



ILLYRICUM OF THE 2nd AND 3rd CENTURIES AD IN THE WORKS OF LATIN AND GREEK HISTORIANS

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The author analyzes and evaluates the data in the works of several Greek and Roman historians ranging from the 3rd to 5th centuries AD in regard to the history of Pannonia and Dalmatia in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The paper deals with the context and type of data, the manner in which they were presented, the special interest of the Greek and Roman historians shown for provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia respectively, and the perception of the role of Illyricum in history of the Roman Empire.

In this short paper I intend to evaluate the data on history of western Illyricum, i.e. the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, which can be found in eight late classical Latin and Greek historiographic works. The main purpose is not to provide the data with historical commentary nor to analyze the value of selected works as historical sources, but to determine the context and type of data depending on historiographic genre, to study the manner in which the data are presented, and to find out if, how and to what extent have the special knowledge of the authors regarding the territory of Illyricum influenced the selection of data, and in what way (if at all) there was a shift in perception of certain significant events in the history of Illyricum from the 3rd to 5th centuries. The study is limited to the data concerning the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD as these were especially turbulent and perilous time for the Roman Empire, marked by frequent and violent barbarian invasions, and long-lasting internal turmoils. Naturally, these had most unfavourable impact on the conditions in Illyricum as a frontier region.

THE AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS

The works taken into consideration are rather different by genre, size and quality. First, there are extensive historical works by Cassius Dio Cocceianus (*Historia Romana* in 80 books, 2nd/3rd centuries AD),¹ Herodian (*Historia ab excessu divi Marci* in eight books, 2nd/3rd centuries AD),² and Zosimos (*Historia nova* in six books, 5th/6th centuries AD),³ then there are imperial biographies by Sextus Aurelius Victor (*Liber de Caesaribus* in one book, 4th century

¹ The standard edition is that of U. Ph. Boissevain in 5 volumes, Berlin 1895-1931. The relevant studies are MILLAR 1965, 469-474; MANUWALD 1979, with PELLING 1983, 221-226; LETTA 1979, 117-189; BERING-STASCHEVSKI 1981; BARNES 1984, 240-255; ŠAŠEL KOS 1986, 17-273.

² The standard edition is that of K. STAVENHAGEN, Leipzig 1922, with C. R. WHITTAKER, *Herodian*, vols. I-II, [*The Loeb Classical Library* 454-455], Cambridge-London 1969-1970. The relevant studies are WIDMER 1967; WHITTAKER 1969, ix-xcv; ALFÖLDY 1971a, 204-233, ALFÖLDY 1971b, 429-449, ANDERSEN - HOHL 1975; ŠAŠEL KOS 1986, 274-435.



AD)⁴ and by anonymous author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* (in one book, i.e. booklet, *libellus*, the excerpts and continuation of Aurelius Victor's *Liber de Caesaribus*, 4th/5th centuries AD),⁵ and the *Historia Augusta* (= *SHA*, in 30 longer chapters, 4th/5th centuries AD),⁶ and finally, there are historical surveys by Eutropius (*Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* in ten books, 4th century AD),⁷ and Rufius Festus (*Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani* in 30 short chapters, 4th century AD).⁸ For our study it suffices to say that, of the aforementioned authors, Dio Cassius Cocceianus was legate in Dalmatia (c. 223–226) and in Upper Pannonia (c. 226–228), and Sextus Aurelius Victor was consular governor of Pannonia Secunda with the seat in Sirmium (361–365), whereas Eutropius was praetorian prefect of Illyricum residing in Thessalonike and Constantinople (380–381). This means that at least these three could obtain firsthand information on Illyricum or display special knowledge of the area. Moreover, Dio Cassius says that he writes with exact knowledge of conditions in Pannonia, based on his own experience, and not from hearsay or reading only (49.36.4).

THE EXTENT OF ILLYRICUM AND ITS TOPOGRAPHY

First, we should determine what our authors meant by Illyricum and were they interested in providing more detailed topographical data. For Dio Cassius, Illyricum stretches from Noricum to the borders of Macedonia. Namely, he says that Illyricum is in the neighbourhood of Macedonia (46.53.2, 47.21.4, 6, cf. 63.7.1: the Armenian king Tiridates travels through Illyricum and north of the Ionian Sea on his way to Rome in AD 66). Pannonia extends from Noricum to Moesia (49.36.2), and it is in the vicinity of the Danube (49.36.2) and Dalmatia (49.36.2, 54.34.4). Its neighbouring province is Moesia (45.29.3), situated to the north of Dalmatia, Macedonia and Thrace (51.27.3), and Pannonia is separated from Moesia by the Sava, tributary of the Danube (51.27.3). It is clear that Dio counted Moesia, together with Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, in the Illyrian provinces.⁹ Regarding the topographical data on Pannonia and Dalmatia, Dio shows his familiarity with these regions in some degree: he knows that Siscia is situated on the rivers of Kupa and Sava and that the Kupa encircles the entire city in his time (49.37.3), and that Andetrium is a fortress erected only a short distance from Salonae (56.12.3).

Herodian tells us that the Illyrians border Italy as neighbours (6.7.2), and that the Illyrian provinces cover a narrow stretch of land which makes Germany practically adjacent to Italy (6.7.4). Although Herodian mentions Pannonia and Illyricum separately once (2.9.1), he regularly uses the term Illyricum to refer to Pannonia, and he might have included in the term Moesia and Dacia as well (cf. 2.9.9: Pertinax commanded the Illyrian provinces¹⁰). Regarding the

³ The standard edition is that of L. MENDELSSOHN, Leipzig 1887, with F. PASCHOUD, *Zosime, Histoire nouvelle*, vols. I–V, Paris 1971–1989. The relevant studies are CONDURACHI 1941/42, 115–127; PETRE 1965, 263–272; CAMERON 1969b, 106–110; SCAVONE 1970, 57–67; GOFFART 1971, 412–441; RIDLEY 1972, 277–302; GREEN 1974; BERARDO 1976, 472–481; PASCHOUD 1976, McNEIL 1978, 68–82; BLOCKLEY 1980, 393–402.

⁴ The standard edition is that of F. PICHLMAYR and R. GRUENDEL, Leipzig 1961. The relevant studies are STARR 1955/56, 574–586; ECHOLS 1962; NIXON 1971; DUFRAIGNE 1975; SCHMIDT 1978a, 1660–1671; PENELLA 1980, 122 ff; BIRD 1984.

⁵ The standard edition is that of F. PICHLMAYR and R. GRUENDEL, Leipzig 1961, 131–176; with M. FESTY, *Pseudo-Aurélius Victor, Abrégé des Césars*, Paris 1999. The relevant studies are SCHLUMBERGER 1974; SCHLUMBERGER 1997, 169–171; BARNES 1976, 258–268; SCHMIDT 1978b, 1671–1676.

⁶ The standard edition is that of E. HOHL, C. SAMBERGER and W. SEYFARTH, vols. I–II, Leipzig 1965. The relevant studies are BAYNES 1926; HOHL 1958, 132 ff; CHASTAGNOL 1970, 1 ff; SYME 1971a; SYME 1971b; SYME 1983; MOUCHOVÁ 1975; BARNES 1978; MARRIOT 1979, 65 ff; CALLU – DESBORDES – BERTRAND 1984/85, 97–130; LIPPOLD 1998.

⁷ The standard editions are those of H. DROYSEN, Berlin 1878; F. RUEHL, Leipzig 1887, and C. SANTINI, Leipzig 21992. The relevant studies are den BOER 1972, 114–172; CAPOZZA 1973; BONAMENTE 1977a, 274–297; BONAMENTE 1977b, 161 ff; BONAMENTE 1978, 17–59; SANTINI 1979, 1–16; BIRD 1988, 51 ff; BIRD 1989, 1 ff.

⁸ The standard editions are those of J. W. EADIE, *The Breviarium of Festus*, London 1967, 43–69, with MARIOTTI 1967, 503, BARNES 1968, 263–265; CAMERON 1969a, 305–307; and M.-P. ARNAUD-LINDET, *Festus, Abrégé des hauts faits du peuple romain*, Paris 1994. The relevant studies are EADIE 1967; den BOER 1972, 173–223; BALDWIN 1978, 197–217; PEACHIN 1985, 158–161; MORENO-FERRERO 1986/87, 173–188.

⁹ Zonaras, relying on Dio, defines Illyricum as a name for the region north of Macedonia and the part of Thrace, and says that it lies between the Haemus, Rhodope, and the Alps, and also between the river Aenus (Inn) and the Danube, extending as far as the Black Sea (*Epitome historiarum*, 8.19.8).

¹⁰ Pertinax was *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in Lower Moesia from 176 to 177, in Upper Moesia in 177, and in Dacia from 178 to 179 (KIENAST 1996, 152).

topographical data, Herodian is very scarce: he says that the Danube borders the Pannonia (6.7.6), and singles out Aquileia, for which he records that it commands the hinterland of the Illyrian territories, as an important trading port and market for goods that come from and go to Illyricum (8.2.3).

Zosimos is nowhere specific on what he understands by Illyricum, but it seems that he includes in the term the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Dacia, Thracia, and Epirus (cf. 1.52.3, 2.17.3, 2.48.3, 4.34.1–2, 5.26.2, 29.7), while Raetia is a province neighbouring Gaul and the Illyrian territories (2.14.1). He also mentions separately Hellas and Illyricum (1.30.2, 2.33.2), Thracia and Illyricum (2.33.2, 4.3.1, 42.1), Moesia, Macedonia, Dacia, Epirus, Thessaly, Crete and Illyricum (2.33.2), Pannonia and Illyricum (2.33.2, 46.1), Noricum and Illyricum (2.48.2), and Dalmatia and Illyricum (2.14.1), and he identifies Illyricum with Pannonia once as well (4.17.1–2). Regarding the topographical data, he is also more or less vague: he records that Mursa is a city in Pannonia (2.43.1), the valley of Poetovio is split in two by the river Drave that flows through Noricum and Pannonia before emptying into the Danube (2.46.1), Sirmium is close to the Danube (3.10.3), Emona is a city situated between Upper Pannonia and Noricum (5.29.1). He is more exhaustive in the case of the Danube (he says that it flows through Raetia where it springs out, Noricum, the whole of Pannonia, Dacia, the Thracian Moesia, and Scythia, 3.10.2), and Cibalae (he says that it is a Pannonian city, 2.18.2, 3.36.2, situated on a hill, 2.18.2, and describes its environs, 2.18.2, 2.48.3–4).

Sextus Aurelius Victor includes in the term Illyricum the native provinces of Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius I, Galerius (39.26), Severus, and Maximin Daia (40.1), that is Dalmatia (cf. 39.30: *Illyrici ora*), Pannonia (cf. 33.1–2), and Dacia.¹¹ He also includes Moesia (39.9, 11, 41.26: Upper Moesia), and distinguishes Illyricum from Thracia (40.8). He shows interest in topographical data and local history as well: the Danube is on the north of the Empire (4.2), and Trajan and Constantine I built a bridge across the river (13.4, 41.18), Carnuntum is a city in Pannonia (16.13),¹² Decius' native place was village (*vicus*) near Sirmium (29.1), Mursa is a city in Pannonia (33.2), Sirmium – he designates it as *urbs* – suffered from winter rains on account of its marshy soil (37.4), the Emperor Galerius drained the lake Pelso in Pannonia into the Danube and formed there a new province named Valeria (40.9–10). Victor also mentions the praetorian prefect of Illyricum Anatolius as a contemporary (*his annis*) and praises his administration (13.6).

The *Epitome de Caesaribus* is vague about the extent of Illyricum, but it can be deduced that it reflects the situation in the 4th century AD.¹³ The anonymous author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* shows considerable interest in topographical data: he mentions that the Adriatic Sea gets its name from Adria, the town in the Picenum area (14.1), Savaria is a city in Pannonia (19.2), Budalia is a city in Lower Pannonia (29.1), a portion of Upper Pannonia was ceded to the king of the Marcomanni (33.1), Mount Alma is near Sirmium (37.3), Dioclea is a city (*oppidum*) in Dalmatia (39.1), a lake named Hiulca is near the city of Cibalae (41.5), “even now” (*etiam nunc*) there is a palace (*palatium*) near Sirmium where Maximian's parents worked wage-earning jobs (40.10), Mursa is a city in Pannonia (41.25). He also says that the land of Singidinum (*ager Singidonensis*) is in the province of Pannonia (44.1).

It seems that the *Historia Augusta* includes in the term Illyricum the provinces of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Dacia, and Thracia (*Vita Claudii*, 15.2), but it also mentions separately Illyricum and Thracia (*Tyranni triginta*, 12.13, 17, 18.8, 29.1, *Vita Aureliani*, 17.3, 22.2, 41.8, *Vita Probi*, 16.2–3, *Carus et Carinus et Numerianus*, 9.4), Illyricum and Dalmatia (*Tyranni triginta*, 12.17), Illyricum and Moesia (*Gallieni*, 13.8–9, *Vita Aureliani*, 39.7), and distinguishes Illyricum from Macedonia, Epirus (*Gallieni*, 13.8–9) and Raetia (*Vita Probi*, 16.1). Moreover, it identifies occasionally Illyricum with Moesia (*Tyranni triginta*, 10.1) and Pannonia (*Carus et Carinus et Numerianus*, 4.3). Regarding the topographical data, it records merely that the Mount Alma is at Sirmium in Illyricum (*Vita Probi*, 18.8), and that Sirmium is situated near the Sava in a marshy area (*Vita Probi*, 21.2).

Eutropius is also vague about the extent of Illyricum, and the only province he connects directly to Illyricum is Dalmatia (6.4). However, he distinguishes occasionally Illyricum from Dalmatia, Pannonia, Raetia (7.9), Moesia (9.15.1, 25.1), and Macedonia (9.11.2). Regarding the topographical data, he records that Budalia is in Lower Pannonia (9.4), Cibalae in Second Pannonia (10.5), Mursa in Illyricum (9.81), and Mount Alma near Sirmium (9.17.2).

Rufius Festus determines precisely the administrative extent of Illyricum, and he is the only of our authors chosen for this study to do so. He reflects the situation in the 360's AD, providing an exhaustive provincial list of the Pannonian

¹¹ On the native places of these emperors see KIENAST 1996, 266, 272, 280, 283, 288, 290.

¹² The manuscriptal form of the city's name is *Carnutum*. The same form has Zosimos, but he places the city erroneously in Gaul (2.10.4).

¹³ It is worth pointing out that the anonymous author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* distinguishes Illyricum from Thracia, Macedonia and Achaëa once (41.20).

(Illyrian) and Macedonic dioceses. According to him, Illyricum has eighteen provinces, that is two of Noricas, two of Pannonias, Valeria, Savia, Dalmatia, Upper Moesia, Dardania, two of Dacias, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, two Epiruses, Praevalis, and Crete (8.3). Thracia and Lower Moesia are in the Thracian diocese (9.4). As for topographical data, Festus mentions the sea shore of Illyricum, and the Adriatic Sea (7.1), the Sava region (*regio Saviensis*), environs of Second Pannonia (7.5), and of Valeria between the Danube and Drave (8.1).

It is quite clear that the term Illyricum was used to denote a vast territory that extended roughly from the Alps in the west to the Haemus and Rhodope in the east, and from the Danube in the north to the Adriatic and Aegean Seas in the south, and it also had different extent in different periods of time. Our authors reflect the situation with which they were familiar, and which depended in part on the sources they relied on, and that makes them occasionally not precise and vague. The only exception is Rufius Festus who determines precisely the administrative extent of Illyricum of his time. The authors also show interest in the topographical data regarding Pannonia and Dalmatia. In some cases, it is evident that they were closely acquainted with the area they wrote about or at least had access to precise sources of information.

THE MARCOMANNIC WARS

The key event for history of Illyricum in 2nd century AD were the Marcomannic wars of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (lasted 166–172, and 177–180).¹⁴ During these years, the population of Pannonia had to confront several times with immediate attacks of various barbarian peoples that invaded the province across the river of Danube and pillaged the places along the border. The Roman Empire found itself exposed significantly to barbarian onslaught for the first time after the *pax Romana* had been established. The Pannonian regions suffered immensely, and the degree of depopulation caused by military operations, poor economic situation and spreading of the plague was undoubtedly rather high, because the imperial government permitted the barbarian tribes to settle in the territory of the Empire.

The main sources for the Marcomannic wars are Dio Cassius Cocceianus (book 71 of his *Historia Romana*), and the biography of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (*SHA, Vita Marci*). The account of Dio Cassius is preserved fragmentarily, and it describes the war developments and the relations between the Empire and different invaders, especially Marcomanni, Iazyges, and Quadi. Dio points out that Pannonia served as a base for the fight against the barbarians (71.3.12), and that the Emperor settled various barbarian groups in Pannonia (71.11.4), but he fails to give specific details on the then situation in Pannonian provinces. Moreover, although he mentions that he was a governor of Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia (80.1.3), and that in this capacity he commanded the Pannonian soldiery with firm hand (80.4.2), he shows only limited interest in this area in the time in question.

The *Vita Marci* mentions the Emperor as a liberator of Pannonia from barbarian servitude (*servitio*; 17.3) in connection with his concern for defence of Illyricum (14.6), after the Marcomanni, the Sarmatians, the Vandals and the Quadi who threatened the Illyrian border (22.1) had been destroyed (17.3), and tells that he celebrated a triumph with his son Commodus (17.3) – this was in 172 after the victory over Marcomanni. The biographer singles out the Emperor's successful fight against the Germans (17.1: *feliciter*; 2: *cum virtute tum etiam felicitate*; 5: *ex sententia*), saying that the war had to be fought in the time when a plague deprived many thousands of citizens and soldiers of their lives (17.2), and that the Emperor was compelled to recruit even the brigands of Dalmatia (*latrones Dalmatiae*), among the others, to muster enough troops (21.7). The war is mentioned once more when it is stated that the Emperor had fought the Marcomanni, the Hermunduri, the Sarmatians and the Quadi for three years, and that he would have their regions reduced to provinces if he had lived a year longer (27.10). In addition, the *Vita Commodi Antonini* says that the Pannonian provinces were pacified under the emperor Commodus (13.5: *Pannoniae conpositae*), which is undoubtedly a reference to a peace settlement mentioned by Dio (72.1.2–2.4), and Herodian (1.6.1–9). The details on the situation in Pannonia are also left out.

Almost identical data are provided by Eutropius – a sure sign of a common source – although he adds Carnuntum as the imperial headquarters, and points out that the war was brought to an end “with an immense effort and moderation” (*ingenti labore et moderatione*; 8.13.1). Sextus Aurelius Victor's account of the war is very concise: he merely says that Marcus Aurelius celebrated a triumph over the nations from the city of Carnuntum in Pannonia to the centre of Gaul (16.13), and provides an incidental testimony for the Emperor's campaign against the Marcomanni (16.9). Rufius Festus is also very brief: he mentions only that the Marcomanni and Quadi were driven from the environs (*de locis*) of the province of Valeria (contemporary to his time) between the rivers of Danube and Drave, and that a frontier

¹⁴ On the war cf. ZWIKKER 1941; BÖHME 1975, 153–217; BIRLEY 1987; KERR 1995.

between the Romans and the barbarians was established from Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg) through Noricum, Pannonia, and Moesia (8.1). This last piece of information refers to the establishment of a frontier defence system under Commodus. The anonymous author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus* records nothing but the fact that there were wars ravaging in Illyricum, the East, Italy, and Gaul during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (16.3). Herodian makes an incidental remark – which is understandable considering the chronological framework of his historical account – that the Emperor Marcus Aurelius felt anxiety about the unsubdued Germans on the frontier (1.3.5). Furthermore, Zosimos does not even mention the war in the appropriate place (1.7) in his brief account of the Roman imperial history up to Diocletian's rise to the throne.

THE THIRD CENTURY CRISIS

The third century was a crucial time for the Roman Empire as well as the Illyrian provinces.¹⁵ The contemporaries were more or less aware of this fact. The collapse of the Danubian limes made it possible for northern barbarian peoples to invade and plunder freely the territory of the Empire for quite some time. The situation was complicated additionally by almost continuous civil wars. The beginning of the new era of civil wars was marked by proclamation of Lucius Septimius Severus for emperor in Pannonia where he was a governor (Dio, 73.14.3, *SHA, Vita Severi*, 4.2) in 193. This is mentioned by four of our sources (Dio, 73.14.3; Herodian, 2.9.1–13; *Epitome*, 19.2: proclaimed emperor in Savaria; *SHA, Vita Severi*, 5.1: appointed emperor in Carnuntum by “German” legions). Aurelius Victor says erroneously that Severus was proclaimed in Syria (19.4; cf. *SHA, Vita Iuliani*, 5.2), and the *Historia Augusta* has Illyricum as the place where Severus' rival Pescennius Niger was appointed emperor (*Vita Iuliani*, 5.2), although it is stated correctly in the *Vita Nigri* that he was proclaimed in Syria (2.1). Perhaps these can be connected to Herodian's account where he says that Niger failed to win over the Illyrian soldiery for his cause (2.8.19).

ILLYRICUM AS A BATTLEGROUND

Illyricum was quite often a battleground between the armies of various pretenders and legitimize emperors in the third century, which is stressed by our sources: Gallienus has to fight the governor of Pannonia and Moesia Ingenuus (*Sext. Aurel.*, 33.1–2, Eutropius, 9.8, *SHA, Tyranni triginta*, 9.1, 3), Aureolus' general Domitianus defeats the usurper Macrinus in Illyricum (*SHA, Gallieni*, 2.5–6, *Tyranni triginta*, 12.13), and Carinus conquers the usurper Iulianus also in Illyricum (*Sext. Aurel.*, 39.9). But far more perilous were frequent barbarian incursions: Herodian says that the Germans laid waste the Illyrian provinces under Severus Alexander, they overwhelmed the garrisons on the Danube, and overran the cities and villages (6.7.2; the soldiers from Illyricum fighting in the Persian war were distressed on this news and dissatisfied with the Emperor, 6.7.3), Zosimos mentions the barbarian plunderings under Gallienus (1.30.2, 31.1, 37.1), and points out that the situation was indeed very difficult, especially after the plague had broken out (1.37.3), the *Historia Augusta* says that the barbarians occupied the parts of Illyricum under Gallienus (*Tyranni triginta*, 29.1), which is presumably in connection to alleged Gallienus' surrendering a portion of Upper Pannonia to the Marcomanni (*Epitome*, 33.1) – they were actually settled there¹⁶ – and that Illyricum was laid waste under Aurelian (*Vita Aureliani*, 39.7), and threatened by the Sarmatians under Carus (*Carus et Carinus et Numerianus*, 9.4). Eutropius mentions also the barbarian plundering under Gallienus (9.8.2), Claudius II (9.11.2), and Aurelian (9.15.1).

FIGHT AGAINST THE BARBARIANS

The sources provide numerous but not detailed testimonies about the attempts to check the barbarian incursions: under Marcus Aurelius (the Emperor campaigns in Pannonia, Herodian, 1.3.1, Pertinax as a governor of the Illyrian provinces had won many victories against the Germans, and his command is remembered by the Illyrian troops, Herodian, 2.9.8–9, Didius Iulianus as a governor of Dalmatia defends it from the neighbouring enemies, *SHA, Vita Iuliani*, 1.9), under Commodus (Perennis' son campaigns successfully in Sarmatia, *SHA, Vita Commodi*, 6.1), under

¹⁵ On the third century crisis cf. WALSER 1960/61, 142–161; WALSER – PEKÁRY 1962; MOREAU 1964, 26–41; ALFÖLDY 1966, 1–19; ALFÖLDY 1974, 89–111; ALFÖLDY 1989; BIRLEY 1975/76, 253–281; HARTMANN 1982; STROBEL 1993; GRANT 1999; WITSCHERL 2004.

¹⁶ NAGY 1982/83, 113–131.

Caracalla (the Emperor's campaign on the Danube, Herodian, 4.7.2, 8.1; the Sarmatian defeat inflicted allegedly by the future emperor Pupienus, *Maximus et Balbinus*, 5.9, might have happened during Caracalla's reign), under Severus Alexander (alleged successful campaign of the Emperor's relative Varius Macrinus in Illyricum, *SHA, Vita Alexandri Severi*, 58.1), under Maximinus (the Emperor winters in Sirmium in preparation of the offensive against the Germanic and Sarmatian tribes on the Danube frontier, Herodian, 7.2.9, cf. 7.3.4; the Emperor defends Illyricum against the barbarians, *SHA, Gordiani*, 14.1), under Valerian and Gallienus (the future usurper Macrianus distinguishes himself in Illyricum and Dalmatia, *SHA, Tyranni triginta*, 12.17; the usurper Regalianus re-occupies Illyricum, *SHA, Tyranni triginta*, 10.9; Gallienus defeats the Goths in Illyricum, *SHA, Gallieni*, 13.9, Eutropius, 9.11.2), under Claudius II (one Iunius Brocchus defends allegedly Illyricum, *SHA, Vita Claudii*, 8.3; the Emperor fights the barbarian tribes in Illyricum together with general Marcianus, *SHA, Vita Claudii*, 18.1), under Aurelian (Zosimos: the Emperor defends the Pannonian provinces invaded by the Scythians, 1.48.1, he supplies the cities with provisions, 1.48.1, but the battle in Pannonia is indecisive, 1.48.2, although he resolves finally the situation in Pannonia, 1.50.1; *SHA, Vita Aureliani*: the Emperor's successes are emphasized, he checks an incursion of the Sarmatians, 6.3, he is often in Illyricum, 22.2, 35.4, where he defeats the barbarians he came across, 22.2, Illyricum is regained thanks to his victory, 41.8, he is the liberator of Illyricum, *liberator Illyrici*, 9.4), under Probus (the Emperor defeats the Sarmatians and other tribes in Illyricum, *SHA, Vita Probi*, 16.1–2), and under Carus (the Emperor secures the Pannoniae from the Sarmatian threats, *SHA, Carus et Carinus et Numerianus*, 9.4).

THE ROLE OF THE ILLYRIAN MILITARY

The sources emphasize the importance of Illyrian troops: Sextus Tigridius Perennis, the all-powerful praetorian prefect of Commodus, had his sons (or son) appointed as commanders of the Illyrian army which is explained in the context of his alleged desire to gain the imperial throne (Herodian, 1.9.1, cf. 1.9.4), Pescennius Niger tried to win over the support of the Illyrian legions (Herodian, 2.8.10), Severus won over the Illyrian troops (2.9.10), Severus visited the legions of Moesia and Pannonia on his way from Mesopotamia where he campaigned against the Parthians (Herodian, 3.10.1), Severus Alexander mustered the Illyrian troops for his campaign against the Persians (Herodian, 6.4.3 – the Illyrian soldiers suffered especially from sickness during this expedition because they were used to a cooler and moister climate, and more abundant rations of food, 6.6.2), the Illyrian, i.e. Pannonian soldiers were instrumental in Maximinus' accession to power (Herodian, 7.8.11, 8.6.1, Zosimos, 1.13.1). Herodian also singles out the high quality of the Illyrian troops in Severus' army against Niger (3.4.1) and Albinus (3.7.2).

The Illyrian troops and Illyricum gain heavily on importance in the 3rd century AD. The Illyrian soldiery proclaimed many emperors and pretenders, for which our sources provide an insight: the proclamation of Marinus Pacatianus (Zosimos, 1.20.2) and Decius (Zosimos, 1.21.1, 1.22.1–2) under Philippus Arabs, Aemilianus under Decius (Eutropius, 9.5, *Epitome*, 31.1, Zosimos, 1.28.1), Ingenuus (*Sext. Aurel.*, 33.2, *SHA, Tyranni triginta*, 9.1), Regalianus (*SHA, Tyranni triginta*, 10.1, 9) and Aureolus (*SHA, Gallieni*, 3.3, 5.6) under Gallienus, Septimius in Dalmatia under Aurelian (*Epitome*, 35.3, Zosimos, 1.49.2, without a reference of place), Probus (*Sext. Aurel.*, 37.2: erroneously; he was proclaimed in the East: *SHA, Vita Probi*, 10.1, Zosimos, 1.64.1), and Iulianus under Carinus (*Sext. Aurel.*, 38.9). The Dalmatian cavalry, and troops from Moesia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Raetia distinguished themselves especially in Aurelian's campaign against Zenobia (Zosimos, 1.52.3). The Dalmatian cavalry was given special attention in the *Historia Augusta*: it distinguished itself by bravery in the war waged by the Emperor Claudius II (*Vita Claudii*, 11.9), and there are also several real and alleged commanders mentioned (*Vita Albini*, 6.2, *Gallieni*, 14.4, 14.9, *Vita Claudii*, 15.2).

STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF ILLYRICUM

The emperors were aware of the strategic and political importance of Illyricum as a defence line for Italy. The *Historia Augusta* says that Illyricum abounds in grain and is thus suitable for the location of troops (*Tyranni triginta*, 18.8). The Pannonian provinces were even considered as a kind of test ground for future emperors in the early Empire: thus Hadrian was sent by Trajan as a legatus in Lower Pannonia (*SHA, Vita Hadriani*, 3.9), and he himself put afterwards his presumptive heir Lucius Ceionius Commodus in charge of Pannonia (*SHA, Vita Hadriani*, 23.13, *Vita Aelii*, 3.2). The emperors were very keen to have their own men entrusted with the command of Pannonia where there were stationed very strong military forces: Hadrian gave Marcius Turbo temporary command over Pannonia (*SHA, Vita Hadriani*, 6.7), Macrinus replaced Caracalla's partisan Sabinus as a legate in Pannonia and appointed in his place his

own adherent Marcius Agrippa who was soon succeeded by Aelius Triccianus (Dio, 78.13.2–4), Decius sent his son Etruscus forward to Illyricum in preparation of the campaign against the Goths (*Sext. Aurel.*, 29.1), and Carus, leaving for war against the Persians, entrusted Illyricum to his elder son Carinus (Eutropius, 9.19.1, *SHA, Carus et Carinus et Numerianus*, 16.2).

Our sources single out Illyricum as an important land communication between eastern and western parts of the Empire: Hadrian goes from Syria via Illyricum to Rome (*SHA, Vita Hadriani*, 5.10), Septimius Severus arrives to Italy directly from Pannonia (Herodian, 2.11.3), Elagabalus comes to Italy from Syria via Illyricum (Dio, 79.3.2), Maximinus, setting out from Sirimus where he had his headquarters during military expedition against the Sarmatians (*SHA, Maximini duo*, 13.3), reaches Emona – the first fairly large town on the border of Italy which had previously been part of Pannonia – in his campaign to crush the rebellion of Pupienus and Balbinus (Herodian, 8.1.4, *SHA, Maximini duo*, 21.2), Aurelian sets out for the Pannonian provinces from Aquileia (Zosimos, 1.48.1), Probus travels through Illyricum on his way to engage the Persians (*SHA, Vita Probi*, 20.1), he arrives and resides in Sirmium (*SHA, Vita Probi*, 21.2).

THE ILLYRIAN EMPERORS

The sources mention the Illyrian background of numerous 3rd century emperors:¹⁷ for Decius (native of Budalia in Lower Pannonia: Eutropius, 9.4, *Epitome*, 29.1; from a village near Sirmium: *Sext. Aurel.*, 29.1), Saloninus (native of Saloniae which is false: *SHA, Gallieni*, 19.3), Claudius II (Dalmatian: *SHA, Vita Claudii*, 11.9, “of Illyrian descent”: 14.2), Aurelian (Pannonian: *SHA, Vita Aureliani*, 24.3; born in the region between Dacia and Macedonia: *Epitome*, 35.1), Probus (from Sirmium, the city of Pannonia: *SHA, Vita Probi*, 3.1; *Sext. Aurel.*, 37.4: *patria*), Carus (Illyrian: *SHA, Carus et Carinus et Numerianus*, 4.3; his parents were Illyrians or Pannonians: 4.2–3), Diocletian (Illyrian: *Sext. Aurel.*, 39.26; Dalmatian: Eutropius, 9.19.2, *Epitome*, 39.1), and Maximian (Illyrian: *Sext. Aurel.*, 39.26; Pannonian: *Epitome*, 40.10). The Carus’ case is interesting: it is a known fact that he was from Narbonne in Gaul (Eutropius, 9.18.1, *Epitome*, 38.1), but it seems only natural that he was considered Illyrian as were many other soldier emperors of the second half of the 3rd century. It might be so that his family had some connections in Illyricum, for his son Carinus is referred to as a king of Illyricum (*rex Illyrici*, *SHA, Carus et Carinus et Numerianus*, 17.1).¹⁸

MISCELLANEOUS

The sources offer also a different kind of information. Herodian and Dio have something to say about the life conditions in Pannonia and the physical and intellectual characteristics of its inhabitants. Herodian says about the Danube region that it is barren, and always cold and foggy (1.6.1), and that the Pannonians are strong and tall, skilled and fierce in battle, but mentally slow and dull-witted when it comes to deceitful words and actions (2.9.11). Dio mentions that the Pannonians lead miserable life because they are handicapped by soil and climate, they cultivate no olives and produce no wine except to a very slight extent and a poor quality, the winter there is very rigorous and occupies the greater part of the year, they drink and eat both barley and millet, they are considered the bravest of all men, and are very high-spirited and bloodthirsty (49.36.2–4).

Furthermore, Eutropius and *Epitome* record that Probus gave the Pannonians permission to grow vine (Eutropius, 9.7.2, *Epitome*, 37.3), and the *Historia Augusta* is even more detailed: in Illyricum, the Emperor has Mont Alma near Sirmium planted with vine (*Vita Probi*, 18.8). The same emperor ordered the soldiers to drain a marshy soil near Sirmium which was damaging to the city especially in winter into the Sava by building reservoirs and a ditch (*Sext. Aurel.*, 37.4, *SHA, Vita Probi*, 21.2). The *Historia Augusta* mentions also the clothing by which the Illyrian regions were probably famous in the Empire: the Dalmatian shirts (*SHA, Vita Pertinacis*, 8.2: *chirodytae Dalmatarum* that were found among Commodus’ things offered for sale by Pertinax), the Dalmatian robes (*SHA, Vita Claudii*, 17.6: *singiliones Dalmatenses*), and the Illyrian cloak (*SHA, Vita Claudii*, 17.6: *paenula Illyriciana*).

¹⁷ Cf. SYME 1973, 310–316.

¹⁸ This, of course, is also a reference to his “arrogant” way of conduct as a ruler, unbefitting a *princeps* (cf. *SHA, Carus et Carinus et Numerianus*, 16.1 ff).

CONCLUSION

The data from the analyzed sources are mostly concerned with the military and political history of the Illyrian provinces. The barbarian incursions and attempts to check them and to stop the plunderings, the civil wars and struggles between the imperial pretenders are a predominant theme. The troubled situation in these provinces generated apparently interest even if more than a century had passed from certain events. Still, there is a noticeable difference in treatment of data, which is, of course, dependent on the genre of a specific historiographic work (the imperial biographies and the breviaria provide only shorter accounts), and on its completeness (Dio's work is preserved only fragmentarily, Zosimos' first book is also lost partially, and it seems also that the *Historia Augusta* did not come down to us in its integral form). Thus Dio deals with the Marcomannic wars of Marcus Aurelius in the 2nd century more or less detailed, Victor, Eutropius, Rufius Festus, the *Epitome de Caesaribus* and the *Historia Augusta* gave them some attention, but they were totally ignored by Zosimos. On the other hand, the 3rd century troubles were given a fair attention in the *Historia Augusta*, incidental in Eutropius, Victor, and the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, and even Zosimos provides a glimpse of them. The common feature of the analyzed sources is their awareness of Illyricum's exceptional importance, and the 4th century sources emphasize regularly the role of the Illyrian emperors in the defence and restoration of the Empire. One has to point out that the authors who spent a part of their lives in Illyricum do not show close familiarity with the western Illyrian region regarding the situation in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Dio might be considered as an exception to it, because he states that he writes with exact knowledge of conditions in Pannonia, based on his own experience (49.36.4), which can be corroborated in a few cases. However, a specific interest can be detected with several authors (Herodian, Zosimos, Victor, the Anonymous of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, Rufius Festus).

ILIRIK U DRUGOM I TREĆEM STOLJEĆU PO KR. U DJELIMA LATINSKIH I GRČKIH POVJESNIKA

SAŽETAK

U članku su vrednovani podaci koji se mogu pronaći u djelima odabranih latinskih i grčkih povjesnika iz 3., 4. i 5. st., a tiču se povijesti Ilirika, odnosno Panonije i Dalmacije u 2. i 3. st. Od latinskih djela i autora u obzir su uzeti *Liber de Caesaribus* Seksta Aurelija Viktora (4. st.), *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani* Rufija Festa (4. st.), Eutropijev *Breviarium ab Urbe condita* (4. st.), *Epitome de Caesaribus* nepoznata spisatelja (4/5. st.), *Historia Augusta* jednoga ili više spisatelja, a od grčkih djela i autora *Historiae Romanae* Diona Kasija Kokcejana (2/3. st.), Herodijanova *Historia ab excessu divi Marci* (2/3. st.) i Zosimova *Historia nova* (5/6. st.). Studija je usmjerena poglavito na analizu vrste podataka o Iliriku, načinom njihove prezentacije, jesu li, kako i koliko posebna znanja nekih autora o iliričkom prostoru utjecala na odabir podataka i na koji se način od 3. do 5. stoljeća mijenjala percepcija pojedinih, istaknutih događaja u povijesti Ilirika.

Podaci iz analiziranih izvora većinom se bave vojnom i političkom poviješću iliričkih pokrajina. Predominantnu temu tvore barbarske provale i pokušaji da se one spriječe te da se zaustave pustošenja, građanski ratovi i borbe između carskih pretendencata. Teška situacija u iliričkim pokrajinama stvarala je zanimanje čak i kad je od nekih događaja proteklo više od jednog stoljeća. Ipak, postoji znatna razlika u tretiranju podataka, što, dakako, ovisi i o vrsti historiografskog djela (carske biografije i brevijariji pružaju samo kraće prikaze) te o njegovoj cjelovitosti (djelo Diona Kasija Kokcejana sačuvano je samo fragmentarno, Zosimova prva knjiga je također djelomice izgubljena, a čini se da niti *Historia Augusta* nije do nas došla u integralnom obliku). Dion Kasije se tako manje-više podrobno bavi panonskim ratovima Marka Aurelija Antonina u 2. st., Aurelije Viktor, Eutropije, Rufije Fest, *Epitome de Caesaribus* i *Historia Augusta* dali su im određenu pozornost, no zato ih je Zosim posvema zanemario. S druge strane, nevolje u 3. st. dobile su priličnu pozornost u zbirci *Historia Augusta*, prigodičnu kod Eutropija, Aurelija Viktora i *Epitome de Caesaribus*, a čak je i Zosim dao uvid u njih. Zajednička značajka analiziranih izvora njihova je svjesnost o izuzetnoj važnosti Ilirika, a izvori iz 4. st. redovito naglašavaju ulogu iliričkih careva u obrani i obnovi Carstva. Nužno je istaknuti da spisatelji koji su dio života proveli u Iliriku ne pokazuju bolje poznavanje zapadnih iliričkih oblasti što se tiče prilika u 2. i 3. st. Dion Kasije može se smatrati iznimkom u tom smislu, jer sam kaže da piše s točnim znanjem prilika u Panoniji, na temelju osobnoga iskustva (49.36.4), što je moguće potvrditi u nekoliko slučajeva. Ipak, posebno se zanimanje može zapaziti i kod nekoliko drugih spisatelja (Herodijan, Zosim, Aurelije Viktor, nepoznati autor *Epitome de Caesaribus*, Rufije Fest).

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