us question to "what degree of imagination is legitimate".

<sup>154</sup> Gibbon (1994) 26.3.128. Contra Thompson (1966) 145, "The historian, like Gibbon himself, was not superhuman, and his work in some places is not wholly dispassionate".

<sup>155</sup> Glover (1968) 34.

<sup>156</sup> Frakes (2000). For a comprehensive analysis of Christians and Christianity in Ammianus, see Hunt (1985) 186-200.

<sup>157</sup> Whitby (2000) 252.

outweighed the very many errors throughout his work.<sup>158</sup> The volumes – so far up to Book 25 (2005) – contain comprehensive and assorted annotations with an array of indices and a compendious bibliography. The works are a collaborative effort, involving scholars from historians to linguists.<sup>159</sup> Their value lies in what they say about a particular reference to or use of words such as *ira*, *iracundia*, etc.

And finally, Gavin Kelly's *Ammianus: The Allusive Historian* (2008) provides a new interpretation of the historian's digressions, allusions and historical *exempla*. Kelly views Ammianus as part of the bi-lingual historiographical tradition and also unearths his intertextual relationships. Although the diagnosis of intertextual relationships in Ammianus is not new, Kelly does take this examination further. Kelly's chapters deal with the inherent allusions within Ammianus' *Res Gestae*, and he challenges the traditional views of biographical interpretations. Even Ammianus' own autobiographical accounts are imbued with allusions and thus cannot be taken at face value. Useful for this thesis is Kelly's perception on how scholars should study Ammianus' work. He refutes the necessity for so much focus to be placed on the author himself, acknowledging that Ammianus "wrote with anger and partiality", and therefore we should look beyond the traditional interpretations (6). Also valuable is Kelly's understanding of autopsy and we can apply this to a study of anger in Ammianus, for at all times we must be aware that many of Ammianus' representations are products of his imagination, even though his method of portrayal implies that he is a witness.

Scholars such as the aforementioned provide a range of approaches to the understanding of the purpose and method of an elusive historian, and his writing of history.

## CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Chapter 1, "Anger and the Military in the *Res Gestae*", will address episodes and issues that specifically involve the Roman military within the Empire and without. The discussion includes concepts that are specific to the emotions within military circles, both elite and non-elite. From it will come an investigation that reveals the importance anger had within a collective, how the soldiers could as a corps use anger to influence the actions of their superiors, and also how they were able to harness their anger in order to overcome fear and thus face the enemy valiantly as a coordinated fighting unit.

Chapter 2, "Anger, and Persians and Barbarians", focuses on the enemies of the Roman Empire. Ammianus does not refrain from including the emotions of these groups, but instead of frequently supporting their anger as he does with the Roman military, the anger of the barbarians is associated with madness and frenzy, and holds none of the positive value terms which he reserves for Roman citizens. The anger of the Persians on the other hand, is supposedly due to their untrustworthiness and duplicity. This chapter is divided into two sections, the first and most comprehensive deals with 'barbarians', that is those groups from outside the western and eastern halves of the Empire who constantly had to be subjected quite

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<sup>158</sup> For examples of the production mistakes and confusions, cf. Fletcher (1945) 67-68; Simpson (1978) 365-367; Browning (1979) 235-237.

<sup>159</sup> One of the most important current commentaries on Ammianus comes from Germany, J. Szidat (1977-1996). The volumes of Szidat are dedicated to examining the details of the historical material within Ammianus. (For example the route of Julian's advance from Gaul through the Balkans and the chronological implications.) He compares the text of Ammianus to other relevant, Christian and pagan sources. He also admits the debt he owes to the Gröningen commentators. For many aspects that require analytical details, this commentary proves invaluable.

severely to Roman might. The second section deals with the Persians and especially the Great King Sapor who were not *barbari* like the Alamanni, Huns or Goths.

Chapter 3, “Anger, and Emperors and Caesars”, focuses on the imperial rulers of the Empire, and how their anger could impact greatly on everyone living within their sphere of influence. Unlimited power could make the emperors paranoid and suspicious. Since their emotions were not always under control they could lash out at individuals and groups who may not have caused any real offence. A good emperor used moderation in ruling and warfare. A bad or inexperienced emperor was governed by emotion rather than reason.

Chapter 4, “Anger and the Urban Populace”, addresses the issue of anger felt by communities living within the Roman Empire. These include populations residing within Rome itself, as well as those living in other urban centres, such as Antioch in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt, an enormous group of lower class citizens whom Ammianus, in general, does not have much sympathy for. To him they were uncultured, lacked sophistication and the values that he held so dear. It is interesting therefore, that Ammianus does record incidents of anger on the part of the common people when they combined to vent anger, and that his language is not always derogatory, but at times even shows consideration for their grievances, often caused by corrupt or incompetent officials.

Chapter 5, “Magnates and Anger”, discusses several instances of anger, involving *honestiores*. Magnates and officials often sought to conceal their emotions, because they were especially at risk of revealing certain vulnerability. Magnates at a bureaucratic level were closer to the *populus* than were the emperors, therefore threats from the people directly endangered them, and any sign of weakness was quickly exploited by political opponents. However, it will also be shown that magnates could and did display anger in order to coerce and control those around and beneath them, and to satisfy the demands of the emperors who governed them.

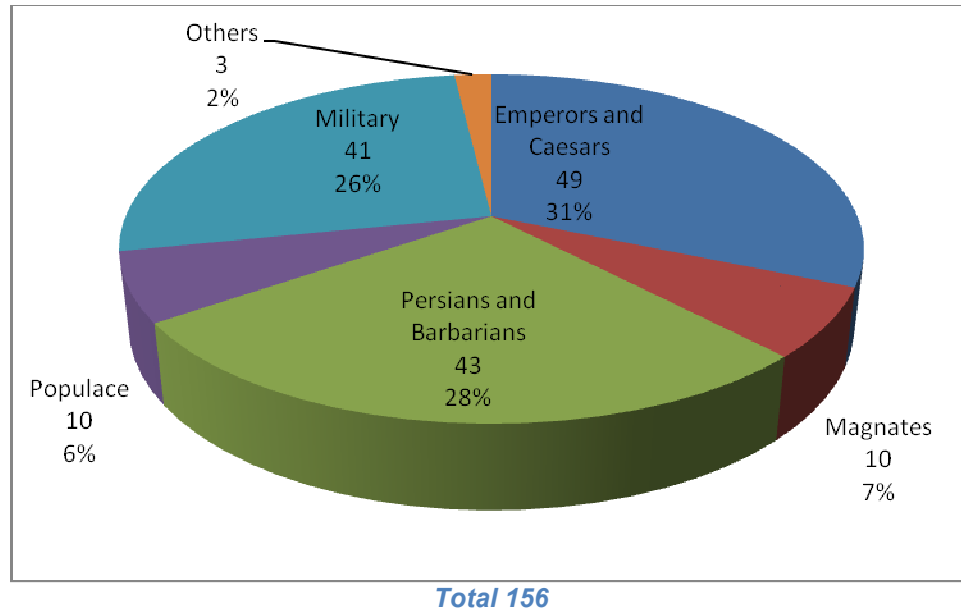
Part of the scholarly debate over the purpose of Ammianus’ work involves its relationship to the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus, which covered years AD 14-96.<sup>160</sup> Chapter 6, “Tacitus and Ammianus on Anger”, compares and contrasts the instances of anger in both historians through analysing their anger portrayals as well as their uses of many of the same keywords, although there are certain anger terms unique to only one particular work. The comparison reveals continuity as well as change in their use of anger keywords. Both authors have the emperors as central to their narratives. Warfare in both the first and fourth centuries was a constant. The similarities and differences in the use of anger terms are worth discussing. *Ira* clearly conveys rage but other terms are more ambiguous and depend upon context and social stratum. Some key words in Tacitus and Ammianus were used exclusively for Romans, others for outsiders.

In the conclusion, evidence emerging from this inquiry will be reviewed and used to elucidate Ammianus and his history.

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<sup>160</sup> For the lost books of the *Histories*, see for example, Barnes (1977) 224-231, “Of the original twelve books of Tacitus’ *Histories*, only the first four and part of the fifth have survived” (224). When it comes to the *Annals*, Books 7-10 and some of Book 11 are lost; Book 16 breaks off midway through, Woodman (2004) ix. For Ammianus writing a continuation of Tacitus, see, e.g., Rolfe (1939) xv, “Ammianus set himself the vast project of succeeding Tacitus as an historian, and might have entitled his work, ‘Res Gestae a fine Corneli Taciti’”. Thompson (1947) 17 supports this view, stating, “there can be no doubt that his intention was to continue the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus”. Cf. Thompson (1942) 130; Laistner (1971) 146; Syme (1968a) 216. Contra: Wilshire (1973) 221-227; Sabbah (1978) 101-111; Matthews (1989) 482-3 n.45; Marincola (1997) 254.

## THE APPENDICES

*Number and Percentage of Anger Words in the Res Gestae by Subject*

Appendix A is a tabulation of anger words that are grouped into specific characters and groups that make up the subjects of the chapters. For example the emperor Julian has nineteen specific anger references attached to him. Out of these nineteen, the most popular anger word ascribed to Julian is *ira*, used a total of eight times.<sup>161</sup> Interestingly, by using these keywords that refer to specific instances, Julian comes across as Ammianus' most angry emperor. As a total, the Persians and barbarians show more anger than the Roman military.

Appendix B lists categories of anger. Category one gives anger words from the *Res Gestae* that clearly indicate anger is present. This includes words such as *indignatio* and *ira*. Category two words, such as *furor* or *rabies*, depend on the proximity of a word such as, or are associated with, *ira*: e.g. *ira et dolor*. They reveal clear provocation and may appear with a category one or three word. Category three words, such as *fremo* or *infrendo*, are immediate manifestations, and it is often or always reasonable to think that anger is involved.

Appendix C contains a complete tabulation of anger words that have formed the basis for this study from the *Res Gestae*, as well as the *Histories* and *Annals* of Tacitus. Definitions and some examples from Latin authors are also presented. Ammianus uses more varied words to refer to the anger of his subjects, such as *frendo*, than does Tacitus.<sup>162</sup>

Appendix D contains the episodes of anger in Tacitus. Out of the total 116 anger words used definitively by Tacitus, there are a total of 87 anger episodes, and so at times more than one anger word is used per episode, and as with Ammianus, anger words tend to cluster in a single episode. Seven episodes are also listed which are either feared, negative or hypothetical examples and as such do not make it into our pool of data.

<sup>161</sup> The significance of the term *ira* is discussed later.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of the similarities and differences between Tacitus and Ammianus and their use of anger words.

## INTRODUCTION

Appendix E groups the causes of anger in Tacitus. These include reasons such as injustice and outrage or treachery. Through these groupings it is revealed that the Roman military showed prominence in the majority of these causes.

Appendix F groups the subjects that show anger in Ammianus and Tacitus, such as emperors and the Roman military. What is interesting here is that gods and women show anger in Tacitus, whereas they do not in Ammianus.<sup>163</sup>

Appendix G is a pie chart which summaries the distribution of anger words in the *Res Gestae*. Book fourteen at thirteen per cent, contains the highest percentage of anger words in Ammianus.<sup>164</sup>

Appendix H is a complete overview of anger in the *Res Gestae*. This appendix is sorted into specific characters and groups. Each anger instance is given and analysed along with the date and reference, the cause of anger, the manifestations of anger, the consequences for others and for the group or individual involved, the response of that group or individual and finally any comments made by Ammianus. This appendix is basically the foundation for this study.

Appendix I contains an analysis of anger in the *Res Gestae* that did not make it into this thesis. This includes anger that is hypothetical or produced as a stereotype by the author, but no specific manifestations are included.

Appendix J lists each anger word in the *Res Gestae* that have formed our pool of data and reveals whether the person or group that has felt anger in that particular instance was successful in the expression of anger in getting the result he desired, or whether it was a failure. Naturally, there are episodes in which the result of an angry outburst was neither a success nor failure. This occurs when the angered individual is talked out of his rage or the object of anger disappears, etc. The result of this examination has been that in the majority of cases, a demonstration of anger has a successful result.

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<sup>163</sup> In regards to the gods, this is of course a reflection of Ammianus' need to curb pagan references.

<sup>164</sup> This is discussed further in Chapter 1.

# 1. ANGER AND THE MILITARY IN THE *RES GESTAE*

*How much in Ammianus shall be put down to the manner, how much to the lessons of life?*

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## INTRODUCTION

Ammianus Marcellinus, unlike his literary predecessors Tacitus and Livy,<sup>2</sup> travelled a great deal in his service to the Roman army, and served for at least fifteen years.<sup>3</sup> The acquaintance that he had with the greater part of the empire added to the historian's knowledge base. The only important regions he did not traverse were Britain, Spain and Africa west of Egypt.<sup>4</sup> This amount of personal experience enlarged his work as an authority on the behaviour of the Roman military, as it did not always depend on imagination or fragmentary details. For:

Commentators concur on only one point: the last six books of the *Res Gestae*, covering the years from 364 to 378, recount events so recent that Ammianus must have procured his information from such primary sources as official records, eyewitness reports,<sup>5</sup> and personal observation.<sup>6</sup>

Ammianus was, at times, a participant within his narrative, and one of the most memorable of these occasions was recorded at 19.2, where as a soldier in the fortified city of Amida, he was forced to make a daring escape from the Persian forces, led by their Great King Sapor. After this conflict, Ammianus saw action, so far as can be proved, only in Julian's Persian expedition, for which he drew some information from Eunapius' history. That he needed a literary account for his description seems puzzling. There is the suggestion that he served in a technical post without access to the inner circles of command, and this may explain his inability to write solely from personal observation about high-level planning and the general activities of the army during these operations. Although an eyewitness to some occurrences after 363, he did not demonstrably rely upon his own experiences extensively.<sup>7</sup> This may reveal why, even though he spent many years as a soldier, Ammianus' knowledge of military matters was limited, especially in regards to the machines of war (23.4).<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, he was obviously no armchair historian.

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<sup>1</sup> Syme (1968a) 216.

<sup>2</sup> We do not know for certain how much military experience Tacitus had, and perhaps he had some, though, perhaps not as much as Ammianus.

<sup>3</sup> Thompson (1942) 130ff.; Paschoud (1989) 40. According to the *Codex Theodosianus*, in a decree of 325 (7.20.4), the length of service was on average a period of twenty-four years. Perhaps this suited Ammianus and thus he chose the minimum length of service.

<sup>4</sup> Momigliano (1977) 135. However, as Hummer (1998) 8 points out, Ammianus' interest in military and political matters were his primary concern, rather than ethnographic.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tomlin (1972) 254.

<sup>6</sup> Crump (1975) 23. For this original viewpoint, see Seeck (1849). See also Thompson (1969) 20ff., for a comprehensive study on the primary sources. For a comprehensive listing of the 19<sup>th</sup> century German scholarship on the subject of sources for Ammianus, see Barnes (1998) and the bibliography of Matthews (1989).

<sup>7</sup> Crump (1975) 28. For Ammianus as an eyewitness, cf. Blockley (1988) 245; Drijvers (1998).

<sup>8</sup> Momigliano (1977) 136. See especially Austin (1979) for a detailed account of Ammianus' military knowledge. Also, one must not be carried away by the notion that just because Ammianus was a witness and participant that all he says is just. For as Paschoud (1989) 54 states: "the more detailed information

Ammianus' status as a *protector domesticus*<sup>9</sup> accorded him certain privileges, and it is likely that at times he was present during at least some of the intelligence work and planning for operations during his time of service.<sup>10</sup> The military in the fourth century gave high-ranking officers a level of prestige that was in nature similar to, yet removed from, the senatorial elite.<sup>11</sup> Being a *protector* meant that he subsequently held an elite perspective in regards to the behaviour of the common soldiery.<sup>12</sup> As with Tacitus, his history is clearly meant for the elite classes, for it is not designed to deal with "the reasons why common soldiers were punished before the standards" (26.1.1).<sup>13</sup> Ammianus wrote to present his personal viewpoint, and also

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that Ammianus has as an eyewitness does not lead to an account more precise and worthier of confidence, but quite on the contrary to a more brilliant literary working". All the same, Ammianus, like Tacitus, was writing a literary work, not a textbook of military history. Thus, as with his predecessors, there is conjecture and even rumours (perhaps begun by the historian) throughout his historical writings. Therefore, as Thompson (1969) 125 points out, "those who accuse Ammianus of vagueness in military matters are merely saying that he lived too soon". Crump (1975) 28 points out the difficulties record keeping presented to the late Roman historian: "In what form he preserved his recollections Ammianus does not specify. The precision with which he recalled long-past events suggests...that the officer kept either systematic notes or a formal journal of his experiences, but certain features of his work militate against the latter possibility. In one place the *Res Gestae* iterates an episode already described; a daily record would surely have forestalled such an error (23.5.5-14 and 23.5.15-25; 24.1.1-5). Moreover, Ammianus asserts at a later point that he recounts a particular incident from memory (29.1.24). The ignorance of the modern world about the difficulties of ancient authors in procuring, keeping, and transporting writing materials prevents a conclusive judgement about a historian's method of taking notes. Such men as Ammianus may have resorted to simple recall far more than now seems possible". Sabbah (2003) 52 supports the view that Ammianus was able to keep records, documents, maps, etc. to incorporate into his history.

<sup>9</sup> For the officers known as the *protectores domestici*, their tasks and background stemming from both the imperial office-holding aristocracy and local aristocracies, see Jones (1964) 636-640; Frank (1969) 81ff.; Austin & Rankow (1995) 225f. For the definition of 'elites' in the Roman Empire, including Ammianus' own status, see Matthews (2000) 429-446. Matthews 444 presents in this article the convincing conclusion that Ammianus was not from Alexandria, or some city other than Antioch, where his family had settled as part of the imperial service. This explains then how he came to serve so young as part of the 'elite' *protectores domestici*.

<sup>10</sup> Austin (1983) 54. He disagrees with the following statement put forward by Chalmers (1960) 152-160, "Personal participation in a military campaign is in many ways valuable to the historian of that campaign, but few serving soldiers are enabled to obtain the overall picture which must be presented by a work of military history. Ammianus might well have felt that he could profit from the use of a narrative which stemmed from a civilian in close contact with the commander and his staff". Previously Austin (1979) 162 had plausibly argued, "Ammianus' viewpoint for the narration of military history is that of a member of the headquarters staff rather than of a field officer", even for those campaigns that he personally took part in. Cf. Barnes (1990) 62.

<sup>11</sup> Thus Ammianus and his fellow officers could enjoy a standing they would not necessarily receive in the civilian field. Although it is assumed that Ammianus was from the class of the *curiales*, or at least a supporter on the scale of Libanius, Cameron (1964) 19. For the antagonism between military and civilian elites in this period, see Frank (1967) 309-318.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Matthews (1983) 31.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Camus (1967) 24. See also Drijvers (1996) 536. Antioch in Syria, where Ammianus spent a considerable period of time, was divided greatly by class. The elites were educated in Greek – the language of culture – and thus Ammianus himself describes himself as a Greek and in his *Res Gestae* uses Greek words on a number of occasions. However, the common tongue was Aramaic, and the city was likely to have had a large population who spoke exclusively Aramaic and thus, as well as "social and economic barriers, there also existed a linguistic barrier between the upper and lower classes in the East:



intended to impress the educated upper classes with his report on all the important events that occurred during the time period he specified. His account reveals that this is certainly the case, for it excites the senses and draws the reader in, without dwelling on seemingly insignificant details.

However, Ammianus still appears drawn to the common soldiery and cannot help but present a reasonably fair picture of them, often excluding them from making bad decisions (although they often willingly followed them). For “as a retired officer, he may have respected their *esprit de corps*”.<sup>14</sup> This attitude was very much unlike that of authors such as Livy, Dionysus of Halicarnassus or Diodorus Siculus, for these authors related “the prejudiced accounts of patrician annalists”.<sup>15</sup> Messer claims that they cannot escape the bias of their own upbringing against the commonality of the soldiers, whose supposed lack of morality easily led them to insubordination and mutinous behaviour. This is an attitude that Ammianus largely did not share.

That is not to say that courting the favour of military men appealed to Ammianus. Indeed, he felt repulsed by the very idea, and his view was that the soldiers should be kept in their place. Ammianus, even though he admits to being a *miles*, distances himself from those brought up through the ranks who originate from common descent. At 21.16.1 he writes of the good qualities of Constantius’ reign:

Under him, no general was advanced to the highest rank of nobility; as far as my memory serves, generals were only of the second grade. A master of cavalry was never given an official reception by the governor of his province, and was not allowed any share in civil administration. All officials, both civil and military, looked up to the praetorian prefect with traditional respect as the holder of the highest of all offices.

Ammianus saw himself as separate from the common soldiery, as he did from the common people.<sup>16</sup> This was perhaps a reaction to upward social movement, such as was exhibited in the rise to power of the emperors Valens and Valentinian. To the mind of the elitist, men who deserved the highest offices were those who came from privileged upbringings, not those who were uncultured and uncultivated, without the classical background that encouraged proper leadership (amongst other) qualities. His prejudices aside, Ammianus still regarded the army as an institution quite positively, as is shown in the emphasis and quality he devotes to passages dealing with all aspects of military encounters.

The importance Ammianus places on the military is expressed through his descriptions of battles, which are his most “stylised passages”.<sup>17</sup> Ammianus certainly saw military expertise as one of the key virtues in his narrative, and those emperors who lacked it were especially to be

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the elite on the whole were not educated in Aramaic, whereas the common people had no knowledge of Greek”. Therefore, it is easy to see why the Greek-educated Ammianus holds himself in such a high regard vis-à-vis the common man.

<sup>14</sup> Tomlin (1972) 255.

<sup>15</sup> Messer (1920) 163. A comparison could be drawn between Ammianus and Velleius Paterculus, for Velleius was also a soldier and writer, however his narrative of the *bellum batonianum*, where he participated, is a personal and ideological narrative. For Velleius as a writer, see for example, Sumner (1970) 257-297.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>17</sup> Sabbah (2003) 60.

disdained.<sup>18</sup> Ammianus does not narrate the insignificant causes of anger in the common soldiers, but there are key reasons and motivations for signifying anger in the main body of the soldiery; these include action readiness against an enemy, frustration caused by lack of supplies, poor leadership, and so on. The purpose of these portrayals were, of course, for posterity, as in some instances it helped to show the extent to which an individual leader and his decisions were either supported, or opposed by, a significant body of people, who had more influence over political decisions than many were prepared to admit.<sup>19</sup> The need to have military backing was essential for the survival of any emperor in this century. Once that was lost and replaced by disrespect and insult, then disaster often followed. For example, the Emperor Gratian was executed by his own mutinous troops in 383.<sup>20</sup> In the fourth century Julian, Valentinian, Procopius and also Gratian were all acclaimed as Augusti by their soldiers.<sup>21</sup> The master of infantry in Gaul, Silvanus, attempted usurpation in 355, but was murdered by his troops (15.5).<sup>22</sup> And both usurpers Magnentius and Procopius were in the end abandoned by their soldiers.<sup>23</sup>

*Table 1.1. Summary of anger words in the Res Gestae*

Book	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Anger words	21	2	15	7	1	17	11	1	9
Book	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Anger words	0	12	11	5	10	14	9	4	7
<b>Total 156</b>									

*Table 1.2. Summary of anger words that deal specifically with the Roman military*

Book	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Anger words	6	0	4	5	0	4	3	1	1
Book	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Anger words	0	5	7	2	2	1	0	0	0
<b>Total 41</b>									

<sup>18</sup> Matthews (1989) 283. Ammianus praised those emperors, such as Julian and also Valentinian in his obituary, for military achievements.

<sup>19</sup> See Downey (1969) 26 for a brief examination on this topic.

<sup>20</sup> When Magnus Maximus was proclaimed in Britain. See Cameron (1993) 135. Cf. Hedrick (2000) 41. Also, loyalty towards a leader could ensure his survival amongst the most serious circumstances, for example the conspiracy headed by Domitianus and the Apollinares against Gallus (14.7), when the troops of Gallus were interfered with, but remained loyal to the Caesar, and thus the conspirators were destroyed without this strong support base. Therefore Thompson (1943) 311 is correct in saying that "Gallus was highly popular with the rank and file of the army".

<sup>21</sup> Brown (1970) 237.

<sup>22</sup> For Silvanus see *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 27.

<sup>23</sup> Mudd (1984) 103; Matthews (1989) 283. For Magnentius, see Burns (1994) 3f.

As Table 1.1 reveals, in the *Res Gestae* there are over one hundred and fifty instances of words that denote anger, such as *ira* and *indignatio*, and this equates to, on average, 8.7 anger words for each of the eighteen extant books. This only takes into account the words referring to specific characters or groups of people who are feeling or expressing (actual) anger, rather than general phenomena or vague/unclear references. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore every instance of anger that Ammianus indicates beyond the keywords, as this requires too much risky inference. These then are excluded. However, some discussion of implied, suggested, feared and denied anger is made in Appendix I.

Using the same criteria as anger, there are in total 374 definitive instances of fear in the *Res Gestae*. After fear, anger is one of the leading emotions that infuse the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus. This is obvious from the very beginning of his extant work. For example Book 14 has the highest percentage of the total anger words at 13 per cent, that is, out of a total of 156 anger words. From Book 14, words that deal with the anger of the military make up 28.57 per cent, i.e. 6 out of 21. There are numerous portrayals of military activity recorded by Ammianus in this book, activity that naturally evokes an emotional reaction. These deal with the inroads of the barbaric tribes of the Isaurians,<sup>24</sup> the soldiers' anger at the prefect Domitianus and their lack of supplies and delay at Châlon sur Saône (Cabyllona). In total, anger amongst the military makes up 26.28 per cent of the anger words that are looked at in this pool of data. This is a significant percentage, and demonstrates that Ammianus was concerned with the role that anger had to play in the armed forces.

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When the number of instances of anger in the military is compared with each specific book of the *Res Gestae*, it is fascinating to see how the break-up is influenced by specific circumstances, such as battles and attempted mutinies. When we apply the number of anger instances per book in a comparative analysis we can explore the causes, and in many cases the effects, that are contained in each reference to the emotion of military anger. Examples in Book 14 set the reader up for the themes of *ira militum* that permeate the rest of the books. The two major themes that are immediately apparent are: the anger of the soldiers towards a perceived or acknowledged enemy, and the anger towards, or on behalf of, a leader. These themes are generally separated and treated as distinct events, although they do conceivably have effects upon each other to a certain extent. It must be noted that anger exhibited towards an enemy does not necessarily imply action, for it is conceivable that they will fight anyway, and that anger towards a leader can lead to rioting. The notion that anger was a significant motivator for military activity is not a new one, however, the extent to which it permeates the pages of the *Res Gestae*, and the important perception that Ammianus held of it, has not been studied as comprehensively as this thesis will show. This chapter then will deal with the two significant themes stated above, whether there is any interrelationship between them and what the key causes and effects of anger in the military are.

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<sup>24</sup> On the Isaurians in Ammianus' history, see Sundwall (1996) 634.

*Anger and military activity*

The Brigands of Isauria 14.2, the Battle of Strasbourg 16.12,<sup>25</sup> Julian and the Alamanni 17.10, Constantius and the Limigantes 17.13, the Siege of Amida 19.5,<sup>26</sup> Constantius and the Limigantes 19.11, Demands of Julian 20.8, Constantius and Julian 21.13, Julian and the Surena 24.3, Julian and Pirisabora 24.2, Sack of Maozamalcha 24.4, Persian Attack 25.1, Death of Julian 25.3, Jovian and Sapor 25.7, Valentinian and the Alamanni 27.10, Flaccianus 28.6.

**Total 16 Episodes<sup>27</sup>**

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<sup>25</sup> See especially Blockley (1977) 218-231.

<sup>26</sup> For an analysis of battles and sieges in Ammianus see Naudé (1958) 92-105.

<sup>27</sup> This table reveals the military episodes where anger is specified by Ammianus. Naturally anger words can be used several times in one episode.

## THE CAUSES OF ANGER IN THE ROMAN MILITARY

### Summary of the Causes of Anger in the Roman Military

Cause of Anger	Reference
Impatience	14.10.3, 14.10.5
Perceived unjust conditions and outrage	16.11.12, 17.1.9, 17.10.6, 19.5.8, 20.4.16, 20.8.8, 22.3.8, 25.3.10, 25.7.4, 28.6.23
Threats or frustration as a result of the presence of or the action of the barbarian enemy - or the resistance of the enemy, esp. in sieges	26.9.3
United anger at entering or being engaged in a battle or a siege – or an attack by the enemy	14.2.17, 16.12.10, 16.12.13, 16.12.52, 17.13.9, 17.13.15, 19.5.3, 19.11.14, 21.13.16, 24.2.5, 24.4.1, 24.4.20, 24.4.25, 25.1.2, 25.3.6, 27.10.5, 27.10.7
<b>Total 30</b>	

As the table above demonstrates, there were several reasons for the Roman soldiers to show their anger, and this led almost always to significant consequences for themselves or others. Anger in individuals occurs for a variety of reasons that are often personal, but for anger to be exhibited collectively, the cause must be something that is so significant that it is shared by all. Ammianus does not denigrate the Roman soldiers for exhibiting anger, for, “in the case of anger, which in a military context, when the reactions of individuals merge or are submerged in a collective wave of emotion, is often regarded as acceptable, if not actually praised”.<sup>28</sup> As a former soldier, Ammianus understood and often supported the collective reactions of the Romans, as they came as a unified response to an active threat, the behaviour of a leader, or injustice felt at a lack of pay or supplies, or other unjust conditions. Roman soldiers were viewed by the historian as far superior to the unsophisticated and uncultured barbarians; they were not always the best behaved, but for the most part they were following the traditional roles of military *virtus* (including *ferocia*), and were thus to be praised.

#### **Lack of Supplies as a Cause of Anger**

As stated above, anger often occurred when the military deemed that they were not being treated fairly, or were lacking in essential supplies. In 354, Ammianus reported that Constantius had assembled his army in order to attack the Alamanni. However, when they were delayed at Châlon without the necessities of life (14.10.3ff.), their frustration at their situation led them to become vehemently angry (*miles...saeviebat*)<sup>29</sup> and to threaten the life of Rufinus,<sup>30</sup> the

<sup>28</sup> Seager (1986) 133.

<sup>29</sup> Ammianus refers to the anger of the soldiers twice in this book using the terms *saeviebat* and *irritator*. Cf. Gell. *praef.* 20. Cf. 14.10.4; 20.8.8.

<sup>30</sup> Vulcacius Rufinus was the maternal uncle of Caesar Gallus. Cf. Jones (1964) 134, 141. Also Edbrooke (1976) 49.

praetorian prefect,<sup>31</sup> when he tried to explain to them why the convoy of provisions was interrupted. Spring rains and the swelling of rivers had held up the transport of supplies from Aquitania.<sup>32</sup> Their rage was only abated once funds were distributed and supplies were finally found.

Ammianus makes a similar observation at 25.7.4, when he discusses the unfortunate reign of Jovian,<sup>33</sup> whose soldiers were on the brink of starvation in Persia. The anger of the soldiers (*furebat...miles*) at the misery of their situation forced Jovian into making a shameful treaty with the Persian king Sapor. Collective anger, when exhibited for reasons of the utmost necessity, was an inevitable response in the military to bad leadership or what seemed unreasonable or avoidable hardship. The causes of anger here fit in with factors of anger, number 1, 2, 4 on page 16 of the Introduction. For the soldiers, “(1) desired to blame individuals; (2) they overlooked mitigating details before attributing blame and (4) they discounted the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality”.

### Enemy Encounters

Apart from being used to satisfy demands or to demand satisfaction, anger was also an instigator to perform well as part of a legion or military detachment. Ammianus is very aware of this importance, and thus we almost always get a reference to the anger of the soldiers once a battle, or some type of engagement, is about to be joined, or when groups of the enemy hinder the progress of the Roman army.<sup>34</sup> The importance of this collective emotionality of the soldiers, along with their enforced discipline, meant that an enemy could be overcome and routed, even when the odds seemed stacked against them. There are central passages in the *Res Gestae* that recall the two significant themes that permeate the descriptions of the causes of anger in the Roman military, namely, the angry reaction of the soldiers towards barbarian threats, and the anger of the soldiers towards perceived injustices. Examples of the first theme are readily presented within Book 17; for in 357, German barbarian groups infuriated the Roman military by causing delays to the progress of the Roman soldiers. This belligerent attitude of the Germans then naturally led to open armed conflicts, which in turn aroused and incited the Romans to further rage. Descriptions of these events are as follows:

Ausi tamen omnes accedere fidentissime ilicibus incisis et fraxinis roboreque abietum magno semitas invenere constratas. Ideoque gradientes cautius retro non nisi per anfractus longos et asperos ultra progredi posse *vix indignationem capientibus animis* advertabant.<sup>35</sup>

(17.1.9)

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. Austin & Rankow (1995) 227f.

<sup>32</sup> In 358 Julian was similarly delayed at Paris, whilst waiting for supplies from Aquitania, Jones (1964) 627.

<sup>33</sup> For the brief reign of Jovian, see Jones (1964) 138.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Veg. *ERM* 3.12.6.

<sup>35</sup> “Our men, however, had the hardihood to make a resolute approach, only to find the paths blocked with felled oaks and ashes and a great mass of fir-trees. So they withdrew cautiously, scarcely able to contain their anger as they realised that further progress could only be made by a long and rough detour.”

Hoc progressu secutus exercitus celsarum arborum obsistente concaede ire protinus vetabatur. Verum per circuitus longos et flexuosos ubi ventum est tandem ad loca, *ira quisque percitus armorum urebat* agros, pecora diripiebat et homines, resistentesque sine ulla parsimonia contruncabant.<sup>36</sup>

(17.10.6)

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Cuius furoris amentiam exercitus ira ferre non potuit, eosque imperatori (ut dictum est) acriter imminentes, desinente in angustum fronte (quem habitum caput porci simplicitas militaris appellat,) impetu disiecit ardenti, et dextra pedites catervas peditum obruncabant, equites laeva Equitum se turmis agilibus infuderunt.<sup>37</sup>

(17.13.9)

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Fugientes tamen aliqui tela incendiorumque magnitudinem amnis vicini se commiserere gurgitibus peritia nandi ripas ulteriores occupare posse sperantes, quorum plerique summersi necati sunt, alii iaculis periere confixi, adeo, ut abunde cruore diffuso meatus fluminis spumaret immensi. Ita per elementum utrumque, Sarmatas vincentium *ira virtusque delevit*.<sup>38</sup>

(17.13.15)

From these examples, we can see that the fury of the Roman soldiers was due to entering or being engaged in battle with an enemy, or else through being delayed in the performance of their duties. In all these instances the soldiers are unified in their anger, and their reactions form into hostility. In the first two passages (17.1.9, 17.10.6), the soldiers' enmity came as a response to the need to take revenge on those who had caused them a deliberate harm. This perception of an injustice is in accordance with Aristotle's viewpoint that the distress which belongs to anger is caused by the thought of being belittled, and the pleasure which accompanies anger is caused by the thought of revenge which is an attempt to restore one's value. For example in *Rhetoric* 2.2, 1379b7–13. In 2.3, 1380a24–6, Aristotle remarks that our anger ceases towards those who humble themselves before us; even dogs do not bite those who sit down.<sup>39</sup> *Vix indignationem capientibus animis* suggests the belief in a transgression to

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<sup>36</sup> "He (Julian) led the way and the troops followed, but they found the direct route blocked by a barrier built of tall trees. Finally, however, they reached their goal by a long and winding detour. But our men were so enraged that they burnt up the fields, carried off men and beasts, and cut to pieces without mercy any who offered resistance."

<sup>37</sup> "This mad behaviour was too much for the temper of our men; while the barbarians were fiercely threatening the emperor, the troops adopted a wedge formation (what is known in common soldiers' parlance as a 'pig's head'), and scattered the foe by a furious charge; on the right our infantry cut to pieces their warriors on foot, while on the left our cavalry engaged their agile horsemen."

<sup>38</sup> "Some, however, escaped the sword and the raging fire and entrusted themselves to the depths of the river nearby, hoping to reach the further bank because they could swim. Some of these died by drowning; others were pierced by missiles and perished; so much blood was spilt that the whole stream foamed with it. Thus with the help of two elements the rage and courage of the victors destroyed the Sarmatians." Cf. Tac. *Agr.* 37.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Knuuttila (2004) 39.

their notions of justice – whether or not they were being fooled by their misconceptions that the enemy would not attack such an evidently powerful force. This therefore relates to our determinant of anger number 3, “a response to righteous indignation”. And their leader, in this case Julian, would have aided in instigating this emotional response, for it ensured that they would focus their collective rage into aggression directed externally, rather than taking their frustrations out on one another.

The last two passages (17.13.9, 17.13.15) are typical of *ira militum* in relation to battle-rage, a theme that is recurrent in Ammianus’ descriptions of conflicts that involve the Roman military. The soldiers were reacting in the way that they were trained, and any anger felt was justified, as it was the result of military *virtus*. Such as is emphasised at 17.13.15, “*ira virtusque delevit*”. Strong anger words such as *ira* indicate the wrath felt by individuals and groups, and in situations involving war *ira* can indicate violence and rage.<sup>40</sup> The incident recorded at 17.13.15 strongly reinforces the notion of the intensity of the anger felt by the soldiers against their enemies. In this sense *ira* gives their anger a deliberate and purposeful undertone, which is not simply the fury of the animal or the savage, but the justified rage of those who were defending the honour of the Roman Empire. This also relates to Aristotle’s viewpoint on anger:

Any society based on honour requires each individual to be militant and alert to violations of his own self-worth, and it is anger that manifests both to himself and, outwardly, to others, the fact that an unacceptable injury to self-regard has taken place.<sup>41</sup>

In each of the above examples, we are given the sense that the anger the soldiers felt was for a real and genuine reason, and that anger was the appropriate response as befitted the situation. For example, an object was deliberately put in the way of the marching army, and this not only hampered their progress, it forced them to take an alternate route – no doubt because they had to escort the siege equipment that could only be transported on sealed roads. This ploy is related twice in separate incidents in book 17. It was natural that the soldiers would take revenge on those who frustrated the fulfilment of their duty, and this can be interpreted as righteous indignation. In fact this “righteous indignation” was also supported by Aristotle, who believed that we should feel anger for a slight (*Eth. Nic.* 4.5.1125b30-35). The purpose of the Germanic peoples was to prevent, or at least delay, the Roman soldiers from infiltrating their perceived territory. However, the attempts by the barbarians to protect themselves had a negative effect, for it caused the Roman soldiers to respond violently. Revenge for the soldiers took the usual course of hostility, and Ammianus’ language shows that he naturally found that their actions were without reproach.

In one such punitive expedition against the Sarmatians in 358 (17.13), we are shown that the soldiers were ruthless towards the frightened enemy, many of whom tried to escape by swimming across a river. In this incident, the anger of the troops was a response to threats and insults made against the emperor Constantius. The soldiers’ reaction was to protect and fight for the honour of their leader. Here a just cause is presented for the emotional response of the soldiers, i.e. anger on behalf of the Augustus, and the bitter consequences for the enemy. This therefore fits in with determinants of anger, numbers 3 & 6, i.e. “righteous indignation” and “a learnt response to certain situations”.

What these passages from book 17 quite appropriately present is *ira militum* and righteous indignation. As soldiers, the response to threats to their notions of justice and duty

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<sup>40</sup> *CLD* 281.

<sup>41</sup> Fisher (2002) 176.



was a physical display of violence. This ability to respond to difficult situations with action-readiness frequently meant successful outcomes for the well-disciplined troops. In the first episode above (17.1.9), we see that the soldiers marched with the greatest confidence (*fidētissime*). Then, after felled trees stopped their progress, they were cautious (*cautius*) in their retreat, even while their minds reeled with indignation (*indignationem*). However, in the following three passages, we no longer get this sequence of emotions; the soldiers are simply feeling *ira* towards the acknowledged enemy at all stages. In essence, *ira* has replaced fear. The less fear that the soldiers feel, the more their confidence is raised, which in turn raises their ability to react in a more focussed manner to extreme circumstances – although it is well known that when fear is replaced by anger, then anger can cloud judgement. However, this does not seem to be the case in Book 17, for the soldiers continue to follow orders – although it should be pointed out that following orders was not necessarily a sign of good judgement. Anger on the battlefield could also be potentially dangerous, as it could allow stronger sides to become more vulnerable to a coolheaded enemy.

As stated above, Ammianus includes in his history several instances of battle rage that prompted the soldiers into action, often in the most trying of circumstances. *Ira* is quite often the specific term that the historian uses to refer to the battle rage of the armed forces. *Ira militum* was an essential part of motivating the soldiers into action, and when it was applied in such circumstances, it was accepted and encouraged. The general Stoic rule and one that our historian often adheres to, was to judge anger as justified if it punished the aggressor.<sup>42</sup> We find this view in Ammianus (17.13.15) when he narrates that the Roman army “annihilated” the Sarmatians in 358 through the aid of wrath and valour, *ira et virtus*, after their savage attack upon the Romans. Ammianus uses the term *indignatio* three times in reference to the soldiers, and each time it refers to a specific injustice that they felt towards a particular infringement: *indignati* 16.11.12; *indignatio* 16.12.10; *indignatem* 17.1.19. Consequently, the righteousness of Julian is emphasised when the Caesar, through his *cohortatio*, persuaded his soldiers to fight the Alamanni with a just anger: “*si...iustaque sustinet indignatio*” (16.12.10).<sup>43</sup> Anger was therefore linked with military virtue and righteousness when it was applied to certain situations, especially when it involved military activity against a barbarian enemy.

### Roman Military and Barbarians

Ammianus does distinguish between different words that mean anger, depending on the material of which he is writing about, and uses powerful terms such as *ira* and *indignatio* to describe the anger of the soldiers. When he is referring to their enemies, in particular the peoples of the Western Empire, he uses terms such as *rabies* and *ferocia*,<sup>44</sup> words that relate to wildness, madness and frenzy.<sup>45</sup> This draws the readers’ minds to images of wild beasts, something that is more than merely a “stylistic affectation”.<sup>46</sup> In a generalisation, Ammianus (27.7.4) describes the emperor Valentinian as *homo propalam ferus*. As becomes apparent, *ferus* and *feritas* are generally used to qualify some barbaric peoples; the only individuals referred to by using these words are Valentinian, his brother Valens, and his alleged henchman Maximinus.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>42</sup> SVF 3.397. The desire to do damage to the aggressor was also part of Epicurean belief, Nussbaum (1994) 243.

<sup>43</sup> For more on the *cohortatio*, see Messer (1920) 174.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. 14.2.14; 14.10.14; 16.5.16.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Wiedemann (1986) 189-201.

<sup>46</sup> Matthews (1989) 258.

<sup>47</sup> Paschoud (1992) 77.

Ammianus incorporates *rabies* and *furor* in specific reference to the anger of individuals and groups a total of eleven times (this excludes generalisations), and none of these refer to the Roman military. The only time he uses the verb *furo* to refer to the troops is when they were in a state of frenzy when excited by hunger, which led them to behave like barbarians (25.7.4). Ammianus held the image in his mind of the righteous Roman soldier in opposition to the fierce, raving savages who are rarely assigned any civilised virtues.<sup>48</sup> The homogeneity of the soldiers initially diminishes the element of individuality and he describes the groups as behaving as single units, with a singular consciousness. The collective behaviour of large groups meant that they could be manipulated by leaders on both sides by inducing an angry reaction that was either just and for the *virtus* and *gloria* of the Roman Empire,<sup>49</sup> or else was perceived by the Romans as the savage ferocity of the untrustworthy hordes of the beast-like barbarians. Therefore, the historian does acknowledge the contrasting imagery he would have created in the minds of his Latin-speaking audience, who would also associate these specific anger terms with their associated meanings.

We can safely assume then that Ammianus was thoroughly on the side of the common soldiers, for they were doing their duty and obeying orders, and as such were benefiting the Roman Empire. The soldiers that joined the Roman army were drawn from all parts of this empire, and even though they were often from the very barbarian groups against whom they were in opposition, the fact that they were integrated into the Roman military meant that they took on board the Roman values that the army encompassed and emphasised.<sup>50</sup> These soldiers, no matter their ethnic background, were accorded an overall level of praise from the historian. In contrast, those groups that were living outside the boundaries of civilisation were associated with the untrustworthiness of the wilderness. The Alamanni are described as *barbara feritas*,<sup>51</sup> a very typical description of the fierce Germanic warriors throughout the *Res Gestae*. *Feritas* is a term that takes the barbarians into the realm of the savage; they were not bound by the strong moral code that was emphasised by the Romans – and the language of the historian when he describes these groups reflects the savagery and uncultured nature of the barbarians.

### Anger on Behalf of a Leader

*Ira* is employed in relation to the soldiers, when they are acting in accordance with what is believed to be the greater good and *ira militum* helps make the Roman Empire secure. When *ira* is used of passionate support for a leader, it is with either the supposed greater good in mind or, as in the case in Gaul in 360, the greater good of the soldiers involved (20.4.16), although the soldiers also felt a sense of betrayal and anxiety. For example, *ira* was used to express anger at a deserter at Amida in 359 (19.5.8).<sup>52</sup> *Ira militum* is also used consistently when speaking of the vengeance taken out upon the enemy (e.g. 24.2.5; 24.4.20).<sup>53</sup> And in Gaul, the soldiers showed *ira* in their support of Julian (20.4.16). However, various leaders could manipulate the wrath of the soldiers. This potentially had serious repercussions, not only for the soldiers themselves, but

<sup>48</sup> Seager (1986) 68.

<sup>49</sup> "...*ira* in battle is a very useful emotion, it...awakens the combat courage and stimulates the soldiers to *virtus*", Brandt (1999) 167.

<sup>50</sup> As Southern & Dixon (1996) 50 point out, "The Germans who attained positions of authority in the army and in civilian office were more Roman than the Romans, attuned to Roman civilisation and ways of life". Cf. Potter (2004) 443, "To be in the army, and in the service of the emperor, was to be 'Roman,' even if one's roots were beyond the Rhine or Danube".

<sup>51</sup> 16.12.2; 16.12.16; 16.12.23 & 16.12.31. Cf. Blockley (1977) 222.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. anger determinants numbers 2 & 4 in the Introduction, page 19.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Val. Max. 2.9.9.

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also for the instigator of their anger, no matter how secure he was in his position. The soldiers' anger was something to be seriously considered when one was in charge of a large group of relatively uneducated and armed individuals, who certainly had the potential to think for themselves (though nominally in a collective sense in order to promote united action). Here we are clearly presented with the soldiers' cognitive assessment of a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment and this can also be seen as a response to righteous indignation if they did not fully understand what was happening. This naturally relates to anger determinant number 3, "a response to righteous indignation".

## PRIMARY RESPONSES TO ANGER IN THE MILITARY

*Summary of Primary Responses*

Manifestation of Anger	Reference
Gnashing and grinding of the teeth	16.12.13, 19.5.3, 27.10.7
The striking of spears against shields	14.2.17, 21.13.16, 25.3.10
Verbal abuse	28.6.23
<b>Total 7</b>	

Primary manifestations of anger include the generalised exhibiting of battle rage. However, in the table given above (1.3), I have only included the direct observable physical reactions and have put ‘battle rage’, as a specific theme, further down. For battle rage is both a manifestation as well as a secondary response to notions of outrage; or else is caused through being incited into an emotional state by a figure of power – or a collective group of individuals, such as is found in a legion. In fact, all of the references given in the table above are clear indications of battle rage. The soldiers incorporated physical displays of anger as a collective unit in order to demonstrate their anger towards a particular offending individual or group. Anger was used in a theatrical-like display, the effect of which was as familiar to the enemy as it was to the audience of drama:

Quibus occurrere bene pertinax miles explicatis ordinibus parans hastisque feriens scuta, qui habitus iram pugnantium concitat et dolorem, proximos iam gestu terrebat. Sed eum in certamen alacriter consurgentem revocavere ductores rati intempestivum anceps subire certamen, cum haud longe muri distarent, quorum tutela securitas poterat in solido locari cunctorum.<sup>54</sup>

(14.2.17)

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<sup>54</sup> “And when the unperturbed soldiers made ready to meet them (the Isaurians), deploying their ranks and striking their shields with spears, an action which rouses the wrath (*Ammianus would have perceived it as wrath, but today we can see it as raised adrenaline, or even a purposely chosen tactical move in order to frighten the enemy. This can be seen as a form of chest beating, e.g. the chest beating of gorillas.*) and resentment of the combatants, they intimidated the nearest of the enemy by their very gestures. But as they were eagerly rushing to the fray, their leaders called them back, thinking it inadvisable to risk a doubtful combat when fortifications were not far distant, under the protection of which the safety of all could be put on a solid foundation.”

Nemo post haec finita reticuit, sed militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes – quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra, cum hastis clipei feriuntur, *irae documentum est et doloris* – immane quo quantoque gaudio praeter paucos Augusti probauere iudicium Caesaremque admiratione digna suscipiebant imperatorii muricis fulgore flagrantem.<sup>55</sup>

(15.8.15)

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Nec finiri perpassi, quae dicebantur, *stridore dentium infrendentes* ardoremque pugnandi hastis illidendo scuta monstrantes in hostem se duci iam conspicuum exorabant caelestis dei favore fiduciaque sui et fortunati rectoris expertis virtutibus freti atque, ut exitus docuit, salutaris quidam genius praesens ad dimicandum eos, dum adesse potuit, incitabat.<sup>56</sup>

(16.12.13)

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Reducto ad tentoria principe incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque ardore *miles ad vindictam ira et dolore*<sup>57</sup> *feruentior involabat*, hastis ad scuta concrepans etiam mori, si tulisset fors, obstinatus. Et quamvis offundebatur oculis altitudo pulveris et aestus calescens officeret alacritati membrorum, tamen velut exactoratus amisso ductore sine parsimonia ruebat in ferrum.<sup>58</sup>

(25.3.10)

As these four passages above demonstrate, Ammianus incorporated a good deal of sound and imagery in order to transmit the primary responses to the emotion of anger. The commanders of the army were supported through the collective rage of the soldiers, whose fearsome reactions were expressed through physical displays such as clashing of spears against shields and the gnashing of teeth (a typical sign of anger, but only observable at close quarters by the enemy), although it is questionable whether they actually did this or it was a stereotype.

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<sup>55</sup> “After this address was ended, no one held his peace, but all the soldiers with fearful din struck their shields against their knees (this is a sign of complete approval; for when, on the contrary, they smite their shields with their spears it is an indication of anger and resentment) (However, it has been regarded that *nam contra...doloris* is incorrect, cf. 20.5.8; 21.5.9; Rolfe (1971) 172 n. 1.), and it was wonderful with what great joy all but a few approved Augustus’ choice and with due admiration welcomed the Caesar, brilliant with the gleam of imperial purple.”

<sup>56</sup> “The soldiers did not allow him (Julian) to finish what he was saying, but gnashed and ground their teeth and showed their eagerness for battle by striking their spears and shields together, and besought him that they might be led against an enemy who was already in sight, trusting in the favour of God in Heaven, in their own self-confidence, and in the tried valour of their lucky general; and (as the event showed) a sort of helpful guardian spirit was urging them to the fray, so long as he could be at hand.”

<sup>57</sup> For combinations of *ira* and *dolor* in different literary genres, see Boeft (2005) 77.

<sup>58</sup> “After the emperor had been taken back to camp his troops in a frenzy of rage and grief flew upon the enemy with incredible eagerness to wreak their revenge, clashing their spears against their shields and resolved to die if that were their lot. Their eyes were blinded by dust, which rose high in the air, and their energy was impaired by the growing heat, yet they rushed recklessly on the enemy’s swords, released, as it were, from discipline by the loss of their leader.”

Ammianus was not present on this occasion. Nevertheless, we can understand how strong leaders could manipulate the collective emotional output of the soldiers in order to deliberately support their military, and even political, ambitions. In his descriptions, Ammianus does not judge the behaviour of the soldiers as immoderate, but as suited to the occasion. The soldiers behave as they are encouraged to behave and, as they are fighting for Roman military commanders, then for the most part, it is for the right reasons – i.e. the security of the Roman Empire and the preservation of its *mores*.

The conditioning for the soldiers to unite through their anger was by exhibiting such overt behaviour as clashing spears against shields, so that this collective involvement made the army a powerfully unified force. The sound created, along with the visually noticeable fury of the soldiers, was meant to strike terror into the enemy. Therefore, creating a loud sound could also mean the provision of support of a particular leader, as well as being a means to intimidate their opponents. This primary response could of course also be usefully employed in order to support a leader and to intimidate an enemy at one and the same time. In other words, confected anger:

Omnes post haec dicta in sententiam...*suam hastasque vibrantes irati* post multa, quae benevole responderant, petebant duci se protinus in rebellem. Qua gratia in laetitiam imperator versus ex metu contione mox absoluta Arbitionem ante alios faustum ad intestina bella sedanda ex ante actis iam sciens iter suum praeire cum Lanceariis et Mattiariis et catervis expeditorum praecepit et cum Laetis itidem Gomoarium venturis in Succorum angustiis opponendum ea re aliis antelatum, quod ut contemptus in Galliis erat Iuliano infestus.<sup>59</sup>

(21.13.16)

As this passage above shows, the anger of the soldiers gave the emperor Constantius confidence, and turned his fear (*metus*) into joy (*laetitia*). Ammianus demonstrates this transformation of emotional state as one that needed the collective encouragement of the military, rather than Constantius simply ordering the soldiers to obey his commands. As such, the military is shown to hold quite a significant degree of political sway in either their support or refusal of the requests of the emperor. The notion that the emperor was in full control of his military forces was dependent upon his strength as a leader, and the ability to understand the emotional state of the army. Both elements were essential factors for inciting his soldiers into action, and then remaining in control of them once their spirits were roused. In a passage of Aristotle's early logical writings, he illustrates a philosophical rule by stating that "shame exists in the reasoning part, fear in the spirited part, distress in the appetitive part, for pleasure is also in this, and anger in the spirited part" (*Topics* 4.5, 126a8–10).<sup>60</sup> Although Constantius was no

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<sup>59</sup> "This speech won them all to his side. Brandishing their spears angrily, they expressed much sympathy for Constantius and demanded to be led forthwith against the rebel. Their favourable response changed the emperor's fear into joy. Dismissing the assembly he ordered Arbitio, with whose unrivalled success in quelling civil wars he was well acquainted, to go ahead of him with the Lancers and Mattiarii and some companies of light-armed troops. Gomoarius likewise was sent on with the Laeti to oppose the enemy's advance at the pass of Succi. He was chosen because he had a grudge against Julian for the contemptuous treatment that he had received in Gaul."

<sup>60</sup> Knuuttila (2004) 26.

deep philosopher, he was aware of the importance of the army as a significant source of power and that their passions must be used to enable successful outcomes.<sup>61</sup>

The army as a collective force on occasion united against a leader and dictated actions, as happened at the Battle of Strasbourg, when Julian wanted to wait to engage the enemy, but his men were eager to fight at once. The “principal reason was that, if they did not, the men would be impossible to control”.<sup>62</sup> At 21.13.16, as in similar cases, it is the emotional reaction of the armed forces that prompted the emperor into action. For Ammianus writes that *suam hastisque vibrantes irati*, and with the noise and visual element involved, this unity ensured the soldiers remained a collective force who would pull together to attack another Roman force in the West. Constantius had precedent for his actions against Julian,<sup>63</sup> and encouraged and supported the *ira* of the soldiers rather than attempting to suppress it. Ammianus strongly supported the side of Julian against the Augustus – in particular his strong military presence in Gaul, for he contrasts this with the “generally quietist policy of Constantius”.<sup>64</sup> When the Roman soldiers were acting under the orders of their Roman commanding officers, they were behaving with *virtus*, and in Ammianus’ portrayal, this was the proper behaviour for the Roman soldiery, no matter his agreement with the behaviour of their leaders.

The prompting of leaders by the soldiers into action is also shown above in passage 16.12.13. As with Constantius’ troops, Julian’s legions showed their support for their commander through a physical display of battle rage. On this occasion they showed their eagerness for battle as they gnashed and ground their teeth, and by striking their spears against their shields: *stridore dentium infrendentes, ardoremque pugnandi hastis illiando scuta monstrantes*. Here anger was used to mask or displace feelings of helplessness, for, as with Constantius’ troops, Julian’s besought their leader to lead them out against the enemy, and thereby demonstrated their collective response to a known threat. Ammianus also recounts that their acclamations followed the speeches of their commanding officers, and that they would invoke their deity to aid in their victories. This gave the process an added religious element.

Only once at 19.5.3 do we have a specific reference to anger in the Roman military using the keyword *frendo*. In total Ammianus uses this term seven times and one is ambiguous. Consequently only six make up this pool of data.<sup>65</sup> The other references to *frendo* are once in regards to the anger of Julian, and the rest are in relation to Persians and barbarians. Tacitus does not use this term anywhere in his historical works, although Livy does.<sup>66</sup> *Frendo* is usually found in conjunction with *dentibus*, meaning to gnash or grind one’s teeth.<sup>67</sup> This is a very obvious manifestation of anger. Ammianus writes of the two Magnentian legions that were trapped inside Amida:

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<sup>61</sup> As a consequence he occasionally promoted barbarian military men over Roman aristocrats, and this resulted in his designation of Arbutio as *consul prior* in 355, Edbrooke (1976) 50. Arbutio was promoted from the ranks to *magister militum praesentalis* under Constantius, and held his appointment for many years. However, as Jones (1964) 135 points out, “such cases aroused comment and were presumably rare”.

<sup>62</sup> Seager (1999) 589.

<sup>63</sup> For example the wars of his father against Licinius (324) and Magnentius (353). Cf. for Licinius as portrayed in Eusebius, Montgomery (2000) 130-138, also *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 12. For Magnentius, see *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 10-11.

<sup>64</sup> Blockley (1977) 219.

<sup>65</sup> See Chapter 6, Table 6.1.

<sup>66</sup> Livy 30.20.1, (*Hannibal*) *frendens gemensque ac uix lacrimis temperans dicitur legatorum uerba audisse*.

<sup>67</sup> *CLD* 255.

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Postremo obseratis portis precantibusque tribunis egredi nequeuntes *frendebant* ut bestiae. Verum secutis diebus efficacia eorum emineuit, ut docebimus.<sup>68</sup>

These recent arrivals from Gaul were itching to attack the Persians that were assaulting the walls of the fortified city. What makes this account even more pertinent to this discussion is that here Ammianus was an eyewitness, so his descriptions of them behaving like wild beasts (*bestiae*) is close to his own perceptions – although naturally these representations can be deliberately distorted to create effect. These were men who lived to fight and their battle rage made them a powerful, if somewhat undisciplined, force. Roman troops acquired from the provinces took on the qualities of their leaders and Magnentius' men were still undergoing that transition to obeying commands of their officers. Here it appears that their natural barbarism shines through.

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<sup>68</sup> "Finally, when the gates were barred and they could not get out against their officers' orders, they snarled like wild beasts. But in the days that followed they were conspicuously effective, as will be seen."



## SECONDARY RESPONSES TO ANGER IN THE ROMAN MILITARY

### Summary of Secondary Responses<sup>69</sup>

Secondary Response	Reference
Angry threats	14.10.3, 14.10.5, 20.8.8, 28.6.23
Destruction of property and civilians	17.10.6, 24.4.1, 27.10.7
The action of checking the progress of/or attacking the enemy	21.13.16, 25.1.2, 25.7.4
The killing of the enemy	16.12.52, 17.13.9, 17.13.15, 19.5.8, 19.11.14, 24.2.5, 24.4.20, 24.4.25, 25.3.10, 26.9.3, 27.10.5
<b>Total 21</b>	

#### Julian's Proclamation in Paris

The passage below is taken from the letter that Julian wrote to Constantius, to justify what happened in Paris when the soldiers forcibly proclaimed him Augustus in February 360.<sup>70</sup> From this letter it is apparent that the anger of the soldiers was a result of their perception of an outrage. According to Aristotle, "...anger is necessarily caused by the thought of outrage..."<sup>71</sup> (Although this is not the only reason why people become angry.) Outrage is a secondary response to anger when it is cognitively judged to be caused by an injustice:

*Cuius iracundiae nec dignitatum augmenta nec annum merentis stipendium id quoque inopinum accessit, quod ad partes orbis eoi postremas venire homines iussi assueti glacialibus terris separandique liberis et coniugibus egentes trahebantur et nudi. Unde solito saevius efferati nocte in unum collecti palatium obsidere Augustum Iulianum vocibus magnis appellantes et crebris.*<sup>72</sup>

(20.8.8)

Here the 'outrage' of the soldiers resulted from not receiving their pay, as well as Constantius' orders that "Julian should send to the East four *auxilia palatina*, the Heruli and the Batavi, the Celtae and the Petulantes, 300 men from each of his other regiments, and the pick of his two

<sup>69</sup> Some of these can also be seen as primary responses. There is often a fine line here.

<sup>70</sup> Ammianus presents the letter of Julian that he possibly had access to or knew of from personal contact with Julian's secretaries, although he does present *adlocutiones*, as does Tacitus, Blockley (1973) 73. Cf. Williams (1997) 62. Ammianus was in a more fortunate position, in that he was a contemporary of the emperors whom he wrote about and perhaps had more first-hand knowledge of their actions, written accounts and actual speeches. Although we must bear in mind that Julian was writing this, as well as other letters, for a direct purpose and thus is necessarily biased towards his case.

<sup>71</sup> Fortenbaugh (1975) 12.

<sup>72</sup> "Their resentment at failing to receive either promotion or annual pay was increased by the unexpected order that men who are accustomed to a cold climate should be transferred to the furthest parts of the East, separated from their wives and children, and marched off in a state of want and destitution. In consequence they assembled at night in a mood of unusual anger and surrounded the palace, shouting loudly and repeatedly 'Julian Augustus.'"

*scholae*, the Scutarii and Gentiles".<sup>73</sup> Whereas previously Julian had promised a number of his men that they would not be made to leave their homelands. The letter of Julian explains that as a result of the anger of the soldiers, Julian retreated in fear, and admitted that he was only able to console the troops and calm their outrage through his persuasive words. However, they could only be fully assuaged when he yielded to their demand to make him emperor. Julian accepted this finally in order to quieten their armed violence (*vim armatam*) (20.8.10). The indications introduced by the historian support the notion that Julian became emperor through the outrage and forced responses of his soldiers. This letter failed to appease Constantius, even though it offered a number of concessions. Julian marched east towards Constantinople in 361, but Constantius died in Cilicia on 3 November, 361, before he could engage the usurper.<sup>74</sup>

One more instance in this sequence of events that demonstrates secondary responses to anger occurred shortly after Julian's forced usurpation, when the new emperor retired into seclusion in his palace. This prompted a decurion of the palace into a panic, in which he spread the rumour that their new emperor had been murdered.<sup>75</sup> In response, the soldiers of the Gallic legions, with anxiety (*sollicitudine*), rushed to the palace brandishing their weapons and here again we see how anger is incorporated to mask or displace feelings of helplessness. This then relates to anger determinant number 4, "anxiety, where anger seeks to mask or displace feelings of shame or helplessness". At once they created a fearful uproar that so terrified the troops stationed inside that they fled the enraged soldiers. Ammianus, through reports and his own understanding and interpretation of the events, was able to recount the supposed effects that differing emotions had on prompting the soldiers into quick action: *strepituque immani excubitores percussi, et tribuni et domesticorum comes Excubitor nomine, veritique versabilis perfidiam militis, evanuerere metu mortis subitae dispalati* (20.4.21). What we learn from these events is that when the soldiers finally discovered that their emperor was alive and well, they ceased to rage, and once confident that their leader would remain as emperor, they were able to direct their anger towards the real enemy – the untamed tribes of Germany (20.10.1ff). The soldiers therefore reacted of one accord to the perception that the emperor, whom they had just created, had somehow been taken away from them, and this outrage that they felt led them to exhibit an aggressive response towards the property and attendants of Julian.

### **Response to the Tripoli Affair**

Ammianus is explicit about the potential threat to groups and individuals that the soldiers presented. This is especially obvious when he describes the various rebellious actions prompted by anger and the notions of outrage within the soldiery. There are a number of instances that are recorded by Ammianus that either resulted in the death, or potential death, of various individuals at the hands of the troops. They include the soldiers' angered reaction towards the envoy Flaccianus, who was seen to have betrayed them and so anger covered their feelings of helplessness:

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<sup>73</sup> Jones (1964) 120. However, it appears that these orders were the response of Constantius to his suspicions that Julian was becoming too popular in the West, and he wished to suppress a possible uprising. Nevertheless, this decree would naturally cause angst amongst any group whose perceptions of the outside world were very limited and/or cherished their family life. Nevertheless, as Jones (1964) 125 further points out, these field armies were fully mobile, and were theoretically able to travel from one corner of the empire to the next. However, as is the case here, these armies could form local attachments. Also, there were German units who had been guaranteed that they would not serve beyond the Alps upon their enlistment, and as Burns (2003) 322 states, these were volunteers, not defeated opponents.

<sup>74</sup> Jones (1964) 120.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Williams (1997) 64.

Flaccianus tamen ante legatorum interitum, cum a vicario audiretur et comite, constanter salutis suae propugnans acclamationibus *iratorum militum* impetuque cum conviciis paene confossus est obicientium ideo Tripolitanos non potuisse defendi, quod ipsi ad expeditionales usus praebere necessaria detrectarunt.<sup>76</sup>

(28.6.23)

Again this is closely connected to anger determinant number 4, “anxiety, where anger seeks to mask or displace feelings of shame or helplessness”. Earlier, Flaccianus along with another envoy, Severus, had been sent by the townspeople of Tripolis to tell Valentinian of the “lamentable ruin of the province” (28.6.7, *lacrimosas provinciae ruinas*). This the men did, however, the emperor Valentinian, whom they addressed in person, did not believe their statements (28.6.9). The townspeople of Tripolis were suffering not only from a corrupt governor,<sup>77</sup> but also from the threat of raids by the Moorish tribes of the desert, which naturally caused them much “anxiety and suspense” (*suspensis et anxiiis*). Both were instigators of the angry reactions of the soldiers who were garrisoned in and around Tripolis,<sup>78</sup> and the reason why the soldiers had not been able to defend Tripolis was due to the lack of supplies necessary for such an operation.<sup>79</sup> After a series of incidents from which the emperor eventually learnt of the true state of the destruction of this province, he became so angry that he launched an investigation during which several leading figures were executed. Ammianus then describes the soldiers’ angry reaction towards Flaccianus, who, as the original envoy, had been seen as not having fulfilled his duties in the first place. Ammianus (28.6.24) writes that Flaccianus was able to safely escape to Rome, where he died of natural causes. The emotional reaction of the soldiers was significant enough for the historian to record for posterity. Ammianus may have held the similar view of the soldiers towards Flaccianus in their outrage, and this was the cognitive secondary response that they also exhibited towards others whom they condemned. This resembles Cause 6, which is a learnt response to certain situations, as well as with Cause 2 (see Introduction). This entire incident is worthy of recording, for it shows that the anger of the soldiers benefited the province. Their anger was said to have caused Flaccianus to be imprisoned. As a consequence Valentinian was forced to seriously consider the happenings in the province, which in turn led to its relief from distress.

The details of these events in the Latin are confused and are not presented as a coherent narrative. Nevertheless, Ammianus is again simply trying to demonstrate that the soldiers are on the side of right, using the term *ira* in order to describe their rage. Whether the soldiers’ anger was a force for change here is questionable. It is evident that the soldiers had to be paid in order to remain loyal, and this paying of largesse by those in authority was something that Tacitus was also well aware of.<sup>80</sup> That the soldiers were not adequately supplied is a recurrent motive behind their anger and notions of outrage. What is relevant here is the imagery that Ammianus incorporates to emphasise the anger of the soldiers, and the noise and vibrancy of

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<sup>76</sup> “Before the death of the envoys, however, Flaccianus was brought before the vice-prefect and the court. He defended himself with energy, but was almost finished off by the furious troops, who rushed at him shouting abuse, and claiming that the reason why it had been impossible to protect the Tripolitans was that they refused to provide the supplies necessary for the operation.” Cf. Newbold (2002) 45.

<sup>77</sup> Romanus, See Chapter 5, 219ff.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 386.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Warmington (1956) 59.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.2.1; 1.52.1.

this representation is reminiscent of scenes described in the text in which the soldiers use threatening noises and gestures in order to intimidate their enemy.

### Religion in the Army

As shown above, *ira* is the term most commonly associated with responses that indicate battle rage. At 16.12.52 for example, Ammianus records the *ira* felt by the soldiers towards the Alamanni: *iram explevit nec satiavit caede multiplici dexteram, vel miseratus supplicantem abscessit*. Here, we again have the example of an enemy being slaughtered by the angered troops, but interestingly, it is with the support of the gracious will of an appeased deity: *aderatque propitiati numinis arbitrium clemens* – although the historian does not state who explicitly this deity was, and for good reasons. In contrast, the Christian authors such as Gregory of Nazianus and Eusebius<sup>81</sup> who record this period, do not hesitate to state that it was God’s will when the army was successful. Ammianus, being a pagan, was naturally hesitant in ascribing victories to the will of the Christian god.

At 16.12.13, we have the interesting concept that Ammianus has combined religious beliefs, perhaps so that he does not cause offence to either party – although he does run the risk of offending both. In his account of the soldiers being led into battle against the tribes of the Alamanni by the Caesar Julian, he describes their manifestations of anger along with their eagerness to fight, but then he goes on to say that the soldiers trusted in God in Heaven (*caelestis dei*), as well as a sort of helpful guardian spirit (*salutaris genius praesens*). The combination of these two elements suggests that the anger of the soldiers was righteous, by being supported by supernatural beings – whether they be Christian or pagan. By emphasising the notion that Julian was being supported by these elements, Ammianus not only highlights Julian’s purpose as being divinely inspired, but also it provides us with an insight into the author’s own careful viewpoint, as it appears that he was not prepared to take sides in his historical narrative in the issue of religion. Since Ammianus was on occasion a witness the events in which the soldiers displayed anger, we know that he was fully aware of the importance that religion played in the functioning of the legions as a fighting force. Therefore, one can safely assume that the secondary responses to anger in the soldiery are often subjected to their inherent attitudes and beliefs, and it is these that make up the values of the military.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, religious belief *can* breed punitive, rigid attitudes that may seem to be “righteous”.

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<sup>81</sup> Cf. Woods (1997) 283f.

<sup>82</sup> And many of these were imbued in their way of thinking for centuries. Chapter 6, which discusses in part the anger of the military in Tacitus, reveals such similarities.

## CONSEQUENCES OF ANGER IN THE ROMAN MILITARY

### Summary of Consequences for Selves or Others

Consequences for Selves or Others	Reference
Desire to attack the enemy, which was acted upon	25.1.2
Desire to attack an enemy, which was not acted upon	21.13.16, 25.7.4
Destruction of the property of others	17.10.6, 24.4.1, 24.4.25, 27.10.7
Julian responds to the soldiers' fears/demands	20.4.16, 20.8.8
Victory for the Roman soldiers/defeat of the enemy	14.2.17, 16.12.13, 16.12.52, 17.13.9, 17.13.15, 19.5.8, 19.11.14, 24.2.5, 24.4.20, 25.3.10, 26.9.3, 27.10.5
<b>Total 21</b>	

Previously, it was pointed out that battle rage was an extremely useful tool for motivating troops into action, and this cannot be overemphasised. Now, we can use those instances in which, according to Ammianus, the soldiers collectively and positively unified against the barbarians. If these are grouped according to consequence, then this supports Ammianus' motives for incorporating so many instances of rage amongst the troops, some of which he would have been personally acquainted with. There are further ramifications for this presentation of the army in the *Res Gestae*, for, as the table above shows, there were consequences for the Roman military as well as for others who were affected by their anger.

#### The Destructive Behaviour of Soldiers

Ammianus describes the destructive attitude of the soldiers when they had no enemies to attack: *irritator ad pugnandum, velut repertis barbaris minaciter infrendebat* (27.10.7). After a lapse of several days, having found no one to take out their frustrations on, the soldiers turned to burning all the fields and dwellings that they came across. When the soldiers felt as though their talents were not being put to good use, or were simply bored, they put their energies to more destructive pursuits. In the majority of instances Ammianus supports the actions of the soldiers, however, when the soldiers behave in this manner, they are not defended by Ammianus in his terminology. Instead of *ira*, he uses the term *infrendo*, with its inherent suggestion of savageness.<sup>83</sup>

#### Unfulfilled Desire to Attack an Enemy

*Furor* is normally a trait ascribed to barbarians.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, at 25.7.4, the Roman soldiers were excited by hunger and wrath, *furebat...iraque percitus*, and wanted to attack the Persians, however, they were prevented from carrying out their desire by the Persian envoys. After four days of negotiations their passions were allayed through the provisions that the emperor Jovian

<sup>83</sup> Compare the behaviour of the soldiers at 16.11.9 where some of Julian's soldiers were encouraged to cross the Rhine to where some of the Alamanni were encamped and, "slaughtered everyone they found like sheep, without distinction of age or sex".

<sup>84</sup> For *furor* as applied to barbarians in Ammianus, see Seager (1986) 57. For *furor* as a term applied to barbarians by the Romans in general, see for example, Dauge (1981) 428-429; Mathisen (2006) 28.

was able to provide, after first making a treaty with the Great King Sapor.<sup>85</sup> That this treaty was shameful in the mind of Ammianus; the historian leaves us in no doubt. But, “Rather, by emphasising the inadequacy of Jovian as a leader during these critical days Ammianus ignores the fact that Jovian had taken over power in an almost desperate situation, for which his predecessor Julian was responsible”.<sup>86</sup>

At 14.7.6 we are also shown the consequences that starvation had when the populace of Antioch, driven by famine and anger (*famis et furoris impulsu*), lynched Theophilus, the governor of Syria. This demonstrates that groups, when driven to desperate situations, often acted out through violence to save themselves from cruel sufferings. In Book 25, Ammianus describes the hunger of the soldiers on a number of occasions, which he “repeats like an incantation”.<sup>87</sup> At 25.8.6, Ammianus describes how the army were forced to kill and eat camels and other pack animals – such was the urgency of their situation. The wellbeing of the troops greatly affected the consciousness of Ammianus and therefore his continuous return to these themes.

### Near-Mutinies

The *Res Gestae* is a text filled with accounts of military uprisings, battles, sieges, discontent, humiliation, defeats and victories. Julian himself apparently only usurped power through the incessant protests of his own legions,<sup>88</sup> and Procopius gained and lost power through the whims of his soldiers.<sup>89</sup> Ammianus details the influence of anger as the soldiers became intolerant of bad treatment. On occasion this determined whether or not the soldiers supported certain leaders, and whether or not they wished someone else to lead them. This awareness of the fickleness of the soldiers meant that the emperors were always conscious of potential threats to their dominion:

It seems...that this problem was especially noticeable in the reign of Constantius II whose officials sometimes treated both Gallus (perhaps for good cause) and Julian with an astonishing peremptoriness. It is apparent too that Ursicinus<sup>90</sup> was at times regarded with extreme suspicion as a general who had ruler-potential and was assured of great popularity with the armies (15.2).<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Boeft (2005) 219.

<sup>86</sup> Boeft (2005) 220.

<sup>87</sup> Matthews (1989) 186: 25.1.10; 25.2.1, *com meatibus nos destitutos inedia cruciabat iam non ferenda*; 25.6.4; 25.6.7; 25.8.1.

<sup>88</sup> “Ostensibly reluctant to be proclaimed Augustus, Julian had to endure insults and abuse from angry troops who allegedly saw in such an elevation a means to avoid their transfer to the East (20.4.14)”, Newbold (2002) 45.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. 26.6.13, 26.7.17 for the soldiers swearing oaths to Procopius. Soldiers defect from Valens to Procopius, 26.7.17. Soldiers defect from Procopius to Valens, 26.9.7.

<sup>90</sup> Ammianus was joined to the staff of Ursicinus (*magister equitum per Orientem* from 349 to 354, and *magister equitum per Gallias* from 355 to 356) by the emperor Constantius. His first entrance into the text is at 14.9.1, and he served under the general in the East and in Gaul (15.5.22). Cf. Matthews (1983) 31. Thompson (1966) 145 describes Ursicinus as a “solid though not a brilliant officer”. He points out that only one other historian bothered to mention him; cf. Zonaras 13.9.

<sup>91</sup> Wardman (1984) 235.

As a rule, accounts of mutinies are rare in the historical sources, and when they do occur they show the “marvellous ingenuousness and excitability of the Roman soldier”.<sup>92</sup> It is also immediately apparent that the anger of the soldiers was a real threat to leaders whom they had initially supported wholeheartedly, and this was a part of their behaviour that increasingly had serious repercussions for imperial figures during the Later Roman Empire. The soldiers of Ammianus’ *Res Gestae* are motivated by events that are often capricious and uncertain. This fits in with Cause 4, or anxiety, where anger seeks to mask or displace feelings of helplessness. At 24.3.3, Ammianus describes the effect of potentially mutinous soldiers upon the leadership capabilities of the emperor Julian. Ammianus wrote that Julian promised his soldiers 100 denarii each as a reward for their services, but when he perceived that the small sum excited a mutinous uproar (*cum eos parvitate promissi percitus tumultuare sensisset*) he was roused to deep indignation. That the potential for violence was assuaged is attributed by Ammianus to Julian’s carefully worded address that discussed the wealth of the Persians as contrasted by the diminished treasury of the Romans, and that the soldiers ought to follow what was right for God and their general, rather than simply material gains. The nature of the soldiers was such that uplifting speeches as given by popular figures could calm their wrath, though some notion of personal gains greatly aided in whether or not they remained committed to their commander’s cause.

Another mutinous instance during the career of Julian occurred whilst he was Caesar in Gaul in 360. In an attempt to allay the soldiers’ anger, Julian informed his troops that he was well aware of their misgivings at leaving for distant lands in the east. He then told them to cease their anger and attempts at revolution (20.4.16, *cesset ira...absque dissensione, vel rerum appetite novarum*). Julian was alert to the fluctuating mood of some of the legionaries, who were naturally afraid of strange places (*metuitis loca*), and that their trepidation led to this angry defiance. Anger of this nature, when held by the majority of the soldiers, was a real threat to the very life of the Caesar – although they would have been in even bigger trouble if they had killed Julian. He was only able to reassure his troops through a carefully worded address, such as made later on in Persia. In Ammianus’ account, the Roman soldiers are men who exhibit extremes in their emotional outbursts, and require not only their fellow soldiers’ concordance in matters of emotion, but a strong leader to guide them on to the right emotional path. This therefore relates to anger factor 2, “tendencies to overlook mitigating details before attributing blame”. A further near mutiny occurred at 17.9.2ff, when the soldiers became desperate due to a lack of supplies, and consequently: “Distinctly personal were the insults hurled at Julian by hungry and angry troops: Asiatic, Greekling, cheat, a fool who only seemed wise (17.9.3)”. This behaviour is in accordance with factors of anger “(1) a desire to blame individuals... (4) tendencies to discount the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality and (5) punitiveness in response to witnessing mistakes made by others”.<sup>93</sup> Ammianus’ portrayal of the soldiers’ uprising at 20.4.16 is criticised:

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<sup>92</sup> Williams (1997) 71. Therefore it is of added significance when Ammianus describes these uprisings in his *Res Gestae*, Williams (1997) 45. However, Messer (1920) 162, speaking of the Republic, claims that mutinies in the Roman army were far more common than many scholars think, “Mutiny is not confined to any particular period of Roman history, early or late. It appears at all periods, when the troops involved were few in number as well as when they reached figures seldom attained before...when the army was composed of burgesses as well as when it was composed of provincials and foreigners. Every type of soldier is guilty of it. Every type of commander suffers from it”.

<sup>93</sup> Newbold (2002) 45.

To me, that scene is highly suspicious; it seems to deal, not with a spontaneous reaction on the part of the soldiers but with a planned mass demonstration in which the instincts of the soldiery are skilfully exploited in a way we know only too well from contemporary history.<sup>94</sup>

Williams also doubts the legitimacy of Julian's statements in regards to the mutiny:

The entire mutiny in Gaul appears to have been carefully orchestrated. And it is significant that the views of the soldiers are only expressed in detail in the contents of the anonymous letter (20.4.10). This incident belongs to the Caesar completely.<sup>95</sup>

However, the contention here is not to establish the legitimacy of Julian's *coup d'état*, but to reveal how Ammianus himself portrays this episode in relation to the anger of the military. What is apparent from this episode is that Julian, as a result of the anger of the soldiers, directly felt fear, and Ammianus records that the praetorian prefect of Gaul, Florentius, also felt a similar dread:

Auxerat inter haec coeptorum invidiam Florenti fuga praefecti, qui velut praesagiens concitandos motus ob militem, ut sermone tenus iactabatur, accitum consulto descesserat Viennam alimentariae rei gratia divelli causatus a Caesare, quem saepe tractatum asperius *formidabat*.<sup>96</sup>

(20.8.20)

Florentius' action here is clear-cut, it is a direct result of fear, and the knowledge that the collective passion of the soldiers would develop into a powerful force; as a consequence of which, a man in his position, without enough supporters, would not be able to survive. This is also evident in the previous passage at 20.4.9, in which the absence of the prefect is explained by his fear of the mutinies of the soldiers: *motusque militares timentis praefecti*. In this respect, the rebellious behaviour of the army not only affected the career path of Julian, it had ranging effects upon others. And although there is no anger word present in the above passage, anger, which prompted the soldiers' rebellion, is nevertheless a prevailing force in the flight of Florentius. Therefore, both 20.4.9 and 20.8.20 are Florentius' fear response to the troops' anger. The consequences of the rage of the soldiers were not always immediate, but could still be potentially damaging to a wide range of groups and individuals.

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In the history of Rome, prior to the period which Ammianus records in his extant narrative, there were, of course, a number of rebellions of the legions that resulted from not being used to their full potential, unjust conditions or demands, or else they were deliberately stirred up by agitators. The historian was well aware of the rebellious nature of the soldiers, which in his

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<sup>94</sup> Auerbach (1953) 53.

<sup>95</sup> Williams (1997) 68.

<sup>96</sup> "The bad impression created by this coup had been increased by the flight of the prefect Florentius. Foreseeing the disturbance that would result from Constantius' demand for troops, for which he was commonly held responsible, he had withdrawn to Vienne, giving the needs of the commissariat as a pretext for leaving the Caesar, whom he had often treated rudely and consequently feared."



## CHAPTER 1

accounts were normally suppressed after only a short period of time. Ammianus was therefore writing in accordance with the literary tradition, and yet presented his argument from the point of view, not of an outsider, but as a man who had personally been involved in the military, and understood the nature of its moods.

Furthermore, Ammianus' audience, who were recalling these incidents two decades after they occurred, would have their notions of life of the Roman soldiery reinforced, and that it was often down to the leaders themselves, rather than the bad behaviour of the soldiers, which made them go off track. Ammianus may perhaps be trying to emphasise the sometimes less than adequate leadership of certain emperors such as Jovian and Julian, rather than the misguided behaviour of the soldiers, who were, after all, exhibiting *ira militum*, rather than the more ill-disciplined emotions of *rabies* or *furor*.

## COMMENTS BY AMMIANUS

*Summary of the Comments by Ammianus*

Comment	Reference
Ammianus disagrees with the anger of the soldiers	22.3.8
Ammianus' support of the soldiers' anger	24.4.20, 26.9.3, 27.10.5
Deliberate incitement of the soldiers' anger	14.10.3, 16.11.12, 16.12.10
<b>Total 7</b>	

It is apparent from the table above that Ammianus was not always able to remain impartial when it came to recording the emotional reaction of the soldiers. However, we do get direct comments on whether a particular episode was justified or not, although this is very rare. Ammianus does not seem to be as passionate about his judgements in relation to the soldiers as he is, for example, when it comes to his portrayal of the emperors. Nevertheless, we are given clear indications that he wanted his audience to follow and react emotionally to his own personal interpretation of these events. For Ammianus, direct comments are used only for events and incidents that he deemed especially important, and that is perhaps why they are so infrequent.

**Deliberate Incitement of the Anger of the Soldiers**

Ammianus is at times aware when the soldiers' anger is collectively inspired by an individual and comments on these three times – always in a judgemental way. At 14.10.3 he recounts that the pagan aristocrat Rufinus, also the uncle of Gallus, was sent to Châlon to explain to the angry soldiers why their supplies of provisions were delayed: *miles...saeviebat*.

Quod opera consulta cogitabatur astute, ut hoc insidiarum genere Galli periret avunculus, ne eum ut praepotens acueret in fiduciam exitiosa coeptantem.<sup>97</sup>

Ammianus (14.10.5) makes the comment that this was likely so that he would be killed by the troops, for Constantius and his advisers feared the power of Rufinus and wanted him removed so that he would not threaten the manoeuvrings against Gallus.<sup>98</sup> It must be pointed out that this episode was part of a new factor affecting society, in which there had now arisen "antagonism between the civilian and military élites".<sup>99</sup> Rufinus was a civilian, and Ammianus (14.10.4) states that the soldiers "are traditionally rough and brutal in their behaviour to civil functionaries". This does not detract from the blame put on Constantius, but reinforces the view that the emperor would use any means at his disposal to rid himself of potential enemies.

<sup>97</sup> "This was a clever and deliberate plot to bring about the death of Gallus' uncle, whose power was such that it was thought that it might encourage his nephew in his fatal ambitions." Cf. 14.10.4; 20.8.8.

<sup>98</sup> Seager (1999) 580 writes, "It is hard to believe in this tale, which seems to discredit Constantius by presenting him as more concerned with political bloodletting than with the welfare of the provinces." See also Edbrooke (1976) 49: "The overriding policy was never to keep a man in office whose loyalty might be questioned."

<sup>99</sup> Frank (1967) 316.

At 16.11.12, Ammianus describes a similar plan by Constantius to have Julian removed, not inconceivably, by the very soldiers who served under him, and who were often prone to outbreaks of anger. For here Ammianus reports the distress in Gaul and alleges that Julian had been sent there, not to relieve the people from hardship, but so that he might perish. It is then alleged that Barbatio, the *magister peditum* under Constantius, was in on the plot. He refused to aid Julian and burnt the supplies that Julian's troops needed.<sup>100</sup> Naturally, when the soldiers learnt of this, they were transported into rage. This was a deliberate political device incorporated to remove, or at least subdue, real or potential threats, whether they were individuals such as Julian, or groups of unruly mobs or barbarian enemies.<sup>101</sup>

### **Ammianus' Criticism of the Soldiers**

In these comments we get a distinct understanding of Ammianus' own opinions in regards to whether or not he supported the attitudes and behaviour of the soldiers, as well as those who incited their angry reactions. As we have seen, the attitude of Ammianus towards the soldiers is normally supportive, however, at 22.3.7-8, it is clear that Ammianus does not approve of the behaviour of the soldiers who killed Ursulus, the *comes sacrarum largitionum* under Constantius.<sup>102</sup> The historian did not condone this behaviour as morally correct, even given the circumstances. The soldiers' anger had come as a response to comments Ursulus had made against their generals when he surveyed the ashes of Amida<sup>103</sup> with Julian. He was said to have exclaimed, "Behold with what courage the cities are defended by our soldiers, for whose abundance of pay the wealth of the empire is already becoming insufficient" (22.11.5).<sup>104</sup> Julian excused the behaviour of the soldiers by saying that the count's death was due to the "resentment of the military" (*militaris ira*). The comment was unfortunate, but was natural, given his station as *comes* of the *largitiones*. He was conscious of the difficulties of extracting funds from the provinces to pay the wages of the troops.<sup>105</sup> It is apparent that Ammianus believed the death of Ursulus to be unjust and that Julian was responsible rather than the soldiers, for he said of this event that, "Justice herself must have wept," and also accused the emperor of ingratitude (22.3.7). For when in Gaul it was intended that Julian should be deprived of the means to grant donatives to his troops, so that he would be exposed to the danger of mutiny. Ursulus, however, ordered the treasury to pay Julian whatever he needed. When Ursulus was killed Julian realised that he would be implicated and to absolve himself he claimed that it had been committed without his knowledge (22.3.8).<sup>106</sup> In fact, during this period, Julian had set up the Tribunal of Chalcedon so that military leaders could try civilians whom they held

<sup>100</sup> Ammianus twice describes Barbatio as a coward, 16.11.7; 17.6.2; cf. Woods (1995) 267. Barbatio was executed for treason in 359; cf. Lenssen (1999) 40.

<sup>101</sup> Similarly, Ammianus comments on Julian's own deliberate motivation of the Roman soldiers to anger, which was a similar ploy in order to subdue a threat to Julian and his protectorate. Here the historian clearly supports the Caesar's approach, for he mentions it in conjunction with a protective guardian spirit. Cf. Althoff (1998) 4.

<sup>102</sup> On the death of Ursulus see Seager (1986) 35. Whilst Caesar in Gaul, Julian had been dependent upon Ursulus for his supplies of money, "who as the *comes* of Constantius controlled the *largitiones* throughout the whole empire", Jones (1964) 370.

<sup>103</sup> Although Amida was a defeat for the Romans, they withstood the might of the Persian army for two and a half months, Austin (1983) 60. Cf. Seager (1997) 257; Blockley (1988) 251.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Blockley (1988) 259.

<sup>105</sup> Jones (1964) 624.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Frank (1967) 317. Cf. Woods (1997) 275; Matthews (1989) 281.

a grudge against. However, when the unpopularity of such a measure was made known, the emperor saw fit to blame his soldiers.

### **Ammianus' Support of the Soldiers' Anger**

This then leads us on to an incident in which Ammianus quite clearly supports the angered behaviour of the soldiers. In this they were behaving under the instructions of their commanding officers, and thus exhibiting the *virtus* expected of them on the battlefield. Ammianus was supportive of those soldiers serving under Procopius<sup>107</sup> for they were obeying orders as they were trained, even though not once does his language ever come close to supporting the behaviour or actions of this particular usurper. When Procopius incited the anger of the soldiers as they were forced to defend the little daughter of Constantius, and her mother Faustina, against the army of Valens,<sup>108</sup> Ammianus writes at 26.9.3 that this was like the Macedonians, who, when on the point of engaging with the Illyrians, placed their infant king in a cradle behind the battle line, so that the soldiers would fight harder in his defence (cf. Justin *Apol.* 7.2.5ff.).<sup>109</sup> Ammianus' language is surprisingly not disapproving of this either, for he writes: *inventata est enim occasio perquam opportuna* and perhaps he simply saw this as a clever tactical move, rather than something unethical. For, regardless, he manifestly disapproved of Procopius' actions.

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<sup>107</sup> A relative of Julian, he made a claim to the throne through the alleged promise by Julian to appoint him as successor. Julian had recently promoted him to the rank of *comes rei militaris*. He managed to enlist some regiments from Thrace and seized Constantinople, Jones (1964) 139. On the revolt of Procopius, see for example Austin (1972a) 187-194. A fairly dated, but still relevant article is by Solari (1932) 143-148.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 196, 199.

<sup>109</sup> Of the Roman example, Austin (1979) 191 writes, "Evidently Procopius was making quite sure that they would not fall into the hands of his opponents and so be lost as a form of emotional pressure to be used on the army".

## CONCLUSION

Ammianus draws a distinct contrast between the Roman military who were meant to behave in a certain way, and those who opposed and repelled them. This comes across especially in their interactions with the barbarian peoples. For Ammianus, with his typically moralistic background, this was truly of paramount importance to his portraiture of the behaviour of individuals in a collective sense. Much of the portrayals of the soldiery come across with a sense of violence and bloodshed, and these brooding insights may reflect Ammianus' own dark mood, and the "hopelessly defensive situation" of the time.<sup>110</sup> Ammianus was very aware of the importance for Rome to retain power and influence over these peoples:

Rome's mission is to be the bastion of civilisation, but now, for all the noble efforts of a few, the values for which she stands are not only under constant attack by the forces of barbarism without, but also subject to unceasing erosion by the growth of barbarism within, even in those whose highest duty it is to be the keenest defenders of the Roman way of life.<sup>111</sup>

The Roman military in the history of Ammianus is presented as easily prone to rage. This made the army a very real threat, and this is something that Ammianus does not hesitate to present to his audience. This feature makes the legions important tools for the various leaders in the *Res Gestae*. For the historian relates the significant impact of the soldiers upon the fortunes of different individuals, right from the beginning of Book 14 and the account of Gallus and his popularity with the troops, up until the final book and the defeat of Valens at Adrianople. Ammianus does not go into any moral arguments regarding this support. However, being a soldier himself perhaps meant that he is in a way biased towards his fellow men – no matter his objections towards the common soldiers in general.<sup>112</sup>

Tacitus' accounts of the mutinies in Pannonia and Germany are discussed in Chapter 6, and he has a definite moral perspective in his choice of emphasis in these portrayals. However, for such a strong supporter of the Roman military, it is interesting that Ammianus places much emphasis on the rebellious nature of the soldiers in certain instances, such as at 20.4.16, when Julian was Caesar in Gaul. His soldiers were angrily defying their orders to travel to the east, and as a consequence Julian told the soldiers to cease their anger (*cesset ira*). Also at 28.6.23 when Ammianus recorded the soldiers' angry reaction towards the envoy Flaccianus, who was seen to have betrayed them. They rushed at him shouting abuse, and claimed that the reason why it had been impossible to protect the Tripolitans was that he had refused to provide the supplies necessary for the operation. The historian is careful to present important reasons for the behaviour of the troops in all these instances. Perhaps they often seemed to him to be justified, for all they were demanding was what was, or seemed to be, fair. Nonetheless, their historical significance is also an issue that Ammianus was well aware of, and this is an important reason for these additions into the *Res Gestae*. For the soldiers as a competent military force were doing 'great things' for their emperor, and as such should be amply rewarded. Oftentimes they were not, and this would have affected Ammianus who, with his typically authoritarian personality, believed in treating those who behaved well with due credit. Occasionally things did

<sup>110</sup> Auerbach (1953) 60.

<sup>111</sup> Seager (1986) 68.

<sup>112</sup> On Ammianus' military experience and personal reflections, cf. Matthews (1989) 287 ff.; Crump (1975) 28f.

get out of hand, and a leader was not always in a position to properly reward or even to feed his troops. We have seen such instances at 14.10.3, when Rufinus was forced to explain to the angry soldiers why their supplies of provisions were delayed. Also at 25.7.4, when the anger of the soldiers at the misery of their situation forced Jovian into making a shameful treaty with the Persian king Sapor. As Ammianus presents the troops, the anger of the soldiers did indeed have a most significant influence upon the emperors and other important figures of the Later Roman Empire.

Apart from anger, the emotions that significantly motivated the soldiers to mutinous behaviour were the powerful passions of fear and sorrow. When the soldiers stationed in Paris learnt of the order from Constantius that they should be sent to the East, away from their families and from their beloved leader Julian, they were: *dolore duplici suspensi discesserunt et maesti* (20.4.13). At first they were said to be simply possessed by sorrow (*angore*), but then remained quiet in their quarters as if consoled. However, they would have talked to and fired each other up, for Ammianus (20.4.14) then writes that when night fell, the soldiers, as if as one, broke out into open revolt, as a result of their distress (*insperato res adflictabat*) at the situation. By emphasising the terrible noise (*horrendis clamoribus concrepabant*) that the soldiers made outside the palace of Julian, he echoes the descriptions of the soldiers at the beginning of each battle, making a terrifying din in order to intimidate the enemy. According to the historian the response of Julian was as follows:

Et ille mente fundata universis resistebat et singulis nunc indignari semet ostendens, nunc manus tendens oransque et obsecrans, ne post multas felicissimasque victorias agatur aliquid indecorum neve intempestiva temeritas et prolapsio discordiarum materias excitaret. Haecque adiciebat tandem sedatos leniter allocutus.<sup>113</sup>

(20.4.15)

Here we have primary emotions, fear and grief, which are transposed into anger and manifested through noisy and aggressive behaviour. The soldiers' wrath was coupled with the appraised cognitive response of outrage at a perceived injustice. Julian was able to understand and react to the emotional outburst of the soldiers and satisfactorily ended this particular mutiny.

As we have already pointed out, in every instance in which Ammianus discusses the anger of the military, it is always in a collective sense for no individuals are singled out. Collective anger in turn suggests unification – whereas the collectivism of the barbarians is not always so enduring, and their discipline is never emphasised. This is apparent in Ammianus' description of the Battle of Strasbourg,<sup>114</sup> when he draws a distinction between the bravery and discipline of the Roman soldiers with the disorder of the Alamanni. At 16.12.44 he records that, "the barbarians lost all order; their rage and fury blazed like fire, as they set themselves to cleave asunder with repeated sword-strokes the shields, closely interlaced in tortoise formation, which protected our men." The constant unification of the Romans who fought in tight formations meant that the more undisciplined barbarians were defeated. As the barbarians were outside

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<sup>113</sup> "Julian, however, resisted one and all firmly and resolutely. At one moment he showed displeasure, at the next he stretched out his arms in passionate entreaty, begging them not to spoil so many happy victories by behaving dishonourably or to let rashness and bad judgement give rise to civil war. When calm was at last restored, he addressed them in mild language as follows..."

<sup>114</sup> On the Battle of Strasbourg, cf. Seager (1999) 589, "Ammianus' choice of words again highlights their (the Alamanni's) insolence, savagery, and frenzy".

the realm of civilisation there is no sympathy felt for them, and the gloriousness of the Roman victory is emphasised in Ammianus' emphatic language.

In contrast to the savage anger of the barbarians, *ira militum*, which is expressed by the Roman military, can be associated with Roman Republican value terms, with perhaps the most important Roman value being *virtus*. *Virtus* was proved by a man's actions, usually on the battlefield. This extends back to Greek philosophic ideals of *thumos*:

...*thumos*, translated as "spiritedness," is a universal psychic disposition, typically expressed as anger against violations of one's honour or as a desire for recognition. These interpreters associate it with the desire to protect one's family and property, with injustice, and manliness, and identify it as the fundamental political impulse.<sup>115</sup>

*Thumos* was also the idea of valour amongst soldiers, "according to which courageous citizens display their patriotism by the spirit of anger (*thumos*) with which they pursue not peace or justice but honor (*time*) and fame (*kleos*)".<sup>116</sup> This is not just honour and fame for the individual, but honour and fame for their particular leader, and in a Roman sense, for the empire and the emperor for whom they essentially were fighting. As well as this, we could also go as far as describing *thumos* as the desire for self-preservation, something that the Roman military was constantly fighting for. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.7) *thumos* was linked to citizenship, love and friendship:

Now, passion (*thumos*) is the quality of the soul which begets friendship and enables us to love; notably the spirit (anger) within us is more stirred against our friends and acquaintances than against those who are unknown to us when we think that we are despised by them...a lofty spirit is not fierce by nature, but only when excited against evil doers. And this, as I was saying before, is a feeling which men show most strongly towards their friends if they think they have received a wrong at their hands...

In this sense, *thumos* is felt most strongly when we feel slighted by a lover, a friend or a family member, than by a stranger.<sup>117</sup> Those who incorporated anger for the right reasons in their physical actions and literary discourse were doing it for the benefit of emphatic ideals, which supported either Greek or Roman notions of justice. For example, at 17.13.9, the soldiers were fighting collectively to defend the life of the emperor (here 'emperor' refers to the Caesar Julian) who was being hotly menaced by the enemy: *eosque imperatori (ut dictum est) acriter imminentes*. Hence we have the troops fighting for a virtuous cause, and their honourable actions invoke feelings of security for the Caesar, as well as fighting for and defending their own lives; this embodies the Greek ideal of *thumos* as well as Roman *virtus*. Ammianus associated *virtus* not just with the soldiers, but with their commanders as well, especially when this was in accordance with *prudentia* and *temperantia*, and with a leader who was prepared to show mercy to his soldiers, especially in regards to the emperor Julian.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Koziak (1999) 1069. Cf. Fisher (2002) 190.

<sup>116</sup> Salkever (1986) 235.

<sup>117</sup> Fisher (2002) 191.

<sup>118</sup> Sabbah (2003) 74. Julian is described as *cautior sui* at Argentoratum, 16.12.29. Theodosius is *ut pugnator cautus et prudens* in Africa, 29.5.39. Frigeridus is *cautus et diligens*, 31.10.22, and *regendi conservandique militis non ignarus*, 31.9.2. Ammianus reports that Julian cultivated the four cardinal virtues as assigned by the philosophers, that is: *temperantia*, *prudentia*, *iustitia* and *fortitudo*, 25.4.1. Then

The moralistic historian stood thoroughly behind those whom he wished to promote as exceedingly positive and those whom he regarded as the worst types. Though it is rare, his comments do reveal the occasional praise or blame which are direct and not hidden behind his rhetoricising language.<sup>119</sup> There are actions and events that the historian uses often quite effectively to promote particular behaviour, and the soldiers fit into this pattern well. Indeed the Roman military conforms better even than his most praised figure, the emperor Julian. For example at 26.9.3 when Ammianus is supportive of those soldiers serving under Procopius, for they were Roman soldiers and as such were obeying orders as they had been trained: *Constanti filiam parvulam cum matre Faustina et in agminibus et cum prope in acie starent, lectica circumferens secum, ut pro imperiali germine, cui se quoque iunctum addebat, pugnarent audentius, iras militum accenderat.*

The comments of Ammianus prove particularly useful in defining precisely the praise given to the soldiers, as he saw himself as one of them – although as an officer. However, blame does come through just as strongly, for example when criticising the weakness of the military in the fourth century, he states: “they are clearly unaware that their forefathers (especially the warlike Trajan) through whom the greatness of Rome was so far flung, gained renown not by riches but by fierce wars...” (14.6.10). In this way:

This ethical reason is joined by the shared awareness of fatal danger threatening Rome if its best defenders – the senators and *militēs* – came to abandon and betray the essence of *Romanitas*, the superiority of moral values which have made Rome’s power, was now its last bulwark against the barbarians.<sup>120</sup>

*si...iustaque sustinet indignatio* (16.12.10).

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he adds, “certain practical gifts” which the emperor also retained: *scientia rei militaris, auctoritas, felicitas* and *liberalitas*, Ammianus seeks to express the ways in which Julian demonstrated these virtues in his obituary, cf. Matthews (1983) 35.

<sup>119</sup> On Ammianus’ use of rhetoric, including *exempla* and digressions, see Laistner (1971) 147.

<sup>120</sup> Sabbah (2003) 79.



## 2. ANGER AND PERSIANS AND BARBARIANS

*To reprove a man when he is angry and in turn to become angry at him serves only to increase his anger*

(Seneca, *De ira*, 3.40.1)

### INTRODUCTION

Although Libanius (*Or.* 19.16) instructed his reader that goodwill towards barbarians was recommended on occasion, this theme is rarely apparent in Ammianus' portrayal of these non-Mediterranean groups, particularly when they are in direct opposition to Roman military forces or have caused a major turnaround in imperial rule.<sup>1</sup> The majority of the barbarians in the *Res Gestae* are savage, uncultured and uncivilised. Therefore:

Much of the way that barbarians were commonly perceived during Late Antiquity revolved around literary and artistic images of violence: a barbarian propensity for violence, violent acts barbarians performed, and, paradoxically, the violence necessary to keep them from being violent.<sup>2</sup>

In these portrayals, Ammianus is in no way different than any historian of his day, for this was a common and effective means of portraying barbarians. Indeed, when speaking of the Odrysians at 27.4.9, he writes that they "wandered about without culture or laws".

Barbarians, whether Germans or Goths, conform to a depressing stereotype. By nature they are arrogant and savage to the point of madness, often behaving more like wild beasts than men. Their self-abasement in defeat is never sincere, for they are treacherous and cunning, and if the constraint of fear is once removed they revert to type. Even when Ammianus admits that they have some grounds of complaint against Rome, the justice of their cause is soon forgotten, obliterated by a welter of allusions to their frenzied and bestial behaviour.<sup>3</sup>

According to Camus:

Ammianus is conscious of the constant pressure exerted at the borders by various tribes. The general representation that he gives is not free from certain distortions which seem descended from literary stereotypes: there are undoubtedly school memories, the influence of a Hellenic tradition for which the barbarian is proud and uncultivated, he

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. after the defeat at the Battle of Adrianople, Ammianus (31.16.8) writes of Julius the *comes et magister militum* that, "Learning of the disasters in Thrace, he sent secret orders to those in charge of the Goths who had been transferred earlier to Asia, and dispersed in various cities and fortresses. These commanders were all Romans, an unusual thing at the present time. The Goths were to be collected quite unsuspecting outside the walls in the expectation of receiving the pay that they had been promised, and at a given signal all put to death on one and the same day. This wise plan was carried out without fuss or delay, and the provinces of the East saved from serious danger".

<sup>2</sup> Mathisen (2006) 27.

<sup>3</sup> Seager (1999) 579.

leads a primitive and brutal life, expressed by a characteristic moral baseness, like revenge, he is unaware of pity.<sup>4</sup>

Camus is right that there was from Ammianus a considerable fascination with these foreign peoples, whom he portrayed as governed by fierceness and savagery. Ammianus makes frequent comparisons between barbarians and wild beasts, and these are often associated with terms suggesting madness, anger and frenzy. In contrast to the Roman military, the barbarians were said to have lacked discipline, and they succumbed to emotion in a far more animalistic manner. Cicero (*De Or.* 3.223) believed that barbarians were thought to be controlled by emotions rather than reason. Those who debased the sophisticated *mores* of the Romans were compared to emotion-charged barbarians. So Cicero said of the Catilinarians (*Sull.* 75-6):

A certain kind of new savagery arose; it was an incredible and singular madness...Nor, indeed, was any people so barbarian or so savage, in which not only so many but one single such cruel enemy was found: these wild beasts, savage and feral, arose clothed in the shape of men...

The barbarians filled the Romans with many emotions, not least, the emotion of fear. To counter this fear they created a discourse on the barbarians to strengthen their own notions of civilisation against barbarian aggression and ferocity.<sup>5</sup> They also stressed courage, discipline and order over the barbarian indiscipline and disorder. Throughout Roman literary history accounts of barbarians are full of negative connotations to balance the mistrust that they invoked in the Romans. This led some moralists such as Seneca (*De ira* 3.17) to state that the barbarians were far more likely to become angry than those who were peaceful and learned. Libanius (*Or.* 19.13) commented on the nature of the barbarians that “In this regard in particular I find the Greeks also to be superior to barbarians. The latter are akin to beasts in despising pity, while the Greeks are quick to pity and get over their wrath”. Velleius Paterculus (2.117.3) also associated barbarians with wild animals, and to him the Germans were those “who have nothing of humanity except for a voice and limbs”. Galen (*De sanitate* 1.10.17) shared a similar view, stating that: “I am not writing for Germans, or for some other savages or barbarian peoples, nor, for that matter, for bears or lions or boars or any other wild animals”. The fourth century poet Prudentius (*c. Symmachus*, 2.816-819) also wrote: “But the Roman is as distant from the barbarian as the quadruped is separate from the biped or the mute from the speaking”.<sup>6</sup>

Of all these authors, Mathisen claims: “But it was Ammianus who used the image of barbarians as beasts to the greatest effect”.<sup>7</sup> For example, at 16.5.16-17, Ammianus wrote of the Alamanni in 356 that: “The barbarian madness again blazed up more greatly. Just like beasts, when their guards are negligent, are accustomed to live by pillaging, they too repeatedly carried

<sup>4</sup> Camus (1967) 116. See especially 22.8, 23.6, 27.4, and 31.2 for the Huns. The Scythians, 22.8.42, 22.8.34, 22.8.38. The Odrysae, 27.4.9f.

<sup>5</sup> That the antithesis between civilization and barbarism was refuted in 1889 by Jean Gimazane in his *Ammien Marcellin* 361-365 in regards to King Pap of Armenia, is not doubted by the author, however there are definitive objections to Gimazane’s point of view that this study on anger reveals. See conclusion of the current chapter for a fuller debate. Cf. Blockley (1975) 62-72; Dauge (1981).

<sup>6</sup> For other comparisons of barbarians to wild beasts in antiquity, see Dauge (1981) 605-609. See Newbold (1990) 265 for comparisons between humans and beasts in Ammianus. Blockley (1975) 183 gives a list of 52 references between humans and beasts.

<sup>7</sup> Mathisen (2006) 31.

off booty”.<sup>8</sup> At 31.8.9 the Goths sacked Thrace, “like wild beasts whose cages had been broken open”. Then at 31.15.2 the Goths attacked Adrianople, “like wild beasts driven more savagely mad by the incitement of blood”. At 28.6.13 the Austeriani, “Flew in like rapacious birds, driven more savagely mad by the incitement of blood”. And at 14.2.2 the Isaurians were, “like wild beasts who, driven by hunger, return particularly to that place where they once were fed”.

Before Julian’s arrival the barbarians ‘ran riot’ in Gaul.<sup>9</sup> Julian’s task was to subdue and impart the Roman civilising influence upon these groups. These themes of barbarism recur right throughout the *Res Gestae*, and always Ammianus is conscious to present the Romans as far better opponents, with their discipline and their just cause. This is in contrast to the barbarians who are at times presented as giving in indiscriminately to their emotions and this is when wild animal imagery comes into play. However, as we shall see, the barbarians in a number of instances are driven to anger through injustices and outrages, and to Ammianus’ credit, he does reveal their wrath as a pertinent response. Adding to this support is Plato’s acknowledgement that anger is at times linked with justice:

For cruel and almost or wholly irreparable wrongs at the hands of others are only to be escaped in one way, by victorious encounter and repulse, and stern correction, and such action is impossible for the soul without generous passion.

(*Leg.* 5.731b).

Apart from the anger terms that we shall look at in this chapter, in the literary tradition barbarians were also associated with such terms as *crudelitas* (cruelty), *feritas* (wildness), *immanitas* (savagery), *inhumanitas* (inhumanity), *impietas* (impiety), *ferocitas* (ferocity), and *discordia* (discord).<sup>10</sup> The purpose of all this was of course to create literary effect. It enabled Ammianus and other authors to present barbarians as ‘bad’ and the Romans as ‘good’. The Romans had a level to measure their own behaviour against and this was an effective means for reinforcing their own perceptions of what it was to be ‘Roman’. This is where values such as *virtus*, *honos*, *dignitas*, and so forth, all come to the fore, as Ammianus presents his barbarians with their vices, and how the Romans overcame this to reinforce their own *mores*. The portrayals of Romans being successful over barbarians made the victors feel good and secure about themselves, for “the more terrifying the barbarian threat seemed, the greater the glory of the victory”.<sup>11</sup>

The notion that barbarians were not concerned with justice, however, is doubtful. When one starts to examine the causes of anger there comes to light a number of justifiable reasons why the barbarians reacted with indignation at certain actions and behaviour of others. This may in part explain the activities of the Isaurians that Ammianus discusses in chapter two of book fourteen. Their outrage is illuminated at 14.2.1 where Ammianus describes how some of their compatriots were thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Iconium.<sup>12</sup> The furious

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<sup>8</sup> The identity of those groups who were defined by the Romans as the ‘Alamanni’ is discussed by Hummer (1998) 1-27.

<sup>9</sup> On the *licentia* of the barbarians, see Seager (1986) 26f.

<sup>10</sup> Mathisen (2006) 28.

<sup>11</sup> Mathisen (2006) 32. Heather (1999b) 235 continues this theme, “No Roman victory was complete without...subservient barbarians”.

<sup>12</sup> Most likely these were bandits. See Honey (2006) 53. Shaw (1984) 3-52, states that bandits were punished separately from ordinary criminals, in that, “The law sanctioned the most brutal of the death penalties, the *summa supplicia*, throwing to the beasts, burning alive, and crucifixion”. However, it was

reaction (*saevientes*) of the Burgundian kings at the behaviour of Valentinian is also a classic example of barbarian outrage:

The Burgundian kings were incensed at the bad faith of Valentinian in not honouring agreements they had come to in dealing with their common enemy, the Alamanni, and felt they had been mocked (*ludibrio habiti*). So they killed all prisoners and returned home (28.5.13). They thereby satisfied themselves at least that they were not powerless, helpless and fit to be scorned.<sup>13</sup>

There were other reasons for barbarians to exert their feelings of injustice and outrage, and often this involved pressures on their perceived territory, such as at 29.6.2, when Ammianus records that the Quadi reacted indignantly (*indigne*) at the infringement of their rights, when the Romans constructed a garrison camp across the Danube on their lands. Although the Quadi did send a delegation to Valentinian they did nothing further at that moment. The debate into Roman expansion into foreign territories is something that scholars have recently placed much focus upon. The reasons and causes for this expansion are debateable:

History, ancient and modern, is replete with wars initiated by major powers able to produce rational arguments that they are defending their own basic security. Yet such wars are frequently considered obvious cases of imperialist expansion by other parties or uninvolved observers. There is, however, no evidence that this pattern applied to Roman behaviour in the East. It is not at all clear that ancient ideology demanded that a war was initiated only in defence of one's interests.<sup>14</sup>

It was only natural that the often aggressive expansionist policies of the Romans would cause much concern for those not yet subjugated. The Quadi were a group who made their indignation known, but the Romans had to face far more aggressive opponents, and these will be discussed further on. The fact that the Romans were military conquerors who sought to subdue lands and groups was not a burden on their conscience. The Romans believed wholeheartedly that the spread of Roman civilisation was for the benefit of those they came into contact with. The panegyricist Latinus Pacatus Drepanius uttered before the emperor Theodosius, "Any nation of barbarians that was troublesome for us on account of their strength, ferocity, or numbers, either looked to its best interest and quieted down, or rejoiced if it could serve us as a friend" (*Pan. Lat.* 12.2.22). That the barbarians would think differently was put down to simply having a less developed belief system, and would in time understand and appreciate what the Romans brought to them.<sup>15</sup>

Another issue was the problem of supplying manpower to the Roman military. The unpopularity of the army and the bad reputation that the service had accounted for much when it came to the reasons why Romans no longer wanted to enlist in the military.<sup>16</sup> Barbarian recruits were the natural solution. By the fourth and fifth-century the army recruited its soldiers

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common to describe enemies of Rome as *latrones*. See Shaw (1984) 3-52 for the identification of those whom the Romans considered as 'bandits'. Cf. Grünewald (1999).

<sup>13</sup> Newbold (2002) 50.

<sup>14</sup> Isaac (1992) 20.

<sup>15</sup> On barbarians being conquered and subjugated by the Romans, see for example: S.H.A. *Probus* 15.2; Zos. 1.46; S.H.A. *Claudius* 9.4; Them. *Or.* 15.186b; Pan. Vet. 7(6).6.2; A.M. 17.13.3, 28.5.4; 29.4.7; 30.6.1.

<sup>16</sup> Southern & Dixon (1996) 53.

from both inside and outside the empire.<sup>17</sup> By the end of the fourth century it is alleged that there had been “a barbarisation, or more accurately, an un-Romanization, of the army”.<sup>18</sup> As well as this, Roman citizens, in particular those of the higher classes, refused to be enlisted in the military.<sup>19</sup> Emperors came up through the ranks of the military and these were men, who, like Valentinian, were closely associated with the rank and file. Their uncivilised behaviour and lack of refinement was seen to affect the basis for the governance of the Empire.<sup>20</sup> By the end of the century the army was employing barbarian troops as mercenaries in defence against other barbarians. Although the Roman military was in a sense Romanising these recruits, even those from outside the frontiers, as they were largely drawn from areas which had been through generations of interaction with the Roman Empire, through trade, local employment, or a tradition of military service,<sup>21</sup> traditionalists such as Ammianus saw the immersion of barbarians into all aspects of Roman society as deeply troubling.

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*Table 2.1. Summary of Anger Words that Refer to Persians and Barbarians*

Book	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Anger words	1	1	8	1	1	10	4	0	0
Book	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Anger words	0	0	2	0	2	3	5	0	5
<b>Total 43 (21 episodes)</b>									

Table 2.1 reveals that Ammianus portrayed direct instances of anger in barbarians and Persians 43 times, only 2 more than the Roman military. The *Res Gestae* contains a significant amount of anger words that are used to refer to the anger of Persians and barbarians and these figures are comparable with, and indeed slightly higher than, the instances of anger in the Roman military. The anger word used most frequently for those whom Ammianus refers to as barbarians is *furor*. The word used most often to indicate anger in the Persians is *ira*, as it is for the Roman military. Interestingly, though, *ira* is used only in reference to Persian kings. In fact, Sapor is shown by Ammianus to exhibit direct anger more times than the entirety of the Persian soldiers. This may demonstrate that Ammianus places more focus on the Persian king rather than on the troops he is in charge of. This is similar to anger references for the Roman emperors and their soldiers, where the anger of the emperors in specific instances outweighs that of their troops.

It is these observations that are explicitly important in the study of the Persians and barbarians, for through them it is revealed whether or not it is the aspects of the anger of the common soldiers that led them to making certain decisions, or whether they were being manipulated emotionally to act in such a manner. These features, as shall be shown, are

<sup>17</sup> Elton (1996) 128.

<sup>18</sup> MacMullen (1964) 446.

<sup>19</sup> Hence Diocletian had allowed landholders to substitute money for men, which was known as the *aurum tironicum*, Rostovtseff (1918) 27; Jones (1964) 1098 n. 31; Brunt (1974) 114; Potter (2004) 458.

<sup>20</sup> Potter (1990) 13; Charanis (1975) 554.

<sup>21</sup> Nicasic (1998) 114.

## CHAPTER 2

different to that revealed by the Roman military, whose support is essential in whether or not they choose to follow a specific leader. For in this chapter, the decision to follow a leader, especially in regards to the Persians, is not influenced so much by their anger, but rather it is their general's specific commands that incite them into action, and which they dare not disobey. The contention in this chapter is that the relationship between anger and Persians and barbarians occurs more in the context of inciting battle rage in the troops, than it is used for the troops to unite against their leader in mutinous behaviour.

## THE CAUSES OF ANGER IN BARBARIANS

### Summary of the Causes of Anger in Barbarians

Cause of Anger	Reference
Notions of outrage at an insult, disrespect or injustice	16.12.34, 17.13.7, 18.2.14, 28.5.13, 28.6.4, 29.5.46, 29.6.2, 29.6.6, 29.6.12, 31.5.5, 31.5.7, 31.10.5
Threats or frustration as a result of Roman actions	15.4.9, 31.13.10
Battle Rage	14.2.14, 16.12.36, 16.12.44, 16.12.46, 16.12.49, 19.11.15
<b>Total 20</b>	

#### Outrage of the Barbarians

The largest number of instances of the anger of the barbarians is caused by perceptions of outrage, insult or disrespect. However, Ammianus does not give his descriptions of these underlying causes the same notions of righteous indignation, which he often does when he describes the Roman soldiers' own judgement of what constitutes an affront. Nevertheless, indignation is apparent when the Quadi received word that the Romans had murdered their king Gabinius (29.6.6). This relates to our first anger factor "a desire to blame individuals". Also to the second determinant of anger, "a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment". Having been roused to madness (*efferavit*) by this news the barbarians set out to devastate the lands across the Danube in an effort to vent their rage on those who were unprepared. The Theringi<sup>22</sup> also exhibited outrage when they perceived that some of their kindred were being carried off by force, no doubt to be used as slaves, and as a result they killed and stripped the arms from a large troop of the Roman soldiers (31.5.5). Initially relations between these groups of barbarians and the Romans had benefited each, but the injustices caused by the Romans towards the Huns and the Goths<sup>23</sup> led to a dramatic turnaround which would eventually see the Roman defeat at the Battle of Adrianople (a direct result of the falling apart of the patron client relationship<sup>24</sup>), which formed the conclusion of Ammianus' *Res Gestae*.<sup>25</sup>

A very similar occurrence happened at 31.5.7 when the Theringi believed that their king Fritigern<sup>26</sup> was killed, and as a consequence the barbarians were raging against this

<sup>22</sup> Also called the Tervingi/Goths - a Gothic confederation of tribes. They had been allowed to cultivate lands in Thrace. It was believed by the advisors of Valens that such a large contingent would swell the ranks of the soldiery and thus he could suspend conscription in the provinces. In late autumn 376 the Goths were brought across the Danube, Jones (1964) 152.

<sup>23</sup> Ammianus regards the Goths disdainfully from his first descriptions of them (22.7.8), thus they are *saepe fallaces et perfidos*. However, at 31.4.10-11, he denounces the unfair dealings that the Goths received at the hands of corrupt Roman commanders, Sabbah (2003) 75 n.133.

<sup>24</sup> See Burns (2003) 344.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Tomlin (1979) 476.

<sup>26</sup> For the interaction between Fritigern and the Romans, see Burns (1994) 26f; (2003) 339f.

perceived injustice.<sup>27</sup> As a result of this unrest, Fritigern was able to convince the Romans, who were holding him and his companions as hostages, to release him, so that he might pacify his countrymen – this type of calculating behaviour was typical in the portraiture of the barbarians by Ammianus.

Hocque populus, qui muros obsidebat, dolenter accepto ad vindictam detentorum regum, ut opinabatur, paulatim augescens multa minabatur et saeva. Utque erat Fritigernus expediti consilii, veritus, ne teneretur obsidis vice cum ceteris, exclamavit graviore pugnandum exitio, ni ipse ad leniendum vulgus sineretur exire cum sociis, quod arbitratum humanitatis specie ductores suos occisos *in tumultum exarsit*.<sup>28</sup>

(31.5.7)

It is of no surprise that barbarian anger was something that the Romans were particularly concerned with, and consequently Ammianus wanted to record these episodes for posterity to portray the general discord and conflict of the times (although barbarian anger was not the only factor).

The causes of anger were often the result of deliberate actions of the Romans, such as their deplorable treatment of the Huns and Goths, who retaliated with savagery that far exceeded the bounds of Roman expectation. The historian cannot be said to maintain any objectivity when he presents the Huns as “the seed-bed and origin of all this destruction and of the various calamities”: *totius...sementem exitii et cladum originem diversarum*. At 28.5.13 we are given a very clear example of the Romans being directly responsible for the outrage of the barbarians, and even to Ammianus’ audience this perception of an injustice was very clear:

Quod ubi negari per ambages sentirent et moras, maesti exinde discesserunt et indignati. Hocque comperto *reges ut lubibrio habiti saevientes* captivis omnibus interfectis genitales repetunt terras.<sup>29</sup>

(28.5.13)

Ammianus records the outrage of the Burgundians who had been requested by Valentinian to invade the areas in which the Alamanni lived,<sup>30</sup> but instead they felt betrayed and deceived when he then refused to join forces with them. To add further insult to injury, the emperor ignored their repeated requests after he had neglected to meet with them on the appointed day. Valentinian’s deceit backfired upon him, for the Burgundians, a proud people who believed themselves descended from the Romans from ancient times (28.5.11), understood that they

<sup>27</sup> In 378 Fritigern was able to make good use of his strong support and by forming an alliance with the Huns, Goths and Alans he besieged Constantinople, 31.16.3.

<sup>28</sup> “The people surrounding the walls heard of this with great indignation; uttering savage threats they gradually thronged together to avenge their kings, whom they supposed to be prisoners. Fritigern, fearing that he might be kept as a hostage with the rest, was resourceful enough to cry out that there would be no avoiding a regular battle unless he were allowed to go with his companions to pacify his countrymen, whose riotous conduct he ascribed to the belief that their chiefs had been done to death under a show of hospitality.”

<sup>29</sup> “And when they perceived that by subterfuges and delays their request was practically denied, they went off from there in sorrow and indignation. And their kings, on learning what had happened, furious at being mocked, killed all their prisoners and returned to their native lands.” Cf. determinants of anger, number 2, “a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment”, page 19.

<sup>30</sup> For Valentinian’s dealings with the Alamanni, see Drinkwater (1999) 127-138.



deserved better treatment, and the consequence of their resentment was to kill all their Roman prisoners. This reinforces the notion that there were often justifiable reasons behind certain angry acts of the barbarians, who were after all frequent candidates for joining the Roman army, and thus taking on Roman identity.<sup>31</sup> Finally, to support this further, Ammianus (29.6.2), records that the Quadi reacted indignantly (*indigne*) at the infringement to their rights, when the Romans constructed a garrison camp across the Danube in their territory.<sup>32</sup> The Romans had not yet subjugated this region, but for a while the Quadi remained quiet. It was only when the Romans killed their king Gabinius they were finally pushed too far.

### **Anger and the Behaviour of Barbarian Leaders**

Perhaps the most frequent allusion to the anger of the barbarians is the descriptions of their wild mannerisms. Ammianus' fondness of digressions leads him on at least two occasions to describe the wild nature of the barbarians.<sup>33</sup> This is apparent in the following example, which is a noticeable generalisation. In his description of the Gauls he writes in a generalisation: "The voices of most sound alarming and menacing, whether they are angry or the reverse" (15.12.2). The historian also makes similar generalisations about the Huns,<sup>34</sup> of whom he writes: "they are so fickle and prone to anger that often in a single day they will quarrel with their allies without provocation, and then make it up again without anyone attempting to reconcile them" (31.2.11). Ammianus saw the Huns as completely ignorant of right and wrong, and had neither religion nor superstition, which added to his condemnation of them.<sup>35</sup> The stereotypes used by Ammianus are of a rhetorical nature, they serve to lessen individuality and to increase the perception that these peoples behave *en masse* and as such this dehumanises them, reducing them to the status of ants. This is in contrast to the Roman military, whose unity benefits and coordinates their disciplined behaviour.

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<sup>31</sup> For the integration of barbarians into the Roman army there are many outstanding studies now available. See for example for the period 100 BC – AD 200, Goldsworthy (1998) 68-75. For the late Roman military see Southern & Dixon (1996) 46-52; Garnsey & Humfress (2001) 101f. E.g. Them. *Or.* 15.186b wrote that the Galatians that had pillaged Asia were conquered, and from then on were "no longer referred to as barbarians but as Romans".

<sup>32</sup> Previously the Quadi had accepted *contraforts*, and Valentinian and Constantius had built nine of them between Aquincum and Singidunum. But this remote listening station and monitoring point pushed the Quadi too far and war ensued, Burns (2003) 343.

<sup>33</sup> For this theme, cf. MacMullen (1964) 443, who makes the connection between Ammianus' use of animal imagery and what he would have witnessed in the amphitheatres of the empire; see also Wiedemann (1986) 189-201.

<sup>34</sup> Thompson and Matthews take Ammianus' descriptions of the Huns at near face value, but this understanding has been strongly criticised. Cf. King (1995) 77-95.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Hunt (1985) 199, n. 84.

Haec aliaque in eundem modum saepius replicando maiorem exercitus partem primae barbarorum opposuit fronti et subito Alamannorum peditum *fremitus indignationi mixtus* auditus est unanimes conspiratione vociferantium relictis equis secum oportere versari regales, ne, si quid contigisset adversum, deserta miserabili plebe facilem discedendi copiam reperirent.<sup>36</sup>

(16.12.34)

In the above passage it is apparent that the Alamanni clearly lacked faith in their leaders, as they were sure that they would abandon them once things took a turn for the worst. This understanding naturally led to indignation (*indignationi*). There is a direct contrast here with Julian, whose actions whilst in Gaul are greatly admired by Ammianus. Without regard for his own safety Julian rides along the front lines of his men, encouraging them to be brave in the face of the enemy. Whilst the Alamanni are afraid that their leaders will desert, the Roman soldiers have no need to lack confidence in their leader. This assurance contributed to the success of the legions against the barbarian enemy, who, when not being incited into battle rage would lose faith and flee from the front lines. Personal grievances led to divisions – when this occurred in the Roman military it would lead to mutinies, something that the commanding officers sought to avoid at all costs. As a consequence of the anger of the Alamanni, king Chonodomarius and his followers all dismounted and obeyed what their soldiers demanded they do.<sup>37</sup> Due to the pressure from this united group the leaders of the Alamanni were forced to react in a similar manner to that which we discussed in Chapter One – that is the potential influence that a great military force could exert over their commanding officers. The anger of the barbarians towards their leaders in such a specific example is only recorded once by Ammianus. If this was a regular occurrence (which is not unlikely) we unfortunately do not have evidence from the historian to give in comparison.

### Barbarian Anger and the Enemy

On the other hand, we have a number of instances of the barbarians falling into disunity as a consequence of their rage and lack of adequate leadership. Ammianus (16.12.44) records of the Alamanni that, “the barbarians lost all order; their rage and fury blazed like fire (*violentia iraque incompositi*), as they set themselves to cleave asunder with repeated sword-strokes the shields, closely interlaced in tortoise formation, which protected our men”. It appears from the historian’s descriptions of battles that the barbarians were prone to sudden outbursts of anger and were unruly and undisciplined in their attacks on the Romans. Contrast the view put forward by Tacitus at *Ann.* 2.45 that by AD 17 the Germans serving under Arminius were more disciplined and behaved in battle order like Romans and carried Roman weapons. For the same period Velleius Paterculus claimed the same of the Pannonians, “*ne res disciplinae tantummodo sed linguae quoque notitia Romanae; plerisque etiam litterarum usus, et familiaris animorum*

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<sup>36</sup> “With frequent repetition of words of this kind he (the Caesar Julian) deployed the greater part of his army opposite the front rank of the barbarians. Suddenly an indignant shout was heard among the infantry of the Alamanni. They demanded with one voice that the princes should abandon their horses and take their stand with them: they were afraid in the event of defeat their leaders would have an easy means of escape and leave their wretched followers in the lurch.”

<sup>37</sup> On Chonodomarius, see Hummer (1998) 8f. Previously this ‘princeps’ had defeated Decentius Caesar and pillaged many wealthy cities in Gaul, 16.12.4-5. At 16.12.17 it appears that another king of the Alamanni, Gundomadus, was killed by his own people when they mutinied against him. Thus Chonodomarius had cause for being alert to a possible mutiny amongst his own men.

*erat exercitatio*" (2.110.5).<sup>38</sup> When their unity was lost, it was extremely difficult for their leaders to regain control. As often when we talk about anger, it is in the sense that it usually masks fear. Where military engagements are concerned, anger soon disperses once the lack of leadership is evident. The emotional state of the soldier then reverts to the other primary emotion of fear. This was always devastating for the barbarians and easily exploited by the Romans, such as at the Battle of Strasbourg, where in Ammianus' account (16.11ff.) the Alamanni gave way to their rage and lost cohesion. Therefore the Romans were able to make significant, and indeed devastating, attacks on their ranks. Therefore, anger could be a hindrance, as well as an aid, when it came to facing an enemy. Nevertheless, this was true for both sides, Roman *and* barbarian.<sup>39</sup>

Ammianus' awareness of the disunity of the barbarians, in opposition to the well-disciplined ranks of the Roman military, comes through in his description of one of the battles with the Alamanni in 357:

Pares enim quodam modo coiere cum paribus, Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles; illi feri et turbidi, hi quieti et cauti; animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti.<sup>40</sup>

(16.12.47)

Again, we have the understanding that the barbarians as described by Ammianus are portrayed as far less organised and disciplined than the Roman troops. Compared with the Roman military, the barbarians exhibited many more irrational manifestations of anger, and were often prone to outbursts that frequently led to their sudden deaths. Such occurrences are frequent in the *Res Gestae*, and this apparent lack of level headedness on behalf of the barbarians was said to have led to the Romans having a great number of successes against them. This irrational nature of the barbarian comes through clearly when Ammianus reports the fierce fighting during the Battle of Strasbourg.<sup>41</sup> According to his portrayal, it is the excesses of their rage that leads them into the greatest trouble:

Exsiluit itaque subito ardens optimatium globus, inter quos decernebant et reges, et sequente vulgo ante alios agmina nostrorum irrupit et iter sibi aperiendo ad usque Primanorum legionem pervenit locatam in medio, quae conformatio castra praetoria dicitur, ubi densior et ordinibus frequens miles instar turrium fixa firmitate consistens proelium maiore spiritu repetivit et vulneribus declinandis intentus seque in modum

<sup>38</sup> However, Goldsworthy (1998) 44 n.18 claims that this perception of discipline came only from their long service.

<sup>39</sup> For fear inspiring the barbarians to make peace, see 17.1.12, 17.12.13, 17.13.2-3, 19.11.16, 19.11.15, 27.5.3, 29.6.16, 31.12.12. Cf. Seager (1999) 580.

<sup>40</sup> "In a sense it was a battle of equals. The Alamanni had the advantage of strength and height, the Romans of training and discipline. One side was wild and turbulent, the other deliberate and cautious. Our men relied on their courage, the enemy on their prodigious physique." Cf. Ward-Perkins (2005), "discipline, tactics, and equipment triumphed over mere brawn". As this is not a specific example of barbarian wrath it is not included in our pool of data. However, it does serve to show the perception the Romans had of the fierce barbarian countenance.

<sup>41</sup> For a more recent examination into the Battle of Strasbourg and its beginnings with the usurpation of Magnentius and then Silvanus, see Burns (2003) 332ff. "In other words, the background to the battle of Strasbourg was one of a long series of Roman civil wars and their suppression", 334.

myrmillonis operiens *hostium latera, quae nudabat ira flagrantior, destructis gladiis perforabat.*<sup>42</sup>

(16.12.49)

What is apparent here is that Ammianus gives us the contrast between the ordered Roman soldiers, fighting in well-disciplined manoeuvres, against the enemy who leave themselves unprotected due to their irrational excess of passion. The contrast here is specific: the Roman soldiers are compared to towers, standing fast and firm, who, with regard to their own safety and the safety of their comrades, protected themselves like *murmillos*, whereas the barbarians are raging without adequate safeguards. For that reason, the Alamanni are defeated through the well-coordinated attack of the Roman soldiers, who take strategic advantage of the enemy's unprotected sides. The barbarians appear to employ no consistent sense of formation, and the terminology that Ammianus makes use of, such as *ardens* and *irrupit* – giving us images of heat and haste, something that will quickly burn itself out – is clearly indicative of this. The barbarians are easily dispensed of because they are not working in unison; they are not covering each other with protective shields, but behaving as individuals. Consequently, this lack of proper cohesion was useless against the Roman military machine. Moreover, as more and more of the Alamanni were thrust upon the legionaries and lost their lives, the rest began to lose hope and their rage was overcome by fear (*pavore*). As a result, when such furious intensity exhibited in the form of battle rage was suddenly lost, all the Alamanni could do was run. As they fought as individuals, they also fled as individuals, supposedly caring about none but themselves. When the passion was lost, often the only emotion left is fear. This is especially evident in the fall of one of the strongest leaders of the Alamanni, Chonodomarius, who had confidently defeated Decentius and raged through Gaul, destroying many towns in his path. However, after the Battle of Strasbourg he surrendered to Julian in fear and made himself a pitiful suppliant (16.12.3, 4, 5, 60, 65).

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Urbantur enim rebelles aliis trucidatis, aliis terrore disiectis, quorum pars spem vitae cassis precibus usurpando multiplicatis ictibus caedebantur, postque deletos omnes in receptum canentibus lituis nostri quoque licet rari videbantur examines, quos impetus conculcaverat vehemens aut *furori resistentes hostili* lateraque nudantes intacta ordo fatalis obsumpsit.<sup>43</sup>

(19.11.15)

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<sup>42</sup> "Suddenly there leapt forward, burning for the fight, a troop of notables which included even the kings. With their men behind them they burst upon our line and forced their way as far as the legion of Primani, which was stationed at the centre of our position, in the formation which is known as 'praetorian camp'. Here our troops were drawn up in close formation and in several ranks. They stood as firm as towers and renewed the battle with increased spirit. Taking care to avoid being wounded and covering themselves like gladiators, they plunged their swords into the barbarians' sides, which their wild rage left exposed." Cf. Catull. 68.139.

<sup>43</sup> "The pressure upon the rebels (the Limigantes) was such that some were slaughtered, others scattered in panic, of which part, who tried to save their lives by vain entreaties, suffered repeated blows before they succumbed. When all had been wiped out and the trumpets sounded the recall, some of our men, but not many, were seen to have fallen. They had either been trampled to death in the fierce rush, or had met their appointed end because in their efforts to resist the fury of the enemy they left their sides exposed." Cf. Cic. *Dom.* 91.

Finally, Ammianus gives us a contrasting view of how some Roman soldiers were forced to leave parts of their bodies exposed due to the fury of the Limigantes' attack. It seems that the cohesion that the legionaries normally displayed was no match against the furious onslaught of the barbarians, who through sheer ferocity had broken through the Roman lines. The use of the word *furori* suggests a savage mentality that many of the Roman soldiers were unable to match in order to adequately defend themselves.<sup>44</sup>

### Barbarians and Romans

Three times Ammianus records instances of the anger of the barbarians that are caused by threats or frustration brought about by the Romans and when we relate these back to the determinants of anger in the Introduction, these fit in with numbers 3 and 6, i.e. "a response to righteous indignation" and "a learnt response to certain situations".

For example, Ammianus describes the anger of the Limigantes, former slaves of the Sarmatians,<sup>45</sup> who, in 358, became angry when Constantius wanted to force them to migrate to a distant territory. This was a carefully conceived plan, the purpose for which being that the emperor wanted to divert them from molesting the Roman provinces.<sup>46</sup> As a consequence of Roman intervention, the Limigantes were said to have thought of both entreaties and of battle: *sed fluctuantes ambiguitate mentium in diversa rapiiebantur, et furori mixta versutia* (17.13.7). This use of *furori* gives us a sense of madness mixed in with their anger, and thus the historian lets us know that these are dangerous and untrustworthy people who behave according to whatever fancy their desires take them. This communicates to the audience that the barbarians were controlled more by the passage of emotion than by reason, and as such were not to be trusted. Although, in the above instance (19.11.15), order was of no use when the fury of the enemy was too much to bear. In fact, during a ceremony in which Constantius had agreed to allow the Limigantes to become *laeti* in Roman territory, the barbarians unexpectedly attacked the emperor, and almost killed him.<sup>47</sup> This then led the Roman military to massacre the transgressors.<sup>48</sup>

A similar effort to control the activities of barbarians was attempted previously in 355, when war was declared on the Alamanni, who had been making extensive inroads through the Roman frontier defences:

Ob quae Alamanni sublatis animis ferocious incedentes secuto die prope munimenta Romana adimente matutina nebula lucem strictis mucronibus discurrebant *frendendo*

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<sup>44</sup> For the savagery and madness of the barbarians, see Bitter (1976) 59ff., 76, 84; Seager (1986) 33ff., 54ff; Wiedemann (1986) 194ff.

<sup>45</sup> The Sarmatians themselves are also regarded by Ammianus (16.10.20) as *latrocinandi peritissimum genus*. The Sarmatians were a people who originated from modern-day Iran and were settled in the empire as *laeti*, in return for military service, Mudd (1984) 105. On the fate of the Sarmatians, see Symmachus, *Relat.* 47. On the definition of 'slaves' in regards to the Limigantes, see Burns (2003) 345.

<sup>46</sup> For a more complete portrait of Constantius' military policy on the Rhine and Danube, see Seager (1999) 579-605. Cf. Drinkwater (1996) 20-30 for the exaggeration by the Roman government of the Germanic threat on the Rhine in order to justify its huge expenditure there.

<sup>47</sup> The *laeti* were only found in Gaul and Italy, and had existed in Gaul since the time of the Tetrarchy, Jones (1964) 620. Cf. Elton (1996) 129.

<sup>48</sup> Mudd (1984) 106. Cf. Seager (1999) 584.

minas tumidas intentantes. Egressique repente Scutarii, cum obiectu turmarum hostilium repercussi stetissent, omnes suos conspiratis mentibus ciebant ad pugnam.<sup>49</sup>

(15.4.9)

The barbarians' anger was caused by the declaration of war made against them by the Romans and this heightened their sense of indignation and acute feelings of betrayal. This relates then to determinants of anger, "(2) a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment", and "(3) a response to righteous indignation". The response they exhibited towards their enemy was said to be wild rage. This element, of savagery and madness, was a key in Ammianus' general descriptions of the reactions of the barbarians towards the Roman presence.

As we have seen, the causes of the anger of the barbarians were not as varied as one might initially think. Most of them are caused through feelings of insult and the desire to rectify wrongs done to them by the Romans. The main factor for both sides involved the participation in military engagements with one another. This is a pertinent theme for Ammianus to convey in this period of barbarian unrest, as anger in military powers naturally led to armed conflicts. This study has produced interesting results, where the anger of the barbarians does show that they were interested in perhaps not justice, but certainly a sense of fairness and what rightly belonged to them. This goes against the traditional perceptions of mindless and heedless barbarian behaviour. Through their outrage we can clearly discern that the various groups were acting out of self-interest, which suggests that they were well aware of their position and the threat that the Romans presented to them. Nevertheless, Ammianus' descriptions encompass both historiographic techniques as well as his own personal beliefs. The emotive techniques the historian uses of the barbarians are very much apparent:

Ammianus notes in the passage the ferocity of the Thracians,<sup>50</sup> who drink blood with delight in human skulls; the brutality of the Odrysae who, when they do not have an enemy to fight, reverse, in their intoxication, their weapons against their own members; the ferocity of the Arimaspaes, people one-eyed with cruel manners.<sup>51</sup>

At 26.4.5 we are given a list of what Ammianus considers to be the most savage peoples (*gentes saevissimae*) threatening the Roman frontiers: they are the Alamanni, the Sarmatians, the Quadi, the Picts, Scots, Attacotti, the Austorians, Moors and Goths. However, in contradiction to the statement made by Camus, Brandt rather believes that cruelty was rather a typically Roman vice, because for Ammianus, cruelty was connected with the prosecution and punishment of violations of the law, something that the historian does not discuss in relation to the barbarians.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> "On the following day the Alamanni, encouraged by this success, advanced more boldly upon the Roman entrenchments; the light was veiled in morning mist as they ran hither and thither with drawn swords, grinding their teeth and shouting boastful threats. Suddenly the Scutarii made a sally, and finding themselves repulsed and brought to a standstill by the opposing hordes called with one voice on their comrades to join the fight."

<sup>50</sup> Camus has made an error here; Ammianus' passage Camus refers to (27.4.4) in fact mentions the Scordisci who are not the Thracians, although they inhabited parts of Thrace.

<sup>51</sup> Camus (1967) 116.

<sup>52</sup> Brandt (1999) 165.

## PRIMARY RESPONSES TO ANGER IN BARBARIANS

*Summary of Primary Responses*

Manifestation of Anger	Reference
“Battle rage”	16.12.44, 19.11.15, 31.10.5
Blazing eyes	31.13.10
Gnashing and grinding of the teeth	15.4.9, 16.12.36, 29.6.12
Raised voices/shouting	31.5.7
<b>Total 8</b>	

Another aspect of the anger of the barbarians is the similar manifestations exhibited between the Roman soldiers and the barbarians. Ammianus uses comparative terms to describe both the outward physical expressions of anger in the barbarian populations, as well as the inward. “Ammianus is fascinated by extreme behaviour of every kind and by responses to situations which are in themselves extreme. Such behaviour is often described in language which...signals an absence or loss of self-control”.<sup>53</sup>

The language Ammianus employed is used to persuade and influence the audience into following the excess of rage exhibited by the barbarians. This would lead to an emotional reaction in the audience who would oppose the irrationality of the barbarian mind. Ammianus’ intention here in his descriptions of the barbarians is to create a negative impression, whereas in the similar wording he uses of the Roman soldiers it is used positively. In this sense, “Ammianus’ style is extremely rhetorical. Though sheer technique is often lacking, he aims, frequently with powerful effect, at a vivid narrative. Pathos is exploited – trembling virgins and desolate fathers are dragged lamenting into slavery by raging barbarians (e.g. 31.6.7-8)”.<sup>54</sup> The motivation to create such emotional responses in the audience makes his portrayals very much one-sided; such is his desire to create heroes and villains.

Ammianus’ physical descriptions of the anger of the barbarians are, as stated above, reminiscent of those exhibited by the Roman soldiers. Roman soldiers would gnash their teeth at being in the presence of the enemy (e.g. 16.12.13; 19.5.3; 27.10.7), and this was very much like the reaction from the barbarians. These descriptions gave an added physical element to the anger of the groups he was currently describing. However, in his descriptions of the barbarians, Ammianus incorporates metaphors to describe their frenzied natures:

Ammianus is a soldier; however, in the fourth century, and singularly since Constantine, the preponderance of the barbaric elements in the army, on all levels, is made appreciable to him. The historian makes us share on several occasions the resentment that he nourishes with regard to these foreign bodies in the Empire.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Seager (1986) 43.

<sup>54</sup> Blockley (1980) xii.

<sup>55</sup> Camus (1967) 116f., “(Ammianus) reports that in 354 the Roman troops were about to achieve a vast operation in the country of the Alamanni, under the guidance of Constantius. The enterprise failed, because, he says, the Alamanni were informed of the preparations by the same people who were useful officers in the Roman army”.

Momigliano supports the notion that Ammianus incorporated wild animal imagery to enhance his portrayals of the barbaric Germans,<sup>56</sup> and which he surprisingly also applies to Christians and rebellious Roman troops.<sup>57</sup> The comparison to beasts would have appealed to the popular audience, who thrived on the *venationes* in the amphitheatres.<sup>58</sup>

The term *frendo* and its variations are used three times by Ammianus to describe the gnashing of teeth by the barbarians. Interestingly, and coincidentally, this is the same number as is exhibited by the Roman soldiers. In this respect *frendo* has no border and as such is a general term, as it is also used to describe the emperor Julian and Persian soldiers. Therefore *frendo* does not hold the same value as *ira* does, which, in the majority of instances, is used to describe Romans. Ammianus also writes of the loudness and no doubt unpleasant sound of the raised voices of the barbarian enemy; sounds, which would have sounded very foreign to the ears of this ‘cultivated’ soldier. Thus the Alamanni’s war cries were *ululantes lugubre* (16.11.8); the Gauls’ voices are *metuendae voces complurium et minaces* (15.12.2),<sup>59</sup> and the Theringi *multa minabatur et saeva* (31.5.7). Even so, it was known that the Romans and barbarians both raised the war cry before battle commenced – the barbarian *baritus*. This was part of the psyching out of opponents, e.g. artillery barrages as ‘harassing fire’.<sup>60</sup>

Ammianus seems aware at all stages of the responses he will receive from his audience to the specific indications of anger he portrays. As stated previously, *frendo* has an element of savagery attached to it, and when that savagery is directed towards the Romans, then this adds a personal element that would arouse feeling of indignation from his readers and listeners. Ammianus describes the barbarians’ reactions towards the presence of the Roman soldiers, such as at 15.4.9, when the Alamanni, after having made extensive inroads through the Roman frontier defences, rushed about hither and thither in a disorganised fashion shouting boastful threats and gnashing their teeth: *strictis mucronibus discurrebant, frendendo minas tumidas intentantes*. This frenzied behaviour lacks the righteous indignation of the Roman soldiers, who gnashed their teeth in defence of the empire, whereas the barbarians are threatening the safety and security of the Romans with outrageous acts of defiance. In response to these incursions the legionaries attacked and put the Alamanni to flight. This time, it is in their fear rather than their rage that causes the barbarians to leave their sides exposed, and many were slain by Roman spears and swords.

The Battle of Strasbourg in 357 is an event fraught with the visual imagery of the savage and wild barbarian in opposition to the ordered discipline of the Roman soldier. The manifestations of the barbarians’ anger are plain for all to see in the visual imagery the historian uses to carefully describe each scene of his narrative of the battle. Of this event, Ammianus (16.12.5) describes the flight of the general Barbatio from the forces of the Alamanni, as having the effect of increasing “the confidence and ferocity of the Germans”.<sup>61</sup> This is contrasted with the stoicism of the Caesar Julian, who refused to bow before the enemy. When the Alamanni

<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, although Ammianus regrets the dealings with the Alamanni and the incorporation of military commanders of Germanic origin, we cannot term the historian “anti-German”, Sabbah (2003) 75.

<sup>57</sup> 26.5.7, 31.8.9, 31.15.2, 22.5.4, 15.5.23, 28.6.4; Momigliano (1977) 134.

<sup>58</sup> MacMullen (1964) 444.

<sup>59</sup> A generalization.

<sup>60</sup> As Burns (1994) 5 points out, in the *Res Gestae* there are numerous instances of the merging of Roman Germanic customs, and the *baritus* was one such instance. Cf. Burns (2003) 322. See especially Tacitus’ (*Germ.* 3) description of the Germanic *baritus: quem barditum vocant*. Cf. A.M. 26.7.17 where the Roman army hails Procopius emperor and invokes Jupiter in their oath of loyalty to him: *quem barbari dicunt barritum*. However, one must be cautious in making immediate assumptions, see Nicasic (1998) 99f.

<sup>61</sup> Blockley (1977) 219. On Barbatio, see also Seager (1999) 588.



imperiously demanded that he depart from their territory, the young general “showed neither anger nor distress”: *nec ira nec dolore percussus* (16.12.3). As Ammianus is clearly aware, fear exhibited by a leader in front of the enemy was not an option, for it made one vulnerable. The cowardice of Barbatio was something the historian deeply deplored. Further on, Ammianus gives us a description of Chonodomarius, the fiery king of the Alamanni:

Et Chnodomarius...cuius vertici flammeus torulus aptabatur, anteibat cornu sinistrum, audax et fidus ingenti robore lacertorum, ubi ardor proelii sperabatur, immanis equo spumante sublimior erectus in iaculum formidandae vastitatis armorumque nitore conspicuus ante alios et strenuus miles et utilis praeter ceteros ductor.<sup>62</sup>

(16.12.24)

This visual imagery is carefully worded so as to give maximum impact to the reader or listener’s mind. The striking description demonstrates the incredible opposition that the Roman soldiers were up against, which is not the usual portrayal of the cowardly and disorderly barbarians. This presents the idea that Julian, Ammianus’ hero in this campaign, was against an adversary equal to that of a Homeric tale, and for the historian, this is a battle so important that he devotes much attention to the intricacies of it. The ferocity of the barbarians in this event has already been discussed in Chapter One, but it is worth recalling the descriptions the historian uses to emphasise the savagery of the Alamanni, whose primary response is to exhibit their rage for all to see. This is contrasted with the calmness of Julian, and the ordered discipline of his gallant troops.<sup>63</sup>

Moreover, Ammianus describes the manifestations of the anger of the barbarians as accompanied with expressions of battle rage, and this is very much like the battle rage demonstrated by the Roman soldiers, which was also incited by their leaders. These physical signs of rage were intended to intimidate the Romans, similar to those used by the Roman legionaries to intimidate their enemies, however, it seems that the Roman soldiers were too well disciplined to easily lose their confidence and at 16.12.36, during the Battle of Strasbourg, Ammianus writes that the Roman soldiers were undeterred by the anger of the Alamanni. The barbarians were said to have rushed forward with “more haste than discretion”, and Ammianus uses visual imagery to describe the enemy with flowing hair and a kind of madness shining from their eyes: *comae fluentes horrebant, et elucebat quidam ex oculis furor*.<sup>64</sup> The legionaries protected themselves resolutely through controlling their own emotions. They also covered their bodies with a tight formation of shields and, as a cohesive entity, attacked the Alamanni, thus turning the barbarians’ rage into fear (*perterrebat*) of imminent death. However, although a mixture of fear, rage and the sheer desire to survive overcame all involved in the fighting, it was the resoluteness of the Roman soldiers and their commanding officers that led them to yet another victory against the barbarian enemy.

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<sup>62</sup> “Chnodomarius rode with a flame-coloured plume on his head before the left wing, where he thought the battle would be hottest. He was a bold fighter, confident in the strength of his own right arm, and his huge bulk towered aloft on his foaming steed, ready to hurl a javelin of appalling size. His gleaming armour marked him out from the rest, and his energy as a soldier was equalled by his pre-eminence as a commander.”

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Blockley (1977) 222.

<sup>64</sup> For more references, see Wiedemann (1986) 194. Tacitus also uses visual imagery to heighten the fearsome appearance of the barbarians, with a great emphasis on the hairstyles of the Germans, e.g. *Germ.* 31, 38.

Ammianus next describes the physical signs of gnashing teeth at 29.6, and thus is either unconcerned or not in a position to record these manifestations in the twelve books in-between. Ammianus describes the anger of the Quadi against Aequitius, the commander of the cavalry in Illyricum, whom they accused of bringing about the destruction of their king. Ammianus (29.6.12) again uses a reference to the haste of the barbarians and the gnashing of their teeth, as they furiously set out to cut Aequitius' throat: *frendentes, hacque ex causa iugulo eius intenti, quod per ipsum circumventum regem existimabant insontem*. At once two legions were sent to subdue the Quadi. However, the Sarmatians also became involved in this uprising, and almost destroyed these legions. In competing for honour and prestige, the Roman army had become divided through in-fighting. From these accounts it is apparent that the visible anger aroused in the barbarians was enough to push them far against the Romans, but it often led to disorder and individualism, which, when faced with a coordinated and disciplined army, often led to their defeat.

### **The Battle of Adrianople<sup>65</sup>**

The devastating consequences of outrage in barbarian groups are nowhere more apparent than in the events leading up to the Battle of Adrianople. In 376 the Tervingi had appealed to Valens to be allowed to settle in Thrace,<sup>66</sup> and in return they would provide troops for his army.<sup>67</sup> Valens agreed and allowed the Goths into the ranks for purely economic reasons. These Goths would replace the recruits normally obtained from the provinces, which would instead provide gold. Valens could not see a problem in this strategy.<sup>68</sup> The Goths lived up to their side of the agreement and supplied new recruits. Thousands of Tervingi settled in Thrace and most converted to Arianism. The governors of northern Thrace treated the new arrivals poorly, and it proved a near impossible task to feed them all. It was even said that the officials offered the Goths scrawny dogs as food in return for slaves (31.4.10-11). This unfair treatment eventually proved intolerable to the Goths, and for these and other reasons, over a period of more than twenty-two months, finally led to a large-scale rebellion.

Without waiting for his nephew Gratian and his army to reach them from the west, and against the advice of a group of his senior officers, Valens formed his forces against the Goths. However, on the afternoon of 9 August 378, the combined armies of the Goths defeated the 15-20,000 Roman soldiers Valens led against them, including Valens himself.<sup>69</sup> Ammianus describes the accompanying visual imagery, as the primary responses to anger are very visual in his description. He writes here of the Goths: *furore ex oculis lucente barbari* (their eyes blazed with fury) (31.13.10. Cf. 16.12.36). The fatal decision of Valens to rush into this battle was said to

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<sup>65</sup> For the impact of this battle on Roman battlefield superiority and the intelligence network that operated in relation to these events, see Austin & Rankow (1995) 241-243.

<sup>66</sup> The Tervingi were fleeing from the advance of the Huns and sought legal immigration (*receptio*), Hummer (1998) 15; Burns (2003) 328.

<sup>67</sup> Treadgold (1997) 66. For Ammianus, the decision to allow the Goths to serve as auxiliaries, "seemed matter for rejoicing rather than dread". In 367 the Tervingi had sent a contingent of three thousand warriors to assist the usurper Procopius and in the same year Valens sent a punitive campaign against them. Under their new leader Athanaric, the Tervingi withdrew, whilst the Romans devastated their lands before returning back across the Danube (27.5.4). See also Curta (2005) 180. Also the account of Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.34.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Cameron (1993) 147 for this "short-sighted policy".

<sup>69</sup> Cameron (1993) 137. The number was closer to 25,000 according to Treadgold (1997) 67. The total influx of Goths from beyond the Danube was something along the lines of 60-75,000, including women and children, Burns (1994) 30.

have been prompted by another group of his advisers, who knew how to incite the emperor's temper. They warned him not to wait for support from Gratian, as the young emperor would share in Valens' victory (31.12.7). Possibly incited by anger and the thrills of victory, Valens went into battle against a much larger and far fiercer enemy. As has been pointed out, the psychological motives behind Valens' actions are difficult to prove, but it does appear that Valens was irritated by accounts of the successes of his general Sebastianus and Gratian's successes in the West. Thus, "In the atmosphere of crisis surrounding the Adrianople campaign, such reports were a stimulant".<sup>70</sup> His loss was perhaps inevitable, for it would have been remarkable for any Roman force to defeat such a large, though undisciplined, hoard. The Goths were fighting against injustice, as well as for their very livelihood. When the Ostrogothic cavalry joined the fighting in the afternoon, Valens' cause was lost. Indeed, a similar story is told by Xenophon, who described a scene in which a general leads his troops against a city in a fit of rage. As a result he was killed and his men were slaughtered. Xenophon moralises that masters ought not to punish even slaves in their anger and in doing so they frequently suffer more harm than they inflict, "To attack opponents in anger and without intelligence is a complete mistake, for anger is without forethought, but intelligence looks as much to avoiding harm to oneself as to doing harm to one's enemies" (*Hell.* 5.3.5-6; 5.3.7). Unfortunately for Valens, his participation in this battle led to his death, and commentators can today see that he followed his emotions as well as the desire to advance his own prestige (as well as the advice given by some of his advisors), rather than using reason to focus and restrain his actions, a fault of many unsuccessful commanders.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Austin & Rankow (1995) 242. See Newbold (1990) 261, who sees envy of the exploits of Gratian as the motivating factor behind Valens' engagement of the Goths.

<sup>71</sup> After the defeat, orders went out to the eastern commanders to ensure a purge of Goths in the Roman army, 31.16.8; Zos. 4.26.

## SECONDARY RESPONSES TO ANGER IN BARBARIANS

### Summary of Secondary Responses

Secondary Response	Reference
Angry threats	16.12.34
Increasing numbers prior to an attack	31.5.7
Invading enemy territory/destruction of property and civilians	29.6.6, 29.6.12, 31.5.5, 31.10.5
The attempts to check the progress of/or to attack the enemy	14.2.14, 15.4.9, 16.12.36, 16.12.44, 16.12.46, 16.12.49, 17.13.7, 19.11.15, 31.5.5, 31.13.10
The killing of the enemy	28.5.13, 31.5.5
<b>Total 18</b>	

#### Barbarian Responses to the Presence of the Enemy

One immediately notices from the table above that the foremost response to anger is the desire to check the progress of, or to attack the enemy – who are naturally the Romans. As we have seen in Chapter One, this was an aggressive response similarly exhibited by the Roman soldiers, who were trained to react accordingly towards the barbarians. This response on behalf of the barbarian is apparent in 14.2 of the *Res Gestae*, where Ammianus narrates a long and often awkward account of the excursions of the Isaurians, a group of barbarians who were frustrated with the attempts of the Romans to stop their incursions into Roman held areas, and especially their plundering of ports and towns.<sup>72</sup> The historian does not hesitate to incorporate descriptions of these bandits' wildness; they become *rabie saeviore amplificatis viribus* (14.2.14), and also *flagrans vesania* (14.2.15). For the benefit of the reader they are compared to wild animals (*bestiae monitae*), which, when warned by hunger, return to the place where they were once fed (14.2.2).<sup>73</sup> The Isaurians seem to be a minor threat to the Romans, and only once does the historian make a specific reference to their anger at the presence of Romans in fortresses in Isauria, - rather he uses adjectival clauses to suggest their savageness, and as such their implied anger. The angry response of the Isaurians to the Roman occupation was the unsuccessful attempt to attack Seleucia, where Roman soldiers were stationed. Ammianus ends his account with the report that fear of the Romans caused these barbarians to take to the trackless mountains where they remained obscure, and no longer any type of threat.

A much larger threat to the Romans were the Alamanni, the Germanic tribesmen who perpetually threatened the Roman provincial borders, and against whom Constantius sent Julian in order to subdue them through the use of his Gallic legions. Throughout the *Res Gestae*, it becomes a predictable response of the Alamanni to react to the threats posed by the Romans through attacking their legions. And, as was stated above, this was not always unjustified on their part. At 15.4.9, Ammianus does give an adequate reason why the Romans had declared war on all the Alamannic peoples, as they had been making incursions through the Roman frontier defences, and had also set up an ambush against a part of the Roman army. On their

<sup>72</sup> For the outrage of the Isaurians, see Honey (2006) 47-55.

<sup>73</sup> Ammianus uses similar wild animal imagery when writing of the Germans at 16.5.17 and the Goths at 31.15.2.

part, the Alamanni believed that it was the Romans who were invading their territory, and they responded to the Roman threat by attacking them. As we have already seen, their angry responses were manifested through the grinding and gnashing of their teeth, “*strictis mucronibus discurrebant, frendendo minas tumidas intentantes*” – a visible response which if their teeth were bared was perhaps meant also to intimidate their enemy.

The next series of events that Ammianus describes in regards to the Alamanni are collected together under the title of the Battle of Strasbourg, a battle which to him was so significant that the historian deemed it necessary to devote a great deal of space and interest to.<sup>74</sup> Ammianus is able to apply much rhetoricising language to the characterisations of the two opposing sides, and as we have seen in the description of Chonodomarius, he is very fond of incorporating visual imagery to enhance the emotional depth of his carefully constructed portrayals. In this way, the imagery carries through in the historian’s descriptions of the secondary responses of the barbarians, especially in response to their anger at the presence of the Roman army. At 16.12.51 Ammianus uses the similar idea of collective rage to unite the barbarians, as he does with the Roman military, however, no doubt due to their different leadership and discipline, they seem to lose order, and the Alamanni, instead of fighting as a combined force, soon fled from disaster when the Roman front proved too strong. Whether we are discussing the Germans, Goths or Huns, there are a number of incidents in which the response to the threat of the Romans was to attack their enemy. In this way the barbarians seek to assert their own sense of balance in a situation that for so long had been tipped towards the Romans, but during this period was becoming more and more dominated by barbarian victories.

### **Anger and Barbarian Violence**

Ammianus records many examples of the secondary responses to anger, which the barbarians exhibited and enacted out, often as a result of their perceptions of outrage towards the Romans. In their discernment of exceedingly unjust situations, the outrage felt by the barbarians far outweighed that exhibited by the Roman soldiers. Interestingly, the historian often presented these with a fair amount of impartiality, and therefore to him this outrage may have appeared justified. By acknowledging that they were the ones who had been dealt an injustice, the barbarians were merited in attacking the Romans, whom they perceived had caused the ill will.

*Cuius rei tam atrocis disseminatus rumor ilico per diversa et Quados et gentes circumscitas efferavit regisque flentes interitum in unum coactas misere vastatorias manus, quae Danubium transgressae, cum nihil exspectaretur hostile, occupatam circa messem agrestem adortae sunt plebem maioreque parte truncata, quidquid superfuit, domum cum multitudine varii pecoris abduxerunt.*<sup>75</sup>

(29.6.6)

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<sup>74</sup> Even though his descriptions lack in technical details, he more than made up for this in his description of sieges. Cf. Naudé (1958) 92-105.

<sup>75</sup> “The news of this outrage at once got abroad, and roused the Quadi and the neighbouring tribes to fury. Mourning the death of their king, they got together and sent out parties to devastate our territory. They crossed the Danube and fell upon the country folk, who were busy with their harvest and had no thought of an enemy. Most of them they killed, and the rest they carried off home together with a large quantity of livestock.”

Ammianus, in this passage, records the secondary responses to the outrage that the Quadi felt towards the Romans when they learnt that their king had been killed. Once their fury was in full swing, this helped to mask their grief and sadness that the death had caused. They then funnelled this emotional response into something destructive and devastating for territories under the control of the Romans.

Outrage often led to acts of violence. These barbarian groups tended to feel as though they were victims, and sought to take revenge in some form or other. As shown above, the Quadi, outraged at the death of their king Gabinius and the escape of Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus,<sup>76</sup> whom they blamed for his death, responded through violent means. They killed many innocent people and looted and plundered areas across the Danube. In their fury, the Quadi no longer cared about agreements made to protect these regions. They felt that the Romans had betrayed them, and consequently for them treaties no longer mattered (29.6.6ff). This relates to determinant of anger number 2, “a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment”.

When the Thervingi were outraged at the Romans’ mistreatment of them, we have the description of their violent response, which, with the massacre of Roman troops, would have shaken the Romans to their very core. It was perhaps pure arrogance more than anything that meant that the Romans were clearly unprepared for this type of response, for in their mind, the barbarians were hardly likely to take the drastic action of making such a unified and comprehensive attack upon them (31.5.5ff). Such an underestimation is certainly attributable to the Romans’ downfall here.

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Verum retrocedere coacti Germani atque noscentes exercitus pleramque partem in Illyricum ut imperatore mox affuturo praegressam *exarsere flagrantius*; maioraque conceptantes pagorum omnium incolis in unum collectis cum quadraginta armorum milibus vel septuaginta, ut quidam laudes extollendo principis iactitarunt, sublatis in superbiam nostra confidentius irruperunt.<sup>77</sup>

(31.10.5)

Hamilton translates *exarsere flagrantius* as “war-fever”, whereas Rolfe translates it as “hotter rage”. The term war-fever seems a truer representation of the battle rage that the German forces were feeling, and Ammianus gives this scene the sense of fieriness and passion which we often associate with those about to join battle, and who are being incited to greater deeds by their leaders. Ammianus also lets his audience know that the anger of the Germans gave rise to “a mood of sublime confidence”, and as we have discussed previously, anger helps to drive out fear and encourages the collective group to fight harder against an enemy whom they believe they no longer have reason to fear. The response here then is the gathering of a large force, and

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<sup>76</sup> For the case of Petronius Probus, see Cameron (1985) 164-182. A Roman aristocrat, wealthy, powerful and well connected. He was prefect of Illyricum 364, Gaul 366, Italy 368-375 and 383. Ammianus suggests that Probus’ long list of praetorian prefectures were exploited by him to add to his vast wealth, 27.11.

<sup>77</sup> “But, although the Germans were forced to withdraw, the knowledge that most of the army had gone ahead to Illyricum to await the emperor heightened their war-fever, and they conceived the idea of a greater exploit. Gathering together the inhabitants of all their districts they burst into our territory in a mood of sublime confidence. Their armed men numbered 40,000, though some, to magnify the triumph of their emperor, put them at 70,000.”

## CHAPTER 2

safety in numbers is also a way of reinforcing confidence in individuals, for, when they are part of a group, or a mob, by behaving as members of a large collective, they are able to do things which are unthinkable when numbers are few. The response was ineffective, however, for Gratian and his advisers were able to threaten the Lentienses with an unrelenting pursuit, and they were forced to surrender. Ammianus states (31.10.18) that this success against the Lentienses crippled the western tribes, something that even Julian had not been able to accomplish.

## CONSEQUENCES OF ANGER AND BARBARIANS

### *Summary of Consequences for Selves or Others*

Consequence for Selves	Reference
Defeat of the barbarians	15.4.9, 16.12.49, 17.13.7, 19.11.15, 31.10.5
Loss of order	16.12.44
Consequence for Others	Reference
Attacking the enemy/Killing of the enemy	16.12.36, 16.12.46, 17.13.7, 19.11.15, 31.5.5, 31.13.10
Destruction of civilians and property/Invading territory	28.6.4, 29.6.12, 31.10.5
<b>Total 15</b>	

Ammianus presents us with a bleak picture of the consequences of anger for the barbarians, especially when compared with the same category in Chapter One. In Chapter One it was revealed that the Roman military was often victorious over the barbarians, and in part this is contributed to manifestations of anger. However, in contrast, Ammianus records very few victories for the barbarians, especially as his main priority is to narrate their battles against the Romans. And, when they were triumphant in battle, often there were heavy prices to pay for their successes.

#### **The Destructive Consequences of Barbarian Anger**

Huius necem ulcisci ut propinqui damnatique iniuste causantes *ferarum similes rabie* concitarum exsiluere sedibus suis loviano etiam tum imperante veritique prope Leptim accedere, civitatem muris et populo validam, suburbano eius uberrimo insidere per triduum mactatisque agrestibus, quos inopinus hebetaverat pavor vel confugere coegerat ad speluncas, incensa supellectili multa, quae vehi non poterat, referti rapinis reverterunt ingentibus trahentes captivum Silvam quoque casu cum caritatibus in agro inventum, ordinis sui primatem.<sup>78</sup>

(28.6.4)

Ammianus records the terrifying consequence of the anger of the Austoriani, whose response to the death of a man whom they claimed as their own was the wilful and deliberate destruction of innocent people and their property. Again, Ammianus uses wild animal imagery (*ferarum similes rabie*) to give emphasis to his dehumanisation of these barbarian tribesmen, and here the

<sup>78</sup> "To avenge the death of a man who they claimed was their countryman and had been unjustly condemned, the Austoriani rushed from their haunts like mad beasts. This happened while Jovian was still emperor. They were afraid to approach the populous and strongly fortified town of Lepcis, but encamped for three days in the fertile region round it. They slaughtered the peasants, of whom those who were not paralysed by panic were driven to take refuge in caves, burned a quantity of household goods which they could not carry off, and withdrew with a huge load of booty, taking with them as their prisoner a leading local councillor of Lepcis called Silva whom they had caught with his family in his country house."



rhetorical elements come into play. His audience is given visual imagery of the mindless and uncivilised behaviour of the barbarians, as they slaughtered wantonly those who were undefended. This is similar to his description of the Huns at 31.2.2, as he states that “they have squat bodies, strong limbs, and thick necks, and are so prodigiously ugly and bent that they might be two-legged animals, or the figures crudely carved from stumps which are seen on the parapets of bridges”: *prodigiose deformes et pandi, ut bipeds existimes bestias vel quales in commarginandes pontibus effigiati stipites dolantur incompte*.

That Ammianus wanted to arouse an indignant response from his audience is also apparent at 28.6.4, when he speaks of the councillor Silva – a very Roman name<sup>79</sup> – being taken unjustly from his home, and this speaks volumes for evident disapproval from the extremely judgemental historian. Although this contradicts the findings we have so far unearthed, there was still the traditional perception that the barbarians in their wildness were threatening to the ordered Roman mind. They were perceived to have no sense of right or wrong, something that the Romans believed was at the forefront of civilisation, and something that Ammianus exploits to enhance his portrayals – whether or not he believed it himself. Rather than being an act that we can judge from our perspective, what this episode presents is the act of retribution that the Romans themselves had at times committed. It was not killing for the sake of killing, but a purposeful response to a perceived affront. In this period such a reaction was not unusual, nor unwarranted.

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It was mentioned above that Ammianus presents his audience with a very bleak picture of the outcomes, especially in battle, for the barbarians when in opposition to the Romans. Ammianus was a strong adherent to Roman principles and portrayed events for *gloria* and *virtus* in the ancient Roman tradition. The historian provides us with five specific examples involving anger that affected the defeats of the barbarians at the hands of the Romans, which in comparison to the Romans’ one is in stark contrast. We do not have an account of the Roman military losing their sense of discipline and fighting without order in conjunction with a term or phrase connected to anger. For to lose control as a result of emotion was a sign of barbarity, something that the Roman commanding officers tried their hardest to avoid.<sup>80</sup> However, Ammianus was not always presenting his subject with the best authority, and incorporated details which were often not purely factual, but important for the purposes of historiography. He writes of the Huns that, “they are not subject to the authority of any king, but break through any obstacle in their path under the improvised command of their chief men”: *nulla severitate regali, sed tumultuario primatum ductu contenti perrumpunt* (31.2.7). What this reveals is that, “Ammianus did not understand how the type of tactics he was describing could be consistent with a chain of command as he understood it”.<sup>81</sup> In this respect the historian simply could not get his head around the leadership or military manoeuvres of certain of the Romans’ adversaries, and this deficiency was then reflected in his portrayals. Nevertheless, it is possible that Ammianus did indeed deliberately distort his descriptions in order to present a more positive representation of the victories for the Romans.

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<sup>79</sup> For the argument that a respectable Roman name might hide a somewhat Romanised barbarian, see Nicasie (1998) 98.

<sup>80</sup> Although it did occur on occasion – there were many barbarians within the military.

<sup>81</sup> King (1987) 82.

Due to the incessant warfare and the rise of usurpers, some may say that the empire during much of the fourth century was in a crisis. It was perhaps satisfying for the Romans to hear of the defeats of the barbarian tribesmen, who were constantly threatening their borders. This persistent pressure contributed to the climate of fear that seemed to permeate this period. Ammianus is able to reassure his audience that the Romans were successful quite frequently, and in the table above we see that the audacity of the barbarians led them to suffer five major defeats, which were recorded by the historian for their relevance to posterity. He gives us the dramatic finality of the battle against the Lentienses in all its graphic details:

Multique cum equis interfecti iacentes etiam tum eorum dorsis videbantur innexi. Quo viso omnes e castris effusi, qui prodire in proelium cum sociis ambigebant, cavendi immemores protrebant barbaram plebem, nisi quos fuga exemerat morte, calcantes cadaverum strues et perfusi sanie peremptorum.<sup>82</sup>

(15.4.12)

In these types of descriptions, Ammianus uses all his powers of rhetoric to emphasise the conquest of the victorious Roman military over the slain bodies of their enemies. For this he would often have had to rely on eyewitness testimony as well as the accounts that were sent back to the imperial headquarters – although many of these types of descriptions are uniform and traditional, and this fits into a stereotype that can be elaborated upon without any testimonial. What we have is the anger of the barbarians turned against them, they were full of confidence and ferocity in the beginning, and this is starkly contrasted with the bloody outcome, fitting into the literary topoi that the historian is so fond of.

### **The Consequences of Barbarian Anger against an Enemy**

The following passage is also full of all the descriptive elements that we have come to expect from Ammianus. In 357 Julian defeated the Alamanni famously at the Battle of Strasbourg. Ammianus does not hold back in his demonising of the barbarians, and their descriptions take them from the world of man into that of the mythical, possessed by a raving madness. The fury of the Germans is so overwhelming that the Romans are forced to fight hotly for their very lives. The Romans tried to encourage fear (*perterrebat*) in their enemy. However, this rebounded upon them as the Alamanni put even the cavalry to flight. The consequence of the Alamanni's fury here was to force the Romans to defend themselves even more hotly, which led to further casualties on both sides. The Romans were better equipped and disciplined, yet the Germans had the force of fury and the notion of defending their lands on their side. Here they were stronger than ever before in Julian's encounters with them.

Dato igitur aenatorum accentu sollemniter signo ad pugnandum utrimque magnis concursus est viribus. Paulisper praepilabantur missilia et properantes concito quam considerato cursu *Germani telaque dextris explicantes involavere nostrorum equitum turmas frendentes immania* eorumque ultra solitum saevientium comae fluentes horrebant et elucebat quidam ex oculis furor, quos contra pertinax miles scutorum

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<sup>82</sup> "In many cases man and horse lay dead on the ground together, with the rider apparently still fast on the back of his mount. At the sight of this all who were hesitating to join in the fight threw caution to the winds; trampling on heaps of bodies and drenched with the blood of the slain, they completed the destruction of the barbarian host, except for those who escaped death by flight."

obicibus vertices tegens eiectansque gladios vel tela concrispans mortem minitancia perterrebat.<sup>83</sup>

(16.12.36)

Further on into the battle, Ammianus records the following at 16.12.46, and again we are given the sense that the Alamanni are inhuman, and all the Romans can do to save their skins is to fight bravely against all the odds:

Verum Alamanni bella alacriter ineuntes altius anhelabant *velut quodam furoris affectu* opposita omnia deleturi. Spicula tamen verrutaque missilia non cessabant ferrataeque arundines fundebantur, quamquam etiam comminus mucro feriebat contra mucronem, et loricae gladiis findebantur et vulnerati nondum effuso cruore ad audendum exsertius consurgebant.<sup>84</sup>

(16.12.46)

The description of the destruction of the Alamanni at the Battle of Strasbourg ends finally and brutally, as the soldiers take revenge on the previously furious barbarians, who now had lost all hope and were fleeing by any means possible. With full satisfaction, Ammianus incorporates descriptions of the enemy plunging into the river where the weight of their arms made them sink to its depths. The historian seems to relish this in his description at 16.12.57, as he compares the sight of the dying barbarians to a scene from a stage show: *et velut in quodam theatriali spectaculo, aulaeis miranda monstrantibus multa*.<sup>85</sup>

How different then was the outcome of the defeat of the Lentienses that Ammianus describes at 31.10.17, where there was no slaughter of the defeated enemy, but a peaceful outcome, where young men were sent to serve in the Roman army? Clearly this does not reflect negatively in either his portrayals of the bravery of the Roman military or the leadership qualities of the Emperor Gratian. A successful outcome – bloody or not – for the Romans, was what defined the greatness of the Roman military overall, even when the victories occurred for Constantius or Valentinian; as long as it was against an outside enemy, it was something worthy of praise from our historian.

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<sup>83</sup> “When the traditional signal to engage was sounded on both sides, a violent battle ensued. After a short exchange of missiles the Germans rushed forward with more haste than caution, brandishing their weapons and throwing themselves upon our squadrons of horse with horrible grinding of their teeth and more than their usual fury. Their hair streamed behind them and a kind of madness flashed from their eyes. Our men faced them stubbornly, protecting their heads with their shields, and trying to strike fear into the foe with drawn swords or the deadly javelins that they brandished.”

<sup>84</sup> “But the Alamanni, hurling themselves into the fight, strove like inspired madmen to destroy everything before them. Yet the hail of darts and javelins and the volleys of iron-tipped arrows did not slacken, although blade was clashing on blade in hand-to-hand conflict, breastplates were split asunder by sword-blows, and wounded men who still had some blood left rose from the ground to attempt some further exploit.”

<sup>85</sup> “When the curtain reveals some wonderful spectacle”.

## COMMENTS BY AMMIANUS

*Summary of the Comments by Ammianus*

Comment	Reference
Ammianus comments on the death of other victims	29.6.6
Ammianus comments on the death of Roman soldiers	19.11.15
Ammianus describes the behaviour of the barbarians	17.13.7
Ammianus describes the ferocity of the barbarians	16.12.36
<b>Total 4</b>	

A few comments are made by Ammianus on the anger of the barbarians, and as with his comments regarding the Roman military, these are infrequent and reserved only for the most important occasions, or when they best suited his subject and the nature of his portrayal. It is often with great subtlety that he relates his own emotional reaction towards different events. Therefore we need to delve deeply into his language to unearth what he is specifically implying, something that is extremely hard due to the nature of his writing (although not perhaps as hard as Tacitus, who is even less likely to reveal his personal feelings).

In such instances as Ammianus' descriptions of the wildness and ferocity of the barbarians, it is more for the rhetorical effect, than historical accuracy that he describes the traditional, i.e. Roman and Greek, representation of barbarian groups.

**Barbarian Ferocity**

As discussed above, at 16.12.47, the historian makes a comparison between the Roman military and the Alamanni, which reflected the common belief that the Romans held of their Germanic enemies:

Pares enim quodam modo coiere cum paribus, Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles; illi *feri et turbidi*, hi quieti et cauti; animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti.<sup>86</sup>

Here we are presented with the distancing of the Romans from their adversaries that was so often incorporated in the literature. This is Ammianus' comment on the civilised Romans, carrying with them all the language and culture of their heritage, as opposed to the barbarians, who incorporated all that was bad about these indigenous groups, including their untamed natures.

Earlier on, at 16.12.36, Ammianus discusses the vision of ferocity that the Alamanni presented to the opposing Roman forces without the inclusion of a reference to the Roman

<sup>86</sup> "In a sense it was a battle of equals. The Alamanni had the advantage of strength and height, the Romans of training and discipline. One side was wild and turbulent, the other deliberate and cautious. Our men relied on their courage, the enemy on their prodigious physique." See note 42, above.

military to counterbalance it: *comae fluentes horrebant, et elucebat quidam ex oculis furor*. “Their hair streamed behind them and a kind of madness flashed from their eyes”. Undeniably, this imagery is so cleverly inserted into the text that it is just as effectual as the later description. Ammianus was not present at this battle, yet his descriptions take his audience there and we can see with the eyes he gives to us. The barbarians that Ammianus present us with are fearsome, and yet Julian is able to overcome the Alamanni at this decisive battle. In the end, Julian is a hero and, more importantly, Roman bravery and discipline once again overcome barbarity.

### **Barbarian Behaviour**

As revealed earlier, Ammianus makes a comment on the behaviour of the Limigantes, the former slaves of the Sarmatians. At 17.13.7 the historian wrote that these peoples advanced on the Romans with *sed fluctuantes ambiguitate mentium in diversa rapiebantur, et furori mixta versutia*. “With mingled craft and fury they thought both of entreaties and of battle”. Ammianus here reveals that typical barbarian trait of deception and dishonesty. He disapproves of these imputed actions for they are underhanded and unreliable and this anti-barbarian prejudice represents the natural mistrust that the Romans had for outsiders. At all stages, the Limigantes lack the virtues that the Romans stood for. They were unworthy to be associated with the Sarmatians and came under Roman subjugation.

### **Barbarians and the Death of Roman Soldiers**

Ammianus records the death of Roman soldiers at 19.11.15, and of Gabinius, the king of the Quadi, at 29.6.6. In both instances we are given the clear impression of his condemnation of these occurrences. Thus of the former he writes: *aut furori resistentes hostili, lateraque nudantes intecta, ordo fatalis obsumpsit* “...or had met their appointed end because in their efforts to resist the fury of the enemy they left their sides exposed”. Here we are again given the impression of Romans faced with the irrepressible fury of barbarians. In fact, the strength and violent natures of these groups in the western half of the empire would eventually prove too much for the Romans, and here we have a precursor to the changes that Ammianus would not witness. Nevertheless, the historian also makes the explicit comment that the killing of Gabinius was an “outrage” (*atrocis*), and he is understanding, if not supportive, of the Quadi’s furious reaction to this deed.<sup>87</sup> As we have seen above, the Quadi, having been roused to madness (*effervavit*) by this news, set out to devastate the lands across the Danube in an effort to vent their fury on those who were subjected to Roman rule and not prepared for this devastation.

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The fact that we are only provided with five comments of this nature reveals that not all events can necessarily bring forth such a personal response from the historian. It is only when he feels so strongly that a deed was committed without *honor* or *virtus*, either on the Roman or the barbarian side, that it deserves some comment. Of this it is perceived that:

Although because of his diffuseness (and, I suspect, basic honesty) Ammianus does provide us with some data to support alternative interpretations, his usual approach to his material is, like that of Tacitus, authoritative. Even when he does make direct

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<sup>87</sup> Cf. Sabbah (2003) 74.

## CHAPTER 2

comments upon events and (more often) persons, these are usually of a generalising or moralising nature.<sup>88</sup>

The barbarians provide for Ammianus much scope to present his own moral views, and in Chapter Six, we will also examine Tacitus' own views on the barbarians. In that chapter, it will be shown that there are certain parallels with those of Ammianus; however, the differences also help to illuminate the change in perspective that the centuries had worked upon the presentation of barbarians.

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<sup>88</sup> Blockley (1988) 249.

## PERSIANS

*Summary of the Causes of Anger for the Persians*

Cause of Anger	Reference
Notions of outrage at an insult, disrespect or injustice	19.6.8, 19.6.13, 19.7.1, 25.8.17
<b>Total 4</b>	

For the Romans, the Persians presented the greatest threat and their greatest adversary. Both empires were world dominators, but due to threats from other sectors, these two super-powers up until Ammianus' time never defeated the other. The (Eastern) Romans defeated the Persians but only in the 7th century (Heraclius) and were shortly after defeated themselves by the Arabs. Thus to Ammianus' perspective, neither power was able to dominate the other. Their vast borders meant that they could never withdraw completely from each other and their cultural differences meant that total integration was extremely difficult. Bullough even goes so far to say that the pressures from "uncivilised hordes" helped stabilise "the peace which was established in 363 AD (*sic*) lasted for almost a century and a half, until 502 AD (*sic*)".<sup>89</sup> Thus the 'shameful' treaty that Jovian made with Sapor in fact led to a lengthy period of peace that was beneficial for both empires, no matter Ammianus' own opinion of this deal (25.7.13). Under the Sassanid dynasty, until the seventh century, Persia remained the chief eastern power, and was recognised as an equal to the Roman Empire,<sup>90</sup> whereas the Parthians who play a role in Tacitus' work are considered in the Roman tradition as barbarians (although the actual term is not applied).<sup>91</sup> Ammianus, following literary convention, never once refers to the Parthians using this term, although he does mention that they are of Scythian origin (31.2.20), which conveys a negative connotation.<sup>92</sup> This may in part reveal why Ammianus' portrayal of Julian as taking on such a super power in his Persian campaign and the impossibility of the mission, coupled with the huge resources it would entail, was met with few supportive comments from the historian.<sup>93</sup>

We have limited recorded knowledge concerning Persian attitudes towards the Romans.<sup>94</sup> The fact that Ammianus does record the Persian perspective from his own personal point of view then proves valuable (if somewhat distorted). This assumption about Persian views comes out in Julian's panegyric to Constantius II (*Or.* 1.27 A-B),<sup>95</sup> in which he states that during the reigns of Constantine and Constantius II, the Persians planned to conquer the whole of Syria and settle their own people in the cities. However, we do have a real account of Persian interests in the letter written by Sapor to Constantius II, demanding all the ancestral lands as far as the Strymon and the boundary of Macedonia (17.5.5-6). The anger against Constantius II for refusing to grant his request is apparent, and led Sapor to invade Mesopotamia in retribution.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Bullough (1963) 57, 55.

<sup>90</sup> According to Ammianus 27.4-6 and Herodian, *History* 4.2.2, the Sassanians made every effort to revive the Achaemenid Empire and revive the old imperial Persian borders. See Daryaee (2005) 128.

<sup>91</sup> This was due to Roman ignorance. See Drijvers (1999) 200-201.

<sup>92</sup> See also Laistner (1971) 145.

<sup>93</sup> Indeed the entire enterprise was doomed to failure and Sapor at all stages shone through.

<sup>94</sup> As with accounts of the Parthians in Chapter 6 of this thesis, the literary evidence comes entirely from the Roman point of view, Goldsworthy (1998) 61.

<sup>95</sup> On Constantius and Persia, 337-350; see *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 11-14.

<sup>96</sup> Isaac (1992) 23.

Above, we have seen how wild and unruly the barbarians were as presented by Ammianus in his narrative. The wild animal imagery pervades his account and often made his audience compare the Germans, Goths and other barbarian groups to wild beasts, an effective means of dehumanising and debasing these groups of the enemy. However, this is something that he never does in his descriptions of the Persians.<sup>97</sup> Instead, Ammianus refers to the Persians as of the most deceitful of all peoples (*fallacissimae gentis*, 21.13.4), who had abandoned their previous policy “of hand-to-hand fighting for one of theft and robbery” (16.9.1), and when Julian addressed his troops he told them that he feared nothing except “the trickery and guile of our wily foe” (*Nihil enim praeter dolos et insidias hostium vereor, nimium callidorum*, 23.5.21). Ammianus follows the general rule of associating the Persians with making falsehoods, (which, incidentally, was infuriating to the Romans) and this was a typical representation of this people throughout Roman history.<sup>98</sup> The historian is unable to associate the Persians with the same lack of cultural sophistication and organised government that he is able to direct towards the barbarian groups, and his terminology must necessarily be adjusted to fit in with these better disciplined and advanced (at least in the upper classes) people.<sup>99</sup>

Ammianus describes the Persians’ own opposition towards similar groups of wild barbarians that the Romans themselves were forced to deal with. At 14.3.1, Ammianus writes that Sapor was compelled to drive back from his borders a number of very wild tribes (*ferocissimas gentes*), who often made raids upon his territory. These types of incursions were something that the Romans also frequently had to deal with. Then, at 18.4.1, the historian again writes that Sapor had been forced to subdue the savage tribes (*ferarum gentium*),<sup>100</sup> which he then armed against the Romans. The Persian king is then described as burning (*flagrans*) to destroy the might of the Romans and secure for himself an increase in territory – as well as the defeat of a very powerful foe.

As we have shown, in late antiquity, the Romans treated the Persians as a separate people from other cultural groups, for they were infrequently referred to with barbarian imagery. Further evidence of the separation between Persians and barbarians is the anger terms applied, for the barbarians exhibited *furor* and *rabies*, whereas the Persians displayed more ‘civilised’ emotions, such as *ira* and *indignatio*. Although, so saying, Ammianus does use the term *ira* to refer to barbarians three times, and this is because *ira* is such a strong term for anger that it suits the presentation of this emotion when it is shown for an honourable reason.<sup>101</sup>

Here, however, I would like to take a different view to T.E.J. Wiedemann, who claims that Ammianus uses *furor* or *ira* to only describe qualities in people whom he dislikes.<sup>102</sup> As we have seen in Chapter One, the historian uses the term *ira* and its forms fourteen times to describe the anger of the Roman military.<sup>103</sup> For the majority of instances, *ira militum* is something that the historian almost always wholeheartedly supports. The evidence that I have presented cannot support Wiedemann’s argument. Even when looking at emperors, it is Julian, Ammianus’ hero,

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Blockley (1977) 231.

<sup>98</sup> Wiedemann (1986) 195.

<sup>99</sup> General stereotypes on the Persians & western barbarians are covered in the model of Dobesch (1995) 16-21, distinguishing: Greco-Romans, “civilised barbarians” of the East, “semi-barbarians” of Europe and “wild barbarians”.

<sup>100</sup> The Chionitae and Gelani.

<sup>101</sup> At 16.12.49, 14.2.17 & 16.12.44.

<sup>102</sup> Wiedemann (1986) 196.

<sup>103</sup> At 17.13.15, 20.4.16, 16.12.52, 17.10.6, 17.13.9, 22.3.8, 24.2.5, 24.4.20, 25.3.10, 25.7.4, 19.5.8, 19.11.14, 25.3.6 & 26.9.3



who is described as exhibiting *ira* far more than his fellow rulers.<sup>104</sup> And again, the historian is often sympathetic to this anger for it is frequently shown in a positive light by a man whom he often supports. *Furor*, on the other hand, is used to describe those whom Ammianus sought to denigrate, and Wiedemann is correct here.

However, returning to *ira*, and Ammianus' incorporation of the term in relation to the Persians, the historian writes at 20.7.15 of the Persians that the swords of the infuriated enemy (*iratorum hostium*) cut down all that they could find. The Persian forces had been fired with pent up frustration during their time trying to take the fortress of Bezabde in Mesopotamia in 360,<sup>105</sup> and thus, once they had penetrated its defences, the consequence for the inhabitants was general slaughter, without regard to age or gender.

The next use of *ira* in regards to the Persians is used by Ammianus when he writes of their anger towards the Romans who were present in lands that they regarded as their own (25.8.17). In 363, after the death of Julian, Jovian was now leading the Roman forces back towards Roman held provinces. At 25.7.1-3 Sapor refused to take advantage of the abject state of the Roman forces and was in fact concerned by the large army and his own losses.<sup>106</sup> Jovian was aware of the anger of the Persians towards their presence there, and refused to spend the night inside the walls of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, for the shame it would cause if, whilst he was there, it should be handed over to the infuriated enemy: *urbem inexpugnabilem iratis hostibus tradi*.<sup>107</sup> These two uses of *ira* both suggest notions of outrage, the first towards those who caused the Persians such frustration by refusing the requests of Sapor to surrender, the second towards those who were present on their lands, and whose purpose, initially, had been to attack and defeat them.

Next there are the manifestations of anger that the Persians exhibited as a primary response to their feelings of rage. As we have seen in Ammianus' descriptions of the barbarians, twice they manifested their rage through raising their voices and shouting. Interestingly, though he discusses the anger of the Persians in far fewer instances, he also writes of two occasions when they also manifest their rage through increased vocalisations – although he does not record any other types of physical manifestations of anger for the Persians. The first of these instances occurred during the siege of Amida in Mesopotamia in 359, after the Gallic troops made a successful sally upon the unsuspecting Persians. When they observed their dead the next day and found grandees and satraps amongst them, the Persian kings, amidst their mourning, were said to have made angry complaints at the thought of the Romans penetrating their outposts, *“luctus ubique et indignatio regum audiebatur, arbitrantium per stationes muris obiectas irrupisse Romanos”* (19.6.13).<sup>108</sup>

The next instance in which the Persians exhibit their anger through raised voices was at Bezabde, which we have just discussed above (20.7.5). Their rage was visible and audible to those who held the fortress, as they communicated loudly their threats against the besieged: *acriter minans ac fremens*. We know from our discussion above that the Persians were feeling extremely frustrated with the inhabitants, and as well, they were being incited to anger by Sapor, who was also raging. As with Ammianus' use of *ira* to describe the anger of the Persians

<sup>104</sup> At 22.13.2, 16.4.2, 16.12.3, 22.14.2, 23.2.4, 24.3.2, 24.5.7 & 24.5.10.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Seager (1997) 258.

<sup>106</sup> Boeft (2005) 219.

<sup>107</sup> The important fortress of Nisibis had been handed over to the Romans by the Persians during a settlement which in 299 Diocletian and Galerius had decreed of king Nerseh, Blockley (1989) 469. See also Isaac (1992) 23; Potter (2004) 467f; 472.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Livy 25.1.9.

along with their notions of outrage, here too, with these manifestations of their anger, it is coupled with acts that they could conceivably believe are outrageous and unjustified. This then relates to determinants of anger “(3) a response to righteous indignation...” and “(6) a learnt response to certain situations”. They interpreted the surprise attack on them at Amida as a personal injury that assaulted their notions of security and how they believed that the enemy should be constrained. At Bezabde, the enemy again did not behave as the Persians wished them to, and so their emotive response became purely physical.

To defend one’s life against a threat was a natural response and the indignation that they felt must have helped them to collectively fight off their attackers. The historian, who was present at this event, was able to record (though he does not provide specific numbers) that there were a high number of losses on both sides. This occurred both during the siege of Amida and the assault upon Bezabde, during which rage prompted the Persians to attack their enemy, and sometimes those who were innocent, without mercy.

Ammianus’ comments on these matters are, as usual, very limited. It is only twice that we get specific comments in regards to the anger of the Persians. The first instance occurred when the historian wrote that during the Persians’ assault on Bezabde, “No one cared what he did, but in the midst of these atrocities the greed for loot proved stronger in that people even than the lust for blood” (*nullo, quid ageret, respectante. Inter quae tam funesta gens rapiendi cupidior*, 20.7.15). The next occurrence was when Jovian declined the invitation to stay at Nisibis, and Ammianus wrote (25.8.17) that he refused “from shame that during his own stay within its walls the impregnable city should be handed over to the enemy” (*erubescens agente se intra muros, urbem inexpugnabilem iratis hostibus tradi*). These remarks suggest that the Persians’ conduct was clearly, at these points, too violent and uncontrollable in the mind of Ammianus for him to find anything worthy in their performance, and his language gives us a naturally hostile narrative of their behaviour. In this respect, “Although *erubescens* denotes the feeling of Jovian, the opinion is unmistakably that of the author himself, with his insistence of the shameful submission to Sapor”.<sup>109</sup>

The Persians do not suffer from the same criticisms of uncivilised behaviour as the barbarians do. However, they are notorious for other types of conduct, which are equally despised by Ammianus. Many of his depictions of the Persians are rhetorical, and, as a matter of course, he incorporates generalisations, which are typically those expected by his audience who have been brought up with characteristic representations of this group. Ammianus is skilled in rhetorical technique; however, being personally present at some of the events that he writes about, these representations are often at times based on his own perceptions of what actually occurred.

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<sup>109</sup> Boeft (2005) 276. Cf. Eutropius 10.17, who wrote that the peace “...would not have been altogether reprehensible, if (Jovian) had been resolved, when it should be in his power to throw off the obligation of the treaty...But being in dread, as long as he remained in the east, of a rival for the imperial dignity, he thought too little of his glory...” For positive representations of this peace and of Jovian himself, see Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.19; John of Nicias 81.20.

## SAPOR II

*Summary of the Causes of Anger for Sapor*

Cause of Anger	Reference
Notions of outrage at an insult, disrespect or injustice	19.1.6, 19.7.8, 19.8.1, 20.7.3, 20.7.8, 25.8.13, 27.12.11, 27.12.18
<b>Total 8</b>	

From 338-368 the Great King Sapor II remained one of the Romans' greatest adversaries. Sapor was dangerous for the Romans because of, amongst other factors, his violent temper. In fact, this also created much tension amongst his own people, who had to personally suffer his rages. In order to appease their king, the armies of Sapor would vigorously attack their enemy to demonstrate their worth before him. Sapor was not only feared by his people, he was also adored by them, and his ability to lead as a general and make good strategic decisions saw him outlive all the Roman emperors in Ammianus' narrative, i.e. Constantius II, Julian and Jovian, who sought to defeat, or at least to subdue him. Sapor's ability to control such huge forces and have them obey his every whim was naturally of great concern to Ammianus, especially as he had had personal contact with Sapor's Persian army, and narrowly escaped with his life. In his descriptions of the great king, he states that:

When assailed from the walls he rages, *quasi in sacrilegos violati...templi* (19.1.6); during the fighting itself he rushes into the fray like an ordinary fighting man (19.7.8); and when the final assault begins, he appears *ad potiunda sperata ira et dolore exundans, nec fas ullum oculis habiturus* (19.8.1), driving on the nations under his command.<sup>110</sup>

Eutropius, a contemporary of Ammianus, and who also travelled with Julian on his Persian expedition, wrote (10.10, tr. H.W. Bird) in relation to Sapor that Constantius:

...suffered many serious setbacks at the hands of the Persians. His towns were often captured, his cities besieged, his armies cut to pieces, and he had no successful engagement with Sapor except that at Singara he lost a certain victory...<sup>111</sup>

Table 2.1 shows the books that deal with specific instances of anger in relation to Persians and barbarians. The peak is in book nineteen, which has ten occurrences of specific instances of anger; three of these refer to the anger of Sapor, and two specifically refer to his *ira*. Through a close study of his history, it is apparent that Ammianus is greatly concerned with anger and imperial figures – something that will be the focus of Chapter Three. As the leading opponent of the Roman Empire, Ammianus saw Sapor as the epitome of the true enemy of Rome, and devoted much space in his *Res Gestae* to this powerful ruler. This then meant that "...the most mentioned negative quality is Sapor's rage (19.1.6: *orantibus potissimis ducibus, ne profusus in iram a gloriosis descisceret coeptis*; 20.7.3: *ira tamen tum sequestrata*; 20.7.8: *efferata vesania*

<sup>110</sup> Blockley (1988) 248.

<sup>111</sup> Singara had become a liability in Ammianus' time, Austin & Rankow (1995) 237. For discussion of Constantius' continuous inability to defend Mesopotamia against the Persians, cf. Eadie (1967) 149-151; Barnes (1980) 163-164; Blockley (1988) 244-260; Matthews (1989) 3, 39-66.

*regis obstante; 20.7.11: rabiem regis; 27.12.11: Sapor ultra hominem efferatus*)".<sup>112</sup> Seager qualifies this:

Anger also plays a prominent part in the conduct of Sapor. At Amida it more than once made him take risks. On one occasion he was so outraged that people had dared to shoot at him that his nobles had to beg him not to give way to anger and abandon his glorious enterprise.<sup>113</sup> Later his anger made him eager to gain his ends with no thought of right or wrong. This frame of mind had led him to rush into battle like a common soldier, contrary to the practice of the Persian kings (19.1.6, 8.1).<sup>114</sup> On other occasions he exercised greater self-control. On first approaching Bezabde he put aside his anger and tried to persuade the defenders to surrender. Later, despite his annoyance at his failure to gain his objectives in Armenia, he again checked his anger (20.7.3, 30.2.7).<sup>115</sup>

One thing that immediately becomes obvious in Ammianus' representations is that Sapor was not the capricious barbarian only out to plunder and destroy; he was instead intent on obtaining fortresses and territory in an effort to expand and protect his borders, something which barbarian groups such as the Huns and Goths were seemingly unconcerned with. An example of his desire to feel secure is shown at 27.12.18, when Sapor became furious (*percitus*) at the emperor Valentinian who betrayed him by dividing Hiberia without first consulting the Persian king. Moreover, Valentinian had broken his treaty with Sapor by giving help to the Armenians. At 27.12.11 Sapor was outraged when Papa was elevated to king of Armenia by the Romans. Armenia was a centre of conflict because it provided a buffer state and was of strategic importance as it directed the military routes between Asia Minor and central Persia. Both Rome and Persia had attempted to establish a protectorate over Armenia, and this explains the reaction of Sapor over this hotly contested region that he sought desperately to control.<sup>116</sup> Faustus, the fifth-century Armenian historian, records that previous to this, the emperor Jovian had ceded a major part of Armenia to Sapor during the peace treaty of 363. Faustus makes this (rather far-fetched) claim that Jovian spoke thus:

I have ceded unto you (Sapor) the town of Medzpin (Nisibis) in Arousatan, also Assyrian Mesopotamia, and as for the inland regions of Armenia, I abandon them and if you are able to conquer and subdue them, I promise not to come to the assistance of the Armenians.

(4.21, tr. B. Sidwell)

Sapor clearly felt he had a right to this region and to dictate what happened to its rulers. He felt that he had been shamefully treated (*pati se exclamans indigna*) by the actions of the emperor, and his response was to take revenge upon the Romans. As such, Sapor's anger manifested itself through this notion of outrage, and his first instinct was to acquire as much support as possible so that he might attack those who had insulted him. This therefore relates to determinants of anger, "(2) a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment", and "(3) a response to righteous indignation". Anger made Sapor's resolve stronger, and his desire for

<sup>112</sup> Drijvers (unpublished) 9.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Julian later, 24.5.6.

<sup>114</sup> *Ad potiunda sperata ira et dolore exundans, nec fas ullum oculis habiturus*, cf. 19.7.8.

<sup>115</sup> Seager (1986) 35.

<sup>116</sup> Bullough (1963) 57.

revenge increased his determination so that his response was to devastate Armenia. The consequence of this was that Roman forces were sent in to counter Sapor's attack. The Romans were successful and ensured that Papa remained king and as well recovered the fortresses from the Persians. In addition, Roman troops were stationed throughout Armenia, securing it firmly into Roman possession.<sup>117</sup> Sapor, furious as ever, sent in more troops, but it was Papa himself who finally settled this matter.

Papa poisoned the great Armenian Catholicos, Nerses, who was a very close Roman ally. Papa nominated Iusik as a replacement and sent him for consecration to the bishop of Caesarea, Basil. But Basil refused to consecrate the nominee. Valens requested that Basil quickly resolve the situation by finding a new nominee acceptable to Papa. Basil failed to do so and the Roman see of Caesarea effectively lost its traditional role of consecrating the Catholicos of Armenia. Papa's refusal to cooperate with Basil angered Valens. In addition Papa demanded control over Caesarea and twelve other Roman cities including Edessa as former Arsacid domains while openly courting Persia.<sup>118</sup> Valens decided to execute Papa and invited him to a meeting in Tarsus. Papa arrived with 300 mounted escorts but quickly became anxious when he found out Valens was not there in person, so he fled back to Armenia (30.5.17). The general Terentius sent two generals with *scutarii* familiar with the local terrain after Papa, an Armenian named Danielus and an Iberian named Barzimeres who failed to capture and execute Papa. According to Ammianus (30.1.1-23; 30.2.1), Valens consigned Trainaus to gain Papa's confidence and murder him. Trainaus murdered Papa in 374 during a banquet that he had organized for the young king.<sup>119</sup> Sapor was disappointed in these events, for, in place of Papa, whom he had hoped to win to his side, in 375, the Roman army installed an Arsacid princeling, Warasdat, upon the throne as nominee of the empire (30.2.1).<sup>120</sup>

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Although we have a number of instances of the direct anger of Sapor, from what Ammianus has written, it appears that Sapor was able to control his anger to a far greater extent than the majority of Roman emperors that Ammianus discusses in his extant narrative. The great king was often able to channel his anger into something positive, and the results were often victories for the Persians against the indecision of the Romans. Nowhere is this more evident than during the siege of Amida in 359 (18.8ff.), where we are given the contrast between the determination and hostility of Sapor, with the corruption of the court of Constantius and the dealings with Ursicinus.<sup>121</sup> This led ultimately to victory for the Persians, and it has been described as, "Persian vigour, demonic determination, and good planning, against Roman corruption, incompetence, and inertia".<sup>122</sup> This was not the first time that Constantius had had to deal with Persian forces destroying this fortress on the upper Tigris, for whilst still a Caesar he had rebuilt its walls after the previous attack (18.9.1). What this reveals then is the renewal of Persian aggression, and reflects the changed circumstances in the east since Gallus had been entrusted with its defence in 351.<sup>123</sup> In fact, Sapor had reasserted his right to Armenia and Mesopotamia and by

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<sup>117</sup> Bullough (1963) 59.

<sup>118</sup> Baynes (1910) 640.

<sup>119</sup> Faustus, 5.32, credits this scheme to Terentius and Addaeus.

<sup>120</sup> Faustus, 5.32. Cf. Baynes (1910) 641.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Seager (1997) 257.

<sup>122</sup> Blockley (1988) 247-248.

<sup>123</sup> *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 39.

encouraging his enemies to join forces with him he took on the powers of Rome. Though discouraged with his failures in taking Nisibis three times previously by siege, the siege of Amida was begun in earnest after the son of the king of the Chionitae was killed before its walls.<sup>124</sup> What this incident reveals in accordance with this thesis is that anger, when focused positively could have dramatically different results than anger turn internally against those who should be supporters.

Although anger could be a force for positive change, Ammianus writes that, “it is the task of a good ruler to keep his power in check, to resist the passions of unbridled desire and implacable rage” (*resistere cupiditati omnium rerum et implacabilibus iracundiis*, 29.2.18). Of anger control:

The only ruler, for whom this actually succeeds once, the only one, who is still also in the emotional condition in the situation, who listens to his counsellors and controls his anger under reasonable force, is a barbarian, the great Persian king. Ammianus gives an impressive description of such a situation in 19.1.6: with effort Sapor survived an attack of the Roman defenders of Amida on his person; *hinc quasi in sacrilegos violati saeviens templi temeratumque tot regum et gentium dominum praedicans eruendae urbis apparatu nisibus magnis instabat et orantibus potissimis ducibus, ne profusus in iram a gloriosis descisceret coeptis, leni summatum petitione placatus postridie quoque super deditione moneri decreverat defensores*. Ammianus states a further example of the ability of the Persian king to control his emotions at 20.7.3, where Sapor suppresses his anger after a renewed attack on his person and the defenders of Bezabde offer up demands for their peaceful delivery.<sup>125</sup>

Emotional control is also apparent in Sapor’s reaction towards the Romans at Amida in 359. Despite his rage against the defenders, he could be calmed by his attendants, and cooled off enough to listen to their advice. He therefore decided to request their surrender the next day, instead of deviating from his “glorious enterprises” (19.1.6). This reveals that keeping a cool head at times of extreme crisis could mean the difference between a peaceful surrender, and a bloody massacre on both sides. This in effect is in concurrence with what Seneca writes: “Someone thinks himself injured, he wills revenge, but he settles down at once when some consideration dissuades him. I do not call this anger, this movement of the mind obedient to reason” (*De ira* 2.3.4, tr. Sorabji (2000) 74).

There were however times when Sapor did not control his anger, and behaved like a common soldier giving sway to his emotions or as a typical tyrant. The comments that Ammianus makes on the rage of Sapor suggest that the historian took this ruler’s anger very seriously, as they affected Romans. However, again, these remarks are very few, and only three times does Ammianus make a specific comment on the anger of Sapor. One incident of Sapor’s anger was so remarkable that it would be surprising if Ammianus did not make some observation. This occurred in 359, during the siege of Amida, in which Sapor was so frustrated at his troops’ lack of success that he actually rushed into the fray himself like an ordinary soldier, the consequence of which was that many of his attendants, who were compelled to accompany

<sup>124</sup> On the siege of Amida, see Ammianus 19.1-9; Matthews (1989) 57-66. At Nisibis, see *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 41. Nisibis was besieged by Sapor in 338, 346 and 350, Jones (1964) 112.

<sup>125</sup> Brandt (1999) 170. *Ira tamen tum sequestrata caduceatoribus missis ex more clausos blandius hortabatur, ut vitae speique consulturi obsidium deditione solverent opportuna reseratisque portis egressi surplices victori gentium semet offerrent*.

him, were killed. Of this, Ammianus (19.7.8) writes, “This was a novel and quite unprecedented event” (*novo et nusquam antea cognito more*). Though the historian does not say outright whether he disapproves of this action, we know that when Julian made a similar attack under the influence of anger (24.5.6), that this was met with no support from Ammianus, who, in the majority of instances, supports the behaviour of this emperor (in this instance his rash behaviour proved fatal and so Ammianus could not make a positive comment on it). The assumption is that, here, Sapor, clearly acting hot-headedly and placing himself in great danger, being conspicuous with the number of attendants in his suite, was also behaving irrationally, and as a consequence, Ammianus could not approve of the actions of a leader, Roman or otherwise, who behaved in this manner (although this sort of behaviour can be inspirational, and one would presume if it was effective in that respect it would receive some acclaim).

Sapor, as the king of the Persians, was never treated in the writings of Ammianus as other foreigners were. Naturally, he was always regarded warily, but the historian was constantly ready to comment on the discipline of his troops and his well thought out strategies, something that he rarely, if ever, does for the barbarians. Sapor was also worthy of a higher report for he listened to his advisers, who, unlike many of the advisors to the Romans emperors whom Ammianus discusses, made straightforward requests that the great king was frequently willing to listen to.

## CONCLUSION

When *ira* is used to describe the anger of the Persians, it implies a degree of sophistication and the knowledge that they are experiencing this emotion with an element of justification and an enhanced ability to cognitively appraise each situation, which does not come through in the *furor* or *rabies* of the barbarian enemy. Especially in regards to Sapor, their anger was something to be very wary of, as it was not the reckless savagery of the barbarians, but the cunning ruthlessness of a more advanced enemy. One of the most successful opponents of the Romans, the Persians remained a constant threat right throughout all the reigns narrated by Ammianus in the *Res Gestae*, and this was in no small way due to the respect that they had for their leader as well as the sheer numbers that Sapor could afford to throw at the Romans. Moreover, though there were deserters, the Persian soldiers never combined in unanimous opposition to their leader (that we know of), and this was another quality that ensured their success as a military force. Of course there was (likely) never unanimous opposition towards a Roman leader either, and the Romans were frequently a victorious fighting force.

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When it comes to the historian's dealings with the barbarians, Ammianus relates their anger in the various incidents, which he saw as worthy of reporting, whether they are to enhance the glory of Rome, or to show how the Roman military reacted when threatened by the barbarian presence. He presents us with typical descriptions of the barbarians that tend to enhance their savagery and wild natures, and these descriptions are enhanced by their comparison with wild animals.<sup>126</sup> Although the barbarians are often contrasted with beasts, Ammianus does state that the Germans were brave and could be devoted to a good general (25.6.14, 18.2.6). His barbarians are not unusual in the sense of historiography, but they do say a lot about his writing of historiography and his desire to portray what he and his audience deemed barbarians were, rather than what their actual behaviour or appearance was.

The bloodthirsty nature of the times came across strongly in Ammianus' portrayals of the Roman military, but the barbarians were similarly subject to strong pressures which saw them react to the Romans' incursions into what they perceived was their territory, and this is something that the historian is apparently aware of. At certain stages in Ammianus' narrative there are notions that Ammianus warms to, or is not unsympathetic to, certain responses of the barbarians when they are responding to feelings of outrage. This is seen when the Quadi responded violently to the death of their king (29.6.6); and when the Thervingi were being mistreated by the Romans and became violent as a result (31.5.5). The recurring theme we get from these instances of barbarian anger is the notion that the barbarians were trying to defend their lands, and once they perceived that the Romans were becoming a threat, they reacted violently. There was also the reaction of violence when they perceived outrages or misfortunes had befallen them as a result of the Roman presence. It was effective Roman policy to create and prolong a sense of fear in the barbarians, for this helped keep them in check and often prevented further outbreaks of violence.<sup>127</sup> To the Romans, anger was a definite danger, but when that anger was replaced by dread, it was a far more effective means of controlling potentially violent groups.

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<sup>126</sup> Although I should here stress that Ammianus does not limit his wild animal descriptions to barbarians; Romans are on occasion compared to beasts, cf. Wiedemann (1986) 201.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Seager (1999) 590.



As with the categorisation of barbarians under certain groupings, such as untrustworthy, savage, violent, uncultured, to name but a few, historians also liked to group barbarians into easy to define units, such as the “Alamanni”, “Goths”, “Celts”, and so forth.<sup>128</sup> What this did was to preserve a form and distinction that suited each barbarian group that for the Romans was unchanging. This then gave the emperors a definite enemy to overcome and conquer and when this was achieved it made the Romans feel more secure about themselves, than if they were defeating an unknown and therefore more terrifying group of opponents (cf. Dio 71.3.5).<sup>129</sup> As we discussed earlier, Ammianus was fond of associating barbarians with wild beasts and this was another means of organising them. The historian presented the Isaurians as extremely notorious in the accounts, and to him they were no more than bandits and pirates. Ammianus (19.13.1) described them as “snakes darting forth from their holes, sallying forth from their rocky and inaccessible mountain fastness”. Even the name “Isaurian” conjured up images of barbarism and banditry for the Romans. The *Expositio totius mundi* (45) published shortly after the Isaurian incident which Ammianus recorded, stated: “Isauria, which is said to have strong men who are also known to commit robberies now and then, rather wish to be adversaries of the Romans, but they are not able to conquer the unconquerable name”.<sup>130</sup> Ammianus is very abrupt in his language when describing the Isaurians, not regarding them as anything special or even a real threat to Rome, merely an annoyance that could be avoided if so desired. In the end, the Romans responded to the Isaurians by destroying their strongholds and moving a large percentage of their population to Thrace.<sup>131</sup>

Continuing this theme of organization, whilst Ammianus’ portrayals are meant to contrast good against bad in a way which added a distinctive moralistic tone to much of his depictions, there was sometimes a fine line between what Ammianus believed was the correct course of action that the Romans should be taking, and the deplorable way in which they sometimes treated their neighbours, especially those they sought to form alliances with. We have pages full of the victorious deeds of the Roman military against the flawed enemy, and the Romans seemed often to have the advantage, through their strict discipline and ordered military tactics. The knowledge that they were gaining victories for the betterment, or at least the preservation, of the Roman Empire was certainly, in the historian’s eyes, far more important than the occasional mistreatment of the barbarians.

In Chapter One I mentioned the readily accepted fact that the incorporation of barbarians into the Roman army made them acquire and develop Roman traits. This would naturally include learning Latin, knowledge of the traditions of Roman culture, Roman ways of living, using Roman implements and learning about the Roman military machine, with all the industry attached to it. The barbarians could not help but become “Romanised” with all this close contact. This then leads us to consider Hummer’s proposal that Ammianus became accustomed to the ways of the barbarians through his association with them in the Roman army.<sup>132</sup> These were not the untamed or ill-disciplined barbarians that the legions would face in combat, but by now well-trained men who were easily integrated into Roman society, and therefore it becomes

<sup>128</sup> For this organization of barbarians into “generic categories”, see Hummer (1998) 3.

<sup>129</sup> “Because the Romans call all those who inhabit the northern regions Germans”, Hummer (1998) 4. This gave rise to the titulature that was attached to winning emperors and generals, such as when Marcus Aurelius was lauded with the title of *Germanicus* after defeating the Marcomanni in 172.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Honey (2006) 54.

<sup>131</sup> By the sixth century they had become integrated into Greco-Roman society as soldiers and priests, having fully embraced Christianity, Honey (2006) 55. As well they produced two emperors, Zeno (474-491) and Leo III (717-741).

<sup>132</sup> Hummer (1998) 8 n.27.

less easy to maintain Hummer's presumption as an adequate interpretation here, for Ammianus was describing outsider barbarians, not those integrated into Roman society. Ammianus knew the behaviour of barbarians from his own observations, and from eyewitness accounts. Certainly he embellished his accounts, and often these were to fit in with the Romans' accustomed view of barbarians, and a tamer viewpoint would have aroused scorn from those who expected worse. Ammianus knew his subjects well and knew how his audience would receive them. Through the examination of anger and its often justifiable causes, I hope to have shown that Ammianus was aware (at least at certain times) of the humanity of the barbarians.

Following on from this view, however, the notion that barbarians were becoming Roman did not mean that those who were settled in the provinces and those areas still untamed by the Romans did not invoke suspicion in our historian. There was certainly an element of understanding as regards to the intellectual and emotional positions, yet there is not the element of awe or respect that comes through in such earlier accounts as in Tacitus.<sup>133</sup> Such incorporation of barbarians into the army and spheres of Roman existence has seen scholars such as Boak make the claim that this led to the "disintegration of the Western Empire".<sup>134</sup> Ammianus did not have an insight into the future, but by 394 he was aware that the situation was looking grim, hence his verdict on Adrianople. His main concern was that the uneducated and uncivilised were coming up through the ranks and taking on positions of authority that they did not deserve.<sup>135</sup> Rostovtseff puts the claim forward that the decadence of Rome was explained by "the gradual absorption of the educated classes by the masses, and in consequence, the simplification of all the functions of political, social, economic and intellectual life which we call the barbarisation of the ancient world".<sup>136</sup> Ammianus had some concerns, but he never makes the suggestion that barbarians should not be allowed into the military; after all, they had been incorporated in the auxiliaries for centuries. This was a view put forward by much later scholars.

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<sup>133</sup> See Chapter Six, for the presentation of the barbarian as the 'noble savage'.

<sup>134</sup> Boak (1962) 26.

<sup>135</sup> Whereas he, a cultivated Greek-speaker, must have deserved his rank and position, as did his hero Julian.

<sup>136</sup> As quoted by Heitland (1926) 604. Rostovtseff himself escaped from the Russian Revolution of 1917, where occurred a gradual absorption of the educated classes by the masses, and in consequence, the simplification of all the functions of political, social, economic and intellectual life which we might call the barbarisation of his Russia and his world.

### 3. ANGER AND EMPERORS AND CAESARS IN THE *RES GESTAE*

*After promulgating the law about adulterers, in which it was specified how the accused were to be tried, and how the convicted were to be punished, he (Augustus) later, under stress of anger, fell upon a young man whose name had been linked in gossip with his daughter Julia, and struck him with his fists; but when the young man cried out, "You have made a law, Caesar," such a revulsion of feeling came over him that he refused food the rest of the day.*

(Plutarch, *Moralia* 207E, tr. F.C. Babbitt)

#### INTRODUCTION

As will be shown in Chapter 6, virtues, such as the ability to restrain one's anger, was, for a ruler, a theme explored by philosophers and historians throughout the ages. The traditional belief that a ruler should restrain his anger was still an important aspect of political instruction in the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> During the period of the fourth century in which Ammianus lived and wrote, there remained a concern with virtues as displayed by the emperors. We have strong evidence for this in the panegyric texts from Eusebius, Julian, Themistius, Libanius (Libanius' *Oration* 16 is called, *To the Antiochenes: On the Emperor's Anger*), Symmachus, Ambrose, Synesius and Claudian. However, in much of their writings, the notion of anger control is replaced with gentleness and philanthropy. The emperor must be "noble, wise, brave, dignified, kind, merciful, just, devoted to his people, chaste in his private life, moderate, generous, truthful, prudent, self-restrained, modest", however, "the emperor's control over his anger is rather conspicuously absent from the Latin prose panegyrics".<sup>2</sup> When we are reading the works of Ammianus, a contemporary of these other writers, who would certainly be familiar with at least some of their works, we are able to see how he builds upon this slightly altered ideology. Our historian becomes most concerned by the excesses of anger when it is shown by an emperor, but he never goes to the extremes of Seneca with his significant political purpose in mind, and does not write a default piece on the necessity of controlling one's emotions, Ammianus is far more subtle than that. He does not go as far as the panegyrists either, for his Julian is undeniably flawed. One of the purposes of the *Res Gestae* is to demonstrate the inherent dangers that anger can create and lead to. According to Seager, in Ammianus:

Anger is almost always condemned as proof of a lack or loss of self-control, which may cloud a man's judgement and inspire him to unsound action... It is recorded almost always when indulged in by supposedly civilized men, especially emperors, who more than others should be capable of controlling themselves. It is a glorious achievement, Ammianus says, if powerful men conquer their desire to do harm, to act cruelly, and to give way to anger (21.16.14).<sup>3</sup>

At certain points in the *Res Gestae*, almost every emperor described by Ammianus displays some form of anger. The historian does not refrain from recording these instances, as, in general, displays of anger by emperors were a rare occurrence (or else were rarely reported), and were regarded as significant episodes to record for posterity, for they had huge potential

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Harris (2001) 261.

<sup>2</sup> Harris (2001) 257-258.

<sup>3</sup> Seager (1986) 34.

impact on the wider society. The reconstruction of past events is given added expression through the displays of emotion that the emperors exhibit. As with Ammianus' descriptions of the soldiers and barbarians, emotions were an inevitable part of actual events, for not even an emperor, with his imperial dignity, could refrain from showing some form of feeling forever. Events surrounding the emperors receive significance, because these imperial figures are often personally involved, and their responses are crucial for the smooth functioning of the empire. As well as this, these descriptions of anger are judged by Ammianus as he compares them to his perceptions of the ideal ruler. The *Res Gestae* is essentially a biographical account of the emperors,<sup>4</sup> and with that the historian's rhetorical language is put to full use as he breathes life into these royal personages.

As with the Roman military, Ammianus is concerned that the imperial figures are behaving in ways that are in the best interests for Rome and the provinces. When he perceives that they are not, he does not hesitate in recording what the negative consequences of their behaviour were. Ammianus seems especially aware in his descriptions of emperors that these figures provided the cohesion, and indeed the required fascination needed, to draw his audience in, and they became larger than life. Ultimately, the emperors provided for Ammianus a rich source of historical material for giving depth and life to his narrative, and although he may not always support such individuals as Constantius and Valentinian, "he does not criticise the monarchy as an institution".<sup>5</sup> For Ammianus, this establishment was essential for continuing the structure of administration and governance into late Roman times, for Rome had, "like a thrifty parent, wise and wealthy had entrusted the management of her inheritance to the Caesars, as to her children" (14.6.5).

What this study also reveals is that Ammianus does not include instances of anger for all the emperors he discusses in his narrative, yet he does mention certain bad predispositions within the nature of Gratian and Jovian – the two emperors who do not exhibit direct anger within the historian's text. They are not necessarily angry people, but have other faults that let them down. Thus at 31.10.18 he characterises Gratian:

Praeclaræ indolis adolescens, facundus et moderatus et bellicosus et clemens, ad aemulationem lectorum progrediens principum, dum etiam tum lanugo genis inserperet speciosa, ni vergens in ludibriosos actus natura laxantibus proximis semet ad vana studia Caesaris Commodi convertisset, licet hic incruentus.<sup>6</sup>

The Augustuses bring to Ammianus' history a sense of individuality and humanness that we do not find in his descriptions of collective groups. However, he does appear to distort certain details in order to create generalisations and form assumptions, which are based on how much he likes or dislikes a particular imperial figure. As for those emperors whom he dislikes, he often uses this technique in order to disassociate himself from them, for, being extremely moralistic, he distances himself from behaviour which is seen to be in opposition to the ancient traditional

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<sup>4</sup> Wilshire (1973) 225.

<sup>5</sup> Wilshire (1973) 224.

<sup>6</sup> "He was a young man of remarkable talent, eloquent, controlled, warlike, and merciful, and seemed likely to rival the best of his predecessors while the down of youth was still spreading over his cheeks. But he had an innate tendency to play the fool which his intimates made no attempt to check, and this seduced him into the frivolous pursuits of the emperor Commodus, though he was never bloodthirsty." Gratian certainly had excellent points on one hand, but these were balanced by his defects such as hunting, which detracted from his official duties, Brandt (1999) 93.

Roman values. For example, Ammianus states that Constantius should have “laboured with extreme care to model his life and character in rivalry with those of the constitutional emperors”.<sup>7</sup> It is here, in the historian’s approach towards the emperors and Caesars, that we gain a serious insight into the character and personality of Ammianus the man. However, some would say that Ammianus is not acting on random impulse when it comes to describing the behaviour of his emperors, for, “Ammianus refuses to make his emotions the basis for his practical choices”, as, “the separation between emotions and perception of realities was indispensable to Ammianus, if his conservatism were to have any substance at all”.<sup>8</sup>

That is not to say that he refrained from arousing carefully chosen emotional responses in his audience. Ammianus clearly supports the emperor Julian, a fellow pagan,<sup>9</sup> as he embodied, for Ammianus, all the hopes for a regeneration of the Empire.<sup>10</sup> The career of Julian is narrated in ten of the extant eighteen books of the *Res Gestae*,<sup>11</sup> and through this expansive discourse he encourages his audience to respond positively to the deeds of this short-lived emperor. However, he regards the Pannonian-born Valens and Valentinian<sup>12</sup> as culturally inferior,<sup>13</sup> who, as ‘barbarians’, were naturally more inclined to express their emotions loudly and with open expression. However, being ‘barbarian’ meant that the general population more readily accepted these two Pannonian born emperors, as they were seen to be less stringent on taxation and heavy dues than the ‘Roman’ emperors levied upon them. Indeed, it was the commoners who were most willing to let barbarians into the empire. The historian was also a strong adherent of the senatorial class, even if he himself was not a member. For him, as for the senatorial elite, Valentinian and his brother did not fit into the standard of traditional Roman culture, and consequently they were suspect to this class.<sup>14</sup> When emperors did not conform to

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<sup>7</sup> Wilshire (1973) 223.

<sup>8</sup> Momigliano (1977) 135.

<sup>9</sup> For Ammianus’ references to pagan beliefs, see for example, 15.8.9, 14.11.25-26, 23.5.10. Cf. Momigliano (1977) 134; and Hunt (1985) 187, “only a pagan could have written a history so pervaded by the religiosity of omens and fate, and one in which the pagan emperor Julian was the – albeit flawed – hero”. For Julian’s paganism, see Jones (1964) 121.

<sup>10</sup> Camus (1967) 127.

<sup>11</sup> Smith (1999) 89, “In one sense or another, Ammianus’ narrative of Julian plainly must count as the centre-piece of the entire work”.

<sup>12</sup> Although it may seem that Ammianus regards those from Pannonia as uncultured and semi-barbarian – which is in support of Alföldi’s (1952) criticism – in fact, at 27.3.11, Ammianus praises the Pannonian born Viventius, who had risen to become prefect of Rome, whom he describes as, “an upright and wise Pannonian, under whose quiet and peaceful administration there was general plenty”. Barnes (1998) 111-119 claims that Ammianus held cultural prejudices about the inhabitants of Illyricum and their *furor*, *ferocia*, *feritas* and *superbia*, were deeply rooted for centuries in Roman minds, cf. Salmon (1986); Dzino (2006) for Mediterranean cultural prejudices towards the inhabitants of Illyricum. For a defence of the Pannonians, see Matthews (1975) 41.

<sup>13</sup> As well as being from a culturally poor background, Valens and Valentinian also held no hereditary right to the throne, even though they had assumed the title of emperor legally, Treadgold (1997) 64. This was another reason for Ammianus not to support them. See however Ammianus’ attitude to Procopius (26.6.1ff.), who did have a hereditary right to the throne, but tried to obtain it illegally. Although it was said that Valentinian was learned in some aspects of culture, for he was able to exchange verses from Virgil around the dinner table, “*vir meo iudicio eruditus*”. Cf. Matthews (1989) 238. The emperor Jovian was also of Pannonian origin, Jones (1964) 141, but does not receive criticism for his background.

<sup>14</sup> McGeachy (1955) 280. Kulikowski (2007) 251 points out the comparisons that Ammianus makes between Valentinian and Hadrian. That Ammianus was writing from a senatorial tradition descended from Tacitus, “the comparison could only be unflattering”. Cf. Seyfarth (1969) 449-455. Thus Ammianus writes

the traditional stereotypes, then they were bound to receive a bad impression from our historian. Valentinian's necrology contains not only what he did wrong, but also how Ammianus believed he should have behaved. By associating Valens and Valentinian with barbarians, he brings them to the level where he can draw ridicule to their characters, whereas a Roman-born emperor (or at least one from a civilised urban centre) would not be regarded so despairingly. At 26.8.2, during the siege of Chalcedon, the supporters of the usurper Procopius ridiculed Valens, calling him "Sabaiarius", which literally translates as 'beer-swiller'. Beer was a poor man's drink in Illyricum, and drunk by those who were uncultivated and ill used to the far more sophisticated drink of choice of the Romans, *vinum*. In this respect, "this episode complements Ammianus' picture of Valens as he wanted him to be presented: a timid, cruel, uneducated, drunken semi-barbarian rustic from Pannonia, ugly and crude both in appearance and character".<sup>15</sup> This then supports Pauw, who states that Ammianus described the emperors through the "indirect method" of character portrayal, where comparison, contrast and innuendo are particularly important.<sup>16</sup> These reminiscences reflect Ammianus' clear prejudices throughout his portrayals, and his language is carefully constructed in order to arouse similar emotional responses in his audience, which he himself is alleged to have felt.<sup>17</sup>

What Ammianus aims at in much of his presentations is instruction on how an emperor should behave, and also to what extent he should remove himself from the mortal plain so that he could be presented to his public as something much higher, indeed, as someone who is above reproach. This is especially important at certain occasions when the emperor is in the public eye, such as during Constantius' famous entrance into Rome in 357 (16.10.2-10), his first and only visit to the city.<sup>18</sup> Ammianus details the Augustus' stance, his face carefully composed not to reveal any emotion at all, which brought him closer to the appearance of a god.<sup>19</sup> This unnatural state was something that seemed admirable to the historian, and the ability to control one's emotions was especially important to the Stoics, of whom Ammianus was a like-thinker. Stoics saw anger as a passion, something that happens to us. Therefore anger and its resulting aggression "omit no time of life, exempt no race of human beings" (Sen. *De ira* 3.22). Nobody is safe from anger, "We are all bad" (Sen. *De ira* 3.26).

As we have previously discussed when looking at the Persian King Sapor, there were times when a show of emotion was important for someone in authority to transmit a message to an individual or a collective group. And in fact, anger was especially useful for making others follow commands, as it often created fear as an emotional response in the receiver.<sup>20</sup> This would, in the majority of instances, prompt those subject to that anger into action. The use of emotions to initiate effect is revealed in the following example from Libanius:

In this situation Constantius resorted to the same trick of calling in the barbarians by letter as he had done before, and begging them as a favour to enslave Roman territory. One out of many he induced to break his word, and he began to ravage and also to make merry in the lands he had got as his reward, and he went to dine with the generals on our

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at 30.8.10 that Valentinian was, *bene vestitos oderat et eruditus et opulentos et nobiles*, and he shares these traits with none other than Hadrian: *quo vitio exarsisse principem legimus Hadrianum*.

<sup>15</sup> Dzino (2005b) 66.

<sup>16</sup> Pauw (1977) 185-186. On Ammianus' skill in characterisation, see also Thompson (1947) 121-124.

<sup>17</sup> Thus Alföldi (1952) 3, writes, "He (Ammianus) had been devoted, body and soul, to Julian, and this made him intolerant of the two brothers to whom the personality and policy of Julian were so alien".

<sup>18</sup> For a more detailed study on Constantius' visit to Rome, see Edbrooke (1976) 40-61. Cf. Noy (2000) 15.

<sup>19</sup> MacMullen (1964) 439.

<sup>20</sup> On this topic, see MacMullen (1988) 84-96.

side as though he had done nothing wrong at all. This fellow, who had dared break the treaty, he (Julian) arrested in his cups and, crossing over into his territory, inflicted a well-deserved punishment for his treachery. Those who had bided loyally by their agreements gathered in alarm, greatly ashamed at such misconduct, and added oath upon oath, and he mounted a tribunal in the middle of barbarian country, gazed down upon their chieftains who stood as subjects with their hordes of followers, and after issuing threats and reminders, took his leave.

(Lib. *Or.* 18.107-8, tr. A.F. Norman)

It was necessary for an emperor's subjects to be aware of what emotional state his Augustus was currently in, for then he could make either the appropriate changes to his behaviour, or give the correct orders to others. This then goes to explain why Ammianus so often records the emotions that correspond with an emperor's actions.<sup>21</sup>

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**Table 3.1. Summary of anger words that deal specifically with Roman emperors**

Book	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Anger words	12	0	3	1	0	1	4	0	4
Book	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Anger words	1	7	1	1	2	4	3	4	1
<b>Total 49</b>									

Table 3.1 presents the instances in each book of the *Res Gestae* in which each emperor or Caesar exhibits direct anger, and which Ammianus deems to be significant enough to record for posterity. His descriptions of the emperors' angry feelings are apparent in most of the books, however, the majority occur in books fourteen and twenty-four, which deal with Constantius and the Caesar Gallus in the former, and with Julian in the latter, the significance of which will be examined further on. Ammianus concentrates mainly on five imperial figures, Gallus, Constantius, Julian, Valens and Valentinian, as these five figures have all the traits necessary for the portrayal of heroes and villains that the historian is so fond of. His descriptions are, "Grotesque and sadistic, spectral and superstitious, lustful for power yet constantly trying to conceal the chattering of their teeth – so do we see the men of Ammianus' ruling class and their world."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Thus MacMullen (1964) 452 states that for an emperor, "All emotions appropriate to a scene must be fully expressed, violently, assertively, publicly". This is a key observation and is more fully examined by Newbold (1990) 261-273, whose article is largely about nonverbal manifestations.

<sup>22</sup> Auerbach (1953) 55.

## THE CAUSES OF ANGER FOR THE EMPERORS AND CAESARS

### Summary of the Causes of Anger and Emperors and Caesars

Cause of Anger	Reference
Disappointment	24.5.10, 25.1.8
Fear	20.4.15
Impatience	16.4.2
Notions of outrage at an insult, disrespect or injustice	14.7.2, 14.7.12, 14.11.23, 16.8.7, 16.11.8, 17.10.8, 22.14.3, 20.2.5, 20.9.2, 22.13.2, 22.14.2, 23.2.4, 24.3.2, 24.3.3, 24.6.17, 26.9.10, 27.7.7, 28.1.11, 28.1.23, 28.2.9, 29.1.27, 30.2.7, 30.5.10, 30.6.3
Treachery	14.5.4, 14.7.4, 14.7.21, 19.12.5, 29.1.27, 29.1.38
Suspicion	14.1.2, 14.7.4, 14.11.13
Threats from an enemy	24.5.6, 24.5.7
<b>Total 39</b>	

The table above reveals that the most numerous cause of anger results from outrage, insult and injustice, the next most common cause being treachery. In fact, we can see a definite pattern occurring here when we take these causes together as a whole. For the majority of these are taken to be possible or real threats to the imperial personage, and thus we can see that the emperors were particularly concerned with such matters as possible treason, as well as lack of cooperation from subordinates, something which was unacceptable for those in such positions of power. An emperor's position was a lonely one, and it is easy to imagine how paranoia could set in, especially when bombarded by whispers from flatterers seeking to increase their own standing. For example, the flatterers of Constantius were said to increase his severity in matters of treason, 14.1.1; 14.5.4. This then fits in with the third factor of anger "tendencies to perceive ambiguous behaviour as hostile", and this is often interpreted as paranoia. As a consequence, many emperors, not just in Ammianus' time, became overtly suspicious and constantly sought out those who sought to overthrow them.<sup>23</sup> Accordingly, "the *nimietas* of Constantius was by the insinuations of his flatterers,<sup>24</sup> whilst Julian succeeded on the other hand in controlling his

<sup>23</sup> Constantius had always been deeply suspicious of any rivals and this possibly led to the massacre of Julian's family in early 338. When he was a youth, Julian had been banished to Macellum and then to Constantinople, where as a young man of seventeen or eighteen (348-349) he was again seen as a threat to the emperor, absent in Syria. The safest thing for Constantius to do was to remove the young Julian from all centres of power. For the chronology of Julian's early years, see Baynes (1925) 251-254.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. 16.12.68 (*inflabant ex usu imperatorem suoapte ingenio nimium, quidquid per omnem terrae ambitum agebatur, felicibus eius auspiciis assignantes*). Flatterers also increased the perniciousness of the elite classes, as they "greet every word uttered by the great man with various expressions of hypocritical applause", 28.4.12. Cf. Humphries (1999) 117f. According to Ammianus (16.8.12), it was Constantius' father, Constantine, who first gave consent for his followers to profit from the accusations of others, but it was through fears of disloyalty that Constantius allowed his courtiers to profit from the substance of the provinces. Cf. Edbrooke (1976) 50. Ammianus blames the praetorian prefect Rufinus, the general Arbitio,



natural *levitas* by requesting his confidantes to criticize his wrong decisions” (*levioris ingenii, verum hoc instituto rectissimo temperabat emendari se, cum deviaret a fruge bona, permittens*, 25.4.16).

### Constantius II and the Causes of Anger

Utque solent manum iniectantibus fati hebetari sensus hominum et obtundi, his illecebris ad meliorum expectationem erectus egressusque Antiochia numine laevo ductante prorsus ire tendebat de fumo, ut proverbium loquitur uetus, ad flammam; et ingressus Constantinopolim tamquam in rebus prosperis et securis editis equestribus ludis capiti Thoracis aurigae coronam imposuit ut victoris.<sup>25</sup>

(14.11.12)

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Quo cognito *Constantius ultra mortalem modum exarsit* ac, ne quo casu idem Gallus de futuris incertus agitare quaedam conducentia saluti suae per itinera conaretur, remoti sunt omnes de industria milites agentes in civitatibus peruiis.<sup>26</sup>

(14.11.13)

The passages given above show how an emperor could focus his rage on one particular individual who was seen to be exhibiting treasonous insubordination, by separating him from all others as a target for his anger. As a result of their elevated position, this was a natural fear that the emperors felt, for Constantius believed that individuals were capable of, and indeed were giving every indication of, actions that were deemed treasonable, something that no imperial figure could afford to tolerate. This concept is emphasised by Aristotle, who states that fear, which is a kind of pain produced by the anticipation of an evil that is harmful or painful, may arise as a result of the anger or enmity of those who have the power to inflict it (Arist. *Rh.* 2.5.1382a21-2; cf. 2.5.1382a27-30; 2.5.1382a32). The following passage is indicative of this: “On reaching Constantinople (Gallus) held games in the hippodrome, as if he were perfectly safe and secure, and placed the crown on the head of the charioteer Thorax, who was the winner”. This then fits in with determinants of anger, “(1) a response to an accumulation of stress” and “(4) anxiety, where anger seeks to mask or displace feelings of shame or helplessness”.

Gallus’ behaviour was seen by Constantius as nothing more than an attempt to gain popular support by presenting himself as beneficent to the people of Constantinople.<sup>27</sup> As an

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the eunuch Eusebius and the Anicii in Rome for seeking this wealth unjustly. See also Frank (1972) 69-86 for a summation of the effects of fiscal abuse, especially during the fourth century. And, as Matthews (1989) 34 points out, political dissension was a reality during Constantius’ reign. His suspicions therefore could not always be said to be baseless.

<sup>25</sup> “It is a commonplace that when fate lays its hand upon a man his perceptions are dulled and blunted; Gallus was encouraged by these blandishments to hope for better things, and, leaving Antioch under an evil star, jumped, as the old proverb puts it, from the frying pan into the fire. On reaching Constantinople he held games in the hippodrome, as if he were perfectly safe and secure, and placed the crown on the head of the charioteer Thorax, who was the winner.”

<sup>26</sup> “At this news Constantius’ rage passed all bounds. To prevent Gallus in his anxiety for his future from attempting to secure his safety by stirring up revolutionary movements along his route, he deliberately removed from their posts all the troops stationed in the towns which the Caesar had to pass through.”

Arian Christian, Gallus' religious fervour would have earned little or no complaint from the emperor,<sup>28</sup> this populist behaviour, however, coupled with Constantius' previously held negative opinion of him, infuriated the emperor beyond measure. Constantius had dealt with usurpers in the past, such as the very recent usurpation of Magnentius,<sup>29</sup> and consequently he was sensitive towards any new threats. The emperor was extremely efficient in removing any potential supporters from his Caesar, his response being to eliminate any form of power base that may still be available to Gallus.

Gallus *was* extremely popular with the army, especially with the rank and file, and this is shown in the impulsiveness of Gallus' troops who were heedless of the suggestions of Montius and killed both him and Domitianus.<sup>30</sup> This fact seriously worried Constantius, and his concern was a military uprising in favour of the Caesar, as a result he gradually withdrew troops from under his command (14.7.9).<sup>31</sup> In this case the anger of Constantius (*Constantius ultra mortalem modum exarsit*) was caused by fear and anxiety, where anger was used to mask or displace feelings of helplessness (anger determinant number 4), and the only way to remove that fear was to suppress another potential usurper.

\* \* \*

Addebat miserorum aerumnis, qui rei maiestatis imminutae vel laesae deferebantur, acerbitas eius et *iracundia* suspicionesque in huiusmodi cuncta distentae. Et si quid tale increpisset, in quaestiones acrius exurgens quam civiliter spectatores apponebat his litibus truces mortemque longius in puniendis quibusdam, si natura permitteret, conabatur extendi in eiusmodi controversiarum partibus etiam Gallieno ferocior.<sup>32</sup>

(21.16.9)

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<sup>27</sup> The amount of support that Gallus had has come under question, see Blockley (1975) 467, "His (Constantius') sources of information from the East were not good, and the reports delivered, which probably included tales of Gallus' preparations, would have caused the Emperor to be cautious".

<sup>28</sup> *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 24.

<sup>29</sup> In January 350 Magnentius, who was a *laetus*, perhaps born at Amiens of a Romano-British father and Frankish mother, commanded the Ioviani and the Herculiani into revolt, with the help of Marcellinus, Constans' *comes rei privatae*, and killed the emperor Constans in Gaul, Jones (1964) 112; Burns (1994) 3f.; Potter (2004) 471. Gallus was afterwards appointed Caesar (351) in order to maintain the eastern frontier whilst Constantius was occupied with Magnentius in the West, Mudd (1984) 101; Blockley (1989) 477. Constantius had no sons, so he relied on his male cousins instead, Potter (2004) 472. For Constantius' suppression of Magnentius, see Whitby (1999) 79; *PLRE* 1.532. This usurpation was followed by that of Vetranio, the *magister militum* in Illyricum, on 1 March, then on 3 June Nepotianus seized Rome and proclaimed himself emperor, Jones (1964) 113; Potter (2004) 472.

<sup>30</sup> Thompson (1943) 311.

<sup>31</sup> In Adrianople, Constantius removed any possibility of Gallus contacting his forces that were willing to support him against the emperor (14.11.13-15).

<sup>32</sup> "The sufferings of the wretched men accused of infringing or violating his prerogative were increased by the bitter and angry suspicions nourished by the emperor (Constantius) in all such cases. Once he got wind of anything of this kind he threw himself into its investigation with unbecoming eagerness, and appointed merciless judges to preside over such trials. In the infliction of punishment he sometimes tried to prolong the agonies of death, if the victim's constitution could stand it, and showed himself in this respect more savage even than Gallienus." This is a generalisation, and as such is not included in our pool of data. However, it does serve to demonstrate how dangerous an emperor could become when his fear and suspicions were aroused.

To further emphasise this theme, Ammianus describes several instances of treason in which emperors become directly angry towards threats against their imperial station. However, there are many more instances recorded in the *Res Gestae* where the emperor does not show direct anger towards treasonable offences, but anger that is implied, or another emotion, such as fear – thus at times we need to go beyond the sample. The desire to protect one’s position was a natural response to genuine or likely betrayal, but what Ammianus was especially concerned with, was the extent to which the emperors used violent and often savage means to discover suspected individuals and groups. The passage given above is thoroughly imbued with emotive language intended to rouse disapproval of, and prejudices against, Constantius in Ammianus’ audience, even though this is clearly a generalisation. Unlike Julian, for example, Constantius was said to be prone to angry suspicions,<sup>33</sup> which cause him to respond in a most violent manner, and this is disapproved of by the historian, even though it was the emperor’s prerogative to remove anybody whom he saw as potentially dangerous to himself.

Ammianus draws the distinction between two modes of behaviour when he describes the reaction of emperors towards treasonable situations, for when he describes the death of Gallus by men loyal to Constantius, his language remains neutral, but in the above passage (21.16.9), his language is cutting, revealing an emperor supposedly thrilling at the tortures and executions, and behaving in a most unseemly manner. These biting descriptions occur especially when the acts of treason result in trials that are, at least to Ammianus, too close to home. This then led Seager to state, “Constantius, though moderate in other respects, was bitter and implacable in matters of treason”.<sup>34</sup> To delve further into the mindset of Ammianus and his rhetorical approach towards his descriptions of Constantius, we have the example at 21.16.8-9, where, in the emperor’s obituary, Ammianus writes of the rage of Constantius, and his manifest cruelty, which, he states, “easily surpassed that of Caligula and Domitian and Commodus”. Also at 14.5.5 Ammianus wrote of Constantius, “this fatal fault of cruelty, which in others sometimes grew less with advancing age, in his case became more violent, since a group of flatterers intensified his stubborn resolution”.<sup>35</sup> Ammianus goes on in his moralising tone to emphasise that conspicuous praise is won when men yoke their anger and cruelty, such as Cicero and Heraclitus did (21.16.14). This is an example of the praise Ammianus had for those with supreme moral natures, an attitude which he shares with Seneca. Though Cicero and Heraclitus were not always successful, however their strict morality kept them from harming others. Constantius lacked the morality necessary to restrain his angry and cruel impulses.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, Ammianus continues to moralise, noting that Constantius had neglected the lessons of Cicero and Heraclitus that, “The truest glory is won when a man in power totally subdues his cruel and savage and angry impulses and erects in the citadel of his soul a splendid memorial of his victory over himself”, *illud vero eminere inter praecipuas laudes, cum potestas in gradu velut sub iugum missa nocendi, saeviendi cupiditate et irascendi in arce victoris animi tropaeum erexerit gloriosum* (21.16.14). Perhaps when writing the passage given above, Ammianus had the following words of Seneca in mind, who associated, in particular, anger with punishment:

<sup>33</sup> Of his suspicions, Blockley (1975) 467 writes, “In histories of the late Empire Constantius II has generally been regarded as a timid, suspicious and jealous ruler, perpetually mistrustful of, and in conflict with his generals, and swayed by his courtiers and sycophants, who played upon his fear of disloyalty and plots”. E.g. Seeck (1921) 228-231; Stein (1959) 133; Piganiol (1972) 101-102; Jones (1964) 116-117, 120. Contrast Brown (1971) 89.

<sup>34</sup> Seager (1986) 21. See especially 14.9.2.

<sup>35</sup> On the cruelty of emperors, cf. Seager (1986) 26. Valentinian and Valens are also accused of cruelty, see 30.8.2ff., and 31.14.5. At 25.4.8, Julian is called *sine crudelitate terribilis*. Cf. Boeft (1991) 257.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Boeft (1991) 264.

So that no one may wrongly suppose that at any time, in any place, anger is advantageous, its unbridled and frenzied madness must be exposed, and the trappings that are its very own must be restored to it – the torture-horse, the cord, the jail, the cross, the fires encircling living bodies planted in the ground, the drag-hook that seizes corpses too, all the different kinds of chains, the different kinds of punishments, the tearing of limbs, the branding of the forehead and the lairs of terrifying beasts – in the middle of these implements let anger be situated, while hissing dreadful, hideous sounds, even more disgusting than all the instruments through which it rages.

(*De ira*, 3.3.6)

However, when we consider the examples from Roman history, this type of reaction was not unusual in its cruelty, but a typical example of the brutality of emperors towards real or perceived threats to their selves.

### Julian and the Causes of Anger

The Roman emperors were concerned with external as well as internal threats to their imperial station, and the resultant anger is described in a number of instances by Ammianus, who understands that there is almost always an emotional reaction towards any type of threat or outrage – i.e. being made to feel fear. During the winter of 356/357, whilst stationed in Gaul, Julian was besieged by the Alamanni at Sens, and his chief concerns became the morale of his troops and lack of supplies (16.4.2).<sup>37</sup> Ammianus records that Julian understandably became angry (*ira exundante*) because of his situation, for he was only allowed a small number of troops for his own protection, and could not sally forth effectively against the enemy (cf. Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.* 278b). Here we get the sense that Ammianus shares his frustration at being in such close proximity to the enemy, but not being in a situation in which he could do anything about it.<sup>38</sup> His dissatisfaction was increased by the knowledge that the *magister equitum* Marcellus<sup>39</sup> was in a position to aid Julian, but refused to send any support, nor were any sent from the *magister equitum* Ursicinus. This relates then to the factors of anger in the Introduction, “(1) a desire to blame individuals” and “(4) tendencies to discount the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality”, and determinant of anger, “(1) a response to an accumulation of stress”.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, Julian successfully defended Sens, and as a result was rewarded by Constantius

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Sen. *De ira* 1.7, “*optimum itaque quidam putant, temperare iram, non tollere: eoque detracto quod exundat, ad salutarem modum cogere...*”. AM 14.6.18: “*paucae domus studiorum seriis cultibus antea celebratae, nunc ludibriis ignaviae torpentis exundante*”; 19.8.1: “*ad potiunda sperata ira et dolore exundans*”. Cf. Jonge (1972) 31. Julian had been appointed as Caesar on 6 November 355 at the age of 24, Jones (1964) 117, 119. Julian was the logical choice, he was a member of the imperial family and was married to Constantius’ sister Helena, Burns (1994) 4.

<sup>38</sup> On Julian at Sens, see Seager (1999) 588.

<sup>39</sup> On the fate of Marcellus who succeeded to the post of *magister equitum* of Gaul in AD 356 (16.2.8), see Woods (1995) 266-268.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Thompson (1947) 46: it was clear at this stage that Julian and Ursicinus were not on good terms, although Ammianus never mentions it as such, for to reveal a rift between the two would be to cast an undue negative light on his favourite commander (Ursicinus). However, Ammianus (16.7.1-4) does admit that when Constantius learnt of Marcellus’ behaviour he had him discharged from the army. Marcellus reacted to his dismissal by claiming that Julian was planning a revolt, but Julian, in anticipation of this, sent his own envoy to the emperor, and Marcellus was removed from court, 16.8.1. Cf. Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.* 278B; Lib. *Or.* 18.48.

with the complete command over all the Gallic armies.<sup>41</sup> Ammianus can relate to anger in an imperial figure if it is justified in some manner, and not due to the emperor or Caesar's own incompetence, paranoia, or deliberate misuse of power. If, therefore, anger was positively directed towards an individual or a group who were a source of outrage, then the historian supported it morally, but when its consequence was something foolish that could not be supported in any manner, either emotionally or physically, then the historian condemned it, even when it was his favourite emperor who was exhibiting that anger.

After the battle at Argentoratum, against the Alamanni in 357, Julian was acclaimed Augustus by his army (16.12.64). With a display of anger, Julian rebuked and rejected the soldiers' proclamation (*petulantius milites increpabat*). For the victory, coupled with this display of loyalty by the soldiers, would have been seen by Constantius as an immediate threat and a possible cause for civil war.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, in 360, Julian again became angry (*indignari...ostendens*) with the army for successfully forcing him to assume the emperorship much against his will (20.4.15).<sup>43</sup> In this instance, it has been much discussed as to whether or not this usurpation was forced or premeditated by Julian in a dangerous attempt to assume the imperial power for himself,<sup>44</sup> and that the anger he exhibited was a necessity in order to diminish his own responsibility for this situation.<sup>45</sup> Ammianus remains neutral on this subject, and this suggests that he was not prepared to reveal his own opinion – although what we do know is that Ammianus in general did not support those who took on any form of power illegally, such as Procopius, whom we shall look at in a subsequent chapter.<sup>46</sup>

Constantius was not able to act out on his aggressive impulses and face the usurper, as he had a much more immediate threat to the east, for it was necessary for the emperor to attempt to recover Bezabde (20.10.1-3). In 361, although Constantius did make some preparations to suppress Julian, the emperor devoted himself to the Persians, so as not to leave a (foreign)

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<sup>41</sup> Thompson (1947) 46.

<sup>42</sup> A threat, which, incidentally, never disappeared. Cf. Matthews (1989) 92.

<sup>43</sup> Other historians who describe how Julian became emperor are, Lib. *Or.* 12.59, 13.33, 18.97; Julian, *Ep. Ad Ath.* 283-284C; Zos. 3.9.1-2; Eunap. *VS* 7.3.8.

<sup>44</sup> See for example Selem (1971) 89-107 and Williams (1997) 61. Matthews (1989) 93 wrote of the usurpation that, "the surprise would rather have been had it not come about". There is therefore the notion that any displeasure or anger was merely a front. Cf. Barnes (1998) 155; Bowersock (1978) 49-51. What also suggests that this was a carefully staged usurpation was that Julian did not go away from the beginning and think about what had occurred, before allowing himself to be proclaimed Augustus. Ammianus (20.4.9) makes it clear that the Caesar had no advisors in this, although Julian *Ep. Ad. Ath* 283B-C himself writes that he did. It has been argued that since the time of Constantius I, Gaul had seen a resident 'Gallic' emperor and thus this notion was ingrained in their psyches. There was also potential for resentment towards a distant, eastern emperor. Numerous threats from barbarian incursions were also becoming more frequent and thus this could explain the necessity of hailing Julian as Augustus, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 28.

<sup>45</sup> In actuality it would have been dangerous for Julian to refuse his soldiers the title they were forcing on him (if that really were the case), for it may incite their own anger towards him if they felt that they were not being rewarded for their support and thus he would have feared for his life. Libanius *Or.* 18.98-99 reports that the soldiers broke into the palace, seized Julian, dragged him to a platform and crowned him.

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed discussion on the usurpation of Julian, see Drinkwater (1983) 348-387. See also Woods (1997) 273f; Williams (1997) 63-68. As Bowersock (1978) 49 points out, although Ammianus was not actually witness to the events in Gaul, he certainly was privy to first hand accounts. Also, as Selem (1971) 105 shrewdly shows, the attempts by Ammianus to improve the account of the usurpation of Julian by carefully leaving out or placing less stress on certain aspects is the result of the author looking for an equilibrium, as he could not hide his liking for this figure.

enemy at his back (21.7.1). Constantius died on 5 October 361 of a fever before he could deal with Julian.<sup>47</sup> The emperor's fever was said to have been exacerbated by his anger at Julian's usurpation, "*febri acerrima, quam indignatio nimia vigiliis augebat, interiit*". It was also said that on his deathbed he was in a clear frame of mind "*mentisque sensu...integro*", and that he named Julian his successor, securing Julian's accession beyond all doubt (21.15.2).<sup>48</sup> The latter is highly suspicious and was likely propaganda implemented by Julian to legally support his accession. Ammianus is the only author to report this rumour and the repetition of it makes clear he is trying to persuade his audience to adhere to it (21.15.5, 22.2.1).<sup>49</sup> However, the fact that Constantius' anger cooled down is in accordance with Seneca's viewpoint on anger, Seneca's account of the origin of anger runs as follows, where for him anger must not only be aroused but must rush out, for it is an impulse, and there is no impulse without an assent of the mind. Therefore there is no anger when a man thinks himself injured and wishes to take vengeance, but is immediately settled down by some consideration (*De ira* 2.3.4):

So that first agitation of the mind which the appearance of injustice inflicts is no more anger than is the appearance of injustice itself. It is the subsequent impulse, which not only receives but approves the appearance of injustice, that is anger.<sup>50</sup>

(2.3.5)

A thorough reading of the usurpation reveals much and has been treated by others far more thoroughly than can be done here. Briefly, Ammianus has portrayed his character of Julian as being almost innocent in the whole affair, being promoted to Augustus against his will by his Gallic troops. Through careful literary manipulation, Ammianus makes it seem as though Constantius was being unreasonably angry, his emotions unjustified in the extreme, for according to our historian, Julian had ascended the throne out of necessity more than anything. However, if we look past Ammianus' rhetorical devices, we can see that the emperor was in fact justified in his emotions, for he saw that Julian was a transgressor of the established cultural norms and bypassed the established laws.<sup>51</sup>

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As we have seen in Chapter One, Ammianus is generally supportive of the *ira militum* of Roman soldiers, but when it comes to leaders exhibiting anger there is often a negative connotation attached because of the greater potential for harm. When Julian exhibits anger towards the Persians at 24.5.6, and recklessly endangers his life, this is met with language that holds no supportive elements from the historian:

Unde profectus *imperator iratus et frendens* iamque regionibus Ctesiphontis propinquans celsum castellum offendit et munitissimum, ad quod explorandum ausus accedere, obscurior, ut ipse rebatur, cum paucis obequitans muros pauloque avidius intra ictum telorum repertus latere non potuit; statimque diversorum missilium nube exagitatus

<sup>47</sup> Matthews (1989) 101.

<sup>48</sup> For this terminology see Boeft (1991) 232.

<sup>49</sup> See also Zos. 3.9.2, and Zonar. 13.11.1, for a hostile portrait of Julian's civil war.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Knuutila (2004) 64.

<sup>51</sup> "Constantius' reaction is in accordance with Ammianus' description of his temper, cf. 20.2.5", Boeft (1987) 223. Cf. 14.11.13; 29.1.10; 21.10.2; 26.6.14 and 30.5.10.

opetisset tormento murali, ni vulnerato armigero, qui lateri eius haerebat, ipse scutorum densitate contectus evitato magno discrimine discessisset.<sup>52</sup>

(24.5.6)

At 24.5 we have the irregular mood of Julian plainly set out, which was becoming more and more removed from Ammianus' own set of ideals concerning the behaviour of emperors. Ammianus abhorred the violent and changeable moods in his emperors.<sup>53</sup> As part of the account of Julian's Persian campaign, this chapter deals with the march from Maiozamalcha to the region around Ctesiphon,<sup>54</sup> and with Julian's increasing loss of self-control, which perhaps were signs of stress.<sup>55</sup> This behaviour then reflects determinants of anger, numbers 1 and 6, which deal with "a response to an accumulation of stress" and "a learnt response to certain situations." This lack of reserve comes through as part of the main clause, "*imperator iratus et frendens*." He was angry when the Persians made a surprise attack on his army, and he manifested this anger through the grinding of his teeth and a determination to take a Persian fortress; here, as often, anger banishes fear. This anger was natural for any leader, and perhaps this is why although there is no supportive language, there is also no written disapproval evident in Ammianus' record, though clearly it deserves some.<sup>56</sup> In his entire *Res Gestae*, Ammianus uses the term *frendere* seven times and four of these are to describe barbarians.<sup>57</sup> This then suggests that the application of *frendere* to Julian means that the emperor was certainly lacking in the composure that ought to have been exhibited by a man of his station.<sup>58</sup> When Ammianus describes the actions and behaviour of Julian, it is generally assumed that he is actively supporting the emperor's decisions. However the above example clearly reveals that Ammianus does not always adhere to Julian's choices, for the emperor was behaving rashly and without proper consideration of his importance to this campaign, and that through his own death the enterprise would come to an abrupt end (as indeed it did). In this instance Julian was behaving in a similar fashion to the Persian king Sapor who, in 359, during the siege of Amida, was so frustrated at his troops' lack of success that he actually rushed into the fray himself like an ordinary soldier, the consequence of which was that many of his attendants, who were compelled to accompany him, were killed (19.7.8). From these passages we get a clear indication of how an emperor, or

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<sup>52</sup> "The emperor left the place grinding his teeth with rage, and was approaching the environs of Ctesiphon when he came upon a high and strongly walled fort. Believing that he would not be recognised he rode with a few companions about the walls to reconnoitre, but when he was rash enough to get within range he could not escape detection. He at once became the target of a rain of missiles and would have met his death from an engine on the walls had he not been protected by a strong screen of shields. His armour-bearer was wounded close beside him, but he himself escaped from this desperate peril and got away unhurt."

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Humphries (1999) 122.

<sup>54</sup> For the parallel account by Zosimus, see 3.23.1-24.1.

<sup>55</sup> Boeft (2002) 149. There is no clear statement in any of the histories as to what prompted Julian into invading Persia, see Jones (1964) 123f.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Boeft (2002) 159. However, Seager (1996) 35 does see that the historian's disapproval here is beyond doubt.

<sup>57</sup> Boeft (2002) 159.

<sup>58</sup> Here Thompson (1947) 79 applauds the honesty of Ammianus (25.4.18), for although admiring the emperor's military ability, he criticises Julian's impulsive and emotional behaviour, his risk-taking and the close association he has with the common soldiers, "He liked the popular applause of the mob, and was excessively eager to be praised for the most trivial reasons, and his desire for popularity often led him to converse with unworthy persons".

theoretically, any type of leader, who, under normal circumstances generally behaves appropriately, could, under extreme duress, respond in such a seemingly foolhardy and reckless manner. According to Seager, Julian's plight was "ascribed to over-enthusiasm fuelled by anger".<sup>59</sup> This led Ammianus to write that "(Julian) now hoped for so much from his previously constant good fortune as often to dare things verging on rashness" (24.6.4).

Furthermore, we have a number of instances of the emperor Julian exhibiting anger caused by the conduct of his own troops. Interestingly, it is only his favourite, Julian, whom Ammianus records as showing direct anger towards his soldiers. Nevertheless, it is easy to surmise that the other emperors did become angry towards their troops, especially at times of crises, such as real or potential mutinies. However, the historian only found it noteworthy to record Julian's anger, perhaps believing it to be the sign of an ideal general. His favourite general, Ursicinus, is never reported showing specific manifestations of anger through keywords. Therefore this must only apply to imperial figures. Two instances we have of Julian exhibiting anger towards his own troops are in response to their seeming cowardice. At 24.5.10, Ammianus writes that Julian was roused to bitter anger by the apparent fearfulness of his men when the Persians attacked the Roman cohort: *imperator ira gravi permotus*.<sup>60</sup> The consequence for the Roman soldiers was that the angry emperor reduced the surviving members of the group, who were said not to have shown any spirit in resisting the marauders' attack, with loss of rank. The next episode occurs at 25.1.8, when Ammianus describes the anger of Julian towards the cavalry troop of the Tertiaci, which had given way during the battle with the Persians and dampened the ardour of the army:

Unde ad *indignationem* iustam imperator erectus, ademptis signis hastisque diffractis, omnes eos qui fugisse arguebantur, inter impedimenta et sarcinas et captivos agere iter imposuit.

These two instances illustrate the difficulties of persuading Gallic troops to fight against a hostile eastern enemy when clearly emotions were running high and disorder was becoming more and more noticeable. Ammianus does not make a judgement here, but his neutral language removes him from directly supporting Julian in an increasingly adverse environment.

Nonetheless, for emperors to lose confidence in their armies suggests that either leadership, loyalty or even discipline is in question, and any form of weakness in authority was something an enemy could quickly pick up on and exploit. Furthermore, this was something that the Romans themselves frequently capitalised on, especially in regards to their barbarian enemies, and the removal of a weak leader was an effective means of reducing an army to a scattered mess. Julian was aware of the importance of presenting himself as a strong and effective leader, and put a check on the behaviour of his men for fear that his enemies would take advantage of the situation before order could be restored. The occasions in which he felt anger towards his troops in Persia always resulted in some form of punishment, an effective means for re-establishing discipline throughout the ranks. The emperor's punishments were frequently swift and severe. For example, when Julian became angry (*concitus ira immani*)<sup>61</sup> after learning that the Persians had attacked three squadrons of the Roman cavalry, and that the standards were not adequately protected, he had the two surviving tribunes cashiered, and

<sup>59</sup> Seager (1996) 193.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.31, *gravis iras*.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.564, "*varioque irarum fluctuat aestu*"; 9.694, "*immani concitus ira*". Cf. AM 24.5.7 and the expression of Julian's rage in Zos. 3.19.2.



ten soldiers who had fled from the field were put to death (24.3.2).<sup>62</sup> From the perspective of the emperor his anger was justified, for his duty was to protect his men and the loss of the standards was an ill omen. However, this can be interpreted as another example of Julian's loss of composure on his Persian expedition, which increased during this campaign.<sup>63</sup> What this reveals then is that Julian's Persian expedition did not decrease his rage, and Ammianus is sometimes not sympathetic towards the emperor, as his choices at this stage seem to him to be becoming more and more irrational, as they involve the influence of powerful emotions.<sup>64</sup> Further on at 24.5.7 Ammianus goes on to say "*(de Iuliano) qua causa concitus ira immani*". He was fearfully enraged when missiles rained down on him from the fortress. Thus reflective experience had been cognitively assessed by the emperor and beliefs about the enemy led to Julian openly expressing his hostility towards perceived injustice.<sup>65</sup> Julian was overly enthusiastic in his approach to the fortress, which he attended with only a small retinue. He was saved from great danger (*evitato magno discrimine*) only through the reactions of his highly trained escort. As a result, Julian resolved to besiege the fortress, possibly on May 21.<sup>66</sup> This particular incident certainly shows that Julian was behaving more and more out of character and was assessing situations badly.<sup>67</sup> However, although Ammianus does not acknowledge it, the behaviour of the emperor may in fact fit the model of a principled general, "*Si ferri medicinam necessitas extrema persuaserit, rectius est more maiorum in auctores criminum vindicari ut ad omnes metus, ad paucos poena perveniat*".<sup>68</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Ammianus recorded that Julian thanked his soldiers for their efforts and promised each man 100 denarii as a reward for their services. However, he was roused to deep indignation (*ad indignationem plenam gravitatis erectus*) when he perceived that the smallness of the sum promised to the troops excited a mutinous uproar (*cum eos parvitate promissi percitus tumultuare sensisset*, 24.3.3). His response was to reproach them in a carefully worded address, promising them booty from the Persians if they continued to follow him and behave more moderately. He explained that he did not have enough money currently to pay them more as the treasury was exhausted (24.3.4-6). He then stated that if they refused to support him he would die on his feet (*moriar stando*) or else would abdicate – in effect, a threat (24.3.7). The soldiers responded positively to this address and promised to continue following him. In this and other incidents involving the anger of the soldiers, Julian managed to avert a potential mutiny (24.3.8). The soldiers' united anger was a powerful threat to any leader, and Julian was fortunate in his ability to quell it with a speech, rather than severe punishments as at 24.3.2.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Cf. Williams (1997) 68. This punishment seems like decimation, as it involved ten men out of almost one hundred, cf. Browning (1975) 201.

<sup>63</sup> Boeft, *et al.* (2002) 72.

<sup>64</sup> For this theme, see Seager (1996) 193.

<sup>65</sup> However, it has been said that this event was inspired purely by an irrational calculation, caused through his emotional reaction, Boeft, *et al.* (2002) 161.

<sup>66</sup> Boeft, *et al.* (2002) 161.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Boeft, *et al.* (2002) 159.

<sup>68</sup> "If extreme necessity urges the medicine of the sword, it is better that vengeance be taken upon the instigators of the crimes, in accordance with the ancestral custom, so that all are affected by dread, but only a few by punishment." Cf. Veg. *ERM* 3.4.

<sup>69</sup> This incident is not mentioned by Zosimus, 3.19.1-2. Cf. Williams (1997) 68 n.70.

### Valens and the Causes of Anger

Quis omnibus perspicaciter inquisitis imperator cognitorum consultationi respondens sub uno proloquio cunctos iubet occidi. Et vix sine animorum horrore funestum spectaculum multitudine innumera contuente et onerante questibus caelum – namque singulorum mala omnium esse communia credebantur – ducti universi flebiliter iugulantur praeter Simonidem, quem solum *saevus ille sententiae lator efferatus ob constantiam gravem* iusserat flammis exuri.<sup>70</sup>

(29.1.38)

In the *Res Gestae*, trials for treason were present in the reigns of the emperors Constantius, Valens and Valentinian, and, according to Ammianus, these were bloodthirsty affairs that he felt utterly repulsed by, and often spared his audience all but the most significant details. Treason was linked to anger, and fits in with these anger determinants: “(2) a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment... (4) anxiety, where anger seeks to mask or displace feelings of shame or helplessness...(6) a learnt response to certain situations”.

In the passage above (29.1.38) that deals with the trials for magic and treason in Antioch (371-372), Ammianus reveals the bloody consequences of the emperor’s wrath when these trials were in full swing. The threat of treason was something that the Emperor Valens was exceedingly conscious of, as his reaction towards supporters’ shows. For when Theodorus, a secretary, was charged with aspiring to imperial rank, Valens took out his anger on the philosopher Simonides who had refused to admit his knowledge of this plot beforehand (29.1.8ff). As a consequence of his anger Valens had the philosopher burnt alive. Ammianus deliberately emphasises the philosopher aspect of Simonides,<sup>71</sup> as opposed to the savagery of Valens, and he uses *saevus* – indicating the fierceness and rage of the emperor – to describe the ruler’s intense emotional reaction. The historian, with his own philosophic leanings, clearly sought to dehumanise this action of Valens, for he goes on in his rhetorical manner to describe the sheer number of executions that followed the death of the philosopher, which, “gave the arms of the executioners no rest,” and that “the whole scene resembled a slaughterhouse” (29.1.39). Also the passage contrasts the fierce brutality of Valens with the pitiable state of the Antiochenes, who could hardly bear the fearful sight of the executions without a shudder (*horrore*), and that the air was full of their laments (*questibus*).

Without a doubt, these trials were significant for all in proximity, for a climate of fear ensured that each individual kept a close eye on his neighbour.<sup>72</sup> These circumstances were of great concern for the historian, as he would have had family and friends in the city who could also possibly come under suspicion. As well as this, during these particular trials, it seems

<sup>70</sup> “After scrutinising all these matters with a keen eye the judges consulted the emperor (Valens). In response he issued a comprehensive decree for the execution of all the accused. In the presence of a countless throng which could hardly view the fearful sight without a shudder, and which filled the air with laments, since the sufferings of individuals seemed likely to be common fate, they were all brought out and pitifully beheaded. The single exception was Simonides. The author of this savage sentence had been maddened by his unshaken firmness and commanded him to be burnt alive.”

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Seager (1986) 25.

<sup>72</sup> As Blockley (1975) 115 writes of events in 354, “Ammianus offers evidence that criticism of the Emperor could lead to imprisonment and even death for the critic. It was, he asserts, even dangerous to speak in the seclusion of one’s own house; ‘and so even the walls, the sole sharers of a man’s secrets, were feared’ (14.1.7) – particularly horrible to the Romans, who had strong feelings about the inviolability of the home”.

apparent that Ammianus was present in the city at the time, and what he is giving us is a firsthand, emotionally embittered account.<sup>73</sup> Further evidence is that the historian stated that he would write down what he could remember of events from the confused shadows of his memory (29.1.24). And later describes how “we crept around in Cimmerian gloom” (29.2.4).<sup>74</sup> It was of great consequence for Ammianus to record these instances, and not withhold from unleashing his perception of events, for they had directly impacted upon him.

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<sup>73</sup> Tougher (2000) 99. Cf. Sabbah (2003) 50.

<sup>74</sup> Despite the fact that much of the information Ammianus uses being second-hand in origin, there is much in his work that is autobiographical, and his constant return to happenings in Antioch suggest that he spent much of his time in this great eastern city. The standard view that Ammianus was from Antioch, Matthews (1994) 252-269, has been challenged by scholars such as Bowersock (1990) 244-250; Fornara (1992) 328-344; Barnes (1993) 55-70.

## PRIMARY RESPONSES TO ANGER FOR THE EMPERORS AND CAESARS

*Summary of Primary Responses*

Manifestation of Anger	Reference
Gnashing and grinding of the teeth	24.5.6
Verbal abuse	30.6.3
Verbal rebuff	23.2.4
<b>Total 3</b>	

It is understandable that an emperor should refrain from showing any physical display of anger, for it would be beneath his station to do so, and it certainly did not suit the imperial majesty that he was meant to portray – although *ira regia* was on occasion a useful tool. When this physical display of anger was apparent, it then became something that was necessarily remarked upon by the historian, for it was out of character for all imperial figures, as the lack of instances demonstrates.

**Gallus and the Primary Responses to Anger**

At 14.7.13<sup>75</sup> and 24.5.6 we have two instances of Ammianus' portrayal of imperial figures displaying their anger through the grinding and gnashing of their teeth, something that we are already familiar with from our study of the Roman military and of the barbarians. The first instance involves Gallus Caesar, who was portrayed by Ammianus as an insecure young man seething with anger,<sup>76</sup> as well as a bloodthirsty tyrant intent on the destruction of all those who stood in his way.<sup>77</sup> The historian emphasises Gallus' fury when he learnt of the treasonable actions of the quaestor Montius, and of the praetorian prefect Domitianus.<sup>78</sup> This was combined with their apparent interference with his troops. Manifesting his rage through the grinding of his teeth, he made a speech to his soldiers inciting them to lynch both men.<sup>79</sup>

His cognitis Gallus ut serpens appetitus telo vel saxo iamque spes extremas opperiens et succurrens saluti suae quavis ratione colligi omnes iussit armatos et, cum starent attoniti, districta dentium acie stridens, "adeste", inquit, "viri fortes, mihi periclitanti vobiscum."<sup>80</sup>

(14.7.13)

As we have already seen in Constantius' angry reaction to the news at 14.11.13 that Gallus was using public entertainments to increase his popularity, the Caesar was treading a very thin line

<sup>75</sup> As *dens* in itself is not an anger word, but connotes anger only when used in certain contexts, it cannot be included in our pool of data. However, it is useful for showing the manifestation of anger in Gallus' overt behaviour.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Blockley (1975) 18.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Thompson (1943) 302.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Thompson (1943) 309, "Both of them richly deserved some such fate".

<sup>79</sup> Thompson (1947) 64. Ammianus' condemnation of Domitianus is supported by Philost. 3.28 and Zonaras, 13.9. Although as Thompson (1943) 309 shows, it was actually the *curator urbis* Luscus, who motivated the troops to lynch them, and was shortly after put to death, possibly even by Gallus.

<sup>80</sup> "At this news Gallus, like a snake wounded by a spear or stone, anticipated the worst, and, grasping at any means of saving himself, assembled all who carried arms, and addressed the astonished throng with snarls and grins of rage as follows..." See note 79, above.

in regards to his standing with the fickle emperor. Ammianus is presenting a picture of the Caesar to his audience as a man who lacked support from all quarters except for his loyal troops, as well as the common people who were easily swayed by his populist actions and entertainments.<sup>81</sup> The decision to have Montius and Domitianus killed reveals that Gallus appears to have had some awareness of the dangers that threatened him, and, as with most men in his position, required their removal at once; ironically a similar response to that which Constantius had of him.

### Julian and the Primary Responses to Anger

The first physical manifestation of anger from Julian came about as a result of the behaviour of the citizens of the city of Antioch, who had verbally attacked and insulted him for a variety of reasons, not least his physical appearance and his reinstatement of overly indulgent pagan rituals.<sup>82</sup> If Ammianus had sought to write a panegyric on Julian, who combined the elements of *miles* and *graecus* to construct his own selfhood, much as Ammianus did through his closing statement,<sup>83</sup> then surely it ended here. For in Antioch, where all of the emperor's great ideas, such as his desire to restore pagan institutions, to decide in legal matters and to make reforms in the senate, were mocked and chastised by the very people whom he believed would actively support him. The city of Antioch was, for Julian, a place in which he was confident that his perception of fourth century Hellenism would be readily accepted.<sup>84</sup> For this cosmopolitan city epitomised for him a centre of culture and learning on the scale of Alexandria. Julian's restoration of all things Greek, including culture, worship of the old gods and identification with the city of Antioch, all support this.<sup>85</sup> In reality, Antioch did still retain many of its pagan shrines, and was home to the rhetorician Libanius, whose lectures on the old traditions had certainly made an impact on the young Julian at Nicomedia.<sup>86</sup>

Unfortunately, Antioch also became the city where, as Ammianus shows us, the emperor who had so far held himself together remarkably well against all the odds, suddenly came undone under pressure from the senate and populace. For Julian was aggrieved when the citizens as well as the senate did not accept his reforms wholeheartedly (cf. *Lib. Or.* 15.55; 16.13-14),<sup>87</sup> and even mocked him at the New Year celebrations, something that his ego could not tolerate. As a consequence of this treatment by the Antiochenes, at the outset of his Persian expedition,<sup>88</sup> the young emperor left Antioch in a fury. According to Ammianus, the people of

<sup>81</sup> On Gallus' sympathy towards the poorer classes, see Thompson (1943) 311.

<sup>82</sup> For Julian's paganism, see the works of Julian himself. Julian turned from the Christian way (*óδός*) to paganism ten years before he gave up the appearance of a publicly practising Christian, *Ep.* 3.434d.

<sup>83</sup> "*La carrière de Julien montre qu'une formation, qu'un mode de vie "à la grecque" pouvaient s'allier à une brillante carrière d'officier. Ammien, grec lui-même, avait abordé le métier de soldat avec la même sorte de préparation que Julien. Lui aussi avait du s'entendre appeler graeculus, ..., par ceux qui pensaient qu'un intellectuel grec n'avait pas à se mêler du viril métier des armes*", Stoian (1967).

<sup>84</sup> For Julian as "the restorer of Hellenism" or "the champion of Hellenism", see Boufartigue (1991) 251-266.

<sup>85</sup> "*C'est ce que démontre, entre autres, surtout l'oeuvre de Julien l'Apostat, chez qui l'opposition hellène-hellénisme et chrétien-christianisme, remplaçant, de toute évidence, l'opposition hellène-barbare, se rencontre souvent avec une intention élogieuse pour l'hellénisme et péjorative pour le christianisme*", Stoian (1967) 79.

<sup>86</sup> Downey (1939) 306.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. when Julian restored altars in Antioch, the Christian *populus* frequently destroyed them, Julian, *Mis.* 361b; cf. *Lib. Or.* 17.7 for the destruction of altars after Julian's death.

<sup>88</sup> On Ammianus' narrative of Julian's Persian expedition, see Smith (1999) 89-104.

Antioch responded by begging for his glorious return and wished that his anger would abate upon that occasion: “(de Iuliano) nondum ira...emollita”. However, Julian manifested his anger through a verbal outburst, claiming that he had no intention of visiting the Antiochenes again (this could also be classed as a secondary response) (23.2.4). The consequence for the people of Antioch was that Julian replaced himself with a cruel governor, one Alexander of Heliopolis, who, he allegedly believed, would keep the greedy and rebellious people of the city in check.<sup>89</sup> His words upon his departure, however, seemed eerily to seal his own fate, and Julian died on his Persian expedition, before he had a chance to renounce them.

We are given another account of Julian’s anger at 24.5.6, where he is the only emperor described by Ammianus to express his anger through the grinding of his teeth. As if reduced to the figure of a common soldier or a barbarian, Ammianus describes the reckless behaviour of Julian, who, after having heard that the Persians had attacked his army, ground his teeth in rage (*unde profectus imperator iratus et frendens*). As discussed above, Julian approached the Persian fortress, foolishly believing that he would not be recognised, and with his escort came too close to the walls. As a consequence, he narrowly escaped with his life. Again, this is behaviour not normally associated with the conscientious and right-minded emperor, and the expressing of his anger in such a physical way was out of character. The mere fact that Ammianus mentions it suggests that he certainly held it as remarkable.

Julian’s rashness contributed to his death on 26 June 363, whilst on the Persian campaign. Although no anger word is used by Ammianus in this episode to describe Julian’s impulsiveness, which is unusual for this study, this episode serves to highlight the danger in which giving into emotion rather than reason can (sometimes) have for an individual. Ammianus was supposedly conscious of the anger, as well as the reckless and risky behaviour of Julian, and begins at 25.3.2 by saying that the emperor was personally going forward to reconnoitre, unarmed. His men then recalled him, by informing him that the Persians had suddenly attacked the rear guard from behind. Caught up in the excitement of this, Julian hastened to aid the rear, but forgot his coat of mail. The emperor, unprotected, rushed about in the battle, careless of his own safety (*cavendi immemor*), where he attempted to rouse his men to angry pursuits (*irasque sequentium*), even though the Persians were already considering a hasty retreat.<sup>90</sup> However, as the emperor rushed boldly into fight, a cavalryman’s spear wounded him fatally (25.3.6). After a few hours the emperor died, leading his men in their anger and grief, to attack the Persians more vehemently.

It is said of this episode that, “Ammianus’ account of the Persian invasion of 359 is a very self-consciously literary and literate piece of writing, whose debts to the classical models have been thoroughly illustrated”.<sup>91</sup> After all, war was Julian’s ultimate purpose and he sought to bring glory to Rome as Alexander had done for the Macedonians, but his successes in the West were not matched by those in the East and his increasing frustration was felt by Ammianus whose language remained more and more neutral as he tried his best to refrain from judging him. Ammianus was especially opposed to anger when it came to imperial or other high-ranking figures and clearly on a number of occasions Julian was going far beyond the bounds of control. As Seneca suggests, a wise ruler shows anger in moderation (*De ira* 3.14.6). Ammianus writes that with their imperial power emperors should not desire to show anger, *nocendi saeviendi*

<sup>89</sup> Libanius (*Ep.* 811) was at first critical of the harsh measures of Alexander, but later sung his praises. Cf. *Or.* 15.74. Pack (1953a) 82 makes the suggestion that Ammianus’ negative phrasing here may reflect the attempt by Alexander to enrol the historian in curial service.

<sup>90</sup> Bowersock (1978) 116.

<sup>91</sup> Blockley (1988) 247.

*cupiditate et irascendi* (21.16.14). Those who encouraged moderation in others were praised by Ammianus, but those who encouraged anger were condemned (14.1.10).<sup>92</sup> The death of Julian is coupled with the knowledge that the Persians were ultimately successful, and as we have seen in our look at Sapor, it was frequently the leader who could better control his anger who won the day.

### Valentinian and the Primary Responses to Anger

Ammianus appears extremely conscious of the anger of Valentinian, which bubbled just beneath the surface until it was ready to explode. At 27.7.4 Ammianus uses a generalisation on the anger of Valentinian<sup>93</sup> in order to bring his own message of morality across to his audience, and of the emperor he writes:

Valentinian was generally known to be a cruel man,<sup>94</sup> but at the beginning of his reign he strove to modify his reputation for harshness by taking some pains to control his savage impulses. But this insidious vice grew on him though its appearance was deferred, and gradually broke out without restraint to the destruction of several persons; it gained strength from his liability to passionate outbursts of anger.<sup>95</sup>

That Valentinian was opposed to leniency was attributed by Ammianus to the emperor's supposed 'savagery'. If we believe this view, then:

According to the later imperial ideal an Emperor was not bound by the law when the law would in the special case work injustice: he could give justice as a court of equity, but Valentinian did not exercise that proud prerogative: when appeal was made to him he did not mitigate the punishments imposed, but even in some cases increased them.<sup>96</sup>

Ammianus' characterisation of the emperor comes across as far more unbalanced and impulsive than it does in the panegyrics of Valentinian.<sup>97</sup> The historian follows this overview by presenting this judgment, which was clearly meant to demonstrate to his audience that he was not alone in being alert to the dangers that this powerful emotion invoked: "Anger is defined by philosophers as a long-standing and sometimes incurable mental ulcer, usually arising from weakness of intellect".

Further on, at 30.6.3, Ammianus describes the ultimate consequence that this seething anger had for the emperor. He reveals how the emperor Valentinian burst into a mighty fit of rage (*imperator, ira vehementi percussus*) at the envoys of the Quadi who were attempting to excuse the behaviour of their countrymen. They had the impetuosity to announce to the

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Seager (1986) 34; A.M. 28.1.25; 29.3.2.

<sup>93</sup> E.g. at 30.5.3 Ammianus makes this generalisation on the temper of Valentinian as he investigated the corruption occurring in Illyricum, *Et quamquam terrori cunctis erat, dum sperabatur ut acer et vehemens mox iudices damnari iussurus, quorum perfidia vel secessione Pannoniarum nudatum est latus*. Sulpicius Severus *Dial.* 2.5.5-10, also describes the savage temper of Valentinian.

<sup>94</sup> Incidents of Valentinian's cruelty are found at: 27.7.5; 27.7.6; 29.3.3; 29.3.4-6. Compare the angry reaction of Augustus towards a slave who had eaten a prize quail, and as punishment nailed him to a ship's mast, Plut. *Sayings* 4.

<sup>95</sup> Contrast the view of Alföldi (1952) 52, who portrays Valentinian I as "puritanical, strict of life, sober and hard". Cf. Paschoud (1992) 77.

<sup>96</sup> Baynes (1953) 169.

<sup>97</sup> Humphries (1999) 122.

emperor that the anger of the country folk had been aroused by the Romans' wrongful and untimely attempt to build a fort. As a result: "This brought on a paroxysm of anger in Valentinian, and he began his answer boiling with fury".<sup>98</sup> Moreover, his anger was physically manifested in a barrage of abusive language directed squarely at these representatives, as he accused them of being ungracious and forgetting the past favours that the Romans had bestowed upon them. This manifestation of anger was a direct result of the outrage expressed by an emperor who was known to be of an intemperate nature, and demonstrates that emperors were (naturally) not able to restrain physical displays of anger at every occasion. For example, Aristotle, in his *On the Soul* 1.1 he points out that emotions involve bodily changes and that a physicist would be interested in exploring them:

Hence a physicist would define each of these differently from a dialectician; the latter would define anger as an appetite for returning pain for pain or something of the sort, while the former would define it as the boiling of the blood or warm stuff round the heart. (403a29–b1)<sup>99</sup>

This description by Aristotle fits in with Ammianus' physical description of Valentinian's state of well-being as well as the angered person's need to express his outrage towards others. The separation from emotion was especially pertinent when addressing barbarian envoys who were meant to perceive the image as well as the real-life presence of the emperor as above all others, and when this was diminished it cast doubt on the majesty of the emperor – although a display of anger could also be used to create fear and intimidation in the addressee. Valentinian is characterised by his irascibility and tendencies towards angry outbursts; what made this situation different was simply its finality.

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<sup>98</sup> On the death of Valentinian, cf. Seager (1999) 598f.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Knuuttila (2004) 33.



## SECONDARY RESPONSES TO ANGER FOR THE EMPERORS AND CAESARS

### Summary of Secondary Responses

Secondary Response	Reference
The action of going to war or attacking an enemy	20.9.2, 24.5.6-7
The action of torturing and killing those suspected of treason	14.5.4, 14.11.23, 14.7.12-13, 26.9.10, 29.1.38, 28.1.11
The punishment of groups	22.13.2, 23.2.4, 31.14.5
The punishment of individuals for not being reliable	20.2.5, 27.7.7, 28.2.9
The punishment of Roman troops	24.3.2, 24.5.10, 25.1.8
The refusal to give into the demands of the enemy	17.10.8
The rejection of the gods	24.6.17
The seeking of revenge	16.11.8
The suppression of aid to those under suspicion	14.11.13
Threats	14.7.2
Trials and inquisitions	19.12.5, 29.1.27
Written attacks	22.14.2-3
<b>Total 25</b>	

When an emperor responded cognitively to the object of his anger, it often involved some type of violence, or at least something that was an equal rebuttal, such as threats or written attacks. Whatever the response was, it frequently needed to be fast and it needed to be decisive, for in order to retain control, especially in regards to the army, a leader must be able to show that he can make quick decisions, or else his leadership may be called into question. The anger of an emperor needed to be restrained, and this was something that their supporters were well aware of, but when it was unleashed, it needed to be directed towards a suitable target, in order to offer some satisfaction. However, as the table above shows, the anger of an emperor was often fuelled by open suspicion that resulted in many trials, tortures and executions, in order to discover who a likely traitor was.

#### Constantius and Secondary Responses to Anger

Ex his aliqua ad imperatorem maligne sunt missa, qui, ut erat angusti pectoris, obsurdescens in aliis etiam nimium seriis in hoc titulo ima, quod aiunt, auricula mollior et suspicax et minutus acri felle<sup>100</sup> concaluit statimque ad orientem ocus ire monuit Paulum

<sup>100</sup> "Here and in Amm.: rage (and not an *ablat. loci*, as stated by some). Cf. et. Comm. Verg. *Aen.* VIII edit. P. T. Eden. Brill 1975, p. 83", Jonge (1982) 247.

potestate delata, ut instar ducis rerum experientia clari ad arbitrium suum audiri efficeret causas.<sup>101</sup>

(19.12.5)

At many stages in the *Res Gestae*, we are given instances in which emperors can no longer ignore possible treason, and in the above passage, Ammianus reveals that Constantius was highly concerned when petitions were sent to him that were meant for the oracle of Besa. Constantius responded to these accounts that were perhaps treasonable and anti-Christian<sup>102</sup> in nature, by seeking out those who were the proponents. He also sent Paulus (the Chain) to the Orient to conduct trials that also resulted in the cruel punishment of the opponents of Bishop Georgius of Alexandria.<sup>103</sup> The historian records a list of several of those who were tried, as well as many who were unnamed, and that it was often the practising of black arts which sealed a man's fate. Of this episode, Ammianus wrote that this was a travesty of justice, where no one, no matter his rank or origin, could escape torture and execution if he were accused.

Trials, if they were conducted legitimately, were necessary for the defence of the empire, and were agreeable to Ammianus. However, when they were too close to home for comfort, and those who conducted the trials appeared to be taking pleasure in them, then, in his strict moralising tone, the historian writes: "it is not decent to give way to unbridled joy at such unhappy events; it makes men seem the subjects of despotism rather than of lawful authority" (19.12.17). Ammianus notes the wisdom of Cicero, to whom he makes several references to in his writings: "we should imitate Cicero, who said himself that when it was in his power to spare or to harm he looked for an excuse to pardon rather than punish; that is the mark of a dispassionate and prudent judge" (19.12.18). In this Ammianus was clearly implicating Constantius as well as Paulus, for he emphasised the cruelty of the emperor, by writing of Constantius that, "in such circumstances (he) never allowed loyal service to atone for a fault or a mistake" (19.12.9). As we have already seen in the obituary of Constantius (21.16.9), Ammianus stated clearly that as a response to his suspicion, and driven by fear, Constantius gave himself up to inquisitions with more eagerness than humanity, and appointed merciless judges, something that happened at the trials just discussed.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>101</sup> "Some of these documents were sent to the emperor (Constantius) out of malice. His small mind made him deaf to other matters, however serious, but on this point he was more sensitive than the proverbial ear-lobe, suspicious and petty. He burst into furious anger and ordered Paul to proceed at once to the East, conferring on him, as on an experienced commander of great distinction, authority to have cases brought to court as he saw fit."

<sup>102</sup> On Constantius as a Christian emperor, see Hunt (1985) 186-200. Indeed, asking the god about one's own future prospects was something that was severely dealt with in the Late Roman Empire, Matthews (1989) 218. Constantius exaggerated his father's later hostility towards paganism, "Constantius in 353 once again banned the nocturnal sacrifices which Magnentius had permitted, and three years later reaffirmed the death penalty against all who sacrificed or worshipped idols, and moreover ordered all temples to be closed so that 'all abandoned persons be denied the opportunity of offending.' Many temples were demolished, being granted to private persons who pulled them down for building material", Jones (1964) 113.

<sup>103</sup> For the background of Paulus, see Chapter 5. For the mistake in the chronology of the death of Georgius, see Chapter 5.

<sup>104</sup> Of Constantius' obituary Whitby (1999) 77 writes, "Ammianus' obituary notice of Constantius (21.16) provides a typically incisive verdict on that emperor's character and qualities: although he is accorded a fair amount of praise, the overall impression is unfavourable, partly because of the relative length of the positive and negative parts, partly because the commendation is often qualified whereas the criticism is more rhetorically developed".

### Julian and Secondary Responses to Anger

An attribution of anger against a perceived injustice is attested to by Ammianus in 363 (22.14.2) during a corn-crisis (a similar crisis occurred eight years earlier under Gallus, 14.7.1ff). Ammianus reports that Julian raged (*saeviens*) against the senate at Antioch when it was pointed out that he could not lower the price of commodities at that time. The measures that Julian were trying to introduce were seen to be a direct attack upon the upper classes, and perhaps not surprisingly, Ammianus portrays Julian's policy as superfluous, and a measure designed to increase his popularity "*popularitatis amor*".<sup>105</sup> This was something he had not earned since entering Antioch. It appears that the historian interpreted the emperor's anger as unjustified, for he never once mentions Julian's own economic accounts of the food supply, which Julian included in his *Misopogon*, though surely the historian would have read it.<sup>106</sup> Ammianus also does not acknowledge the failure of the rains leading to a bad harvest, which would have contributed significantly to this crisis, and which Julian's *Misopogon* (359A) also refers to.<sup>107</sup> That these measures would have created financial hardship, if not for Ammianus, then at least for people he knew, especially within the curial class,<sup>108</sup> must have influenced his decision in showing that this manoeuvre was purely to gain popularity for the emperor, and to distract from his Persian campaign, which undoubtedly would have diverted much of the food resources in preparations for the military activity. However, this was the limit of Ammianus' criticisms of Julian's actions in this respect.

As a consequence of his anger towards his dissenters, Julian chose the rather extraordinary response of dressing down the Antiochenes through the writing of his *Misopogon* or *Beard-Hater*,<sup>109</sup> composed during the celebration of the Kalends in late January or early February 363.<sup>110</sup> This was put on display outside the imperial palace for the public to read.<sup>111</sup> The *Misopogon* was a lengthy treatise that has been described as "an expression of the bitterest

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<sup>105</sup> Contrast the view of Libanius, *Ep.* 1379, as quoted in Garnsey & Humfress (2001) 121, who was deeply concerned about the fixing of prices on the marketplace, "While he (Julian) was thus engaged, all of a sudden there arose in the hippodrome the outcry of a starving populace; they complained that the soil had suffered from a bad season and the city from the wealthy, who failed to produce their long-hoarded stocks for public consumption but forced up the price of grain. He called together the landowners, artisans and shopkeepers, in fact anyone who had anything to do with fixing market prices, and forced them by edict to charge a reasonable price..."

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 409ff.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 110.

<sup>108</sup> Julian (*Mis.* 368D) was convinced that supplies were still plentiful and prices were high because members of the higher classes were deliberately keeping back food from the people in order to raise prices. Julian's enthusiasm for reforming the curial class is recorded and sometimes criticised, A.M. 22.9.12; 25.4.21; Zos. 3.11.5; *Lib. Or.* 18.135-158; *Ep.* 699; *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.50-56. See also Pack (1986) 224-259.

<sup>109</sup> "Julian's idiosyncratic satire or, as Ammianus asserts, invective is a composition *sui generis*. If the author wanted his Antiochicus or 'Beard-Hater' to testify to his superior irony, his wrath precluded all subtleties, although friend and foe admitted the literary merit of the satire alike, cf. Zos. 3.11.5, Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.19.3", Boeft & Bremmer (1995) 240. "The *Misopogon*'s purpose and meaning have been variously estimated", Browning (1975) 158. Cf. Bowersock (1978) 104; Athanassiadi (1990) 202. Downey (1939) 310, called the writing of the *Misopogon*, "One of the most incredible things that a Roman emperor, supposed to be in his right senses, ever did". However, imperial edicts which reproach the populus for disorderly behaviour were not limited to Julian, and go back to the Julio-Claudians. Cf. Gleason (1986) 106-119.

<sup>110</sup> Gleason (1986) 108. For Ammianus' erroneous dating of the *Misopogon*, see Barnes (1998) 51-52.

<sup>111</sup> Barnes (1998) 51.

disappointment and rage”,<sup>112</sup> and “a work which might have been witty, but the bitterness of its angry and sensitive author overwhelmed his efforts at humour”.<sup>113</sup> Undisguised anger populates the end of the *Misopogon* (e.g. 360D-361D, 364Bff., 366B-D).

After writing this document Julian underestimated the reaction of the populace, for Ammianus writes:

Quocirca in eos deinceps *saeviens* ut obtrectatores et contumaces volumen composuit invectivum, quod Antiochense vel Misopogonem appellavit, probra civitatis infensa mente dinumerans addensque veritati conplura. Post quae multa in se facete dicta conperiens coactus dissimulare pro tempore *ira sufflabatur interna*.<sup>114</sup>

(22.14.2)

Although, as we discussed in the introduction, anger control in the fourth century was no longer prominent in political texts, Ammianus does make much of Julian concealing his wrath, for although the populace caricatured Julian, comparing him to a dwarf and a goat (due to his characteristic beard), and openly objected to the number of sacrifices he made to the gods, the emperor “held his peace, kept his temper under control, and went on with his solemnities” (22.14.3). Individuals react differently when placed in the public eye and when emotions get the better of them. Some behaved like Tiberius who, unable to cope with the constant pressure from the senate in particular, took to self-imposed exile. Others, such as Nero, took public life to the extreme, and deliberately presented themselves to the populace, lavishing all the attention, and oblivious to any outside criticism. For Julian neither was a suitable option, and his anger led him to react as only a man of his scholarly nature could, which was through the writing of a piece of literature meant to explain his position, and how much of a disappointment the citizens were to him. Nevertheless, it was apparent that rage (*saeviens*) permeated the text, and this was obvious to our historian.

For Julian, as someone who was in such an esteemed position to be made the object of ridicule, this was an enormous insult. However, Ammianus does justify some of the Antiochenes’ jibes (at 14.2-3 and 22.12.4),<sup>115</sup> and held the belief that its objections were more punitive than he thought warranted, “*Probra civitatis infensa mente dinumerans, addensque veritati*

<sup>112</sup> Downey (1939) 309.

<sup>113</sup> Bowersock (1978) 13. Cf. Newbold (2002) 50, “For all its ironic self-disparagement, the *Misopogon* is full of bitter and petulant anger”.

<sup>114</sup> “He gave vent to his fury at the obstinacy of his critics by composing a satire on them called the ‘Antiochian’ or ‘Misopogon’, in which he enumerated the defects of the city in no friendly terms and in some respects went beyond the truth. They retaliated by circulating a number of jests at his expense which for the moment he had to pretend to take in good part, though in fact he was boiling with suppressed wrath.” “In four of the instances in Ammianus of *sufflare* it concerns human pride (cf. OLD s.v. 1c); 15.5.37, 17.4.12 (q.v.), 18.6.1, 28.4.12; it is used metaphorically in a similar sense in 22.16.12 (q.v.) about pretentious temples. In 26.1.3 some people are *spe vana sufflati*. The present text is the only case where the passage means “swell with rage” (OLD s.v. 1b). Obviously the Antiochenes had hit the mark”, Boeft & Bremmer (1995) 242.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Thompson (1947) 2, “Likewise he knew that failure to respond to insult, regardless of the status of the aggressor, could threaten claims to be treated honourably. His reactions to, possibly more reasoned, criticism of his plans for the Persian campaign were various: literary retaliation (the *Misopogon*), suppressed anger, and a lofty indifference, such as Hercules displayed to the barbs of the Pygmies”. Cf. Newbold (2002) 40.

*complura*" (22.14.2). The historian does not criticise Julian for the dissertation,<sup>116</sup> which suggests that he perhaps believed that the Antiocheans were being unduly harsh towards the emperor. Interestingly, Sozomen, the fifth-century Christian historian, was in support of the dissertation, and wrote of Julian, "he suppressed his feelings of indignation and repaid their ridicule by words alone; he composed and sent to them a most excellent and elegant work under the title of *Beard Hater*" (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.19). Zosimus, the pagan historian who lived a short time after Julian, called it a "most polished composition" (3.11.5). The second century Roman rhetorician Fronto was also in support of such devices. Fronto believed that emperors ought to "repress by their edicts the faults of provincials, give praise to good actions, quell the seditious and terrify the fierce ones. All these are assuredly things to be achieved by words and letters" (*Ep. ad Marc. Ant.* 2.7). Libanius, in his *Epistles*, never once mentions the *Misopogon* definitively. Although he does, in his sixteenth oration, attempt to argue against the dissertation in stages.<sup>117</sup> The language and rhetorical devices of the piece would also have not failed to impress Ammianus.<sup>118</sup>

To summarise, anger felt towards individuals from an imperial personage was perhaps the most terrifying thing anyone in Ammianus' time could be subjected to. An emperor had ultimate power over life and death and, if offence was given, deliberately or otherwise, no one was free from becoming the next target of the emperors' wrath. As we have seen in Constantius' reaction towards Gallus, not even blood could secure one's favour with the emperor. Julian's reaction to the behaviour of the people of Antioch could have been far more severe, but as it was, he did not punish anyone directly and chose to focus his attention onto his Persian campaign instead, installing a severe governor to control the populace in his place. Surely this was a sign of his highly developed sensitivities, as well as the ability to restrain his anger against the majority who would judge him even more harshly if he used open and active reprisals. The struggle to retain power and keep up an appearance of stateliness and serenity in all matters was certainly taxing on the emperors, especially those who had been acclaimed on the field and knew nothing but the engagements of warfare and life as a common soldier. Out of those who were acclaimed by

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<sup>116</sup> Ammianus does point out Julian's unwarranted behaviour on other occasions, which the historian disapproved of. For example when Julian excitedly runs out of the senate in Constantinople to greet Maximus, 22.7.3; and when Julian carries the sacred standards, rather than letting the priests, for whom it was their sacred duty, 22.14.3.

<sup>117</sup> Harris (2001) 258 describes Libanius' involvement, "In 362-363 the emperor Julian and the people of Antioch had a famously disagreeable encounter before the ruler left to fight his campaign in Mesopotamia. Hoping to rescue the situation, the leading local rhetorician, Libanius, composed two documents in the form of speeches, a placatory one addressed to Julian himself, and another on the subject of the emperor's anger addressed to the Antiochenes – in reality to the social elite of Antioch – in order to warn them of the seriousness of their situation (*Lib. Or.* 15 and 16). But when Libanius attempted to cool the emperor's anger against the Antiochenes (for explicit mentions of the emperor's *orgē*: *Lib. Or.* 15.4, 22, 34-35 (the barbarians are dominated by anger, but we Greeks forgive; even Achilles relented), 71, 82), he was speaking from a position of exceptional privilege, and to an emperor of even more exceptional character. Julian knew all about the problem of imperial anger, as he shows in a surviving letter, which also, however, makes it obvious that the senator who received it is likely to have found the emperor's written rebuke unnerving". Cf. *Julian. Ep.* 82.

<sup>118</sup> "Julian was not the sort of man to win popularity with a licentious city: his assiduous performance of the pagan rites met with indifference, and his rough and unkempt personal appearance and his plain way of living aroused hostility and ridicule in a city which for centuries had been notorious for its disrespect towards its rulers. Finally, in the seventh month of his residence (January or February, 363), Julian vented his spleen in the famous satire, the *Misopogon* or *Beard-Hater*, in which, by pretending to satirise himself and the philosopher's beard which he wore in a clean-shaven age, he was able to pour forth his bitter anger against, and disappointment with, the people of Antioch", Downey (1939) 304.

the soldiery, it was only Julian who had the intensive classical education that so interested Ammianus. Even though Julian had the potential to be a great statesman, it was perhaps his disillusionment at his reception in Antioch which saw him desire more and more to prove himself on the field in the conquest of the Persian nation.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> The fact that Ammianus relates so many instances of Julian's anger is in accordance with the anger of Valentinian, for as Brandt (1999) 169 points out, both rulers became hostile towards threats towards their imperial *maiestas*. Aristotle (*Rh.* 2.4.1382a1-2) agrees with this view of hostility and saw anger as one of the three primary causes of enmity. He then proceeds (*Rh.* 2.4.1382a8) to point out that enmity differs from anger in that the object of anger is to cause pain to another, whilst that of hatred is to inflict harm.

## CONSEQUENCES OF ANGER FOR THE EMPERORS AND CAESARS

### *Summary of the Consequences for Selves and Others*

Consequence for Selves	Reference
Danger from becoming a usurper	20.4.15
Death	30.6.3
Near loss of life	24.5.6-7
Success over an enemy	24.5.10
Consequence for Others	Reference
Executions	14.7.2, 14.7.12, 14.11.23, 26.9.10, 27.7.7, 29.1.38
Pressure on individuals	16.8.7, 17.10.8
Quelling of mutinies	24.3.3
Rewards	14.7.4
Success in forcing their demands	20.4.15
The closure of places of worship	22.13.2
The punishment of groups and individuals	14.11.13, 20.2.5, 23.2.4, 24.3.2, 24.5.10, 25.1.8, 28.1.23, 28.2.9, 31.14.5
The refusal of support	20.9.2
Trials and inquisitions	14.5.4, 19.12.5, 29.1.27, 28.1.11
<b>Total 30</b>	

From the table above we can ascertain that there are a number of possible consequences when an emperor becomes angry, and, for the most part, it affects others, rather than themselves. Like the table that lists secondary responses, the consequences often had far reaching effects, and the emperors often only found resolution to their anger when individuals or groups were punished in some form or another. This explains why execution has the highest number of references, for capital punishment was the surest means of removing individual threats forever. Ammianus' descriptions of anger become all the more menacing, for the likelihood of rigorous punishment by an emperor or Caesar was very high. Even Julian was prone to outbreaks of wrath so severe that he had some of his own troops executed. The consequences for others far outweigh the consequences for themselves, and Ammianus perhaps highlights this in order to give a greater depth of sorrow and despair to his account when these imperial figures could no longer refrain from giving into their rage.

#### **Gallus and the Consequences of Anger**

In the table above we are given six references to executions that came about as the consequence of the emperors' anger. For the most part, these executions are the result of feelings of outrage on behalf of the emperor or Caesar, towards a person or persons they saw as being a threat or insulting their position. Aristotle (*Rh.* 2.2.1379a29-32) maintained that individuals often become angry with people who laugh or scorn or mock us, as they are exhibiting insolence towards us. This insult then stimulates anger. In this sense, Gallus' actions,

which aroused anger in the emperor Constantius, would have a fatal consequence for the Caesar. For example, the behaviour of Gallus is recorded by Ammianus at 14.7.2, when:

maddened by an unwisely blunt answer (*gravius rationabili responderunt*) to a suggestion by him of a sudden and ill-timed price freeze in the face of impending famine, he (Gallus) issued a single decree for the execution of all the leading members of the senate of Antioch.<sup>120</sup>

Ammianus then writes that Honoratus, the count of the East (cf. *Lib. Ep.* 386), determinedly opposed this decision of the Caesar through his firm resolution (*fixa constantia*), and set the men free. That Gallus had the desire to make this writ made him a very dangerous individual, and Ammianus does state that he did cause the deaths of many citizens of Antioch.

This description also reveals much about our historian, for Ammianus was extremely prejudiced against Gallus,<sup>121</sup> and wrote of these outrages being committed by the Caesar in Antioch,<sup>122</sup> which he introduces as “the gusts of raging fortune” (*fortunae saevientis...tempestates*, 14.1.1).<sup>123</sup> Ammianus’ bias comes through strongly here as it involved this social order. Most scholars agree that Ammianus was a member of the propertied curial class,<sup>124</sup> and consequently was extremely conscious of decisions that could infringe upon this group, such as increases in taxation or other burdens placed upon them (e.g. 16.5.13-15).<sup>125</sup> When it came to supporting governmental decisions, it was the regulations imposed by those in authority that determined whether or not he supported a particular policy. And, “He explicitly takes sides with the curiales of Antioch against the Caesar Gallus” (14.7.2).<sup>126</sup> In this way, his

<sup>120</sup> His brother Julian was also impeded by the Antiochean senate, but took a far more mild approach, “like his brother Gallus, but not thirsty for blood”, 20.4.1-3. Cf. Blockley (1975) 20. The members of the Antiochean senate were large landowners, and therefore controlled food prices in the city, thus they had a vested interest here, cf. Thompson (1943) 307. Cf. *Lib. Ep.* 386.

<sup>121</sup> Thompson’s (1943) 302-315 study into this portrayal by Ammianus reveals just how deeply the intolerance ran, “Ammianus conceals relevant facts, relies maliciously on unwarranted rumours, applies rhetorical artifices and violent phrases to leave a dark impression on the minds of his readers of the talented and unfortunate Caesar – a far too gloomy picture”. Grant (1952) 363 generally supports this opinion, “Probably Gallus was cruel, perhaps monstrously so. But a more balanced picture would also have indicated his talents as a military commander, his popularity with the troops and proletariat, and the likelihood that, when he suppressed conspirators, at least some of them were guilty of the charges brought against them”. Cf. Alföldi (1952) 4.

<sup>122</sup> It is possible that Ammianus, or his sources, saw Gallus during the trials conducted by Ursicinus, and that this adversely affected his portrayal of the Caesar, cf. Thompson (1947) 69.

<sup>123</sup> In his descriptions of the Caesar, Blockley (1975) 18 states, “Ammianus...characterises Gallus as a cruel and angry tyrant”. However, it is possible that Ammianus’ views on Gallus were directed by the same disinformation that Constantius received and so may have “reinforced the historian’s prejudice against the Caesar”, Thompson (1947) 70. Gallus and his wife Constantina were renowned for their ferocity, and Constantina was said to have constantly aroused the savagery of Gallus, (*Galli Caesaris saevientis*, 14.1.2. A fact that even his brother Julian *Ep. ad Ath.* 271d admits.

<sup>124</sup> The importance of knowing Ammianus’ origin and what his social class was, is discussed by Sabbah (2003) 50ff.

<sup>125</sup> Ammianus was extremely class conscious, see Thompson (1942) 130-134. Ammianus’ verdict was harshest against those emperors who put restrictions upon the curiales. However, this did not extend to Constantius, who actually granted this class concessions, especially in regards to the Church, see Jones (1964) 119.

<sup>126</sup> Momigliano (1977) 133.



deep concern for the wellbeing of the *curiales* reflects his conservative outlook.<sup>127</sup> Through his rhetorical approach, Ammianus was able to bypass the revelation that the Caesar was trying to assist the hungry masses, by assuming that Gallus was instead instituting a reign of terror in the eastern city.<sup>128</sup> It can consequently be seen that his reasons for portraying Gallus as such a ruthless tyrant were likely the result of the Caesar's support of the lower classes, a disposition that Ammianus was at times thoroughly against.<sup>129</sup>

From punishment we now move on to rewards, and when an individual did something that was perceived beneficial for an imperial figure, sometimes the rewards were great:

Accenderat super his incitatum propositum ad nocendum aliqua mulier vilis, quae ad palatium (ut poposcerat) intromissa insidias ei latenter obtendi prodiderat a militibus obscurissimis. Quam Constantina exsultans ut in tuto iam locata mariti salute muneratam vehiculoque inpositam per regiae ianuas emisit in publicum, ut his illecebris alios quoque ad indicanda proliceret paria vel maiora.<sup>130</sup>

(14.7.4)

Here, apart from being simply another example of Gallus' tendency towards anger, this passage also reveals that secondary responses can benefit those who aid and abet emperors and Caesars. Ammianus describes this incident at 14.7 where he also lists all of Gallus' crimes against humanity, from his interest in gladiatorial shows to indiscriminate accusations against many for the creation of a secret royal robe. It is clear that the passage above is also intended to darken the character of Gallus, through paying attention to anyone who cared to make an allegation. The whole instance is made a laughable matter, from the unknown woman, to the soldiers of the lowest rank, who clearly had no sort of power to be able to commit the deed. This was perhaps idle rumour in any case, and the fact that Constantina<sup>131</sup> so richly rewarded the woman and paraded her in front of the palace is also a piece for amusement, for surely no one who was an informer would want to be made known in so obvious a manner.<sup>132</sup> Ammianus here demonstrates that Gallus was as suspicious of treason as Constantius was, perhaps even more so, for he coveted his position highly and destroyed many people in his short career as Caesar. Moreover, Ammianus is seeking to make a generalisation similar to those made in regards to Constantius, Valens and Valentinian,<sup>133</sup> and this in fact proceeds to a wider comment about the

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<sup>127</sup> Momigliano (1977) 133. That Ammianus was "acutely conscious of his social position", comes through in his own statement, when in the desert with two companions, he was subjected, "with excessive walking, to which as a gentleman I was unaccustomed", 19.8.6. Thompson (1942) 131.

<sup>128</sup> This was shown to extend to all the Eastern provinces, cf. Thompson (1943) 314.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Thompson (1943) 312. See also Chapter 4, where Ammianus himself presents a reprieve of the lower orders that were at times unrestrainedly oppressed by the elite orders, something which the historian also strongly disapproved of.

<sup>130</sup> "His (Gallus') propensity for inflicting harm, easily aroused at any time, was further stimulated by a worthless woman, who was admitted to the palace at her own request and revealed the existence of a secret conspiracy against him by some soldiers of the lowest rank. Constantina, loudly proclaiming her joy that her husband's safety was assured, rewarded the woman, placed her in a carriage, and sent her out by the main gate of the palace, so that others might be tempted by her example to lay information about similar or even graver crimes."

<sup>131</sup> She was the widow of Hannibalianus.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Thompson (1943) 303.

<sup>133</sup> For example, Ammianus increases his audience's perceptions of the villainous character of the emperor, simply by stating that his mind recoils from recording all examples of Valentinian's cruelty, the

unsatisfactory state of society in this period, something which supposedly (though this is extremely doubtful) no longer existed when he wrote. The degradation of Gallus and the depravity of his rule are symbolic of the condition of the empire, before the emperor Theodosius<sup>134</sup> reigned – although this may simply be a consequence of the flattery of the current ruler.

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Before Constantius had the Caesar executed for his actions in Antioch, Gallus had another two men killed by the hands of his own soldiers, again as a consequence of his anger. The first was a quaestor named Montius, who warned Gallus about giving in to extremes, for it would see retribution from Constantius. The second was Domitianus, who had spoken to Gallus arrogantly, refused to meet with him and threatened to cut off his supplies.<sup>135</sup> Domitianus had also sent false reports to Constantius that the Caesar may or may not have known about (14.7.10).<sup>136</sup> The language that Ammianus uses to describe the deaths of Montius and Domitianus is carefully moulded in order to invoke pity in his audience, and thus blacken the name of Gallus even further, for Montius was a “frail and ailing old man”, and their deaths are gruesomely described. Ammianus also records that the executions of Montius and Domitianus were seen as grounds

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suggestion thus being that there were far more instances than he would ever have a chance to reveal, 29.3.9. Thompson (1969) 87, “Over 75 lines (Clark) are devoted to vices compared with under 30 for virtues; and about 22 lines of the section on vices are concerned with his anger and cruelty against a mere 6 lines for the first three vices mentioned, important public ones. The narrative reflects the imbalance. There little is heard of the Emperor’s cowardice or envy, whereas cruelty and injustice, which are stressed in the *elogium*, predominate”. The cruelty of Valentinian is emphasised by Paschoud (1992) 80, “Chapter 29.3 is nothing other than the third panel of a triptych camping an odious Valentinian with a negative bias that jumps to the eyes as soon as these passages are read attentively. The first panel is constituted by the curtain raiser of 26.1-2 that concludes on the expression *iamque terribilem*. Chapter 27.7 constitutes the second panel; the prince, initially revealing his concealed ferocity little by little, is there of the entry of the qualified play of *propalam ferus*. As for the last panel, it also opens by introductory lines indicating that Valentinian abandons himself from now on carried away without a brake by his transports of rage; he is now *trux suopte ingenio*. The adjective, which means ‘wild, threatening, which inspires terror’, is employed to indicate Gallus Caesar (also accompanied by *suopte ingenio*) (14.11.3) and, as of 27.7.4, the impetus of Valentinian, a line below the words *propalam ferus*. Three adjectives thus stress the progressive disclosure of the cruelty of Valentinian, at least such as Ammianus wanted to present it to us”. Cruelty and anger are often intertwined in Ammianus’ rhetorical descriptions of Valentinian. See 29.4.7 – the burning alive of Hortarius for treachery to the Roman government while holding an army command under Valentinian. Cf. Thompson (1947) 91. The given situations that the historian portrays Valentinian exhibiting these reactions are carefully construed to create the maximum impact for his audience.

<sup>134</sup> However, Theodosius was a devout Christian, and thus Thompson (1947) 86, 111f., has noted that in the last six books of the *Res Gestae*, written during the early 390s, that Ammianus had to restrain his pagan sympathies to comply with the emperor’s attitudes. Also, Ammianus was forced to stop his history of the West with the year 375, as he could not include the trial and execution of the emperor’s father, a theme that could not be handled objectively, Thompson (1947) 94.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 34.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Mooney (1958) 176. Furthermore, Domitianus’ son-in-law, Apollinarus, had been interfering with Gallus’ troops and his father, the governor of Phoenicia, was suspected of conspiring against Gallus. As a consequence of Gallus’ outrage, both men were arrested and tried for their involvement, 14.7.17, 14.7.19-20. Cf. Thompson (1943) 309.

for high treason, and as a result, the Caesar was recalled on Constantius' orders and was himself executed, as a consequence of the Augustus' own anger (14.11.19-21, 23).<sup>137</sup>

It has been said that it was Constantius' suspicious nature that let him be "consistently misinformed about Gallus".<sup>138</sup> Even with the reprieve that Thompson offers,<sup>139</sup> the name of Gallus still carries with it the weight of the heinous crimes he committed.<sup>140</sup> However, Gallus still had his supporters. These included the Arian scholar Philostorgius, the pagan Zosimus, and Gallus' half-brother Julian.<sup>141</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible that Constantius was right to be concerned about the Caesar, for Gallus was conducting the trials in Antioch which were perhaps leading him to enquiries regarding the intelligence activities of Constantius' own secret agents in the region.<sup>142</sup> Also, it appears that the Caesar did not expect his execution, and began his return journey to the emperor in the belief that he could expect leniency from Constantius, as upon his accession as Caesar he had made a pledge of loyalty to the emperor (Philost. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.1).

With the death of Gallus, executions by no means stopped here, for they were essential in this period for providing order and protecting those in power. Ammianus is certainly not sympathetic to Gallus when he dies and in this and other cases, his language remains neutral, for this was the order of the day.

### Valentinian and the Consequences of Anger

The consequence of anger for an emperor which is perhaps most memorable in the whole of the *Res Gestae*, is the death of Valentinian at Brigetio on November 17, 375 (30.6.3).<sup>143</sup> When the envoys of the German Quadi at Brigetio on the Pannonian Danube<sup>144</sup> were, without success, trying to excuse their countrymen's actions without a sense of remorse, in a fit of rage, the emperor loudly accused the "*nationem omnem ut beneficiorum immemorem et ingratham*". For all his faults, in this instance, Valentinian was for all intents and purposes justified in his anger.

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<sup>137</sup> For the date of Gallus' execution, in October 354, rather than in November or December, see Barnes (1989b) 416. As Gallus was the half-brother of Julian, Ammianus could not forgive Constantius his actions, cf. Barnes (1998) 130. See especially the *Letter to the Athenians* 270c-71a, 272a-d by Julian, in which the emperor rebukes Constantius for executing Gallus. For all of Ammianus' bitterness in regards to Gallus, his rhetorical enlargements, and certain blandishments, some still ascertain that, "Gallus was immoderate, foolish, unjust and afraid, with no compensating virtues", Blockley (1975) 20. Immoderate, 14.1.1: foolish, 11.11 and 26; unjust, 1.3; afraid, 11.21. (21), "Of the four tyrannical vices mentioned by Eutropius, Ammianus ascribes three of them to Gallus, anger, cruelty and greed". Anger and cruelty: 14.1.1.4-5 and 10; 7.3; 9.9. Greed: 14.1.4.

<sup>138</sup> Thompson (1947) 69. Informers on Gallus include Thalassius, 14.7.9; Domitianus, 14.7.10; Barbatio, 14.11.24; *et al.* Thalassius deliberately roused Gallus to fury by opposing and reproving him: *Thalassius...ad rabiem...evibrabat (Gallus Caesarem)*, 14.1.10. Gallus' anger was further incited when he discovered that Thalassius was reporting his actions to the emperor, see Mooney (1958) 176.

<sup>139</sup> Although by no means whitewashing the name of Gallus, Thompson (1947) 68 suggests that the condemnation was largely unjustified. When the Caesar was executed under the orders of Constantius, Blockley (1994) 58 in opposition to Thompson, states that Gallus "thoroughly deserved his fate". Indeed, thirty years earlier this construction as presented by Blockley of Gallus had been quite thoroughly challenged, beginning with Thompson (1943) 302-315. See also Mooney (1958) 175-177.

<sup>140</sup> Cf., the refutation of Thompson's thesis of Gallus' self-martyrdom by Mooney (1958) 175-177.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Thompson (1943) 302, who gives the names of other notable sources who supported, as well as those, in particular Christians (Gallus was an Arian, so naturally Arians would write more highly of him), who condemned Gallus.

<sup>142</sup> For the secret service in late Roman antiquity, see Sinnigen (1959) 238-254.

<sup>143</sup> Frank (1972) 76.

<sup>144</sup> Wilkes (1972) 382.

This is because the Quadi, an inferior people and subjected to Roman autonomy, were, in their arrogance, convinced that they were in the right, as the Romans had built a barrier in their territory. However, from the emperor's perspective, the Quadi were transgressing his sense of justice in that they had attacked Romans whilst performing their duty. As Aristotle states in the *Rhetoric*, an individual in a position such as Valentinian's expects deference from his lessers on account of his superiority and are especially likely to become angry if a slight is suffered instead (2.2.1378b34-1379a6). This insubordination was something that Valentinian, in his superior position, simply could not tolerate. Compare also Aristotle's attitude towards slaves. Slaves, as inferiors, were in no position to feel anger against their masters, but had to appease their masters' anger (*Rh.* 2.3.1380a15-18).

Shortly after his outburst, the emperor then quietened and appeared to listen to the envoys, but his earlier outburst had already led to his apoplectic fit, a possible cerebral haemorrhage resulting in a fatal stroke (30.6.3).<sup>145</sup> He was taken into an inner chamber – where lesser men could not see him – and died a few hours later at the age of fifty-five, after a rule of almost twelve years (30.6.6). This whole incident reveals that even an emperor could not escape the effects of his own wrath, and the historian must have seen this as a bittersweet conclusion to his eventful reign. Even Alföldi, who defended Valentinian in his 1952 study, said: "That Valentinian was, by nature, passionate is beyond all doubt,<sup>146</sup> however much he tried to control himself".<sup>147</sup> Only Valentinian died in such a manner, and perhaps this was a warning to other imperial figures not to follow the path of anger, of which Ammianus alleges, Valentinian did more and more so as his reign progressed. If anything, Ammianus despised Valentinian as much for his anger and the consequent lack of restraint, as he did for the cruelty, greed and timidity that he highlights in his obituary (30.8).<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Cf. Humphries (1999) 122.

<sup>146</sup> 30.5.3, *acer et vehemens*. See also, Cic. *ad Brut.* 1.10.1; Cic. *Caecin.* 28; Suet. *Iul.* 9.1.

<sup>147</sup> Alföldi (1952) 42.

<sup>148</sup> Ammianus emphasises Valentinian's cruelty and violence when he makes it seem as though Valentinian was dealing out punishments indiscriminately. For Valentinian allegedly ordered the cruel deaths of certain officials, who were implicated by those who desired their downfall, 27.7.5. However, "The only named victims are Diocles, the former head of the state treasury, Diodorus, a former member of the secret service, and three civil servants of the vicariat of Italy, that were not besides innocent, but of which Ammianus qualifies the setting of the cruel deaths with excessive punishment", Paschoud (1992) 77. The picture here is very vague and distorted and lacks depth, as most examples of the supposed cruelty of Valentinian do. Nevertheless, Ammianus portrayed the supposed violence of Valentinian so successfully, that one modern scholar describes Valentinian's anger as "ungovernable", Seager (1986) 34. 27.7.4, 30.5.10. 8.12. However, as Paschoud (1992) 77 states, "The cruelty of Valentinian is affirmed, not proven".

## COMMENTS BY AMMIANUS

*Summary of Comments by Ammianus*

Comment	Reference
Cruelty	14.7.2, 29.1.27, 31.14.5
Influence of flatterers	14.5.4
Irony	23.2.4, 24.6.17
Lack of justice	19.12.5, 26.9.10
Outrageous behaviour	14.1.10
Rumours	22.13.2
<b>Total 10</b>	

One can immediately see from the table above that Ammianus makes more comments in regards to the anger of Emperors and Caesars than he does on either the Roman military, or the Persians and barbarians. After all, this reflects the higher importance that he places on anger and imperial figures, as it is something that concerns him greatly. This aspect gives Ammianus room to moralise on certain situations, which to him seem greatly out of order, for none of the comments are positive ones. He is particularly concerned when emperors exhibit their anger through displays of cruelty, for this goes against his sense of ethics and the traditional Roman values which he adhered to (and altered to suit his own perspective). In that respect, emphasising cruelty in emperors reveals how much they were removed from the traditional sense of *clementia* that the Augustuses were ideally meant to show.<sup>149</sup> Perhaps though, Ammianus refrained from making comments for political reasons, and it was understandable that he made few comments on the anger of Julian, for then it would seem that he was putting his hero down further; this was something he could not countenance. In saying this however, then why does he not make more comments on the anger of other imperial figures whom he disliked? The answer is probably the same for the lack of comments on the anger of the groups which we have looked at previously, for he only commented on those episodes which were deemed worthy, for he did not wish to fill his pages with excessive comment – and it would become tiresome to comment on every episode.

**Ammianus' Comments on the Anger of Julian**

There are two instances above listed under 'irony', for here Ammianus gives us comments upon the emperor Julian's anger, which foreshadow his death (i.e. dramatic irony), and the manner of his language and hindsight are given over to this paradox. As such, the first incident in which he

<sup>149</sup> These "barbaric explosions" resulting in displays of cruelty by the emperors are discussed by MacMullen (1964) 452. For emperors exhibiting *clementia*, see for example Constantius' praise of himself in his dealings with the barbarians along the Danube, 17.11.28ff. Often though, Ammianus holds back on his comments, and appears to remain neutral, and this has led some to see him as an impartial judge. Thus Gibbon (1994) wrote, "The impartial Ammianus deserves all our confidence". Of this supposed objectivity Harris (2001) 261 writes of Ammianus that, "His reputation for reliability gains somewhat from the fact that in spite of his high opinion of Julian he neither credits him with uniform good temper nor omits particular instances of his anger; he limits himself to saying that Julian treated very gently some who plotted against him and punished them with inborn mildness". E.g. Julian being angry: 22.13.2, 24.5.10; reaction to plotters: 25.4.9.

mentions Julian's oncoming death occurs at the time Julian stormed out of Antioch, furious at the citizens and their jibes<sup>150</sup> against him,<sup>151</sup> and promising never to return (on 5 March, 363, 23.2.4).<sup>152</sup> He then promised the delegates who escorted him from the city that he would spend the winter at Tarsus. Ammianus tells us that he did, but as a corpse rather than in the way Julian intended.<sup>153</sup> However much Ammianus idealised this Augustus, he was aware of the increasing anger residing in the heart of Julian, and this comes across in his next bitter episode.

Abunde ratus post haec prosperitates similis adventare complures hostias Marti parabat Ultori, et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perductis nondum aris admoti voluntate sua novem procubuere tristissimi, decimus vero, qui diffractis vinculis lapsus aegre reductus est, mactatus ominosa signa monstravit. Quibus visis *exclamavit indignatus* acriter Iulianus lovemque testatus est nulla Marti iam sacra facturum nec resecuravit celeri morte praereptus.<sup>154</sup>

(24.6.17)

By this statement, the contemporary reader or listener, who was already aware of how Julian died, would see that omens remained important as harbingers of doom.<sup>155</sup> Surprisingly Julian, a devout pagan, chose to ignore them and indeed went as far as rejecting Mars, an astonishing reaction, for Mars was traditionally a god who was extremely important to the Romans for bringing success in war. Being deeply superstitious, the knowledge that a bitter end might occur for him may have begun to play on his mind, but he rejected it on the surface (cf. 25.2.4).<sup>156</sup> In

<sup>150</sup> Compare the reaction of Constantius, who enjoyed the popular jokes made at his expense whilst attending the chariot races in Rome, 16.10.13. Also his decision to ignore the treatment of one of his statues at Edessa, when the citizens "resenting some treatment they had received", thrashed its bronze backside. "(Constantius) did not fly into a temper, he sought no punishment, nor did he humble the city in any way", Lib. *Or.* 19.48-49. And according to Libanius *Or.* 20.25, when Valens was publicly ridiculed in Constantinople, he held no grudge towards them. Here, however, Libanius was writing for the benefit of Theodosius, to quell his rage against the public after the Riot of the Statues. Ammianus' account is very different, 26.10.12. For a lengthier discussion on this theme, see Gleason (1986) 114f.

<sup>151</sup> On Julian's religious and economic policies which led to the hostility between Julian and the *populus* of Antioch, see Downey (1939) 303-315; (1951) 312-321.

<sup>152</sup> On the exit of Julian from Antioch, see Lib. *Or.* 16.35. Also Seager (1986) 20.

<sup>153</sup> On the death of Julian, cf. Lib. *Or.* 18.274, *Or.* 24. On the puzzling indication by Ammianus on the absence of the *scutarii* at Julian's death, see Woods (1997) 279. Indeed this was an omen of his imminent death, see Seager (1986) 34.

<sup>154</sup> "Fully convinced that similar successes lay before him he prepared to offer a number of victims to Mars the Avenger. Ten fine bulls were brought for this purpose, but before they reached the altar nine of them sank to the ground in a sorry state. The tenth, which broke its halter and escaped, was recovered with difficulty, and when it was slaughtered the omens it gave were unfavourable. At the sight of them Julian cries out in high indignation, and swore by Jupiter that he would never sacrifice to Mars again. Nor did he ever revoke his vow, since soon afterwards he was carried off by death."

<sup>155</sup> Prior to Julian's death in 363 Ammianus recorded many portents of his doom at 25.2, including a shooting star that Julian fearfully took to be the god Mars appearing to him. For a complete list of the omens portending Julian's demise, see Smith (1999) 100ff. Cf. Conduche (1965) 370.

<sup>156</sup> Ammianus (25.4.17) characterises the emperor as *superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator*. According to Libanius *Or.* 18.306, Julian's interest in divination on this campaign centred purely on one question, whether he would do harm to the Persians, and when the answer was in the negative, Julian responded by rejecting a part of his faith. Cf. Seager (1997) 265. Revenge was one of Julian's motives for the Persian campaign, 23.5.18. Cf. Boeft (2002) 197.

his language, Ammianus does not show support for Julian's behaviour, partly because being a "more conservative pagan"<sup>157</sup> he was censorious of the emperor's exorbitant sacrifices (22.5.2, 22.12.6).<sup>158</sup>

### **Ammianus' Comments on the Anger of Constantius**

Ammianus wrote very critically of the sycophants who crowded Constantius' court:

Accedebant enim eius asperitati, ubi imminuta esse amplitudo imperii dicebatur, et *iracundae* suspicionumque vantitati proximorum cruentae blanditiae exaggerantium incidentia et dolere impendio simulantium, si principis periclitetur vita, a cuius salute velut filo pendere statum orbis terrarum fictis vocibus exclamabant.<sup>159</sup>

(14.5.4)

Although Constantius was subject to uncertainties, it was these flatterers who exaggerated matters and openly engaged his hostility to such an extent that no one, no matter what their position, was safe from their malicious gossip.<sup>160</sup> This led Ammianus to make the comment that Constantius was "prone in any case to entertain baseless suspicions". Moreover, Constantius seems to be a very poor judge of character, for in Ammianus' opinion he allowed the worst possible people to guide him, such as Paulus "the Chain", who, whilst investigating the usurpation of Magnentius, "stitched together a patchwork of charges far removed from the truth" (14.5.6).<sup>161</sup> Constantius supported these actions, for he saw that if many were harmed and suppressed in trials and inquisitions, then his position would remain more secure, and in the end, Constantius died in bed of natural causes, so perhaps his mistrust was not such a fault.

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<sup>157</sup> Gleason (1986) 114.

<sup>158</sup> Ammianus himself was opposed to Julian's excesses in both superstition and sacrifices. At 25.4.17 he compares the emperor to both Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, who shared the same traits. Libanius *Or.* 12.80 also criticises the numbers of Julian's blood sacrifices. Marcus Aurelius, whom Julian sought to emulate, also made excessive sacrifices, which were also criticised by the *populus*, 25.17. Another point of criticism presented by Libanius against Julian was the emperor's attacks against the family of the praetorian prefect. However, Thalassius' son – also called Thalassius – was eventually forgiven. Libanius *Ep.* 1364, 1380, 1404 deplored these actions, for Thalassius was a friend of his. Cf. Thompson (1947) 70. Also it was a sign of impiety to become angry towards the gods, and when Julian *exclamavit indignatus* and swore to reject Mars, this was an element of hubris that no conscientious pagan could morally support. Consequently, Julian died from a spear thrown during a battle with the Persians. Surely by rejecting the very god who should have protected him, this was the ultimate twist of fate for an emperor who sought to bring back the traditional religions in this period of burgeoning Christianity. On the resistance to Julian's religious reforms in the military, see Woods (1997) 283f.

<sup>159</sup> "At any hint of an encroachment upon his authority, the emperor's (Constantius') harsh and irritable temper, prone in any case to entertain baseless suspicions, was further excited by the flattery of his bloodthirsty courtiers; they magnified every incident and pretended to feel unbounded grief at the dangers threatening the safety of a sovereign, on the thread of whose life, as they hypocritically declared, the fate of the whole world hung." Cf. Cic. *Flac.* 87: "*iracundiae occultae, blanditiae apertae*"; Plaut. *Truc.* 22: "*quot illic blanditiae, quot illic iracundiae sunt.*" Cf. 20.8.8.

<sup>160</sup> Ammianus reports that it was pressure from these court intrigues that forced Silvanus to seize power for himself, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 28.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Kelly (2004) 220.

## CONCLUSION

Ammianus was a concerned moralist and his judgements and prejudices shape and form his accounts of all five imperial figures discussed in this chapter. Nevertheless, although a thoroughgoing conservative and one who favoured moderation (29.2.19),<sup>162</sup> the historian does accept “ruthlessness and cruelty as inevitable”.<sup>163</sup> His language often takes a neutral and matter of fact tone in which he simply presents details without making a judgement. In this period of increasing pressure on the empire, what Ammianus was looking for was a strong military emperor<sup>164</sup> and when this was perceived in Julian, he received much praise from the historian, and therefore in his obituary, Ammianus designates Julian as “*scientia rei militaris*” (25.4.11). Although, Valentinian too, was a very good general, he however does not receive the praise he deserved for his exploits.<sup>165</sup> Constantius was said to be successful only in civil wars, but the historian does record victories against foreign enemies during his reign (e.g. 14.10.16, 15.4.13).<sup>166</sup> What Ammianus is critical of is his moderation, and the attitude he held of only fighting when all else failed (14.10.11ff.).<sup>167</sup> When Constantius was successful on the Rhine, Ammianus takes a more neutral viewpoint, as the emperor could be seen “as in direct competition for glory with Julian”.<sup>168</sup> It seems that what Ammianus desired most of all was a reform of the military:

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<sup>162</sup> “It was the moderation of his age that, says Ammianus, gave him the courage to write the last dozen years of his history, and his admiration of moderation and detestation of excess are perhaps the most fundamental principles that determine his judgements of men and their behaviour (28.1.2)”, Seager (1986) 1.

<sup>163</sup> Momigliano (1977) 136.

<sup>164</sup> Wilshire (1973) 224.

<sup>165</sup> “The sharp contrast in evaluation between his achievements in the field of frontier reinforcement, which are highly praised, and his performance in battle and negotiation, which is never much applauded and more than once held up to ridicule”, Seager (1999) 599. And Drinkwater (1999) 128 writes, “Despite his ability to command significant concentrations of military might, he embarked on no campaigns deep into the former *Agri Decumates* or beyond: he was no Maximinus Thrax, and no Julian”. Ammianus at 30.5.3 writes of Valentinian that, “It was in fact his way to show great severity in punishing the rank and file, but to be more lenient towards persons of high rank, even when they deserved a severe reprimand”. Valens was said to have cared for all ranks of the army, see Jones (1964) 148f. For the fortifications and defences of Valentinian and Valens, see Curta (2005) 180.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Blockley (1989) 465-490. This judgement came primarily from his failings against the Persians.

<sup>167</sup> See also Seager (1999) 586.

<sup>168</sup> Seager (1999) 587. Constantius was chiefly concerned with achieving peace, cf. 21.13.14. According to Thompson’s inquiry (1943) 302-315 into Gallus, Ammianus also deliberately suppressed any potential claim to military success the young Caesar achieved, e.g. against the Isaurians in 14.2 and the uprising of the Jews in Diocaesarea, “With regard to Gallus’ military qualities, then, Ammianus gives us two slighting references and conceals the fact that the Caesar, despite his complete inexperience, could act with energy and effectiveness when the occasion demanded”. Nevertheless, although Ammianus downplays the roles of the other emperors and Caesars in his accounts, that is not to say that Julian’s achievements were exaggerated, or not otherwise deserved.



During this time, when the barriers of our frontiers were unlocked and the realm of savagery was spreading far and wide, columns of armed men (Goths) advanced like glowing ashes from Aetna, when our difficulties and imminent dangers called for military reformers who were most distinguished for the fame of their exploits...<sup>169</sup>

(31.4.9)

In the extant books of the *Res Gestae* several imperial figures lost their lives, i.e. Gallus, Julian, Valentinian and Valens.<sup>170</sup> These individuals all found death directly or indirectly through their intemperance, whereas only Constantius died of illness.<sup>171</sup> From the *Res Gestae*, we can see how emotionally charged were events of this period, and how different individuals responded to various real or supposed threats, and how these four individuals died subjected to various degrees of emotional involvement. If the success of an emperor can be measured by the length of his reign, then it is Constantius II who wins out, his reign lasting from 337 to 361. His time as sovereign helped stabilise the empire against many external threats, but he was so exceedingly concerned about internal ones that he was increasingly hesitant about making his cousins Caesars. Suspicion and doubts dominated many of these reigns, and Constantius was extremely prone to coercion by his flatterers. It was only through sheer fortune that the emperor died before he could destroy Julian and his Gallic armies. Most readers will judge from Ammianus' obituary of Constantius that he was in no way the great tyrant that Ammianus had earlier made him out to be, although clearly he did possess some flaws, as did all the rulers, including Julian.<sup>172</sup>

From the first, Ammianus is deliberately engaging his audience, instructing them on how he honestly thought princes should behave, and once we untwist the knots we can see that even his most favoured characters fall to destruction once they succumb to emotions, such as suspicion, fear, and anger. This is apparent in the downfall of his first great hero, the general Ursicinus, who made an angry speech against the rule of Constantius, and consequently, when the emperor heard of this, he also became furious and demoted the officer. For Julian, his increasing anger and indignation made him take risks, and when he ran into battle without his breastplate his fate was sealed (although facts other than anger were also at play here). Thus Ammianus' second and final hero met his fate, which can also be seen as the climax of passion. Valentinian died famously of apoplexy, brought on by a fit of rage against the envoys of the Quadi who sparked his notions of outrage and indignation. His death was a warning to all rulers who came after him that the lack of control of emotions was potentially fatal. The *Res Gestae* ends with the death of Valens at the Battle of Adrianople, who, rather than waiting for support from Gratian, sought to achieve glory by engaging the Goths (as well as with the added impetus of anger/jealousy of the achievements of others), but died as a result.<sup>173</sup> Ammianus regarded

<sup>169</sup> Scholars see this as a call for Theodosius, cf. Wilshire (1973) 225.

<sup>170</sup> The emperor Jovian also died in the narrative of Ammianus, but it is not possible to say that his death was due to his own emotional state. Rather the suspicion is that he was poisoned deliberately or accidentally on February 17, 364, after a reign of only eight months.

<sup>171</sup> Brandt (1999) 171.

<sup>172</sup> "Constantius as a ruler had solid virtues as well as obvious faults. And since Ammianus has not seen fit to illustrate the former in the way in which he has dwelt upon the latter, it is hard to resist the conclusion that he has allowed his prejudice against Constantius to affect his objectivity", Blockley (1975) 41.

<sup>173</sup> One report was that Valens was burned alive as he hid in a farmhouse. Of this Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 9.10.365) writes, "By the just judgement of God Himself, Valens was burned alive by the very men who, through his action, will burn hereafter for their heresy". Cf. Zos. 4.20-24. Most of his baggage train was also captured, Cameron (1993) 116. On Valens' motives for engaging the Goths, see Burns (1994) 29.

the Emperor Valens in the same manner as the common soldiery, and described him as having *subagreste ingenium* (31.14.8).<sup>174</sup> Ammianus is as harsh in his criticisms of the emperor as he is with his brother Valentinian. Yet it *was* anger and foolhardiness that killed them both, and about these details, the historian is rarely questioned. Ammianus speaks to his audience and addresses the current rule with the knowledge that controlling anger is an important factor (other factors include luck and genetics ) in securing a long and memorable reign. One emperor came and offered Ammianus hope, but all too soon his life was snuffed out, and no one else could come close to fulfilling Ammianus' desires for a renewal of the traditional Roman Empire.

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<sup>174</sup> Cf. Matthews (1983) 30. Ammianus also described the praetorian prefect Modestus, whose lack of refinement meant that he did not read the classical authors, in the same manner, *subagreste ingenium, nullis vestustatis lectionibus expolitur*; 30.4.2.

## 4. ANGER AND THE URBAN POPULACE IN THE *RES GESTAE*

*Again, that is faulty which presents a banal defence, as follows: "He was led into crime by anger — or youth — or love." For if excuses of this sort are admitted, the greatest crimes will escape unpunished.*

(Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 2.25/39, tr. H. Caplan)

### INTRODUCTION

For a man born outside the pomerium of Rome, it is remarkable how much Ammianus applauds the ideals of the Eternal City, and how much he desires to be accepted within her walls.<sup>1</sup> It is also notable how often Ammianus returns to *Roma Aeterna*, and mentions regularly the city prefects and the dramas which befall them, in order to keep Rome central to his narrative.<sup>2</sup> Ammianus understood the pressures of the big city, how heated things could become in a crisis and how dangerous it was for those officials who were caught in the middle,<sup>3</sup> especially as Rome in the fourth century was demilitarised, and outbreaks of urban violence apparently increased.<sup>4</sup> With no police force or military backup,<sup>5</sup> the prefects were forced to deal with the anger of the crowds in a very restricted manner, and often their only option was to flee or die, leading the Bishop Ambrose (*Ep.* 40.13) in 388 to make this statement: "Do you remember, O Emperor, how many homes of prefects at Rome have been burned, and no one exacted punishment?"<sup>6</sup> Ammianus himself appeared concerned with the Stoic principle of respect for the human being,<sup>7</sup> and disapproved of the oppression of the masses by those in positions of power – which is interesting in view of his obvious contempt otherwise. The historian also recognised problems in cities other than Rome, essentially in cities governed by Roman administration. All these urban centres suffered from the pressures of taxation, food supply and even events surrounding the elections and conduct of bishops and other ecclesiastical figures. In the fourth century the divide between rich and poor was far more significant than that of the first century, as senators now were on average, five times richer than their predecessors. Taxation had increased three-fold from the first century by 350 and farmers were taxed more than one third of their produce.<sup>8</sup> This therefore would affect market gardeners living near or in towns and cities.

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<sup>1</sup> For Ammianus' personal experiences in Rome, see Thompson (1942) 130-134; Cameron (1964) 5-28; Kohns (1975) 485-491. For his experiences in Rome as a rhetorical construction, see Pack (1953b) 181-189; Fontaine (1968) 205, n.42.

<sup>2</sup> Paschoud (1967) 59-60; Hunt (1985) 189.

<sup>3</sup> See Rowell (1964) 261-313 for Ammianus' conception of the problems facing the Empire in the fourth century and the importance of the officials who administered during this period.

<sup>4</sup> Africa (1971) 19, "Because the troops in the capital had backed his rival, Maxentius, the victorious Constantine disbanded both the Praetorians and the urban cohorts and did not replace them with a military force". The *vigiles* seem to have also been dissolved, Sinnigen (1957) 92-93; MacMullen (1966) 164 and note.

<sup>5</sup> From the reign of Constantine onwards, it was the agents of the offices of the urban prefect who maintained order during the day, Lançon (2000) 46. The tribunate of the plebs had disappeared from the *cursus honorum* during the third century, 53.

<sup>6</sup> As quoted in Africa (1971) 19.

<sup>7</sup> Sabbah (2003) 75.

<sup>8</sup> Brown (1971) 34f. See also Garnsey & Humfress (2001) 108 for the pressures on the rural populations. However, what our sources reveal is that Constantinople had a better system of supply and distribution than Rome did and therefore fewer shortages are recorded for the former than the latter. The answer to

When we are looking at the portrayals by Ammianus of the urban populace, “We must never forget that for Ammianus, however honourable and able he might be, history did not appear as a science but as an art”.<sup>9</sup> Ammianus admired moderation and detested excess – again another ethical convention.<sup>10</sup> He was bound by these principles to portray those who showed moderation as virtuous, whilst those who displayed excess with disdain. In this way, “Ammianus emerges as a rather skilful writer who was prepared to take liberties with the truth both for artistic and for personal motives”.<sup>11</sup> As such, Ammianus could present characters and events in a matter of fact way that could seem impartial at a glimpse, but when we unfold the layers, we soon reveal the (complexities of) bias that permeate these scenes involving the social orders.<sup>12</sup>

Although Ammianus is generally thought to have had friends amongst the Roman aristocracy,<sup>13</sup> he nevertheless despised the excess displayed by the some of these elites. Ammianus was well read and cultivated,<sup>14</sup> and had the mindset of an elitist, and his deep conservatism penetrated into his accounts of the upper, learned classes. For he writes:

Some of them hate learning as they do poison, and read with attentive care only Juvenal and Marius Maximus,<sup>15</sup> in their boundless idleness handling no other books than these, for what reason it is not for my humble mind to judge. Whereas, considering the greatness of their fame and their parentage, they ought to pore over many and varied works...<sup>16</sup>

(28.4.14)

It is a mistake, however, to get caught up in the notion that Ammianus presented the poorer classes favourably in order to make those in power seem less respectable, as the following passage at 17.11.5 reveals on the vice-prefect of Rome, Artemius: “His administration was marked by some violent disturbances, but nothing occurred in it which is worth reporting”. Clearly the population were distressed, and yet it is barely worth mentioning by our historian. And further on he addressed his readers, informing them why he has left out events that concern the populace: “To them I can only say that not everything that happened among obscure individuals is worth relating” (*Non omnia narratu sunt digna, quae per squalidas transiere personas*, 28.1.15). As becomes apparent then:

Ammianus wishes he was not obliged to refer to the lower classes at all. He feels constrained to apologise for the excessive length at which he has to describe ‘nothing

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this lies in the fact that in the fourth century, Constantinople was regularly an imperial residence, whereas Rome was not, Garnsey & Humfress (2001) 112.

<sup>9</sup> Alföldi (1952) 3.

<sup>10</sup> See Seager (1986) 1.

<sup>11</sup> Blockley (1988) 246.

<sup>12</sup> However, such style and depth immerses his work that a modern historian could write, “Ammianus, who, I believe, should be put in the top rank of Roman historians”, Wilshire (1973) 222.

<sup>13</sup> Wytzes (1936) 34; Thompson (1942) 134; Jonge (1955) 101; Rolfe (1956) xiv; Chastagnol (1960) 12f.; Tränkle (1962) 26 f.; Momigliano (1963) 97.

<sup>14</sup> Williams (1997) 62.

<sup>15</sup> On Marius Maximus, see Rolfe (1939) xviii; Thompson (1947) 121; Kulikowski (2007) 244-256.

<sup>16</sup> Clearly these ‘many and varied works’ include Ammianus’ own *Res Gestae*, rather than the more popular authors, such as Juvenal and Marius Maximus, cf. Wilshire (1973) 226. Ammianus describes himself as a *scrupulosus lector*, and showed disdain for those who were not. The praetorian prefect Orfitus was, “*splendore liberalium doctrinarum minus quam nobilem decuerat institutus*”, 14.6.1.

except riots and taverns and other similar vulgarities', themes he evidently regards as below and beneath the elevated level appropriate to history...The fact is that he feels the strongest distaste for the enormous unprivileged sections of society... Their coarse behaviour disgusts him. (It) 'prevents anything memorable or serious from being done in Rome'.<sup>17</sup>

In this sense, Ammianus only with deep resignation presents his drama of human existence as unfurling like a colourful sail, decorated with all the rhetorical language he dare put forward. This comes across strongly in his description of the mass populace, especially those that depended on the state for much of their needs, and who were easily, or at least appeared to be, led by agitators (it was a common fiction of the elite to blame agitators for the anger of the masses, who would understandably become angry even if not led by rabble-rousers). Accounts of the lower classes are necessary in Ammianus' historical writings, no matter how much the historian despised this order, and how much he sought to dehumanise them with accounts of their mob mentality (a convention of historical writing), and their power that only came through collective unity.<sup>18</sup> However, it must be pointed out that the 'mob' was not composed of the dregs of society – the criminals and general no-goods, – the mob was in fact made up of the tradespeople, shopkeepers and general workers who felt that they were being unjustly treated.<sup>19</sup> This proportion of the urban population were the backbone of society, and as such provided the necessary labours, goods and services, not all of which slaves could provide, that ensured the smooth running of the cities. This class then could not be ignored.

However much Ammianus despised the common orders, what ironically he does in his history is to in fact give them a voice, finally. The plebeians had little say, were largely ignored and reviled by anyone who had a little wealth attached to them. This was apparent both inside the cities as well as in the countryside. It was in fact those residents of the countryside who provided for the big cities in the Later Roman Empire, rather than the emperor, and there was a dependence upon these large groups who provided a vital service for the Empire. Large landowners ideally looked after their tenants and controlled the extent of taxation, provided entertainments for them and protected them in times of unrest.<sup>20</sup> However, such was the abuse suffered by those outside of the city walls that Bishop Ambrose (*De Nabuthe* 5.21) reported: "I saw a poor man in the course of being forced to pay what he could not pay, and dragged off to jail because some great man's table lacked wine". For, "the Haves in the later empire often bore down very hard on the Have-nots".<sup>21</sup> In the fourth century, those that did give the plebeians a voice were in general the ecclesiastical order, who found a great deal of support in the less privileged classes. Of these, Basil of Caesarea (*Ep.* 18) was a strong advocate. Of magnates he said to his congregation "do not fear the threats of persons in power". The encouragement given by the men of the cloth to those who were poor and disadvantaged helped strengthen their unity and gave the Church a greater, more confident congregation. Holy men had a significant role in the late fourth century, arbitrating between the underprivileged and those that governed them.<sup>22</sup> Brown's interpretation gives us a revealing insight into why the Hellenistic-influenced Julian did not manage to make his reforms in Antioch:

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<sup>17</sup> Grant (1952) 376 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See Harris (2001) 246.

<sup>19</sup> Africa (1971) 4.

<sup>20</sup> Brown (1971) 37f.

<sup>21</sup> MacMullen (1988) 86. See also id. (1966) 182.

<sup>22</sup> Brown (1971) 96-103.

The Christian congregations of the 380s wanted a ‘Christian’ empire, purged of the heavy legacy of the gods, and ruled by an emperor who shared their prejudices against Jews, heretics and pagans. The emperors gave them their head. It was a cunning move on their part, for the towns of the later empire were jungles, under-policed and constantly threatened by famine and rioting.<sup>23</sup>

These features certainly would have led to the introduction, around 368 by the emperor Valentinian – himself a devout Christian – of the *defensores plebis* (the defenders of the plebeians), who were instructed in each city to protect the *populus* from abuse by those in power.<sup>24</sup> However, although the *defensores* may have provided inexpensive justice for the poor, it is unlikely that they actually prevented injustices committed against the plebeians.<sup>25</sup>

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**Table 4.1. Summary of anger words within the *Res Gestae* that deal specifically with the urban populaces of the Roman Empire**

Book	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
Book	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
<b>Total 10</b>									

In light of the instances recorded in table 4.1, it is interesting to consider the context in which the accounts of the populace of the Roman Empire are found. The first specific instances of the anger of the populace begin in books fourteen and fifteen of the *Res Gestae*, then there is one in book nineteen and four in book twenty-two (which all deal with the same instance), and then finally three in books twenty-seven. Therefore, for the entire urban populations, Ammianus only records specific anger, with causes, consequences and manifestations, only ten times. When Ammianus does portray the emotions in the poor, it is as a drama on the tragic scale:

Ammianus’ treatment of these emotions (pity, fear and horror) tends, like his emphasis upon the strange, to degenerate at times into melodrama of the type censured by Polybius and Lucian.<sup>26</sup> When the urban prefect of Rome, Tertullus,<sup>27</sup> was threatened by a mob which was angry because of an unavoidable shortage of supplies, in a tearful and pathetic speech he offered his infant son as a sacrifice to their unjustified resentment and

<sup>23</sup> Brown (1971) 104.

<sup>24</sup> Jones (1964) 144f; Lançon (2000) 83.

<sup>25</sup> Jones (1966) 65. For scholarship on the *defensor civitatis*, see Frakes, (1994) 337, n.2. Frakes does not agree with the traditional view that Valentinian created the office of *defensor*, but that it probably was introduced around 319 to check corruption and to give justice to the poor.

<sup>26</sup> Polyb. 2.56.6-12; Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 25-26.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Africa (1971) 20. “Constantius seems to have made a harsh demand on the prefect by ordering him to repay to the wine fund the shortages created by Orfitus”, Edbrooke (1976) 53. Cf. Symmachus, *Relat.* 34.5.

restored calm by shaming the rioters (19.10).<sup>28</sup> In another passage Ammianus describes the anguish when the people of Nisibis were driven from their city at the order of the Emperor Jovian: “The walls echoed with grief and lamentations, and in every part of the city all raised a universal groan. The people wept as they clung to the doors and thresholds of their homes. Women were sent into exile away from the houses in which they had been born and reared. Wives who had lost a husband or children were driven far from the graves of the dead” (25.9.5). An apostrophe to cruel fortune follows in the same vein.<sup>29</sup>

In spite of his misgivings, the common people are sometimes presented with having cause to riot, occasionally when a prefect or a bishop goes bad or when, as in the period of the Emperor Julian’s reign, non-Christians were allowed to regain property previously taken by the Church.<sup>30</sup> Although their vengeance was often cruel, other sources suggest it was not unusual<sup>31</sup> and as with the cruel punishments that the emperors meted out, harsh measures were typical for these times. These measures were necessarily incorporated into this non-policed, semi-self-help society that found exemplary punishment a must. However, this also reveals the pressures that city officials were being increasingly put under, for when the state sanctioned violence<sup>32</sup> the prefects were not always on the side being supported in the literature by Ammianus.

This chapter deals with why it was necessary for the historian to discuss “public disorders and other such vulgarities” (14.6.2). As Ammianus is not writing for these lower orders, but purely for the mostly literate upper orders, then he was not bound to flatter the common people who, in all likelihood, would never even hear of his *Res Gestae*. However, riots added colour and drama to history, and the populace were the often the driving force and victims of these events.

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<sup>28</sup> Certainly this was an act of cowardice, rather than attempt to cause shame in the rioters. Indeed, rather than that, Tertullus brought shame onto himself. Ammianus’ tone here is neutral, and in no way does he condemn the contemptible actions of the prefect.

<sup>29</sup> Blockley (1975) 71. Cf. e.g. A.M. 18.8.14; 19.6.2; 21.6.7-8.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Lib. *Ep.* 1364, where he records details of a letter to Gaianus, the governor of Phoenicia that there was an enormous amount of legal action pending to restore land and other items.

<sup>31</sup> For example, at Heliopolis, a mob killed the deacon Cyril, as they felt he was accountable for the destruction of many idols there during the reign of Constantine, Thdt. *HE* 3.3. In another instance, which may be atrocity propaganda, but still helps illustrate the point, a mob stripped bare a group of nuns, shamed them and then slit their stomachs and fed them to pigs, Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.10. See Woods (2000) 702f, for further examples.

<sup>32</sup> Woods (2000) 703.

## THE CAUSES OF ANGER AND THE URBAN POPULACE

### Summary of the Causes of Anger and the Urban Populace

Cause of Anger	Reference
Outrage	14.7.6, 15.7.3, 19.10.2, 22.11.3, 22.11.5, 22.11.8, 22.11.10, 27.3.10, 27.3.13
<b>Total 9</b>	

In the late fourth century, for many citizens within urban centres, any mismanagement of administration could soon see them lacking the basic necessities of life, and the only voice they had to raise the alarm and demand assistance was a collective one since, as individuals, they lacked the influence and power that a united people allowed. Often when these collective groups emerged, they were united in their anger and belligerence. Ammianus portrays these mobs as openly aggressive and very dangerous. However, he does not incorporate the wild animal imagery that was so prevalent in his accounts of barbarians, for these groups were, after all, mostly Roman, and were portrayed according to the ideals of Ammianus, encompassing Roman modes of behaviour.

#### Unjust Conditions as a Cause of Anger

The power of the unified mob is revealed in the examples given below:

Auxerunt haec vulgi sordidioris audaciam; et cum ingravesceret penuria commeatum, *famis et furoris impulsu* Eubuli cuiusdam inter suos clari domum ambitiosam ignibus subditis inflammavit rectoremque ut sibi iudicio imperiali addictum calcibus incessens et pugnis conculcans seminecem laniatu miserando discerpsit. Post cuius lacrimosum interitum in unius exitio quisque<sup>33</sup> imaginem periculi sui considerans documento recenti similia formidabat.<sup>34</sup>

(14.7.6)

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Diebusque paucis secutis cum itidem plebs excita calore, quo consuevit, vini causando inopiam ad Septemzodium venisset, celebrem locum, ubi operis ambitiosi Nymphaeum Marcus condidit imperator, illuc de industria pergens praefectus ab omni toga apparitioneque rogabatur enixius, ne in multitudinem se arrogantem immitteret et

<sup>33</sup> *Quisque* perhaps refers to other magnates, who feared similar repercussions from the mob, but it is not clear whether there were any.

<sup>34</sup> "This increased the boldness of the rabble; maddened with hunger as the shortage of provisions grew worse, they set fire to the grand house of one Eubulus, who enjoyed a great reputation among his fellows, and treated the governor as a man delivered over to them by imperial decree; they belaboured him with feet and fists till he was half dead, and then finished the wretched man off by tearing him in pieces. After this deplorable murder everyone saw in the destruction of this one man a model of the danger in which he stood, and feared that this recent example portended a similar fate for himself."



*minacem ex commotione pristina saevientem.* (Difficilis ad pavorem recte tetendit adeo, ut eum obsequen) ... desereret licet in periculum festinantem abruptum.<sup>35</sup>

(15.7.3)

The passages given above refer to the angst created when the urban populace felt that the officials in charge were not supplying the provisions they required, and as a consequence they vented their rage through violence and threats.<sup>36</sup> In the first passage in 354 (14.7.6) the citizens of Antioch besought the Caesar Gallus to provide them with the necessities of life, however, he appeared to do nothing to help them, and instead handed them Theophilus, the governor of Syria, telling them that no one would lack provisions unless *he* wanted it so.<sup>37</sup> This further infuriated the mob as their requests were still not being met, but simply delayed and handed over to someone else.<sup>38</sup> Here the historian brings much emotive language to distance himself and his audience from the monstrous actions of the multitude, as in their distress they tore Theophilus to pieces in the hippodrome (Lib. *Or.* 19.47), and then burnt the house of Eubulus, a wealthy man.<sup>39</sup> It has been suggested that Eubulus was “doubtless the ringleader in engineering the famine”,<sup>40</sup> so that he could sell his own provisions at inflated prices. According to Julian’s *Misopogon*, when the people of Antioch killed Theophilus, Julian regretted the outrage, but also felt that the anger of the populace against the senate was justified.<sup>41</sup> Corruption amongst officials was one of the leading complaints of the urban poor, as they were the least able to defend themselves, and in extreme cases such as these the people often had just cause for venting their frustrations.<sup>42</sup> This could reasonably fit in with the factors of anger in the Introduction, “(1) a desire to blame individuals, (2) tendencies to overlook mitigating details before attributing blame, (3) tendencies to perceive ambiguous behaviour as hostile, (4) tendencies to discount the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality”, as the mob were attributing blame, where other factors could be involved which were overlooked.

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<sup>35</sup> “A few days later the mob rioted again with its habitual violence over an alleged shortage of wine, and collected at a much-frequented spot called the Septemzodium, where the emperor Marcus built a Nymphaeum in a pretentious style. The prefect deliberately made his way to this place, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his civil and military attendants not to expose himself to an insolent and threatening crowd, still seething from the excitement of the previous incident. He was a hard man to frighten and kept straight on, with the result that part of his escort abandoned him, although he was running into manifest danger.”

<sup>36</sup> For a good survey on urban violence in Rome during the principate, see Africa (1971) 3-21.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Potter (2004) 475.

<sup>38</sup> However, see the interpretation of this episode by Garnsey & Humfress (2001) 120, who saw that Gallus had in fact put public before private interests. Gallus had charged the senate with profiteering and ordered prices to be lowered. They refused, “replying more vigorously than was fitting”. Later Gallus gave them Theophilus, who Garnsey conjectures may have been colluding with the council leaders. Thus Gallus let the mob take their vengeance upon governor of Syria. This does seem a reasonable interpretation of events. Ammianus of course makes Gallus out to be the chief offender in these events, and it is of course Ammianus’ viewpoint that is the subject of this analysis.

<sup>39</sup> In 375 the Roman mob also burnt the house in Trastevere of the former prefect Symmachus the Elder. He was no longer a prefect, but he was a landowner and such he was recorded as saying, “he would rather use his wine to quench lime-kilns than sell it at the reduced price that the people hoped for”, 27.3.3-4. For this episode, see Lançon (2000) 118.

<sup>40</sup> Thompson (1943) n.9. Cf. Julian, *Mis.* 370 C; Lib. *Or.* 1.103.

<sup>41</sup> Thompson (1947) 62.

<sup>42</sup> For further examples of “mob weapons”, see MacMullen (1966) 344 n.19.

### Faction Induced Anger

It was not only food and wine shortages that induced the crowds to rage against their leaders. Anger was also the direct result of power struggles:

Constatque in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum *efferatamque diu plebem* aegre postea delenitam.<sup>43</sup>

(27.3.13)

Ammianus describes the above event in Rome with a definite leaning towards the behaviour of the higher officials, rather than in supporting the rioting of the mob, most of whom were Christians. Appointed *praefectus urbi* in 365 was Viventius, whom Ammianus (27.3.11) describes as “an upright and wise Pannonian”,<sup>44</sup> something that he certainly does not do for Viventius’ countrymen, the emperors Valentinian and Valens<sup>45</sup> – although he was perhaps consciously making a contrasting point. His rule as prefect was relatively peaceful until he had to deal with bloody conflicts within the ranks of Christians, as Damasus<sup>46</sup> and Ursinus both tried to claim the bishopric left vacant by the popular Leontius.<sup>47</sup> As the two men competed for the see, violence broke out between the supporters of each party. The causes of anger here fit in with anger determinants, “(1) a response to an accumulation of stress” and “(6) a learnt response to certain situations”, where there is indications that this matter was exacerbated by a response to an accumulation of stress and a learnt response to certain stimuli. Damasus and his followers stormed the basilica in Trastevere after Ursinus was consecrated bishop. After three days of violence and much bloodshed, he took the building.<sup>48</sup> The disturbance became so vicious that in one day in October 366, one hundred and thirty seven Christians were found dead in the basilica of Sicininus. It is an example of how strong the will of the mob could be, for Ammianus tells us that the prefect Viventius could not check this escalation of violence and was forced instead to retire to the safety of the suburbs. In fact, “The dispute between Damasus and Ursinus had led to the most serious outbreak of Christian violence at Rome since the persecutions”.<sup>49</sup>

To further attest to the understanding that Ammianus did not support the anger of the mob, or the behaviour of their ringleaders, the historian compares the ostentation of bishops of the city to those who live frugally in the countryside, and this is certainly a moral comment on the behaviour of those who lived within the city and is directed not only at Christians, but at

<sup>43</sup> “It is certain that in the basilica of Sicininus, where the Christians assemble for worship, 137 corpses were found on a single day, and it was only with difficulty that the long-continued fury of the people was later brought under control.”

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Barnes (1998) 114.

<sup>45</sup> Previously, as *quaestor sacri palatii* in 364, Viventius had conducted an examination into the supporters of Julian who had been suspected of using magic to make Valentinian and Valens ill, 26.4.4.

<sup>46</sup> The final victory of Damasus to the papal throne can be attributed to the rich noble clans, not necessarily Christians, who possibly saw him as easily manipulated and thus advantageous to political scheming, see Ruggini (2003) 373. Cf. Lippold (1965) 105-128; Curran (2000) 137-142.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 421.

<sup>48</sup> Curran (2000) 139.

<sup>49</sup> Curran (2000) 142. These riots were only quelled when the *praefectus urbi* Vettius Agorius Praetextatus exiled Ursinus, producing profound peace. See Barnes (1998) 115. As Jones (1964) 151 relates, Praetextatus, in criticising the institution of bishops, used to say to Damasus in jest, “Make me bishop of Rome and I’ll be a Christian tomorrow”.

pagans as well (27.3.14-15).<sup>50</sup> What this does is to help illustrate the importance of retaining the favour of the Roman mob for political manoeuvrings, for the Christian clergy had a good deal of political sway in this period (at least amongst the Christian population).<sup>51</sup>

### **Insult as a Cause of Anger**

One episode that invoked the rage of the population of Alexandria occurred on 24 December 361 (22.11.3f), which led to the death of bishop Georgius along with two imperial officials.<sup>52</sup> This episode was a direct result of the anti-pagan sentiments of these three men, for Georgius refused to hand over a *mithraeum* on which a church was being built (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.2.1-10). He had also allegedly turned informer against members of the populace for a variety of reasons pertaining to treason against the emperor Constantius.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the bishop had further infuriated members of the population through his decision to have pagan temples removed from the city.<sup>54</sup> Of the officials, Dracontius, the superintendent of the mint, overthrew a pagan altar and Diodorus, an honorary count, cut the curls of some boys, believing it a fashion of pagan worship. The response of the Alexandrians was to kill the three men, mutilate then burn the bodies and throw them into the sea to prevent relic hunting. This episode is not strictly confined to placing blame on pagans in their response against the increasing influence of Christianity within Alexandria, for Ammianus writes that: “the whole population (had) been inflamed by universal hatred of Georgius” (*Georgi odio omnes indiscrete flagrabant*, 22.11.10). This then implies that Christians also participated in the murders (one supposes that Georgius had also implicated Christians when he made these accusations to Constantius).<sup>55</sup> Whatever the case, the “mob mentality” brought the population, both Christian and pagan, together in their fury against injustice, in their uprising against the oppressive minority in power. This relates therefore to factors of anger, “(1) a desire to blame individuals” and “(3) tendencies to perceive ambiguous behaviour as hostile”. Also determinants of anger, “(2) a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment” and “(3) a response to righteous indignation”.

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. Hunt (1985) 191.

<sup>51</sup> For the prestige the Roman see had along with the wealth attached, see Jones (1964) 150f.

<sup>52</sup> According to Jones (1964) 121-122, the lynching of Georgius was a reaction to Julian’s change of policy that enforced religious toleration.

<sup>53</sup> For further episodes of Constantius listening to informers, see 14.1.10; 14.7.9; 15.3.5; 18.3.6; 18.4.4, etc. See also Zos. 2.55; Philost. 3.28, 4.1, Joh. Monachus, 15.

<sup>54</sup> Curran (2000) 195 suggests that the anger of the Alexandrians reflects the freer religious policies of Julian.

<sup>55</sup> Hunt (1985) 192.

## PRIMARY RESPONSES TO ANGER IN THE ROMAN POPULACE

### *Summary of Primary Responses*

Manifestation of Anger	Reference
Gnashing and grinding of the teeth	22.11.8
Verbal threats	15.7.3
<b>Total 2</b>	

As one would expect, there are only a limited number of primary responses to anger given by Ammianus in regards to the populations of the Roman Empire, and as with other groups previously discussed (Roman military, Persians, barbarians), these are said to be exhibited collectively. This is essential, for the historian would have little cause to describe separate details. On top of this, these primary responses give the audience the sense that as a united group the *populus* were able to show their anger as a force, as opposed to only a few standing out – see the Peter Valvomeres episode below.

#### **Verbal Threats as a Primary Response**

In Ammianus' time, as in the time of Tacitus, the large majority of the urban population were poor. The wealthiest were the patrons with their dependents, then beneath them were the shop owners, tradesmen, many labourers, and at the bottom of the scale were the urban poor, and of course the beggars and homeless. For many labourers their work was seasonal, such as those on the shipyards, and so in the off-season these needed help to support themselves. In the fourth century, the poor were supported by public grants and religious charity. Large handouts on behalf of the church to the poor were occurring on a large scale already in Antioch in this century.<sup>56</sup> These handouts may have encouraged poor from the countryside to move into the large urban centres.<sup>57</sup> This influx led the rhetorician Libanius (*Or.* 41.11) to complain of the arrival of people with no homes, no employment, no family ties and nothing to do but make trouble. The poor had no real means of supporting themselves if the provisions were removed from them and they had no work to fall back on. The following episode demonstrates these hazards:

<sup>56</sup> Cameron (1993) 106, 177. For an overview of the needs of the poor in urban centres, see Garnsey & Humfress (2001) 126f.

<sup>57</sup> As well as the natural flow towards cities, for cities have always been magnets. There was nothing new about immigration. A higher death toll in the cities meant that numbers needed to be kept up.

Diebusque paucis secutis cum itidem plebs excita calore, quo consuevit, vini causando inopiam ad Septemzodium convenisset, celebrem locum, ubi operis ambitiosi Nymphaeum Marcus condidit imperator, illuc de industria pergens praefectus ab omni toga apparitioneque rogabatur enixius, ne in multitudinem se adrogantem inmitteret et *minacem ex commotione pristina saevientem*. Difficilis ad pavorem recte tetendit adeo, ut eum obsequen ... desereret licet in periculum festinantem abruptum.<sup>58</sup>

(15.7.3)

Here we have the comment by Ammianus that Leontius<sup>59</sup> faced “an insolent and threatening crowd”, and that this violence displayed by the mob was “habitual”. Clearly “habitual” here refers to the previous incident (15.7.2), in which Leontius quelled a riot in the city and ordering the leaders to be seized, then tortured and condemned to exile then and there. This reveals the pressures that both parties had to endure and Ammianus is not making an undue criticism of either side, which he does on other occasions, although “habitual violence” does suggest a negative implication here. The urban prefects were vital in the fourth century:

With variations depending on the behaviour of the holder of office, the tendency in the fourth century was for the urban prefect to gain more powers and simultaneously to have these powers limited to a smaller area. The growth of power in this office stemmed from the prefect’s representation of the emperors who no longer resided in the city.<sup>60</sup>

This put prefects such as Leontius in an often-precarious position. Though Ammianus admires his bravery, it was sometimes beyond the prefect’s control when things went amiss and the population suffered from shortages. The prefects had to face the wrath of the people, which the emperors were, for the most part, separated from. Leontius placed his life into the mob’s hands here.

The poor must necessarily play their part, and throughout Roman historical portrayals are inevitably presented as a group rather than individuals. As stated above, it is not until the advent of Christian sources that the poor begin to come to the fore, for they provided the bulwark of the congregations and through appealing to the masses, the bishops enhanced their own positions.<sup>61</sup> As ever, the poor were presented as using violence in order to gain a voice for themselves. The rioting of crowds within Rome when complaining of shortages and other matter had a long and turbulent history.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> “A few days later the mob rioted again with its habitual violence over an alleged shortage of wine, and collected at a much-frequented spot called the Septemzodium, where the emperor Marcus built a Nymphaeum in a pretentious style. The prefect deliberately made his way to this place, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his civil and military attendants not to expose himself to an insolent and threatening crowd, still seething from the excitement of the previous incident. He was a hard man to frighten and kept straight on, with the result that part of his escort abandoned him, although he was running into manifest danger.”

<sup>59</sup> See *PLRE* Leontius 22, 1.503. Flavius Leontius may have been *comes Orientis* in 349. He was *quaestor sacri palatii* for Gallus in 354 and prefect of the city of Rome in 355-356, Edbrooke (1976) 43.

<sup>60</sup> Edbrooke (1976) 54. For the *praefectus urbi*, see Jones (1964) 689ff.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Cameron (1993) 130.

<sup>62</sup> See MacMullen (1966) Appendix A, for a collection of recorded instances of famines in the Roman Empire (not all urban).

### Gnashing and Grinding of the Teeth as a Response to Anger

Following on from the episode further above with the Alexandrians, Ammianus describes the following:

Ecce autem repente perlato laetabili nuntio indicante exstinctum Artemium plebs omnis elata gaudio insperato vocibus horrendis *infrendens* Georgium petit raptumque diversis mulcandi generibus proterens et conculcans divaricatis ... pedibus.<sup>63</sup>

(22.11.8)

In this episode that has been described as “appalling behaviour”, Ammianus does not hold back on his description of the delight the entire population felt at the destruction of the outspoken and hated bishop Georgius. Their anger was said to be manifested through the grinding of their teeth. It was common knowledge that Georgius was universally hated, and this explains any lack of sympathy on the part of the author, not just for Georgius’ Christianity or anti-paganism, but also more explicitly for being an unscrupulous individual who informed on others. Therefore:

Though by no means identical, the reports of the events in the church historians Socrates (*HE* 3.2.10) and Sozomenus (*HE* 5.7.3) are similar: George was put on a camel by the mob, driven through the city, badly maltreated and finally burned to death. The *Historia Acephala* reports that George and one of his companions were lynched and that their bodies were disfigured and burned afterwards (2.10).<sup>64</sup>

Georgius of Cappadocia was murdered on 24 December 361 by the rioting mob in Alexandria, but this outbreak of violence was not purely religiously motivated.<sup>65</sup> In the *Historia Acephala* we discover that the attack on Georgius was caused by the news of the death of Constantius, who had given Georgius the see of Alexandria. Ammianus misplaces this episode to a year later, and reports that it was Constantius, not Julian, who had to be talked out of reprisals against the citizens of Antioch.<sup>66</sup> Although it is quite obvious that the bishop had aroused the rage of the Alexandrians because of his harsh measures against pagans within the city, it was further measures that prompted the population into committing murder. Georgius was corrupt and immoral in that he was self-serving at the expense of the populace. As Ammianus reveals, he supposedly conspired with Constantius against the people. Both Christians and pagans turned against him, for he targeted both groups in his conspiracies. The bishop also enhanced the corrosion of the relationship between Christians and pagans in Alexandria. He did this by putting into practice Constantius’ enforcements against paganism.<sup>67</sup> This adds to Ammianus’ previously

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<sup>63</sup> “Suddenly there arrived the glad tidings that Artemius was no more. The whole population went wild with joy at this unexpected piece of good news, grinding their teeth and uttering fearful outcries, they fell upon Georgius, beat him about, trampled on him, and finally spread-eagled him and finished him off.”

<sup>64</sup> Boeft & Bremmer (1995) 157.

<sup>65</sup> Hahn (2004) 66-77.

<sup>66</sup> Hunt (1985) 192. Confusion arises out of the dating of this episode, for Hunt asserts that the date of this episode is established from the *Historia Acephala*, 2.10, a chronicle of the life of Athanasius, which makes it occur in 361, and is supported by Barnes (1998) 38 n.13. However, as it is in the narrative of 363, in the *Res Gestae*, a year earlier makes it 362. Indeed, more confusion arises, when we realise that Ammianus places the death of Georgius as resulting from the execution of Artemius; however, as Barlow and Brennan (2001) 243f., point out, Artemius was not killed until the winter of 362/363. Therefore it is likely that Georgius was not killed until a later date and that Ammianus is incorrect in his chronology.

<sup>67</sup> Hahn (2004) 66-77.

discussed condemnation of the emperor Constantius, who was only too willing to listen to the rumours spread by men like Georgius, individuals who purportedly were only out to further their own cause.

To bring out these manifestations in each anger episode would be to dwell too much on the obvious, and we are only given a select few by Ammianus that are necessary to frame anger and show it in its most banal form. By using terms such as *horrendis* at 22.11.8, we are presented with emotion in its most primitive form, stripping it raw and leaving nothing to protect the audience from the horrors of what had occurred. The events at Alexandria were not unique, Christian leaders were not immune to violence against their person, no matter their elevation, but what Ammianus is trying to communicate is that those who were in such positions must behave according to their stations, and not abuse their power. For ultimately this led to the final judgement – this time from the combined populace of Alexandria, both Christian and pagan.

## SECONDARY RESPONSES TO ANGER IN THE ROMAN POPULACE

### *Summary of Secondary Responses*

Secondary Response	Reference
Attacks on property	27.3.10
General violence <sup>68</sup>	14.7.6, 27.3.13
Insolence and blame directed towards an official	15.7.3
The killing of high-ranking individuals	22.11.3-10
<b>Total 5</b>	

Ammianus wrote at length of the undercurrents of tension that permeated the empire during this period of the fourth century, much of which he had personal experience. What he presents us with is an essentially negative picture – although the responses are almost identical to the groups we have already looked at. The first response to anger within the safety of a collective is frequently one that involves violence, usually directed towards the cause of that anger, or if not available, their property and possessions. The anger of the mob was often short-lived, blazing ferociously until the fuel was consumed, and then dying out until the next incident occurred to set in motion the whole process again – though not necessarily with the same mob. There are no responses that are unique to the above summary, but as with mutinies in the army, rioting was the most effective way for the lower classes to get their message across.

#### **Riots in Rome**

When Ammianus describes the rioting of the mob in Rome when Christians were found murdered (27.3.13), this incident was significant enough for the historian to record, as he could moralise on the behaviour of bishops. However, it also showed that the mob could have some influence on the reaction of officials, and the consequence was that he brought attention to this event that may have otherwise been passed over. As we discussed earlier, Ammianus incorporates a direct moralising tone in regards to the bishops of Rome:

Yet there is more to this passage than a comment on contrasting styles. Ammianus' brief glimpse of ecclesiastical extravagance - wealthy matrons, grand carriages and clothes, lavish feasts - has much the same ring as his more extended criticism of the life-style of the Roman aristocracy elsewhere in the history, where Ammianus adopts the moralising pose of the sober foreigner, outraged by the excesses of the capital. His commendation of the simplicity of 'provincial' clerics is in a similar vein. Any specific reference to Christianity, to the massacre incident in the basilica, or to the behaviour of Roman Christians, becomes merged with the same sort of general reflection on the difference between Rome and the provinces: it becomes difficult to believe that when he wrote of the 'eternal god and his true worshippers' Ammianus was thinking only, or indeed at all, of the Christian deity. What began as an account of a specific incident involving Christians

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<sup>68</sup> With the plebeians, general violence is perhaps primary, but can also fit into the secondary response category.



has turned into generalised moral reflection on the code of conduct best suited to the worship of God, and enjoined on pagans and Christians alike.<sup>69</sup>

As we have seen time and again, Ammianus uses carefully concealed language in order to bring out his own personal viewpoint in regards to specific situations and behaviours. There is no doubt that Ammianus wrote from a perspective that was definitely non-Christian, and closer to the secularism of his forebears. In such cases as that of Georgius, the Christianisation of urban centres occasionally led to acts of violence. But apart from the Damasus and Ursinus incident, Christianisation was not necessarily a factor in mob behaviour (at least in Ammianus). The anger that led to rioting here was a noticeable incident because it happened so rarely, as well as the high body count.

### Response to Corrupt Officials

Throughout this study on the anger of the urban populace, it is the governors and prefects who come under fire most often in Ammianus' material. Sometimes the hatred directed towards them was justified, and sometimes it was not. Yet there were certain individuals who deserved their infamous reputation, and the urban prefect Lampadius was one of these:

Aedificia erigere exordiens nova vel vetusta quaedam instaurans non ex titulis solitis parari iubebat impensas, sed si ferrum quaerebatur aut plumbum aut aes aut quicquam simile, apparitores inmittebantur, qui velut ementes diversas raperent species nulla pretia persolvendo, unde accensorum *iracundiam pauperum damna deflentium crebra aegre potuit celeri vitare digressu.*<sup>70</sup>

(27.3.10)

The above passage speaks of an official seizing private property without any type of compensation; in fact it resembles nothing more than common larceny. First of all, the city prefect of Rome (Lampadius) was concerned with building works, which was one of his official duties.<sup>71</sup> Secondly, this passage speaks of not providing for the expense from the 'usual public funds', which may in fact mean that it was not the corruption of the aristocratic pagan Volusianus Lampadius<sup>72</sup> that led to this misfortune for the poor, but that it may have occurred at a lower level, with those who may have been pocketing the funds and taking the goods without payment. These are only suppositions, and neither the mob, nor Ammianus, were concerned with the root of the problem. Their only concern here is to point the finger at the city prefect, the man who was ultimately in charge of this affair.<sup>73</sup> As we have discussed at an earlier point, Ammianus is at pains to show the moral decline within the Eternal City, and a prefect who robs the poor fits into this framework nicely. Of Lampadius, it is said that, "Ammianus describes Volusianus when he was urban prefect of Rome in 365 as being vain, arrogant, and the victim of

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<sup>69</sup> Hunt (1985) 191.

<sup>70</sup> "In preparing to erect new buildings or restore old he (Lampadius) did not provide for the expense from the usual public funds. If iron or lead or bronze or the like were needed, minor officials were sent in the guise of purchasers to carry off the various materials without payment. His rapid flight barely saved him from the fury of enraged and impoverished people who had continual losses to deplore."

<sup>71</sup> On the restoration of old buildings in Roman cities of the Late Empire, see Alchermes (1994) 167-178.

<sup>72</sup> *PLRE*, vol. 1, s.v. "C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius," 978-80. See also Edbrooke (1976) 48f.

<sup>73</sup> For Lampadius, see Lançon (2000) 48.

riots similar to those Orfitus had been unable to control".<sup>74</sup> In this year, the poor allegedly had enough of their prefect taking advantage of them, and their response was therefore to lynch Lampadius – who only just escaped in the nick of time, being forced to withdraw to the Milvian Bridge.<sup>75</sup> Violence at times ensured changes in governance, and this time the population was able to institute its authority over a (possibly) corrupt official. Ammianus previously recorded the following, which demonstrates clearly Lampadius' attitude towards the commons:

Hic cum magnificos praetor ederet ludos et uberrime largiretur, plebis nequiens tolerare tumultum indignis multa donari saepe urgentis, ut liberalem se et multitudinis ostenderet contemptorem, accitos a Vaticano quosdam egentes opibus ditaverat magnis.<sup>76</sup>

(27.3.6)

Hence Lampadius was a despicable character, and Ammianus does not hesitate to show it.

### A Mockery of the Past

Another instance of mob violence, this time in classical Athens, is recorded by Ammianus:

Hoc argumentum paulo postea digestum tumore tragico Phrynichus in theatrum induxerat Athenarum paulisperque iucunde auditus, cum coturnatius stilus procederet lacrimosus, *indignatione damnatus est populi* arbitrati non consolandi gratia, sed probrose monendi, quae pertulerat amabilis civitas nullis auctorum adminiculis fulta, hos quoque dolores scaenicis adnumerasse fabulis insolenter.<sup>77</sup>

(28.1.4)

In this anecdote Ammianus relates that the response of the people to the above incident is again one that had negative consequences for the instigator. This matter was of such a sensitive nature that the Athenians felt that they could not tolerate it further, which apparently led them to interrupt the play and voice their indignation. The author of the play was then punished with a large fine for telling the truth about the sack of Miletus (during the Ionian Revolt of 499-494 BC), and the failure of the city in not assisting its allies during the Persian siege. Matthews

<sup>74</sup> Edbrooke (1974) 48. Lampadius was also one of the conspirators against the usurper Silvanus, 15.5.4-5. "The emperor removed Volusianus from office when the conspiracy against Silvanus was uncovered, but he was acquitted of the charges against him (15.5.13)", Edbrooke (1974) 48.

<sup>75</sup> Barnes (1998) 116. Ammianus holds no sympathy for Lampadius – as we shall discuss in the following chapter on magnates – as he saw him as conceited, for when he restored buildings in Rome, he then had his name inscribed onto them as if he were the original builder. 27.3.7. Cf. Edbrooke (1976) 49.

<sup>76</sup> For this incident see Grey & Parkin (2003) 292. "When he gave a magnificent show as praetor and distributed largesse on a most generous scale, he could not bear the clamorous demands of the populace that he should make gifts to its undeserving favourites, and in order to demonstrate both his liberality and his contempt for the mob, summoned needy folk from the Vatican hill and bestowed rich presents upon them."

<sup>77</sup> "Soon afterwards Phrynichus used this disaster as the plot of a tragedy and produced it on the stage at Athens. At first it was well received by the audience, but as the sad story unfolded in high tragic style their indignation was aroused and they punished the author, whose object, they thought, was not to console but to reproach. A lovely city had perished without any help from its founders, and Phrynichus had had the bad taste to make a stage play of its sufferings." This serves to provide an example of Ammianus' concept of mob violence from antique Greece, and as it is not contemporary, it does not form part of our pool of data.

## CHAPTER 4

suggests that the inclusion of this example in his description of the trials for magic in Rome in 370-371 is perhaps intended to demonstrate that a writer should have the courage to tell the truth – a reference to what he himself is doing.<sup>78</sup> However, it is not simply a defence against the criticism he expects later on, for the language is too serious.<sup>79</sup> Whatever the truth in its inclusion, it is useful in again demonstrating that the mob often ruled.

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<sup>78</sup> Matthews (1989) 209.

<sup>79</sup> Thompson (1969) 101.

## CONSEQUENCES OF ANGER AND THE ROMAN POPULACE

### Summary of the Consequences for Selves and Others

Consequence for Selves	Reference
Proclamations issued against violence in the <i>populus</i>	22.11.3ff.
Rioting was quelled	27.3.13
The punishment of ringleaders	15.7.3
Consequence for Others	Reference
Destruction of property	14.7.6
Officials forced to flee for their lives/or forced to hide	27.3.10, 27.3.13
Officials left unguarded	15.7.3
Officials/other high-ranking individuals killed	14.7.6, 22.11.3ff.
<b>Total 9</b>	

Ammianus records only a select few consequences of anger for the mob itself, and this perhaps reflects the importance he believes is attached to those particular episodes. Although, more likely, the lack of penalties discussed by Ammianus may indicate that the historian wished to reduce the overall amount of information that had the potential to clutter up his accounts. The types of responses to anger for a mob are quite limited, and this is the same for the consequences for both selves and others. What the mob desired was immediate results and these usually led the same way – the use of violence to get their message across. Once their demands were met, their anger soon dissipated, and often this led only to short-term gains, not solving the long-term problems. Or, if the rioters were resisted strongly enough, their anger often turned to fear, and they were forced to break up without achieving their aims. What we have here is anger used to cover up fear, for what the populace most feared was ill treatment from their superiors when they were already struggling hard to get through each day.

#### **The Mob Takes the Upper Hand**

When it seemed that high-ranking officials were taking advantage of them, the urban populace could collectively channel their fear into anger, a powerful force that could be used very effectively in inspiring fear in others. Ammianus shows how effective the arousing of fear could be, for twice (27.3.10, 27.3.13) he writes of officials being forced to flee or hide as a direct result of the anger of the mob, which was inevitable in a city without a police force. Fear could even affect those who were meant to be unmoved by emotion, such as at 15.7.3, "(Leontius) was a hard man to frighten and kept straight on, with the result that part of his escort abandoned him, although he was running into manifest danger" (*Difficilis ad pavorem recte tetendit adeo, ut eum obsequen ... desereret licet in periculum festinantem abruptum*).

We have here the contrast between Leontius' bravery and the apparent fear of his men, which led them to flee although he was marching into danger. The bravery of Leontius can also be contrasted with the seeming cowardice of the later prefects that Ammianus discusses, these being Tertullus in 359 who offered his own son to the angry mob, Lampadius in 365-367 who fled the crowds, and Viventius in 366-367, who was forced to take refuge in his villa in the

suburbs. It was only Leontius, who, with his courage, was able to respond to the anger of the mob and consequently subdue it. It was not a rare occurrence for these riots to transpire, and try as they might, the city prefects could not always prevent misfortunes from happening. Also, there were not always heavy consequences for the populace, for this could easily entail a new eruption of angry resentment.<sup>80</sup> The account of Leontius serves to highlight the correct course of action that a prefect of the city should take, and helps to demonstrate the true nature of the crisis points they were faced with during their terms, as well as implying the level of fear and anger amongst the populace.

Ammianus also records the punishment of one named individual, the ringleader Peter Valvomeres whom we shall discuss further below (15.7.3). And again this was through the quick thinking and bravery of Leontius, who effectively dissolved the angry mob by making an example of Peter.

The possible backlash against a mob could also be an effective precaution, through the issuing of a simple threat of violence if further action occurred. This was apparent at 22.11.11, when Julian issued an edict against the Alexandrians for the killing of Georgius. The emperor had to be talked out of taking retribution on the guilty parties when he heard of this *facinus nefandum*, but was counselled out of this by his close confidants. However, this point of view is challenged:

That George was really the victim of violence meted out by other Christians is all but confirmed by the emphasis with which church historians (Socrates and Sozomen) deny the point, and endeavour to shift the blame on to the pagans: they seek to exonerate fellow-Christians, specifically the followers of Athanasius, by quoting the letter which Julian addressed to the citizens of Alexandria, in which he reprimands them for taking the law into their own hands by the murder of the bishop, but refrains from exacting any punishment. In this letter Julian certainly writes as though pagans were responsible for George's death, angry at the behaviour of an 'enemy of the gods'; but the text is inconclusive, since in Julian's eyes the whole population of Alexandria were fellow-Hellenes and hence, to his way of thinking, pagans (he addressed the *demos* of Alexandria as followers of Alexander and 'above all, of the great god Serapis'). For Julian, Alexandria was a pagan city, and its inhabitants had to be pagans.<sup>81</sup>

Whatever the religious implications, it is clear that the emperor was angry with the Alexandrians, and was forced to threaten them with punishment to prevent further uprisings. Ammianus reveals that it was not only groups who reacted to anger violently, but the possibility was there that emperors could react in an equal manner. When it came to the resentment of the public there was a general consensus that it had to be calmed as quickly as possible. However, as these incidents did involve Roman citizens, more often than not matters were resolved in more impartial terms.

### **The Destruction of Property**

This leads us back to the incident at 14.7.6 that we discussed above, when the citizens of Antioch implored Gallus to provide them with the necessities of life, however he instead handed

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<sup>80</sup> No one effectively challenged the people's "right" to protest, Garnsey & Humfress (2001) 114. (And could they, without massive bloodshed?)

<sup>81</sup> Hunt (1985) 192.

them Theophilus, the governor of Syria. The consequence of the mob's mood was to focus their anger into violence:

Auxerunt haec vulgi sordidioris audaciam; et cum ingravesceret penuria commeatum, *famis et furoris impulsu* Eubuli cuiusdam inter suos clari domum ambitiosam ignibus subditis inflammavit rectoremque ut sibi iudicio imperiali addictum calcibus incessens et pugnis conculcans seminecem laniatu miserando discerpsit. Post cuius lacrimosum interitum in unius exitio quisque imaginem periculi sui considerans documento recenti similia formidabat.

As pointed out: "The text uses the singular third person form *inflammavit*. The mob is a single entity, or at least is acting as such".<sup>82</sup> Here, Ammianus contrasts the full impact of the united mob as one being, strong and remorseless, against one man, "who enjoyed a great reputation among his fellows". Eubulus is not faceless and without soul, whereas the mob is. Ammianus takes the emotions of the audience and puts them through the wringer as he describes the terrible consequences for Eubulus and his home. This can be seen as a conflict of classes, the rich who have everything as against the poor who are motivated by hunger. It is likely that Ammianus would have felt the unfairness of these actions against a man who deserved some respect. The implication here is that Gallus was thoroughly to blame for, "It is Gallus, or more specifically his words, which aided the mob and set it in motion".<sup>83</sup> Whether we can see the mob acting as an extension of Gallus seems out of the bounds of probability,<sup>84</sup> for the mob acted without a head and Gallus had by this stage given up on his people and let others take over this situation. The consequences of the mob's rage are as clear here as anywhere else and it is through such depictions that Ammianus makes his strongest moral comments on the danger of collective anger. This is still to some extent an attack on Gallus, as it shows how his failures as a leader negatively impacted those who (probably) deserved better. In Ammianus' condemnation of the mob, the Caesar is, in effect, the one to blame.

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<sup>82</sup> Juneau (2006) 104.

<sup>83</sup> Juneau (2006) 105.

<sup>84</sup> Juneau (2006) 105 makes the claim that the Antiochenes are, "an extension of the Caesar, motivated by rage along with hunger. The descriptions of Gallus' passion for the games and his reaction resemble his description of the mob's mood. It also does not think, but is guided by emotion and bodily needs". The mob certainly is, but not in accordance with the Caesar who no longer showed concern for these matters.

## COMMENTS BY AMMIANUS

*Summary of Comments by Ammianus*

Comment	Reference
Continual losses of the poor	27.3.10
Fearful outrages	14.7.6ff.
Wretched victims	22.11.3ff.
<b>Total 3</b>	

**Continual Losses**

Most of the urban poor in Rome and Constantinople depended on the food dole or subsidised grain and saw it as their right.<sup>85</sup> When it was not provided they immediately took this personally and used violence to convey their outrage – and in this they simply had no other way to communicate their desperation. Ammianus is aware of the pressures on the poor as his comment at 27.3.10 reveals: “His (Lampadius’) rapid flight barely saved him from the fury of enraged and impoverished people who had continual losses to deplore”. This implies the continued misfortunes of the poor that were exacerbated by Lampadius’ requisition of the materials. Here it was not merely over-confidence or impudence that led the commons to riot.

**Fearful Outrages**

At 14.7.8 Ammianus writes, “Theophilus, who was innocent, was the victim of a fearful outrage”. Although this was not an isolated incident, Ammianus believed that this episode was worthy of note. Firstly because it reflected badly on Gallus, who had presented the angry mob with Theophilus, for the Caesar was not interested in listening to their cries of indignation or securing supplies from the provinces.<sup>86</sup> And although he was not directly blamed for the death of Theophilus, it does seem that the lynching was to an extent, provoked by him.<sup>87</sup> Secondly, Ammianus is able to contrast the fate of Theophilus with that of a man named Serenian, a former military commander, whom Ammianus accuses of practising the dark arts, and also holds him responsible for the sack of Celseis in Phoenicia. This man, “who deserved universal execration, got off scot-free...” although the mob behaved most viciously, Ammianus not so much blames them for their actions, but the actions of the highest-ranking individuals, who had the power to stop such violence from occurring in the first place.<sup>88</sup> This attitude is corroborated at 15.13.2, when Constantius sent a commissioner, Musonianus, to investigate the death of Theophilus, but was instructed to treat the situation mildly, “proof that even the central government took a lenient view of the affair”.<sup>89</sup> The notion that Theophilus was innocent seems dubious, due the mob’s angry reaction and the leniency of Constantius.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>85</sup> In 369 Valentinian substituted six loaves of high quality bread for twenty coarse loaves, *Cod. Theod.* 14.17.5. Cf. Africa (1971) 6 n.15.

<sup>86</sup> Or else Gallus was simply having a difficult time securing the supplies needed, cf. Julian in 363.

<sup>87</sup> Thompson (1943) 306.

<sup>88</sup> Julian, *Mis.* 370c also saw that the mob’s anger towards the senate was justified.

<sup>89</sup> Thompson (1943) 308. Cf. *Lib. Or.* 19.47.

<sup>90</sup> Thompson (1943) 308.

## CONCLUSION

With the urban populace, anger was felt on a level similar to that of the Roman military, where each individual was supported and strengthened in his actions by that of the group surrounding him. Although Ammianus revealed far more support for the soldiers, he does show some understanding of the anger of the mob within the city of Rome, as well as other urban centres where popular disaffection influenced the conduct of politics in this period.

Within urban centres, small-scale violence was a natural part of events, and this was reflected throughout most of the larger provincial cities when demands were not being met. Sometimes these demands were seen as being nothing more than satisfying the fickle needs of the populace. Nevertheless, there is an element of understanding in Ammianus' accounts that suggests he does have a sense of the populations' hardships – although, snobbishly, he is still very much contemptuous of the poor as a whole. When Lampadius was commandeering iron, lead and bronze from the poor without paying for them, Ammianus makes the statement that these people had “continual losses to deplore” (27.3.10). It appears that if he does not commiserate with them, he at least has an idea of their situation. Nevertheless, this episode seems to strike more a blow at Lampadius than in giving support to the Roman commons, for the historian felt no fondness for this particular prefect.

15.7 also reminds us of how turbulent situations could become when crowds became incensed due to their needs not being met. At 15.7.3, Ammianus wrote that during the prefecture of Leontius (355-356),<sup>91</sup> an angry mob confronted the prefect when they suffered from a wine shortage, and as a result the populace became “an insolent and threatening crowd” (*minacem ... saevientem*).<sup>92</sup> In this chapter we also get mention of Peter Valvomeres (15.7.4),<sup>93</sup> the ringleader of this particular mob, who was made famous in the essay by Erich Auerbach.<sup>94</sup> Peter was a tall and imposing figure who was quickly targeted by Leontius, and was consequently flogged and exiled from Rome for inciting the people to riot. This incident shows how fickle and easily quelled the rioters could become when a figure of authority took actions against them. For when the prefect had Peter strung up, the crowd, which appears hundreds strong from Ammianus' description, quickly dispersed, evidently fearful that they would suffer a similar punishment, even though they greatly outnumbered those in authority and the guards who supported them. In this incident and others, Ammianus demonstrates the not unlikely conclusion that the homogeneity of the mob was quickly ended, often through the efforts of a single person in power.<sup>95</sup>

When we examine the episode concerning the Bishop Georgius in Alexandria, this event reveals more about the corruption of bishops and officials, than it does the capriciousness of the Alexandrians. The mob that killed the governor of Syria in Antioch were responsible for much destruction, yet what Ammianus brings out, rather than accusations against the Antiochenes, is the poor administration of Gallus and the irresponsibility of those who were meant to manage provisions. As we already pointed out, this was not an attack on Christians, but rather a discourse on the tribulations of provincial officers.

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<sup>91</sup> Leontius was a trusted confidant of Constantius, having served as *quaestor sacri palatii* for Gallus in 354 and watched over and aided in the Caesar's fateful last journey, 14.11.14. Cf. Edbrooke (1976) 45.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Africa (1971) 19. See also the incident in 364, when a mob burned the house of the prefect Symmachus who had threatened to destroy his stock of wine rather than sell it at reduced prices, 27.3.4.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Africa (1971) 19.

<sup>94</sup> Auerbach (1953). See also Matthews (1987) 277-284, 417.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Hunt (1985) 189 n.22.



Throughout the descriptions of mob activity, what we do get in spite of the recurrence of rage is an undercurrent of fear, which is masked by anger and acts of violence. The general populations of these large cities were at the mercy of the whims of the elite, who were assigned to officiate over the needs of the poor. At times we do get some sympathy for these aristocrats from Ammianus, but generally there is the notion that power breeds corruption, and the historian employs his skills in rhetoric in order to moralise on these issues.

The focus of this chapter has been centred on the populations of large cities, which when united in their anger become what is collectively known as a mob. This centrality of a group mindset diminishes their humanity<sup>96</sup> and creates a picture of mass unity and force, which, for those suffering from its effects as well as outsiders, would have been a very fearful thing. Ammianus was not by any means a supporter of the poor, for in many ways he agrees with Cicero's (*Off.* 2.61-63) assessment that some of the poor, at least, deserve their misfortune. When we put this into a philosophical light, Aristotle would condone some of these riots, whereas Seneca really does not think about the starving wretches. What the historian would like to see instead is an avoidance of the issues that create mobs, by removing corruption.<sup>97</sup> This essentially is what much of his *Res Gestae* is trying to teach.

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<sup>96</sup> Although they did not accept Tertullus' offer (19.10).

<sup>97</sup> This assessment is supported by Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei*, 4.4.21, writing about 440, who outlines the poverty, rebellion and brigands and traces it to the corruption of the ruling classes. In his opinion this was why the barbarians were victorious, "We have been preparing the way for this for a long time by oppression of the masses, and now we who subjected others are ourselves being subjected".

## 5. MAGNATES AND ANGER IN THE *RES GESTAE*

*For it is perhaps a mistake to say that acts committed through anger or desire are involuntary.*  
(Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 3.3, 1111A 24)

### INTRODUCTION

Although expressions of anger within official circles are not the most widely recorded by Ammianus, their impact could be wide ranging, even more so than the anger of the *populus* whom they helped govern. The *populus* only had an advantage in numbers when it was united through a common cause, whereas the officials could enforce emotion-driven directives that were seriously damaging to individuals and their families, as well as to larger social groups. Strongly defined expressions of anger for military and civilian officials, as well as for other magnates, are found ten times in the *Res Gestae*. These are of especial importance for Ammianus, as they stemmed from individuals who were in significant and public positions, and their behaviour was a reflection upon the elite sectors of society. Furthermore, as previously discussed, Ammianus was inevitably concerned far more with the effects that events and circumstances had on the elite than on the poorer classes. Therefore these expressions are far more noteworthy from the historian's point of view than are the emotional lives of the general *populus*. Ammianus could identify with the magnates far more than with the commons, and thus he had more scope, or incentive, to judge them. In this chapter, as in others, we could easily apply the following consideration by Aristotle (*Rh.* 2.1):

The Emotions are all those feelings that so change men as to affect their judgements, and that are also attended by pain or pleasure. Such are anger, pity, fear and the like, with their opposites. We must arrange what we have to say about each of them under three heads. Take, for instance, the emotion of anger: here we must discover (1) what the state of mind of angry people is, (2) who the people are with whom they usually get angry, and (3) on what grounds they get angry with them. It is not enough to know one or even two of these points; unless we know all three, we shall be unable to arouse anger in any one. The same is true of the other emotions.

However, the argument is that in their displays of anger, magnates and other officials were in fact more restricted in how openly they could express this emotion, for theirs was a public profile, open to attack by those above and beneath them (although anger shown towards inferiors was less risky), as well as their own social peers. Like other groups, anger in magnates had two outcomes, violence directed towards others, or violence brought down upon themselves. Also, during and after their term of office, these officials would usually have to answer for their actions to the emperor, and thus restraint was worth considering (although some seem to have avoided this). As Juvenal once wrote (8.88.135-139), a governor must control two vices, anger and greed, for if he implemented a great deal of angry punishments in the provinces, when he returned to Rome this would certainly cause the individual difficulties. The advice to rule without rage was well founded, as there was constant rivalry between the governor and the local authorities.<sup>1</sup> In the fourth century, Libanius also warned that a governor's reputation could be affected by his irascible nature (*Or.* 20.28). These instances can therefore be used rhetorically as a way of describing certain methods of behaviour. For instance, by

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<sup>1</sup> Harris (2001) 242.

describing the cruel actions of Paulus who took on board the anger of Constantius and wreaked death upon those suspected of treason (19.12.7),<sup>2</sup> or in the case of Procopius, who, in believing that Arbitio had rebuffed him, ordered his priceless furniture to be seized (28.6.13), Ammianus is making a moral judgement on the conduct of individuals, even when he does not make an explicit remark.

An analysis of Ammianus' portrayal of anger and magnates illuminates not only the complexities and subtleties of the expressions of anger, but also Ammianus' own stereotypical perception of these events, along with his own judgement of the cruel natures inherent in certain individuals. *Crudelitas* was represented as a *vitium*, one of the worst faults in many of his figures.<sup>3</sup> As Brandt points out, this aspect was almost exclusively attributed to Romans who were deeply concerned with the prosecution of – actual or alleged – legal violations.<sup>4</sup> Cruelty and anger often worked hand in hand, with one enhancing and exacerbating the other. The psychological causes of this often stemmed from fear on behalf of the self and were projected on others in a sinister form of paranoia.

Very rarely does Ammianus accord any praise to individual members of the senatorial elite. L. Aurelius Avianus Symmachus, urban prefect in 364-365, is a rare exception (27.3.3-4).<sup>5</sup> The majority of the senators were “denounced as dissipated layabouts”.<sup>6</sup> In his Roman digressions we are overwhelmed by the historian's own distortions and interpretations of the city dwellers, for the historian frowned upon the behaviour of wealthy senators who spent their money on teams of servants, carriages, riders and uniforms, as well as on the reception they gave to foreigners and, most irking of all, their subsequent indifference (14.6.9-17; 28.4.8-19).<sup>7</sup> Ammianus was not alone in this attitude, for he wrote of the emperor Valentinian that he “hated the well-dressed, the educated, the rich, and the highly born” (*bene vestitos oderat et eruditos et opulentos et nobiles*, 30.8.10). Ammianus' opinion of the Roman aristocracy fits into the first, third and fourth of these categories, for he likewise despised the “ostentation, idleness and fraudulent pretensions of its members”.<sup>8</sup> In the historian's perception then, being so morally corrupted, unjustified displays of anger and related emotions are expected from the aristocracy.

Ammianus describes the urban prefectures and the pressures that the cities of Rome and Constantinople placed upon them. The city of Rome had been given an urban prefect in 16 BC by the emperor Augustus, whose duty was to represent the *princeps*, and this institution lasted into

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cic. *Mur.* 49, for anger against those who threatened Catiline: *Voltus erat ipsius plenus furoris, oculi sceleris, sermo adrogantiae, sic ut ei iam exploratus et domi conditus consulatus videretur.*

<sup>3</sup> On the topic of cruelty from Hellenistic to Roman times, see Dowling (2006).

<sup>4</sup> While the noun is used without exception for the characterisation of personal characteristics or behaviours, Ammianus refers the adjective (*crudelis*) more rarely to persons than to ways of acting, Brandt (1999) 155. As Seager (1986) 21 and n. 20 states, “Emperors are by no means the only ones who offend. Condemnation of Romans, officials and others, is almost always unequivocal”.

<sup>5</sup> “Long before this, however, Apronianus was succeeded by Symmachus, a man of the most exemplary learning and discretion. Through his efforts the Holy City enjoyed peace and plenty to an unusual degree.” Leontius, urban prefect, 35-356 and Anatolius, praetorian prefect in Illyricum, both receive praise from Ammianus for their good administration, 15.7 & 19.11. On the urban prefecture in late antiquity, see Lançon (2000) 45-47.

<sup>6</sup> Humphries (1999) 117.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. MacMullen (1964) 435; and especially Demandt (1965).

<sup>8</sup> Matthews (1989) 216. Cf. Lançon (2000) 50; Sabbah (2003) 76.

late antiquity.<sup>9</sup> In the fourth century, the emperors no longer resided in Rome, and therefore these urban prefects came under the greatest pressure from the *populus* who could no longer express their concerns directly to the emperor, and whose demands constantly needed to be met. The duties of the urban prefect included: public order, provisioning the city and public works,<sup>10</sup> all of which, if not carried out, would cause alarm and general distress amongst Rome's enormous population.<sup>11</sup> The emotional upheavals, resulting from a jostling populace competing for space and resources, would naturally create many internal problems, and the result was often outbursts that could be disastrous for both sides. Nevertheless, outside Rome, magnates and officials also vented their spleens over matters of seemingly the utmost importance, and our historian records a number of these incidents. These help to add a critical balance to the historian's portrait of the empire. Although the prefectures outside Rome that Ammianus discusses are all eastern. This perhaps reflects his ability to obtain information on these centres more easily.

Expressions of anger in officials and magnates can be either attended with an immediate response designed to bring a situation to a head, or else that anger is in some way extinguished or left to smoulder as resentment. It is by extension that expressions of anger come to be associated with the avoidance or response to fear, through the overcoming or rejecting of fear by replacing it with something that is often more positive for forcing a sought after response. In the *Res Gestae*, expressions of anger can be broadly categorised into two groups: those that through their context appear to be employed to cover and overcome fear, and those that do not. A few, however, tend to be ambiguous. The issues to be addressed when considering Ammianus' portrayal of anger in regards to these individuals are as follows: first, in contexts where expressions of anger describe appearance, to what extent does this impact upon those who are directly or indirectly affected by this obvious manifestation? Second, to what extent is the converse the case, that is, anger that is hidden or not immediately apparent implicit within Ammianus' descriptions of officials and magnates? Later outbursts are possible, but are not recorded by Ammianus. What we get is more often than not a dramatic snapshot.

*Table 4.1. Summary of anger words within the Res Gestae that deal specifically with magnates<sup>12</sup>*

Book	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Book	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
	0	0	0	2	0	5	1	0	0
<b>Total 10</b>									

As the table above reveals, we only have a few instances of anger in magnates, and the majority of these come in the later books, all but two in the reigns of Valentinian and Valens. This

<sup>9</sup> Lançon (2000) 45. In the civil administration of the fourth century, the local Roman senators still expected to serve the empire, and they often held praetorian prefectures, the urban prefecture of Rome, and lower civil offices, Edbrooke (1976) 41.

<sup>10</sup> Lançon (2000) 46.

<sup>11</sup> In the fourth century Rome still remained an enormous city and the population may have exceeded two-thirds of a million inhabitants, if we take into account non-citizens including slaves, Jones (1966) 230.

<sup>12</sup> Every word here indicates one episode of anger.

perhaps reflects the historian's shift away from the importance of Julian and his times to a renewed focus on his moral perspective on the empire as a whole.

The historian presents an understanding of the psychology behind the anger episodes, and reveals the influences that promote the sudden rise of anger. The magnates come under fire from Ammianus on more than one occasion, but this does not necessarily mean that he completely disassociates himself from them. He relates more to this class than to the general *populus*, but their habitual corruption recalls Tacitus.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Chapter 6.

## THE CAUSES OF ANGER AND MAGNATES

### Summary of the Causes of Anger and Magnates

Cause of Anger	Reference
Anger taken on empathically	19.12.7
Insult and outrage	14.7.11, 26.8.13, 28.1.32, 28.1.33, 28.6.19, 29.1.5
Threats	26.3.2
<b>Total 8</b>	

#### Romanus and the Causes of Anger<sup>14</sup>

The above table reveals that instances of anger for magnates were caused through insult and outrage. This comes through especially strongly in the following example at 28.6.19. Ammianus viewed Romanus as a brutal operator in Africa, who took to the provinces like a scythe. The rage of Romanus was sparked by the perception of treachery and he reveals counter-phobic anger, wherein the individual tries to protect himself against helplessness to regain some control of events; however, it does appear that more was involved:

Quibus aperte cuncta monstrantibus luctuosis provinciae cineribus visis revertit Romanumque ut desidem increpans relaturum se cuncta verissime, quae viderat, minabatur ad principem. Atque ille *ira percitus et dolore* se quoque mox referre firmavit, quod missus ut notarius incorruptus donativum militis omne in quaestus averterit proprios.<sup>15</sup>

(28.6.19)

In 365 Romanus was appointed as *comes Africae*.<sup>16</sup> Ammianus reports that he was hated by many because of his savage disposition, “(*comitis Romani*) *saevitia morum*” (27.9.2),<sup>17</sup> and as the military commander he eluded a proper investigation into his refusal to guard the city of Lepcis Magna (on the Libyan coast, 130 km east of Tripolis) against barbarian raids (28.6.1-6).<sup>18</sup> At 28.6.5 Ammianus alleged that Romanus refused to aid Lepcis unless he was provided with four thousand camels. As the people of Lepcis could not provide these, he led his army away.<sup>19</sup> Romanus maintained his innocence until the end of this episode, claiming that the ruling was

<sup>14</sup> See also for this episode, Harries (1993) 12.

<sup>15</sup> “(Erechthius and Aristomenes) showed him (Palladius) everything, and, after surveying the deplorable ruin to which the province (Lepcis) was reduced, he returned and reproached Romanus for his inactivity, threatening to give a true account of all he had seen to the emperor. Romanus in a furious passion retorted that he too would shortly make a report to the effect that the supposedly incorruptible notary had diverted to his own pocket all the money intended for the troops.”

<sup>16</sup> On Romanus see *PLRE* 1.768-769. As tribune of the *schola scutariorum prima*, he had previously been dismissed and exiled by Julian in 362, 22.11.2.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Tac. *Agr.* 3.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Kelly (2004) 204.

<sup>19</sup> Barnes (1998) 182 n.69 notes that this, “ought to have aroused suspicion long ago”.

clearly biased towards the provincials.<sup>20</sup> After enquiries that lasted several years (27.9.1-3; 28.6.7-24) he was further filled with anger and resentment (*ira percitus et dolore*) when the allegedly “powerfully backed, barefaced liar” *notarius* Palladius<sup>21</sup> threatened to tell the emperor of the ashes of the province of Tripolis (28.6.19).<sup>22</sup> However, Romanus was able to counter Palladius’ threat through having proof of the *notarius*’ own corruption. This then caused Palladius, who was the chief supporter of Romanus,<sup>23</sup> to falsely report to Valentinian that the Tripolitarians had no cause for complaint.<sup>24</sup> Romanus’ attitude hence made Palladius feel helpless, for anger had restored Romanus’ advantage – that is he used counterphobic anger to master excess anxiety to cope with danger.<sup>25</sup> The truth was that Romanus had been able to use his military status to extract vast sums from the provincials, and was protected by allies in the civilian services.<sup>26</sup> The cause of Romanus’ anger was the fear of treachery when his once ardent supporter Palladius threatened to tell the emperor the truth of this state of affairs. However, other factors were clearly involved, such as threats to his standing from social peers and the realisation that he could not sustain his actions in the province. This whole episode, to which Ammianus devotes a good deal of space, helps to highlight his concern with provincial administration and fiscal abuses.<sup>27</sup> Ammianus frequently accused Romanus of cupidity (27.9.1-2; 29.5.6, 50).<sup>28</sup>

In summary, Romanus was threatened by the exposure of his misdeeds. His intimidation of Palladius was a further indictment of maladministration under Valentinian.

### Apronianus and the Causes of Anger

Haec egisse ideo efficaciter fertur, quod Iuliani promotus arbitrio agentis etiamtum per Syrias in itinere unum amiserat oculum, suscipicatusque artibus se nefariis appetitum iusto quidem, sed inusitato *dolore* haec et alia magna quaeritabat industria. Unde

<sup>20</sup> This levying was normal for landowners in the vicinity of the Roman frontier in Africa. Nevertheless, whatever the truth of the matter, this demand was certainly excessive. Matthews (1989) 282 suggests that Romanus was simply, “reminding the provincials of years of neglect of their legal obligations”.

<sup>21</sup> On Palladius, see Kelly (2004) 225. On *notarii*, see Lib. *Or.* 2.58; 18.131-134; Sinnigen (1959) 238-254; Jones (1964) 128; Austin & Rankow (1995) 219.

<sup>22</sup> See especially Warmington (1956) 55-64. He states that Ammianus’ interest in these affairs stems from the fact that many of the victims of Romanus and his intrigues were of the curial class, 55. Cf. Matthews (1989) 385ff. Also Chapter 1 of this thesis.

<sup>23</sup> Warmington (1956) 59.

<sup>24</sup> However, the second embassy discovered the real truth of the matter. Cf. Warmington (1956) 59.

<sup>25</sup> *CPD*, 154.

<sup>26</sup> Further, Ammianus then reports that Firmus the Moor rebelled in 372, because Romanus used his influence at court to turn Valentinian against him, even though the charges against Firmus were false, 29.5.2. Soon after the revolt Romanus was arrested, 29.5.5-7, 27, and among his papers evidence was found incriminating the *notarius* Palladius in which he admitted that he had “spoken to the sacred ears that which was not true”, 28.6.26. As a consequence Palladius was arrested, but while his guards halted for prayer on the way to Constantinople, the *notarius* took the opportunity to hang himself. According to Zosimus (4.16.3), the revolt was caused by Romanus’ extortions in Africa. This incident highlights how an official – i.e. Romanus – could frustrate imperial power by disobeying direct orders or through blocking reports on their activities, Kelly (2004) 219. Indeed, Romanus escaped punishment in the end, Warmington (1956) 60.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Frank (1972) 75.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Zos. 4.16.3.

quibusdam atrox visus est in amphitheatrali curriculo undatim coeunte aliquotiens plebe causas dispiciens criminum maximorum.<sup>29</sup>

(26.3.2)

A significant cause for anger could be the perceived threat from the black arts, which in this deeply superstitious age frightened many who, through fear of extreme punishments, as well as the professed consequences of the actual application of magic, often went to great lengths to avoid being implicated in its practice. One man who particularly despised supernatural activity was Lucius Turcius Apronianus *signo Asterius*,<sup>30</sup> who was appointed *praefectus urbis* in Antioch by Julian,<sup>31</sup> and whom Ammianus describes as a “*iudex integer et severus*” (26.3.1). Apronianus, seemingly predisposed to a paranoid disorder linked with his fear – that is he cognitively assessed other’s behaviour as being self-referential, for “those with paranoid personality disorders are extremely mistrustful...their suspicion is manifested by a marked propensity to misinterpret seemingly innocuous events as personally threatening”<sup>32</sup> – examined those accused of using magic and condemned to death those found guilty.<sup>33</sup> This is in accordance with anger factors “(3) tendencies to perceive ambiguous behaviour as hostile” and “(4) tendencies to discount the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality”. Ammianus, deeply disturbed by these trials of the innocent as well as the guilty, narrates that Apronianus had Hilarinus the charioteer executed for sending his son to learn the black arts, and that not even a Christian shrine, or his popularity as a charioteer, saved him from being executed (26.3.3).<sup>34</sup> This then relates to anger factor, “(2) tendencies to overlook mitigating details before attributing blame”, page 17 of the Introduction. Though these measures may appear overly harsh, Apronianus was not acting out of judicial precedent, but was enforcing his legal rights as his position dictated, although paranoia played its role.<sup>35</sup> Anger may have been the instigator behind these inquisitions, but it did not cloud his judgement to such an extent that he neglected the needs of Rome’s inhabitants, the majority of whom were not suspects. Apronianus instead was selective in his targets, while subject to a fair amount of paranoia. However, one must be careful in forming an opinion of Apronianus’ paranoia from a single episode, for someone may have told the prefect that he was a target. He may have simply been responding accordingly.

<sup>29</sup> “(Apronianus) had been appointed by Julian while the latter was still in Syria, and on his way to take up his post had lost an eye, an injury which he ascribed to the practice of black magic. His resentment, though justifiable, was exceptionally strong, and led him to inquire into these and other crimes with great energy. Some thought him savage, because on occasion he investigated the gravest offences even while the people were thronging into the amphitheatre for the races.”

<sup>30</sup> For Apronianus, see *PLRE* 1.88-89.

<sup>31</sup> In January 363. Cf. Barnes (1998) 37 n.12. Barnes contests the date given of 9 December 363 or 362, found in Seeck (1919) 84, 211, Chastagnol (1962) 156-157 and Curran (2000) 195.

<sup>32</sup> Fenigstein & Venable (1992) 129.

<sup>33</sup> Ammianus implies that Apronianus had reached Rome by 19 March 363, 23.3.3. Cf. Barnes (1998) 39 n.15.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 215, 419f.

<sup>35</sup> Curran (2000) 195. Barnes (1998) 114 however believes that Ammianus’ presentation of Apronianus is favourable as Julian appointed him to his position. In support of the prefect, the historian (26.3.6) writes, “But under the rule of Apronianus there was such a constant abundance of commodities that not the faintest murmur ever arose, as it frequently does at Rome, about any scarcity of provisions”. For Apronianus’ subsidies, and the pork levy, see Jones (1964) 702-703.



### Lampadius and the Causes of Anger

Advenit post hunc urbis moderator Lampadius ex praefecto praetorio, homo *indignanter admodum sustinens*,<sup>36</sup> si, etiam cum spueret, non laudaretur ut id quoque prudenter praeter alios faciens, sed non numquam severus et frugi.<sup>37</sup>

(27.3.5)

The passage given above is rhetorical hyperbole and illustrates arrogance. In their executive positions, frustrations such as these become all the more ridiculous. The contumacious character of C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius,<sup>38</sup> the urban prefect of Rome (365-366) who succeeded Symmachus, is brought to life by Ammianus, who clearly despised him for his arrogant and conceited behaviour. Ammianus does write that Lampadius was “sometimes strict and honest”, but the rest of his account is bitterly negative.<sup>39</sup> The above remark “smacks of the barrack-room”<sup>40</sup>. Ammianus uses what may simply be a figure of speech to create a negative impression in the reader or listener’s mind. Lampadius had a history of arrogant behaviour. That he tampered with inscriptions on buildings within Rome, so that they contained his name, claiming that he had built, rather than restored them, was another element the historian found reprehensible.<sup>41</sup> Here, however, Lampadius’ anger does not have wide ramifications, but is simply a character defect (arrogance and unreasonable commendation).

### Jovinus and the Causes of Anger

Exin progressus ulterius revertens, ubi nullum reppererat, didicit regem hostilium agminum cum paucis captum ab Ascariis, quos ipse per iter aliud ad diripienda tentoria miserat Alamannica, suffixum patibulo. Ideoque *iratus in tribunum* animadvertere statuit ausum hoc inconsulta potestate superiore fecisse eumque damnasset, ni militari impetu commissum facinus atrox documentis evidentibus constitisset.<sup>42</sup>

(27.2.9)

It was natural for military leaders to become angry when subordinates did not follow orders, or began to make decisions for themselves that undermined the plans of their commanding

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Iul. Val. 2.25.

<sup>37</sup> “(Symmachus) was succeeded in the government of the city by Lampadius, a former praetorian prefect. His vanity was such that he took it very ill if even his manner of spitting was not extolled for its unique adroitness, but nevertheless he was sometimes strict and honest.” This is a generalisation, and as such is not included in our pool of data. This is certainly rhetorical exaggeration and not meant to be taken seriously, but as an illustration of arrogance.

<sup>38</sup> On Lampadius, see *PLRE* 1.978-980. Also Matthews (1989) 417.

<sup>39</sup> Ammianus previously reported that Lampadius forced Dynamius to forge letters with Silvanus’ signature and sent them to the emperor, 15.5.4-5. He was tried and acquitted of the matter, 15.5.13.

<sup>40</sup> Stuart (1908) 59. An obvious reference to the historian’s time in the army.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Barnes (1998) 116.

<sup>42</sup> “Then, after advancing farther but returning on finding none of the enemy, (Jovinus) learned that the Ascarii (whom he himself had sent by another route to plunder the tents of the Alamanni) had captured a king of the hostile army with a few of his followers, and had gibbeted him. Angered at this, he decided to punish the tribune who had ventured to take this action without consulting higher authority; and he would have condemned him to death, if it had not been clear from convincing evidence that the cruel deed had been committed through passion to which soldiers are prone.”

officers (commanders often had superiors to worry about) – we have seen this fury against soldiers in the accounts of the emperor Julian in Persia.<sup>43</sup> Serving in Gaul under the emperor Valentinian, the *magister equitum* (361-369) Jovinus<sup>44</sup> angry response to insubordination was not as harsh as Julian's sometimes were (27.2.9). Although punished, the tribune was not executed. Ammianus understood that soldiers were, often commendably, prone to this type of passion. Ammianus perhaps included it to demonstrate that not all punishments need end in execution, especially in regards to soldiers upon whom the empire depended. Preserving military authority was essential, but so was restraint. Jovinus was so successful in his dealings with the Alamanni that he was rewarded with the consulship for 367.

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.

<sup>44</sup> On Jovinus see *PLRE* 1.463.

## PRIMARY RESPONSES TO ANGER IN MAGNATES

## Summary of Primary Responses

Manifestation of Anger	Reference
Panting <sup>45</sup>	19.12.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>

The above table reveals only one instance of a primary response to anger for this category on magnates. Not every primary manifestation was worth, or even necessary, recording, as this would be repetitive. It is hard to imagine any anger episode without some accompanying primary manifestations, whether reddened cheeks, the gritting of teeth, clenched fists and so on. However, what Ammianus was writing was history, rather than a literary novel. Facts, rather than elaborations were central to his narrative, although, that is not to say that Ammianus does not fail to include on many occasions a frequent number of these elaborations. In the subtleties of his historical writing, the nuances of these augmentations often blend into the background, making his subtext a configuration that is necessarily brought to light by researchers today.

**Paulus and the Primary Manifestations of Anger**

The *notarii* are a select group of officials who on occasion receive rather a bad press from our historian. In Ammianus' accounts, it is during the reigns of his more disreputable emperors that these figures play their greatest roles. Thus in the *Res Gestae* Ammianus describes how Gaudentius acted as *notarius* in Gaul to spy upon the Caesar Julian (17.9.7). At treason trials conducted by the Caesar Gallus *notarii* were present in order to report back to the emperor Constantius (14.9.3). The following account portrays an individual who could not be more despised by Ammianus:

Perrexit, ut praeceptum est, *Paulus funesti furoris et anhelitus plenus* dataque calumniae indulgentia plurimis ducebantur ab orbe prope terrarum iuxta nobiles et obscuro, quorum aliquos vinculorum adflixerant nexus, alios claustra poenalia consumpserunt.<sup>46</sup>

(19.12.7)

This therefore relates to the list of anger factors in the Introduction, "(1) a desire to blame individuals" and "(3) tendencies to perceive ambiguous behaviour as hostile". Also anger determinant, "(6) a learnt response to certain situations". The *notarius* Paulus<sup>47</sup> was an arresting figure, sly, calculating and full of hate. Ammianus, in loaded terms, describes the notary as he sought bloodshed and retribution for his master, the emperor Constantius. Ammianus deliberately uses terms here that evoke a sympathetic reaction for the victims of Paulus. First of all we have the animal-like image of Paulus panting or breathing hard (*anhelitus*), the action is fast moving, it is full of danger and it reduces the notary to something almost non-human in his

<sup>45</sup> This instance refers to a prolonged rather than an instinctive state and thus could be easily excluded from this analysis.

<sup>46</sup> "In obedience to his orders Paulus went panting off, full of deadly spite. The way was open to false accusations on a large scale, and people were brought from all over the world, gentle and simple alike. Some were crushed by the weight of their chains, others succumbed to the rigours of close confinement."

<sup>47</sup> After Gallus' execution, Paulus had informed on the friends of the Caesar, 15.3.3-4. He had also informed Constantius of alleged plots by the supporters of Silvanus, 15.6.1.

deadly enmity – an obvious imputation by Ammianus, and this highlights a disposition, rather than an episode of anger. Next, we have the false accusations (*dataque calumniae*). Given full licence by Constantius meant that those who were implicated for possible treason were, according to the historian, innocent, and “the fate of all defendants in treason trials under Constantius depended virtually on Paulus’s nod”.<sup>48</sup> He does not use the term *innocens*, yet the implication is obvious, for he describes them as *iuxta nobiles et obscuro*. In Ammianus’ mind, these were certainly not individuals who would destabilize the system by plotting against the emperor. In the final sentence, we have the agonising pains inflicted upon the “innocent”. These men and women were crushed (*adflixerant*) by their chains, whilst others succumbed (*consumpserunt*) to the rigours of being kept confined in close quarters, a consequence of Paulus’ noxious rage which pushed him on, and the message is clear: everyone is exposed to, and could be accused of, treason, no matter how flawlessly one led their life. The driving force here was fear of treason<sup>49</sup> and Paulus’ over-zealous loyalty. This illustrates Paulus’ tendency to ‘rage’ against the ‘enemies’ of Constantius, as well as how damaging such fervour could be. The cause being his desire to serve Constantius well. The point here is that Paulus is depicted as anger-driven, and though I have included it here as a primary manifestation because of Ammianus’ colourful addition of “panting”, it is probably more of a secondary response because of the cognitive element involved in motivating Paulus against Constantius’ ‘enemies’. The consequence therefore fits this definition of Aristotle (*Rh.* 1.11), “Revenge, too, is pleasant; it is pleasant to get anything that it is painful to fail to get, and angry people suffer extreme pain when they fail to get their revenge; but they enjoy the prospect of getting it”. Furthermore Aristotle defines anger as, “a desire, accompanied by pain, for a perceived revenge, on account of a perceived slight on the part of people who are not fit to slight one or one’s own” (*Rh.* 2.2.1378a31-3). Seneca also spoke of remedies for anger. One of which was that, “it is sweet to return pain for pain” (*De ira* 2.32).

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<sup>48</sup> Seager (1986) 25.

<sup>49</sup> *Maiestas* was a heinous crime to the Romans, and was “defined as anything which damaged the ‘majesty’, or interests, not only of the emperor, but also of the Roman state in general”, Harries (1998) 128. The notaries acted as the tools of the emperors in seeking out these cases of treason. Cf. *Dig.* 48.4.1.

## SECONDARY RESPONSES TO ANGER IN MAGNATES

### Summary of Secondary Responses

Secondary Response	Reference
Informing on others	28.1.32, 28.6.19
Punishment of military figures	27.2.9
Punishment of those suspected of criminal activities	19.12.7, 26.3.2
Revenge against those who are seen to be betrayers	26.8.13, 28.1.33
Seeking information on others	29.1.5
<b>Total 8</b>	

### Maximinus and Secondary Responses to Anger

Has litteras, ut quidam asseverabant, Probus ad Maximinum eruditioem iam in sceleribus commendatumque principi pertimescens nullo conscio praeter baiulum misit. Hisque recitatis ita *homo ferus exarsit*, ut machinas omnes in Aginatium deinde commoveret, velut serpens vulnere ignoti cuiusdam attritus.<sup>50</sup>

(28.1.32)

Awareness of corruption and treasonous behaviour in the governing classes plagued the thoughts of the emperors, ever wary of potential threats to their own positions. This explained Valentinian's reliance upon Maximinus of Sopianae,<sup>51</sup> and his resorting to methods of "terrorism" (violence and intimidation) to maintain control.<sup>52</sup> Anger and cruelty often spread from the emperors to their subordinates, or vice versa: "Valentinian tended to harshness, a harshness increased by his bitterly seething anger, until eventually, egged on by Maximinus, he was carried away on its tide". Valentinian's personality led him to constantly urge, "his officials to punish even venial faults harshly".<sup>53</sup> Fuelled by angry suspicions, Valentinian and Valens sought out anyone and everyone who was said to transgress the law, regardless of status.<sup>54</sup> Here we can say that the behaviour of the emperors reflects the words of Aristotle, "To passion and

<sup>50</sup> "This letter Probus, as some maintained, without the knowledge of anyone except the bearer, sent to Maximinus, fearing him as a man already very highly trained in wickedness and in favour with the emperor. On reading the letter that savage man fell into such a blaze of anger, that from then on he set all devices in motion against Aginatius, after the manner of a serpent crushed by a wound from some unknown person."

<sup>51</sup> For Maximinus see *PLRE* 1.577-578; Jones (1964) 141. For his origin and career, see Ammianus 28.1.5f.

<sup>52</sup> Frank (1972) 76. During 369 to 371, Valentinian I had a major falling out with the senatorial order in Rome. Previously he had shown respect towards this order, but in 369 charges of poisoning were brought before the prefect Olybrius. As Valentinian was ill at the time, he referred the matter to his deputy, Maximinus, and his inquiries led him to suspect some of those within the elite classes of practising magic. Persecution of the senatorial class ensued and as Lançon (2000) 50 describes it, it was "a veritable period of terror". Cf. Joh. Malalas, *Chron.* 13.31.

<sup>53</sup> Seager (1986) 21. Cf. Barnes (1998) 108.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Cod. Theod.* 9.35.1; *Cod. Just.* 9.8.4. cf. 9.19.2. Magic: 9.16.6. A.M. 19.12.17. Garnsey (1968) 151.

anger are due all acts of revenge" (*Rh.* 1.10). Maximinus' enthusiasm for carrying out the emperor's wishes caused him to create many enemies. Aginatus, the *vicarius urbis Romae*,<sup>55</sup> a long-standing rival of Maximinus, was indignant that these trials were to be led by a man who, as the *praefectus annonae*,<sup>56</sup> was lower in rank to him, "*dolensque in examinandis causis Maximinum ab Olybrio sibi praelatum, cum esset ipse vicarius Romae*" (28.1.32).<sup>57</sup> In 368, to undermine Maximinus, Aginatus took advantage of a supposed insult made by the *praefectus annonae* against Sextus Petronius Probus,<sup>58</sup> and sent the prefect a letter, informing him how to eliminate Maximinus. However, Probus betrayed Aginatus and delivered the letter straight to Maximinus himself (28.1.33). This revelation made the *praefectus annonae* fall into such a blaze of anger (*homo ferus exarsit*) that he focussed his rage on Aginatus.

During this long and complicated episode, the enormous rage (*indignissime*) of Aginatus, caused by the fear of a perceived treachery, led him to insult Maximinus' closest friend, the now deceased Victorinus, claiming that he had been bribed to achieve judicial decisions from Maximinus, and then threatened to bring a suit against Victorinus' widow, Anepsia. In 375/6, Maximinus was at last successful in destroying his enemy. Aginatus was arrested and executed on charges of adultery and black magic (28.1.50).<sup>59</sup> This complex series of events would also later see the death of Maximinus.<sup>60</sup> Anger here was a response to very real treachery, fuelled by jealousy, a deadly combination, which led to the deaths of both protagonists. Maximinus was performing the duties that he had been ordered to, yet these manoeuvrings in Rome caused a great deal of friction in elite society<sup>61</sup> and others sought to destroy him for being successful and becoming the favourite of the emperor. There is no sympathy from the historian, and his language is structured to show how self-destructive anger can be.

### Procopius and Secondary Responses to Anger

Ea victoria ultra homines sese Procopius efferens et ignorans, quod quivis beatus versa rota Fortunae ante vesperum potest esse miserrimus, Arbitionis domum, cui antea tamquam eadem sibi sentientis parcebat ut propriae, iussit exinaniri mobilis census inaestimabilis plenam ideo *indignatus, quod* venire ad eum accitus aliquotiens distulit causatus incommoda senectutis et morbos.<sup>62</sup>

(26.8.13)

<sup>55</sup> On Aginatus see *PLRE* 1.20-30.

<sup>56</sup> The prefect of the *annona* was responsible for provisions brought into Rome. The *annona* and the prefect of the *vigiles*, whose duties were night policing and fire fighting, were subordinate to the urban prefect, Lançon (2000) 46.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Barnes (1998) 245.

<sup>58</sup> On the career of Probus, see Cameron (1985) 164-182; 27.1.1; 30.5.4-11. *PLRE* Probus 5. Cf. Barnes (1998) 40 n.17, 117f.

<sup>59</sup> Aginatus and Anepsia were both executed by Maximinus, 28.1.52-56.

<sup>60</sup> He was beheaded by Gratian early in his reign, 28.1.57. Symmachus, *Ep.* 10.2.2-3; *Or.* 4.11-12.

<sup>61</sup> Brandt (1999) 93.

<sup>62</sup> "After this victory Procopius' confidence knew no bounds; he forgot that before the day is out a turn of fortune's wheel may plunge any man from happiness into the depths of misery. Hitherto he had spared the house of Arbitio as if it were his own, because he believed that Arbitio was on his side, but now he ordered it to be completely cleared of all its priceless furniture. He was aggrieved because on several occasions Arbitio had failed to come when he was sent for, pleading sickness and the infirmities of old age."

The desire for retribution appears to be a common response for a number of these high-ranking individuals. Seneca's words are most applicable here:

Revenge is the confession of a hurt; no mind is truly great that bends before injury. The man who has offended you is either stronger or weaker than you: if he is weaker, spare him; if he is stronger, spare yourself.

(*De ira* 3.5.8).

A magnate, for all his potential wealth and power, was still in a public, and therefore vulnerable, position, and often it seems that paranoia would set in and he would begin to question the actions of those around him. Seneca has few kind words to say of anger and its consequences, for example:

...this one is wholly violent and has its being in an onrush of resentment, raging with a most inhuman lust for weapons, blood, and punishment, giving no thought to itself if only it can hurt another, hurling itself upon the very point of the dagger, and eager for revenge though it may drag down the avenger along with it.

(*De ira* 1.1.1)

Although Procopius did not pursue revenge of Arbitio in such extreme measures, the end result echoes Seneca's warning. In Procopius' (Augustus 365-366)<sup>63</sup> mind, Arbitio was using his ill health merely as an excuse not to see him (26.8.13). Procopius desperately needed support, and understood Arbitio's attitude as a vote of no confidence and a public disgrace that he neither needed nor relished – he wanted support from everywhere. Procopius' response, both humiliating and predatory, forced Arbitio from retirement where his feeling of betrayal made him seize Arbitio's possessions. This may have been a demonstration of Procopius' force and a test of Arbitio's loyalties. Arbitio was not easily intimidated, and this led him to become furious at Procopius and eager for his downfall.<sup>64</sup> Arbitio, at the urging of Valens, as one of Constantine's eminent generals,<sup>65</sup> presented himself before one of the armies of Procopius. With his "impeccable record",<sup>66</sup> he dealt a blow to Procopius by securing the defection of one of his leading men, the general Gomoarius (26.9.6). Eventually, Procopius' army would fracture to such point that the majority of his men would abandon him.<sup>67</sup> Procopius' response was self-destructive, even if understandable.

Looking at this event in more detail, Procopius could not have chosen a worse figure to direct his indignation towards, for Arbitio was intelligent and resourceful, or else he would not have survived so long in both military and political fields. When one takes a close look at the career of Arbitio, it is no surprise that he reacted as he did, and so secure the demise of the usurper. For example, when Constantius decided to remove Gallus from his position, he was

<sup>63</sup> For Procopius, see *PLRE* 1.742-743. *AM* 26.6.4-5; *Zos.* 4.5-8; *Socrates, Hist. Eccl.* 4.3-8. Also Austin (1972a); Till (1974/5) 75-83; Blockley (1975) 55-62; Austin (1979) 88-92; Matthews (1988) 191-197.

<sup>64</sup> According to Barnes (1998) 108, Ammianus held a dim view of Arbitio, seeing him "as an ardent intriguer among groups of fickle courtiers who wished to destroy the Caesar Gallus". Ammianus' negative portrayal of him probably stems from Arbitio's attempts to destroy Ursicinus, 15.2.4.

<sup>65</sup> *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 13, 91.

<sup>66</sup> Ammianus himself held a contrary view to this. For example, his incompetence against the Alamanni in 355 (15.4).

<sup>67</sup> Matthews (1989) 283.

opposed by two men, the eunuch Eusebius, the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi*,<sup>68</sup> and Arbitio, the *Magister Equitum in Praesenti*, who were part of what Ammianus calls, “*versabilium adulatorum*” (groups of fickle courtiers, 14.11.2). According to Ammianus, Arbitio was said “*ad insidiandum acer et flagrans*”. This portrayal is naturally in response to the poisonous slander incited against his hero Ursicinus, whom Arbitio, amongst others, was intriguing against. Ammianus does not share the sympathies for Arbitio that the military did, for very personal reasons.

Further on at 15.2.3, Ammianus contrasts the stoic behaviour of General Ursicinus and that of the scheming Arbitio and his cronies, “*Sed contra accidentia vir magnanimus stabat immobilis, ne se proieceret abiectus cavens...*”<sup>69</sup> Ammianus uses wild animal imagery here to describe Arbitio as “a snake which lies hidden in a hole in the ground watching for individual passers-by whom it then suddenly attacks” (15.12.4). In other words, Arbitio was not one to deal with lightly (cf. 15.5.2).

In these and other incidents, Arbitio is presented as one imbued with all the traits of a conspirator. He was dangerous and this makes Procopius’ behaviour even more ludicrous and self-destructive, as he tackled an unforgiving man who clearly outweighed him in cunning and scheming.

### Fortunatianus and Secondary Responses to Anger

Procopius quidam, iniquus homo, turbarum cupiditati semper addictus, Anatolium detulerat et Spudasium palatinos exigi, quae de aerario interceperant, iussos insidiari comiti Fortunatiano, molesto illi flagitatori. Qui animi asperitate confestim ad insanum *percitus* modum pro potestatis auctoritate, quam regebat, Palladium quendam obscurissime natum ut veneficum a memoratis conductum et Heliodorum, fatorum per genituras interpretem, adigendos prodere, quae scirent, praetorianae iudicio tradidit praefecturae.<sup>70</sup>

(29.1.5)

Another response to allegations of betrayal for magnates was to seek out those who were informers, and to have the accused examined according to the extent of the magnate/official’s powers. In this tangled web of corruption that begins to come across in the passage given above, it was revealed that the *comes rei privatae* Fortunatianus,<sup>71</sup> whom Ammianus describes in office as “*molestus ille flagitator*,” was aroused to a mad degree of wrath (*percitus*) when the

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Jones (1964) 127, 367, 568.

<sup>69</sup> “In the face of this the noble hero (Ursicinus) remained unshaken; he took care not to adopt too humble a posture...”

<sup>70</sup> “A restless character called Procopius, always keen to make trouble, charged two courtiers Anatolius and Spudasius, who had been summoned to pay amounts of which they had defrauded the treasury, with an attempt on the life of count Fortunatianus, who was notoriously oppressive in pursuing such claims. This maddened Fortunatianus, a man of naturally choleric temper, and in accordance with the rules defining his authority he handed over to the court of the praetorian prefect a man of the lowest origin called Palladius, who he alleged had been ordered to poison him by the aforesaid courtiers, together with a reader of horoscopes called Heliodorus, in order that they might be forced to reveal what they knew of the matter.”

<sup>71</sup> For Fortunatianus see *PLRE* 1.369.



two *palatini*, Anatolius<sup>72</sup> and Spudasius, were charged by a certain Procopius (not the usurper) with having made an attempt on his life, as well as for practising magic (29.1.5). Fortunatianus had been extracting money from these two officials, which they in their turn had embezzled from the treasury.<sup>73</sup> The count's response to duplicity and the plot on his life was to find out information on the matter of this scheme, and therefore he handed over the *notarius* Palladius (allegedly a sorcerer), as well as Heliodorus (a reader of horoscopes), to the court of the praetorian prefecture so that they might be forced to tell what they knew about the matter. This incident then led to further accusations and the discovery of further (alleged) treachery against the emperor Valens. This episode reveals more than the accusations of one man against others, fuelled by greed and anger, for it went much higher than that, to the extremes of imperial administration. This led to further trials for treason, this time in fear-ridden Antioch. The response of Fortunatianus was beneficial for the emperor, for it revealed treachery that he was unaware of, even though it was perhaps not as calamitous as the emperor believed. It was a typical example of how seriously magnates took attempts on their lives, but most people, regardless of their status, would take such charges seriously, especially if there was a good motive.

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<sup>72</sup> Anatolius had been proconsul of Constantinople in 354. In 357 he was made praetorian prefect of Illyricum, Kelly (2004) 194.

<sup>73</sup> Matthews (1989) 219.

## CONSEQUENCES OF ANGER AND MAGNATES

*Summary of the Consequences for Selves and Others*

Consequence for Selves	Reference
Death of the magnate	26.8.13, 28.1.32
Consequence for Others	Reference
Causing fear in others	28.1.32
Punishment of others for magic practices	26.3.2
Punishment of others for treason	19.12.7
The investigation of others	29.1.5
The punishment of military figures	27.2.9
The removal of property from others	26.8.13
Threats made towards others because of corruption	28.6.19
<b>Total 9</b>	

As discussed in the introduction, officials in the fourth century held a special role, for they were generally closer to the people than were those of imperial status, who were rarely seen. Magnates, especially in official spheres, were regarded with a special status. The *populus* could often see these figures and even voice their demands in person, though often in a group context as discussed in Chapter Four. Therefore, the decisions and objections of a magnate/official could have a very immediate and direct consequence for those within close proximity. As we can see from the table above, there are very direct consequences for individuals and groups when a magnate focuses his anger towards them, such as the punishment of those for practising magic or treason. However, anger on two occasions led to the actual demise of the magnate.

**Paulus and the Consequences of Anger**

The punishment of others was a frequent, rational and inevitable consequence of a magnate's anger, especially when this emotion manifested itself directly against those who were, or were thought to be, the cause of a particular offence. Ammianus reported that the deeply suspicious emperor Constantius II relied chiefly on two officials to keep him informed. These were the *notarius* (353-361) Paulus "the Chain", who earned the nickname through his ability to entrap victims with his accusations, as well as to link one person to another in a chain of charges (15.3.4), and the *rationalis* Mercurius, or "Count of Dreams", so named because of the enormous reach of his intelligence network.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, there was Rufinus, who also played an important part in Constantius' intrigues.

In 355 an *agens in rebus*, Gaudentius, reported alleged treasonable statements of the governor of Pannonia Secunda<sup>75</sup> to the chief of staff of the praetorian prefecture, Rufinus (cf. 16.8.3).<sup>76</sup> In all haste, Rufinus was said to have personally brought the charges in front of

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Kelly (2004) 220.

<sup>75</sup> An imperial province, for its size and towns see Ptol. 2.14 and 15. See also Jonge (1948) 44-45.

<sup>76</sup> For Rufinus see *PLRE* 1.198; Edbrooke (1976) 43, 49.

Constantius (15.3.7ff.).<sup>77</sup> As a consequence of his prompt action, the suspicious Constantius held Rufinus from that time on in imperial favour. In 356-7 (16.8.7) Rufinus however, was condemned to death himself, when it was discovered that it was in fact he who was the instigator of the whole affair.

Returning to Paulus, in 359 Paulus was said to be furiously angry (*Paulus funesti furoris...plenus*) when he was sent off to the Orient (19.12.7), where “an opportunity for villainy”<sup>78</sup> was presented to him. Here, Paulus took on board the anger of Constantius when the emperor sent him to conduct trials at Scythopolis<sup>79</sup> in Palestine, in order to investigate matters of magic and treason, after questions submitted in writing to the god Besa had been found in Upper Egypt.<sup>80</sup> In order to impress the emperor, Paulus pursued these investigations vigorously to find out who had written these questions. Paulus then brought the accused to trial before Modestus, the *comes Orientis*.<sup>81</sup> As a consequence of these activities, Paulus was able to condemn many individuals for treason. Ammianus writes as if this was a travesty of justice, where no one, no matter his rank or origin, could escape torture and execution if he were accused (19.12.7ff.). However, as Matthews points out, only four were actually charged, two of whom were exiled, and the other two acquitted. Also, there was nothing unusual about these trials and their conduct, and were well within the laws of the fourth century.<sup>82</sup> In other words, then, Paulus’ anger was a confected pretext that Ammianus implies, and not genuine outrage, so the picture of a raging fiend is overdrawn.

Paulus was particularly effective in cases involving the suppression of groups and individuals. His infamous activities after the usurpation of Magnentius, the trials after the execution of Gallus and the suppression of Silvanus are particularly memorable (14.5.6ff.; 15.3.4; 15.6.1). Indeed, it was his method of pursuing these cases, rather than the actual trials themselves, which concerned the historian. Eventually, Paulus would die as a result of his unpopularity.<sup>83</sup> However, prior to that, many suffered through threats, torture and occasionally execution, because of his enthusiasm to carry out the wishes of Constantius.<sup>84</sup> Ammianus places some of the blame onto the emotion of anger, which fuelled the emperor and subsequently the notary’s vicious purges. Fear could also be heavily implicated here, because it led to the desire to want to protect oneself and to such extremes that it destroyed the lives of many of the supposedly treasonous. These trials were significant for all in proximity, for a climate of fear ensured that each individual kept a close eye on his neighbour.<sup>85</sup> Also the fact that having made so many deadly enemies meant that Paulus could not rest. Clearly Ammianus has exaggerated

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<sup>77</sup> Cf. Sinnigen (1959) 245.

<sup>78</sup> Barnes (1998) 91.

<sup>79</sup> Ammianus (19.12.1-8) writes that remote Scythopolis was chosen as it was mid-way between Antioch and Alexandria, where many of the accused came from. Cf. Matthews (1989) 217.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 92, 217; Barnes (1998) 91.

<sup>81</sup> Barnes (1998) 91. For the career of Modestus, see Jones (1964) 141.

<sup>82</sup> Matthews (1989) 217, 218.

<sup>83</sup> Paulus was burnt alive at the stake during Julian’s purge of palace officials at Constantinople during the Commission of Chalcedon in 361/2, 22.3.11. Cf. *Lib. Or.* 13.42, 18.152.

<sup>84</sup> Thompson (1947) 73-79 sees these trials as a shocking miscarriage of justice and that the tribunal took advantage of the free hand given to it by the emperor.

<sup>85</sup> As Blockley (1975) 115 writes of events in 354, “Ammianus offers evidence that criticism of the Emperor could lead to imprisonment and even death for the critic. It was, he asserts, even dangerous to speak in the seclusion of one’s own house; ‘and so even the walls, the sole sharers of a man’s secrets, were feared’ (14.1.7) – particularly horrible to the Romans, who had strong feelings about the inviolability of the home”, as most people have.

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this account, and anger plays only a subsidiary role in this rampage. While anger at treason is present, fear plays a larger role.

## COMMENTS BY AMMIANUS

*Summary of Comments by Ammianus*

Comment	Reference
Wild animal imagery	28.1.33
<b>Total 1</b>	

**Ammianus' Comments on the Anger of Maximinus**

Despite their often bad behaviour and the negative comments he makes, it is apparent that overall the historian was a supporter of the senatorial order in Rome, with whom Maximinus fell out of favour during the trials (28.1.9-10, 31). Because of his respect for the traditional senatorial order, Ammianus' language plainly indicates that he despised Maximinus for his conduct towards these elites. In describing his early career, the historian wrote: "Lastly, while he was still worming his way through inferior posts like a snake in the earth he was not strong enough to cause mischief on a large scale" (28.1.7). Of this, Barnes writes: "The unfairness of this characterisation leaps off the page",<sup>86</sup> as Maximinus' rise to power was not unique. Ammianus continues this theme:

On reading the letter that savage man fell into such a blaze of anger, that from then on he set all devices in motion against Aginatus, after the manner of a serpent crushed by a wound from some unknown person.

(28.1.33)

When we contrast these descriptions to those in Chapter Two, which compare barbarians to wild beasts, we see how Ammianus uses his skills in rhetoric to dehumanise and separate the cultured world from the barbarity of subterranean characters.<sup>87</sup> Ammianus' audience would also picture Maximinus as a terrible figure, he has been injured and thus provoked to respond with anger and violence. It is easy to take this imagery on board without question, but it is much harder to see some good in Maximinus.

<sup>86</sup> Barnes (1998) 108.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Matthews (1989) 258. Of Maximinus, Ammianus (28.1.10) also writes: *ut saepe faciunt amphitheatre ferae, diffractis tandem solutae posticis.*

## CONCLUSION

In Roman society, when a member of the poorer classes felt he was being unjustly served, others usually supported his anger, and therefore they gained strength through their comradeship. Often a magnate, on the other hand, had to deal with issues as his position dictated or else accusations of corruption could be made against him. Some, like Paulus, enjoyed the personal support of the emperor. A magnate could control others to protect him, but if there was enough opposition he could lose the confidence of the emperor, be overthrown, deserted or killed, even by those he once believed to be on his side – although this was rare. Fears that affected the Roman emperors, such as of treachery, black magic and corruption, also greatly concerned the magnates (as well as all other classes) living in Ammianus' times. As the account of Apronianus shows, the fourth century was a time still deeply imbued in superstition and the belief that one could be harmed by the black arts. Of the eighteen trials and investigations that Ammianus mentions, a number of these were caused by the paranoid atmosphere invoked by suspicion of magic, although inquisitions concerning adultery and treason were conducted jointly.<sup>88</sup> It was an extremely dangerous period for all social groups, be they aristocrats or lowly slaves, and no one was safe from the threat of torture and execution. When the inquisitions came to Antioch, where Ammianus may have even dwelt at the time, he relates events of the most appalling nature. It is possible that he personally witnessed the effects they had on his acquaintances and other members of his own social order. Although there were clearly emendations to his accounts, it is very likely that Ammianus' portrayal was not too far from the truth.

In the causes of anger, each magnate naturally looked out for his own welfare, and their anger was caused either through perceived or real threats to their social and/or official positions, or else threats to the emperor. However character defects must also play their part. The behaviour of the majority of these magnates, not meeting with the approval of our historian, led to hyperbole. He despises cruelty, especially against those whom he identified or sympathised with in some manner. He saw the conducting of some trials and inquisitions as illegal and excessive and vilified those responsible. Additionally, these instances convey the sentiment of many of those who, like Ammianus, held a provincial perspective and understood the impact the elite could have both within and beyond the eternal city.<sup>89</sup>

From Ammianus' often biased accounts, it seems that magnates were subjected to the same pressures as their predecessors, but as the emperors allowed more officials to come into the system, naturally conflicts would result. The *honestiores* would vie for power and subvert their peers in frequent struggles to be on top. This, along with the instability caused by usurpers, the trials and the disintegration of trust, meant that Ammianus presented his audience with an extremely negative portrait of fourth century elite society. On this theme, for example, he tells the tale of Romanus and his corruption, mingled with further corruption from Palladius, who both sought to destroy each other's reputation. Or a similar plot by Aginatus against Maximinus that would eventually see the destruction of both.

Finally, anger in fourth century magnates had the potential to affect almost everyone in their sphere of influence. Although Ammianus naturally did not put as much focus on this area as he did on the larger picture, such as accounts of anger in the army or the Roman emperors,

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<sup>88</sup> Blockley (1975) 104, and ns. 1, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Extortion and intimidation were still widespread in late antiquity, and thus the object of legislation, MacMullen (1988) 85.

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he still presents us with certain descriptions of anger in magnates that, because of their potentially wide ranging focus, were important to record as negative examples.

## 6. TACITUS AND AMMIANUS ON ANGER

*quem hominem, qua ira, quo spiritu!*

(Cicero *Q. Fr.* 1.2)

### INTRODUCTION

In scope, magnitude and characterisations, there are remarkable similarities between Ammianus and Tacitus, which this study focusing on anger reveals. Tacitus wrote from a senatorial perspective, mainly using senatorial sources to build his accounts. Ammianus also used senatorial sources, but built upon them with inquiries and examinations from all ranks and backgrounds.<sup>1</sup> As well as this, the extant portions of the *Annals* and the *Histories* deal with events before Tacitus' time or his active participation in affairs, whereas Ammianus, in his extant text, writes about contemporary events, and this must be taken into account when making comparisons.<sup>2</sup> The themes and content of Tacitus' *Annals* and *Histories*, his major historical works, make them the most comparable to the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus. Although there are certain differences between the portrayals of individual characters and groups, there is much to be gained from a comparative analysis of the two authors' representations of anger in the Roman military, emperors, magnates, barbarians and the *populus*. This chapter examines the similarities and differences between the two authors' portrayal of characters and how this affects their depictions of anger. The manner in which Ammianus portrays events and characters, along with his myriad of themes, is close in approach to that of Tacitus, and the *Res Gestae* is also generally regarded as a chronological continuation of Tacitus.<sup>3</sup> Ammianus was writing something that came somewhat close to the achievements of Tacitus, that is, a history on the grand scale.<sup>4</sup> It is also, in what remains of his work, a contemporary perspective for a contemporary audience.

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<sup>1</sup> Thompson (1969) 126f.

<sup>2</sup> Leon (1949) 396.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 31.16.9, *a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus*. See for example, Thompson (1942) 130; Wilshire (1973) 221-227. This is supported by Rolfe (1939) xv; Thompson (1947) 17; Syme (1968a) 216. St. Jerome, Ammianus' contemporary, reveals that the *Histories* and *Annals* of Tacitus together comprise 30 books, Jerome, *Comment. Ad Zach.* 3.14; Sabbah (2003) 48. Cf. Oliver (1951) 259. Matthews (1989) 32 disagrees with the widely held viewpoint that Ammianus was writing an extension of Tacitus: "(Tacitus) does not seem to provide more than touches of stylistic colouring, with no apparent intention to evoke in any systematic way the substance or moral purpose of his predecessor's work". For a contrasting view see for example Syme (1968a) 7: "The history which Ammianus wrote, continuing Tacitus and in emulation, *a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus*, as he states in conclusion (XXXI.16.9), comprised thirty one books". See further: Blockley (1973) 62-78, Auerbach (1953) 50-76; especially Barnes (1998) ff.

<sup>4</sup> Camus (1967) 73.



*Table 6.1. Totals and Anger Words per 1000 Words in the Major Works of Ammianus and Tacitus*

Anger Word	Ammianus	Tacitus Total
<i>Accendo</i>	6 (24)	10 (52)
<i>Ardor</i>	1 (39)	0 (20)
<i>Commoveo</i>	1 (25)	2 (28)
<i>Dolor</i>	8 (28)	6 (59)
<i>Effero</i>	12 (20)	0 (22)
<i>Exardesco</i>	4 (16)	3 (16)
<i>Excandesco</i>	2 (5)	0 (0)
<i>Fel</i>	1 (1)	0 (0)
<i>Ferveo</i>	1 (10)	0 (17)
<i>Flagro</i>	3 (40)	0 (31)
<i>Fremo</i>	3 (6)	11 (18)
<i>Frendo</i>	6 (7)	0 (0)
<i>Furo</i>	1 (10)	3 (11)
<i>Furor</i>	7 (23)	8 (23)
<i>Indignatio</i>	9 (11)	1 (2)
<i>Indignor</i>	6 (9)	1 (1)
<i>Indignus</i>	3 (16)	0 (9)
<i>Infrendo</i>	3 (3)	0 (0)
<i>Inrito</i>	1 (5)	0 (52)
<i>Ira</i>	36 (42)	56 (98)
<i>Iracundia</i>	4 (7)	7 (9)
<i>Irascor</i>	11 (19)	3 (7)
<i>Percieo</i>	9 (41)	0 (0)
<i>Rabies</i>	4 (19)	2 (6)
<i>Saevio</i>	12 (27)	3 (25)
<i>Subirascor</i>	1 (1)	0 (0)
<i>Tumor</i>	1 (19)	0 (0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>156 (463)</b>	<b>116 (489)</b>
<b>Per 1000 words</b>	<b>2.79 (8.29)</b>	<b>2.49 (10.52)</b>

Numbers in brackets indicate the number of times a word occurs in each work. These include those words not directly related to anger, to a specific group or character, in a hypothetical statement or are simply too ambiguous to include in our study. For example, *dolor* can relate to grief as well as anger. The non-bracketed numbers refer to specific groups or individuals who display anger as is evident in the works, where these works are used. There are a total of 87 anger episodes in Tacitus, and as Appendix D shows, anger words do cluster in episodes. Some anger subjects are not discussed in this chapter for reasons of space. These include women, divinities and unnamed individuals. The instances are important overall and are incorporated into the relevant tables in Appendices C, D, E and F.

Table 6.1 shows the varying incidence of individual anger words, and their combined frequency, expressed as an occurrence per 1,000 words. The size for the sample for collecting material was from 55,820 words of the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus, 35,091 for the *Annals* and 11,378 for the *Histories* of Tacitus. Through collating this information, and by showing the frequency of anger words per 1,000 words, the totals are revealed for each anger word used in this sample.

This table, in conjunction with Appendix C, reveals a marked difference between the two authors' use of terms that denote anger. Appendix C show that just by using, for example, the single keyword *ira*, we can see how frequently *ira* is applied to the Roman military, particularly in Ammianus' *Res Gestae* and the *Histories* of Tacitus. Although there are a number of significant

instances in the *Annals* of the Roman soldiers displaying *ira*, Tacitus there places a far greater emphasis on the *ira* of magnates, whereas as we have seen in Chapter 5 of this thesis, the anger of magnates is a relatively minor concern for Ammianus in the overall picture. As a term that exclusively denotes anger, Ammianus and Tacitus use *ira* in a wide range of contexts, and it is unmistakable in its meaning elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

Table 6.1 also reveals that in Tacitus' works he placed far less emphasis on the term *indignatio* than Ammianus did, who used this term in relation to a wide variety of groups, including emperors, barbarians and the Roman military. In fact, in the works of Tacitus, there are no specific anger instances of *indignatio* in the *Annals*, and in the *Histories*, *indignatio* in relation to specific instances of anger occurs only once.<sup>6</sup> The lack of this term does not mean that indignation is not implied, for there are a number of instances of anger within the *Histories* and *Annals* related to insult and threats.<sup>7</sup> In comparison, Ammianus uses the term *indignatio* nine times to discuss fury. For example, at 17.1.9 he elaborates on the *indignatio* of the Roman soldiers, whose way forward had been deliberately blockaded by the Alamanni.<sup>8</sup>

Such are some of the differences in anger usage that exist between the two authors. This chapter will examine these differences further, as well as, and perhaps more importantly, the similarities.

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From an analysis of modern-day studies on Tacitus, it is apparent that anger in the writings of this historian has not been the focus of much research. Apart from Harris, in his *Restraining Rage* where he discusses many ancient authors' views on anger including Tacitus, we have Traub, who in an article examined the historian's use of *ferocia*, especially with the sense of *parrhêsia*. According to Tacitus, *ferocia* generally has a sense of boldness and outspokenness, rather than anger. The limits of enquiry with this keyword for this thesis are apparent. In a useful study Williams looked at the occurrence of *furor* in the mutiny narratives of Tacitus and Ammianus. For example Williams writes:

In Ammianus' account there is the same contrast between *ira* and *ratio* as in Tacitus. Julian rebukes his soldiers' rashness, folly (*temeritas et prolapsio, discordiarum materias*, 20.4.15), and anger (*cesset ira*, 20.4.16). Germanicus faults the legions' discord (*nil usque turbidum aut discors*, Ann. 1.34.4) and the anger of the gods (*deum ira*, Ann. 1.39.6), and complains of the soldiers' madness (*fatalē increpans rabiem*, Ann. 1.39.6; *in rabiem prolapsus est*, Ann. 1.31.3).<sup>9</sup>

And furthermore, Woodman in his 2006 article, "Mutiny and Madness: Tacitus and Annals 1.16-49", examined Tacitus' use of *rabies* and *furor* in the mutiny narratives of *Annals* I.

<sup>5</sup> For example in Vergil *Aen.* 6.384, *Tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.*

<sup>6</sup> *Indignatio* was a significant term for at least one contemporary of Tacitus, and was the "driving force" of the first two books of the *Satires*, 1-6, of Juvenal, Braund (1997) 68.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix E for a complete list.

<sup>8</sup> *Ausi tamen omnes accedere fidentissime, ilicibus incis et fraxinis, roboreque abietum magno, semitas invenere constratas. Ideoque gradientes cautius retro, non nisi per anfractus longos et asperos ultra progredi posse, vix indignationem capientibus animis, advertabant.*

<sup>9</sup> Williams (1997) 67.

There are also a number of useful studies by other modern historians. Fletcher found thirty-two instances of literary influence by Tacitus upon the works of Ammianus, almost more than any other historian he looked at.<sup>10</sup> Because of this, it is astonishing that the historian never mentions Tacitus directly or indirectly, even though there are so many common elements (although he might have mentioned him in the lost books).<sup>11</sup> Both come from similar, provincial backgrounds and both are typically moralistic.<sup>12</sup> However, between the first and fourth century, significant changes had occurred in the Empire, so that the despotism of Tacitus' time was no longer the main concern for Ammianus.<sup>13</sup> Ammianus' criticism moved beyond those emperors whom he despised, and targeted also the nobility and the senatorial elite in Rome (14.5; 28.4.6-27). Tacitus' main concerns whilst writing the *Annals* were: "Republic and Empire, senator and emperor".<sup>14</sup> For Ammianus, the idea of a restoration of the Republic was a long forgotten dream of the old senatorial elite in Rome, and no thoughts of resurrecting it permeated his century.<sup>15</sup> The senate did play a minor part in his writings, and certainly his association with this class, particularly the provincial senatorial elite in Antioch, meant that he criticised those (now deceased) emperors and Caesars who did not satisfy the needs of this order. For Ammianus, it was frequently the outside forces that threatened the stability of the Empire that caused most anxiety, although other concerns regularly come into play. Ammianus' *Res Gestae* deals with his understanding of the central problems of his time: barbarians and Empire, senator and emperor.<sup>16</sup>

The relationship and commonality between Ammianus and Tacitus offers scope for a limited but still useful content analysis of their portrayals of anger. The approach that this thesis applies attempts to make a limited comparison, and will seek to avoid making hazardous assumptions that Ammianus was continually borrowing on Tacitus, something that cannot be proved.<sup>17</sup> Through this method, that is the collating of specific anger words and examining the context they are presented in, it is possible to make a detailed examination of the types of anger portrayals both historians made use of.

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<sup>10</sup> Fletcher (1937) 278-395.

<sup>11</sup> Camus (1967) 70; Wilshire (1973) 222.

<sup>12</sup> Wilshire (1973) 222-223. However, Ammianus is not concerned with the same philosophic or emotional issues found in Tacitus, 225. See also Martin (1981) 217, for Tacitus' moral concern.

<sup>13</sup> Wilshire (1973) 224.

<sup>14</sup> Syme (1970) 129. Although a perceived decline in public morality was also a significant factor for Tacitus.

<sup>15</sup> Even at the time Tacitus was writing the *Annals*, the idea of the Republic was "a distant memory", Syme (1970) 129.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Thompson (1947) 132.

<sup>17</sup> "While Ammianus is a continuator of Tacitus, he is neither an imitator nor his epigone", Sabbah (2003) 59.

## TACITUS AND THE ANGER OF THE ROMAN MILITARY

<i>Ann. 1.18 – furor</i>	<i>Hist. 1.81 – furor, ira</i>
<i>Ann. 1.20 - ira</i>	<i>Hist. 1.82 - ira</i>
<i>Ann. 1.31 - rabies</i>	<i>Hist. 2.6 – fremo</i>
<i>Ann. 1.32 - saevio</i>	<i>Hist. 2.13 - ira</i>
<i>Ann. 1.35 – furo</i>	<i>Hist. 2.28 – fremo</i>
<i>Ann. 1.40 – furo</i>	<i>Hist. 2.43 – dolor</i>
<i>Ann. 1.42 – furo</i>	<i>Hist. 2.44 – ira, fremo</i>
<i>Ann. 1.45 - ira</i>	<i>Hist. 2.46 – furor</i>
<i>Ann. 1.49 – saevio, furor</i>	<i>Hist. 2.65 - iracundia</i>
<i>Ann. 1.62 - ira</i>	<i>Hist. 2.69 – fremo</i>
<i>Ann. 1.68 - ira</i>	<i>Hist. 2.86 – dolor, ira</i>
<i>Ann. 2.13 - ira</i>	<i>Hist. 3.7 - ira</i>
<i>Ann. 3.45 – fremo</i>	<i>Hist. 3.10 – ira, fremo</i>
<i>Ann. 12.39 – ira, accendo</i>	<i>Hist. 3.14 – dolor</i>
<i>Ann. 15.4 – ira, accendo</i>	<i>Hist. 3.22 - ira</i>
<i>Ann. 15.66 – accendo</i>	<i>Hist. 3.31 – exardesco</i>
<i>Hist. 1.8 – irascor, indignor</i>	<i>Hist. 3.71 – furor</i>
<i>Hist. 1.9 – furor</i>	<i>Hist. 4.2 - ira</i>
<i>Hist. 1.25 - ira</i>	<i>Hist. 4.25 - iracundia</i>
<i>Hist. 1.32 - irascor</i>	<i>Hist. 4.35 – fremo</i>
<i>Hist. 1.55 – fremo</i>	<i>Hist. 4.36 - ira</i>
<i>Hist. 1.58 – exardesco, iracundia</i>	<i>Hist. 4.72 - ira</i>
<i>Hist. 1.63 – furor, ira, rabies</i>	<i>Hist. 5.15 - ira</i>
<b>Total number of anger words = 56 (39 episodes)</b>	

The extent of Tacitus' military experience is unknown, however, like Ammianus, he was greatly interested in matters involving the armed forces,<sup>18</sup> as well as the emotional reactions that the soldiers and their commanding officers exhibited.<sup>19</sup> Tacitus researched and listened to reports of the lives of the soldiers, and perhaps had firsthand experience of their behaviour and reactions. If Ammianus - to use an expression of Cicero (*Acad.* 2.135; *Tusc.* 4.43) - regarded anger as *cos fortitudinis*,<sup>20</sup> he judged from the perspective of the experienced officer - a perspective that also Tacitus took occasionally (*Hist.* 2.77).<sup>21</sup> It is apparent that Tacitus gave anger as much, if not more, importance in military matters than Ammianus. Tacitus was well aware that anger had

<sup>18</sup> Syme (1970) 128 suggests that Tacitus perhaps was in command of a legion during the early to mid nineties.

<sup>19</sup> Mommsen (1886) 161-173 unfavourably and somewhat inaccurately described Tacitus as the most unmilitary of historians. Auerbach (1953) 52 states that, "However fickle and superstitious the soldiers may be in Tacitus' description, he never hesitates to admit that they are human beings of a definite culture and with a definite sense of honor". However, although Auerbach sees honour in the conduct of the Roman soldiers, he may mean those stationed far away from the capital and who followed orders without hesitation. Certainly the Praetorian guardsmen who massacred Roman citizens in 69 after the murder of the emperor Galba were not acting out of *virtus* and *honor*, virtues praised highly by Tacitus, Dudley (1968) 162.

<sup>20</sup> Literally a hard flinty stone, esp. a whetstone, grindstone, hence fig. of any stimulus; *CLD* 155.

<sup>21</sup> The authors of the *Panegyrici* take this perspective occasionally, while no trace of it is in the *Historia Augusta*, Brandt (1999) 168.

definite outcomes in a military context. Like Ammianus, Tacitus understood how anger could motivate Roman troops to courage (*virtus*).<sup>22</sup> Anger, especially, could be harnessed to inspire the soldiers into action against an aggressor, to promote battle rage and secure victories. Anger aroused and unified troops. Tacitus used the term *ferocia* to positively describe the forcefulness of the soldiers' attacks on a number of occasions.<sup>23</sup> However, Tacitus also recorded the negative outcomes of the emotion of anger, which appear more common in his works than in those of Ammianus. Tacitus was often comprehensive in his reporting of these losses or near misses, for he did not hesitate to narrate, "The defeats sustained by Roman armies, the vicissitudes of warfare or the imperfect victories".<sup>24</sup> However, it is unlikely that the Roman army suffered more defeats in the first century as opposed to the fourth; rather it was Tacitus' literary preference to report those losses and close calls.

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When not engaged against an enemy the soldiers in Ammianus needed distractions to focus their energies upon. Bored and frustrated soldiers began to take out their pent up aggression on people and things around them. For example, Ammianus narrated in 368 that the Roman soldiers were eager for battle against the Alamanni, and emphasises this by describing them as grinding their teeth in a threatening way, "*irritator ad pugnandum, velut repertis barbaris minaciter infrendebat*" (27.10.7). Unfortunately for them, they could not find any enemies to attack, as they had all fled to the mountains. However, even without human beings to attack, the soldiers still managed to lay waste to all the fields and dwellings of the Alamanni that they came across.

The soldiers in the *Annals* and *Histories* also required similar distractions, and consequently threats from enemies were emphasised by commanders to direct their attention: "*Piaculum furoris, nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent*" (*Ann.* 1.49).<sup>25</sup> The importance of this only becomes clear when we realise that the desire to attack the Germans is seemingly the only alternative to engaging in internally destructive, mutinous behaviour, something that is emphasised throughout Tacitus' accounts of the Roman military.<sup>26</sup> In this and other episodes, "Officers and men both take up the familiar tools of civil strife, bribery, deceit, and violence to achieve their ends. Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.49.1) and the participants themselves (*Ann.* 1.19.3, 1.42.2) compare the revolts to civil strife".<sup>27</sup>

There are parallel patterns between mutinies and attempted mutinies that are common to both authors, but whereas Ammianus displays certain sympathies towards the common soldiery,<sup>28</sup> Tacitus is particularly opposed to this type of behaviour from the rank and file, and his "grim summary of the massacre indicates his disapproval".<sup>29</sup> At first the soldiers behaved

<sup>22</sup> E.g. *Ann.* 1.20; 1.62; 1.68; 12.39; 15.4. A.M. 17.13.15; 24.2.5. Cf. Brandt (1999) 167.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. *Ann.* 2.25. Cf. Traub (1953) 253.

<sup>24</sup> Syme (1970) 135.

<sup>25</sup> "There was still a savage feeling among the troops – and a desire to make up for their lunacy by attacking the enemy. Honourable wounds, they felt, on their guilty breasts, were the only means of appeasing the ghosts of their fellow-soldiers."

<sup>26</sup> For the behaviour of the Germans as a fighting force in this period, see Goldsworthy (1998) 42-53.

<sup>27</sup> Keitel (1984) 318 n.27.

<sup>28</sup> Ammianus appears to support the soldiers' anger in regards to the comments he makes at 24.4.20, 26.9.3, and 27.10.5. Cf. Chapter 2.

<sup>29</sup> Williams (1997) 61.

according to their training and discipline, however, when lack of supplies, poor leadership or miscommunication occurred, then this often leads to mutinous dispositions.<sup>30</sup>

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The distressed emotional state of the soldiers in the first part of the first century led to the mutinies in Pannonia (*Ann.* 1.16-30).<sup>31</sup> The mutinies that Tacitus described in these accounts were of particular concern for him, as Tiberius' son Drusus was involved in AD 14. This mutiny occurred after the death of Augustus was made known, and is recorded by Tacitus in his *Annals*, 1.16-30. As well as those on the Danube, Tacitus describes the emotional state of the soldiers in Germany (*Ann.* 1.31-49), where the emperor's adopted son and nephew Germanicus was in command, and in which the soldiers offered to support Germanicus if he should wish to supplant Tiberius (*Ann.* 1.31.1). The failure to behave with *honor* and *virtus* was a serious issue, and Tacitus blamed recent conscripts from the idle Roman *populus* who did not seek to emulate the glorious achievements of their ancestors, but instead behaved as deplorably as the Roman mob.<sup>32</sup>

The fact that Tacitus is adept at his method of historical enquiry is evident, but the need to portray the mutinies goes beyond mere rhetorical technique, they were instead a critique of society and a way of showing the depravity that the Principate had brought the state to. Tacitus uses the terms *ira*, *ferocia* and *licentia* in connection with the mutinous soldiers. This however is not consistent with the use of anger words by Ammianus, who does not place the same emphasis on *ferocia* in his descriptions of Romans. When Ammianus uses *rabies* and *ferocia*, it is frequently to describe barbarians, through emphasising their wild and savage natures.<sup>33</sup> Tacitus uses the term *ferocia* in a similar manner, but to describe the tumultuous nature of the Roman military of the first century. Thus he depicts the behaviour of the fifth and twenty-first legions:

Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles supererat ob *ferociam* quintae et unetvicesimae legionum, sexagesimum apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) hibernantium. Nam primi seditionem coeptaverant: atrocissimum quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena commilitonum exterriti nec paenitentia conversi *iras* retinebant.<sup>34</sup>

(*Ann.* 1.45)

<sup>30</sup> This recurrent process has led to many comments by modern-day scholars. For example in his examination of the style of Tacitus, Mellor (1993) 124 wrote, "The most extraordinary of the Tacitean tableaux is his account of the mutinies in Book 1 of the *Annals*". This is in accordance with Goodyear (1972) 30, who in his commentary on Book 1 wrote, "The most notable example of vast elaboration in Tacitus is provided by his account of the mutinies of A.D. 14".

<sup>31</sup> They demanded *modum miseriarum*, Brunt (1974) 95.

<sup>32</sup> Mellor (1993) 57. Also the *Histories* had done much to jaundice Tacitus' opinion here, especially the Batavian revolt recorded at 4.12-36. For discussions of the mutinies, see Wilkes (1963) 268-271; Goodyear (1972) 194-314; Williams (1997) 46-61; O'Gorman (2000) 25-41; Malloch (2004); Woodman (2006).

<sup>33</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>34</sup> "This relieved the immediate crisis. But there was still equally serious trouble from the truculent attitude of the fifth and twenty-first brigades wintering sixty miles away at Vetera. It was they who had started the mutiny and committed the worst atrocities. Now they were as angry as ever, undeterred by the punishment and contrition of their fellow-soldiers." Cf. *Ann.* 3.40: "*ii secretis conloquiis, ferocissimo quoque adsumpto aut quibus ob egestatem ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo, componunt Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos concire*".

After the death of Augustus on August 19, AD 14, the troops in Pannonia took the opportunity to ask for better pay and conditions of service. Tacitus portrays the attitude of the Roman legions as hostile, and their simmering anger as unable to be reversed by their leaders. Here *ferocia* and *ira* are distinguished through the emphasis on hostility and aggression coupled with general rage. *Ferocia* suggests the long-term resentment the soldiers held as a consequence of their poor conditions. *Ira* is the immediate anger they now expressed, regardless of any punishments that may be offered them. This mutiny was fuelled by bitter resentment and purposely sparked in order to offer the soldiers the chance to seek their justified rewards. After executing the ringleaders, Drusus, with the onset of winter, was able to resolve the mutiny and return to Rome. The soldiers' anger had been for justifiable reasons, even though they had taken advantage of a change in government. Ultimately, the demands they made were not met and their anger petered out.

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Certain differences between the representations of events and characters in Tacitus and Ammianus emerge through their descriptions of those men whom they considered to be most praiseworthy, such as Germanicus in the *Annals* and Julian in the *Res Gestae*. Germanicus is presented in a Stoic model, however, he does behave rather poorly and less decisively than Drusus in Pannonia, but though Julian certainly held strong Stoic principles, he is certainly not portrayed that way by Ammianus. In regards to the revolt which Julian was subjected to in 361 many Tacitean references are unearthed by Williams, which are not found in the other sources which describe the usurpation of Julian, and this suggests a definite leaning towards the earlier historian.<sup>35</sup> "Germanicus was comparable to Aeneas in controlling the *furor* of his soldiers."<sup>36</sup> The emphasis in Ammianus, however, is not on the *furor* of the legions but on the possibly deceptive control of their actions by Julian".<sup>37</sup> Therefore, and as we have discussed previously, Julian's anger led him to become more and more unpredictable in Persia, whereas in the case of Germanicus, he was the victim of the anger of his own men, as well as his own indecisiveness.

The similarities between the revolt of the Emperor Julian's soldiers in Persia and the Pannonian revolt of the soldiers under Germanicus in Tacitus are quite remarkable, as are the differences: "Most importantly, in Assyria it is the general Julian, not his soldiers, who is driven by anger, whereas in Pannonia anger motivates the soldiers' rebellion".<sup>38</sup> And furthermore:

In fact, if the allusions to the Pannonian mutiny found in Ammianus' account of the incident in Assyria suggest anything, it is that Julian's rationality appears to be seriously suffering, especially since he allows anger and indignation (*ad indignationem plenam gravitatis erectus*, 24.3.3) to gain the upper hand. In fact, Julian's entire speech to his men in which he qualifies the power of human rationality (*quantum humana ratio patitur*, 24.4.6) is an amazing display of inconsistency bordering on insanity.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Williams (1997) 63, 66.

<sup>36</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 2.45.

<sup>37</sup> Williams (1997) 67.

<sup>38</sup> Williams (1997) 70. On the supposed praise accorded to Germanicus by Tacitus, see Goodyear (1972) 240, who also reveals the underlying truth of his "impulsiveness, ineffectiveness, and sheer incompetence".

<sup>39</sup> Williams (1997) 71.

Tacitus, unlike Ammianus, did not hesitate to use *rabies* to describe the anger of the Roman military, with its emphasis on raving and savagery. This is used, for instance, in *Ann.* 1.31, to describe the behaviour of the soldiers in Germany who, in order to improve their situation, allegedly wished to support Germanicus in an action against Tiberius. Here the army were said to have slipped into a 'frenzy', "*in rabiem prolapsus est*". Tacitus applies the term negatively, so that the soldiers appear overcome with a kind of hysteria, as if possessed (*Ann.* 1.32.3).<sup>40</sup> At first, Germanicus gave in to their demands by paying them off and showing them a forged letter from Tiberius (*Ann.* 1.36-37).<sup>41</sup> However, further frustration was again apparent at *Ann.* 1.39, "*fatalem increpans rabiem*". In order to preserve a semblance of control as well as the lives of himself and his family, Germanicus was careful not to blame the soldiers for their actions, and instead explained it as caused by the anger of the gods, "*neque militum sed deum ira resurgere*". At *Ann.* 1.40 Germanicus wonders how he can keep his pregnant wife and young son safe amongst these madmen (*inter furentes*). The decision to send them away alters the entire mutiny, for, as a group, the troops then question their actions that forced the removal of little Gaius "Caligula" who had, according to Tacitus, been born in the camp, as well as his beloved mother, "*infans in castris genitus*" (*Ann.* 1.41.2).<sup>42</sup> The anger of the soldiers subsequently turned to shame, because the great grandchild of Augustus was being sent away to the Treviri and could not remain with them (*Ann.* 1.41.1, 3; 44.1). Because of this, the fury of the troops abated for a time. However, as Tacitus informs us, they then began to punish their own (*Ann.* 1.44; 48-49). The seriousness of this episode is called into question, for if the legionaries were so outraged at their conditions as to mutiny, would the sight of a pregnant woman and a child have been enough to make them forget their miseries?<sup>43</sup>

Tacitus does not use terms randomly. His language is carefully chosen in order to create force and impact. *Furor* was a term applied to the Roman military on a number of occasions by Tacitus.<sup>44</sup> For example at *Ann.* 1.18, "*eo furoris venere ut...*"<sup>45</sup> Rather than a threat from an enemy, *furor* here was roused by feelings of outrage at unjust conditions. In this episode it becomes apparent that despite their unhappiness, it was not until one soldier, Percennius, pointed out the injustice of their situation at the hands of their own commanders, through punishments, harsh conditions, overwork and under-payment, that their indignation boiled over.<sup>46</sup> Such an assault upon the soldiers' sense of worth was intolerable.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Woodman (2006) 320. Also Livy 28.34.4 (of another mutiny) *fatalem rabiem temporis eius accusat cum velut contagione quadam...castra quoque Romana insanierint* and Vell. Pat. 2.125.1 (of this same mutiny) *rabie quadam et profunda confundendi omnia cupiditate*.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Dio 57.5.3.

<sup>42</sup> Suetonius *Calig.* 8.1-5 disagrees with this statement, and proved that Gaius was in fact born in Antium, and that in the year of his birth his parents were in Rome and not on the German frontier. Suetonius (*Calig.* 9) also refrains from mentioning Agrippina as being part of the reason for the troops' change of mind, and states that it was the sight of little Gaius alone that subdued the rioting troops.

<sup>43</sup> Hurley (1989) 321.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. *Ann.* 1.18; 1.35; 1.40; 1.42; 1.49; *Hist.* 1.9; 1.63; 1.81; 2.46; 3.71; 4.27.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Hist.* 1.81, 3.10, 4.27. Furneaux states that "the atrocity of the act would consist in its being a violation not merely of *esprit de corps*, but of the *cultus* of the emperor and the eagles, of which each legion was a separate centre", quoted in Goodyear (1972) 206. Cf. Vell. Pat. 2.80.2, *in id furoris processerat*.

<sup>46</sup> Woodman (2006) 312 points out that Tacitus saw *furor* here as 'madness', a particularly common metaphor, especially in the political writings of Cicero.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Fisher (2002) 181 on self-esteem and indignation.



Livy was the first to apply the term *furor* to the mutinous behaviour of troops in Spain in 206 BC, in which Scipio Africanus was forced to take issue with his own legions. By using *furor*, Tacitus implies that this is the madness of ‘civil war’, which supports the usage of Livy,<sup>48</sup> whereas Ammianus’ *furor* suggests barbarian frenzy.<sup>49</sup> The measure that Drusus took to quell the mutiny in Pannonia was to execute the ringleaders (*Ann.* 1.30.3), a decision that Tacitus approved. The response that Ammianus described in the *Res Gestae* to Julian’s treatment of military personnel in Persia who disobeyed their commander’s directives is similar, for the emperor, indignant at their anger, had the soldiers either punished or executed – although Ammianus uses different anger terms (24.3.2).<sup>50</sup>

There are other similarities between the descriptions of the Roman military in the accounts of Ammianus and Tacitus. They concern the collective behaviour of the Roman troops. When the soldiers were conditioned to think and react in a certain way, then their feelings were more easily controlled and focused. Rage against an enemy who refused to submit was an efficient and effective means of winning battles. When Julian was fatally wounded with a spear the soldiers sought revenge against the Persians, spurred on by anger and grief (25.3.10).<sup>51</sup> In *Ann.* 1.68, soldiers conditioned to exhibit battle rage as a collective force enabled the Roman military to slaughter the Germans. This reaction is common to both the *Res Gestae* and the *Annals*.<sup>52</sup>

At times, Ammianus also described the soldiers’ collective anger and aggression towards insult. These types of insult were often in direct confrontation to the groups’ values and goals. For example, at 17.13.9 when the Limigantes were deliberately threatening Constantius.<sup>53</sup> The best illustration of this attitude in the work of Tacitus perhaps occurs at *Ann.* 2.13, where in AD 16 the troops’ anger was caused by the insult they felt at the offer of the Germans to turn traitors and join with them. The description of the response of the Roman military is as follows:

Intendit ea contumelia legionum iras: veniret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem Germanorum agros, tracturum coniuges; accipere omen et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare.<sup>54</sup>

(*Ann.* 2.13)

After this attempt on their loyalty, the troops exhibited battle rage in response to the outrage they felt at the suggestion that they break free from their own commanders and actually fight against their fellow Romans. Here, as in the example given from Ammianus, the anger term used is *ira*, suggesting masculine force directed outwards towards a common enemy in an attempt to correct these wrongs.

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<sup>48</sup> Woodman (2006) 312, 314.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. 16.12.46; 17.13.7; 18.2.14; 19.11.15; 31.13.10.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Chapter 3.

<sup>51</sup> *Sed reducto ad tentoria principe, incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque ardore, miles ad vindictam ira et dolore ferventior involabat, hastis ad scuta concrepans, etiam mori (si tulisset fors) obstinatus.*

<sup>52</sup> For a number of instances where I have categorised Tacitus’ account of the soldiers’ anger as being caused through insult, injustice or disrespectful behaviour, see Appendix E.

<sup>53</sup> *Cuius furoris amentiam exercitus ira ferre non potuit, eosque imperatori (ut dictum est) acriter imminentes.*

<sup>54</sup> “This insulting suggestion infuriated the Roman soldiers. ‘Wait until tomorrow and the battle,’ they shouted. ‘We will help ourselves to German lands and wives. This is a good omen! Their women and their wealth are going to come to us as loot.’”

Outrage, which can be closely linked with insult, also permeates our authors' portrayals of the soldiers. At 17.1.9 and 17.10.6, the cause of the soldiers' anger was fuelled by threats and obvious frustration felt as a result of the barbarian enemy (even though the enemy were not expected to make things easy for them), when trees had been deliberately felled in order to block their paths. This catches our historian's imagination. At *Ann.* 1.62, Tacitus writes of the outrage felt by the Romans towards the Germans for their destruction of the legions of Varus:

Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegetet, omnis ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi condebant.<sup>55</sup>

Grief is strongly emphasised in this episode, and this emotion lead to anger and the desire to take revenge against the Germans for inflicting such a dishonourable slaughter upon the Romans, i.e. "the transformation from defeat to victory".<sup>56</sup> Through the desire to attack the enemy, the Romans were re-establishing the *honor* that this defeat had cost them, and thus the *ira* of the soldiers is not related to madness or frenzy, but as in the descriptions of Ammianus, it is a *virtus*. It is an honourable anger that they feel.

A sense of betrayal was also a cause for the soldiers to exhibit anger. One incident in Ammianus that involved betrayal was in 359, when the Roman soldiers became angry (*iras*) at the treachery of a deserter at Amida (19.5.8). Fear of treachery led to many instances (at least eighteen) of anger that Tacitus recorded. In one account (*Hist.* 1.81) Rome was placed in danger when a tribune named Varius Crispinus had been ordered to issue arms to the Seventeenth Cohort (*septimam decimam cohortem*) late at night in preparation to move northwards to the front, however his motives were misconstrued and the troops accused the officers of beginning a rebellion. As a consequence the soldiers reacted violently:

Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis virisque; qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum *furor* an dolus imperatoris, manere ac deprehendi an fugere et dispergi periculosius foret, modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis vultum intueri; utque evenit inclinatis ad suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. Sed haud secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus et praefectos praetorii ad mitigandas militum *iras* statim miserat et abire prope omnis e convivio, iussit.<sup>57</sup>

As fear was replaced by anger, the soldiers attempted to counter the perceived treachery and assist Otho, whom they believed was to be murdered. The delicate balance of power between army and commanders is expressed in these incidents, and Otho himself felt fear (*timeret*).

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<sup>55</sup> "So, six years after the slaughter, a living Roman army had come to bury the dead men's bones of three whole divisions. No one knew if the remains he was burying belonged to a stranger or a comrade. But in their bitter distress, and rising fury against the enemy, they looked on them all as friends and blood-brothers."

<sup>56</sup> Pagán (1999) 304.

<sup>57</sup> "Otho was entertaining a large dinner party of society men and women. The guests were at their wits' end. Was this a meaningless outbreak on the part of the troops or trickery on the part of Otho? Would it be more dangerous to stay and be caught, or escape and scatter? At one moment, they assumed a nonchalance they were far from feeling. At the next, their fears betrayed them. They eyed Otho's expression. As is the way with suspicious minds, although Otho felt alarm, he also inspired it. However, in his concern – as much for the senators as for himself – he had promptly sent off the praetorian prefects to calm down their angry men. He also told all his guests to hurry away from the banqueting room."

## CHAPTER 6

Tacitus uses *furor* here to describe the behaviour of the troops, associating it with their savagery and madness and the volatility of their behaviour, for it arose out of “a trifling incident where no danger was anticipated” to themselves (*Hist.* 1.80). As at other points (e.g. *Ann.* 1.29), Tacitus judges the behaviour of the soldiers to be immoderate and fuelled by passion rather than reason. They are inciting fear in Otho and his guests, an unacceptable state of affairs. Here Tacitus deliberately rouses feelings of indignation at unjustified displays of anger in his audience in a manner evident in Ammianus. However, within the history of Ammianus it is indignation towards corrupt officials or deceitful barbarians that the historian wishes to arouse in his audience. Ammianus is far more supportive of anger in Roman troops than Tacitus is, as the anger of Ammianus’ soldiers is frequently raised on behalf of the state, and not in opposition to it, its values or its goals. Ammianus was also a soldier, and so he knew much better how things were on the battlefield.

## TACITUS AND THE ANGER OF BARBARIANS AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

<i>Ann. 2.19 – ira</i>	<i>Ann. 12.40 – accendo</i>
<i>Ann. 2.66 – ira</i>	<i>Ann. 15.1 – accendo, dolor</i>
<i>Ann. 4.72 – ira</i>	<i>Hist. 4.29 - ira</i>
<i>Ann. 11.8 – accendo, ira</i>	<i>Hist. 4.60 - saevio</i>
	<i>Hist. 4.70 - furor</i>
<b>Total number of anger words = 11 (9 episodes)</b>	

In Tacitus and Ammianus' portrayals of the anger of barbarians, it appears at times that Ammianus takes a more critical approach than Tacitus to their emotions. For example, Ammianus suggests that he is very much aware of the mindset of the Alamanni (this is likely to be speculation) when at 16.12.34 he writes:

Et subito Alamannorum peditum fremitus, indignationi mixtus auditus est, unanimi conspiratione vociferantium, relictis equis secum oportere versari regales, ne siquid contigisset adversum, deserta miserabili plebe, facilem discedendi copiam reperirent.<sup>58</sup>

Here the Alamanni fear that their untrustworthy leaders will flee, and Ammianus presents their anger as justified according to their emotional distress, however he does not, of course, take sides with them in their frustration. Tacitus' attitude to barbarians on the other hand is much different. Tacitus is more inclined – although not entirely – to see those barbarians who are as yet completely, or at least partially, untouched by Roman culture and civilisation, such as the Britons, Gauls and Germans, as the 'noble savage'.<sup>59</sup> They are naturally 'moral' unlike the decadent Romans.<sup>60</sup> Tacitus appeals to the pure barbarian nature, whereas Ammianus warns against the further integration of these uncultured barbarians into Roman society, and does not believe in "the myth of the good barbarian".<sup>61</sup> Although once these groups were incorporated within the structures of Roman society, then they became suitably imprinted with positive Roman values. Furthermore, it was accepted by historians such as Tacitus that the barbarity of these groups would diminish when subjected to the right influences. The *virtus* generally associated with the Roman military was imputed to the barbarians who were integrated within the army, and supposedly they acquired the traditional *mores* and generally tried to fit into the Roman social structure. The belief was that *virtus* and *honor* would transmit to their kinsmen who remained at home.

<sup>58</sup> "Suddenly an indignant shout was heard among the infantry of the Alamanni. They demanded with one voice that the princes should abandon their horses and take their stand with them: they were afraid in the event of defeat their leaders would have an easy means of escape and leave their wretched followers in the lurch." Hummer (1998) 4 says that some believe that the Alamanni of Ammianus are a direct link with the Suebic Semnones of Tacitus. Hummer himself disagrees with this thesis.

<sup>59</sup> Traub (1953) 252.

<sup>60</sup> It is the idea developed in Hellenistic ethnography, cf. Marcaccini (2000) 591-619, esp. 598 ff. Cf. Mellor (1993) 61.

<sup>61</sup> Camus (1967) 122. Although as we discussed in Chapter 2, once the barbarians were integrated into Roman society and took on positive Roman values, then Ammianus no longer had a moral problem with these groups.

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Regardless of the time period, barbarians felt threatened by proximate Roman military activity. The histories of both Ammianus and Tacitus show that they were at least aware of some of the impacts the expansion of the empire had on barbarian groups. At *Agr.* 30 Tacitus wrote that the British chieftain Calgacus remarked:

(The Romans are) the brigands of the world, they have exhausted the land by their indiscriminate plunder and now they ransack the sea. The wealth of an enemy excites their cupidity, his poverty their lust for power. East and west have failed to glut their maw. They are unique in being as violently tempted to attack the poor as the wealthy. Robbery, butchery, rapine, the liars call Empire; they create a desolation and call it peace.<sup>62</sup>

That view is also supported in the accounts of Ammianus, who recorded the attitudes of the barbarians:

Their king (of the Isafenses), whose name was Igmazen, a man of great reputation in that country, and celebrated also for his riches, advanced with boldness to meet (Theodosius), and addressed him thus, "To what country do you belong, and with what object have you come hither? Answer me." Theodosius, with firm mind and stern looks, replied, "I am a lieutenant of Valentinian, the master of the whole world, sent hither to destroy a murderous robber; and unless you at once surrender him, as the invincible emperor has commanded, you also, and the nation of which you are king, will be entirely destroyed." Igmazen, on receiving this answer, heaped a number of insulting epithets on our general, and then retired full of rage and indignation.<sup>63</sup>

(29.5.46)

In recording these instances, the historians show remarkable impartiality, which may or may not reflect their own individual beliefs.<sup>64</sup> Anger and indignation towards the Romans was prominent in those barbarian groups who were presented as being proud people and desired only to protect and hold onto their homelands. For example, in Ammianus it is the Isaurians who, although portrayed as robbers and looters, were also conscious of threats to their homeland. At 14.2.14 the historian indicates that these people were angered (*rabie saeviore*) by the presence of the Roman fortresses in Isauria, and thus began an unsuccessful uprising against the intruders. At *Ann.* 2.19 in AD 16, Tacitus noted the anger of the Germans at the insult made towards them by the Romans who had set up a mound with arms and the names of defeated German tribes: "*Haut perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia quam ea species dolore et ira adfecit*". But it is not simply insult that leads to their outrage. Here, fear and grief were similarly strong emotions that led to and justified their anger. Being driven to extremes by their

<sup>62</sup> "No doubt the speeches of Civilis and Calgacus are the invention of Tacitus", Brunt (1974) 107. Supported by Clarke (2001) 105: "Calgacus' entire speech is a masterpiece of Roman oratory".

<sup>63</sup> "The *convicia multa* that the Moorish chief of the Isafenses, Igmazen, who had been bluntly, arrogantly, insultingly, told to hand over the rebel Firmus, poured upon the Roman commander, Theodosius, was an angry reaction that may, in part, have been to maintain his status in the eyes of his entourage", Newbold (2002) 46.

<sup>64</sup> Wilshire (1973) 223 believes that Ammianus finds these policies commendable.

emotions, the Germans collectively united to attack the Romans in various engagements to satisfy their hurt. Unfortunately for the Germans, this fuelled the Romans to further acts of military prowess, and in the end the forces of Germanicus defeated these Germanic groups.

At *Ann.* 12.39 Tacitus describes the reaction of the Silures who were enraged by the Roman commander who insulted them. Their outrage was caused by his utterance that they must be utterly exterminated or transported like the Sugambri:

ac praecipua Silurum pervicacia, quos *accendebat* vulgata imperatoris Romani vox, ut quondam Sugambri<sup>65</sup> excisi aut in Gallias traiectione forent, ita Silurum nomen penitus extinguendum.

The Roman commander underestimated the force of his words, and the outraged Silures laid a trap for two auxiliary battalions. They then incited other tribes to join with them against the Romans. This was an event that was not uncommon, and the barbarians were as likely as anybody to take offence. The arrogant Roman commander should have known this.

The Brigantian, Venutius, had been married to the British queen Cartimandua, but after their divorce hostilities arose:

inde *accensi* hostes, stimulante ignominia, ne feminae imperio subderentur, valida et lecta armis iuventus regnum eius invadunt.<sup>66</sup>

(*Ann.* 12.40)

Tacitus relates that the Brigantes' fury (*accensi*) was caused by the insult of feminine rule, and naturally Venutius himself had a personal motive for attacking the queen. Earlier, these tribes had enjoyed Roman protection, but when the uprising occurred, which involved auxiliaries being sent to protect the queen, engagements took place that at first went badly for the Romans, but ended favourably. Both Ammianus and Tacitus discuss native revolts in this province, as well as the problems that distance and the breadth of water separating Britain from the continent presented the Romans.

These episodes reveal that the barbarians were, naturally, just as able to cognitively assess hurts to themselves as the Romans were. They reacted through violent means, but that was simply because there was quite often no other means to express their indignation (just as with the Roman urban poor). At times this may have proved effective, but our historians quite frequently portray the opposite.

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Not every instance of the barbarians' wrath was caused by active military threats. Tacitus emphasises this when he reported that in AD 28 the Frisians, who inhabited the coastal area between the Ems and the Rhine, revolted. For, as Tacitus relates, the uprising was not caused by the desire for independence, but was due to the greed of Olennius, a first-rank centurion, who had been appointed to govern them and to exact tribute.<sup>67</sup> The whole incident began when

<sup>65</sup> "The Sugambri had been heavily defeated by Tiberius and the remnants of the tribe transferred to the west bank of the Rhine, to those parts of Gaul that made up the Roman territories of the *Germaniae*", Benario (1983) 187.

<sup>66</sup> For an examination of the Cartimandua episodes in the *Annals* and *Histories*, see Braund (1984) 1-6.

<sup>67</sup> Springer (1953) 109.

Olennius questioned seriously the size of ox-hides provided as tribute for military purposes (*Ann.* 4.72). Later, the demands became even more oppressive as the Frisians were forced to give up to the Romans first their lands, and then their women and children in order to meet the excessive duties imposed on them. Their distress led them to make complaints, but when they received no reply, their response was recorded as follows: “*hinc ira et questus et postquam non subveniebatur remedium ex bello*”. The professed rights of the Frisians were completely ignored and their outrage at a perceived injustice, forcibly transmitted here as *ira*, and the fact that Olennius refused to ease his onerous demands, meant that the Frisians found they had no recourse but to go to war against the Romans. This therefore relates to anger determinants, “(2) a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment” and “(3) a response to righteous indignation”. Of this episode, one can rightly point out that, “Here, near the end of Book 4, (Tacitus) is principally concerned to point a moral: the Romans fail generally to live up to traditional ideals and at times seem almost to behave like barbarians”.<sup>68</sup>

In Ammianus, the barbarian reaction to outrage and injustice is strongly exhibited at 29.6.6-12. This occurred when the report of the murder of their king Gabinius roused the Quadi and the tribes round them to madness (*effervit*). The Quadi accused Aequitius, the commander of the cavalry in Illyricum, of having brought about the destruction of their king. The consequences of both these episodes were the desire to retaliate aggressively towards those who had caused the outrage as a means of correcting a wrongdoing.

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The claimed ability to know the innermost feelings and thoughts of individuals was common in ancient historiography, and emerges, for example, in Tacitus’ reportage of generals’ speeches in *oratio obliqua*.<sup>69</sup> It is certain that Tacitus relied at times on his own imagination, and, “The rhetorical technique of *inventio*, which is fleshing out an unadorned historical fact with plausible and entertaining material, was a pervasive feature of ancient historiography”.<sup>70</sup> *Inventio* may have enhanced the following representation:

In quos ut patris vi quoque defectores *ira* magis quam ex usu praesenti accensus, implicatur obsidione urbis validae et munimentis obiecti amnis muroque et com meatibus firmatae.<sup>71</sup>

(*Ann.* 11.8)

What Tacitus reveals is that Vardanes, brother of the Parthian king Gotarzes II, had put his brother to flight in AD 47-48, after he was alleged to have travelled 375 miles in two days. Once there, Vardanes besieged the fortified city of Seleucia, which refused his rule, and this led to the above account, where Tacitus presents the anger (*ira*) of the prince. This action did not go to plan, for Gotarzes was able to raise a force against his upstart brother. However, Vardanes did

<sup>68</sup> Martin (1989) 256.

<sup>69</sup> On Tacitus’ use of dramatic speech, see Miller (1964) 279-296; (1975) 45-57. On battle exhortations, see Hansen (1993) and (1998); Pritchett (1994).

<sup>70</sup> Ash (1999) 115.

<sup>71</sup> “Rage against the place, which indeed had also revolted from his father, rather than considerations of policy, made him embarrass himself with the siege of a strong city, which the defence of a river flowing by it, with fortifications and supplies, had thoroughly secured.” English translation Church (1942). I find that Church’s translation of this passage conveys the emotion of anger rather better than Matthews’, who translates *ira* as ‘irritation’.

eventually gain control of Parthia, but with the accumulation of this power and wealth, he became insufferable, and as a consequence his own subjects angrily assassinated him: “*regreditur ingens gloria atque eo ferocior et subiectis intolerantior*” (Ann. 11.10.3).<sup>72</sup>

Traub suggests that Tacitus saw *ferocia* in a barbarian as an admirable trait, as it showed their “defiant and dauntless nature”, not simply the fury of the savage.<sup>73</sup> Tacitus’ use of *ferocia* here, however, is definitely presented in a negative sense, which goes against Traub’s thesis. By describing Vardanes as arrogant, wild and unbridled, he writes of negative aspects that the civilised Romans frowned upon when viewing the barbarians,<sup>74</sup> and as such it was only natural that they should earn him a sudden death by the hands of his own countrymen. The notion of overconfidence and arrogance also comes through in Tacitus’ reference to Mithridates, the Armenian prince: “*et cuncta in Mithridaten fluxere, atrociolem quam novo regno conduceret*” (Ann. 11.9.2).<sup>75</sup>

Once Vardanes was assassinated, Gotarzes II was elevated, but was just as severe as his brother:

Dein praevaluit Gotarzes; potitusque regiam per *saevitiam* ac luxum adegit Parthos res mittere ad principem Romanum occultas preces, quis permitti Meherdaten patrium ad fastigium orabant.<sup>76</sup>

(Ann. 11.10.4)

Further on, Tacitus discusses the resentment and indignation of the Parthians due to the Roman installation of their former hostage Tigranes V to the throne of Armenia:

Eo contemptiois descensum, ut ne duce quidem Romano incursarentur, sed temeritate obsidis tot per annos inter mancipia habiti. *Accendebat dolorem* eorum Monobazus, quem penes Adiabenum regimen, quod praesidium aut unde peteret rogitans: iam de Armenia concessum, proxima trahi; et nisi defendant Parthi, levius servitium apud Romanos deditis quam captis esse.<sup>77</sup>

(Ann. 15.1)

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<sup>72</sup> “He returned covered with glory, and therefore the more haughty and more intolerable to his subjects than ever”, Traub (1953) 252.

<sup>73</sup> See introduction.

<sup>74</sup> Tacitus describes Parthians as barbarians, and Armenians fall under this loose category, see Veyne (1993) 359.

<sup>75</sup> “And then everything passed into the hands of Mithridates, who showed more cruelty than was wise in a new ruler”. Tacitus applies the negative term *atrox* on a number of other occasions. E.g. Agrippina is also described as *atrox*, 12.22.1 & 13.13.3; as *ferocia* at 13.2.2 & 13.21.2, Keitel (1978) 464. In the application of *ferocia* to Agrippina, Goodyear (1972) 106 n.1 writes that “it is mistaken to find only a pejorative tone: the word fixes and describes a conspicuous trait of character, without passing judgement on it”.

<sup>76</sup> “Finally Gotarzes prevailed. Established in the palace, he drove the Parthians by his cruelty and profligacy to send a secret entreaty to the Roman emperor that Meherdates might be allowed to mount the throne of his ancestors.” Cf. Keitel (1978) 462-473 for a discussion of Parthia and Armenia in *Annals* 11 & 12 and the episodes just discussed.

<sup>77</sup> “This was too much for the Parthian grandees. ‘Are we so utterly despised’, they said, ‘that we are invaded not even by a Roman commander but by an impudent hostage who has long been considered a slave?’ The king of Adiabene, Monobazus, further inflamed their resentment. ‘Where,’ he asked, ‘from what quarter, can I find protection? Armenia is gone! The borderlands are following! If Parthia will not help, we must give in to Rome, and make the best of it – avoid conquest by surrendering.’”



This episode serves to highlight Tacitus' understanding of client kings. Tigranes V was a hostage whose many years at Rome had reduced him *ad servilem patientiam* (*Ann.* 14.26.1). When he finally proved useful to the Romans, he was sent off to Armenia. He was briefly welcomed, but then abhorred as a *regem alienigenam*.<sup>78</sup> He was therefore overthrown by Tiridates, the brother of Vologaeses I (*Ann.* 15.1.1-2).<sup>79</sup> The resentment recorded here is similar to Ammianus' Quadi at 29.6.6, angered by the Romans when they learnt that their king had been killed:

Cuius rei tam atrocis disseminatus rumor ilico per diversa et Quados et gentes circumscitas efferavit, regisque flentes interitum, in unum coactas misere vastatorias manus, quae Danubium transgressae, cum nihil exspectaretur hostile, occupatam circa messem agrestem, adortae sunt plebem, maioreque parte truncata, quicquid superfuit, domum cum multitudine varii pecoris abduxerunt.

The unbridled, un-Roman behaviour distinguishes the eastern Armenians and Parthians from Tacitus' northern, seemingly more moral barbarians. The uniting factor in these incidents is their destructive rage, which is less pernicious than the Roman military and the unsophisticated frenzy of the barbarians, but is rather the unpredictable manifestations of their deceitful natures.

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At *Agr.* 11.5, the *ferocia* of the barbarians retains its sense of wildness, but here it fits in more with Traub's assessment, as it is given a more positive spin, though only in contrast to other, less than praiseworthy behaviours of the Gauls:

Plus tamen *ferociae* Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate.<sup>80</sup>

Tacitus stereotypically portrays the Britons and other barbarians waging war with a native ferocity, a ferocity in some ways commendable from an outsider's perspective. *Ferox* and *ferocia* are linked with a savage temperament, and whether it was shown positively or not, these anger terms indicate a dangerous adversary, full of wrath and savage wildness.

Finally, all these groups described above could be offended by Roman intervention. Every one of these peoples, whether "savages" or easterners, remained no less human than the Roman soldiers, magnates, plebeians and emperors and so naturally become enraged by what they, quite understandably, saw as offensive and humiliating behaviour.

<sup>78</sup> Like Meherdates at *Ann.* 12.14.3.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Gowing (1990) 322.

<sup>80</sup> "But the Britons display a higher spirit, not having been emasculated by long years of peace. The Gauls also, according to history, once shone in war: afterwards indolence made its appearance hand in hand with peace, and courage and liberty have been lost together."

## TACITUS AND THE ANGER OF EMPERORS

Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 1.12 - <i>ira</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 1.13 - <i>irascor</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 1.69 – <i>accendo</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 1.74 – <i>exardesco</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 3.22 – <i>ira</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 3.69 – <i>ira</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 4.21 – <i>ira</i>
Claudius	<i>Ann.</i> 12.20 – <i>dolor</i>
Nero	<i>Ann.</i> 14.49 – <i>ira</i>
Nero	<i>Ann.</i> 16.6 - <i>iracundia</i>
Otho	<i>Hist.</i> 1.21 - <i>ira</i>
<b>Total number of anger words = 11 (11 episodes)</b>	

Both Tacitus and Ammianus, as students of human nature and close observers of autocracy, sought to learn the motivations of the emperors and expose how their anger could impact on many and varied lives. To a considerable extent, it was up to the individual emperor whether or not he chose to control his anger. This decision, conscious or not, would impact upon many in close proximity to him, from his family, to his courtiers, the senate, others in privileged positions, groups further a field such as barbarians beyond the frontiers, and even the descendents of individuals who no longer presented a threat.<sup>81</sup>

Since the power of rulers extends much further than that of their subjects there is more scope for perceiving rebuffs to their radius of will. That is the perceived degree to which one's power extends to, and for a ruler this naturally extends much further than for anyone else.<sup>82</sup> In Ammianus this insult comes through strongly at 30.6.3, when Valentinian burst into a mighty fit of rage when the envoys of the Quadi were trying to excuse the actions of their countrymen. In Tacitus, insult at offences by emperors is also apparent, for example at *Ann.* 1.12, in AD 14, where Tacitus recorded Tiberius' anger with Asinius Gallus at his unfortunate comment as well as lingering resentment at past offences. Tiberius could be said to feel lasting hurt at frequent transgressions to his notions of justice and his perceived territorial boundaries.

In Chapter 3 we saw how often the emperors in the fourth century demonstrated their anger. In Tacitus too, the anger of emperors (who were more frequently seen by the public and thus under closer scrutiny) is a frequent and recurring theme. There are further implications for the presentation of the emperors in these works. At first glance, it may appear that Tacitus focuses a lot of attention on the anger of emperors, however, much of it is either alleged or inferred, and in total there are only eleven episodes, compared to fifty-five in Ammianus. Like Ammianus, Tacitus uses *ira* to describe the anger of the emperors on a number of occasions (6 in Tacitus and 12 in Ammianus). Less frequently, other terms such as *indignatio* are utilised to demonstrate the anger of the emperors, but these are far less remarkable than the range and frequency of Ammianus' portrayals.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Harris (2001) 249; Sen. *De ira* 1.2.2. In *Clem.* 1.5.6 we are told that a king should not show inexorable anger (*non decet regem saeva nec inexorabilis ira*).

<sup>82</sup> For 'radius of will' see Fisher (2002) Chapter 9.

<sup>83</sup> See Chapter 3.

Another important element is that both historians often provided obituaries of deceased characters that necessarily discuss their morals and character.<sup>84</sup> There the nature of their subjects is dissected and divided into exemplary and deplorable elements. The recurrence of negative impressions inevitably and as always reveals as much about the nature of the historians and their own values as the characters they portray. At *Ann.* 11.26, in the words of Gaius Silius, Tacitus wrote of Claudius that: “He is slow to discover deception – but quick to anger”. At *Ann.* 3.69, he wrote of Tiberius: “And capable, as he was, of mercy (when not impelled by anger)...” These types of generalisations enhance the image of the irascible emperor, controlled not by reason, but by emotion. And, following closely in this tradition, Ammianus is also not averse to using innuendo to emphasise the suspicious natures of his anger-prone emperors. At 21.16.9 in a generalisation he describes the reaction of Constantius to possible treason:

Addebatur miserorum aerumnis, qui rei maiestatis imminutae vel laesae deferebantur, acerbitas eius et *iracundia* suspicionesque in huiusmodi cuncta distentae. Et si quid tale increpisset, in quaestiones acrius exurgens quam civiliter spectatores apponebat his litibus truces mortemque longius in puniendis quibusdam, si natura permitteret, conabatur extendi in eiusmodi controversiarum partibus etiam Gallieno ferocior.<sup>85</sup>

At 14.7.4 Ammianus made a similar generalisation when he described the equally suspicious nature of Gallus and his reaction to treason:

*Accenderat* super his incitatum propositum ad nocendum aliqua mulier vilis, quae ad palatium ut poposcerat intromissa insidias ei latenter obtendi prodiderat a militibus obscurissimis.

It was perhaps inevitable that the anger of emperors and Caesars was often driven by fear of treachery and a sense of insecurity. It was lonely at the top and the emperors were prone to listening to flatterers, and even became so accustomed to them that they began to believe in the terrifying webs of lies and deceptions. Great power co-existed with great fear.<sup>86</sup>

### Tiberius

The generalising of the anger of emperors is seen most obviously in the history of Ammianus in his descriptions of the emperor Valentinian, whom the historian constantly portrayed as hot-tempered in a particularly disapproving sense.<sup>87</sup> For Ammianus, Valentinian was irascible and unsympathetic. The Tacitean Tiberius, on the other hand, had sympathetic qualities, and on top of that, he dealt with his anger differently. For Tiberius, although fuelled by resentment, was still

<sup>84</sup> Mellor (1993) 54. On the obituaries of Tacitus, see Martin (1981) 218; Camus (1967) 73.

<sup>85</sup> “The sufferings of the wretched men accused of infringing or violating his prerogative were increased by the bitter and angry suspicions nourished by the emperor (Constantius) in all such cases. Once he got wind of anything of this kind he threw himself into its investigation with unbecoming eagerness, and appointed merciless judges to preside over such trials. In the infliction of punishment he sometimes tried to prolong the agonies of death, if the victim’s constitution could stand it, and showed himself in this respect more savage even than Gallienus.”

<sup>86</sup> For the emphasis on fear, see MacMullen (1988) 84-96.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. 27.7.4, *hanc enim ulcus esse animi diuturnum interdumque perpetuum prudentes definiunt, nasci ex mentis mollitia consuetum, id adserentes argumento probabili, quod iracundiores sunt incolumibus languidi, et feminae maribus, et iuvenibus senes, et felicibus aerumnosi.*

able to control his anger. At *Ann.* 3.69, we are presented with Tiberius' anger and control of it in a typical Tacitean 'aside':<sup>88</sup>

Atque ille prudens moderandi, si propria *ira non impelleretur*, addidit insulam Gyarum immitem et sine cultu hominum esse: darent luniae familiae et viro quondam ordinis eiusdem ut Cythnum potius concederet.<sup>89</sup>

(*Ann.* 3.69)

Tacitus' accounts of the Roman emperors contain all the emotive elements one would expect in a historian of his times. The phrase *ira non impelleretur* suggests more than is implicitly stated. Such innuendo supports the historian's desired perceptions and as with Ammianus his rhetorical language is constructed to arouse an emotional response in his audience. The lack of specific instances in Tacitus shows that much of the anger he records is non-specific or implied, and this is in stark contrast to the numerous instances recorded by Ammianus. Even in his descriptions of Tiberius' reaction to Germanicus, it is more implied and assumed that the emperor is seething with rage, rather than being explicitly stated. Emperors in both centuries come under the scrutiny of the harshest critics who were writing from elitist viewpoints, and Ammianus' descriptions follow Tacitus in this respect. The emperors who frequently targeted the privileges of the upper orders would naturally come under attack more often than those who let the senatorial and curial classes be.

The emperor Tiberius was arguably prone to suppressed anger and resentment, which could erupt into manifest anger. The feeling of deep and bitter anger and ill-will that seethed inside the emperor was supposed by Tacitus (amongst other reasons) to have been so troublesome that the emperor removed himself from public life for long stretches.<sup>90</sup> For example, Tacitus wrote that Sejanus "knew how Tiberius' mind worked. Inside it, for the eventual future, he sowed hatreds. They would lie low, but one day bear fruit abundantly" (*Ann.* 1.69.5). However, the suppression of rage was not necessarily a negative characteristic and

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<sup>88</sup> For these damning 'asides', see for a good example, Bradley (1990) 511: Besides, in deference to public opinion, Tiberius wanted to seem the person chosen by the State – *instead of one who had wormed his way in by an old man's adoption and intrigues of the old man's wife*. Afterwards it was understood that Tiberius had pretended to be hesitant for another reason too, *in order to detect what leading men were thinking. Every word, every look he twisted into some criminal significance – and stored them up in his memory* (*Ann.* 1.7).

<sup>89</sup> "And capable, as he was, of mercy (when not impelled by anger), he proposed that, since Gyaros was a grim, uninhabited island, Silanus – as a concession to his Junian family and former membership of the senate – should be allowed to retire to Cythnos instead." Cf. 22.2 *irae et clementiae signa*. "(Tiberius) now displays the very quality (*prudens*) which Dolabella had urged him to adopt (1 *provideri*), while *moderandi* indicates a return to his famous *moderatio* after its conspicuous absence during the trial itself (67.2 *non temperante Tiberio*). Since *moderari* commonly means also 'to steer', and since *impellere* (though used differently of anger elsewhere: Ter. *Hec.* 484-5, Sall. C. 51.4, Sil. 9.382) is commonly used of being buffeted by storms and the like, the combination of the two verbs here may perhaps suggests that T. is alluding to the metaphor of storms and anger", Woodman (1996) 470.

<sup>90</sup> For Tiberius as a resentful emperor, see Maranon (1956). For criticism concerning Tacitus' harsh treatment of Tiberius, see Jerome (1912) 265-292, who presents him as simply a rhetorician concerned only with literary effect. See also his translator, Ritter (1924) 30, who called Tacitus a "malicious slanderer". For the presentation of Tacitus as an "honest historian", see Marsh (1926) 289-310.

often avoided any unnecessary setbacks.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, even though he had his shortcomings, Tiberius was by no means an ineffective ruler.<sup>92</sup>

Since the death of Augustus, the emperors, particularly those of the Julio-Claudian line, were becoming more and more removed from reality and the decadence of their reigns is emphasised in order to promote a pessimistic image that was far removed from Augustan idealism. The extensive and pervasive influence of the emperors on all levels of society only serves to symbolise the reality of the dangers an absolute ruler presented to the populace of the Roman Empire, even those of the old aristocracy:

Nec ideo *iram* eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor filerat, plus quam civilia agitare Pollionisque Asinii patris *ferociam* retineret.<sup>93</sup>

(Ann. 1.12)

As this passage reveals Tacitus had a flair for the dramatic and reveals his aims as an author. Goodyear in fact states that he understands Tacitus' "desire, indeed determination to interest and move and enthral his audience...(which)...disposes him to select for full elaboration such material as is most susceptible of dramatic and moving treatment". Then he goes on to point out the sombre purpose behind this: "By eliciting from the events he narrates general lessons about human motivation and psychology, Tacitus elevates his history onto a philosophical plane, thus in one way fulfilling his aim to be instructive". By this method, Tacitus is able to carefully bring out on many occasions, cause and effect, rather than only the facts.<sup>94</sup>

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The following reveals that signs of trouble were evident early on, but it also reveals the level of control Tiberius had over his anger. Furthermore, it demonstrates the anger Tiberius felt currently as well as his long standing (inferred) resentment.

The senate, meanwhile, was descending to the most abject supplications, when Tiberius casually observed that, unequal as he felt himself to the whole weight of government, he would still undertake the charge of any one department that might be assigned to him. Asinius Gallus then said: - "I ask you, Caesar, what department you wish to be assigned you." This unforeseen inquiry threw him off his balance. He was silent for a few moments; then recovered himself, and answered that it would not at all become his diffidence to select or shun any part of a burden from which he would prefer to be wholly excused. Gallus, who had conjectured that he had given offence (*etenim vultu offensionem coniectaverat*), resumed: - "The question had been put to him, not with the hope that he would divide the inseparable, but to gain from his own lips an admission that the body

<sup>91</sup> See for example, Plaut. *Pers.* 296-7; Livy 9.38.13-14; Quint. 9.2.54; cf. Morgan (1994) 239.

<sup>92</sup> For an examination into Tacitus' presentation and portrayal of the emperor Tiberius, see e.g. Syme (1967) *passim*; Daitz (1960) 30-52; Woodman (1989) 197-205.

<sup>93</sup> "All the same he failed to appease the indignation he had caused. Tiberius had hated him for years, feeling that Gallus' marriage to his own former wife, Marcus Agrippa's daughter Vipsania, was a sign that Gallus had the arrogance of his father Gaius Asinius Pollio (I) – and was over-ambitious." Cf. 1.2.1 & Goodyear (1972) 105. In this passage "*ferociam* is pejorative in that it represents Tiberius' view of Asinius, but, in that it is part of T.'s comment of Tiberius' attitude, lack this tone", Goodyear (1972) 106 n.1.

<sup>94</sup> Goodyear (1972) 26, 42, 24.

politic was a single organism needing to be governed by a single intelligence.” He added a panegyric on Augustus, and urged Tiberius to remember his own victories and the brilliant work which he had done year after year in the garb of peace. He failed, however, to soothe the imperial anger (*iram*): he had been a hated man ever since his marriage to Vipsania (daughter of Marcus Agrippa, and once the wife of Tiberius), which had given the impression that he had ambitions denied to a subject and retained the temerity of his father Asinius Pollio.<sup>95</sup>

(*Ann.* 1.12)

Gallus had offended Tiberius when the emperor took his hypocritical remark seriously. Tiberius’ words suggest that he was willing to take on part of the administration only if he was asked to do so. The exchange with Asinius Gallus seems an indication that there existed some confusion not wholly cleared up. According to Kampff:

Tacitus has been trying to tell us that Tiberius hypocritically declared he would prefer to take charge only of a certain part of the government; when Asinius Gallus took him at his word, he was caught off balance, gave a clumsy, non-committal reply, and his expression showed that he had taken offence.<sup>96</sup>

Further on, Gallus attempted to correct his mistake by praising Tiberius, but his offence was so deep that he failed to appease the emperor’s anger. Tiberius’ embarrassment at being put on the spot and the actions of Gallus in the past would have affected this thoroughly sensitive man, and thus he showed enough annoyance to alarm Gallus. Tiberius did attempt to control his anger, but Tacitus implies his resentment at this and other offences, which eventually destroyed Gallus. The elderly ex-consul was ultimately condemned and imprisoned, and died in AD 33.<sup>97</sup>

It does appear that Tacitus reports more instances of resentment, especially in regards to Tiberius, than Ammianus, whose characters are more prone to outbursts of anger. For example, at *Ann.* 3.22, Tiberius showed resentment and compassion at the trial of Lepida. It is unclear exactly why Tiberius was resentful, but most likely it was due to Lepida allegedly consulting astrologers about the imperial house. Then at *Ann.* 3.69 Tacitus reported that Tiberius was capable of showing mercy when not influenced by resentment (*ira*) towards Silanus. Silanus was accused of extortion in Africa, as well as offences against the divinity of Augustus and the imperial majesty of Tiberius. A number of reasons therefore, for Tiberius to feel a steadily increasing amount of anger.

With Ammianus’ characters, when they feel seething anger it usually either erupts, is replaced by other emotions or is quelled. This occurred, for example, when Julian was in Persia and was roused to deep indignation (*ad indignationem plenam gravitatis erectus*) when he perceived that the smallness of the sum promised to the troops excited a mutinous uproar (*cum eos parvitate promissi percitus tumultuare sensisset*, 24.3.3). The emperor’s anger mounted, but was sensibly restrained as he sought a more logical alternative than simply striking out, and subsequently quieted their rage through giving his men an encouraging speech. In 354, Constantius felt growing anger at the conduct of Gallus in Antioch and his increasing popularity with the army, but his resentment was not allowed to linger. He struck a fateful blow to the Caesar before any immediate damage to the crown was dealt (14.11). Ammianus’ characters

<sup>95</sup> Translation by J. Jackson, with corrections by R. Newbold and B. Sidwell.

<sup>96</sup> Kampff (1963) 37.

<sup>97</sup> See Traub (1953) 250.

could and did feel resentment, but it was the immediate manifestations that our historian was most concerned with. These individuals felt their anger and let it stew for a while, but then dealt with it in one fashion or another. In Ammianus, no emperor displays the same level of ongoing and repressed anger that is secretly nursed within, such as Tacitus brings forth in his portrayal of Tiberius.

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Another episode involves Tiberius' angry suspicions of Agrippina the Elder. Sejanus was said to have "inflamed and exacerbated" all of this (*accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus*). The wife of Germanicus was present with the army at the end of the Rhine mutiny in AD 15 when she herself encouraged the soldiers and prevented a bridge across the Rhine from being destroyed, wherein the "uprising was checked by a woman" (*compressam a muliere seditionem*). This insult came on top of earlier happenings in the mutiny. The emperor believed that Agrippina was purposely currying favour with the army by using her son Gaius (*tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremaque Caligulam appellari velit*, Ann. 1.69). Tacitus supposed that within Tiberius' resentful mind he believed that, "Agrippina now has more power with the armies than the officers or commanders (*potiorem iam apud exercitus Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces*), and that "she had suppressed a mutiny which the imperial name had failed to check". Certainly this was paranoia on Tiberius' behalf.

Naturally, this was a distortion, and though Agrippina had made her presence felt and noted, she alone could not have suppressed an entire uprising.<sup>98</sup> Tiberius was open to suspicions, especially against those who were of imperial stock and even those who fought for their ruler. Germanicus fitted that bill, but his wife, a direct descendent of Augustus, was also a potential hazard. Tiberius was concerned with threats to his imperial station and there is a close parallel here with Constantius' reaction to the popularity of Gallus, as discussed above. In Ammianus' portrayal, Constantius was similarly susceptible to flattery and the whisperings of his advisors, and consequently saw the need to remove the Caesar permanently.<sup>99</sup> It can thus be summarised that if one is already suspicious or distrustful, anger is often more likely.

Ultimately, Tacitus presented Germanicus favourably in order to contrast him with Tiberius, in line with the traditional hostility felt towards the emperor.<sup>100</sup> Indeed the possible reason for portraying Germanicus so favourably was perhaps that:

Tacitus may be seeking variety and relief from the narration of political and dynastic affairs, which are to form so large a part of his subject-matter. Further, he naturally seizes any opportunity for the colourful and emotive manner of description in which he so greatly excels.<sup>101</sup>

In the end, Tiberius did not successfully eliminate Germanicus, instead Germanicus died in AD 19 died in Antioch under mysterious and controversial circumstances. According to the sources, Germanicus had asked his friends to avenge his death; his understanding being that he was

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<sup>98</sup> Cf. Hurley (1989) 324.

<sup>99</sup> See Chapter 3. For a brief discussion of Constantius' motives towards Gallus on his last journey, see Mooney (1958) 175-177. For Constantius' need to rid himself of the Caesar as well as an overview of his career, see Thompson (1943) 302-315. For his dismissal and execution, see A.M. 14.11.19-23, 15.1.2. Cf. *PLRE*, 'Fl. Claudius Constantius Gallus 4', 1.224.

<sup>100</sup> Veneration of Germanicus is seen especially in Suet. *Gaius* 1-6.

<sup>101</sup> Goodyear (1972) 239

being murdered, but it is unlikely that the cause was Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 2.71; cf. Suet. *Calig.* 1.2; 3.3). Nevertheless, Tiberius was perhaps justified to be wary of the increasing popularity of Germanicus, for after the death of his nephew, Agrippina returned to Rome with his ashes and the public display of grief was immense (Tac. *Ann.* 2.73-5; 2.82-84; cf. Suet. *Calig.* 1.2; 2; 5; 6). Tiberius was even forced to issue orders that the people be restrained in their grief (Tac. *Ann.* 3.6).<sup>102</sup>

Finally, Constantius and Tiberius both felt threatened by the increasing popularity of their subordinates as they threatened the compass of their individual wills. At *Ann.* 1.52 Tacitus informs his reader that Tiberius was pleased that Germanicus had suppressed the soldiers' mutiny in Germany but was worried that his achievements had come through rewarding them with money and early retirement. In the *Res Gestae*, Julian's popularity led to him twice being hailed as Augustus by his own troops.<sup>103</sup> Previous to this his half-brother Gallus had proved far too popular with his troops in the East<sup>104</sup> and had to be permanently suppressed by Constantius. At 2.26.2-3 Germanicus became so successful in his enterprises in Germany that Tiberius recalled him to Rome by letter. Similarly, Constantius who was becoming increasingly frustrated by the unconstitutional actions of Gallus and the increase of his potentially dangerous power recalled the Caesar. Germanicus was popular and very likely a threat to Tiberius, however, it is unlikely that in the fourth century either Julian or Gallus would have cut such popular figures.

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A final example of the anger of Tiberius came at the trial of Granius Marcellus, the governor of Bithynia, for *maiestas* in AD 15 (*Ann.* 1.74), when in a state of fury the emperor declared that he would vote openly and under oath (*ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum, quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret*). In this case Granius Marcellus had been charged by Caepio Crispinus of having defamed Tiberius. Another accuser, Romanus Hispo, had alleged that Marcellus had placed a statue of himself higher than that of the Caesars and had also replaced the head of a statue of Augustus with that of Tiberius.

What actually angered Tiberius in this episode is a matter for debate. Some scholars believe that Tiberius was angry due to the frivolity of the charges brought against Marcellus, and as a result, the emperor decided to vote for an acquittal.<sup>105</sup> Others have claimed that Tiberius' anger was caused by the transgressions committed by the defendant and planned to vote for his conviction.<sup>106</sup> Some even believe that how Tiberius intended to vote cannot be resolved, or that he was probably angered chiefly by the charge of Crispinus.<sup>107</sup> In any case, such uncertainty about the causes of Tiberius' anger suits Tacitus' purpose, i.e. to emphasise the difficulty of understanding and dealing with Tiberius.

*Ad quod exarsit* suggests that Tiberius did not lose his temper because of the whole trial, but at a certain point. This is probably when it was revealed that the head of the statue of Augustus had been removed.<sup>108</sup> Tiberius held a respectful attitude towards Augustus' memory

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<sup>102</sup> Cf. Ferrill (1991) 53.

<sup>103</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>104</sup> E.g. 14.7.9, 14.11.13.

<sup>105</sup> Marsh (1931) 110; Charlesworth (1934) 628; Rogers (1935) 10; Miller (1959) *ad loc.*

<sup>106</sup> Shotter (1966) 208.

<sup>107</sup> Fritz (1957) 90; Walker (1968) 91.

<sup>108</sup> Shotter (1966) 207-208.



and resented any disrespect shown towards it, even in the treatment of the statue.<sup>109</sup> What is likely is that Marcellus was not defaming the memory of Augustus intentionally, but was seeking to flatter the current emperor by placing his head in the place of Augustus. What he had not counted on was Tiberius' deep dislike of flattery. We can suppose then that it was both or either the insult done to Augustus' memory and Tiberius' resentment of flatterers that led to his anger.<sup>110</sup> After Cn. Piso asked Tiberius when he would vote, either first or last so that he could try to vote in line with him, Tiberius was said to have repented his outburst, and allowed Marcellus to be acquitted of treason. Tiberius did show undying respect for the deceased emperor, but was able to curb his anger when he understood that charges of disrespect were being laid to benefit the accuser, such as the two episodes in *Ann.* 1.73. In cases of real impertinence against Augustus, Tiberius acted abruptly and at times with anger, such as in the case against Appuleia Varilla (*Ann.* 2.50.2).

The stresses placed upon the reluctant emperor were none too small, and thus it is apparent that being placed in a public profile perhaps accounts in some ways for his withdrawal into self-imposed exile in Rhodes, where he was no longer forced to be present in front of the bickering senate or the emotionally charged *populus* of Rome. The veracity of Tiberius' emotional state was not always easily hidden given his public profile – although he did become reclusive, and this characteristic comes across especially strongly in the writings of the historians Tacitus and Cassius Dio, although Philo praised Tiberius for his alleged lack of anger (*Legatio ad Gaium* 303). The 'retirement' of Tiberius to Rhodes provided for Tacitus more scope for his attacks, when at *Ann.* 1.4 he stated, "his thoughts had been solely occupied with resentment (*iram*), deception, and secret sensuality" (*Ann.* 1.4.4). By emphasising this behaviour of the emperor, Tacitus not only gives vent to his perceptions of the erroneous ways of the *princeps*, but inevitably, Tacitus' portrait of Tiberius is "little more than a subtle and almost persuasive caricature of that Emperor; it is, in fact, a travesty of the truth".<sup>111</sup> The powerful rhetoric of Ammianus is also used to effectively destroy the reputation of the Caesar Gallus, especially when he claims that Gallus roamed the streets at night with armed attendants asking those they met what they thought of the Caesar.<sup>112</sup> This story, however, may be a myth, for Tacitus told a similar story of Nero.<sup>113</sup> Thus the use of sweeping statements as well as the occasional aside was an effective means of emphasising the negative characteristics of emperors without having to rely upon specific instances. Of his perception of Tacitus' own attitude towards the emperor, Dunkle presents this argument:

Thus...Tacitus...can...sacrifice historical accuracy to cast a historical figure in the mould of a tyrant. Although Tacitus mainly uses the treason trials<sup>114</sup> and constant innuendo to support his contention that Tiberius is a tyrant, the historian also employs the commonplaces associated with the stereotype of the rhetorical tyrant in building his case against the emperor. Tacitus sees Tiberius' character as imbued with the old Claudian *superbia* and suppressed *saevitia* (*Ann.* 1.4.11-12).<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Katzoff (1971) 682.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Katzoff (1971) 683.

<sup>111</sup> Thompson (1969) 125.

<sup>112</sup> 14.1.9.

<sup>113</sup> *Ann.* 13.25.

<sup>114</sup> On the treason trials in Tacitus see Marsh (1926) 305ff; Rogers (1952) 279-311; (1959) 90-94.

<sup>115</sup> Dunkle (1971) 17.

Ammianus uses similar rhetorical devices to condemn Constantius, Valens and Valentinian during the treason trials in Antioch and Rome.<sup>116</sup>

It is a possibility that Tiberius did not want to become *princeps*, but accepted the position as he saw it as the only way to avoid anarchy and civil war, although Tacitus does imply that Tiberius wanted *imperium*, but disguised his eagerness.<sup>117</sup> For a long time he controlled his anger in public and behaved in a restrained manner, but in his later years he retired to Capri in bitterness at the constant frustrations. There he attacked his enemies, both real and imaginary, and this was especially so after he was allegedly betrayed by Sejanus, his most trusted confidant (or conversely, Tiberius may have been the betrayer, but it is not something he would admit to).<sup>118</sup> Tiberius had numerous reasons to be resentful, which probably led to his general irritability and impatience. In sum, Tiberius was quite different from Ammianus' emperors.

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<sup>116</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>117</sup> For a discussion of Tiberius' acceptance of the title of 'Augustus', whether willingly or not, see for example, Scott (1932) 43-50.

<sup>118</sup> Or both could have been the victims, for a discussion involving the various sides of this argument, see Boddington (1963) 1-16. For a more complex overview, see Hennig (1975) ch. 11, who sees no evidence for a plot against Tiberius.

## TACITUS AND THE ANGER OF MAGNATES, INCLUDING EQUESTRIANS

<i>Ann. 2.10 - ira</i>	<i>Ann. 6.26 – ira</i>
<i>Ann. 2.55 – ira</i>	<i>Ann. 11.28 – fremo</i>
<i>Ann. 2.57 – accendo</i>	<i>Ann. 12.8 – dolor</i>
<i>Ann. 2.70 – ira</i>	<i>Ann. 16.22 – ira</i>
<i>Ann. 4.3 – commoveo, ira</i>	<i>Hist. 2.100 - iracundia</i>
<i>Ann. 4.60 – accendo</i>	<i>Hist. 4.11 - iracundia</i>
<i>Ann. 5.4 – ira</i>	<i>Hist. 4.49 - ira</i>
	<i>Hist. 4.77 - ira</i>
<b>Total number of anger words = 16 (15 episodes)</b>	

Found in the works of both authors is the anger of magnates, a fairly common feature especially in the historical works of Tacitus who was much closer to the ruling aristocracy than was Ammianus (e.g. *Ann.* 2.55; 16.22). Although we have a number of instances in which female aristocrats show anger, these are excised from the discussion here to bring it more in line with Ammianus' portrayal of anger in magnates, where he refrains from including direct manifestations of the rage of women. Also included in this discussion are men of the equestrian order, such as Sejanus, who became a Praetorian Prefect and was unquestionably a very powerful man. Though not strictly magnates, they were still often treated as, and behaved like, the elites, and so their obvious wrath is incorporated here.

Use of the usual set criteria for analysis produces fourteen episodes of the anger of magnates. The anger of the upper orders was reported more during times of political uncertainty, and anger was often a reaction to fear-inducing circumstances, which was used to cover up any weakness. Anger could also be used to create fear in others in order to assert control. For the elites, anger could be roused by the emperors, through the behaviour of the citizens under their control, or through the untoward conduct of fellow *honestiores*.

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Like Tacitus, Ammianus was deeply concerned with the power that corrupt courtiers allegedly wielded over their emperors, and both historians are in general hostile towards these flatterers. For example, at 14.5.4 Ammianus writes of the extraordinary powers that the sycophants had over their ruler:

*Accedebant enim eius asperitati, ubi inminuta esse amplitudo imperii dicebatur, et iracundae suspicionum vantitati proximorum cruentae blanditiae exaggerantium incidentia et dolere impendio simulantium, si principis periclitetur vita, a cuius salute velut filo pendere statum orbis terrarum fictis vocibus exclamabant.*<sup>119</sup>

<sup>119</sup> "At any hint of an encroachment upon his authority, the emperor's (Constantius') harsh and irritable temper, prone in any case to entertain baseless suspicions, was further excited by the flattery of his bloodthirsty courtiers; they magnified every incident and pretended to feel unbounded grief at the dangers threatening the safety of a sovereign, on the thread of whose life, as they hypocritically declared, the fate of the whole world hung."

For Tacitus, these flatterers were men like Sejanus, Macro and Tigellinus, three Praetorian Prefects who influenced the ruler for the worse.<sup>120</sup> At *Ann.* 4.3 Tacitus reports that Sejanus sought to destroy Drusus, the son of Tiberius: “*placuit tamen occultior via et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur*”. Sejanus was a character deeply despised by Tacitus for his scheming against others, as well as for having the ear of Tiberius and feeding him with rumours and allegations that were clearly meant to benefit only himself. Sejanus was portrayed by Tacitus as a figure fuelled by anger and vengefulness (cf. *Ann.* 4.3.2).<sup>121</sup> These traits were especially apparent when it seemed as though his carefully laid plans were failing dismally (e.g. *Ann.* 5.4).<sup>122</sup> By revealing this aspect of Sejanus’ character, Tacitus prepares us for his reaction towards the insult of Drusus. By striking Sejanus, who took it as an outrage at being treated this way, he took his revenge through the seduction of Drusus’ wife. To Tacitus, who took his knives out against this character, Sejanus’ response was underhand and full of spite, which is perhaps understandable as this was revenge after all. To him, and others, these were the ministrations of an untrustworthy figure, and there were many such reasons for disliking Sejanus.

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Thrasea Paetus was presented equivocally in the writings of Tacitus. He was not part of the sycophantic elite who ratified every decision of the emperor(s). However, Tacitus did largely disapprove of Thrasea’s ostentatious opposition, for Thrasea stood apart and spoke his own mind. For example, Thrasea walked out of the Senate when the death of Agrippina was made known, for he did not wish to seem that he condoned the murder. According to Tacitus, his refusal to take part in the flattery meant that he “endangered himself without bringing general freedom any nearer” (*Ann.* 14.12). This outspokenness supposedly led to Nero, along with his prosecutors, to ruin the senator. Nevertheless, although Tacitus did not support the means, he did regret the loss of freedoms, for, according to the historian, Thrasea’s stance made him equivalent to ‘*dignitas*’ and ‘*libertas*’. ‘*Libertas*’, as in freedom of speech, was something that Tacitus, as an orator, treasured and admired. Nero took this away in his oppressive regime.<sup>123</sup> The fear that the elite suffered under the principate steadily increased and only a very few chose to speak out or even disobey direct commands. Others, who were far more sycophantic would play on this non-conformist attitude and use it to their own advantage. The following is an example of the attacks upon Thrasea, this time in AD 66 from a fellow senator, Cossutianus Capito, a “notorious *delator*”,<sup>124</sup> whose anger was increased by Nero:

‘*Diurna populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit. Aut transeamus ad illa instituta, si potiora sunt, aut nova cupientibus auferatur dux et auctor. Ista secta Tuberones et Favonios, veteri quoque rei publicae ingrata nomina, genuit. Ut imperium evertant libertatem praeferunt: si perverterint, libertatem ipsam adgredientur. Frustra Cassium amovisti, si gliscere et vigere Brutorum aemulos passurus es. Denique nihil ipse de Thrasea scripseris: disceptatorem senatum*

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Mellor (1993) 60.

<sup>121</sup> Harris (2001) 249 n.95.

<sup>122</sup> Tacitus claims that Sejanus’ ascendancy was the result of heaven’s anger against Rome (*Ann.* 4.1), and as Mellor (1993) 54 points out, this portrait certainly owes a lot to Sallust’s description of the unpleasant Catiline

<sup>123</sup> Syme (1970) 136. For an examination of Nero as presented by Tacitus, see Rubiés (1994) 29-47.

<sup>124</sup> Ginsburg (1986) 534.

nobis relinque.' extollit *ira* promptum Cossutiani animum Nero adicitque Marcellum  
Eprium acri eloquentia.<sup>125</sup>

(Ann. 16.22)

The fourth century presented even more difficulties for the elites, as the emperors were removed to the new capital of Constantinople and had distanced themselves from the old aristocracy at Rome and its internal conflicts. In Ammianus' time, the urban prefects ruled Rome under the directives of the emperor, and the senate as a body was barely influential. The passage above reveals that the senate in the first century was still very much a potent force, and that even the emperors played power games in order to attack and undermine senators and ex-consuls, who, due to their status, were meant to be exempt from such outrages. That Nero was astute enough, and had been taught so by his personal advisers, to play such games, shows that there was still that grip on reality he had not quite lost – at least until this year (although of course he might still have been under the influence of advisors). For by inciting the anger (*ira*) of Cossutianus (whom Thrasea had participated in the prosecution for extortion of in A.D. 56, Ann. 16.21.3) and encouraging others to speak up against Thrasea, he was able to eliminate an outspoken opponent.

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That some magnates could on occasion vent their frustrations towards entire populations shows the power and influence that they had. The ex-consul Piso was able to give full play to his anger towards the Athenians:

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<sup>125</sup> "In every province and army the official Gazette is read with special care – to see what Thrasea has refused to do. If his principles are better, let us adopt them. Otherwise, let us deprive these revolutionaries of their chief and champion. This is the school which produced men like Quintus Aelius Tubero and Marcus Favonius – unpopular names even in the old Republic. They acclaim Liberty to destroy the imperial regime. Having destroyed it, they will strike at Liberty too. Your removal of a Cassius was pointless if you propose to allow emulators of the Brutuses to multiply and prosper. Finally – write no instructions about Thrasea yourself. Leave the senate to decide between us.' Nero whipped up Cossutianus' hot temper still further, and associated with him the bitingly eloquent Eprius Marcellus."

At Cn. Piso quo properantius destinata inciperet civitatem Atheniensium turbido incessu exterritam oratione saeva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens quod contra decus Romani nominis non Atheniensis tot cladibus extinctos, sed conluviem illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset: hos enim esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii adversus divum Augustum socios. Etiam vetena obiectabat, quae in Macedones inprospere, violenter in suos fecissent, offensus urbi propria quoque *ira* quia Theophilum quendam Areo iudicio falsi damnatum precibus suis non concederent.<sup>126</sup>

(*Ann.* 2.55)

Tacitus recounts the aggression of Piso, who attacked not only the Athenians for all their past disasters and called them “*conluviem illam nationum*”, but includes a tirade against Germanicus, who was acting “un-Roman” by making excessive compliments towards the Athenians. That Piso was such an influential figure made him feel even more outrage when he could not assist his friend Theophilus, for this was perhaps more a matter of prestige and status than his wish to aid a friend. The negativity surrounding Germanicus was exacerbated by his indignation towards the Athenians. After this incensed speech Piso hurried off across the Aegean in pursuit of Tiberius’ adopted son.<sup>127</sup>

Piso had grudgingly accepted Tiberius as emperor, but looked down on his son Drusus, and saw it as his duty to also repress Germanicus’ ambitions (*Ann.* 2.43). Any aid that Germanicus offered Piso was only reluctantly accepted, for his resentment was such that he sought to undermine Germanicus at every opportunity (such as at *Ann.* 2.57). Not even the adopted son of an emperor was safe from the scheming of certain magnates, and even Tiberius himself was jealous of Germanicus’ successes and popularity with the army. Tacitus’ use of *ira* here carries with it the weight of the ex-consul’s lingering resentment. It appears that in descriptions concerning specific instances of the anger of magnates, *ira* is the term used when there is a severe and often fatal repercussion for others, as the subsequent death of Germanicus would reveal.

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Anger was a powerful force for reducing a population to a trembling standstill, and though using aggression may have had harsh consequences later for the magnate, at the time it was a quick measure for delivering satisfaction for whatever outrage he felt had been committed. For many, anger was a means of control, for it covered up the fear that the magnates themselves must have felt. In the following passage from Tacitus’ *Histories*, *iracundia* conveys the anger of disappointed hope:

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<sup>126</sup> “Cnaeus Calpurnius Piso was in a hurry to execute his designs. His impact on the Athenians was alarmingly violent. In a speech savagely attacking them, he criticised Germanicus (without naming him) for excessive compliments, incompatible with Roman dignity, to a people whom he called Athenians no longer (since successive catastrophes had exterminated them), but the dregs of the earth: allies of Mithridates VI of Pontus against Sulla, of Antony against the divine Augustus. And he even brought up ancient accusations – their failures against Macedonia and oppression of their own countrymen. He had personal reasons also for his hostility. For they had refused to release a certain Theophilus whom the Athenian High Court had condemned for forgery.” According to Goodyear (1981) 361, “The disclosure that Piso had a personal motive probably emanates from that source, often detectable, which knew no good of him and no evil of Germanicus”.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Mierow (1943) 146.

Namque Lucilius Bassus post praefecturam alae Ravennati simul ac Misenensi classibus a Vitellio praepositus, quod non statim praefecturam praetorii adeptus foret, iniquam *iracundiam* flagitiosa perfidia ulciscatur.<sup>128</sup>

(*Hist.* 2.100)

*Iracundia* expresses a sense of seething rage that is not as immediate as *ira*, yet just as devastating for those who eventually encounter it. Tacitus does not hesitate to communicate to his audience what implications this dangerous emotion could lead to. This is expressed in the above passage, for Bassus had previously betrayed Galba and without hesitation set about to ruin Vitellius for the perhaps trifling concern of not being immediately promoted. This fits with anger determinant 2, “a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment”.

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The anger of the magnates discussed in this section all focus on one thing, which is the personal preservation of themselves and their status, or in the case of Thræsea, the preservation of a traditional sense of government. The endless struggles for power led to bitter conflicts, and at times affected the innocent, or not so innocent, people around them. The emperors were often the tools of the magnates’ manipulations, and on more than one occasion, any means to advance themselves was quickly exploited.

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<sup>128</sup> “This officer, after commanding a cavalry regiment, had been appointed by Vitellius admiral of both the Ravenna and the Misenum fleets. He quite unjustifiably took umbrage because he had not been made praetorian prefect immediately, and was now planning this dastardly treachery as his revenge.” Of this passage, Chilver (1979) 261 writes, “The earlier career of Sex. Lucilius Bassus and the circumstances in which he betrayed Galba are unknown: presumably his *praefectura alae* was held on the Rhine”.

## TACITUS AND THE ANGER OF THE POPULACE

<i>Ann.</i> 5.9 – <i>ira</i>	<i>Hist.</i> 3.74 – <i>fremo</i>
<i>Hist.</i> 1.33 – <i>indignatio</i>	<i>Hist.</i> 3.80 – <i>rabies</i>
<i>Hist.</i> 1.40 – <i>ira</i>	
<b>Total number of anger words = 5 (4 episodes)</b>	

In each century, and as one would expect, the Roman population rioted when supplies were not provided or when they particularly opposed a certain decree or decision by higher authorities. For example in AD 29, the angry populace rose up in support of Agrippina and her son and delayed their deaths (*Ann.* 5.2). In 32 the excessive price of grain led to riots as the people voiced their grievances to the emperor in the theatre, leading to a resolution by the Senate against the populace (*Ann.* 6.13). Tacitus portrays the populace of Rome as often unruly and disrespectful, such as they are in Ammianus. However, even though some scholars may believe that, “although Tacitus describes the pathology of the mob, he does not enquire into its causes”,<sup>129</sup> this seems unlikely, and as we shall see, the causes of mob anger are to a certain extent recounted by Tacitus, although he does not, in general, approve of their behaviour.

Tacitus was further removed from the plebeians than even Ammianus was. Ammianus’ perspective enabled him to obtain and portray a more objective viewpoint of the oppressions by the upper classes, which scarcely come through in Tacitus’ accounts.<sup>130</sup> Nevertheless, both historians held a typically elite “snobbish view” of the commons when they had occasion to riot, and Tacitus called some of them, “the sordid plebs who hang about the Circus and theatres” (*Hist.* 1.4). Tacitus held the traditional belief that social class equalled moral status, and for that reason uses terms for the common people that include, “*plebs sordida, vulgus imperitum, inops vulgus*” (*Hist.* 1.4; 3.31; *Ann.* 2.77).<sup>131</sup> As a variation on this, “Tacitus can see both virtue and vice within the individual characters in his histories, but he invariably passes harsh judgments on people acting in groups”.<sup>132</sup> This necessarily includes the soldiers as well as the plebs.

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We have only five anger episodes that concern the Roman populace (*Ann.* 5.9; *Hist.* 1.33; 1.40; 3.74; 3.80). At *Ann.* 5.9, the populace’s rage against Sejanus was appeased by his death and the executions of his supporters. At *Hist.* 1.33 the indignant crowd was calling for Otho’s head as the instigator of a plot against Galba, however, on the same day they, or at least sections of them, would be cheering for the former and desiring the death of the latter. Here then, their allegiances were fickle and their anger was moot. However, we cannot be certain that the same individuals were involved in these mobs. At *Hist.* 1.40, we are told that as the soldiers became mutinous in Rome and Galba was being swamped by the multitude, the crowd showed profound alarm and profound indignation, “*quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est*”. As the soldiers moved in, the excited populace was forced to leave and Galba was killed, such was the ineffectiveness of the populace’s anger against armed military personnel. At *Hist.* 3.74 the angry crowd demanded the death of Sabinus and so effective were their cries that Vitellius had the

<sup>129</sup> Dudley (1968) 172. Although it is often clear what the causes were.

<sup>130</sup> Thompson (1969) 127.

<sup>131</sup> For an examination into Tacitus’ use of the term *vulgus*, see Newbold (1976) 85-92.

<sup>132</sup> Mellor (1993) 56.



man executed.<sup>133</sup> Finally, at *Hist.* 3.80, Tacitus records the rage of the Roman populace towards Arulenus Rusticus and the ambassadors in their desire to protect Vitellius. They failed to kill Arulenus.

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The following passage effectively demonstrates to the audience how influential the anger of the populace can at times be:

Agebatur huc illuc Galba vario turbae fluctuantis impulsu, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu. Neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti vultus et conversae ad omnia aures; non tumultus, non quies, quale magni metus et magnae *irae* silentium est. Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur; ire praecipitis et occupare pericula iubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologaesum aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disiecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis forum inrumpunt. Nec illos Capitolii aspectus et imminentium templorum religio et priores et futuri principes terruere quo minus facerent scelus cuius ultor est quisquis successit.<sup>134</sup>

(*Hist.* 1.40)

Of this passage it is said that:

Early editors took the *quale* clause to be illustrative of all the previous words, i.e. that the absence of riot or silence was typical of a situation in which the people were deeply afraid and deeply angry. But angry at what? At Galba's misgovernment, or at Otho's coup? Despite Otho's fears (next sentence), the *plebs* seem from T. and the other sources to have shown neither emotion: they were indifferent, as later over the fate of Vitellius 3.83. It seems more likely, then, that the *quale* clause defines *non silentium* only, "there was no silence of the kind associated with fear or deep anger", and that the sentence is reminiscent of Livy 1.29.2, *non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, quail captarum esse urbium solet...sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia...defixit omnium oculos*).<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> For an examination into the behaviour of the urban plebs under Vitellius, see Newbold (1972) 308-319.

<sup>134</sup> "By this time, Galba was being carried hither and thither by the irregular impact of the surging multitude. Everywhere the public buildings and temples were crowded with a sea of faces, as of spectators assembled to watch a pageant. Yet not a cry came from the mass of people or the lower classes. Their faces betrayed astonishment, their ears were strained to catch every sound. There was neither disorder nor quiet, but only the hush typical of great fear or great anger. Otho, however, was informed that the mob were being armed. He ordered his men to move in at full speed and seize the danger points. Thus it was that Roman troops made ready to murder an old, defenceless man who was their emperor, just as if they were set on deposing a Vologaeses or Pacorus from the ancestral throne of the Arsacids. Forcing their way through the crowd, trampling the senate under foot, with weapons at the ready and horses spurred to a gallop, they burst upon the Forum. Such men were not deterred by the sight of the Capitol, the sanctity of the temples that looked down upon them, nor the thought of emperors past and emperors to come. They were bent upon the commission of a crime that is inevitably avenged by the victim's successor."

<sup>135</sup> Chilver (1979) 99.

The death of Galba comes after the description given above. The term *ira* is used for the anger of the populace, which is more ambiguous here as Tacitus states that their silence comes either from great anger or great fear (*magni metus et magnae irae silentium est*). The consequence of their anger is not the death of Galba, for Otho's men forced the civilians to evacuate the Forum, leaving Galba defenceless when the Praetorian Guard joined with Otho against him. Also that the populace knew what was to eventuate is certainly implied, for they had gathered as if to watch a pageant, and it was rumoured that they were even being armed. Their anger could certainly be a response to the encouragement of leaders to defend their emperor against the onslaught of Otho and his soldiers, and naturally fear would also attend such a pursuit when faced with an army of well trained and battle hardened troops. The mob fled the Forum and those that did not leave willingly were cut down by Otho's men. Here the united anger of the populace against expert swordsmanship was no match; the collective nature of the populace was only effective when it was against those who were either unarmed or unwilling to risk using force against them. The collective will of the mob could at times be easily curbed.

A marked difference between the accounts of the angry populace in Tacitus and Ammianus is the violent impact the populace had on events in times of civil war:

Eo successu studia populi aucta; vulgus urbanum arma cepit. Paucis scuta militaria, plures raptis quod cuique obvium telis signum pugnae exposcunt. Agit grates Vitellius et ad tuendam urbem prorumpere iubet. Mox vocato senatu deliguntur legati ad exercitus ut praetexto rei publicae concordiam pacemque suaderent. Varia legatorum sors fuit. Qui Petilio Ceriali occurrerant extremum discrimen adiere, aspernante milite condiciones pacis. Vulneratur praetor Arulenus Rusticus: auxit invidiam super violatum legati praetorisque nomen propria dignatio viri. Pulsantur comites, occiditur proximus lictor, dimovere turbam ausus: et ni dato a duce praesidio defensi forent, sacrum etiam inter exteris gentis legatorum ius ante ipsa patriae moenia civilis *rabies* usque in exitium temerasset.<sup>136</sup>

(*Hist.* 3.80)

Here the term used to describe the rage of the populace (*vulgus*) is *rabies*, a word that connotes violent action with a strong indication of passion-driven frenzy. The mob's enthusiasm was quickly quelled, for the Flavians were victorious in their march on Rome and Vitellius was killed. Further on though, the fickleness of the Roman mob is emphasised at *Hist.* 3.85, where Tacitus

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<sup>136</sup> "This success made the people more enthusiastic than ever. The city mob armed. Only a few had proper shields; the majority caught up whatever weapons they could find and insisted upon the order to advance. Expressing his thanks, Vitellius told them to throw a screen out in front of the city. Then the senate was summoned and a delegation chosen to meet the Flavian armies and urge a peace settlement, ostensibly in the interests of the country. The envoys had a mixed reception. Those who had approached Petilius Cerialis faced an extremely hazardous situation, for the troops flatly refused terms. The praetor Arulenus Rusticus was wounded. What made this particularly scandalous was his high personal reputation, quite apart from the violation of his status as an ambassador and praetor. His fellow negotiators were roughly handled, and his senior lictor was killed when he ventured to clear a way through the press. Indeed, if they had not been protected by an escort provided by the commander, in the mad passion of civil strife the diplomatic immunity enjoyed by ambassadors even among foreign nations would have been infringed with fatal consequences outside the very walls of Rome." For this episode see Wellesley (1972) 182.

states that as Vitellius lay dead on the Gemonian Steps, “the mob (*vulgus*) reviled him in death as viciously as they had flattered him while he lived”.<sup>137</sup>

The ineffectiveness of the populace as a fighting force is very much apparent, even though unarmed civilians had little chance against armed troops. The populace’s anger directed towards Arulenus Rusticus and the ambassadors was all too brief and soon replaced with antipathy against the losing side, even if previously they had been devout supporters of it. Although there is not this kind of civil strife in Ammianus’ time, as it was the armies that determined the rise of usurpers rather than any input from the civilian populace, there were still incidents that involved supporting sides. For example at 27.3.13 when Ammianus reported that Christians in Rome were aroused to anger when supporters of both Ursinus and Damasus, candidates for the bishopric of Rome, were murdered.<sup>138</sup>

Ammianus at times believed that the anger of the plebeians was justified, but this does not reveal itself in the works of Tacitus. Both authors see the commons as a mass, but to Tacitus their anger is always foolhardy, whereas to Ammianus there are occasions when the only means for the populace to express itself and its needs is through violent rage – but his attitudes do range from sympathetic to unsympathetic. One episode in Ammianus where his sympathies for the anger of the populace comes through most strongly is at 27.3.10, where, he suggests that,

In preparing to erect new buildings or restore old he (Lampadius) did not provide for the expense from the usual public funds. If iron or lead or bronze or the like were needed, minor officials were sent in the guise of purchasers to carry off the various materials without payment. His rapid flight barely saved him from the fury of enraged and impoverished people who had continual losses to deplore.

Undoubtedly the populace had a right to be angry and their collective will helped them to unanimously overcome a hostile individual.

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Ammianus understood and revealed the extent to which groups were affected by anger, even when he did not support the transmittal of their grievances. When anger was discussed by the historian we inevitably have a cause given and to some extent the manifestations and consequences of their anger. Tacitus, perhaps more so than Ammianus, feared and hated *licentia* in the troops and the plebeians. Nevertheless, he does necessarily explain the causes of anger behaviour sometimes, notably amongst the troops in the AD 14 mutinies.

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<sup>137</sup> Wellesley (1972) 188 saw Tacitus’ use of *vulgus* here as his “final Parthian shot in this book at the populace of Rome”.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Clark (2004) 103.

## CONCLUSION

Ammianus was a conscious continuator of Tacitus, but dealt with a changed autocracy, elite and empire. It is quite noticeable that Ammianus revisited a number of Tacitean elements, including *adlocutiones*, brevity, and at times an aristocratic separation from other classes. Both historians were naturally aware of the great divide between the wealthy and impoverished classes, and shared an interest in the psychology behind individuals' motives for action.<sup>139</sup> Another similarity between the authors is that they both had heroes. Ammianus' heroes were in the form of the general Ursicinus and the Emperor Julian and this is also true for Tacitus, who created a favourable impression of Germanicus as a supreme commander and intelligent officer to contrast him with Tiberius, although it is true that he was also critical of Germanicus at times. Both Julian and Germanicus showed anger, however, again, these portrayals differ. The anger of Germanicus was rare, but it suited his purpose, for example: *isque ut erat recens dolore et ira apud circumfusus ita coepit (Ann. 1.41)*.<sup>140</sup> Julian's anger was righteous in Gaul and was justified against the mutineers, but as he progressed East it became more and more erratic and irrepressible. For example in 363, Julian raged against the people of Antioch when the senate pointed out that he could not lower the price of commodities at that time (22.14.2-3).

Another issue that can be raised is that Ammianus was writing in a manner that harked back to his predecessors such as Tacitus, in which certain emperors were denigrated in order to make other figures appear more righteous in contrast. Thus at 31.14.5, Ammianus uses a generalisation to describe the anger of the emperor Valens, and which is merely the last of many generalisations that he makes about this particular individual.<sup>141</sup> This is then what Ammianus writes in the obituary<sup>142</sup> of Valens:

He was quite willing to gain advantages for himself from the sufferings of others, and his behaviour was particularly intolerable when he construed ordinary offences as *lèse-majesté*. Then his rage could be satisfied only by blood and the spoliation of the rich.

From this very non-specific statement, Ammianus is bringing together a construction of what a villainous emperor was perceived to be and by accentuating the negative qualities he attempts to block out any positives that Valens' reign brought – such as his religious policies which were far more impartial than those of Julian.<sup>143</sup>

Tacitus too did not hesitate to incorporate generalisations, hypothetical and negative examples to enhance his anger portraits. For example at *Ann.* 3.69, he wrote of Tiberius: “And capable, as he was, of mercy (when not impelled by anger)...” These witty asides help to enhance a rhetorical presentation and are incorporated so subtly and neatly that rarely would

<sup>139</sup> Martin (1981) 215.

<sup>140</sup> Also, *Ann.* 2.70.

<sup>141</sup> (*Valens*) in *sanguinem saeviebat*. Cf. *Ov. Met.* 1.200; *Lucr. De rerum natura*, 5.1327.

<sup>142</sup> On the obituary notices in the *Res Gestae*, Kelly (2004) 197 writes: “His obituary notices, in their formal juxtaposition of long-recognised categories of virtue and vice, held out the promise of a systematic and orderly method of evaluating imperial policies and achievements. That promise remained unfulfilled. In their careful construction, Ammianus' obituaries artfully reflected something of the ambiguities of imperial power. Any resolution is the readers'. And that judgement must inevitably remain provisional”.

<sup>143</sup> As were those of Valentinian, for he “remained neutral in religious differences, neither troubling anyone in this matter nor ordering him to reverence this or that. Nor did he bend the necks of his subjects by threatening edicts, but left such affairs undisturbed as he found them”, 30.9.5. However Valentinian reinforced orthodoxy over Christians and persecuted those of the Nicene faith, cf. Downey (1969) 62f.

the audience question their authenticity as they are functional in their context. Again, this is a useful historiographical method of denigrating the personality and behaviour of individuals, especially emperors.

As pointed out in Chapter 2, *pathos* was used by Ammianus to bring forth an appropriate response in his audience, a device long used by Tacitus.<sup>144</sup> Even some of the more subtle constructs of Tacitus' writing style are drawn upon by Ammianus. Each author incorporates similar literary techniques, such as invented speech, insinuation and the drawing on of their predecessors for words or phrases, to influence their readers.<sup>145</sup> Regardless, this is standard in ancient historiography, and not unique to either Ammianus or Tacitus.

For both historians the personal comments on the anger episodes are few and this follows a deliberate style of not cluttering up their work with excess information. By doing this, the authors also avoid showing bias and maintain (or so it seems) their objectivity. Tacitus makes references to emotion to enhance and underpin certain episodes in a deliberate measure to ratify the cause, manifestation or consequence of an anger episode, but also because it was worth recording for history. Ammianus naturally follows this historiographic convention.

Anger is significant to both historians and in the works of both authors this emotion serves to avenge a suffered disgrace or betrayal.<sup>146</sup> For example in AD 69, Tacitus reveals the Roman army's resentment against Julius Burdo for his betrayal of Capito (*Hist.* 1.58). Ammianus was also aware that the Roman army felt bitterness towards traitors. In 359 Ammianus records that the Roman soldiers were angry at the treachery of the deserter at Amida (19.5.8). And in 357 the German infantry were angry with their leaders who they believed would flee if anything adverse should occur. Thus their anger was a result of the fear of abandonment and betrayal (16.12.34). The Roman military were imbued with the virtues of *honor* and *virtus*, *gloria* and *fides*, and thus were outraged when their sense of justice and their radius of will was violated.

Tacitus regarded anger more frequently caused by divine intervention into the historical process (*Hist.* 2.38.2; 4.54.2; 4.84.2; *Ann.* 1.39; 4.1; 13.17; 14.22), while Ammianus understood *ira* almost exclusively as a driving force of human nature. According to Brandt, Ammianus' gods do not become angry. However, Brandt must here be refuted, for Ammianus' gods *do* become angry. See for example 31.2.1: *Martius furor*; 31.13.1: *lituosque Bellona luctuosis inflaret in clades Romanas solito immanius furens*.<sup>147</sup> Tacitus followed the viewpoint of Seneca (*De ira* 1.1.5), who saw anger as linked to lethal frenzy and irrationality and was thus to be abhorred. Ammianus, on the other hand, saw anger more from an Aristotelian viewpoint and frequently it was justified, especially when it was expressed on behalf of an important other, such as an emperor, a commanding officer, a close companion or even a social group.

What also comes across in the presentation of individuals in the works of both authors is the concept of the "radius of the will". Especially in regards to the emperors, their perception of the extent of their power was imprecise and often vague and led them to easily become upset once a transgression of that will was made; because for them, their "will seems to be able to command anything at all".<sup>148</sup> When that fails, or something does not go to plan, then anger can easily be roused. Examples of this are given above in our discussion of the anger of emperors.

<sup>144</sup> Martin (1981) 217.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Martin (1981) 224f.

<sup>146</sup> See Appendix E for the causes of anger in Tacitus. See Appendix H for Ammianus.

<sup>147</sup> Brandt (1999) 172. The anger of gods in Ammianus does not make it into the appendixes however, as only the manifest anger of groups and individuals play a role in this study, and his descriptions of the gods do not fit into the parameters outlined in the Introduction to this study.

<sup>148</sup> Fisher (2002) 159.

## CHAPTER 6

Not every similarity between Ammianus and Tacitus is proof of imitation. Both were writing in the historiographic tradition, so naturally resemblances occur.<sup>149</sup> Ammianus read widely and other historians and writers had an impact on his literary style. Emotions such as anger were used to create effect and enhance the historians' own intention to create an emotional reaction in their audience. This fed into their characterisations.

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<sup>149</sup> For the resemblances between Ammianus and Tacitus in their dramatic portrayals, see Barnes (1998) ch. 15. For Ammianus' historiography, see Blockley (1975).

## CONCLUSION

*“Plutarch,” said he, “once gave orders that one of his slaves, a worthless and insolent fellow, but one whose ears had been filled with the teachings and arguments of philosophy, should be stripped of his tunic for some offence or other and flogged. They had begun to beat him, and the slave kept protesting that he did not deserve the flogging; that he was guilty of no wrong, no crime. Finally, while the lashing still went on, he began to shout, no longer uttering complaints or shrieks and groans, but serious reproaches. Plutarch’s conduct, he said, was unworthy of a philosopher; to be angry was shameful: his master had often descanted on the evil of anger and had even written an excellent treatise Περὶ ὀργησίας; it was in no way consistent with all that was written in that book that its author should fall into a fit of violent rage and punish his slave with many stripes. Then Plutarch calmly and mildly made answer: ‘What makes you think, scoundrel, that I am now angry with you. Is it from my expression, my voice, my colour, or even my words, that you believe me to be in the grasp of anger? In my opinion my eyes are not fierce, my expression is not disturbed, I am neither shouting madly nor foaming at the mouth nor getting red in the face; I am saying nothing to cause me shame or regret; I am not trembling at all from anger or making violent gestures. For all these actions, if you did but know it, are the usual signs of angry passions.’ And with these words, turning to the man who was plying the lash, he said: ‘In the meantime, while this fellow and I are arguing, do you keep at it.’ ”*

(Aulus Gellius, NA 1.26.1-9, tr. J.C. Rolfe)

This study has emerged from collecting and calculating from a lexicon key words denoting anger in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus, as well as, but to a lesser extent, the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus. Making the study keyword based has reduced the need to make (possibly erroneous) inferences about whether an incident is actually related to anger. Instances that relate to the individuals and groups who are the basis for this study were grouped and discussed, including emperors, the Roman military,<sup>1</sup> barbarians and Persians, the general *populus* as well as the officials and magnates who helped govern the empire. The final chapter compared these representations of anger in the *Res Gestae* with those of Tacitus, Ammianus’ forerunner, in the *Annals* and *Histories*. The purpose of this study has been to understand and interpret the role of a particular emotion in the work of Ammianus. This undertaking has, I hope, generated useful and reliable data and led to valid inferences about his values and attitudes. Ammianus presents his subject matter through the filter of his own partisanship and accordingly:

I believe this to be true of historians in our own day...and I believe it to be inescapable...If there are faults of omission, bias, and even on occasion stereotyping, do these necessarily lessen the value of the *Res Gestae* as a window to the late fourth-century world?<sup>2</sup>

From Ammianus’ representations of characters and events, we get a notion of the historian’s own comprehension of these times, and a sense that some of his own anger and indignation are reflected in his portrayals. As a rhetorician,<sup>3</sup> he delved into people’s lives and personalities and claimed to know what their state of mind was. As a moralist,<sup>4</sup> he judged words and deeds.

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<sup>1</sup> For accounts from historians whose focus is on the military and whose works on Ammianus are important but are not directly relevant to this thesis, see for example Crump (1975). Crump began the study of the military aspect of Ammianus’ work, which prior to this had been neglected. His most valuable contribution to the study of the Late Roman Empire is his seventh chapter (114-127), which details the northern frontiers and Julian and Valentinian’s progress within them. Also Austin (1979).

<sup>2</sup> Cameron (1999) 355.

<sup>3</sup> See Blockley (1994) 62, “Ammianus is one of the most rhetorical of the ancient historians. His purpose in his writing is primarily that of a rhetorician”.

<sup>4</sup> For Ammianus as a moral historian, see Brandt (1999).

## CONCLUSION

Naturally, emotions were present in all the events he describes, although it was not always easy to find out what the 'true' emotional reactions were.<sup>5</sup> In the *Res Gestae*, Ammianus describes a society which, like any society, is permeated by levels and various manifestations of anger. The ramifications of this passion affected all groups within the *History*. Some of the instances of anger that Ammianus describes appear warranted and have a necessary impetus. For instance, a display of anger could be used to intimidate an enemy, both on and off the battlefield, as well as to overcome one's own fear. However, as I have observed again and again, a display of anger could be inappropriate and its driving impulse may be improper for the occasion. Consequently, some individuals were slaves to such a choleric temperament, that their actions seemed ill judged and irrational. Even Ammianus' most highly praised individual, the emperor Julian, was several times presented as showing excessive rage.

What follows is a review of the uses of anger by Ammianus in regards to the groups under discussion. This is followed by an analysis of the chapter that focuses on the use of anger by Tacitus. Finally, there is a consideration of the study's findings, as well as possible directions for future research.

### AMMIANUS AND ANCIENT AUTHORS

As promised in the Introduction, some indication will be provided here as to how influential the ancient authors, such as Aristotle, Seneca and Cicero and their perceptions on anger, influenced or were relevant to the anger portrayals in Ammianus. Throughout this thesis I have made notes where phrases indicate close connections with Ammianus' predecessors. One must take into account the differences in attitudes between men such as Aristotle and those such as Cicero, as their judgements on anger were different. For example Cicero, although accepting the importance of Aristotle, argued against the philosopher's acceptance of anger.<sup>6</sup> For in Aristotle's definition, anger was a desirable trait: "The man who is angry at the right things and with the right people, and, further, as he ought, when he ought, and as long as he ought, is praised" (*Eth. Nic.* 4.5.1125b30-35, tr. J.A.K. Thomson). He then stresses that "This will be the good-tempered man". In contrast, the 'in-irascible' man does not feel appropriate anger, he "is thought not to feel things nor to be pained by them, and, since he does not get angry, he is thought unlikely to defend himself; and to endure being insulted and put up with insults to one's friends is slavish" (*Eth. Nic.* 4.5.1125b30-35, tr. J.A.K. Thomson). By not feeling just anger, Aristotle believed that the in-irascible man failed to "feel things", and thus one has lost their sense of "self-worth".<sup>7</sup> Plato too believed that the honourable man who had been wronged will feel his spirit "seethe and grow fierce"; he will fight for justice or accept death (*Resp.* 4.440C-440D).<sup>8</sup> In any case, a look at these authors is important for it reveals just how much Ammianus adhered to the tradition, or rather a blend of traditions as he perceived them.

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<sup>5</sup> Of this literary technique, Levene (1997) 132 writes that Ammianus was not alone in this, for "the presentation of history in a 'tragic' fashion, which meant above all the describing of events in a sensationalist manner likely to arouse the 'tragic' emotions of pity and fear in the audience, was, plainly, also a widely accepted technique; it is indeed used by some as a criterion of good historical writing". Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.4 – 5; Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 15; Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 347A-C.

<sup>6</sup> Galinsky (1988) 332.

<sup>7</sup> Fisher (2002) 174, 176.

<sup>8</sup> In *The Republic*, Plato saw justice as "the highest of the virtues of society as well as the most profound and encompassing virtue within the soul..." Fisher (2002) 178.



## CONCLUSION

Anger has always been an important topic for ancient authors, for it often leads to acts of violence and revenge that can disrupt a society just as anger can disrupt an individual, and might short-circuit due process.<sup>9</sup> In Chapter 1, episodes of revenge amongst the Roman military were discussed (e.g. 17.1.9, 17.10.6). Revenge was always a popular subject for moralists and philosophers. It was Aristotle's view that "To passion and anger are due all acts of revenge" (*Rh.* 1.10). In the episodes of military anger, this was certainly the case. Although revenge can take a long time to manifest as other factors can delay taking this action; however, Ammianus was far more concerned with revenge that was immediate, and this was frequently the case in military concerns. But other characters felt vengeful at times. For instance, Tacitus revealed that Sejanus allegedly took his revenge on Drusus through the seduction of that man's wife, as well as conducting other misdeeds. In all these incidents anger is the prime motivating factor, although naturally other aspects come into play.

Understandably, there were times when anger was unwarranted, at least in the eyes of the recipient and those witnesses who disagreed with the angry man's actions. In the words of Seneca then:

You have importuned me, Novatus, to write on the subject of how anger may be allayed, and it seems to me that you had good reason to fear in an especial degree this, the most hideous and frenzied of all the emotions.

(*De ira* 1.1.1)

Fear of an individual who was easily aroused to anger is apparent in Ammianus' presentation of Constantius at 14.5.4, and his being driven to a frenzy by the flattery of his courtiers. This was a dangerous situation for anyone who was being spoken against. An emperor was in a position that he often found precarious, and some, like Constantius, according to Ammianus, became overly dependent on the advice of courtiers who sought how best to advance their own positions.

In the second century, the doctor Galen was a witness to members of the upper classes who used violence in their everyday lives, and he believed anger to be an illness of the soul. This was especially exemplified by the blind rage of the slave owner. Galen wrote of a respectable landowner in Crete who would attack his slaves "with his hand, and even sometimes with his feet, but more frequently with a whip or any piece of wood that happened to be handy" (*De cognoscendis animi morbis* 1.4).<sup>10</sup> This type of cruelty conducted by some individuals in the upper classes continued into the fourth century, and though Ammianus was not so concerned with the treatment of slaves, we do have a number of examples of the rage of the emperors that led to terrible tortures for the accused (e.g. 19.12.5; 28.1.11).

Ammianus judged the cruelty of the emperors and those in privileged positions harshly. And, like an orator, Ammianus wrote to move and instruct:

A principal aim of the orator in court, according to both Cicero and Tacitus, is to arouse the *ira* of the judge. So, for instance, Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.220: *orator magnus et gravis* (cf. the first simile of the *Aeneid*, 1.151) *cum iratum adversario iudicem facere vellet* and *Orat.* 131: *est faciendum ut irascatur iudex*; similarly, Tacitus, *Dial.* 31. *Iracundia* is defined

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<sup>9</sup> Fisher (2002) 172.

<sup>10</sup> As quoted in Brown (1992) 52. Cf. 112.

## CONCLUSION

by Cicero as *cupiditas puniendi doloris* (*De Orat.* 1.220; compare Vergil's characterization of Pallas' baldric as *saevi monimenta doloris*).<sup>11</sup>

Even in the fourth century, many of the comments Ammianus makes follow a similar purpose. When he presents anger, it is at times used to make a judgement, whether for good or for ill, for example, the episode related at 22.11.3f, which in itself is an implicit moral comment. The behaviour of the officials created insult, which then led to the population becoming furious and acting out through "a desire to blame individuals". Naturally cruelty was treated in a similar vein.

When we look at the episodes of anger in Ammianus, it is immediately apparent that his characters do not behave as Achilles behaves in the *Iliad*. Though Julian may have wished to emulate Achilles, as Alexander did, his rage would never match that described by Homer. Achilles reacted to a series of actions, with an anticipated future series of ever more serious actions in ongoing circumstances.<sup>12</sup> For example, in his fury, "Achilles scoffs at the pleas of the dying Hector. He wishes he could hack his meat away, eat it raw, and feed the rest to the dogs and vultures (22.345-54). He has no sympathy, no hesitation..."<sup>13</sup> Achilles, as with our traditional presentation of kings, had an almost unlimited will, and thus raged when this was transgressed. Julian followed, or tried to follow, the Stoic view of anger, wherein restraint of this emotion was advocated. This occurred more often than his noteworthy outbursts.

Of all the emperors, Valentinian was the one most prone to anger; although in terms of actual episodes Julian outnumbers him and other rulers. Even so Valentinian, or any other emperor in the *Res Gestae*, did not share the long simmering resentment of Tiberius or the unrelenting vengefulness of Achilles, and in temperament he was, at least in Ammianus' characterisation, presented as far unlike the heroic, but flawed individual that Homer portrays. But so saying, Valentinian may have been quick to cool too. Achilles was overcome with outrage; his temper was implacable, until overcome by grief and guilt. For most of his reign Valentinian had half an empire to run and could not afford the disruptive isolation of an Achilles.

The emotion of anger has always been a field of controversy, but also a field for new insights for those who delve into its depths. We fear angry outbursts and their consequences today just as we feared them thousands of years ago. Traditionally, historians have mentioned emotions as tools for conveying experiences that may have occurred, and to explain the reasoning or causes behind certain events. Authors often imagined and reproduced emotional scenes complete with the physiological signs that accompanied them. This was a rhetorical device used to lend colour as well as sway the minds of the readership, by either inciting the reader to share in the emotional event or be repulsed by unsavoury consequences. Ammianus was no stranger to these devices, and by studying his anger portrayals, we can see how and to what extent he thought along the lines of Cicero and Seneca, who frequently condemned anger in authority figures. But when it came to anger amongst the military, then it is to Aristotle, who supported justifiable anger against an antagonist that Ammianus most closely adheres.

## CHAPTER 1

In Chapter 1 of this thesis, I considered the relationship between anger and the army as presented by Ammianus. The soldiers come across as forceful and violent, and easily led (as a

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<sup>11</sup> Galinsky (1988) 327.

<sup>12</sup> Fisher (2002) 184.

<sup>13</sup> Galinsky (1988) 341.

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collective) by their emotions. The nature of the soldiers was to exhibit anger against the enemy as part of their duty to their commanding officers. As such it was a tool for their captains to utilise in order to motivate the legions. However, often this anger was meant to benefit only their united cause and was not always directed against a foreign enemy. At 20.8.8, the soldiers of Julian were angry (*iracundiae*) at neither winning increase in rank (although naturally not all would have expected promotion) nor receiving their annual pay, as well as the order to go to the remotest parts of the eastern world. At 28.6.23 the Roman troops who had been stationed at Tripolis were furious (*iratorum militum*) with the envoy Flaccianus for they had not been granted the supplies necessary to defend the city. In both instances, the Romans acted through feelings of outrage at unjust situations, and this is a recurring theme throughout Ammianus' portrayal of the soldiery. Moreover, the anger of the soldiers was at times stimulated by their leaders, such as Constantius at 21.13.16: *Omnes post haec dicta in sententiam...suam hastisque vibrantes irati, post multa quae benivole responderant, petebant duci se protinus in rebellem*. The soldiers of the *Res Gestae* united in anger against an aggressor. It was a natural response to move from fear to anger, and to focus on attacking and killing an enemy force. Pent up rage that was suddenly released also added an extra emotional depth to their abilities as a fighting force.

At 16.12.13 Ammianus described another incident where Julian's legions showed their support for their commander through a physical display of battle rage: *stridore dentium infrendentes, ardoremque pugnandi hastis illiundo scuta monstrantes*. The soldiers were emotionally driven in many of their actions and at times anger was used to cover and reduce fear. Similarly, when the soldiers stationed in Paris learnt of the order from Constantius that they should be sent to the East, away from their families and from their beloved leader Julian, they were: *dolore duplici suspensi discesserunt et maesti* (20.4.13). In the end their new Augustus quietened them and he was able to apply the assurances they needed to rectify this potentially disastrous situation. Ammianus indicates that the soldiers were simply reacting to a perceived outrage and that all it took was one false rumour to spark a potential insurgency (20.4.21). The soldiers transformed their fear and grief into anger on numerous occasions, particularly when it involved offences or unjust conditions. The troops in Tacitus can be similarly galvanised.

On occasion, the anger of the Roman soldiers could be turned against their own military commanders, who likewise could feel anger towards them. Mostly, this impression is conveyed by the way in which the soldiers are described as a collective force, uniting against perceived, or real, bad leadership. However, once their demands were met, this anger usually dissipated quickly and unlike some of the soldiers in Tacitus, their anger did not simmer indefinitely. For example, at 25.7.4, the emperor Jovian was forced into making a shameful treaty with Sapor when his soldiers were raging at their hardships. This then turned to protest at the humiliating terms of the treaty, and this was the other face of their anger. At 24.3.3 the soldiers of Julian threatened to mutiny when they perceived the smallness of the sum he offered them (*cum eos parvitate promissi percitus tumultuare sensisset*), and their behaviour in turn roused in Julian deep indignation. Emperors, typically dependent upon the soldiers to promote and maintain their positions as Augusti, had to accommodate the passions of the armies under their command, who could turn against them at any moment. In Chapter 3, I examined some of the responses emperors exhibited towards the soldiers when they felt a certain degree of anger towards them. Julian in particular is shown openly angry towards his own men, who were calmed rather than roused by his assertion of his authority over them. In various ways the anger of the Roman military had a significant effect upon the emperors and the fortunes of the Later Roman Empire. This therefore correlates with anger determinant number 6, "a learnt response

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to certain situations". Soldiers are trained to react in certain ways so their anger in battle is a "learned response".

## CHAPTER 2

Chapter 2 was concerned with the emotion of anger as it pertained to barbarians and Persians. I also examined the keywords that Ammianus used to associate the barbarians with wild animals. "Barbarians", purely by the status attached to this descriptive name, naturally invoke an emotional response in "civilised" society. Ammianus was familiar with these groups who were infiltrating, as well as being levied into the empire. These included the military, and even on occasion individuals who ascended the imperial throne. Although the historian did not understand the full and devastating extent that the pressure some of these groups would have for his beloved empire, fear of them and their wrath still comes through in his narrative. For example, after hearing news that the Romans were holding their kings hostage, the Goths with savage indignation threatened to avenge their leaders. As a result Fritigern was able to secure his release by promising to calm down his people by revealing that he was still alive:

Hocque populus, qui muros obsidebat, dolenter accepto ad vindictam detentorum regum, ut opinabatur, paulatim augescens multa minabatur et saeva. Utque erat Fritigernus expediti consilii, veritus, ne teneretur obsidis vice cum ceteris, exclamavit graviore pugnandum exitio, ni ipse ad leniendum vulgus sineretur exire cum sociis, quod arbitratum humanitatis specie ductores suos occisos *in tumultum exarsit*.<sup>14</sup>

(31.5.7)

Similarly, the Burgundians felt indignation when they were insulted by the emperor Valentinian who refused to join forces with them (28.5.13). The Quadi reacted indignantly (*indigne*) towards the Romans at the infringement of their rights, when the Romans constructed a garrison camp across the Danube in their territory (29.6.2). In the beginning the Quadi remained quiet, but when the Romans killed their king Gabinius their indignation and outrage at this insult forced them to act aggressively against the Romans. There are also instances of the barbarians demonstrating their outrage towards their own leaders, a reaction not restricted to the Roman military. Such an instance occurred at 16.12.34 when the Alamanni:

demanded with one voice that the princes should abandon their horses and take their stand with them: they were afraid in the event of defeat their leaders would have an easy means of escape and leave their wretched followers in the lurch.

Anger, like fear, can be very disruptive and cause all sorts of obstacles. An example of this is shown during the Battle of Strasbourg and Ammianus reports that:

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<sup>14</sup> "The people surrounding the walls heard of this with great indignation; uttering savage threats they gradually thronged together to avenge their kings, whom they supposed to be prisoners. Fritigern, fearing that he might be kept as a hostage with the rest, was resourceful enough to cry out that there would be no avoiding a regular battle unless he were allowed to go with his companions to pacify his countrymen, whose riotous conduct he ascribed to the belief that their chiefs had been done to death under a show of hospitality."

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the Germans rushed forward with more haste than caution, brandishing their weapons and throwing themselves upon our squadrons of horse with horrible grinding of their teeth and more than their usual fury. Their hair streamed behind them and a kind of madness flashed from their eyes.

In this confrontation the Romans were undeterred and routed the Alamanni. The barbarians were scared of the Romans' response and Ammianus makes clear that as a consequence of their anger, the Germans were thrown into disorder (16.12.36-44). Anger led the Germans to fight the Romans with haste and that in turn backfired upon them. Thus anger created a complication by presenting the Germans with unrealistic goals, as, through using force rather than caution, they became the defeated rather than the victors. As Libanius stated: "Anger was a passion of the soul that an upright man could regret" (*Or.* 51.25).<sup>15</sup> This statement can also be applied to groups.

That anger could be cooled is shown at 19.1.6 in 359, when, despite his rage towards the Romans at Amida in 359, the Persian king Sapor was able to be calmed by his attendants, and cooled off enough to listen to their advice. He therefore decided to request their surrender the next day, instead of deviating from his "glorious enterprises". Thus anger could be quelled through its replacement with reasonable goals, such as clemency. Sapor was directed towards the wiser course of requesting a peaceful surrender that would, if achievable, cost his army much less. Sapor is an excellent example of a ruler whose anger could be calmed in order to achieve a satisfactory outcome, whereas, as we have seen in this chapter, those individuals and groups who rushed into battle without restraint, and who didn't encompass or embrace *Romanitas*, were frequently cut down (e.g. 15.4.9; 19.11.15).

## CHAPTER 3

The notion of anger and leaders is more fully explored in Chapter 3, where the emperors come into play as world leaders whose every emotional state had the potential to affect all those in close proximity. This picture of the insecurity of emperors living on the brink of fear, anger, grief and jealousy provides a dark and bitter portrait of the late fourth century in Ammianus' history. We view the passionate nature of the emperors from a variety of perspectives. For example, we have the response of the soldiers, barbarians, Persians and of the people, to the actions and behaviour of the emperor Julian. This comes through, for instance, when Julian was made the object of ridicule and jest. Here Ammianus presents us with both the attitudes of the Antiochenes and the subsequent reaction of Julian:

Quocirca in eos deinceps *saeviens* ut obtrectatores et contumaces volumen composuit invectivum, quod Antiochense vel Misopogonem appellavit, probra civitatis infensa mente dinumerans addensque veritati conplura. Post quae multa in se facete dicta comperiens coactus dissimulare pro tempore *ira sufflabatur interna*.<sup>16</sup>

(22.14.2)

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<sup>15</sup> As quoted in Brown (1992) 55.

<sup>16</sup> "He gave vent to his fury at the obstinacy of his critics by composing a satire on them called the 'Antiochian' or 'Misopogon', in which he enumerated the defects of the city in no friendly terms and in some respects went beyond the truth. They retaliated by circulating a number of jests at his expense which for the moment he had to pretend to take in good part, though in fact he was boiling with suppressed wrath".

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Here the crowd show these anger factors from the Introduction: “(1) a desire to blame individuals, (2) tendencies to overlook mitigating details before attributing blame, (4) tendencies to discount the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality”. Here Julian shows “(1) (possibly) a response to an accumulation of stress, (2) a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment, (3) a response to righteous indignation”. There is frustration here, but also limited vindictiveness by Julian.

Even family members were not spared the rage of the emperors, which was usually fuelled by fearful suspicions. An example of this is apparent when Gallus had two prominent figures assassinated, Montius and Domitianus. This was the final straw for Constantius, as this was seen by him to be treason (14.7.13, 14.11. 14.11.19-21, 23). Ammianus describes Constantius’ reaction to the populist behaviour of Gallus:

Quo cognito Constantius ultra mortalem modum *exarsit* ac, ne quo casu idem Gallus de futuris incertus agitare quaedam conducentia saluti suae per itinera conaretur, remoti sunt omnes de industria milites agentes in civitatibus peruiis.<sup>17</sup>

(14.11.13)

Gallus had overstepped his prescribed boundaries and this impinged upon Constantius’ sense of territoriality, and consequently provoked his wrath.

A key response available to emperors because of their power was vengeance. At times we can see that the emperors were responding to anger in a clearly vindictive way. This comes through, for example, at 14.5.4 in 354. Constantius had become infuriated by the usurpation of Magnentius. Those who were accused of having supported and conspired with the usurper were not allowed a new trial after a writ of condemnation had been presented. Through the whispering of his courtiers, Constantius was said to have tortured, exiled and executed the collaborators. Even though these trials were conducted legitimately, the system of due process was not enough to let Constantius’ anger cool. Due process was also not enough to let the anger of Valens cool at allegations of sedition. At 29.1.27, in 372, we are informed that Valens responded to the treason of Theodorus and his supporters by holding trials and punishing many people in Antioch. In fact, Valens became even more furious when he perceived that individuals were escaping punishment. Although Ammianus is likely exaggerating in these accounts of bloody trials as to the numbers of victims that accumulated, it shows very clearly that the emperors were able to and could use their positions to enact vengeful and vindictive responses upon those whom they perceived as potential and real threats. And therefore these determinants from the Introduction all play their part in these instances: “(1) a desire to blame individuals, (2) tendencies to overlook mitigating details before attributing blame, (3) tendencies to perceive ambiguous behaviour as hostile, (4) tendencies to discount the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality”.

In the end, what made an emperor a good or bad ruler in the eyes of a historian, often boiled down to how much *moderatio* he showed towards his subjects. For Ammianus, it was the emperor’s conduct and intellect that earned him praise, as well as how much he supported the curial class and behaved properly towards the senate in Rome.

Underlying their rulership was an undercurrent of fear and through this the emperors had to manoeuvre and coerce those around them to obey all their political decisions. Where

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<sup>17</sup> “At this news Constantius’ rage passed all bounds. To prevent Gallus in his anxiety for his future from attempting to secure his safety by stirring up revolutionary movements along his route, he deliberately removed from their posts all the troops stationed in the towns which the Caesar had to pass through”.

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reasoning failed, an emotional outburst could be just as effective in motivating others into action. Therefore, while the ideal is control of anger (an example of Julian being talked out of anger and restoring decorum is at 22.11), Ammianus recognises that at times it is necessary and justified. The emperors had a large radius of will, but coming to terms with what lay within that power and what lay without could easily lead to delusion, and anger easily erupted when the will was subject to injury and there was an “invasion of a just perimeter of the self”.<sup>18</sup>

## CHAPTER 4

When we examine the lowest stratum of society and the internal and external effects of anger on them, it does appear that Ammianus subscribes here to the Aristotelian view that anger is a mark of self-worth and not a form of shamelessness or an attempt to disguise a lack of self-esteem or self-loathing. For, through their collective rage, the populace found a voice against oppression and misrule, and the needs of the many influenced the decisions and behaviour of the few – a bit like the soldiers (e.g. 27.3.10). The rage of the populace reflects the determinants of anger from the Introduction, i.e.: “(1) a response to an accumulation of stress, (2) a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment, (3) a response to righteous indignation”. Also these factors of anger: “(1) a desire to blame individuals, (2) tendencies to overlook mitigating details before attributing blame, (4) (possibly) tendencies to discount the role of uncontrollable factors when attributing causality”.

The mob demonstrates their own self-worth when those in power directly cheat them. This is made apparent at 27.3.10 in 365-7 when Lampadius, the prefect of Rome, in preparing to erect new buildings took materials from the poor without paying for them. The response of the mob was to attack the house of Lampadius with torches and firebrands. This was the only sort of action that the mob could commit which would gain an immediate response and transmits their indignation at the injustices done to them. These actions do not reveal shamelessness, but rather a sense of what rightly belonged to them and their fellow men, and thus fits in the Aristotelian perception of anger.

The anger of the mob could influence religious decisions, as the brutal slaying of Christians at 27.3.13 reveals: *Constatque in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum efferatamque diu plebem aegre postea delentam*.<sup>19</sup> What this does is to help demonstrate the importance of preserving the favour of the Roman mob for religious and political manoeuvring. In certain instances the united anger of the people becomes so violent in its nature that there were times when they actually murdered members of the aristocracy (e.g. 14.7.6; 22.11.8). Nevertheless, this is not surprising in a society without police. A violent mob can often have a big impact, and we see this in the late Republic and early Empire.

Some city prefects actually seemed to have the well-being of the populace at heart, and Leontius was one individual who was able to face up to the angry mob and survive and quieten their rage (15.7.3). For in 355 the Roman mob was angry with him because of an alleged shortage of wine. As a consequence, Peter Valvomeres, the ringleader of the mob, was flogged, and the punishment made his supporters flee. This does not suggest that the mob were behaving unduly or irrationally, but rather they demanded what they believed was due to them.

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Fisher (2002) 160, quoted, 163.

<sup>19</sup> “It is certain that in the basilica of Sicininus, where the Christians assemble for worship, 137 corpses were found on a single day, and it was only with difficulty that the long-continued fury of the people was later brought under control.”

## CONCLUSION

Their anger was a sign of perceived entitlement. In this incident and others, Ammianus demonstrates that the unity of the mob was quickly ended, often through the efforts of a single person in power, and this was usually when either the mob was granted their demands or threatened with further punishment or hardships.

In the end, what Ammianus would like to see is an avoidance of the issues that create mobs, by removing issues such as corruption. As I discussed in Chapter 4, these moral lessons were essentially what much of his *Res Gestae* was trying to teach.

## CHAPTER 5

The structure of Chapter 5 centres on the anger of many mostly despicable elite figures who vented their rage and indignation against their peers or those weaker than themselves. It was often necessary to conceal and control anger, but when it did erupt it had, as for the emperors, far-reaching consequences. As those in official positions were often jostling for power and the perks that came with it, there are instances recorded by Ammianus of the sometimes fatal consequences. So we have the intrigues of 368, where in order to undermine Maximinus, the *vicarius urbis Romae* Aginatus took advantage of a supposed insult made by the *praefectus annonae* against Sextus Petronius Probus, and sent the prefect a letter, informing him how to eliminate Maximinus. However, Probus betrayed Aginatus and delivered the letter straight to Maximinus himself (28.1.33).<sup>20</sup>

Even those who were held in the highest esteem could, on occasion, come under the wrath of a magnate or even a powerful usurper. At 26.8.13 Ammianus describes the furious reaction of Procopius to the supposed indifference of the ex-general Arbitio. At first he spared the possessions of the general, but when desperation ensued and his confidence was shaken, his angry response was to take revenge on Arbitio. The consequences of Procopius' actions would have a cataclysmic outcome for himself. He was acting out of desperation and felt betrayed. His anger reflects the following determinants of anger: "(1) (possibly) a response to an accumulation of stress, (2) a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment, (4) (possibly) anxiety, where anger seeks to mask or displace feelings of shame or helplessness". Anger could be self-destructive. From Ammianus' accounts, it is apparent that the obsession of many of these elites was to gain status for themselves at the expense of others, a recurrent theme throughout Roman history.

It is shown in this chapter that anger was just as powerful a force for magnates as it was for any other group or individual. However, for magnates in particular anger could be a mask for feelings of low worth and shame,<sup>21</sup> as well as the expression of a sense of entitlement. Anger also "carried a stigma...the stigma of indecorous behaviour might at any moment be translated into political isolation, into loss of office and eventual exposure to revenge".<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> "This letter Probus, as some maintained, without the knowledge of anyone except the bearer, sent to Maximinus, fearing him as a man already very highly trained in wickedness and in favour with the emperor. On reading the letter that savage man fell into such a blaze of anger, that from then on he set all devices in motion against Aginatus, after the manner of a serpent crushed by a wound from some unknown person."

<sup>21</sup> On the subject of shame, see Theophrastus' "The Shameless Man", *Char.* 9.8.

<sup>22</sup> Brown (1992) 55.



## CHAPTER 6

The focus of Chapter 6 is the portrayal of anger in the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus. When possible, the similarities and differences in anger portrayals in Tacitus and Ammianus are examined. The portrayals of emotion are remarkably comparable and we can see that “Tacitus’s treatment of anger is extremely like that of Ammianus”.<sup>23</sup>

The most angry and resentful of all the emperors was Tiberius who had suffered much due to his position and treatment by others both before and after becoming *princeps*. Many faced the seething resentment of the emperor, and Tiberius had cause for many of his bitter feelings:

Nec ideo *iram* eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor filerat, plus quam civilia agitare Pollionisque Asinii patris *ferociam* retineret.<sup>24</sup>

(Ann. 1.12)

Tacitus’ portrayal of a resentful ruler was a stock rhetorical device. The ruler whose faults included excessive anger was an element in the instability of the principate as he saw it. Not all keywords are the same, or the same emphasis placed on certain terms, but like Ammianus he brings out the harmful but sometimes constructive consequences of anger. Both authors rarely resort to explicit comments on anger episodes.

Tacitus incorporates emotion to enhance and underpin certain incidences in a deliberate measure to portray an episode as being the cause or the result of, the feeling or feelings of human beings, and this construction is followed closely by Ammianus. For example at 28.1.33, when Ammianus writes of the rage of Maximinus when he learnt of the treachery of Aginatus against him:

Has litteras, ut quidam asseverabant, Probus ad Maximinum eruditorem iam in sceleribus commendatumque principi pertimescens nullo conscio praeter baiulum misit. Hisque recitatis ita homo ferox exarsit, ut machinas omnes in Aginatum deinde commoveret, velut serpens vulnere ignoti cuiusdam attritus.

As we have seen, anger is significant to both historians and in the major works of both authors we see that this emotion also serves to avenge a suffered disgrace (*dedecus*) or betrayal (19.11.12; 19.11.14).<sup>25</sup> Tacitus regards anger more frequently caused by divine intervention into the historical process (*Hist.* 2.38.2; 4.54.2; 4.84.2; *Ann.* 1.39; 4.1; 13.17; 14.22), while Ammianus understands *ira* exclusively as a driving force of human nature.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Seager (1986) 42, “On no less than twenty-eight occasions manifestations of anger are criticized as a form of extreme behaviour that often betokens a lack of self-control. Anger is linked with fear in six cases, with *dolor* in four. Only six times is it seen as an inspiration to positive action. There are also half a dozen allusions to the anger of the gods. *Iratus* is relatively infrequent”. Similarities between the styles of Tacitus and Ammianus are discussed by Auerbach (1953) 52-53, 57-60.

<sup>24</sup> “All the same he failed to appease the indignation he had caused. Tiberius had hated him for years, feeling that Gallus’ marriage to his own former wife, Marcus Agrippa’s daughter Vipsania, was a sign that Gallus had the arrogance of his father Gaius Asinius Pollio (I) – and was over-ambitious.”

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Brandt (1999) 167.

<sup>26</sup> Brandt (1999) 172.

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In Tacitus, the emperors also understood that the radius of their will was vast and so expected that their decisions and expectations would be met; consequently they became furious when they were not. Vengefulness and vindictiveness often came hand in hand in cases involving betrayal or lack of trust in others. For example at *Ann.* 14.49, in AD 62, Nero was angry at the outspokenness of men such as Thrasea and the senators' decision to grant Antistius a lighter sentence, and thus showed *clementia* against a defendant. The non-conformist behaviour of Thrasea caused Nero angst, but it was the senate's failure to punish the praetor Antistius Sosianus sufficiently, who had written satires on the emperor and read them aloud at a large dinner party, that infuriated Nero. Vengefulness and vindictiveness also come through in another episode involving Nero and anger. At *Ann.* 16.22 in AD 66, Nero stimulated the anger of Cossutianus against Thrasea for his outspokenness, and also because Thrasea had insulted him in the past. Both these episodes reflect anger determinant number 2, i.e. "a sense of betrayal, when there is an acute awareness of disappointment", as well as factor of anger number 1, "a desire to blame individuals". As well as these factors, anger and insecurity must also have been involved in Nero's reaction to these events.

When we consider whether or not the anger portrayals are justified or fit in with the views on anger put forward by Seneca or Aristotle, it really depends on the circumstances. But in general, when looking at the soldiers' behaviour especially in the *Histories* of Tacitus, his portrayal of the anger of the military leans towards the perception of Seneca. For example at *Hist.* 1.9 in AD 69, we learn that Flaccus could not curb the frenzy of the soldiers in Upper Germany. Their anger was caused by a number of factors, including the lack of personality and prestige of their commanding officer, Hordeonius Flaccus. According to Seneca, "(Anger is) the most hideous and frenzied of all the emotions". Further on, he describes anger as "an ugly and horrible picture of distorted and swollen frenzy – you cannot tell whether this vice is more execrable or more hideous" (*De ira* 1.1.5). As we see in Chapter 6, Tacitus recorded the causes for the soldiers' anger, but as they behave as a mob, their anger, unlike in Ammianus who has more of an Aristotelian viewpoint in regards to the soldiers, is frequently unable to be justified, as portrayed by Tacitus.

## FINDINGS

### *Purpose of this Study*

As discussed at the beginning of this thesis, the purpose of this study was to explore the way in which anger was used to strengthen and validate the portraits of individuals and groups in the narrative history of Ammianus Marcellinus. The usefulness of such a study is furthered through its attention to detail, and by adding to the existing scholarship, through presenting to the readership a rather neglected dimension in Ammianus' portrayals. Thus the design of this thesis was to exploit a rather rich ground for understanding the rhetorical approach of Ammianus through his direct portrayals. As this study is an exploratory one, descriptive statistics that summarise the data obtained have been presented, as their purpose is to describe the characteristics of a sample.

Also presented in the Introduction to this thesis was the hypothesis, as is reproduced here, "Ammianus' treatment of the emotion of anger reveals as much about his education, values, beliefs and personality, as it does about the people he writes about. He sees in this emotion an important determinant of events". A hypothesis of this nature will naturally involve major variables. These involve taking into account Ammianus' perception and moral interpretation of groups and individuals. For example he did not hold the plebeians to the same

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regard as the senatorial order. Yet these variables are confounded, as he assessed different senators by merit of their individual nature. So that deductions do not become grossly inaccurate, this thesis has had to take such moral considerations into account.

A study of this nature can reveal much about what is not said, although an issue such as anger's duration is difficult to assess in a narrative unless the author is sufficiently interested in telling it. Also the role of apology in the *Res Gestae* is not something that plays a significant part in Ammianus' writings.<sup>27</sup> Ammianus was rather concerned with immediate effects such as when someone was insulted or experienced frustration. Also, the few negative and hypothetical examples of anger imply that anger is a possibility, but is not always manifested as the result of a cognitive assessment of the situation, or because the fears or speculation were groundless.

Apart from the silences, we have the data that shows the nature of Ammianus' awareness of the role of anger in all its myriad forms and uses. The tables that make up the largest proportion of the appendices provide the raw data that permit sound generalisations about the place of anger in Ammianus, whether mentioned for rhetorical reasons or because the historical record required some references. Their significance has been discussed to some extent in the Introduction, but in this section I would like to reiterate the findings.

### *Method*

The first stage of this study as outlined in the Introduction was the undertaking of a literature review to position the project in relation to other research. Then the types of questions driving the research were discussed in order to contextualise the research. A discussion of Ammianus' *Res Gestae* was made which included his writing methods to establish the type of text we were dealing with. As well the Introduction stated how this project would be set out, how the data would be collected and how it would be analysed. In the main body of the thesis, a discursive analysis was the end result and intuition played no part in the unearthing of results. Discussion of material relevant to Ammianus' time period and supporting evidence was at times incorporated, but did not affect the results of this enquiry.

Qualitative research methods were used in this study to enable data collection and measurement; this was conducted through the use of concordances and from these lists of words were built which assembled the information in order to create a thematic analysis. The list of keywords chosen was based on Latin words found in the text of Ammianus that indicate precisely the emotion of anger. The list of keywords was reduced to only encompass those anger terms that indicate specific manifestations of anger. Each anger term was then measured through various processes, including its context, functionality, ambiguity, etc., so that themes, essences and patterns could be determined. Perhaps most importantly groups of human beings were formed from the various anger instances in order to categorise those instances alongside their anger manifestations. Frequencies were highlighted in the tables, such as the number of occurrences of *ira* in total, as well as which groups exhibit *ira*. The variables involved in such a method of data collection need also be taken into account. Those include the purpose behind using such words as *ira*, rather than, say *indignatio*. What groups were eligible to show *ira* and why Ammianus believed such terms were fitting to certain situations, amongst other factors.

Trustworthiness of language is also a relevant factor, and here we have no recourse but to trust Ammianus' use of words and the fact that the majority of these have been preserved throughout the centuries. Language is the main way to interpret human phenomena and as the

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<sup>27</sup> See however Newbold (2001) for an examination which deals in part with pardon in the *Res Gestae* and how apologies can elicit forgiveness in certain circumstances.

purpose of this study is to unearth the design behind Ammianus' portrayals of human beings, language plays a vital role.<sup>28</sup> What differentiates this study from quantitative research methods is that it is based on words, rather than numbers. However, an interesting finding from this study is that words can be useful tools for analysis.

### Results

The results of this survey are encompassed in the appendices of this thesis and contain the data collected in table and graph form. These tables highlight the summary data and display the relationship between variables. Grouped frequency data is divided into sections to make it logical and mutually exclusive. Each table and figure is a necessary part of the overall discussion in the chapters and adds to the text to where relevant. Descriptive information presented here is intended for a scholarly audience interested in Ammianian studies and literature studies in general. Furthermore, it is also aimed at an audience with an interest in human psychology and sociology and thus the language is designed to fit these audiences.

By far, the most instances of anger accorded to an individual are given to Julian, with seventeen episodes. This reflects the degree of importance Ammianus gives to his favourite emperor, rather than necessarily being an accurate representation of his qualities as an emperor, the length of his reign or even his temperament. Julian reigned from 360-363 (as usurper and then as sole Augustus, as Caesar, 355-360), whereas Valentinian I, who is recorded as getting angry only eleven times, reigned far longer, from 364-375.<sup>29</sup> Valentinian was generalised as being an irascible emperor, but Ammianus was more concerned with presenting him as a stereotypical, anger-prone figure and thus his anger episodes are frequently alluded to rather than being realised manifestly. To summarise the data then, out of the forty-nine recorded instances of anger for emperors and Caesars, Julian's anger makes up 34.7% of the anger instances, whereas Valentinian's anger makes up 18.4%, which, incidentally, is exactly the same figure for Constantius. At a third of the anger instances, Julian's anger clearly influences Ammianus' portrayals and as pointed out earlier, it was not always for righteous reasons. Through developing characters along these lines Ammianus subjects himself to literary tradition, with the good emperors balanced out by the bad; however there are in fact grey areas.

The most common anger word in the *Res Gestae* is *ira*. This is not surprising and could be assumed to be the case, but it is interesting that it is used by Ammianus in the majority of cases to describe the anger of emperors (12 times) and the Roman military (15 times). Therefore the *ira* of the emperors makes up 33.3% of the instances and the *ira* of the Roman military makes up 41.6%. Of those twelve times for the emperors, *ira* is used to describe the rage of Julian seven times, thus out of the total 36 episodes of *ira*, Julian's *ira* equals 19.4%, certainly a significant contribution overall. In the *Histories* and *Annals*, *ira* is also the most common anger term (56 times), but for Tacitus, it is the Roman military (21 times) that account for the frequency. Thus the Roman military make up 37.5% of the total examples of manifest *ira*. *Ira* in the Roman emperors in Tacitus makes up only 10.7% of the instances. Interestingly it is Tacitus' magnates who exhibit the most instances of *ira* of all individuals, at 16%. For both authors, *ira* signifies direct and unmistakable anger. It is anger that is directed towards another who has caused the individual or group some harm or insult, whether real or perceived.

As for the causes of anger, the most frequent in Tacitus is threats (22 times), this is closely followed by insult (21 times) and injustice (21 times), then treachery (17 times). This fits with Aristotle's perceptions of the causes of anger and the course of action that one should take in

<sup>28</sup> For the "trustworthiness of language" see Roberts (2001) 424.

<sup>29</sup> I.e. eight years versus eleven years. Cf. Constantius' twenty-four years.

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return, for example he wrote, “For no one grows angry with a person on whom there is no prospect of taking vengeance, and we feel comparatively little anger, or none at all, with those who are much our superiors in power” (*Rh.* 1.11). Within Tacitus’ works, it is the Roman military that reacted most to threats and insult. Anger is a “territorial passion” and they responded as a fighting unit should respond, with aggression and for honour.<sup>30</sup> Being a Roman soldier was largely about being proud and having pride in one’s unit. The soldiers who shared the same ideals and objectives, behaved as a combined force, and were able to overcome just about any antagonist, or perceived target. Fuelled by collective goals, as well as elements that included anger (and often incited by leaders), the Roman army rose up and tore down emperors (e.g. AD 69). The army was crucial to the survival of the empire and their anger could have momentous consequences.

Of the subjects in Ammianus it is the emperors and Caesars who exhibit anger most often (49 times). This means that out of the total percentage, the anger of emperors makes up 31.4%. The next highest percentage belongs to the Persians and barbarians at 27.5%. This reflects the centrality of the emperors to Ammianus’ narrative. These men had the power to change and transform destinies, and their anger could crucially determine decisions. The anger of the Persians and barbarians provided an effective counter-measure for on one hand we have the Romans exhibiting righteous anger and fighting for the good of their empire, whereas the barbarians are ferocious and uncultivated and their anger is fuelled by their savage impulses that need to be tamed. For Tacitus it is the Roman military that make up the majority of his anger instances (56 times), which equates to 64.3% of the anger total. The largest number of these occurs in the extant *Histories* covering AD 69-70 (33 times). Anger in the military makes up the majority of specific anger words in the *Annals* (23 times), where there is more focus on the affairs at Rome, especially in the Praetorian Guard. If we take Tacitus’ work at an emotional level, then it is clear that *ira militum* is a primary concern for the historian. He was writing about periods of time where to exhibit rage was to exhibit dominance over the social environment. It is perhaps a surprising find that Ammianus’ primary concern was the anger of the emperors, whereas for Tacitus it was the military. From Ammianus’ perspective the emperors were removed from the public eye and the military was observable at first hand; whereas for Tacitus his narrative has the emperors as his central theme but as in the *Histories*, the army could make or break an emperor.

From studying our findings one can rightly assert that Tacitus, more so than Ammianus, shares Plato’s belief in the integration of emotional responses in the mortal soul. According to *Timaeus* 69d, the pathetic dispositions of the mortal soul are *hēdonē* (pleasure, “the greatest incentive to evil”) and *lupē* (distress, “that takes flight from good”), then *tharsos* (confidence) and *phobos* (fear), which are characterized as “two foolish advisers”, *elpis* (“misleading” hope), and *thumos* (anger “not easily comforted”).<sup>31</sup> Thus for Tacitus and Aristotle these emotions were linked with distress, and this particularly applies to the anger felt by the military during the mutinies described by Tacitus. The distressed emotional state of the soldiers is especially apart in the mutinies in Pannonia (*Ann.* 1.16-30) in AD 14, as well as in Germany (*Ann.* 1.31-49), where the emperor’s adopted son and nephew Germanicus was in command, and in which the soldiers offered to support Germanicus if he should wish to supplant Tiberius (*Ann.* 1.31.1).

Both authors certainly use anger along with other emotions to manipulate their readers and listeners. This was a well-known and practised rhetorical technique. In his *Rhetoric* 2.1–11,

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. Fisher (2002) 181.

<sup>31</sup> For these definitions, see Knuuttila (2004) 15-17. In Plato’s *Laws* 9.864b, pleasure and desires are treated as one group, and fear and anger are treated as forms of distress.

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Aristotle's purpose is to explain how the orator may change the judgements of the audience through giving rise to emotions, "Emotions, such as anger, pity, fear and all that are similar to them and their opposites, change people with respect to their judgements, and they are accompanied by distress and pleasure" (1378a19–22).<sup>32</sup> When we look at the hypothetical examples of anger in Appendices D and I we are immediately confronted with a range of techniques incorporated by the historians either to subtly or bluntly reinforce suggestions of their subject's anger. For example in AD 70 Tacitus describes a character trait of the Roman soldiers and suggests that due to different allegiances, the soldiers were either obedient or in a frenzy (*Hist.* 4.27). The readers immediately assume that the soldiers were prone to passionate outbursts without just cause and this is unacceptable behaviour. Whether it is true or not plays secondary importance if indeed any importance at all. Another example one can give of this art of persuasion is from Ammianus at 21.16.9, where Constantius is described in a generalisation in his epitome. Ammianus states that Constantius' bitterness and suspicions were stretched to the utmost in cases where people were reported to have insulted his majesty. One immediately assumes this is a characteristic of the emperor and it does not need any factual evidence to back it up.

What also matters when we look at emperors and especially those in positions of power over others, is their internal locus of control. For someone with authority over other human beings, he or she must have the belief that they have control over a situation which is seen as modifiable and therefore able to be manipulated. When one loses that control or that control is not apparent, the result is at times anger due to the loss of affective control:

In general, we learn what we can do, what we can affect, by doing, and by affecting". Thus, there is a congruence or agreement between what we try to accomplish and what we do, in fact, get done, that leads to a greater sense of empowerment, or internal locus of control. We also are empowered by the understanding, acceptance, and validation of others.<sup>33</sup>

Therefore, individuals subconsciously internalise a sense of control over that which is within their orbit of influence or "the radius of the will", that is people, events, and processes that are clearly external, in the world, outside. The individuals and even the homogenous groups such as the Roman soldiers did precisely that; they processed their internal locus of control and when their will was subverted by external forces they naturally reacted in opposition. After all we are looking at a period where violence was commonplace and expected and Ammianus' characters behaved accordingly. Although everyone has, in effect, a "radius of the will", not everyone can act out on it. Only those with external power could effectively rectify their hurt and only those worth mentioning are recorded by Ammianus and Tacitus.

Numerous examples could be given to support the above statement by Lieberman from Ammianus and Tacitus. Time and again we are made aware of the angry reactions of those whose will was subverted, either consciously or not. One outstanding case of an individual reacting violently to the loss of affective control, whether real or imaginary occurred in 364. As we recall, Apronianus, the *praefectus urbis* in Antioch, lost one eye and believed it was due to the dark arts (26.3.2). Apronianus surely believed that he was a powerful figure who could manipulate the citizens directly under his control, but when he believed that power was being negatively transgressed, he tracked down supposed criminals who performed magic and

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. Knuuttila (2004) 32.

<sup>33</sup> Lieberman (2004) 121.

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punished them cruelly. An example of this nature is also found in Tacitus, where in AD 18 Piso was angry with the Athenians for not releasing Theophilus who had been condemned for forgery (Ann. 2.55). Piso, with his importance well established in the Roman governing aristocracy, was outraged that his will was being undermined by the Athenians, a people who had once been great but were not reduced to a far lesser status. Piso ultimately was unable to control the Athenians and thus left fuming.

In essence, anger appears futile at times and leads to much cruelty and bloodshed, but can be effective for achieving certain aims, at least in the short term; however, because of the resentment anger may cause, there may be long term costs. Anger in Ammianus appears as a way in which power is exercised and released. It motivates a wide range of actions, causing injustices and provoking reactions on behalf of justice. It is therefore an integral part of the moral codes people lived by, including Ammianus', although we have not ventured into much speculation about Ammianus' own angry feelings, verging as they do on disgust and horror at times. Reports of anger reflect some of the historian's own personal viewpoint, as his infrequent comments on anger episodes reveal. The Introduction listed the tendencies behind anger on page 17 and the determinants of anger on page 19, and much of Ammianus' accounts (or some of them) fit these categories. His understanding and treatment of anger, therefore, is not idiosyncratic but is informed by close observation of its causes and consequences as well as by a rhetorical colouring. In the frequent absence of autopsy, he relies on what would seem possible and plausible to his audience and appeals to what would move them. Similar psychological determinants occur repeatedly throughout the episodes. At times anger can be caused by a number of factors, and these are indicated where relevant. However, what appears to be the single most important determinant for anger is a sense of betrayal (number 2). Every group is stirred to anger by betrayal to some degree. Anger also empowers and overcomes fear, as at the same time it clouds judgement. This is apparent in the *Res Gestae* at 17.1.9 when soldiers were hampered in their progress by trees felled by their enemies. Through this insult and frustration the soldiers dispel their fear and replace it with anger that is caused by a notion of outrage.

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Ammianus' own reactions to displays of anger are usually implicit, rather than explicit. He was aware of the audience whom he was writing for and his own indignation at times sought to rouse similar feelings of outrage or contempt in his readers or listeners. He reports displays of anger because they reveal character, have consequences and explain historical events. Also, he does so to bring colour and vividness to his narrative:

He belongs to the tradition of the antique historians in the elevated style, who look down from above and judge by moral standards...The particular form of the tradition...is very strongly stoic in temper; it delights in choosing exceptionally sombre subjects, which reveal a high degree of moral corruption and then sharply contrasting them with its ideal concept of original simplicity, purity, and virtue.<sup>34</sup>

Anger is a natural survival skill for humans, as natural as the flight response when we feel threatened. To stand up and face those who threaten our notions of security and justice by making ourselves seem more threatening, or by using the power given to us to condemn others who may be potential threats, is a way of making ourselves feel better and restoring our sense

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<sup>34</sup> Auerbach (1953) 56. Matthews (1989) 429-431, disagrees with the stoic nature of Ammianus.

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of security. Anger is protective and in this way we can readily agree with Aristotle, that we feel anger most strongly when it is on behalf of people we feel most closely connected with. Altruistic anger is seen most often in mob behaviour or when soldiers were fighting together on behalf of a leader or an emperor, or both. However, this is less frequently seen in individuals, but the perception that anger is justified when a wrong has been committed is a strong feature of Ammianus' account.

Ammianus wrote to instruct as a traditional moralist and anger portrayal was one vehicle for this. His purpose was to reveal where individuals in particular went wrong; and he pointed out their failings more so, presumably, than where they went right, so that his audience could feel indignation at the injustices and learn from them. However, the angered individual or group almost always saw their anger as 'right' no matter its causes and effects. Ammianus was aware that his subjects were always capable of showing anger or coming under its influence from others. Each group felt that their anger suited their particular claim to justice, and this ranged from the emperors themselves to the most humble slave (28.1.49). As one can summarise: "Anger is a relation of the will to that radius which it assumes to be within its control, or within which anything that happens either affirms or denies that territory".<sup>35</sup>

The contribution this thesis has made to Ammianian studies is a significant one because it has advanced our understanding of the author's personal concepts and thought processes, especially in regards to his evaluation of emotion. We know from past studies how much Ammianus was a moralist; he was concerned with the discernment between good and evil, between righteous action and barbaric behaviour. However this thesis goes right to the very heart of the issue, to the very words that Ammianus uses in their context. It draws forth the tone, the implication and the depth of his portrayals whilst evaluating his portrayals from a variety of perspectives. From this study we now know that Valentinian, whilst irascible, was not the most anger prone emperor. We know that the gods in Ammianus do become angry. We know the choice of language Ammianus chooses to express his character's anger and we know the extent to which innuendo and generalisations pepper his anger portrayals. Through dividing the anger portraits into the chapters that discuss groups, this thesis has grouped data logically and practically to better disseminate the constituent themes. What has necessarily been to a large extent excluded from this thesis is a discussion of Ammianus' own anger. Ammianus placed himself into his narrative as a literary construct, and deliberately incorporated rhetorical effect to promote his particular viewpoints. Ammianus was also a product of his upbringing, his education, his career and his purpose as a historian and as such it is what he portrays rather than his perception of his own self which is significant to this study.

To conclude, Ammianus was conscious of anger and its effects, and his perceptions fit into the traditional perceptions of anger, its manifestations and consequences. This study has provided us with one means of examining Ammianus' portrayal of character through a particular medium; that is the emotion of anger. Future studies could contribute to this field through examinations of other emotions, such as fear and grief. Authors other than Tacitus could be used to make comparisons with Ammianus, and further psychological approaches could also be applied. In fact, the type of analysis I have applied to Ammianus could be applied to other ancient authors, and it would be interesting to make future comparisons there. In sum, anger has provided an interesting and effective means for understanding Ammianus as an author, a rhetorician and a moralist, and this is a growing field that can and should be developed further.

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<sup>35</sup> Fisher (2002) 182.



## APPENDIX A. TABLATURE OF ANGER IN THE *RES GESTAE*

### Emperors and Caesars

Julian

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Frendo	24.5.6	1
Indignatio	17.10.8, 24.3.3, 25.1.8	3
Indignor	20.4.15, 22.14.3, 24.6.17	3
Ira	16.4.2, 22.13.2, 22.14.2, 23.2.4, 24.3.2, 24.5.7, 24.5.10	7
Irascor	24.5.6	1
Percio	16.11.8	1
Saevio	22.14.2	1
<b>Total 17</b>		

Constantius

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Dolor	14.11.23	1
Exardesco	14.11.13	1
Excandesco	20.9.2	1
Fel	19.12.5	1
Fremo	16.8.7	1
Indignatio	20.9.2	1
Ira	14.11.23	1
Iracundia	14.5.4	1
Irascor	20.2.5	1
<b>Total 9</b>		

Diocletian

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Irascor	14.11.10	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Valens

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Efferō	29.1.38	1
Indignatio	26.9.10	1
Ira	30.2.7	1
Rabies	29.1.27	1
Saevio	29.1.27, 31.14.5	2
<b>Total 6</b>		

Valentinian

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Efferō	28.1.11	1
Excandescō	30.5.10	1
Ira	27.7.7, 30.5.10, 30.6.3	3
Iracundia	28.1.23	1
Irascor	28.2.9	1
Percieo	27.7.7, 28.1.23	2
<b>Total 9</b>		

Gallus

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Accendo	14.7.4	1
Commoveo	14.7.12	1
Efferō	14.1.10, 14.7.2	2
Rabies	14.1.10	1
Saevio	14.1.2, 14.7.21	2
<b>Total 7</b>		

Magnates

Aginatius

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Indignus	28.1.32	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Procopius (Usurper)

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Indignor	26.8.13	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Apronianus

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Dolor	26.3.2	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Domitianus

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Subirascor	14.7.11	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Fortunatianus

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Percieo	29.1.5	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Paulus

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Furor	19.12.7	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Romanus

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Dolor	28.6.19	1
Ira	28.6.19	1
Percieo	28.6.19	1
<b>Total 3</b>		

Maximinus – praefectus urbi

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Exardesco	28.1.33	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Commanding Officer

Jovinus

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Irascor	27.2.9	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

City Magistrate

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Indignus	31.6.2	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

**Persians and Barbarians**

Igmazen – king of the Isafilenses

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Dolor	29.5.46	1
Ira	29.5.46	1
<b>Total 2</b>		

Sapor

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Dolor	19.8.1	1
Efferro	20.7.8, 27.12.11	2
Ira	19.1.6, 19.8.1, 20.7.3, 25.8.13	4
Percieo	19.7.8, 27.12.18	2
Saevio	19.1.6	1
<b>Total 10</b>		

Persian Kings

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Indignatio	19.6.13	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Persian Soldiers

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Accendo	19.6.8	1
Efferō	19.7.1	1
Fremo	20.7.5	1
Frendo	19.6.8	1
Irascor	20.7.15, 25.8.17	2
<b>Total 6</b>		

Barbarians

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Efferō	29.6.6, 31.5.5	2
Exardesco	31.5.7, 31.10.5	2
Flagro	16.12.49, 31.10.5	2
Fremo	16.12.34	1
Frendo	15.4.9, 16.12.36, 29.6.12	3
Furor	16.12.46, 17.13.7, 18.2.14, 19.11.15, 31.13.10	5
Indignatio	16.12.34	1
Indignor	28.5.13	1
Indignus	29.6.2	1
Ira	16.12.44, 16.12.49	2
Rabies	14.2.14, 28.6.4	1
Saevio	16.12.36, 28.5.13	2
<b>Total 24</b>		

## Plebeians

### Plebeians Outside of Rome

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Efferro	22.11.5	1
Flagro	22.11.10	1
Furor	14.7.6	1
Ira	22.11.3	1
<b>Total 4</b>		

### Roman Plebs

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Accendo	27.3.10	1
Efferro	27.3.13	1
Infrendo	22.11.8	1
Iracundia	27.3.10	1
Saevio	15.7.3, 19.10.2	2
<b>Total 6</b>		

## Slaves

### Sapaudulus (a slave)

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Dolor	28.1.49	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Roman Soldiers

Emotion Word	Instances	Total
Accendo	25.1.2, 26.9.3, 27.10.5	3
Ardor	14.3.5	1
Dolor	14.2.17, 24.4.20	2
Efferro	20.8.8	1
Ferveo	25.3.10	1
Frendo	19.5.3	1
Furo	25.7.4	1
Indignatio	16.12.10, 17.1.9	2
Indignor	16.11.12	1
Infrendo	16.12.13, 27.10.7	2
Inrito	14.10.3	1
Ira	14.2.17, 16.12.52, 17.10.6, 17.13.9, 17.13.15, 19.5.8, 19.11.14, 20.4.16, 22.3.8, 24.2.5, 24.4.20, 25.3.6, 25.3.10, 25.7.4, 26.9.3	15
Iracundia	20.8.8	1
Irascor	21.13.16, 24.4.1, 24.4.25, 28.6.23	4
Percieo	17.10.6, 25.7.4	2
Saevio	14.10.3, 19.6.5	2
Tumor	14.10.5	1
<b>Total 41</b>		

**Totals**

Emperors and Caesars

Emperor	Total Number of Anger Words
Constantius	9
Diocletian	1
Gallus	7
Julian	17
Valens	6
Valentinian	9
<b>Total 49</b>	

## Magnates

Character	Total Number of Anger Words
Aginatius	1
Apronianus	1
Domitianus	1
Fortunatianus	1
Maximinus	1
Paulus	1
Procopius	1
Romanus	3
<b>Total 10</b>	

## Persians and Barbarians

Persian or Barbarian	Total Number of Anger Words
Barbarians	24
Igmazen	2
Persian kings	1
Persian soldiers	6
Sapor	10
<b>Total 43</b>	

## Plebeians

Plebeians	Total Number of Anger Words
Non-Roman plebeians	4
Roman plebeians	6
<b>Total 10</b>	

## Military

Soldiers	Total Number of Anger Words
Roman soldiers	41
<b>Total 41</b>	



Others

<b>Soldiers</b>	<b>Total Number of Anger Words</b>
Commanding Officer	1
Slave	1
City Magistrate	1
<b>Total 3</b>	

Grand Total of Anger Words: 156

## APPENDIX B. CATEGORIES OF ANGER IN THE *RES GESTAE*

### *Category One*<sup>1</sup>

<i>Anger Word</i>	<i>Number of References</i>
Indignatio	9
Indignor	6
Indignus	3
Inrito	1
Ira	36
Iracundia	4
Irascor	11
Subirascor	1
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>71</b>

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### *Category Two*<sup>2</sup>

<i>Anger Word</i>	<i>Number of References</i>
Commoveo	1
Dolor	8
Efferro	12
Ferveo	1
Furo	1
Furor	7
Percieo	9
Rabies	4
Saevio	12
Tumor	1
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>56</b>

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<sup>1</sup> These are clearly indicative of anger.

<sup>2</sup> These depend of the proximity of a word such as, or are associated with, *ira*: e.g. *ira et dolor*; clear provocation and may appear with a category 1 or 3 word.

*Category Three<sup>3</sup>*

<i>Anger Word</i>	<i>Number of References</i>
Accendo	6
Ardor	1
Exardesco	4
Excandesco	2
Fel	1
Flagro	3
Fremo	3
Frendo	6
Infrendo	3
Subtotal	29
Total	156

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<sup>3</sup> These are immediate manifestations, and it is often or always reasonable to think that anger is involved.

## APPENDIX C. TABLATURE OF ANGER WORDS IN AMMIANUS AND TACITUS

The following contains a complete tablature of anger words that have formed the basis for this study. Definitions and some examples from Latin authors are presented.

### Instances of *accendo* in the *Annals* of Tacitus

**accendo**, to kindle, to set on fire, fire, flame, ignite, especially of feelings; Verg. *Aen.* 12.919, *accensus et ira*.<sup>1</sup>

Angered	Instance of <i>accendo</i>	Total
Barbarians	12.39, 12.40, 15.1	3
Emperors	1.69	1
Magnates	2.57, 4.60, 11.8	3
Roman Military	15.4, 15.66	2
Women	4.52	1
<b>Total 10</b>		

### Instances of *accendo* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus

Angered	Instance of <i>accendo</i>	Total
Emperors	14.7.4	1
Persians	19.6.8	1
Populace	27.3.10	1
Roman Military	25.1.2, 26.9.3, 27.10.5	3
<b>Total 6</b>		

### Instances of *ardor* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus

Angered	Instance of <i>ardor</i>	Total
Roman Military	14.3.5	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

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<sup>1</sup> All definitions are taken from Cassell's Latin Dictionary (1968).

**Instances of *commoveo* in the *Annals* of Tacitus**

**commoveo**, of the mind or the passions, to move, influence, disturb.

Angered	Instance of <i>commoveo</i>	Total
Magnates	4.3	1
Women	11.12	1
<b>Total 2</b>		

**Instances of *commoveo* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>commoveo</i>	Total
Emperors	14.7.12	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

**Instances of *dolor* in the *Annals* of Tacitus**

**dolor**, resentment.

Angered	Instance of <i>dolor</i>	Total
Barbarians	15.1	1
Emperors	12.20	1
Magnates	12.8	1
<b>Total 3</b>		

**Instances of *dolor* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

Angered	Instance of <i>dolor</i>	Total
Roman Military	2.43, 2.86, 3.14	3
<b>Total 3</b>		

**Instances of *dolor* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>dolor</i>	Total
Emperors	14.11.23	1
Magnates	26.3.2, 28.6.19	2
Persians	19.8.1, 29.5.46	2
Roman Military	14.2.17, 24.4.20	2
Slaves	28.1.49	1
<b>Total 8</b>		

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**Instances of *effero* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

**effero**, to make wild, make savage.

Angered	Instance of <i>effero</i>	Total
Barbarians	29.6.6, 31.5.5	2
Emperors	14.1.10, 14.7.2, 28.1.11, 29.1.38	4
Persians	19.7.1, 20.7.8, 27.12.11	3
Populace	22.11.5, 27.3.13	2
Roman Military	20.8.8	1
<b>Total 12</b>		

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**Instances of *exardesco* in the *Annals* of Tacitus**

**exardesco**, of persons, to be excited, inflame; Cic. *Verr.* 2.20, *iracundia ac stomacho*.

Angered	Instance of <i>exardesco</i>	Total
Emperors	1.74	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

**Instances of *exardesco* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

Angered	Instance of <i>exardesco</i>	Total
Roman Military	1.58, 3.31	2
<b>Total 2</b>		

**Instances of *exardesco* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>exardesco</i>	Total
Barbarians	31.5.7, 31.10.5	2
Emperors	14.11.13	1
Magnates	28.1.33	1
<b>Total 4</b>		

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**Instances of *excandescio* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

**excandescio**, to grow hot with passion.

Angered	Instance of <i>excandescio</i>	Total
Emperors	20.9.2, 30.5.10	2
<b>Total 2</b>		

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**Instances of *fel* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>fel</i>	Total
Emperors	19.12.5	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

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**Instances of *ferveo* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>ferveo</i>	Total
Roman military	25.3.10	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

---

**Instances of *flagro* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

**flagro**, to glow or burn with passion.

Angered	Instance of <i>flagro</i>	Total
Barbarians	16.12.49, 31.10.5	2
Populace	22.11.10	1
<b>Total 3</b>		

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**Instances of *fremo* in the *Annals* of Tacitus**

**fremo**, to roar, murmur, growl.

Angered	Instance of <i>fremo</i>	Total
Magnates	11.28	1
Roman Military	3.45	1
Women	13.13	1
<b>Total 3</b>		

**Instances of *fremo* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

Angered	Instance of <i>fremo</i>	Total
Populace	3.74	1
Roman Military	1.55, 2.6, 2.28, 2.44, 2.69, 3.10, 4.35	7
<b>Total 8</b>		

**Instances of *fremo* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>fremo</i>	Total
Barbarians	16.12.34	1
Emperors	16.8.7	1
Persians	20.7.5	1
<b>Total 3</b>		

**Instances of *frendo* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

**frendo**, with or without *dentibus*, to gnash the teeth.

Angered	Instance of <i>frendo</i>	Total
Barbarians	15.4.9, 16.12.36, 29.6.12	3
Emperors	24.5.6	1
Persians	19.6.8	1
Roman Military	19.5.3	1
<b>Total 6</b>		



### Instances of *furo* in the *Annals* of Tacitus

**furo**, to rage, rave, be mad; Cic. *Cat.* 2.1.1, *Catilinam furentem audacia*.

Angered	Instance of <i>furo</i>	Total
Roman Military	1.35, 1.40, 1.42	3
<b>Total 3</b>		

### Instances of *furo* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus

Angered	Instance of <i>furo</i>	Total
Roman Military	25.7.4	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

### Instances of *furor* in the *Annals* of Tacitus

**furor**, of strong passions, a furious anger, martial rage; Cic. *Cat.* 4.11, *versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis*.

Angered	Instances of <i>furor</i>	Total
Roman military	1.18, 1.49	2
<b>Total 2</b>		

### Instances of *furor* in the *Histories* of Tacitus

Angered	Instances of <i>furor</i>	Total
Barbarians	4.70	1
Roman military	1.9, 1.63, 1.81, 2.46, 3.71	5
<b>Total 6</b>		

### Instances of *furor* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus

Angered	Instances of <i>furor</i>	Total
Barbarians	16.12.46, 17.13.7, 18.2.14, 19.11.15, 31.13.10	5
Magnates	19.12.7	1
Populus	14.7.6	1
<b>Total 7</b>		

**Instances of *indignatio* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

**indignatio**, indignation; Liv. 4.50.1, *indignationem movit*.

Angered	Instances of <i>indignatio</i>	Total
Populace	1.33	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

**Instances of *indignatio* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instances of <i>indignatio</i>	Total
Barbarians	16.12.34	1
Emperors	17.10.8, 20.9.2, 24.3.3, 25.1.8, 26.9.10	5
Persians	19.6.13	1
Roman Military	16.12.10, 17.1.9	2
<b>Total 9</b>		

**Instances of *indignor* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

**indignor**, be offended, indignant at.

Angered	Instance of <i>indignor</i>	Total
Roman Military	1.8	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

**Instances of *indignor* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>indignor</i>	Total
Barbarians	28.5.13	1
Emperors	20.4.15, 22.14.3, 24.6.17	3
Magnates	26.8.13	1
Roman Military	16.11.12	1
<b>Total 6</b>		

### Instances of *indignus* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus

**indignus**, of persons, unworthy, not deserving.

Angered	Instance of <i>indignus</i>	Total
Barbarians	29.6.2	1
Magnates	28.1.32	1
City Magistrate	31.6.2	1
<b>Total 3</b>		

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### Instances of *infrendo* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus

**infrendo**, to gnash with the teeth.

Angered	Instance of <i>infrendo</i>	Total
Populace	22.11.8	1
Roman Military	16.12.13, 27.10.7	2
<b>Total 3</b>		

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### Instances of *inrito* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus

**inrito**, excite, especially to anger.

Angered	Instance of <i>inrito</i>	Total
Roman Military	14.10.3	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

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**Instances of *ira* in the *Annals* of Tacitus**

*ira*, wrath, anger, ire.

Angered	Instances of <i>ira</i>	Total
Barbarians	2.19, 2.66, 4.72, 11.8	4
Divine wrath	1.30, 4.1, 13.17, 14.22, 16.16	5
Emperors	1.12, 3.22, 3.69, 4.21, 14.49	5
Magnates	2.10, 2.55, 2.70, 4.3, 5.4, 6.26, 16.22	7
Populace	5.9	1
Roman military	1.20, 1.45, 1.62, 1.68, 2.13, 12.39, 15.4	7
Unnamed individuals	15.57	1
Women	4.53, 11.37, 12.22, 13.18	4
<b>Total 34</b>		

**Instances of *ira* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

Angered	Instances of <i>ira</i>	Total
Barbarians	4.29	1
Commanding Officer	4.21	1
Divine wrath	2.38, 4.26	2
Emperors	1.21	1
Magnates	4.49, 4.77	2
Populace	1.40	1
Roman Military	1.25, 1.63, 1.81, 1.82, 2.13, 2.44, 2.86, 3.7, 3.10, 3.22, 4.2, 4.36, 4.72, 5.15	14
<b>Total 22</b>		

**Instances of *ira* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus**

Angered	Instances of <i>ira</i>	Total
Barbarians	16.12.44, 16.12.49, 29.5.46	3
Emperors	14.11.23, 16.4.2, 22.13.2, 22.14.2, 23.2.4, 24.3.2, 24.5.7, 24.5.10, 27.7.7, 30.2.7, 30.5.10, 30.6.3	12
Magnates	28.6.19	1
Persians	19.1.6, 19.8.1, 20.7.3, 25.8.13	4
Populace	22.11.3	1
Roman Military	14.2.17, 16.12.52, 17.10.6, 17.13.9, 17.13.15, 19.5.8, 19.11.14, 20.4.16, 22.3.8, 24.2.5, 24.4.20, 25.3.6, 25.3.10, 25.7.4, 26.9.3	15
<b>Total 36</b>		

**Instances of *iracundia* in the *Annals* of Tacitus**

*iracundia*, an angry disposition, passionateness, irascibility; Cic. *Marcell.* 8, *iracundiam cohibere*.

Angered	Instance of <i>iracundia</i>	Total
Emperors	16.6	1
Women	14.4	1
<b>Total 2</b>		

**Instances of *iracundia* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

Angered	Instance of <i>iracundia</i>	Total
Magnates	2.100, 4.11	2
Roman Military	1.58, 2.65, 4.25	3
<b>Total 5</b>		

Instances of *iracundia* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus

Angered	Instance of <i>iracundia</i>	Total
Emperors	14.5.4, 28.1.23	2
Populace	27.3.10	1
Roman Military	20.8.8	1
<b>Total 4</b>		

Instances of *irascor* in the *Annals* of Tacitus

*irascor*, to grow angry, wrathful.

Angered	Instance of <i>irascor</i>	Total
Emperors	1.13	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

Instances of *irascor* in the *Histories* of Tacitus

Angered	Instance of <i>irascor</i>	Total
Roman Military	1.8, 1.32	2
<b>Total 2</b>		

Instances of *irascor* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus

Angered	Instance of <i>irascor</i>	Total
Commanding Officer	27.2.9	1
Emperors	14.11.10, 20.2.5, 24.5.6, 28.2.9	4
Persian soldiers	20.7.15, 25.8.17	2
Roman Military	21.13.16, 24.4.1, 24.4.25, 28.6.23	4
<b>Total 11</b>		

**Instances of *percieo* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

**percieo**, to arouse.

Angered	Instance of <i>percieo</i>	Total
Emperors	16.11.8, 27.7.7, 28.1.23	3
Magnates	28.6.19, 29.1.5	2
Persians	19.7.8, 27.12.18	2
Roman Military	17.10.6, 25.7.4	2
<b>Total 9</b>		

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**Instances of *rabies* in the *Annals* of Tacitus**

**rabies**, raging, fury; Liv. 6.33.4, *ira et rabies*.

Angered	Instance of <i>rabies</i>	Total
Roman military	1.31	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

**Instances of *rabies* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

Angered	Instance of <i>rabies</i>	Total
Populus	3.80	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

**Instances of *rabies* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus**

Angered	Instance of <i>rabies</i>	Total
Isaurians	14.2.14, 28.6.4	2
Emperors	14.1.10, 29.1.27	2
<b>Total 4</b>		

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**Instances of *saevio* in the *Annals* of Tacitus**

*saevio*, to rage, be fierce, be furious; Verg. *Aen.* 1.142, *saevit animis ignobile vulgus.*

Angered	Instance of <i>saevio</i>	Total
Roman military	1.32, 1.49	2
<b>Total 2</b>		

**Instances of *saevio* in the *Histories* of Tacitus**

Angered	Instance of <i>saevio</i>	Total
Barbarians	4.60	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

**Instances of *saevio* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>saevio</i>	Total
Barbarians	16.12.36, 28.5.13	2
Emperors	14.1.2, 14.7.21, 22.14.2, 29.1.27, 31.14.5	5
Persians	19.1.6	1
Populace	15.7.3, 19.10.2	2
Roman Military	14.10.3, 19.6.5	2
<b>Total 12</b>		

**Instances of *subirascor* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

Angered	Instance of <i>subirascor</i>	Total
Magnates	14.7.11	1
<b>Total 1</b>		



**Instances of *tumor* in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus**

**tumor**, excitement of the mind, especially in anger; Verg. *Aen.* 8.18, *tumor omnis et ira concessere deum*.

Angered	Instance of <i>tumor</i>	Total
Roman Military	14.10.5	1
<b>Total 1</b>		

## APPENDIX D. ANGER EPISODES IN TACITUS

<b>1</b>	<b>AD 14</b>  <i>Ann. 1.12 – ira</i>	<b>TIBERIUS AND GALLUS</b>  Tiberius’ anger with Asinius Gallus at his unfortunate comment as well as lingering resentment at past offences.
<b>2</b>	<b>AD 14</b>  <i>Ann. 1.13 - irascor</i>	<b>TIBERIUS AND SCAURUS</b>  Tiberius’ anger with Scaurus for saying that there was a hope that the Senate’s prayers would not be fruitless, seeing that he had not used his right as Tribune to negate the motion of the Consuls. Tiberius was deeply displeased, but refrained from saying anything.
<b>3</b>	<b>AD 14</b>  <i>Ann. 1.18 – furor</i>	<b>MUTINY IN PANNONIA</b>  The soldiers were furious at their conditions, such as length of service and lack of pay and so were driven to mutiny.
<b>4</b>	<b>AD 14</b>  <i>Ann. 1.20 - ira</i>	<b>SOLDIERS FURTHER INFLAMED</b>  The soldiers raged against Aufidienus Rufus who made them bear heavy baggage and make long marches.
<b>5</b>	<b>AD 14</b>  <i>Ann. 1.30 – ira</i>  <i>Ann. 1.31 - rabies</i>	<b>MUTINY IN GERMANY</b>  Divine wrath against soldiers who mutinied in Germany.  The soldiers of the lower German army fell into a frenzy at unjust conditions.

	<i>Ann. 1.32 - saevio</i>	The soldiers' continued frenzy was unable to be checked by their commanders.
<b>6</b>	<b>AD 14</b>  <i>Ann. 1.35 – furo</i>	<b>LOYALTY OF GERMANICUS</b>  The mutinous soldiers under Germanicus paused in their fury when Germanicus threatened to kill himself.
<b>7</b>	<b>AD 14</b>  <i>Ann. 1.40 – furo</i>  <i>Ann. 1.42 – furo</i>  <i>Ann. 1.45 - ira</i>	<b>GERMANICUS ENDANGERED: HIS SPEECH</b>  The outrage of the soldiers that Germanicus kept his pregnant wife and son amongst madmen.  Germanicus agrees to remove his family from the furious soldiers.  The soldiers of the 5th and 21st legions were still under the influence of anger and were causing problems for Germanicus.
<b>8</b>	<b>AD 14</b>  <i>Ann. 1.49 – saevio, furor</i>	<b>MASSACRE OF AGITATORS</b>  After angrily slaughtering their fellow men, the soldiers desired to atone for their frenzy by marching on the enemy.

<b>9</b>	<b>AD 15</b>  <i>Ann. 1.62 - ira</i>	<b>RELICS OF VARUS' DEFEAT</b>  As the Roman soldiers buried the remains of those who had fallen in the Teutoburg Forest, their wrath against the enemy rose high.
<b>10</b>	<b>AD 15</b>  <i>Ann. 1.68 - ira</i>	<b>MORALE OF THE ARMIES</b>  Battle rage led the Roman military to slaughter the Germans.
<b>11</b>	<b>AD 15</b>  <i>Ann. 1.69 – accendo</i>	<b>AGRIPPINA HELPS LEGIONS ESCAPE</b>  Tiberius' angry suspicions against Agrippina.
<b>12</b>	<b>AD 15</b>  <i>Ann. 1.74 – exardesco</i>	<b>TIBERIUS' PROSECUTIONS FOR TREASON</b>  Tiberius' anger at Marcellus, for he was alleged to have placed his own statue above those of the Caesars, and had set the bust of Tiberius on another statue from which he had struck off the head of Augustus.
<b>13</b>	<b>AD 16</b>  <i>Ann. 2.10 – ira</i>	<b>MANOEUVRES AT WESER</b>  In his anger, Flavius <sup>1</sup> wished to attack his brother. This was because Flavius was a supporter of the Romans, whereas his brother Arminius as a German said that he was betraying his country land.

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<sup>1</sup> For Flavius see Vell. Pat. 2.118.2.

<b>14</b>	<b>AD 16</b>  <i>Ann. 2.13 - ira</i>	<b>HARASSMENT OF THE ROMAN ARMY</b>  The Germans infuriated the Roman soldiers when they promised them that if they desert they will be rewarded with wives and land.
<b>15</b>	<b>AD 16</b>  <i>Ann. 2.19 – ira</i>	<b>GERMANS DEFEATED, BUT REFORM LINES</b>  The sight of the Romans’ victory mound enraged the defeated Germans.
<b>16</b>	<b>AD 18</b>  <i>Ann. 2.55 – ira</i>	<b>PISO’S HOSTILITY</b>  Piso was angry with the Athenians for not releasing Theophilus who had been condemned for forgery.
<b>17</b>	<b>AD 18</b>  <i>Ann. 2.57 – accendo</i>	<b>GERMANICUS BREAKS WITH PISO</b>  Germanicus’ anger against Piso. This was said to be inflamed by friends of Germanicus and was directed towards Piso, his wife and their sons. Previously Germanicus had ordered Piso to march part of his legion into Armenia, but he had refused to do so.
<b>18</b>	<b>AD 18</b>  <i>Ann. 2.66 – ira</i>	<b>TIBERIUS AND RHESCUPORIS</b>  Rhescuporis was in a rage when Tiberius and the senate demanded that he release Cotys.

<b>19</b>	<b>AD 19</b>  <i>Ann. 2.70 – ira</i>	<b>GERMANICUS' SUSPICIOUS DEATH</b>  Germanicus was angry at his suspected poisoning and the discovery of magical objects in his bedroom.
<b>20</b>	<b>AD 20</b>  <i>Ann. 3.22 – ira</i>	<b>LEPIDA CONVICTED</b>  Tiberius showed resentment and compassion at the trial of Lepida. It is unclear exactly why Tiberius was resentful, but most likely it was due to Lepida allegedly consulting astrologers about the imperial house.
<b>21</b>	<b>AD 21</b>  <i>Ann. 3.45 – fremo</i>	<b>AEDUAN INSURRECTION CRUSHED</b>  The soldiers under the command of Silius were angry if they had to rest on their march to Augustodunum.
<b>22</b>	<b>AD 22</b>  <i>Ann. 3.69 – ira</i>	<b>PROSECUTION OF SILANUS</b>  Tiberius was capable of showing mercy when not influenced by resentment towards Silanus. Silanus was accused of extortion in Africa, as well as offences against the divinity of Augustus and the imperial majesty of Tiberius.
<b>23</b>	<b>AD 23</b>  <i>Ann. 4.1 – ira</i>  <i>Ann. 4.3 – commoveo, ira</i>	<b>SEJANUS' POSITION AND AMBITIONS</b>  Divine anger against Rome caused the downfall of Sejanus. Undoubtedly this relates to outrage.  Drusus' anger against Sejanus for being a rival and favourite of Tiberius.

<b>24</b>	<b>AD 24</b>  <i>Ann. 4.21 – ira</i>	<b>PROCEEDINGS AGAINST PISO</b>  Tiberius felt brooding resentment towards Piso who had dared oppose Urgulania, his mother's friend.
<b>25</b>	<b>AD 26</b>  <i>Ann. 4.52 – accendo</i>  <i>Ann. 4.53 - ira</i>	<b>AGRIPPINA'S COUSIN CONDEMNED</b>  Agrippina's anger at the trial of Claudia Pulchra, for she was her cousin and a relative of Augustus.  Agrippina was in a rage that she remained single.
<b>26</b>	<b>AD 26</b>  <i>Ann. 4.60 – accendo</i>	<b>RAGE OF DRUSUS</b>  Drusus Caesar's anger towards his brother Nero Caesar who was favoured by Agrippina.
<b>27</b>	<b>AD 29</b>  <i>Ann. 4.72 – ira</i>	<b>REVOLT OF THE FRISII SUPPRESSED</b>  The Frisians were angry when the Romans demanded unfair tribute from them.
<b>28</b>	<b>AD 29</b>  <i>Ann. 5.4 – ira</i>	<b>FURTHER UNPOPULARITY OF SEJANUS</b>  Sejanus was angry at false allegations made against him, as well as against the Senate for disregarding Nero.

<b>29</b>	<b>AD 32</b>  <i>Ann. 5.9 – ira</i>	<b>SEJANUS' CONNECTIONS PROSECUTED</b>  Although the anger of the populace was subsiding against Sejanus, the children of Sejanus were punished.
<b>30</b>	<b>AD 34</b>  <i>Ann. 6.26 – ira</i>	<b>DEATH OF NERVA</b>  Nerva, in his anger at the miseries of the state, chose to die.
<b>31</b>	<b>AD 47</b>  <i>Ann. 11.8 – accendo, ira</i>	<b>COMMOTIONS IN PARTHIA</b>  Vardanes' rage against Seleucia, which refused his rule.
<b>32</b>	<b>AD 47</b>  <i>Ann. 11.12 – commoveo</i>	<b>FURY OF MESSALINA</b>  Messalina's fury with Agrippina whose son Nero was a threat to her own son's chances of accession.
<b>33</b>	<b>AD 47</b>  <i>Ann. 11.28 – fremo</i>	<b>MESSALINA'S MARRIAGE TO SILIUS</b>  Members of the court were angry when Silius married Messalina.
<b>34</b>	<b>AD 48</b>  <i>Ann. 11.37 - ira</i>	<b>DEATH OF MESSALINA</b>  Messalina was furious at being sent away by Claudius.



<b>35</b>	<b>AD 49</b> <i>Ann. 12.8 – dolor</i>	<b>SENECA AND CLAUDIUS</b>  Seneca's continued anger at Claudius for being exiled to Corsica.
<b>36</b>	<b>AD 49</b> <i>Ann. 12.20 – dolor</i>	<b>MITHRIDATES BROUGHT TO ROME</b>  Claudius' resentment of Mithridates, who, after rebellion and defeat, arrived in Rome, not as captive but with more arrogance than appropriate.
<b>37</b>	<b>AD 49</b> <i>Ann. 12.22 - ira</i>	<b>AGRIPPINA AND CLAUDIUS</b>  Agrippina's resentment when Claudius praised the beauty of Calpurnia.
<b>38</b>	<b>AD 51-57</b> <i>Ann. 12.39 – ira, accendo</i>	<b>ROMANS AND THE SILURES</b>  Roman engagements against the Silures. The Romans' anger was caused through battle rage. The Silures' anger was caused by the insult of the Roman commander who said that they must be exterminated.
<b>39</b>	<b>AD 51-57</b> <i>Ann. 12.40 – accendo</i>	<b>BRITISH RESISTANCE</b>  Brigantes furious at Cartimandua. The Brigantes fury' was caused by the insult of feminine rule.
<b>40</b>	<b>AD 55</b> <i>Ann. 13.13 – fremo</i>	<b>NERO LOVES ACTE: AGRIPPINA JEALOUS</b>  Agrippina's rage at Nero's passion for Acte.

<p><b>41</b></p>	<p><b>AD 55</b></p> <p><i>Ann. 13.17 – ira</i></p> <p><i>Ann. 13.18 - ira</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>AGRIPPINA IN ECLIPSE</b></p> <p>Heaven’s wrath against the murder of Britannicus.</p> <p>Agrippina’s rage after the death of Britannicus.</p>
<p><b>42</b></p>	<p><b>AD 59</b></p> <p><i>Ann. 14.4 - iracundia</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>ANGER OF AGRIPPINA</b></p> <p>Nero claimed that he wanted to soothe the anger of Agrippina caused by his disrespect of her.</p>
<p><b>43</b></p>	<p><b>AD 59-60</b></p> <p><i>Ann. 14.22 – ira</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>A PRODIGY</b></p> <p>Nero swam in a sacred stream and his subsequent illness was a sign of divine wrath.</p>
<p><b>44</b></p>	<p><b>AD 62</b></p> <p><i>Ann. 14.49 – ira</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>THRASEA'S BOLDNESS</b></p> <p>Nero was angry at the outspokenness of men such as Thrasea and their decision to grant Antistius a lighter sentence.</p>
<p><b>45</b></p>	<p><b>AD 61</b></p> <p><i>Ann. 15.1 – accendo, dolor</i></p> <p><i>Ann. 15.4 – ira, accendo</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PARTHIAN WAR</b></p> <p>Threats from Tigranes and the loss of territory roused the resentment of the Parthian grandees.</p> <p>Roman anger at the military threat from the Parthians.</p>

<b>46</b>	<b>AD 65</b>  <i>Ann. 15.57 - ira</i>	<b>CONSPIRATORS EXAMINED</b>  The torturers of Epicharis were furious at her defiance.
<b>47</b>	<b>AD 65</b>  <i>Ann. 15.66 – accendo</i>	<b>ANGER AT FAENIUS RUFUS</b>  Certain military figures', who had turned informers, anger at Faenius Rufus for his involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy.
<b>48</b>	<b>AD 66</b>  <i>Ann. 16.6 - iracundia</i>	<b>POPPAEA'S DEATH</b>  Nero's casual anger at Poppaea for supposedly nagging him caused him to kill her with a kick.
<b>49</b>	<b>AD 66</b>  <i>Ann. 16.16 – ira</i>	<b>GRIM MONOTONY OF EVENTS</b>  The terrible happenings in Rome were caused by divine wrath at Nero's crimes.
<b>50</b>	<b>AD 66</b>  <i>Ann. 16.22 – ira</i>	<b>THRASEA ATTACKED</b>  Nero stimulated the anger of Cossutianus against Thrasea for his outspokenness and also because Thrasea had insulted him in the past.
<b>51</b>	<b>AD 69 - Jan-Mar</b>  <i>Hist. 1.8 – irascor</i>  <i>indignor</i>	<b>FURY OF THE GERMAN ARMIES</b>  The German armies' were anxious and resentful. They were happy with their recent success, but feared having backed the wrong side.  The German armies' indignation at the execution of Fonteius Capito, their leader.

	<i>Hist. 1.9 – furor</i>	Flaccus could not curb the frenzy of the soldiers in Upper Germany. Their anger was caused by the examples given above, as well as the lack of personality and prestige of their commanding officer, Hordeonius Flaccus.
52	AD 69 - Jan-Mar  <i>Hist. 1.21 - ira</i>	<b>OTHO'S INTRIGUES</b>  Otho was motivated by threats to his position caused by his poverty, malice towards Galba and jealousy of Piso.
53	AD 69 - Jan-Mar  <i>Hist. 1.25 - ira</i>	<b>DISAFFECTION OF SOLDIERY</b>  Onomastus prompted the common soldiers into anger caused by the delay to their donative
54	AD 69 - Jan-Mar  <i>Hist. 1.32 - irascor</i>	<b>GALBA'S FECKLESSNESS</b>  The soldiers' anger against Galba was caused by his refusal to grant donatives to the soldiers and chose unpopular supporters.
55	AD 69 – Jan-Mar  <i>Hist. 1.33 – indignatio</i>	<b>POPULACE'S ANGER AGAINST OTHO</b>  The indignant population were calling for Otho's death as the instigator of a plot against Galba.
56	AD 69 - Jan-Mar  <i>Hist. 1.40 - ira</i>	<b>THREATS TO GALBA</b>  As Roman troops made ready to kill Galba, the crowd revealed profound indignation, which reveals their fickleness.

57	<p><b>AD 69 - Jan-Mar</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 1.55 – fremo</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>ARMY IN GERMANY DISAFFECTED</b></p> <p>The army in Germany’s disaffection with Galba for his tight-fistedness in not bribing the soldiers to be loyal.</p>
58	<p><b>AD 69 - Jan-Mar</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 1.58 – exardesco, iracundia</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>ANGER AGAINST BURDO</b></p> <p>The Roman army’s resentment against Julius Burdo for his betrayal of Capito.</p>
59	<p><b>AD 69 – Jan-Mar</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 1.63 – furor, ira</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>FEAR OF THE SOLDIERS’ ANGER</b></p> <p>The soldiers panicked at Divodurum and in a frenzy slaughtered many innocent people. According to Tacitus the cause of their panic against innocent people was hallucination, frenzy and unknown reasons. This affair naturally caused others to fear the soldiers’ anger.</p>
60	<p><b>AD 69 - Jan-Mar</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 1.81 – furor, ira</i></p> <p><i>Hist. 1.82 - ira</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SOLDIERS RIOT AT ROME</b></p> <p>Otho’s troops mutinied when they believed Otho was to be murdered by the tribunes and centurions. Otho sent a prefect to the Praetorian guard to allay the soldiers' fury.</p> <p>Otho’s troops were unable to be calmed and their fury led them to burst in upon his banquet.</p>
61	<p><b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 2.6 – fremo</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SOLDIERS’ ANGER AT ALLEGED BETRAYAL</b></p> <p>The soldiers’ anger at being relegated as Otho and Vitellius divided up the empire.</p>

62	<b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b>  <i>Hist. 2.13 - ira</i>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SOLDIERS' RAGE AND THE PEOPLE</b></p> <p>Otho's troops vented their rage on the town of Albintemilium when Marius Maturus defended himself and his people against the Othonists.</p>
63	<b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b>  <i>Hist. 2.28 – fremo</i>  <i>Hist. 2.38 - ira</i>  <i>Hist. 2.43 – dolor</i>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>THE FIRST BATTLE OF BEDRIACUM (CREMONA)</b></p> <p>The anger of the legions when Valens sent some of the Batavians to rescue isolated regiments and Narbonese Gaul from the Othonists, for they believed they were being deprived of their best men.</p> <p>Divine wrath (presumably at Rome) drove the armies of Otho and Vitellius.</p> <p>The 21st legion of Vitellius' anger at the 1st legion of Otho, for the 1<sup>st</sup> had overrun them and taken their eagle and so the 21<sup>st</sup> were forced to fight back and regain their losses.</p>
64	<b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b>  <i>Hist. 2.44 – ira</i>  <i>fremo</i>  <i>Hist. 2.46 – furor</i>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>CAPITULATION OF OTHONIANS</b></p> <p>Vedius Aquila, the commander of the 13<sup>th</sup> lost his nerve and exposed himself to the resentment of his troops, who blamed him for their losses.</p> <p>The anger of Otho's Praetorians who believed that they had been vanquished by treachery and not courage.</p> <p>Otho's army was losing, but his men were infused with battle rage and madness in their resolve to be victorious.</p>
65	<b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b>  <i>Hist. 2.65 - iracundia</i>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>ANGER OF THE BRITISH SOLDIERS</b></p> <p>Inactivity, and the lack of opportunities for booty, led to mutinies. Not being a military man, Trebellius was unable to restore discipline, and a feud with Marcus Roscius Coelius, commander of XX Valeria Victrix, further undermined his authority. In AD 69 Roscius led a mutiny that forced Trebellius to flee.</p>

<b>66</b>	<b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b> <i>Hist. 2.69 – fremo</i>	<b>DISSATISFACTION OF SOLDIERS</b> The dissatisfaction of Vitellius’ auxiliaries through the freedom accorded to the legionaries.
<b>67</b>	<b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b> <i>Hist. 2.86 – dolor, ira</i>	<b>ANGER OF THE LOSING SIDE</b> The 13th and 7th legions’ anger at the defeat of Bedriacum.
<b>68</b>	<b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b> <i>Hist. 2.100 - iracundia</i>	<b>ANGER OF BASSUS</b> Lucilius Bassus became resentful when he did not immediately get promoted to the command of the Praetorian Guard.
<b>69</b>	<b>AD 69 - Sept-Dec</b> <i>Hist. 3.7 - ira</i>	<b>SOLDIERS’ ANGER AGAINST MINICIUS</b> Minicius Justus was sent to Vespasian to remove him from the fury of his men, for he was a too strict disciplinarian.
<b>70</b>	<b>AD 69 – Sept-Dec</b> <i>Hist. 3.10 – ira, fremo</i>	<b>FLAVIAN SOLDIERS MUTINOUS</b> The mutinous behaviour of Flavian soldiers who were angry at Tampus Flavianus for his betrayal of Otho, a relative of Otho and keeping their bounty for himself.
<b>71</b>	<b>AD 69 - Sept-Dec</b> <i>Hist. 3.14 – dolor</i>	<b>GERMAN ARMIES’ FURY</b> The German armies’ fury at the behaviour of Bassus and Caecina who sought to betray Vitellius, their emperor, to set up Vespasian and to hand over the legions to him without a fight.

72	<p><b>AD 69 - Sept-Dec</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 3.22 - ira</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>FLAVIANS EAGER TO PURSUE</b></p> <p>The army of Vitellius was furious at their engagement with the Flavians as they were fired with battle rage.</p>
73	<p><b>AD 69 - Sept-Dec</b></p> <p><i>exardesco</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>DIFFICULTY OF TAKING CREMONA</b></p> <p>The Roman soldiers' indignation at the cruelty and tyranny of Caecina.</p>
74	<p><b>AD 69 – Sept-Dec</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 3.71 – furor</i></p> <p><i>Hist. 3.74 – fremo</i></p> <p><i>Hist. 3.80 - rabies</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>FLAVIANS OCCUPY CAPITOL</b></p> <p>Flavians occupy the capital and the soldiers, without any leader, act out aggressively in their mad rage.</p> <p>The angry populace's desire for the death of Flavius Sabinus. He had clashed with the Vitellians on Vespasian's behalf and had been besieged on the Capitol.</p> <p>The madness of the Roman citizens towards Arulenus Rusticus and the ambassadors in their desire to protect Vitellius.</p>
75	<p><b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 4.2 - ira</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SURRENDER OF VITELLIUS</b></p> <p>The soldiers of Vitellius were furious when Vitellius surrendered, as they felt betrayed.</p>
76	<p><b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 4.11 - iracundia</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>ANGER OF MUCIANUS</b></p> <p>Mucianus' resentment towards Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus. After the death of Vitellius, for a few days Primus was virtually ruler of Rome, and the Senate bestowed upon him the rank and insignia of a consul. But on the arrival of Licinius Mucianus he was obliged to</p>



		surrender his authority and was treated with ignominy by Mucianus. Arrius Varus was mistrusted for he was growing too influential.
<b>77</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.21 - ira</i>	<b>REVOLT OF CIVILIS</b>  Civilis was furious when the veteran cohorts refused to swear allegiance to Vespasian.
<b>78</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.25 - iracundia</i>  <i>Hist. 4.26 - ira</i>	<b>DIFFICULTIES IN ROMAN ARMY</b>  With the influx of Germans and the threat that they presented, as well as the recent defeat, there was growing resentment in the legions.  Divine wrath was blamed for drought and the influx of Germans on the Rhine.
<b>79</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.29 - ira</i>	<b>CIVILIS ASSAULTS ROMAN CAMP</b>  The Germans fought the Roman army with incoherent fury and this is evidently battle rage.
<b>80</b>	<b>AD 70 – Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.35 – fremo</i>	<b>MUTINY OF VOCULA’S TROOPS</b>  The troops under Vocula mutinied, complaining of famine and treachery.
<b>81</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.36 - ira</i>	<b>ANGER OF TROOPS AT HORDEONIUS</b>  When Hordeonius gave the soldiers a donative in the name of Vespasian this fostered their mutinous spirit, as it was a donative from Vitellius. The soldiers then revived their angst against Hordeonius and the troops murdered him.

<b>82</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.49 - ira</i>	<b>PLOT AGAINST PISO IN AFRICA</b>  Piso was indignant against the centurion whom he believed was sent to assassinate him.
<b>83</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.60 - saevio</i>	<b>FURTHER ANGER OF THE GERMANS</b>  The fury of the Germans presumably caused by conflicts in loyalty and allegiances led them to attack Civilis' men.
<b>84</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.70 - furor</i>	<b>DISUNITY AMONG REBELS</b>  Valentinus was full of fury and sought to put everything into ruin. He murdered the commanders Herennius and Numisius.
<b>85</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.72 - ira</i>	<b>ANGER AT TRIER</b>  The soldiers were furious at the city of Trier which they blamed for being the birthplace of traitors.
<b>86</b>	<b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b>  <i>Hist. 4.77 - ira</i>	<b>ANGER OF CERALIS</b>  Cerialis was furious at the soldiers who deserted him.
<b>87</b>	<b>AD 70</b>  <i>Hist. 5.15 - ira</i>	<b>CIVILIS ACTIVE IN GERMANY</b>  The Roman soldiers raged at the Germans and the success of Civilis.
<b>Total = 87 Episodes of Anger</b>		

## Hypothetical Examples of Anger of Anger not included in the above table

<b>1</b>	<b>AD 22</b>  <i>Ann. 3.61 – ira<sup>2</sup></i>	<b>DIVINE WRATH OF JUPITER</b>  At Ortygia Apollo had shunned the wrath of Jupiter.
<b>2</b>	<b>AD 37</b>  <i>Ann. 6.45 – commoveo<sup>3</sup></i>	<b>ANGER OF NIGRINUS</b>  This is a generalisation on Gaius Caesar’s excitable temper.
<b>3</b>	<b>AD 56</b>  <i>Ann. 13.26 – fremo<sup>4</sup></i>	<b>THE SENATE AND FREEDMEN</b>  The Senate were afraid that freedmen would have the rights to ask their patrons to curb their anger against them.
<b>4</b>	<b>AD 69 - Jan-Mar</b>  <i>Hist. 1.10 - ira<sup>5</sup></i>	<b>POSITION OF MUCIANUS</b>  Licinius Mucianus was afraid that he had angered Claudius.
<b>5</b>	<b>AD 69 - Mar-Aug</b>  <i>Hist. 2.91 - iracundia<sup>6</sup></i>	<b>VITELLIUS ENTERS ROME</b>  Vitellius’ courtiers feared his resentment.

<sup>2</sup> A negative example.

<sup>3</sup> Generalisation.

<sup>4</sup> Hypothetical anger.

<sup>5</sup> Hypothetical.

<sup>6</sup> Hypothetical.

6	<p><b>AD 69 - Sept-Dec</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 3.31 – ira<sup>7</sup></i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>DIFFICULTY OF TAKING CREMONA</b></p> <p>The higher ranked soldiers of Vitellius were afraid of the fury of the Flavians if they conquered Cremona.</p>
7	<p><b>AD 70 - Jan-Nov</b></p> <p><i>Hist. 4.27 – furor<sup>8</sup></i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>DIFFICULTIES IN ROMAN ARMY</b></p> <p>Due to different allegiances, the soldiers were either obedient or in a frenzy and this is shown by Tacitus to be a character trait of the troops, they are more undisciplined than they should be.</p>

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<sup>7</sup> Hypothetical.

<sup>8</sup> Generalisation.

## APPENDIX E. THE CAUSES OF ANGER IN TACITUS<sup>1</sup>

<b>Battle Rage</b>		
Germans	<i>Hist.</i> 4.29	<i>ira</i>
Germans	<i>Hist.</i> 4.60	<i>saevio</i>
populace	<i>Hist.</i> 3.80	<i>rabies</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.49	<i>saevio</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.49	<i>furor</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.68	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 3.45	<i>fremo</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 12.39	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 1.63	<i>furor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 1.63	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.13	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.46	<i>furor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 3.22	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 3.71	<i>furor</i>
Valentinus	<i>Hist.</i> 4.70	<i>furor</i>
Total = 15		
<b>Defeat (Shame)</b>		
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.86	<i>dolor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.86	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.43	<i>dolor</i>
Total = 3		
<b>Impatience</b>		
Nero	<i>Ann.</i> 16.6	<i>iracundia</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 1.9	<i>furor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.65	<i>iracundia</i>
torturers	<i>Ann.</i> 15.57	<i>ira</i>
Total = 4		
<b>Impiety</b>		
gods	<i>Ann.</i> 1.30	<i>ira</i>
gods	<i>Ann.</i> 4.1	<i>ira</i>
gods	<i>Ann.</i> 13.17	<i>ira</i>
gods	<i>Ann.</i> 14.22	<i>ira</i>
gods	<i>Ann.</i> 16.16	<i>ira</i>
gods	<i>Hist.</i> 2.38	<i>ira</i>
gods	<i>Hist.</i> 4.26	<i>ira</i>
Total = 7		
<b>Injustice</b>		
Agrippina	<i>Ann.</i> 4.53	<i>ira</i>
Agrippina	<i>Ann.</i> 13.18	<i>ira</i>

<sup>1</sup> These tables are arranged by words and not by episodes. See Appendix D for a complete overview of the episodes of anger in Tacitus where words do cluster in a single episode. Some causes apply to more than one anger term.

Frisians	<i>Ann.</i> 4.72	<i>ira</i>
Nero	<i>Ann.</i> 14.49	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.18	<i>furor</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.20	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.31	<i>rabies</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.32	<i>saevio</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.35	<i>furo</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.40	<i>furo</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.42	<i>furo</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.45	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 1.62	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 1.8	<i>indignor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 1.25	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 1.32	<i>irascor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.28	<i>fremo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 3.7	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 3.10	<i>fremo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 3.14	<i>dolor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 4.35	<i>fremo</i>
	<b>Total = 21</b>	
	<b>Insult</b>	
Agrippina	<i>Ann.</i> 14.4	<i>iracundia</i>
Bassus	<i>Hist.</i> 2.100	<i>iracundia</i>
Brigantes	<i>Ann.</i> 12.40	<i>accendo</i>
Claudius	<i>Ann.</i> 12.20	<i>dolor</i>
Cossutianus	<i>Ann.</i> 16.22	<i>ira</i>
Flavus	<i>Ann.</i> 2.10	<i>ira</i>
Germanicus	<i>Ann.</i> 2.57	<i>accendo</i>
Germans	<i>Ann.</i> 2.19	<i>ira</i>
Messalina	<i>Ann.</i> 11.37	<i>ira</i>
Piso	<i>Ann.</i> 2.55	<i>ira</i>
Rhescuporis	<i>Ann.</i> 2.66	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann.</i> 2.13	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 1.55	<i>fremo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.6	<i>fremo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 4.2	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 4.36	<i>ira</i>
Sejanus	<i>Ann.</i> 5.4	<i>ira</i>
Seneca	<i>Ann.</i> 12.8	<i>dolor</i>
Silures	<i>Ann.</i> 12.39	<i>accendo</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 1.12	<i>ira</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann.</i> 1.74	<i>exardesco</i>
	<b>Total = 21</b>	
	<b>Jealousy</b>	
Agrippina	<i>Ann.</i> 12.22	<i>ira</i>
Agrippina	<i>Ann.</i> 13.13	<i>fremo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist.</i> 2.69	<i>fremo</i>
	<b>Total = 3</b>	

	<b>Despair</b>	
Nerva	<i>Ann. 6.26</i>	<i>ira</i>
	<b>Total = 1</b>	
	<b>Suspicion</b>	
Tiberius	<i>Ann. 1.69</i>	<i>accendo</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann. 3.22</i>	<i>ira</i>
	<b>Total = 2</b>	
	<b>Threats</b>	
Agrippina	<i>Ann. 4.52</i>	<i>accendo</i>
Drusus	<i>Ann. 4.3</i>	<i>commoveo</i>
Drusus	<i>Ann. 4.3</i>	<i>ira</i>
Drusus	<i>Ann. 4.60</i>	<i>accendo</i>
Germanicus	<i>Ann. 2.70</i>	<i>ira</i>
Messalina	<i>Ann. 11.12</i>	<i>commoveo</i>
Mucianus	<i>Hist. 4.11</i>	<i>iracundia</i>
Otho	<i>Hist. 1.21</i>	<i>ira</i>
Parthian grandees	<i>Ann. 15.1</i>	<i>accendo</i>
Parthian grandees	<i>Ann. 15.1</i>	<i>dolor</i>
Piso	<i>Hist. 4.49</i>	<i>ira</i>
populace	<i>Ann. 5.9</i>	<i>ira</i>
populace	<i>Hist. 1.40</i>	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann. 15.4</i>	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann. 15.4</i>	<i>accendo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 1.8</i>	<i>irascor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 1.81</i>	<i>furor</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 1.81</i>	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 1.82</i>	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 4.25</i>	<i>iracundia</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 5.15</i>	<i>ira</i>
Senate	<i>Ann. 11.28</i>	<i>fremo</i>
	<b>Total = 22</b>	
	<b>Treachery</b>	
Cerialis	<i>Hist. 4.77</i>	<i>ira</i>
Civilis	<i>Hist. 4.21</i>	<i>ira</i>
populace	<i>Hist. 1.33</i>	<i>indignatio</i>
populace	<i>Hist. 3.74</i>	<i>fremo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 4.72</i>	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Ann. 15.66</i>	<i>accendo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 1.58</i>	<i>exardesco</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 1.58</i>	<i>iracundia</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 2.44</i>	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 2.44</i>	<i>fremo</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 3.10</i>	<i>ira</i>
Roman military	<i>Hist. 3.31</i>	<i>exardesco</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann. 1.13</i>	<i>irascor</i>
Tiberius	<i>Ann. 3.69</i>	<i>ira</i>

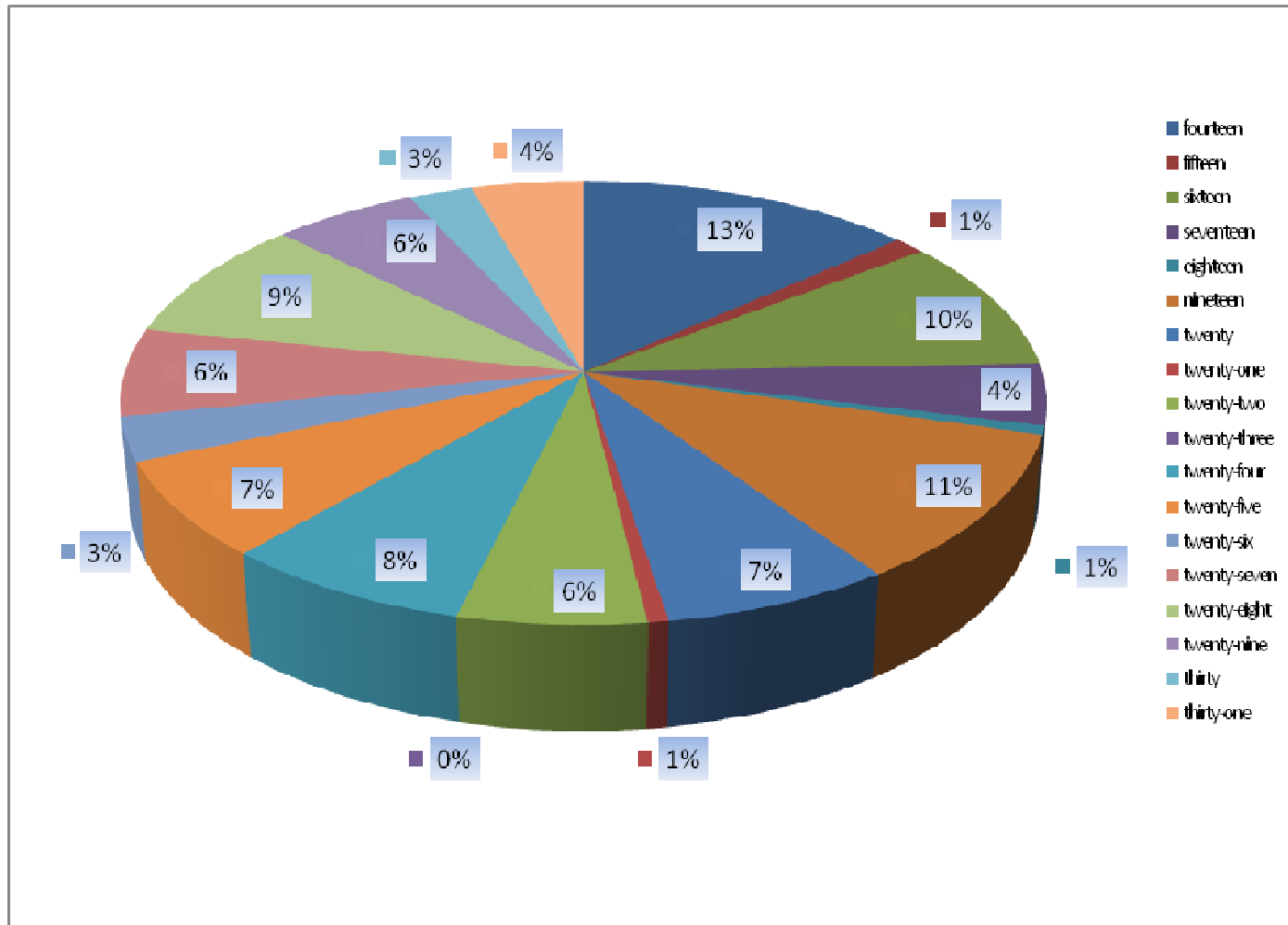
Tiberius	<i>Ann. 4.21</i>	<i>ira</i>
Vardanes	<i>Ann. 11.8</i>	<i>accendo</i>
Vardanes	<i>Ann. 11.8</i>	<i>ira</i>
<b>Total = 17</b>		



## APPENDIX F. ANGER SUBJECTS IN AMMIANUS AND TACITUS

<b>Totals</b>				
	<b>Ammianus</b>	<b>Tacitus <i>Annals</i></b>	<b>Tacitus <i>Histories</i></b>	<b>Tacitus Total</b>
<b>City Magistrate</b>	1	0	0	0
<b>Commanding Officer</b>	1	0	1	1
<b>Emperors</b>	49	10	1	11
<b>Gods</b>	0	5	2	7
<b>Magnates</b>	10	13	4	17
<b>Persians/Barbarians</b>	43	9	2	11
<b>Populace</b>	10	1	4	5
<b>Roman military</b>	41	23	33	56
<b>Slave</b>	1	0	0	0
<b>Unnamed</b>	0	1	0	1
<b>Women</b>	0	8	0	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>117</b>

APPENDIX G: SUMMARY OF ANGER WORDS PER BOOK IN THE *RES GESTAE*



## APPENDIX H. OVERVIEW OF ANGER IN THE *RES GESTAE*

### Aginatius

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Aginatius	Response	Comments
368ff. 28.1.32 <i>indignissime ferens</i>	Aginatius was filled with indignation when Maximinus insulted Probus.		Aginatius wanted Probus to remove Maximinus, but this plan fell through. He succeeded in causing fear in Probus.	As a consequence Aginatius was killed.	Aginatius' response was to secretly inform on Maximinus.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**1**

### Apronianus

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Apronianus	Response	Comments
364 26.3.2 <i>dolore</i>	In Syria Apronianus lost one eye and believed it was due to the dark arts.		He tracked down supposed criminals who performed magic and punished them cruelly.		He tracked down the suspects and punished them. His cruelty was instigated at the races.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**1**

### Barbarians

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Barbarians	Response	Comments by Ammianus
354 14.2.14 <i>rabie saeviore</i>	They were angered by the presence of the Roman fortresses in Isauria.	"Battle rage".	The Romans soldiers made to attack the Isaurians, but their leaders ordered a retreat. In effect, there were no consequences.		The Isaurians response was to the presence of the Romans in their territory, as well as despair and famine, and thus they desired to attack Seleucia, a large metropolis where Romans were stationed. In the end they did not attack the city.	
355 15.4.9 <i>frendendo</i>	The cause was the Roman invasion (15.4.1). War had been declared on the tribes of the Alamanni as they had been making extensive inroads through the Roman frontier defences and thus the barbarians attacked the Romans in an ambush.	Physical signs of gnashing the teeth.	The Roman soldiers were afraid after previous losses against the barbarians, but led by three tribunes they made swift skirmishes against the Alamanni.	Parts of the Alamanni were slain and a part put to flight by Constantius.	The response of the barbarians was to attack the Roman soldiers whom they saw as invading their territory.	

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Barbarians	Response	Comments by Ammianus
<b>The Battle of Strasbourg – Pre-Battle</b>						
357 16.12.34 <i>fremitus indignationi</i>	The German infantry were angry with their leaders who they believed would flee if anything adverse should occur. Thus their anger was a result of the fear of abandonment and betrayal.	They manifested their anger through shouting to one another, and this helped to mask their fear.	The angry reaction of the Alamanni towards their princes made them dismount.		The German soldiers responded to their fear by shouting at the princes.	
<b>The Battle of Strasbourg – The Battle</b>						
357 16.12.36 <i>frendentes</i> 16.12.44 <i>ira</i>	The cause of the Germans' anger was the appearance of the Roman enemy that incited them to battle rage.	The Germans manifested their anger through battle rage when they flew upon the Roman squadrons gnashing their teeth.  The battle rage shown by the Alamanni so overcame them that they lost all sense of order.	The Romans were undeterred and routed the Alamanni and with their swords they hacked at the tortoise-formation of the Roman soldiers. Thus there were no adverse consequences for the Romans, apart from being attacked.	The Alamanni were scared of the Romans' response and as a consequence of their anger, the Germans were thrown into disorder.	The Germans responded to the threat of the Romans by uniting in rage against them and attacking, but they lost order and hacked away at the Romans.	Ammianus says "the Germans rushed forward with more haste than caution, brandishing their weapons and throwing themselves upon our squadrons of horse with horrible grinding of their teeth and more than their usual fury. Their hair streamed behind them and a kind of madness flashed from their eyes."

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Barbarians	Response	Comments by Ammianus
<b>The Battle of Strasbourg – cont.</b>						
357 16.12.46 <i>furoris</i> 16.12.49 <i>ira flagrantior</i>	The Alamanni desired to destroy everything by a fit of rage, caused by the presence of the enemy and thus the cause of the Germans' anger was being in close combat with their enemy.	The Alamanni manifested their anger through battle rage.	The Alamanni attacked the Romans.	Evident rage and even though the Alamanni were injured they continued to fight. The Romans continued to fight against the fury of the Alamanni who still took casualties. As a consequence of their rage, many of the Alamanni left themselves unprotected and thus were killed by Roman spears and swords. As a result the Roman soldiers pierced the sides of the Alamanni that were left bare by their frenzied rage.	They responded by attacking the Romans.	In a sense it was a battle of equals. The Alamanni had the advantage of strength and height, the Romans of training and discipline. One side was wild and turbulent, the other deliberate and cautious. Our men relied on their courage, the enemy on their prodigious physique. Ammianus contrasts the imagery of the frenzied barbarians with unprotected sides with the well-disciplined Roman soldiers, who were protected like <i>murmillos</i> .

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Barbarians</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
358 17.13.7 <i>furori</i>	The Limigantes were angry with Constantius who wanted to force them to migrate to a distant territory, where they would be unable to molest the Roman provinces.		The Limigantes attacked Constantius.	As a consequence of the Limigantes' treachery, the Romans inflicted much bloodshed on the Limigantes.	The Limigantes were treacherous and sneaky as they advanced and then attacked the Romans.	Ammianus states that the Limigantes were sneaky and crafty.
359 18.2.14 <i>furore</i>	The Alamanni had been angry with Julian and his army when they crossed the Rhine.		.		The kings and people of the Alamanni laid aside their unbridled anger when the Romans crossed the river. Thus there was no response as there was too much fear.	
359 19.11.15 <i>furori</i>	The Limigantes' anger was caused by the attack of the Romans.		The Limigantes killed some of the Romans.	The Romans slaughtered all the Limigantes.	Their response was a desperate suicidal resistance to the Romans.	The death of the Roman soldiers is described as the fatal course of destiny.

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Barbarians</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
369f. 28.5.13 <i>indignati</i> <i>saevientes</i>	The Burgundians' anger was caused by Valentinian's treachery.	They went away.	As a consequence of their anger, they killed all their prisoners.		They killed their prisoners.	
363ff. 28.6.4 <i>rabie</i>	The Austeriani were angered by the death of their countryman Stachao.		Peasants were killed and property was either taken off or destroyed.			
373ff. 29.5.46 <i>ira doloreque</i>	Igmazen was angered by Theodosius' demands to have him release Firmus.	He heaped abuse upon Theodosius and left.				
373ff. 29.6.2 <i>indigne ferentes</i>	The Quadi reacted indignantly when their rights were infringed, because Valentinian had ordered the building of a garrison camp across the Danube in the territories of the Quadi as if they were already claimed for Roman rule.				They sent a deputation and whispered complaints.	



<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Barbarians</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
374 29.6.6 <i>efferavit</i> 29.6.12 <i>frendentes</i>	The report of the murder of their king Gabinius roused the Quadi and the tribes round them to madness. The escape of Probus caused their anger and the Quadi were angry with Aequitius, the commander of the cavalry in Illyricum, as they accused him of bringing about the destruction of their king, thus Ammianus writes that they pursued Aequitius, grinding their teeth.	Physical signs of grinding the teeth.	As a consequence of their anger, many innocent people were killed or captured as slaves. They laid waste to Pannonia and Valeria and almost wholly destroyed two legions, believing it was Aequitius who had killed their king.		The Quadi responded to this outrage through violent rage and slaughtered innocent people. Thus they sent bands across the Danube to loot and plunder.	Ammianus calls the murder of Gabinius an “atrocious deed”.

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Barbarians	Response	Comments by Ammianus
376 31.5.5 <i>efferati</i>	The Theruingi exhibited outrage when they perceived that some of their kindred were being carried off by force.		As a consequence of their anger, the Theruingi killed and despoiled a great troop of Roman soldiers.		The barbarians responded to this outrage and to the fact that they were desperate and hungry and understood that the Romans were shamefully treating them. Thus the barbarians were clearly outraged at their treatment and manifested their rage through violent acts. They killed and stripped the arms of a large troop of the Roman soldiers.	
376 31.5.7 <i>exarsit</i>	Believing that Fritigern was slain, the Theruingi had blazed out into the turbulence.	The barbarians manifested their anger through angry threats.			They increased their numbers to exact vengeance.	

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Barbarians</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
378 31.10.5 <i>exarsere flagrantius</i>	The Germans were raging against the emperor and desired to defeat him in Illyricum. They were angry with him for taking over their perceived territories and treating them unjustly.		With a large amount of men they broke into Roman territory.	Gratian defeated them.	They invaded Roman territory.	
378 31.13.10 <i>furore</i>	The arrival of Roman forces.	Blazing eyes.	They pursued the terrified Roman soldiers and routed them.		As a response to their anger towards the Romans the Goths viciously attacked them.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**21**

## Constantius II

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Constantius	Response	Comments
353-4 14.5.4 <i>iracundiae</i>	Constantius' anger was caused by the usurpation of Magnentius.		The accused were not allowed a new trial after a writ of condemnation had been presented.		Constantius responded to his courtiers' accusation by torturing, exiling and executing those suspected of being collaborators of Magnentius.	And whereas in other men this taste for slaughter sometimes loses its force as they grow older, in Constantius it became more violent, because the flatterers around him were always rekindling the fire of his stubborn temper.
354 14.11.13 <i>exarsit</i>	Constantius was angered by the news that Gallus held games in the hippodrome in Constantinople, which would have helped him in gaining supporters.		Gallus had his supporters removed by Constantius, which made him very vulnerable.		Constantius had spies watching Gallus, in order that he could make no move against him. He also had all the soldiers in the towns removed through which Gallus would pass, so that he would not be able to recruit them.	
354 14.11.23	He was angry when he discovered why Gallus had ordered		Gallus was executed and his head and face were		Constantius responded to the news of the death	

<i>ira</i> <i>dolore</i>	the execution of many people in Antioch.		mutilated.		of the citizens at Antioch by having Gallus executed.	
<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Constantius</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
356-7 16.8.7 <i>fremens</i>	Constantius was angered when Rufinus and a woman were condemned to death.		Ursulus was ordered to return to court, but escaped punishment.		Constantius responded to the death of Rufinus by demanding Ursulus restate why Rufinus had been put to death.	
359 19.12.5 <i>felle</i>	Constantius' anger was caused by threats of treason when petitions were sent to him that were meant for the oracle of Besa.		He sent Paulus to the orient to conduct trials. Trials were held and he cruelly punished the opponents of Bishop George of Alexandria		Constantius responded to these accounts that were perhaps treasonable and anti-Christian in nature by seeking out those who were the proponents.	Ammianus writes that this was a travesty of justice, where no one, no matter his rank or origin could escape torture and execution if he were accused
360 20.2.5 <i>iratus</i>	Constantius was angered by the report from Ursicinus and what the emperor's flatterers had added.		Ursicinus was ordered to give up the command of the army and go into retirement.		Constantius responded to the destruction of Amida by demoting Ursicinus, the general who led the armies there.	

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Constantius	Response	Comments by Ammianus
360 20.9.2 <i>excanduit</i> and <i>indignationis</i>	Constantius was angered when envoys presented the letters from Julian to him.		He rejected immediately Julian's offer to share power with him and told him to be content with the rank of Caesar, and appointed new officials for him.		In response to this event, Constantius was uncertain whether to march against Julian or against the Persians. However he chose the latter option and decided to leave Julian to afterwards. He died before he could deal with Julian.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**8**

#### Diocletian

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Diocletian	Response	Comments
14.11.10 <i>irascentis</i>	Maximianus was said to have walked for nearly a mile before the chariot of Diocletian when the emperor was angry with him.					

**Total Number of Instances**

**1**

**Domitianus**

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Domitianus</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments</b>
354 14.7.11 <i>subiratus abscessit</i>	Domitianus was angry at Gallus. He had been ordered to be polite to Gallus, but was arrogant to the Caesar.	Insolent tone of voice.		He was eventually lynched by Gallus' troops.	His response was to ignore all of Gallus' summons.	

**Total Number of Instances** **1**

**Fortunatianus**

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Fortunatianus</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments</b>
371-372 29.1.5 <i>percitus</i>	He was aroused to a mad degree of wrath when Anatolius and Spudasius were charged with having made an attempt on his life.		Fortunatianus handed over Palladius and Heliodorus to the court of the praetorian prefecture so that they might be forced to tell what they know about the matter.		His response was to find out information on the matter.	

**Total Number of Instances** **1**

### Gallus Caesar

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Gallus	Response	Comments
353-354 14.1.2 <i>saevio</i>	Gallus' anger was said to be constantly aroused by his wife, Constantia. Perhaps because she was afraid of attacks on Gallus.		Anger fuelled suspicion led Gallus to fix false charges on people suspected of aspiring to the imperial throne or of practising magic.	The consequences for Gallus were not immediate at this stage.	Gallus was obliged to remove any individuals who presented a threat to him.	Ammianus stated that Constantia was a "Megaera in mortal guise".
353-354 14.1.10 <i>rabiem, efferatus</i>	Thalassius roused Gallus to fury through opposition and unseasonable reproaches.		He supposedly became increasingly angry by this provocation and took his anger out on others.			
354 14.7.2 <i>efferatus</i>	He was enraged by the senate of Antioch because when he urged a prompt introduction of cheap prices at an unseasonable time, they had made a more vigorous reply than was fitting.		Gallus ordered by a single writ the death of the leaders of the senate of Antioch. However, they were saved by the intervention of Honoratus, the count-governor, who opposed him with a firm		Gallus responded to his anger by threatening to kill the senators.	Another plain and obvious indication of his cruel nature was the pleasure which he took in gladiatorial shows...



			resolution.			
<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Gallus</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments</b>
354 14.7.4 <i>accenderat</i>	A woman told Gallus of an alleged plot against him made by some low ranking soldiers.		Constantina rewarded the woman. (Nothing reported about the accused.)			Constantina...rewarded the woman...so that others might be tempted by her example to lay information about similar or even graver crimes.
354 14.7.12 <i>commotus</i>	Gallus was angered by Domitianus who became very insolent towards him, even though he had been instructed to be respectful. Domitianus spoke to Gallus arrogantly, refused to meet with him and threatened to cut off his supplies.	Physical signs of gnashing teeth.	For Gallus, this contempt for his station increased his resentment towards Constantius' followers, and the consequence for Domitianus was that he was put to death for treason by troops loyal to Gallus.	The lynching of Domitianus and of the Quaestor Montius, for inexcusable actions against Gallus' troops, and who sympathized with Domitianus, was grounds for high treason and as a result the Caesar was recalled on Constantius' orders	Gallus' response was to assemble all his troops and have Domitianus lynched.	

	Domitianus also sent false reports to Constantius that the Caesar may or may not have known about.			and executed		
Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Gallus	Response	Comments
354 14.7.21 <i>saevio</i>	Gallus' disordered mind led him to rage at all his enemies, as intrigues abounded.			As a consequence of a supposed 'royal robe' being made, Gallus was said to have set up many illegal trials and to have put in place a number of executions.	Gallus' response was to rid himself of all possible opposition.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**4**

### Igmazen

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Igmazen	Response	Comments
373 29.5.46 <i>ira dolore</i>	He was full of wrath and resentment towards Theodosius.	He abused the general Theodosius.	He attacked Theodosius' army.		Igmazen had responded to the fact that Theodosius had threatened him.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**1**

### Jovinus

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Jovinus	Response	Comments
365-366 27.2.9 <i>iratus</i>	Jovinus was angered when he learnt that the Ascarii had captured a king of the Alamanni and gibbeted him without consulting any higher authority.		He decided to punish the tribune who had taken this action, however he did not condemn him to death.		Jovinus' response was to take immediate action against the tribune.	The cruel deed having been commenced was not clear evidence for the passion of a soldier.

**Total Number of Instances**

**1**

### Julian

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Julian	Response	Comments
356 16.4.2 <i>ira exundante</i>	He was angry because he only had a small number of troops when he was besieged at Sens and could not sally forth effectively.				Julian responded to his anger at the number of troops available to him by fretting and pacing the battlements.	
357 16.11.8 <i>percitus</i>	Julian was inflamed with a mighty outburst of anger at the barbarians who heaped insults upon the Caesar and the Romans.				Julian responded by seeking to take ships to capture some of the barbarians, however Barbatio burned them.	
358 17.10.8 <i>indignationem</i>	Julian was indignant at the king of the Alamanni as he only gave back a few of the prisoners.		When the king came to receive presents from Julian, Julian would not release the king's attendants until all the captives were returned. Julian's strict actions and requests were finally obeyed.		Julian's response was not to give back the prisoners until the king obeyed his orders.	

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Julian	Response	Comments
360 20.4.15 <i>indignari</i>	He was angry at the Gallic legions that forcibly hailed him Augustus.	Anger was manifested, but not clear how.	In order to assuage the anger of the Gallic legions, Julian relented and let himself be acclaimed. I.e. they got their way.	He was put into danger by assuming this title, whereas not assuming it would have put him into equal and immediate danger.	He tried to calm their anger with a promise.	
363 22.13.2 <i>ira</i>	Julian was angry when the temple of Apollo was burnt down.		As a consequence the greater church at Antioch was ordered to be closed.		He closed the church at Antioch and ordered strict investigations.	Ammianus says that it was possible that some tapers left alight accidentally led to the burning.
363 22.14.2 <i>saeviens</i> <i>ira sufflabatur interna</i> 22.14.3 <i>indignaretur</i>	He raged against the people of Antioch when the senate pointed out that he could not lower the price of commodities at that time.	He raged against them.	They felt Julian's anger.		As a response he composed the <i>Misopogon</i> , which outlined the faults of Antioch.	

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Julian	Response	Comments
363 23.2.4 <i>ira</i>	The attacks and insults of the people of Antioch had aroused his anger.	He told them that he would never see them again.	He left a cruel governor behind him to punish the Antiocheans.	It seems as though he was sealing his own fate.	Julian responded by punishing the people of Antioch with this cruel governor.	He died before he could change his mind. He promised the delegates who escorted him from the city that he would spend the winter at Tarsus. Ammianus tells us that he did, but as a corpse rather than in the way Julian intended.
363 24.3.2 <i>ira</i>	Julian was angry when he learnt that the Persians had attacked three squadrons of the Roman cavalry and that the standards were not adequately protected.		As a consequence of his anger, the two surviving tribunes were cashiered and ten soldiers were put to death that had fled from the field.		Julian responded to the seemingly poor discipline of his troops by punishing them severely.	
363 24.3.3 <i>indignationem</i>	He promises his soldiers 100 denarii each as a reward for their services, but when they protested at the small sum he was roused to deep indignation.		Julian's reaction enabled him to bring the Roman troops around by his carefully worded address, which Ammianus has inevitably created for him in his writing, and thus		Julian responded to the soldiers' anger by reproaching them in a speech.	

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Julian</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments</b>
			Julian was able to successfully avert a mutiny.			
363 24.5.6 <i>iratus et frendens</i> 24.5.7 <i>ira</i>	He was angry when the Persians attacked his army.	He manifested his anger through the grinding of his teeth.		Julian was overly rash in his approach to the fortress, which he attended with only a small retinue. He was saved from great danger only through the reactions of his highly trained escort.	Julian responded to his feelings of outrage by attempting to aggressively attack the Persians.	
363 24.5.10 <i>ira</i>	He was roused to bitter anger by the seemingly cowardly behaviour of his men when the Persians attacked the Roman cohort.		He reduced the surviving members of the cohort, who were said not to have shown any spirit in resisting the marauders' attack, with loss of rank.	He became more intent on destroying a Persian stronghold and this was successfully done.	Julian responded to his feelings of outrage at his men by punishing them.	
363 24.6.17 <i>indignatus</i>	He was in deep indignation when of the ten bulls that were brought there nine of them fell dead before arriving at the altar; and the tenth which broke its bonds and			Julian "sealed his fate".	Julian responded to the lack of cooperation from the heavens by rejecting Mars.	Nor did he ever revoke his vow, since soon afterwards he was carried off by death.

	which took much effort to control, did not offer, when it had been sacrificed, the signs of the most sinister omens.					
Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Julian	Response	Comments
363 25.1.8 <i>indignationem</i>	He was roused to righteous indignation when he learnt that the cavalry troop of the Tertiaci had given way during the battle with the Persians and dampened the ardour of the army.		He had their standards taken from them, their lances broken and were forced to march with the packs, baggage and prisoners.		Again Julian responded to his feelings of outrage by punishing his men.	

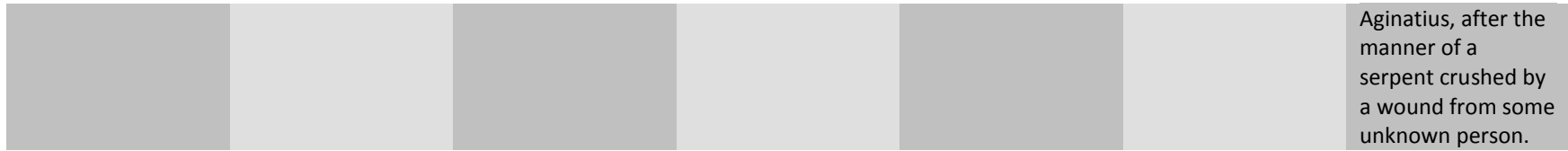
**Total Number of Instances**

**13**

**Maximinus**

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Maximinus	Response	Comments
368 28.1.33 <i>exarsit</i>	Aginatius had sent Probus a letter informing him how to take out Maximinus, which Probus delivered to Maximinus himself.		.		Maximinus' response was to destroy the person of Aginatius.	On reading the letter that savage man fell into such a blaze of anger, that from then on he set all devices in motion against





**Total Number of Instances**

**1**

**Paulus**

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Paulus</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments</b>
359 19.12.7 <i>furoris</i>	Paulus was furiously angry when he was sent off to the Orient. He took on the anger of Constantius.	Image of panting and haste.	He tried and condemned many for treason.	There was no immediate consequence, but he paid eventually.	Paulus' responses to his anger were to cruelly torture and condemn people.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**1**

**Persians**

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Persians</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments</b>
359 19.6.8 <i>frendentium accensae</i>	The Persians were angered when the Gallic troops made an unexpected sally against them at night.		Many of the Gallic troops were cut down and were forced to retreat due to the weight of the enemies' numbers.	This incident caused a large amount of casualties for the Persians.	The response of the Persians was to come to battle and defend themselves against their attackers.	
359 19.6.13 <i>indignatio</i> 19.7.1 <i>efferatae</i>	The Persian kings were angered by the Romans who had forced their way through the guards posted before the walls of their fortress.	Their anger was mixed with their mournful cries at the dead they found.			Their response was to convene a truce for three days. Then Ammianus writes that they had renewed spirits and their response was to construct siege-works to take Amida.	

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Persians	Response	Comments
360 20.7.5 <i>fremens</i> 20.7.15 <i>iratorum</i>	The Persians were angry with the inhabitants of Bezabde who refused to surrender to them.	They manifested their anger through loud threats.	As a consequence of their rage, the Persians attacked and stormed Bezabde. They killed mothers and their children and took booty.	Many Persians were killed in the assault, as they believed that Sapor's rage would not be quieted until that was done.	The Persians' response was to both Sapor's own anger and the frustration they must have felt towards those who refused to give in.	Ammianus writes that no one cared what he did, and in the midst of these atrocities the greed for loot proved stronger in that people even than the lust for blood.
363 25.8.17 <i>iratis</i>	The Persians were angered by the Roman presence in lands, which they claimed as their own.					Jovian refused to stay at Nisibis, for shame that whilst he was there it should be handed over to the infuriated enemy.

**Total Number of Instances**

**4**

#### Populace of Rome

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Plebeians	Response	Comments
355 15.7.3 <i>saevientem</i>	The Roman mob was angry with the prefect of the city, Leontius, for an alleged shortage of wine.	Abuse.	Part of his escort abandoned him, but Leontius remained fearless and managed to calm the mob.	Peter Valvomeres, the ringleader of the mob, was flogged, and the punishment made his supporters flee.	They responded to the lack of wine by becoming angry and insolent towards the prefect, as they blamed him for the shortage.	Ammianus refers to their habitual excitability.

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Plebeians</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments</b>
359 19.10.1-2  <i>vique minacissimae plebis...saeviente immanius</i>	The Roman mob anticipated a famine.	Violent threats.	The prefect Tertullus was so afraid for his life that he held out his little sons to the riotous populace in the hopes of calming them down.	The plebs showed mercy and eventually the grain ships arrived.	The mob responded to shortages by threatening the city prefect, blaming him for the shortfall.	
365-367 27.3.10  <i>accensorum iracundiam</i>	The poor of Rome were angry with Lampadius, the prefect of Rome, for when he prepared to erect new buildings he took the materials without paying for them.		Lampadius barely escaped the poor by swift flight.	No consequences.	The response of the mob was to attack the house of Lampadius with torches and firebrands.	Ammianus writes "His rapid flight barely saved him from the fury of enraged and impoverished people who had continual losses to deplore."
366-367 27.3.13  <i>efferatam</i>	The supporters of certain Christians who were murdered were aroused to anger.	Rioting.	Viventius, then the prefect of Rome, was forced to retire to the suburbs due to the disturbance.	With difficulty the long-continued frenzy of the people was afterwards quieted	The Christians responded to these deaths through violence.	

**Instances**

**3**

### Populace Outside of Rome

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Plebeians	Response	Comments
354 14.7.6 <i>furoris</i>	The commons of Antioch were maddened by hunger and a shortage of provisions.		The mob burnt the house of Eubulus and killed Theophilus, the governor of Syria. <i>Quisque</i> perhaps refers to other magnates, who thus feared repercussions, but it is not clear whether there were any.		The mob responded to famine and shortages through becoming violent.	“Theophilus, who was innocent, was the victim of a fearful outrage.”
363 22.11.3 <i>iram</i> 22.11.5 <i>efferatis</i> 22.11.8 <i>infrendens</i> 22.11.10 <i>flagrabant</i>	The Alexandrians turned their wrath on the bishop Georgius who had become an informer against them and contemplated having temples removed. Dracontius had overthrown an altar and Diodorus had cut boys’ curls, which were seen as pagan.	Physical signs of grinding the teeth.	Bishop Georgius was killed by the angry mob, as well as others who were thought to be anti pagan.	Julian was talked out of reprisals against the Alexandrians, and instead issued a proclamation which threatened extreme measures in any similar breach of law and order were committed in future.	The mob killed Georgius, Dracontius and Diodorus, then they burned the bodies, and threw them into the sea to prevent relic hunting.	“The wretched victims of these cruel sufferings might have been saved by the help of their fellow-Christians had not the whole population been inflamed by universal hatred of George.”

**Total Number of Instances**

**3**

**Procopius**

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Procopius</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments</b>
365 26.8.13 <i>indignatus</i>	Procopius was incensed because he had summoned Arbitio several times to come to him and Arbitio had put him off.		Procopius ordered Arbitio's house to be completely stripped, which he had hitherto spared because he believed that Arbitio was on his side.	Procopius feared serious consequences, however he felt more confident that he no longer had opposition from Arbitio. Eventually the consequence was his death.	Procopius' response was to punish Arbitio, even though he was an old and infirm man.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**1**

### Roman Soldiers

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for the Roman soldiers	Response	Comments by Ammianus
354 14.2.17 <i>iram...dolorem</i>	United anger at entering or being engaged in battle. When the Roman soldiers struck their shields with their spears, it roused the wrath and resentment of their combatants.	Striking their spear upon their shields to display outwardly their anger.	Their leaders decided that it was unsafe to risk combat with the Isaurians and retreated to a fortress.	The noise and spectacle of their response to the enemy makes the soldiers feel united in their anger. And in the end they were victorious against them.	They made to intimidate their nearest enemies with their very gestures.	
354 14.10.3 <i>saeviebat irritatior tumor</i> 14.10.5	The soldiers raged with impatience at the delay in Chalon as they lacked the necessities of life.	They manifested their anger through angry threats, which was the response to unjust conditions.	They soldiers were said to have a naturally savage temper and were harsh and bitter towards men in civil positions. However, when the prefect was able to distribute gold amongst the inciters of the rebellion, his safety was assured.	It seems that their anger abated.	They threatened Rufinus, the praetorian prefect, when he tried to explain to them why the convoy of provisions was interrupted.	It seems as though plotters deliberately sent Rufinus, the uncle of Gallus, in order that he might perish.



Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for the Roman soldiers	Response	Comments by Ammianus
357 16.11.12 <i>indignati</i>	The cause of the anger of the soldiers was unjust conditions, for they were greatly incensed because they could get none of the supplies that had just been brought them, for the general Barbatio had appropriated a part of the supplies and burnt the rest.		The soldiers were forced to raid the crops of the barbarians, who posed a real threat to them.	They were forced to find new supplies or else face starvation.	The soldiers responded by gathering as much supplies as they could with their own hands.	Ammianus reports that Barbatio had either done this foolishly or at the emperor's bidding, for it was rumoured that Julian had not been chosen to relieve the distress in Gaul, but that he might meet his death there, being so inexperienced.
357 16.12.10 <i>indignatio</i> 16.12.13 <i>dentium infrendentes</i> 16.12.52 <i>iram</i>	The cause of the soldiers' anger here is rage that is deliberately incited by an individual, for Julian wanted the Roman soldiers to uphold with their just anger his opinion. This was due to the presence of the Alamanni.	Physical signs of gnashing and grinding of the teeth as well as the showing of their eagerness for battle by striking their spears and shields together is clearly battle rage.	As part of Julian's firing up of the troops, Ammianus reports that the Roman army could not glut their rage by continual slaughter and thus the consequence for the Alamanni was the destruction of their army.	The praetorian prefect Florentius was worried that if the Alamanni scattered, the Roman soldiers would become so indignant that they would be impossible to withstand.	They besought Julian that they might be led out against the Alamanni who were already in sight. In the end they slaughtered the enemy and did not take pity on any suppliant.	Julian appealed to the soldiers to support him in the battles against the Alamanni. The soldiers believed that God in Heaven was on their side, and Ammianus mentions a sort of helpful guiding spirit.

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for the Roman soldiers	Response	Comments by Ammianus
357 17.1.9 <i>indignatam</i> 17.10.6 <i>ira...percitus</i>	The cause of the soldiers' anger was the threats and frustration felt as a result of the barbarian enemy. Thus here the Roman soldiers were indignant that trees blocked their paths.	Their anger manifested through notions of outrage and thus they set fire to the property of the Alamanni.	The Alamanni sued for peace when they realised that they saw that they could not withstand the preparations of the Roman army. Julian granted them a truce of 10 months.	They realised that they could not advance farther except by a long and difficult detour. Thus though they were furious, they were forced to retreat.	They reacted by setting the fields on fire and raiding flocks and men.	
358 17.13.9 <i>ira</i>	The Roman army were angered by the Limigantes' attack.	The soldiers manifested their anger through battle rage.	The enemy were scattered through the Romans' anger.	The consequence for the Roman soldiers was victory over their defeated enemy.	The soldiers' response was to attack and kill the enemy. They incorporated well-practised battle tactics in order to achieve their ends. Thus the soldiers made a form of a wedge to scatter the enemy, which in soldiers' parlance is called a pig's head.	

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for the Roman soldiers</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
358 17.13.15 <i>ira</i>	The soldiers felt united anger at entering and being engaged in battle with the Sarmatians. Ammianus thus reports that with the aid of wrath and valour the Romans annihilated the Sarmatians.	The soldiers manifested their anger through battle rage.	The Sarmatians were annihilated.	As a consequence the Roman soldiers were again victorious over their defeated enemy.	Their response was to attack and kill the enemy.	
359 19.5.3 <i>fredebant</i>	The cause of the soldiers' anger was the threats and frustration, which was a result of the presence of the Persian enemy. Ammianus reports that the two Magnentian legions were forbidden to leave the gates of Amida, and they gnashed their teeth like wild beasts.	Physical signs of gnashing the teeth are another clear incident of battle rage.	They were held back for a time and thus the Persians were safe for a time.		The response of the Magnentian legions was natural under the circumstances, but it would not be until later that they were allowed to attack the enemy.	

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for the Roman soldiers</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
359 19.5.8 <i>iras</i>	The Roman soldiers were angry at the treachery of the deserter at Amida.	They manifested their anger through hurling various weapons at the Persian enemy.	As a result of the soldiers' anger, the Persians were scattered in bitter defeat and as they lamented their dead and retreated to their tents through fear of wounds.	Ammianus reports that the Roman soldiers came to no harm, whereas the enemy suffered disaster.	They hurled their various weapons and scattered the enemy in bitter defeat.	
359 19.6.5 <i>saevientibus</i>	Anger is evident here, for the raging Gauls threatened death to the tribunes who forbade them to attack the Persians who had maimed the old and weak prisoners of war during the siege of Amida. The soldiers were also compared to wild beasts kept in cages and desperate to get out.	They attacked the gates of Amida with their own weapons in an attempt to free themselves and face the enemy.	They managed to kill a number of Persians, including grandees and satraps.	Around 400 men were killed.	Their response was a reaction to their need to prove themselves in battle. They were under siege at Amida and did not want to die without performing any notable exploit.	They were like wild beasts maddened by the stench of carrion.
359 19.11.14 <i>iras</i>	The soldiers showed united anger at entering or being engaged in battle and thus the	The soldiers manifested their anger through battle rage.	As a result of the anger of the soldiers, the Limigantes were annihilated and	As a consequence of their anger, the soldiers were victorious. However there were dead	The soldiers' response was to butcher everything in their way, killing without mercy the	

	Roman soldiers vented their anger on the treacherous Limigantes.		Ammianus describes great piles of their dead.	Roman soldiers found amongst the bodies of the enemy.	living and wounded.	
360 20.4.16 <i>ira</i> 20.8.8 <i>iracundiae</i> <i>efferati</i>	The soldiers were angry at unjust conditions, for they were angry at neither winning increase in rank nor receiving their annual pay as well as the order to go to the remotest parts of the eastern world.	They manifested their anger through angrily besetting Julian's palace and making angry demands.	As a consequence of their anger, the Caesar Julian has to try to calm them down. Therefore he tells the soldiers to stop attempts at revolution and that he understands their fear of going to distant lands. He let those who wanted to return home do so.	As a consequence of their anger, the soldiers were able to establish control over an individual.	The soldiers angrily beset Julian's palace at night and loudly shouted "Julianus Augustus." They were successful in bringing out Julian and then proclaimed him Augustus.	
<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for the Roman soldiers</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
361 21.13.16 <i>iratus</i>	The cause of the soldiers' anger was the desire to check the progress of/or to attack the enemy – here the enemy being the new emperor Julian.	In a physical demonstration of their anger, they brandished their spears as they supported Constantius' decision to attack Julian. This was also evident rage that was incited by an individual.	Julian did not have to fear the angry troops of Constantius in the end, for the emperor died before he could march out on him.	As a consequence of their anger they were prepared to march out on the usurper Julian.	They wanted to be led out at once against the rebel.	

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for the Roman soldiers	Response	Comments by Ammianus
361 22.3.8 <i>ira</i>	Julian blamed the death of Ursulus on the anger of the soldiers.		As a consequence of the anger of the soldiers, Ursulus was killed.	The consequence for the soldiers was that Julian blamed them for the death of Ursulus.	As a response to their anger, the soldiers attacked and killed Ursulus.	At 22.11.5, Ammianus reports that Ursulus angered the soldiers when he surveyed the ashes of Amida with Julian, who said, "Behold with what courage the cities are defended by our soldiers, for whose abundance of pay the wealth of the empire is already becoming insufficient." Ammianus writes as if he believes the death of Ursulus to be unjust, for he says that at his death, Justice herself seemed to have wept, and to have accused the emperor of ingratitude for clearly Ammianus is blaming the emperor, rather than the soldiers,

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for the Roman soldiers</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
363 24.2.5 <i>ira</i>	The soldiers were united in their anger at entering or being engaged in battle against the Persian enemy. Ammianus reports that anger whetted their valour and they attacked the enemy hard.	The soldiers manifested their anger through battle rage, which quickly replaced the fear that they initially felt.	The Roman soldiers pressed the Persians so hard they could not bend their bows.	They were inspired by these first fruits of victory.	The response of the soldiers to their anger was the killing of the enemy as it prompted them into courageous fighting.	for the death of Ursulus.
363 24.4.1 <i>iratorum</i>	The cause of the anger of the soldiers was threats and frustration felt as a result of the Persian enemy. Thus the emperor Julian incited them to take out some of their energy on burning down an abandoned Jewish city.	They manifested their anger through the destruction of the Jewish city.	As the city was abandoned, there really was no consequence for others here.	They were able to release their pent up tension.	As a response to their anger towards the Persians who had made a hidden attack on them with archers (24.3.14), the soldiers destroyed the city.	

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for the Roman soldiers	Response	Comments by Ammianus
363 24.4.20 <i>ira et dolore iratorum</i>	The cause of the anger of the soldiers was entering or being engaged in battle and Ammianus reports that they were inflamed by wrath and resentment at the besieged of Maiozamalcha.	The soldiers manifested their anger through violence.	This was a life and death situation and this was typical behaviour of the Roman soldiers who felt great angst against the besieged.	Blood was shed on the Roman soldiers.	The soldiers' response to their anger was to shed blood in much slaughter on the enemy and Ammianus writes that they destroyed whatever and whomever they could.	Nothing was formidable or terrible in the eyes of the defenders as they joined issue for their lives.
363 25.1.2 <i>accensum</i>	The sight of the Persian forces inflamed the soldiers, who were in haste to attack them.	The soldiers manifested their anger through battle rage.	The Persians attacked the Roman army.	A fierce fight did break out, in which Machameus, a Roman general, fell.	The response to the anger of the soldiers was to attack them and Ammianus reports that they were able to repulse the enemy.	
363 25.3.6 <i>iras</i>	Julian roused his soldiers to a still more furious pursuit of the enemy.					
363 25.3.10 <i>ira</i>	The soldiers burned with wrath and grief when the Persians mortally wounded Julian.	Clashing their spears against their shields was a clear indication of their anger.	Julian was mortally injured and the soldiers blamed the Persians.	The Persians also renewed their attack and killed many soldiers, but Ammianus does not record their	As a response to their anger, the soldiers rushed upon the enemy with a renewed energy.	



Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for the Roman soldiers	Response	Comments by Ammianus
363 25.7.4 <i>furebat...iraque percitus</i>	The anger of the soldiers was caused by unjust conditions, thus Ammianus reports that the soldiers were excited by hunger and wrath and so Jovian was forced to make a shameful treaty with Sapor.			Their anger amounted to nothing, because they were unable to release their pent up tension.	The soldiers were unable to respond to their anger and didn't attack the Persians.	
365 26.9.3 <i>iras...accenderat</i>	Procopius incited the anger of the soldiers as they were forced to defend the little daughter of Constantius and her mother Faustina against the army of Valens.			As a consequence of their anger the soldiers had to remain a united force and were said to fight more bravely.	As a response to their anger, the soldiers were inflamed to fight more bravely in defence of the imperial stock.	This was like the Macedonians, who, when on the point of engaging with the Illyrians, placed their infant king in a cradle behind the battle line, so that the soldiers would fight harder in his defence.

<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for the Roman soldiers</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
368 27.10.5 <i>accenso</i>	The Roman soldiers were incensed against the Alamanni, since they were untrustworthy.	The soldiers manifested their anger through battle rage.	The Alamanni were defeated by the Roman army.	As a consequence, there were losses for the Romans.	As a consequence of their anger, the Romans routed and put to flight the Alamanni, however there were losses on both sides.	The Alamanni were untrustworthy, for they were at one time abject and suppliant and soon afterwards threatening the worst and thus allowed the soldiers no rest or cessation from warfare. Thus the public safety depended upon this campaign.
368 27.10.7 <i>infrendebat</i>	The Roman soldiers were eager for battle against the Alamanni and ground their teeth in a threatening way; however they could not find any as they had fled to the mountains.	The soldiers manifested their anger through grinding their teeth.	As a consequence of their anger, the soldiers destroyed the property of the Alamanni.	The soldiers were able to release some of their pent up frustration.	As a response to their anger, without enemies to attack, the soldiers laid waste to all the fields and dwellings that they came across.	
370 28.6.23 <i>iratorum</i>	The cause of the soldiers' anger was the individual Flaccianus, who was all but killed by the soldiers after he had defended his life.	They shouted at him with abusive language.	As a consequence of the soldiers' anger, Flaccianus was imprisoned, until Valentinian could make up his mind what should be done with him.	As a consequence of the soldiers' anger, they were able to have Flaccianus imprisoned and it also aided in shedding light on	They declared that the Tripolitani could not possibly be defended as they themselves had declined to furnish what was necessary for the campaign.	



<b>Date and Reference</b>	<b>Cause of Anger</b>	<b>Manifestations of Anger</b>	<b>Consequence for Others</b>	<b>Consequence for Sapor</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Comments by Ammianus</b>
359 19.7.8 <i>percitus</i>	Sapor was angered by the setbacks during the siege of Amida.		As a consequence of his anger, many of his attendants were slain when he rushed into the heat of battle.		He allegedly rushed into the battle himself. Sapor was responding to his frustration by seeking to win Amida through his own personal involvement.	This was a novel and quite unprecedented event.
359 19.8.1 <i>ira et dolore exundans</i>	Sapor was furiously angry at the Romans who were steadfastly holding Amida.		As a consequence of his anger he launched his peoples against the Romans.		Sapor's response to the steadfastness of the Romans was to make a renewed and much stronger attack.	He closed his eyes to all right.
360 20.7.3 <i>ira</i>	When Sapor stormed Bezabde he became the target of repeated missiles, but he suppressed his anger.				He asked the besieged to surrender.	
360 20.7.8 <i>efferata</i>	Sapor was furious at the chief of the Christians who asked him to return home.		As a consequence of his anger the town of Bezabde was stormed.		Sapor responded to his anger by destroying the townspeople of Bezabde and taking their fortress.	The bishop was accused by some of conspiring with Sapor against the town of Bezabde, but Ammianus believed these rumours to be unfounded.

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Sapor	Response	Comments by Ammianus
363 25.8.13 <i>iram</i>	Sapor was angry with the people of Nisibis, as he had suffered frequent losses trying to take their city.		As a consequence the people of Nisibis were in fear of the great king and what revenge he would take on them.			
368-370 27.12.11 <i>efferatus</i>	When Sapor learned that the Romans had appointed Papa ruler of Armenia, he was filled with superhuman wrath.		As a consequence Papa, Cylaces and Arrabannes were in such fear that they hid in the mountains.		Sapor responded to this outrage through acts of violence against the people of Armenia.	
368-370 27.12.18 <i>percitus</i>	He was greatly incensed when he learnt that the emperor divided Hiberia with the river Cyrus.		He got ready his army to attack the Romans when the weather turned mild.		Sapor responded to the duplicity of Valentinian by threatening war on the Romans.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**8**

### Valens

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Valens	Response	Comments
365 26.9.10 <i>indignationis</i>	Valens was angry with Florentius and Barchalba for betraying Procopius.		Florentius and Barchalba were put to death.		Valens responded to the betrayal of Procopius angrily as he felt that they might have executed a lawful	If they had betrayed a rebel and disturber of the peace they ought to have been given great rewards for a

					emperor.	noteworthy deed.
Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Valens	Response	Comments
371-2 29.1.27 <i>rabiem saeviebat</i>	Valens was angry when he perceived that individuals were escaping punishment.		Many of those who were accused of treason were condemned.		Valens responded to the treason of Theodorus and his supporters by holding trials and punishing many people in Antioch.	(He was) like a wild beast in the arena when anyone who has come near its place of work escapes.
371-2 29.1.38 <i>efferatus</i>	Valens was angry with Simonides for knowing about the treason of Theodorus, but had not confided in anyone.		Simonides was burned alive.		Valens responded to provocation by having Simonides executed.	
377-8 30.2.7 <i>iram</i>	Valens was angry that Sapor wanted him to withdraw from Armenia.					
378 31.14.5 <i>saeviebat</i>	He saw offensive behaviour as treason.		The accused were likely executed or ruined financially.		Valens responded to treason by attacking those who threatened him.	

**Total Number of Instances**

**5**

### Valentinian I

Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Valentinian	Response	Comments
365 27.7.7 <i>percitum ira</i>	Valentinian had flown into a rage against three decurions because of a pardonable offence.	Cf. the 29.3.2 generalisation; and Brown (1992) 60.	Three decurions were condemned. Ammianus does not say whether Florentius was successful in talking Valentinian out of the executions.		Valentinian responded to the cause of his rage by condemning the decurions to death.	
369-370 28.1.11 <i>efferatus</i>	Valentinian heard the news from Maximinus that the offences committed in Rome by many men needed severer measures to be investigated.		Valentinian ruled that torture should be available to anyone accused of treason, who had previously been protected by the law.		In anger the emperor decreed that all men could be tortured if the need arose.	
368 28.1.23 <i>iracundiam...perciti</i>	Valentinian was greatly incensed on learning that Hymetius, the ex-proconsul, was exiled to Boae as he had expected him to be sentenced to death rather than the milder		It seems that Hymetius' punishment stood and he was not sentenced to death. A climate of fear evolved from this and similar incidents.		No details given.	

	punishment.					
Date and Reference	Cause of Anger	Manifestations of Anger	Consequence for Others	Consequence for Valentinian	Response	Comments
369 28.2.9 <i>irati</i>	Valentinian was angry with Syagrius for being the only person to escape from the Alamanni.		Syagrius was cashiered and sent home.		Valentinian responded to the cause of his anger as Syagrius had escaped the Alamanni when they attacked the Romans who were building fortifications across the Rhine by punishing him.	
375 30.5.10 <i>excanduit, urente irarum</i>	When Valentinian learnt of the fates of men from the philosopher Iphicles, he burned with a tremendous rage as he was beyond the reach of his power.					
375 30.6.3 <i>ira</i>	He burst into a mighty fit of rage when the envoys of the Quadi were trying to excuse their countrymen.	Abuse.		As a consequence of Valentinian's anger he suffered a stroke or heart attack brought on by his fit of rage and died.		

**Total Number of Instances**

**8**



## APPENDIX I. HYPOTHETICAL, GENERALISED & DENIED ANGER

The following table lists examples of angry episodes from the *Res Gestae* that cannot fit into our pool of data for often they are hypothetical and are not actual episodes. For example, the episode listed below at 14.7.14, where Gallus was said to have attacked Montius for supposedly being angry with him for imprisoning someone, is an indication of alleged anger. Here there is no evidence that Montius actually was angry, Gallus was not a personal witness to any outburst, nor do we have any suggestion from Ammianus that Gallus had been informed that Montius was furious. What we have is the accusation or assumption that Montius would be angry when he discovered that someone had been unjustly imprisoned. These hypothetical examples are speculative and based on suppositions. A few times they are clearly mentioned for rhetorical effect.

Stereotypical anger is also frequent, for example in Ammianus' portrayal of foreign groups, such as the Huns or the Persians. This comes across at 31.2.11, when Ammianus in a generalised comment writes that the Huns are fickle and prone to anger and often quarrel with their allies without provocation.

Anger that is denied or replaced by another emotion also occurs in the narrative. It is not always wise to show anger, especially when we want to draw someone over to our point of view, or fear the consequences. At 16.12.3 the Alamanni imperiously demanded Julian to leave their lands, believing he could be easily intimidated. Significantly he felt neither anger nor its frequent precursor, fear. He simply laughed at their arrogance, detained their envoys and completed the fortifications of his camp (*ignarus pavendi nec ira nec dolore percussus*).

1	14.7.14 - <i>iratus</i>	Montius	Hypothetical	Gallus attacked Montius as he alleged that he was arrogant and angry with him for imprisoning a prefect merely to frighten him.
2	15.12.2 - <i>irascentium</i>	Gauls		The voices of the Gauls are alarming and menacing, whether they are angry or not.
3	16.12.3 - <i>nec ira nec dolore</i>	Julian	Denial	Anger is expected here, as the Alamanni were demanding Julian to leave their lands. However, the Caesar was said to have shown no anger or resentment.
4	20.7.3 - <i>ira tamen tum sequestrata</i>	Sapor	Denial	After almost being killed at the walls of Bezabde, Sapor concealed his anger (denial) and tried to win the city by entreaties.

5	20.7.11 - <i>rabiem regis</i>	Sapor	Hypothetical	In a hypothetical statement, Ammianus wrote that the Persians were said to believe that the king's rage would not be assuaged until the city of Bezabde was taken.
6	21.16.9 - <i>iracundia</i>	Constantius	Generalisation	In his epitome, Ammianus writes as a generalised characteristic that Constantius' bitterness and suspicions were stretched to the utmost in cases where people were reported to have insulted his majesty.
7	22.13.1 - <i>iracundus</i>	Antiochus Epiphanes	Generalisation	In another generalised statement, Ammianus wrote that Antiochus Epiphanes was a choleric and cruel king.
8	26.5.7 – <i>iracundo quodam et saevo</i>	Ursatius	Generalisation	In a further generalised statement, Ammianus wrote that Ursatius was said to be a hot-tempered a cruel man.
9	27.3.5 - <i>indignanter sustinens</i>	Lampadius	Generalisation	Lampadius allegedly took it very ill if even his manner of spitting was not praised.
10	27.7.4 - <i>ira</i>	Valentinian	Generalisation	When Valentinian could not restrain his anger it led to the destruction of many men.
11	29.2.18 <sup>1</sup> - <i>resistere cupiditati omnium rerum et implacabilibus iracundiis</i>	Valens	Generalisation	Ammianus implores the now dead Valens, after relating the crimes of his reign, that it is the task of a good ruler to keep his power in check, to resist the passions of unbridled desire and implacable rage

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brown (1992) 55.

12	30.4.22 - <i>irascantur</i>	Litigants	Generalisation	They are said to vent their anger not on the weakness of their case or on the injustice of the magistrate who decides it, but only on their defenders.
13	31.2.11 - <i>irasci...irritante</i>	Huns	Generalisation	Ammianus writes in a generalisation that the Huns are fickle and prone to anger and often quarrel with their allies without provocation.

## APPENDIX J. SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF ANGER

In this appendix, I have listed each anger word found in the *Res Gestae* which forms our pool of data and reveals whether the person or group that has felt anger in that particular instance was successful in the expression of the emotion in getting the result he or they desired, or whether it was a failure. Naturally, there are episodes in which the result of an angry outburst was neither a success nor failure. This occurs when the angered individual is talked out of his rage or the object of anger disappears, etc. The result of this examination has been that in the majority of cases, a demonstration of anger has a successful result.

Furthermore, these results reflect the levels of controllability that individuals and groups had over anger and whether the emotion could be manipulated to attain a positive outcome. Of course, outcomes vary in relation to the individual's own perceptions of what constitutes a satisfactory result and failure can also be constituted in the same way. In general, anger is resolved when one no longer feels antagonised or that a wrong has been righted. One such episode occurs at 17.10.8, when the king of the Alamanni came to receive presents from Julian. Julian was indignant at the king for he had only given back a few of his prisoners and was therefore going back on their agreement. As a consequence of his anger, Julian would not release the king's attendants until all the captives were returned. Julian's strict actions and requests were finally obeyed. Once the wrong had been righted, we are able to ascertain that Julian had gained a successful outcome.

However, Ammianus is not always clear on whether a goal has been satisfactorily achieved through the use of anger and this may be because it is outside of the timeline of his narrative or it may simply not be of consequence to the whole picture. One example of Ammianus' failure to record whether or not an individual's anger had a successful outcome or not comes across at 14.7.4, where he wrote that a woman told Gallus of an alleged plot against him made by some low ranking soldiers. Gallus was naturally angry and we can assume that he punished the offenders, but Ammianus does not explicitly state whether this was a success or failure and so it has been listed as unknown.

Persians & Barbarians		
14.2.14	Isaurians	neither
15.4.9	Alamanni	failure
16.12.34	Alamanni	success
16.12.34	Alamanni	success
16.12.36	Alamanni	failure
16.12.44	Alamanni	failure
16.12.46	Alamanni	failure
16.12.49	Alamanni	failure
17.13.7	Limigantes	failure
18.2.14	Alamanni	neither
19.1.6	Sapor	success
19.1.6	Sapor	success
19.11.15	Limigantes	failure
19.6.13	Persians	neither

19.6.8	Persians	success
19.6.8	Persians	success
19.7.1	Persians	neither
19.7.8	Sapor	success
19.8.1	Sapor	success
19.8.1	Sapor	success
20.7.15	Persians	success
20.7.3	Sapor	neither
20.7.5	Persians	success
20.7.8	Sapor	success
25.8.13	Sapor	failure
25.8.17	Persians	success
27.12.11	Sapor	failure
27.12.18	Sapor	failure
28.5.13	Burgundians	success
28.5.13	Burgundians	success
28.6.4	Austoriani	success
29.5.46	Igmazen	success
29.5.46	Igmazen	success
29.5.46	Igmazen	failure
29.5.46	Igmazen	failure
29.6.12	Quadi	success
29.6.2	Quadi	failure
29.6.6	Quadi	success
31.10.5	Alamanni	failure
31.13.10	Goths	success
31.5.5	Theruingi	success
31.5.7	Theruingi	success
<b>Total Success = 23</b>		
<b>Total Failure = 14</b>		
<b>Neither = 4</b>		
<b>Emperors and Caesars</b>		
14.1.2	Gallus	success
14.1.10	Gallus	success
14.11.10	Diocletian	success
14.11.13	Constantius	success
14.11.23	Constantius	success

14.11.23	Constantius	success
14.5.4	Constantius	success
14.7.12	Gallus	success
14.7.2	Gallus	failure
14.7.21	Gallus	success
14.7.4	Gallus	unknown
16.11.8	Julian	failure
16.4.2	Julian	failure
16.8.7	Constantius	failure
17.10.8	Julian	success
19.12.5	Constantius	success
20.2.5	Constantius	success
20.4.15	Julian	failure
20.9.2	Constantius	failure
20.9.2	Constantius	failure
22.13.2	Julian	success
22.14.2	Julian	failure
22.14.2	Julian	failure
22.14.3	Julian	failure
23.2.4	Julian	failure
24.3.2	Julian	success
24.3.3	Julian	success
24.5.10	Julian	success
24.5.6	Julian	failure
24.5.6	Julian	failure
24.5.7	Julian	failure
24.6.17	Julian	failure
25.1.8	Julian	success
26.9.10	Valens	success
27.7.7	Valentinian	neither
28.1.11	Valentinian	success
28.1.23	Valentinian	failure
28.1.23	Valentinian	failure
28.2.9	Valentinian	success
29.1.27	Valens	success
29.1.27	Valens	success
29.1.38	Valens	success
30.2.7	Valens	neither
30.5.10	Valentinian	neither

30.6.3	Valentinian	failure
<b>Total Success = 21</b>		
<b>Total Failure = 18</b>		
<b>Neither = 3</b>		
<b>Unknown = 1</b>		
<b>Magnates</b>		
14.7.11	Domitianus	failure
19.12.7	Paulus	success
26.3.2	Apronianus	success
26.8.13	Procopius	success
28.1.32	Aginatius	failure
28.1.33	Maximinus	success
28.6.19	Romanus	neither
28.6.19	Romanus	neither
28.6.19	Romanus	neither
29.1.5	Fortunatianus	success
<b>Total Success = 5</b>		
<b>Total Failure = 2</b>		
<b>Neither = 3</b>		
<b>Urban Populations</b>		
14.7.6	Antiochenes	success
15.7.3	Roman populace	failure
19.10.2	Roman populace	failure
22.11.10	Alexandrians	success
22.11.3	Alexandrians	success
22.11.5	Alexandrians	success
22.11.8	Alexandrians	success
27.3.10	Roman populace	success
27.3.10	Roman populace	success
27.3.13	Roman populace	success
<b>Total Success = 8</b>		
<b>Total Failure = 2</b>		
<b>Roman Military</b>		

14.10.3	Roman military	success
14.10.3	Roman military	success
14.10.5	Roman military	success
14.2.17	Roman military	success
14.2.17	Roman military	success
16.11.12	Roman military	failure
16.12.10	Roman military	success
16.12.13	Roman military	success
16.12.13	Roman military	success
16.12.52	Roman military	success
17.1.9	Roman military	success
17.10.6	Roman military	success
17.10.6	Roman military	success
17.13.15	Roman military	success
17.13.9	Roman military	success
19.6.5	Roman military	success
19.11.14	Roman military	success
19.5.3	Roman military	failure
19.5.8	Roman military	success
20.4.16	Roman military	success
20.8.8	Roman military	success
20.8.8	Roman military	success
21.13.16	Roman military	neither
22.3.8	Roman military	success
24.2.5	Roman military	success
24.4.1	Roman military	neither
24.4.20	Roman military	success
24.4.20	Roman military	success
24.4.25	Roman military	success
25.1.2	Roman military	success
25.3.10	Roman military	success
25.3.6	Roman military	neither
25.7.4	Roman military	neither
25.7.4	Roman military	neither
26.9.3	Roman military	success
27.10.5	Roman military	success
27.10.7	Roman military	success
28.6.23	Roman military	success



<b>Total Success = 30</b>		
<b>Total Failure = 2</b>		
<b>Neither = 5</b>		
<b>Commanding Officer</b>		
27.2.9	Jovinus	success
<b>Total Success = 1</b>		
<b>Grand Total Success = 89</b>		
<b>Grand Total Failure = 39</b>		
<b>Neither or Unknown = 17</b>		

## ABBREVIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

A&A	<i>Antike und Abendland: Beiträge zum Verständnis der Griechen und Römer und ihre Nachlebens</i>
AAnthung	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
AClass	<i>Acta Classica: proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa</i>
AH	<i>Ancient History Resources for Teachers</i>
AHB	<i>The Ancient History Bulletin</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AncSoc	<i>Ancient Society</i>
AncW	<i>The Ancient World</i>
BAGB	<i>Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé</i>
BiZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift (Neue Folge)</i>
ByzZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
ChHist	<i>Church History</i>
CJ	<i>The Classical Journal</i>
ClassStud	<i>Classical Studies</i>
CLD	<i>Cassell's Latin Dictionary</i>
CPD	<i>Campbell's Psychiatric Dictionary</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CSSH	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
CW	<i>The Classical World</i>
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
HPTH	<i>History of Political Thought</i>
HSPh	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
IJCT	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i>
JAC	<i>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</i>
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
P&P	<i>Past and Present: a journal of historical studies</i>
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>

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<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations for periodicals are the same as those listed in *L'Année Philologique*. Those for ancient literary sources are from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PhilosQ</i>	<i>The Philosophical Quarterly</i>
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>
<i>PG (Migne)</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus, series Graeca</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft,<sup>2</sup> ed. A. Pauly, G. Wisowa, et al., 1894-</i>
<i>RSA</i>	<i>Rivista storica dell'Antichità</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses, auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latinae</i>
<i>SVF</i>	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i>
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>VChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae: a review of early Christian life and language</i>

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