A very helpful appendix (pp. 261–3) catalogues the fragments of Juba's published works. The photographs in the book are delightful, the maps few, and generally of poor quality.

Montana State University, Bozeman DAVID CHERRY
doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni146

THE EMPEROR PROBUS

G. KREUCHER: *Der Kaiser Marcus Aurelius Probus und seine Zeit*. (*Historia* Einzelschriften 174.) Pp. 298. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. Paper, €48. ISBN: 3-515-08382-0.

Kreucher's book is a Trier dissertation, presented in 2000, but revised to refer to work published up to January 2003, including F. Paschoud, *Histoire Auguste Vol. 2. Vies de Probus, Firmus, Saturninin, Proculus et Bonose, Carus, Numérien et Carin* (Paris, 2001). Probus reigned for six years and was highly praised by all ancient writers. But as Kreucher points out, there has been no recent monograph on him. He cites (more frequently than necessary) J .H. E. Crees, *The Reign of the Emperor Probus* (London, 1911), E. Dannhäuser, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Probus* (diss., Jena, 1909), G. Vitucci, *L'imperatore Probo* (Rome, 1952), and M. L. Kennedy, *The Reign of the Emperor Probus* (unpublished diss., Minnesota, 1952). K. can deploy much new epigraphic, papyrological and numismatic evidence, as well as important work on the literary sources, not least the dreaded *Historia Augusta* (*HA*), for which Paschoud's commentary is particularly helpful, as is also the new edition of his *Zosime. Histoire Nouvelle I. Livres I–II* (Paris, 2000^2). In Chapter 1, after a brief introduction (pp. 11–14), K. discusses the sources: literary (pp. 14–39), papyri (pp. 39–41) inscriptions (pp. 41–7), coins (pp. 47–9), legal and archaeological (pp. 49–50). The section on the *HA* (pp. 19–31), is unnecessarily long; K. could usefully have cited Paschoud's calculation, *Vies de Probus et al.* 301, of the 'contenu factuel' of the *HA*'s last five *vitae*: *Aurelian* 26.6%, *Tacitus* 15.3%, *Probus* 16.8%, *Quadrigae tyrannorum* (Firmus et al.) nil, *Carus* and sons 17.2%. Chapter 2 (pp. 51–89), the most useful part of the book, documents the emperors' *trib. pot*., consulships, *dies imperii*, and titulature, from 274/5 to 282/3, listing all dated papyri and ostraka. Chapter 3 (pp. 91–186) is a biography. As K. makes clear (pp. 93–102), for the years before Probus' accession in 276 there is no evidence at all, except on place and date of birth: Sirmium 232. The *HA*'s account is fiction, and the *Epit. de Caes.*, at 37.1, has either invented Probus' rustic father 'Dalmatius', *hortorum studiosus*, or garbled something quite different. K. devotes a long section (pp. 102–25) to the '*interregnum*' after Aurelian's murder in 275, lasting at most a few weeks, not the six months of the Latin sources, and the reigns of Tacitus and Florian, which may indeed have been described as a 'six month *interregnum*' between Aurelian and Probus, later misinterpreted. The rest of the chapter deals with Probus' own reign, with thorough discussion, for example, of his northern campaigns against Alamanni,[1] Franci, and others, and of

[1]At p. 133 n. 290, K. follows the current *communis opinio*, as argued e.g. by L. Okamura, *Alamannia devicta* (diss., Michigan, 1984), pp. 84–124, that the Alamanni did not exist until the later third century, their naming in excerpts and summaries of Cassius Dio and other third-century sources, on Caracalla, supposedly being derived from Byzantine glosses. But B. Bleckmann, *MH* 59 (2002), 145–71, shows that the arguments for that thesis are defective.

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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni147 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the pacification of Lycia-Pamphylia (not by Probus himself), summarizing S. Mitchell, *Cremna in Pisidia* (London, 1995) on the Cremna siege and the inscription of 278 from the siege-camp, naming the *praeses* Terentius Marcianus (*AE* 1995.1541). On the coup by an unnamed governor of Britain, K. conjectures that its cause was a threat from the sea, 'im besonderen aber eine Durchbrechung des Hadrianswalls im Norden', citing British coin-hoards. This seems rather implausible. The four *tyranni* of the *HA*'s *Quadrigae* are dealt with sensibly enough, though K. could have made it plainer that 'Firmus' is purely fictional. Oddly, the usurpers known to other Latin sources are only Proculus and Bonosus, on the Rhine, and Saturninus, in the east, while the Byzantines (Zosimus, Zonaras, and other authors using the same source) ignore the first two, but have, as well as Saturninus, the unnamed governor of Britain whose coup was suppressed by his friend Victorinus, a Moor. Supposed coins of Bonosus and Proculus, including a new Proculus specimen (J. Nollé, *Antike Welt* 33 [2002], 669–74), are interpreted (p. 169) as barbarous copies of Gallic empire issues, not authentic coins of these usurpers. K. deals only briefly (pp. 182–3) with Probus' alleged statement, after his military successes, that soon soldiers would not be needed any more, mentioned by Victor, *De Caes*. 37.3 and Eutropius 9.17.3, and inflated in the *HA*, *Prob*. 20.3–6, 23.2–5, where, as Paschoud, ad loc., notes, the prophecy in Isaiah 2.4 ('swords into ploughshares') and its Christian exegesis are surely parodied. In Chapter 4 (pp. 187–242), K. covers 'Verwaltung und Innenpolitik', with sections on the Senate, lists of known magistrates and governors, and religious, economic, military and monetary policy. On the controversial post of L. Caesonius . . . Bassus, *electus a divo Probo ad pr(a)e[sid]endum iud.* or *lud. mag.* (*AE* 1964.223 = 1980.215), he favours, 189, *lud(is) mag(nis)* rather than *iud(icio) mag(no)*, although retaining the latter at 212. *Lud(is) mag(nis)* may be right (but the *procuratores ludi magni*, 'of the great training-school [for gladiators]', whom he adduces on p. 189 n. 15, are not evidence for the *ludi magni*). Finally come Chapter 5, a brief conclusion (pp. 243–5), a 'Zeittafel' (pp. 246–7), an appendix on Gallic hoards, closing with coins of Tacitus, Florian, and Probus (pp. 249–65; condensed from the version in the original dissertation), a 'Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis' (pp. 267–90), the latter with well over 500 items, and an index of persons and places. All in all, this is a respectable piece of work, which will be regularly consulted.

Vindolanda Museum A. R. BIRLEY
doi:10.1093/clrevj/bni147

LATE ROMAN LEGATIONS

A. GILLETT: *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411–533.* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, 55.) Pp. xxiv + 335, maps. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Cased, £47.50, US$65. ISBN: 0-521-81349-2.

The rôle of envoys in the western Roman empire has never really been recognized or appreciated, except, perhaps, by those very few brave souls who have read the chronicle of Hydatius, bishop of Aquae Flaviae until some time shortly after 468/9. Hydatius had been an envoy himself and relied on those from the more northern, central, and eastern parts of the empire to provide him with current information for his chronicle.

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https://doi.org/10.1093/clrevj/bni147 Published online by Cambridge University Press